

A HISTORY OF METHODISM IN HAITI

1817 - 1916

Thesis submitted to the University of London

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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ABSTRACT

Haiti was the first French-speaking country outside Europe, and the first non-British colony, where Methodist missionary work was established by John Brown and James Catts in 1817. Their short stay was followed by a period of twenty years when the Methodists in Port-au-Prince were organised under Haitian leadership. The arrival of missionary Mark Baker Bird in 1839 brought this indigenous period to its close. The time between 1804 (the year of Haiti's independence) and 1860 (the year when a Concordat was signed with the Vatican) saw the Roman Catholic community in Haiti in schism with Rome. During this time, Methodists understood their rôle in terms of non-sectarian collaboration with those attempting to evolve national institutions.

After the signing of the Concordat, a significant change of climate can be noted. The Roman Catholics became self-confident, foreign-led, and an anti-protestant church. On the Protestant side, the different churches (Baptist, Episcopalian, and Methodist) tended to line up with nationalists and freemasons who mounted a campaign against the Concordat. Protestants in general, and Methodists among them, became increasingly sectarian. Some important Haitian intellectuals, however, who had been formed within a Methodist communion which remained true to the teaching and influence of Mark Bird, continued to take the larger view. This thesis emphasises the work of men such as J.B. Dehoux, a key figure in the world of medicine in 19th century Haiti; and Louis-Joseph Janvier, diplomat and political theorist; and also Etzer Vilaire, poet, teacher, and vice president of the Haitian Court of Appeal. All saw religion in the context of wider questions and issues, and established a distinctive intellectual tradition.

The concentration of work in the towns of Haiti, the narrow social limits of the Methodists after the initial and better-balanced phase, the failure to produce Haitian ministers, all led to internal dissension, limits on the possibilities of growth, and a reduction of influence in the country generally by 1916 - tendencies which only later were to be reversed.

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PREFACE

The Methodist Church in Haiti, one District of the Methodist Church in the Caribbean and Americas, is the oldest Protestant Church in that country. It has much to be proud of especially in the fields of literacy, education, agriculture, community development, and theological reflection. The Synod of the Methodist Church in Haiti, at its meeting in Port-au-Prince in 1980, asked me to write an account of its history. I was returning to England after a period in Haiti, serving the Methodist Church there, that had begun in 1970. I accepted the Synod's request with great pleasure and have thoroughly enjoyed the work which has led to the writing of this thesis.

Haitian historian J. Catts Pressoir produced his Protestantisme Haitien in 1945. It gave a lengthy account of the history of Methodism. So much of the material he needed, however, was to be found in the archives of the Methodist Missionary Society in London and he did not have the opportunity to consult it. Much has happened and been discovered since. Consequently, I am convinced that the present work is much more complete as an account of the development of the small Methodist community in Haiti.

I have been told in the course of this research that it is of very limited interest, mere "cultic history", and that it will inevitably suffer from having been written by a non-Haitian. I am glad to submit my work to others for their judgement. It is my view that Haiti, whose people, culture, and history have come to mean so much to me, needs a number of "micro-histories" to be written on various aspects of its national development. I hope that my work may be just one contribution in that direction. As to its being written by a non-Haitian, and an amateur historian at that, I can only here pay tribute to those with more skill and experience than I, for their readiness to look at much of what follows at various stages in its production. I am grateful to my friend M. Rosny Desroches, now Minister of Education in Haiti's post-Duvalier government, and the Reverends Alain Rocourt and Edouard Domond (successive Chairmen of the Methodist Church in Haiti) for help in this way. And also to the Reverend Dr. George Mulrain of the United Theological College of the West Indies for reading my manuscript with great care and making several helpful suggestions. Professors John Kent and Gordon Rupp have urged me to complete my work when my step was faltering and I am grateful for their supportive words. What I offer is all my own, mistakes and all, but it has been saved from many errors of judgement by the charity and frankness of those who have helped in this way.

I must also place on record the enormous debt I owe to the successive Circuit Stewards of the Wanstead and Woodford Circuit for giving me time to do this research. Also to the Overseas Division and Division of Ministries of the Methodist Church for helping with grants to defray the costs. I am grateful to the Central Research Fund of the University of London and the Scholarship Fund of the School of Oriental and African Studies for enabling me to visit Haiti in January 1984.

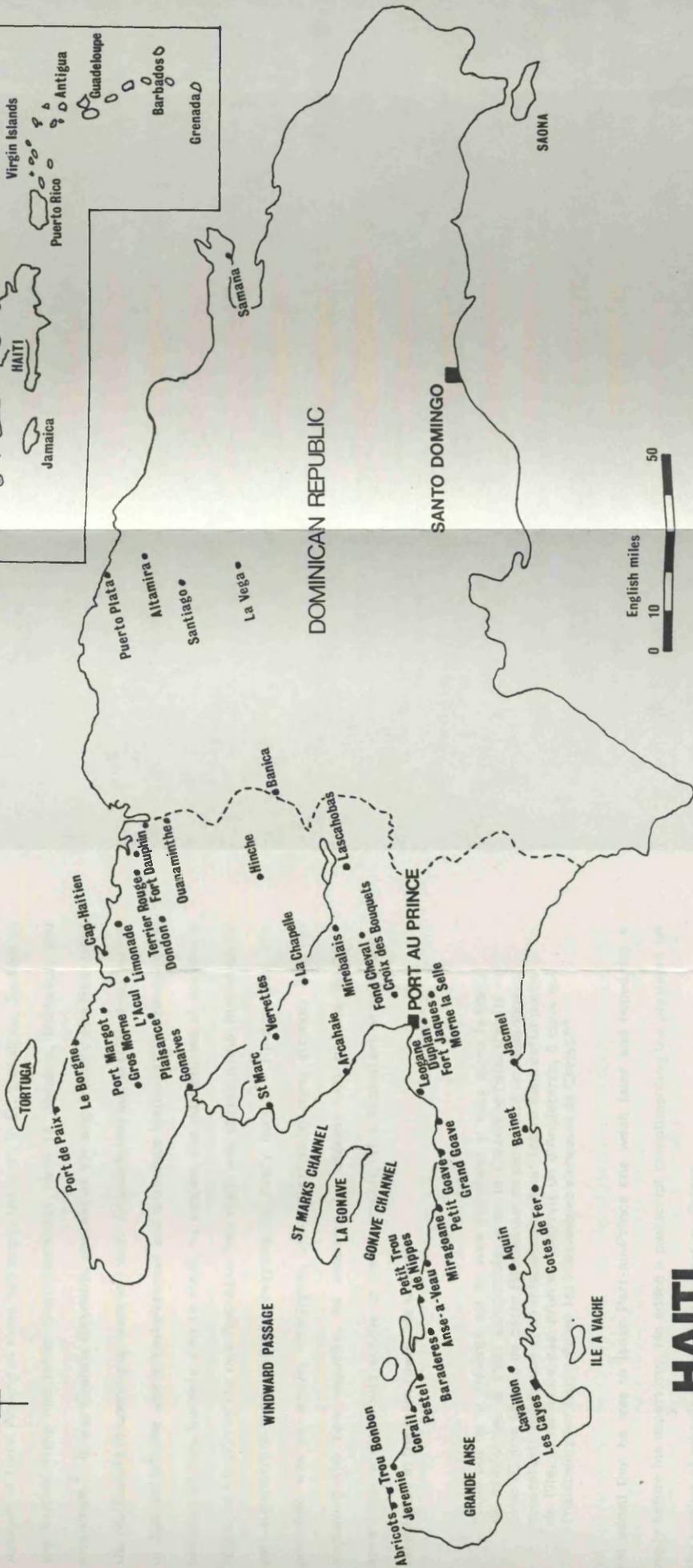
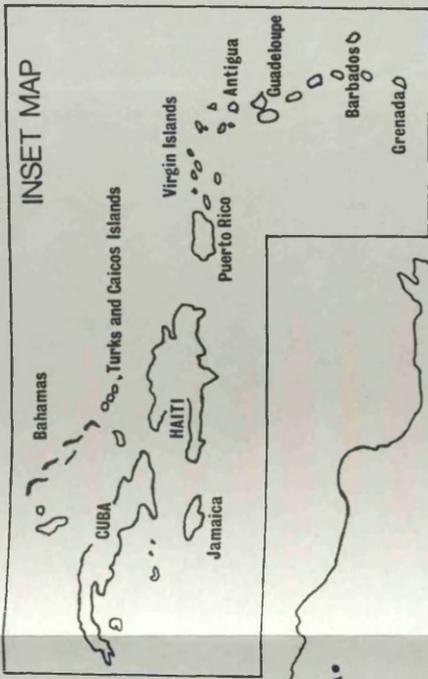
I have used various libraries and archives; notably the SOAS library (where the Methodist Missionary archives are now stored), the archives of the British and Foreign Schools Society, the Public Record Office, the Cambridge University Library, the British Library (and its newspaper library), the Guille-Allès Library in Guernsey, and the Bibliothèque des Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne in Port-au-Prince. I am deeply grateful to the Angus family in Port-au-Prince for giving me virtually free rein with the manuscript archives of Etzer Vilaire.

Finally, I would pay tribute to three people who have gone more than the second mile. Professor Richard Gray has given me so much of his time and interest. He has goaded me constantly into seeing Haiti in a wider context and has enriched my reading and understanding enormously. The Rev'd H. Ormonde McConnell has read everything in every draft, and has sent me manuscripts from his personal archives. He has asked questions and made suggestions full of evidence of his long and intimate experience of living in Haiti. And Margaret Bensley has taken all my oddly shaped manuscripts and turned them into beautifully presentable pages. Her patience, skill, and friendship, have all been laid at my disposal. I am grateful.

My wife Margaret has so bravely borne these years of divided loyalty, constantly showing her interest and providing cups of coffee. It is to her, such a good friend for so many years, that I dedicate this work.

Leslie Griffiths

Advent 1986.



HAITI

SHOWING PLACES CITED IN THE TEXT

Chapter One

OBSCURE BEGINNINGS

Port-au-Prince 1816-1818; Cape Henry 1820

A shipwright and a planter had introduced Wesleyan Methodism to Antigua, a freed American slave had begun the work in St. Eustatius. Soldiers in the British Army had taken their Methodist faith to Jamaica, Barbados, and elsewhere.¹ It was Francis Reynolds, captain of the ship "Hébé", who interested the Methodists in opening up work in Haiti. Reynolds had put in to Port-au-Prince in July 1815.² He was a Yorkshireman and a zealous Methodist and he used the occasion of this, his only visit to Haiti, to explore the possibilities of opening a Wesleyan Mission in the new Republic. "His spirit was stirred within him when he saw superstition and profanity reigning on every hand."³ Finding that the president was an active, intelligent, and enterprising man, strongly bent on improving the new republic, he ventured to address him on the probable advantages which would accrue to the community if a Protestant Mission were established in the main town. He wrote:

"...le but de la présente est de vous demander si vous aurez la bonté de m'informer si c'est compatible avec le Gouvernement d'Haiti et avec l'Eglise établie de cette République de permettre un missionnaire protestant: parce que si un missionnaire était toléré dans cette partie de l'Ile, je ne doute pas qu'on en enverrait un d'Angleterre, à ceux qui l'habitent pour leur prêcher les insondables richesses de Christ."⁴

He added that he was to leave Port-au-Prince one week later and hoped for a reply before his departure. He added a postscript complimenting the president on the number of schools he had seen in Port-au-Prince.

Joseph Balthazar Inginac, the president's personal secretary, replied five days later, on July 18th, in the following terms:

"Pour répondre de la manière la plus explicite à la question contenue dans votre lettre du 13 courant, je n'ai pas seulement consulté la Constitution de la République, mais j'ai pris aussi le sentiment du Président sur l'admission dans ce pays d'un missionnaire protestant et j'ai le plaisir de vous annoncer que s'il y en avait qui voulussent visiter cette capitale et y prêcher les sublimes doctrines du christianisme, ils seraient reçus avec joie et avec bonté, et tolérés, et jouiraient du double avantage de servir notre Sauveur Jésus-Christ et d'éclairer un peuple naturellement bien incliné mais à qui manque cette connaissance qui est nécessaire pour nous faire sentir dans nos âmes les seuls vrais événements de ce monde...."

Inginac responded to the compliment about the schools Reynolds had seen in the capital by assuring him that all the towns in the Republic had similar schools. But they were all elementary schools. There was a great need for help with the implementation of a programme to establish secondary schools. Inginac continued:

"S'il y avait des personnes habituées avec leurs branches les plus utiles qui voulussent venir résider parmi nous, elles trouveraient le plus grand encouragement, et le simple effort pour nous les procurer serait un service rendu à la cause de l'humanité."⁵

Before he left Haiti, Reynolds also spoke to the Spanish-speaking Roman Catholic priest in the capital and with several people in the business community. He left tracts and Bibles in schools and government offices. On his return to England he made a strong recommendation to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society's officers that they respond positively to the opening.

The Missionary Society did just that. They chose John Brown, then thirty years old, an experienced minister who had already worked in five circuits before being sent to Canterbury. He was a native of Cumberland and, upon offering for missionary work, was originally destined for Madras. But the favourable tone of Inginac's invitation led the Missionary Society's officers to re-designate him for Haiti. They also chose James Catts, a newly-trained minister from Guernsey, to accompany Brown. Catts, unlike Brown, spoke good French. Both were bachelors. They set out from Bristol in November 1816. They spent

their time on board forming a branch of the Missionary Society among the ship's crew, holding prayer meetings and services, and translating the Order of Morning Prayer and various Methodist documents into French such as John Wesley's "Rules of Society" written for the guidance of local groups of Methodists in 1753.⁶ They arrived in Haiti via Tobago and St. Thomas on February 7th 1817.⁷

Haiti had declared its independence in 1804 after thirteen years of revolutionary wars. After a rule of two years, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the country's first leader, was assassinated near Port-au-Prince in 1806. Possibly as a reaction against the dictatorial powers enjoyed by Dessalines, a new Constitution was promulgated which gave more power to a Senate of twenty four members and curbed the powers of the President.⁸ General Henry Christophe, who had been nominated to the Presidency, felt that this new Constitution was an attempt to place him within impossible constraints. He refused to accept the Constitution and withdrew to the north of Haiti where he enjoyed considerable support. The Senate then nominated Alexandre Sabès Pétion, son of a French father and a mulatress mother, to be President. He accepted. Christophe established his own Constitution which named him President of Haiti for life and, in 1811, he declared the north of Haiti to be a kingdom and himself to be its king taking the name of Henry 1st. He surrounded himself with a nobility and made several attempts to attack the Republic of Haiti under Pétion's presidency.

Pétion also had trouble in the south. His former commanding officer, André Rigaud, escaped from exile in France and returned to Haiti where he had himself declared commandant of the South. Pétion was able to resolve this problem without resorting to arms by 1811. But, for a while, he was greatly stretched on two fronts. What is more, King Henry was sending supplies and arms to a local renegade chief named Gomond (or Gauman) in the mountains of the

Grand'Anse. Gomond continued to embarrass the republican armies through Pétion's presidency. From these facts, and especially in view of Henry Christophe's hostilities, it is not difficult to understand why Pétion was obliged to keep a large army constantly ready for action.⁹ This in turn meant that fewer men were available for work in the agricultural sector, either to bring new life to the ravaged (though once magnificent) plantations, or even to grow the food crops needed to feed the population.¹⁰

Despite all this, it seems that Pétion was greatly loved by his people. He was always accessible to them, gentle in his disposition, and bore no obvious grievance against any section of the population. He sought to establish schools in the major towns of the Republic, including a lycée in Port-au-Prince. He began too a programme of land distribution, both to the officers in his army and also to ordinary soldiers¹¹, with the intention of motivating people to work the land. This initiative stands in stark contrast with the attempts made by Toussaint L'Ouverture, Henry Christophe, and Jean-Pierre Boyer to achieve greater prosperity and productivity by coercing the peasant people of Haiti to work the land. Pétion never married; he lived with his concubine. Henry Christophe, on the other hand, who was married, forbade divorce and his laws disinherited "illegitimate" children.

Alexandre Pétion gave considerable support to Simon Bolivar during the latter's campaigns against Spanish colonial rule in Venezuela. His most notable shortcoming was his lack of severity and firmness, but since his charm and openness were so admired it is difficult to see how he could have been both at the same time.

The missionaries Brown and Catts arrived at a time of tension. Whilst they were in St. Thomas they heard of a threatened invasion of the Republic by

King Henry Christophe. On arrival, they reported hearing rumours and suspicions about spies and informers. Both Christophe and Pétion were anxious to develop good relations with Great Britain. Pétion had reduced import taxes on British goods to five per cent, considerably lower than the twelve per cent on goods from other countries.¹² This pro-British stance was as much motivated by fear of too close an identification with France as by any respect or fondness for Great Britain.¹³ Pétion's successor, Jean-Pierre Boyer, was to change this favoured status for English merchants. At the arrival of the missionaries, however, the auspices were good for the English. Brown noted how the capital had suffered in the revolutionary wars. Public building, irrigation aqueducts, roads and bridges, were all in disrepair. There was a shortage of staple foodstuffs and vegetables. The cost of living was very high.¹⁴

Brown and Catts were, however, able to report that there were some fine buildings in the centre of Port-au-Prince with roads crossing each other neatly at right angles. But all was in decay further out. The latest disaster to strike the town had been the combination of earthquake and hurricane which had occurred in September 1816.¹⁵ One consequence of this was that there were few houses available for rent (and, of course, rents were very high). Brown and Catts found that the American lady to whose lodging house they had been recommended by Reynolds had turned her beds into billiard tables! So they took lodgings with a Mrs Clarke who had been a member of the Methodist Church in St. Kitts. Later, they took over a large room for meetings with two small rooms for lodging. This cost them 22 Haitian dollars (7½ Spanish dollars) per month which they considered very high indeed. Another pressure on the price of rented accommodation at this time was the return to Haiti of numbers of mulattos who had fled to France at the time of the revolution.¹⁶

As soon as they were installed, the missionaries called on Secretary-of-State Inginac. They had already studied closely the articles of Pétion's Constitution of June 1816 which had replaced that promulgated by Dessalines in 1806. Brown copied out those articles which he considered were most relevant to the mission. Thus he noted: "Art.38: No white man may own land in Haiti. Art.39: Exception made for those whites who were in Haitian army in wars of independence. Art.44: All Africans, Indians, or people of colour, may become Haitians, but only after a year's residence. Art.48: Roman Catholic Church being for all Haitians, is the national church and its clergy is protected. Art.49: Any other cult is permitted as long as it obeys the laws. Art.50: The President, in consultation with the Pope, chooses a bishop to further young Haitian priests. Art.51: Ministers of religion may not get organised as a group."¹⁷

Inginac indicated that, since Pétion was unwell and unable to receive them, they should write to the President. Brown wrote and asked for permission to preach the gospel and apply a new method of instruction. This was the system evolved by Joseph Lancaster and which had been adopted by the British and Foreign Schools Society in the Borough Road, London. Its main feature was that, by the use of specially able pupils (monitors), a large number of children could be taught by a small number of trained teachers. It seems that both Brown and Catts were trained in the Lancasterian method.¹⁸ In his letter to the President, Brown promised to obey the laws of the land. Pétion replied granting permission to set up their mission. He received the missionaries at his palace on March 10th. During the 22 months Brown and Catts were in Haiti, Pétion received them seven times and Boyer four times. The missionaries invariably commented on the courtesy and deference with which they were received, even though sometimes they had to discuss difficult or mundane things. Pétion's permission to begin their missionary duties was couched in the following terms:

"Conformément à vos désirs, je m'empresse de vous accorder cette autorisation et je verrai avec plaisir votre projet couronné du succès qu'il mérite, bien convaincu que l'éducation élève l'homme à la dignité de son être et contribue à le rendre heureux en société. Quant à l'exercice de votre Religion, l'Article 49 de notre Constitution concernant la liberté des cultes, rien ne vous empêche en vous conformant à la loi établie pour tous de vous livrer à la pratique de vos devoirs dans la Mission dont vous êtes chargé; je ferais aboutir Messieurs tout ce qui dépendra de moi pour prouver à l'honorable Société dont vous êtes les Missionnaires combien je suis flatté du choix qu'elle a fait de nous, combien je désire concourir avec elle au bonheur de mes semblables.

Adressez-vous à moi avec confiance dans toutes les occasions où je pourrai vous être utile en quelque chose et recevez l'assurance de ma parfaite considération."

Armed with this gracious permission, Brown and Catts set about working to establish their mission.

Their beginnings were inauspicious. Brown wrote the following assessment just a year after his arrival:

"We have met with no open persecution from any quarter. The change manifested in the members of our society has brought upon several of them a few sneers and insults. The ways of Providence are marked with Wisdom. Our obscure beginnings have probably been the best. Had we been patronized by foreigners, this would have rendered us odious to the Natives. Had we been patronized by Natives, this would have shocked the prejudices of others, who without examining what we were might have thought it their duty to oppose us. But at our first no man stood with us. The greater part of those who came to hear knew not what we were. We did not declare open war against Popery. We preached the truth, and the mighty truth has prevailed."²⁰

By that time the Methodist flock numbered 29 members. They met for preaching on Sunday and in the week, and also met in classes for catechizing and sharing their Christian experience on a regular basis. The "Rules of Society", drawn up by the Wesley brothers in 1753, were regularly read and established the parameters of the Methodist Discipline. The plan of the week's activities at that time was as follows:²¹

Sunday:	6-8am and 10am Prayer and preaching 1-3pm Sunday School for adults 7pm Preaching
Monday:	Class Meeting
Tuesday:	Preaching
Wednesday:	Preaching at Morne-à-Tuf (a Port-au-Prince suburb)
Thursday:	Class Meeting
Friday:	Preaching Service
Saturday:	Bible Readings.

No open stand was taken against Roman Catholicism. Yet many of the enquiries that came to Catts and Brown were from disenchanted or questioning members of that church. These came both from the mountains around the capital and from the city itself. They asked the missionaries' advice about their amulets, charms, crosses, and customs. They were amazed at this new version of Christianity that seemed to offer a new source of spiritual strength and which rendered other symbols obsolete. Their confusion was added to by the fact that at that time in Port-au-Prince both of the Catholic priests (there were only two) were fairly liberal. They welcomed the Methodist tracts and distribution of the Scriptures. It seems that Père Gordon, a Spaniard, was writing a treatise against the Inquisition.²² He encouraged Pierre Brémond, who sang the liturgy in the Roman Catholic church, to attend evening worship with the Methodists. Gordon's colleague, Père Gaspar, was just as liberal, as the following report clearly shows:²³

"Il y a quelques jours M(onsieur) B(rown) en conversant avec le Père Gaspar, lui demanda pourquoi les évêques de l'Eglise Romaine défendent le mariage à leur clergé pendant qu'on l'accorde aux ministres. 'Cela vous paraît étrange', répondit le Père Gaspar, 'et vous pensez juste: Dieu n'a jamais défendu le mariage: au contraire, il l'a ordonné pour les personnes de tout état'. Père G. lui dit, 'Vous avez souvent entendu mal parler des Protestans, mais je vous assure qu'il y en a beaucoup qui sont de meilleurs chrétiens que nous, et qui vivent beaucoup plus selon leur profession que nous. Savez-vous pourquoi ils sont appelés Protestans? c'est parce qu'ils ont protesté contre les erreurs qui se sont glissées dans l'Eglise. Par exemple, dans la sainte

Cène, nous prenons de la farine, faisons l'hostie, la bénissons, la donnons au peuple, et c'est là tout; mais originellement il n'en était pas ainsi, l'on donnait le sacrement au peuple sous les deux espèces, et c'est ce que font les Protestans.!"

Even making due allowance for the fact that these comments are reported in a Methodist journal and come via the recollections and pen of John Brown, the mere fact of a discussion with the priests about subjects like those mentioned above, and that there was room for debate at all, is worthy of note. It certainly contrasts sharply with the situation that obtained shortly after the departure of the missionaries when Gaspar and Gordon were unceremoniously replaced by the fiery and reactionary Irish priest, Père Jérémie, who would draw sharp lines between Catholicism and Methodism. But for the moment the blurred lines made it possible for several people with Catholic backgrounds to attend and savour Methodist worship. And some of them attached themselves to the new religion.²⁴

These blurred edges not only presented opportunities but also created difficulties for the missionaries as they preached their message. Having identified sabbath breaking²⁵, neglect of marriage, and "habitual fornication and adultery" as barriers to true religion²⁶, Brown went on to note that "superstition" was a greater one still. "Many are much too religious to have religion to seek....supersitition holds its deluded votaries in chains under the mask of sanctity and Divine authority."²⁷ It is unlikely that what Brown is here referring to as "supersitition" is meant to indicate the Voodoo religion. Brown was aware of the existence of Voodoo, as can be gathered from the following:²⁸

"L'adoration d'un Serpent, que les Créoles appellent Coulevre, et que j'avais peine à croire, est cependant une réalité. L'intendant d'une plantation dans les montagnes, où cette idolatrie a lieu, ayant entendue notre prédication, s'en fut chez lui, démolit son idole, et prit la résolution de n'adorer à l'avenir que le seul vrai Dieu."

Brown was conscious that even more difficult was the task of urging those whose Christianity had become mere superstition to consider embracing the doctrine he preached. He wrote:²⁹

"I sometimes reflect on the difficulties in our way arising from the superstition of the People and am ready to think St. Paul never had to encounter errors so subtle and difficult. We offer them Christianity, they are Christian already. We bid them repent, they have done penance many times. We bid them believe in Christ, this they have done always. We bid them love God, this they do with their whole heart. And how to persuade them that their Christianity is no Christianity, their repentance fickle, and even mere delusion, requires more wisdom than that of man."

Brown was unable to speak French prior to his arrival in Haiti. It is interesting, therefore, to note the entry in his journal that records his first extempore preaching in French on March 19th 1817, just six weeks after arriving in Haiti. At first, however, James Catts drew larger crowds. For a while, Brown preached in the hired room and Catts went out and led groups in the open air or in people's homes. For some months the progress was very slow. The missionaries tried many ways of extending their ministry. They visited local plantations at Santo in the Cul-de-Sac plain (ten miles from Port-au-Prince) and at Thor (on the edge of the city). Among their first hearers were people from the surrounding hills and plains. This led to further invitations to nearby plantations. Catts visited Croix-des-Bouquets on the Cul-de-Sac plain several times and preached in the presence of the local military Commandant who invited him to hold similar services at Fort Jacques in the hills above the capital. Catts did so.³⁰ In June 1818 Brown visited the high mountains that rise behind Port-au-Prince to Grand Fond and Morne la Selle. He reported that at 3pm he catechized 190 people, and at 7pm preached to over 200. "My sermons were first principles in children's style" he reported. A visit to Duplan was also noted, a community four or five miles out of Port-au-Prince where a very active Methodist cause still flourishes.³¹

In the city, meetings were held in the homes of some of the first converts. Mesdames Julienne, Marie Labbé, and Bauduy are mentioned frequently in Brown's Journal in this regard. The last-named, who had moved from her family home at Croix-des-Bouquets, was the mother of St. Denis who will figure prominently in the following pages. The missionaries also considered the distribution of the Scriptures as offering a method of evangelisation. Brown had called very early on the officers of the Bible Society³² which seems to have been organised in Haiti since 1807. He asked for a Haitian, a man of colour, to accompany him in colporting the scriptures, recognizing the advantages that would accrue to a non-white in this matter. Indeed, he recommended to the Missionary Society's officers in London that they should think of sending black or coloured missionaries to Haiti. Such men, from other West Indian Islands, "would after a year's residence in the Republic be entitled to all the privileges of Haitians and would never be exposed to those prejudices under which we will ever labour."³³ It appears that neither the Bible Society nor the Missionary Society felt able to comply with this request.

In March 1817, Brown asked President Pétion to allow him to preach to the soldiers after their Sunday inspection on the Champ de Mars. Pétion refused, indicating that the soldiers must be given their freedom to decide their own religious beliefs. Brown was deeply impressed by the President's goodwill.³⁴

Between November 24th 1817 and December 30th, leaving Catts in Port-au-Prince, John Brown visited towns along the whole length of Haiti's southern peninsular, from the capital to Jérémie. He visited Léogâne, Grand Goâve, Petit Goâve, Miragoâne, Anse-à-Veau, Petit Trou, Pestel, and Jérémie. Armed with a letter of introduction from Pétion, he was well received by the Military Commandant of each town. He preached in each place and formed a

most favourable impression of the possible openings that this might represent for the Methodist cause. Indeed, he was keen to form a circuit that would stretch from Port-au-Prince to Jérémie. James Catts too set out for Jérémie in January 1818. Although he only got as far as Petit Trou, he too was most impressed by the needs and potential that he witnessed. In the following March, Brown again went to Petit Goâve by way of Léogâne and Grand Goâve.³⁵

From the reports of these journeys come many graphic details of life in Haiti at that time. Catts was unable to go further than Petit Trou because of "(a) the badness of the roads, and (b) the presence of Gomand, the renegade chief."³⁶ Everywhere there is evidence of the revolutionary wars: churches in ruins, the redoubts surrounding Léogâne, the two forts at Petit Goâve, one of which was in ruins. There were schools in various communities, - two in Jérémie, one in Anse-à-Veau, three in Petit Goâve, "hardly any" in Petit Trou, none in Pestel, and so on. The missionaries encountered Roman Catholic priests in the different townships, - a Spaniard in Petit Goâve, also in Miragoâne; there was no church in Miragoâne and the Spanish priest lived in nearby S. Michel; the priests in Petit Trou and Anse-à-Veau were Portuguese. The priests usually came to listen to the preaching of the missionaries.

At Petit Goâve, Brown (and later Catts) stayed with a M. Luc, a member of the Chamber of Commons, who had been one of a party of parliamentarians who had visited the missionaries in Port-au-Prince the previous month. He had a well-thumbed copy of the New Testament and encouraged Brown and Catts to use his home for preaching and even exhorted the congregation himself in a manner "full of lively metaphors." At Pestel, Brown had witnessed the discovery of a maroon who had lived in the mountains for forty years and knew nothing of the Revolution nor his freedom.³⁷

Whenever Brown visited the rural areas he managed to speak the Haitian Créole as well as French. So too did Catts.³⁸ Créole, a mixture of African syntax and French, English, Spanish, and African vocabulary, was the language of uneducated people. Though he did speak Créole, Brown did not think much of doing so. He identified three types of people in Haiti: "those who were here before the Revolution, who speak French; others who have come to maturity since 1804 with no education who speak Créole; and those young people who have had the chance of schooling - they speak French."³⁹ Brown's analysis of the pre-revolution days is surely greatly awry; French was always the language of the élite, never the language of the masses. At Grand Fond in the mountains, Brown had noted: "I spoke the Créolified French", and during his tour of the southern pensinsular he remarked: "We have both of us got such a hold of Créole as to be able to converse in it." But he added, "During my tour I had but seldom occasion to resort to it."⁴⁰

As a result of this varied approach to preaching and evangelising, the group of committed Methodists began to take shape. Conversions were recorded. Jean-Baptiste Evariste, a 21 year old black land surveyor, was one of the first converts. "Despite persecution, [he] preaches wherever his work takes him."⁴¹ His work took him all over the estates surrounding Port-au-Prince and, no doubt, the presence of peasant people from the rural areas at Sunday services in Port-au-Prince can in part be attributed to the witness of Evariste. In March 1818 he was reported as having begun "to pray in public and to give a word of exhortation on the plantations in the mountains." Also mentioned are Jean-Charles Pressoir and a girl whose only recorded name is Marie-Jeanne. Pressoir helped Brown with various duties including funerals. Marie-Jeanne was baptised in April 1818. It was she who organised the expedition made by the missionaries into the mountains of la Selle in May/June 1818. She must have had good contacts there.⁴² Another

young woman, Marie-Marthe Michot, came to the Methodist services despite the beatings that she and her sister Elizabeth received from their mother. "The first [young woman] who threw away her chaplet and cross. She....never wavered. She wished us to teach her to read, and such was her application, that before we left she read her New Testament with ease."⁴³ The historian of Haitian protestantism adds other names. "Aurore, an African of the Nagos-Oyo nation, a merchant in her middle age [she was the grandmother of Jean-Charles Pressoir]; Louis R. Hermulfort and colonel Janvier, veterans of the wars of independence; these two and Marie-Thérèse Jolicoeur lived at Morne-à-Tuf and their houses were often used as venues for prayer meetings; Amélie Deschamps and her daughter Zulma Noguès (surnamed Lautine) who hailed from Jérémie; Mme Bauduy, mother-in-law of Secretary-of-State J.C. Imbert, and her son St. Denis; Mme Michaud and her daughter Nanette; Jane Dumas, Charlotte Toto, Marie-Marthe Michel, Marie Pierre-Jacques, Jilot Louis, Marie Noel, Colinette, Théodore, Souffrance, Argentine (daughter of Justine Deschamps), Françoise Hercule, Rosite-Alexandrine, Floran who lived at Post Marchand [a part of Port-au-Prince] and...Pierre Brémond ex-chanter at the parish church."⁴⁴ This list tells us a great deal about the earliest Methodist community. Soldiers, merchants, a surveyor, and illiterates; a leading member of the Roman Catholic church and mother-in-law of a member of Pétion's cabinet; some who were well enough established in the capital's society to have their deaths recorded in the official records, others so humble that only one name survives (indeed one of the first members is simply referred to as an "ex-slave"); - some were from the capital itself, others from the surrounding countryside. This represents a very wide cross-section of Haitian life. We also know that there were mulattos (Bauduy, Pressoir, etc) and blacks (Evariste, Janvier etc.). We can confidently assert, therefore, that the initial Methodist preaching drew its support across differences of colour, social class,

educational levels, men and women, young and old. The group is small, but it is most interestingly constituted.

Others came too who, despite an obvious curiosity or even desire to become members, remained at a distance from the stalwart group at the centre. We have already noted the interest shown by M. Luc and his fellow parliamentarians. Also a M. Fleury was reported as being a regular attender, "who torments us by his presence almost every day."⁴⁵ A M. Ponpon was a member of the Roman Catholic church. He read tracts and treatises, gave up concubinage and Sunday trade, introduced many country people to the truths of this new religion that he admired greatly for its clarity and purity. But then he, like his fellow-Catholic Pierre Brémond, found that he could not keep up the discipline. He left the Methodists under suspicion of drunkenness and falling again into concubinage.⁴⁶

Thus the Methodist community took shape. In March 1817, 29 were reported as having been put in class.⁴⁷ In January 1818 this had risen to 36. One young woman, Charlotte Toto, came asking what she should do to know salvation. She was put into class. But only "some (not all) are seeking salvation." Out of those meeting in class some were made members of the Society and these were prepared for first celebration of the sacrament of Holy Communion. This was held on Sunday July 26th 1818. "I preached in the evening on Luke 24.47. After which we had the Sacrament. The whole congregation stayed as spectators. Nothing could exceed the devout and orderly manner of the communicants. The Lord, I believe, was present."⁴⁸ At the departure of Brown and Catts from Haiti there were 30 members and 18 people "on trial" for church membership in the Port-au-Prince Society.

The school

From the outset of the missionaries' stay in Haiti, they had viewed the possibility of founding a school. Indeed, the first invitation to the Wesleyan Missionary Society to send missionaries to Haiti was couched in a more specific desire to send educationalists. Brown and Catts were familiar with the Lancasterian method (see above p.12). William Woodis Harvey, writing in 1827, noted that Pétion had rejected an offer from the British and Foreign Schools Society to introduce their system to Haiti. The President had agreed, however, that an agent from the B&FSS should set up one of their schools in the capital in order that the Haitian government might evaluate its potential.⁴⁹ In June 1817 the young teacher appointed to run the school arrived to take up his task. He was Thomas Bosworth, an Englishman who had trained at the Normal School in Borough Road in 1811 and subsequently directed three schools in England.⁵⁰ The arrival of Bosworth, and the knowledge that Pétion intended to support only one Lancasterian school, led Brown to conclude that he could not expect any material help from the Haitian government. Thus, despite the authorization of the President to open a school in the capital, Brown now decided not to do so. Thomas Bosworth opened his school in the large room that had been taken by the Methodists and soon had 40 pupils. Brown decided to concentrate on evangelistic work. "Our work of preaching increases so much as to render it impracticable to discharge our duty in this respect and pay proper attention to a Lancasterian school." He reported to the London secretaries that he had indicated to Pétion that "preaching was our chief object and perhaps more in the character of Christian missionaries."⁵¹ But when Bosworth died suddenly in February 1818, the President turned to Brown and Catts to continue the school. The President offered to pay half the rent of the property that the missionaries had taken. This amounted to about \$126 Cur. per quarter. Pétion's successor honoured this agreement on his accession to power.⁵²

The "Abeille Haitienne", a Port-au-Prince journal that reflected government views, was so impressed by this arrangement that an article in its March 1st number ran thus:⁵³

"L'Ecole gratuite que le gouvernement a établie dans la capitale à l'instar de celle de Lancaster, a éprouvé une grande perte par le décès de son directeur le sieur Bosworth, qui avait été envoyé ici par la Société Lancastérienne de Londres; néanmoins, elle est en pleine activité. En attendant qu'elle ait un nouveau directeur, on voit avec plaisir des Méthodistes qui par un zèle charitable sont venus prêcher l'évangile parmi nous, se sont empressés de rémédier à cette vacance en se chargeant de continuer l'instruction des élèves de cet établissement. Ils s'acquittent de cette tâche de manière à mériter de justes euloges."

Brown and Catts found the running of the school hard work, especially as their preaching took them further and further afield. After the death of Pétion in March 1818 the new president, Jean-Pierre Boyer, informed the missionaries of his hope that a Haitian would take over the school. In August of that year, Boyer sent for the missionaries to inform them that M. Pierre André, a man highly-placed in the parliament, would be taking over the school. The President asked Brown to teach André the rudiments of the Lancasterian method and to translate the British and Foreign School Society's manual into French. This was done and Brown handed the school over to André in October 1818. Brown had said of his successor: "Monsieur Pierre André is a member of respectability, has a hand in writing the laws of the Republic, he seems alive to the interests of his country, and will I hope enter fully into the propagation of this system of Instruction when once he knows its worth."⁵⁴ After the departure of Brown and Catts in December 1818, André continued to run the school. In the "Abeille Haitienne" a year later, he paid fullsome tribute to Joseph Lancaster, Thomas Bosworth, and John Brown for the success of the school. He was himself by then President of the Chamber of Commons.⁵⁵ André continued to write to the B&FSS indicating Boyer's commitment to establishing the Lancasterian system in all the principal towns of Haiti. The President provided the schoolrooms and clothed the pupils. André

prepared teachers for service in the seven schools reported in existence in February 1823. James Boco, an African rescued from slavery, was trained at Borough Road before going to Haiti where, after a short period of service in the monitorial school in Jacmel, he took charge of the Port-au-Prince school sometime in 1822. He remained there until 1825. The school was still functioning in 1828, but seems to have ceased to exist before 1842.⁵⁶

Brown considered the matter of the school to have been well resolved. He felt it was difficult for white people to run a school. "[The school] would have met with a readier patronage but these messieurs they are étrangers and to put a finishing stroke thereto, they are blancs."⁵⁷ Brown also attributed the speedy taking of the school out of his hands to the increased tension then being felt between Christophe's army and republican troops. The king's emphasis on the Lancasterian method, his use of English priests and teachers to apply it, and the announced forthcoming arrival of two Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in Cape Henry, would all have been known to Boyer.⁵⁸ With the heightening tension, therefore, increasing suspicion would naturally fall on those whose philosophy and outlook seemed most in tune with that prevailing in the northern kingdom. Brown was very perturbed by the intended stationing of two Wesleyan missionaries in Cape Henry: "I see two are down for Cape Henry, should they attempt communication with us it might cost them their lives," he wrote.⁵⁹ And again, "We should like to know what has led to the appointment of missionaries to Cape Henry. Whoever goes, charge him not to attempt to write to us."⁶⁰ As Christophe's pressure increased, so Brown's worries also deepened. And with some justification. For when the opposition to Brown and Catts reached its high point, one of the allegations made with feeling against them was that they "were agents for Christophe."⁶¹

Opposition and departure

On November 6th 1818, an incident occurred which put the future of the Mission in immediate jeopardy. A young man had cut his mother's throat and killed her in the Bel Air region of Port-au-Prince. When questioned, he stated that he had done the deed "1. because she was a witch and was going to eat me; 2. because she was a diablesse; and 3. because it was the will of God. Who told you it was the will of God? The ministers. Which ones? The Englishmen."⁶² Brown was adamant that the young man had had only the loosest attachment to the Methodist community. "What is most remarkable," he wrote, "several of the relations of this young man died insane, his mother was deranged during her pregnancy of him, he always appeared simple, was never in the habit of attending preaching, and we had not seen him for a long time."⁶³ The people, however, were in an outrage with the Methodists. Brown was beaten with sticks by three women who tried to prevent him from attending a meeting. Sticks and rocks were thrown by hostile crowds. Brown was convinced that the murder was a cover or a pretext that hid a desire to control or even to destroy the Methodist cause. "I am of the opinion that this affair has been seized upon merely as a pretext to put the rabble in movement against us, and the true source of persecution is still to us unknown," he wrote.⁶⁴

President Boyer was in the provincial town of Jacmel at the time of the killing. After wild and unruly scenes on Sunday November 8th and the following Tuesday, Brown suspended services until he had had opportunity to see the President. The military authorities had declared the meeting house to be inviolate, but stood aside while the crowds threw their missiles. The Methodists, especially some of the women, had been resolute in the face of this hostile mob.⁶⁵

When Boyer returned, he received Brown and Catts immediately. He was indignant at what had happened, was "satisfied that no such effect as the forementioned [murder] could result from our preaching" and behaved with the "utmost politeness." "I never saw a more polite and condescending man than the President. He and others at the head of affairs, with whom we have had to do on this occasion, have proved themselves liberal and enlightened men who sincerely wish well to their country, but they find to their grief that they have a people difficult to manage." Boyer offered to recompense the missionaries for their labours. Brown refused to receive anything personally but suggested that such payment ought to be made rather to the Missionary Society. Boyer agreed and the missionaries returned home with the President's gift of £500 as compensation. Brown became convinced that the compliments of the President, together with the payment, were no more than "a polite dismissal." After the first interview with Boyer on November 21st, no promises were made about the resumption of services. The military guard was also taken away from the mission premises on that day. "Praised and rewarded for what we have done, but prevented from proceeding," Brown took the decision to send Catts to the Windward Islands whilst remaining himself to see out the difficulties. But an article in the "Abeille Haitienne" for December 1st (the same journal that had, a few months previously, been so appreciative of their work) led to Brown's decision to leave Haiti himself. The article reported:

"Un meurtre affreux a été commis au Port-au-Prince. Un jeune homme qu'on soupçonnait d'avoir été fanatisé par de certains prédicateurs, ou du moins avait mal compris leurs doctrines, a coupé le cou de sa mère avec un rasoir pensant donner la mort à la femme du Diable. Ce meurtrier a été condamné à la peine capitale et l'a subie."

This led Brown to the following conclusions; they had been "pursued by the rabble with the utmost rage, calumniated and blackened by their lawyers and journalists, forsaken by the President, defended by none..." In trying to identify the real

persons behind the persecution, Brown wrote thus: "1. The wicked whose sins we have reprov'd. 2. The Church whose errors we have exposed and who dreads our progress. 3. Statesmen [who] may think it impolitic that white men should gain any influence amongst the Haitians."⁶⁶

A case could be made for any one of these. Firstly, the missionaries had consistently preached against sabbath-breaking, concubinage, image-worship, and superstition. Some of this must have been very near the bone even for the highest in the land. Neither Pétion nor Boyer was married, each lived with his concubine. Pierre André (who was married himself) agreed with the missionaries' criticism of concubinage and promised to pass their thinking on to Boyer. Their preaching may, therefore, have led to a degree of discomfiture amongst a small number of the ruling group. But it seems very unlikely that this could of itself have led to a determination to expel the missionaries. Secondly, as far as the Roman Catholic church was concerned, Brown and Catts seem to have got on well with the priests in the capital. Brown certainly thought Roman Catholic services ornate and empty. And no doubt his advice to all who asked him about the efficacy of charms and crucifixes was that they should be thrown away, which would hardly have endeared him to those in the "national church." But Pères Gaspar and Gordon themselves held some fairly radical views as we have seen. While both of these areas, therefore, may have raised dissatisfaction with the missionaries, the most substantial grievances seem to have sprung from the third. They were white men in a community where there was still a great deal of animosity and hatred towards Europeans as a continuing legacy of the revolutionary struggles.

This was certainly the view held by the abbé Grégoire, the influential constitutional bishop of Blois, who had long championed the cause of Haitian

independence and the black race. In a pamphlet he wrote in answer to criticisms of the persecution of the Methodists in Port-au-Prince, he argued as follows:⁶⁷

"En admettant comme fondées les réclamations des méthodistes, on pourrait demander encore si au lieu d'être attaqués comme sectaires, ils ne l'ont pas été comme blancs, ou comme étrangers, d'après des soupçons sûrement erronés, et cependant naturels chez un peuple rendu à la liberté par son courage, mais assiégé par des hordes d'espions...."

The suspicion that Brown and Catts might have been in collusion with Christophe, a feeling that could hardly have been helped by the insensitive decision by the Missionary Society to send two ministers to Christophe's capital, could well have made the final decision to pressurize Brown and Catts into leaving a political one rather than merely an ecclesiastical or moral issue. In addition to all this, there was bitter rivalry in the Port-au-Prince Roman Catholic community at this time between the followers of the Spanish priests in the capital (nicknamed the "Gasparites") and those of an old French priest living at Léogâne (the "Marionettes"). Therefore, even though Brown and Catts enjoyed a good relationship with the Spaniards, they could well have incurred the wrath of the French group. It is certainly true that when the "Marionettes" did oust their rivals they began to persecute the Methodists with considerable energy.⁶⁸ Thus the same pressure which succeeded in persuading Boyer to remove Gaspar and Gordon from Port-au-Prince could also have worked against the Methodists.

Charles Mackenzie, British Consul in Haiti from 1826, ascribed the leaving of the Wesleyan Missionaries to their "being persecuted by the populace [and that] the government disclaimed any share in the outrages."⁶⁹ In a letter to Secretary-of-State Inginac, he was much more direct. He was objecting to a clause in a proposed Treaty to be established between Great Britain and Haiti in which Protestants, while being free to worship according to their conscience,

were not to be allowed to build churches or chapels for this purpose. Such worship was to take place in private homes. MacKenzie wrote as follows:⁷⁰

"The case of the Methodists does not bear in any degree on the point at issue. A set of enthusiastic men /I speak of some of the converts/committed absurdities. One man murdered his mother - the government wished for the expulsion of the sectaries, and the mob did what they were excited to do. That this is the case is proved by the quiet meetings that now regularly take place among American Methodists in this city. They are never interrupted and the lower orders will never dream of attacking them, because they are not Catholics, unless they be roused to do so."

It cannot be simply concluded in this way, however, for Brown's Journal records that, even before the matricide which loosed the crowd's fury on the Methodists, he had been suffering from a bout of depression. He wrote, "My soul was barren, I know the cause and would lament it, and remove it forever." (October 22nd 1818) And a week later, "I have a spiritual conflict tous les jours," followed two days later by "My soul is seriously concerned though not so deeply as I wish." There is no hint at the cause of this abjection, but no doubt his state of mind contributed to his series of rather rapid decisions to withdraw from Haiti. For, whatever the pressures from the various quarters, in the end it was John Brown who himself made the decision to leave Haiti. The Missionary Committee, while sympathising with his dilemma and acknowledging his ill health, felt that he should have awaited instructions before taking the decision to leave.⁷¹ He responded to this with indignation; "shall we be implicated as cowards?" he asked.⁷² But his journal gives its own answer. Amid the self-reproach and bitterness that assailed him on the return voyage to England, appears this comment written on January 11th 1819: "I am still ready to regret that we had not staid and proceeded until killed or imprisoned..." And even more graphically, "I have not been able to think of anything else but returning to them again, and have been ready to wish that we might be driven into some port of the Republic

where I might leave the vessel and go for Port-au-Prince. A country lost, a flock abandoned, a father flying from his children, a shepherd from his charge. I have had hard work to justify myself to myself.....but what else could I do?"⁷³

James Catts had left Haiti on December 12th. John Brown departed on Christmas Day. The previous evening he dined with the Bauduy family. St. Denis, then 16 years old, would have been present. While there he composed his farewell letter which was to be the source of support, guidance, and exhortation for the Port-au-Prince Methodists in the years that followed when they were to be left without a pastor. After greeting the group and urging them to stand firm, he called them to keep fast to the gospel, to remember the lessons about conversion and repentance and the new life in Jesus Christ, not to forget that they were on trial for Eternity, and to do good works. He then set out a plan of worship and instruction for them with three meeting times on a Sunday for catechism, liturgy, and prayer, and evening meetings on four weekdays for the classes, prayer, catechism, and sermon. He reminded them to be punctual, brief in their services and to avoid open discussion of their affairs in public places. He continued:⁷⁴

"Votre conservation comme une société dépendra de votre attention à vos assemblées. Et peut-être je dois aussi dire que le salut de vos âmes dépendra de votre union. Soyez unis par amour, rien ne peut vous faire du mal. Ecartez-vous les uns des autres et vous deviendrez une proie facile à l'ennemi de vos âmes.

Je vous recommande nos chers frères [Martial] Evariste et Jean-Charles [Pressoir], pour lire dans vos assemblées la parole de Dieu, et pour faire la prière. Recevez cette parole non comme la parole d'un faible homme mais comme elle est en réalité, la Parole de Dieu."

Then he urged them to obey the laws of the land and the rules of their Society. He concluded:

"Maintenant donc mes frères, je vous recommande à Dieu et à la parole de sa grâce, laquelle peut vous édifier encore, et vous donner l'héritage avec tous les saints. Notre séparation ne sera pas éternelle. Si nous demeurons fidèles à la mort nous rencontrerons les uns les autres à l'assemblée des bienheureux dans le Ciel."

Brown left the following day and no replacement (English) Wesleyan Methodist minister was to come to Port-au-Prince until 1838. But the Port-au-Prince Methodists had proved their character, tenacity, and faith by then.⁷⁵

Cape Henry: the Mission of Harvey and Jones, 1820

In January 1820, just a year after Brown's departure from Port-au-Prince, William Woodis Harvey and Elliot Jones left England for the kingdom of Haiti. They were both single men, Harvey was a Cornishman, Jones came from Ireland. They arrived in Cape Henry on February 3rd 1820. They were armed with a letter of introduction to the king written by William Wilberforce who was "most anxious" that a protestant mission be established in Christophe's capital.⁷⁶ Thomas Clarkson, another member of the abolitionist movement in England, was correspondent and confidant of king Henry. The king wrote to Clarkson on the arrival of the missionaries that "your account of the virtues of the Society to which these Methodists belong was alone sufficient to give me the fullest confidence in their principles".⁷⁷ No doubt this support from Wilberforce and Clarkson was sufficient to lead the WMMS secretaries to overlook the likely repercussions of such a mission on the work of Brown and Catts in the Republic of Haiti to the south.

Christophe had imposed his rule with great energy and severity. His army had established effective control of a region that stretched to St. Marc in the south and Ouanaminthe in the east. His great body of laws, the "Code Henry" of 1811, established the hours and conditions of work for the country's cultivators. This work was strictly supervised and there were severe penalties for laziness. This resulted in the creation of substantial national wealth so that, by 1816, Christophe felt ready to turn his attention to the need to provide a system of education for his kingdom.⁷⁸ On the advice of his Attorney General, Prince

Sanders, he applied to the British and Foreign School Society to implement the monitorial method in Haiti. Thus several teachers came to Haiti in 1816 and began to establish a network of schools throughout the kingdom. The king seemed intent on changing the language of his domain from French to English.⁷⁹ There were other English professional people in Cape Henry including artist Richard Evans and physician Duncan Stewart. The British and Foreign Bible Society sent out a specially printed consignment of Bibles that were in both French and English.⁸⁰ Harvey and Jones arrived at a time when their fellow-countrymen were already achieving a great deal in their respective spheres.

Harvey and Jones were met by Messrs Moore and Daniel, two of the English schoolmasters then in Cape Henry. The missionaries were furnished with instructions from London that went beyond the normal regulations for those leaving for overseas work. They were instructed:⁸¹

- (i) to obey the laws of the land;
- (ii) to hold prayers for king Henry and his court;
- (iii) not to meddle in political affairs;
- (iv) to teach those whom their preaching attracted without criticizing those who maintained other beliefs;
- (v) to promote morals and goodwill in every way;
- (vi) to live in a spirit of goodwill with ministers of every other persuasion.

Soon, Baron Dupuy (Christophe's Minister of the Interior) called on Harvey and Jones. The king had promised to meet them but he pleaded pressure of the affairs of state and delayed his proposed visit. He did send, however, six members of the "Chambre Royale d'Instruction" who asked the missionaries to explain the purpose and objectives of their visit. In explaining the nature of Sunday schools, Jones signalled that children were to be taught "to read the scriptures, instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, and in all the various relative and personal duties such as submission to their rulers, obedience to their parents, temperance,

justice etc.." The members of the "Chambre" were well pleased. The Duc de Limonade, the king's Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote on behalf of the government giving permission to the missionaries to pursue their objectives and to rent premises for the purpose. In the meantime, they could hold their services in the schoolroom where Gulliver worked.⁸²

A room was hired, the making of furniture put in hand. But Jones, who had arrived a sick man, found that his symptoms worsened. Dr. Stewart strongly advised that he return to England which he did on March 10th, just over a month after arriving in Haiti. Harvey continued his work of distributing tracts and New Testaments and conversing widely with the population. But he found that very few people attended his services. He wrote, however, that the king "approved of our object and was desirous of having the protestant religion introduced into the Country, [he] wished me to go on quietly for the present in the schoolroom; that when the preaching became known, and the people attended, a chapel should be fitted up for me - and gave me to live in the small house I had been shown, which should immediately be repaired for me."⁸³

Boys from Gulliver's school sang at Harvey's morning service, (timed to coincide with the ending of mass in the Roman Catholic church) and, for a while, this boosted congregations a little. But the one and only Roman Catholic priest in Christophe's kingdom - whom the king had made into an archbishop - got to hear of this and stopped it at once, ordering the boys to attend mass.

In 1828, Harvey published a good book on Christophe's Haiti. His Sketches of Hayti is widely acknowledged to be an excellent journal giving a detailed impression of the life and character of the king, the customs and atmosphere of the court, and Christophe's army, his educational policy, and social

life. By the time of the book's publication, Harvey had left the Wesleyan Methodist ministry and taken orders in the Church of England. He became a Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge and later Rector of Falmouth where he was to spend most of the remainder of his life. One of the vivid descriptions given by Harvey in his book is that of the archbishop, an account where his obvious dislike for the man shows clearly:⁸⁴

"During a part of Christophe's reign, a Spanish priest, whom he had invited to the Island, was the sole ecclesiastic in his dominion. This man also, like this patron, was an infidel; and so regardless was he of consistency of conduct, and so confirmed in his unbelief, that he was not ashamed to avow it openly. A professed hypocrite, (if the expression be allowed), his object was to gain wealth and influence; in order to which he ceased not, till by sophistry he persuaded Christophe of his power to elect him as his archbishop.... Once a year only, he visited the different towns and districts of his province, accompanied by his assistants, ostensibly for the purpose of baptizing children, and marrying; but in reality, for the collection of his fees."

Under pressure from this same priest, Harvey's activities were severely limited. Yet when two of the English schoolmasters, Gulliver and Morton, returned to England unexpectedly, Harvey thought that the king might ask him for his collaboration in the educational sphere. But no such invitation came.⁸⁵ Congregations dwindled into nothing. There seemed to Harvey to have been a perceptible change of attitude on the part of the king and his government towards the presence of a protestant mission in his capital. The warm welcome had become clear pressure to leave. Harvey mentioned, as a possible contributing factor, the continual tension and rumours of attack from the south. He certainly felt the absence of real sympathy for any religious group amongst the leaders of Christophe's government. As he pointed out:⁸⁶

"They held all religions in sovereign contempt, and despised Christianity especially as one of the many systems of priestcraft, by which mankind has been deluded and enslaved."

And so Harvey came to the conclusion that the time was not ripe for a mission to Cape Henry. When he fell ill in May 1820, on the recommendation of the king's doctor, Duncan Stewart, Harvey left Haiti in July, after a stay of four months, and no Wesleyan missionary would reside in Cape Henry again until 1838. These four months proved to be an interesting episode, produced a good book, but were wholly negative from the point of view of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society's hopes.

Chapter Two

AT THE HAZARD OF OUR LIVES

Port-au-Prince 1818-1842

Opinions may vary as to whether John Brown and James Catts left Haiti under pressure from the government, or as a result of popular agitation in response to a lurid crime. The opposition was certainly intensified by some sections of the Roman Catholic church even though, as we have noted, Fathers Gaspar and Gordon seemed friendly enough. Within months of the missionaries' departure, a notice in the "Haytian Record" suggested a change that would herald difficult times for the pastorless Methodist community in Port-au-Prince:¹

"Les fidèles ont vu avec la plus vive satisfaction cesser un schisme qui semblait devoir écartier quelques uns d'eux de l'église. Des opinions religieuses les avaient portés à établir une différence entre quelques pasteurs de la foi chrétienne; mais ils viennent d'être réunis sous le sacerdoce de deux nouveaux curés, les R.P. Clément et Jérémie. Le P. Jérémie, fidèle observateur du culte catholique exerce son ministère avec une ponctualité et une activité qui méritent d'être citées."

Martial Evariste, in a letter referring to events that had happened in May and June 1819, reported the fact that Gaspar had been driven out of town and was living on the plain, and that Gordon, who had also been expelled, had since died.² The reference to a schism in the Roman Catholic church, and the subsequent persecution of Methodists at the instigation of the new priest, suggest that it might be useful to describe the state of the Roman Catholic church in Haiti during the presidency of Jean-Pierre Boyer.³

The State of the Roman Catholic Church

Whereas the Roman Catholic church in Spanish and Portuguese colonies had always been organised on a diocesan model (there had been an

Archbishopric founded in the city of Santo Domingo since 1511), the French colony of Saint Domingue had been a Mission under the care of an Apostolic Prefect appointed by the Pope. After the French Revolution, a number of "irregular" priests came to Haiti. The abbé Grégoire, who had allied himself with the makers of the revolution in France and who became the leader of the "constitutional" group within the French Roman Catholic Church, was very influential in finding priests for Haiti in the last decade of the eighteenth century. He had also written strongly in favour of the black race and against the institution of slavery. He was greatly in favour of the Haitian revolution of 1803/4.

With the coming of independence, the Apostolic Prefect (Frenchman Père Lecun), together with almost all the other priests then in Haiti, had to flee for his life. He was succeeded by a priest named Lemaire who had very strong anti-Protestant views.⁴ He, in turn, was followed by another Frenchman, Père Marion. Pétion, however, chose to appoint his own head of the church and so a Spanish priest from South America, Père Gaspar, became curé of Port-au-Prince. Marion became the curé of Léogane, just outside Port-au-Prince. A group of partisans in the capital, who became known as the "Marionettes", met in a chapel offered by one of the prominent citizens of Port-au-Prince in his home. The "Gasparites" held their services in the parish church. The deep rivalry broadened into a constitutional issue with the President's own authority in question. The Spanish and French origins of the figureheads of this dispute also helped to polarise people's views. When Gaspar became almost blind, Boyer (hoping to heal the schism) appointed as his successor Jeremiah O'Flynn (Père Jérémie).⁵

For a while, Père Jérémie was able to reconcile the two groups. Indeed, the anti-Methodist campaign (using literature written by Grégoire) may have helped to achieve this unity.⁶ But soon worse was to happen. Boyer was

most anxious to restore normal relationships with Rome. Thus, when the Pope's appointed Apostolic Vicar, Pierre de Glory, Bishop of Macri, arrived unexpectedly in Haiti in March 1821, the president immediately postponed a visit to the north of Haiti in order to receive his distinguished visitor. It should be pointed out that both Thomas Clarkson and the abbé Grégoire had advised Boyer that de Glory's visit was likely to have political rather than merely spiritual objectives.⁷ De Glory had been a planter in Guadeloupe who, when his wife died, entered the priesthood. He was a devout royalist and refused to take the oath to the emperor Napoleon. He was deported to France only to find that the Bourbon king Louis XVIII had been restored to the throne. For his loyalty and courage he was given preferment and made bishop of Macri and Apostolic Vicar for the Isles. Whether or not he had political motives for visiting Haiti cannot be conclusively proved. But he would hardly have been sympathetic (in view of his royalist and colonist past) to the republican rulers of France's former colony.⁸

The problem was, however, of a different order. Père Jérémie was delighted at the arrival of de Glory and all the church bells in Port-au-Prince rang to greet the disembarkation of the bishop. The joy quickly disappeared when the bishop recognised the curé of Port-au-Prince. He remembered Père Jérémie as having been evicted from a Trappist monastery in the United States and who had been declared apostate by his superior there before being excommunicated in 1815 by the bishop of Baltimore. He had subsequently been banned from all priestly functions by the Pope in 1820, just as Boyer was installing him as curé of Port-au-Prince and when de Glory was being invested with his own functions and responsibilities.⁹

There was a terrible struggle for power. De Glory resented the fact that Boyer took his curé rather than the Apostolic Vicar with him on his delayed

journey to the north. There were public quarrels. The old splits between the Marionettes and the Gasparites resurfaced. There was a division of loyalties between those who supported the president's authority and right to nominate the head of the church in Haiti, and those who regarded the Holy See as the sole body able to nominate priests and bishops for the pastoral tasks of the church. The struggle between ecclesiastical and temporal power had always been a feature of Haitian and St. Domingue life. In the end, to preserve order, Boyer was obliged to order both Père Jérémie and Mgr de Glory to leave and they did so in August 1821. The bishop died on his return voyage to Rome. The official historian of the Roman Catholic church in Haiti sums this incident up in the following way:¹⁰

"La lutte [qui avait abouti à l'échec de la Mission de Mgr de Glory] n'avait pas eu d'autre objet que l'intégrité de la foi en Haiti et la soumission du pays à l'autorité de l'Eglise Catholique.

The submission of the country to the authority of any external body was not quite the idea Boyer had in mind. As the Haitian historian of these events reported:¹¹

"Si [Boyer] avait souscrit au mandement de Mgr de Glory, il eût renoncé en sa faveur au droit qu'il tenait de la constitution, de nommer aux cures des paroisses, et cela, sans entente préalable, sans convention réglée avec la Cour de Rome; il aurait légitimé toutes les violences antérieures et toutes autres que ce prélat aurait voulu commettre à l'avenir, envers les marguilliers et les conseils des notables et les curés de toutes les paroisses de la République. L'Evêque eût naturellement appelé de France d'autres prêtres pour remplacer ces derniers, pour se créer une phalange à sa dévotion et attendre au but de sa mission. [Haiti] eût été peuplée de jésuites, de pères de la foi, de congréganistes, missionnaires apostoliques, etc., qui auraient fait plus de tort à ce pays qu'ils n'en ont fait à la France elle-même."

Here the fear is easy to detect, that Haiti would be in danger of compromising her independence and of losing her new-found secular power. This fear was to dominate all the subsequent discussions with various legations and negotiating envoys until 1860.

It was a source of dissatisfaction to Boyer that, when the whole island had come under his control, there should continue to be an Archbishop resident in Santo Domingo rather than in his own capital. But all his attempts to get Don Valera to move to Port-au-Prince failed, even when Pope Leo XII extended the prelate's authority to cover the whole island. Indeed the Archbishop removed himself to Cuba for a while rather than submit to Boyer's pressure. Accordingly, the abbé Salgado (another Spaniard) who had been Vicar General for the south and west of Haiti began to encroach on the north and east. But this produced more tension and division between those priests who remained loyal to the "legitimate" power of Don Valera and his own appointed Vicars General on the one hand, and those who resented any attempts to interfere with the constitutional rights of the president of Haiti and his government on the other. Boyer used force, confiscated church property, and was suspected of organising an attempt on the life of Don Valera, in order to achieve his ends. The only result was deeper division.¹²

Further attempts to regularise relationships with Rome were made during Boyer's time in office. In 1834, Mgr England, Bishop of Charleston, visited Haiti. He agreed to accept Salgado's authority over the French part of the island but refused to make him a bishop. Mgr Rosati's visit of 1842 also failed to produce a result. These failures were always due to a total inability to agree on the constitutional principle. Mgr Robert's summary of the characters of the two main diplomats who negotiated with the various envoys from Rome (Beaubrun Ardouin and Secretary-of-State Balthazar Inginac) was that, "en somme, [ils] étaient de farouches partisans de la souveraineté entière de l'Etat et de l'Indépendance du pouvoir civil à l'égard de toute autorité en matière de législation."¹³ They would certainly have been delighted to agree with this view. But the successive failures to achieve a negotiated settlement with Rome led, by

the end of Boyer's presidency, to the Haitian church's being supplied with disreputable and unprincipled priests.¹⁴

This description of the Roman Catholic church has been given at such length because much of what happened in the Methodist community in the years following the expulsion of John Brown and James Catts can only be fully understood with such a picture in mind.

The outbreak of persecution

The leadership of the Methodist society had been entrusted by Brown to two young Haitians. The first is referred to by the missionaries as Jean-Baptiste Evariste, but he signed his name Maréchal or Martial. He was born in 1793 near Arcahaie, on the coast about twenty miles north of Port-au-Prince. He was black and, though he frequented three different schools, he had only received an education totalling twenty months' duration. He had gone into apprenticeships with two saddlemakers and a tailor before settling on land-surveying as his métier. He had musical talent and played the flute in his regiment during his military service. He had also been a choir boy in the Roman Catholic church in his youth. He had great energy and was a natural leader. It was to him principally, at the age of 26, that Brown confided the leadership of the Methodist society.¹⁵ Alongside him stood Jean-Charles Pressoir who was born in 1798. His grandmother claimed to have been an African princess brought to slavery in Haiti. His grandfather was a French planter. It was his grandmother, Aurore, who raised Jean-Charles. He became a soldier in Pétion's army and had stood with his fellow soldiers in front of the presidential palace in 1816 to hear a powerful sermon preached by Stephen Grellet, a Quaker undertaking a missionary tour of the Republic.¹⁶ But he was brought to conversion under the ministry of Brown and through the good offices of his grandmother. He was a saddlemaker by trade. His

French was not good. He was humble, generous, and endowed with great courage. His integrity was well-known. When Brown left Haiti, Pressoir was only 20 years old. When Evariste faded from the leadership of the society leaving all to him, he was only 24.¹⁷ A third young man, Victor St. Denis Bauduy, began his long period of leadership at this time. He acknowledged his conversion to the evangelical faith on May 6th 1819.¹⁸ A week later worship was suspended and the worst persecution about to be endured. At that time Bauduy was 16 years of age. His mother, Mme Antoine Victor Bauduy, was one of the most fervent members of the Methodist society. She had come with her family to live in Port-au-Prince in 1815, leaving her family home in Croix-des-Bouquets (about ten miles north east of the capital in the rich Cul-de-sac plain). One of St. Denis' sisters, Louise Antoinette, married J.C. Imbert, Pétion's (and later Boyer's) Secretary-of-State for Finance. Mme Bauduy kept her house open for meetings and worship even during the worst of the persecution. No doubt her son learned some of his tenacity from her. When Evariste withdrew from his rôle as leader, Bauduy became Pressoir's principal helper.¹⁹

Père Jérémie seems to have been incensed by two things and this may offer an explanation of the outburst of anti-Methodist feelings that broke out in 1819. Firstly, Evariste had sent two Methodist couples to be married by him. The Lubins and the Michauds (Michots)²⁰ had been living in concubinage and, desiring to become members of society, had expressed the wish to regularize their union in Christian marriage. There had been a civil ceremony available since the time of Dessalines²¹ but Evariste seemed to think a religious ceremony was necessary. Père Jérémie married the couples without knowing they were Methodists. When he discovered the truth he was enraged. He went to remonstrate with some of the Methodist leaders. Pressoir spoke to him in French, Mrs Clarke (the Methodist from St. Kitts who had given lodging to Brown and Catts on their arrival in Haiti)

in his own native tongue - English. Bauduy too tried to challenge the priest on Biblical grounds but was dismissed as being too young.²² The second matter to arouse displeasure occurred when Mrs Clarke's brother, Joseph William, died and Evariste conducted his funeral service. After all, this by-passed the offices of the official church and, even worse, Evariste was a layman.²³

Incited in this way, the authorities took action. On May 13th 1819, an aide of the president arrived at Mme Bauduy's house where a meeting was going on. He put an end to it and forbade all further meetings. Evariste gathered the little group into five classes under the leadership of Charles Pressoir, Marie-Marthe Michot, Mme Bauduy, Louis la Font, and Charlotte Toto. Evariste recorded that he was severely castigated for his attachment to the Methodists: "Some say I ought to be burned; others sent aboard a frigate of war, or the corsairs, where I should neither see father nor mother, nor any person of our society." They read together from the first chapter of Isaiah where the prophet bemoans the plight of his fellow-countrymen with the words: "How the faithful city has played the whore, once the home of justice where righteousness dwelt - but now murderers!" A police officer entered, broke up the meeting, and ordered those present to go to the (Roman Catholic) church. He issued many threats. Under pressure from the police, three women (named as Mélicie, Marguerite Content, and Marguerite Lorquette) left the Methodist group. Commandant Victor, the police chief, prevented Evariste from going to members' houses to discuss the faith with them. Religion, he stated, was only to be talked about in people's homes in the context of their families. There were to be no further meetings. As a response to this, the members began meeting late at night, sometimes even at midnight. They went to bed with strings attached to their wrists so that they could be easily awakened by their leaders on their way to their meetings.²⁴

In January 1820, Père Jérémie brought the temperature to a new pitch by reading the following proclamation from his pulpit on three consecutive Sundays:²⁵

"Tous les fidèles sont avertis par la présente que la religion Méthodiste qui est dans cette ville est une mauvaise religion; celui ou celle qui la suit ne verra jamais la face de Dieu, mais sera éternellement livré à la damnation de l'enfer. Aussi, tous les fidèles sont par la présente exhortés à n'avoir aucune communication avec les gens qui composent cette société.

Je sais que des réunions ont eu lieu en divers endroits dans la ville, mais malheur à celui qui s'y rendra, car c'est une abomination pour tous les gens de bien. Je donne ces avertissements aux fidèles parce que je m'aperçois que quelques uns sont allés parmi ces gens et ont assisté à leurs réunions. Mais je les exhorte à sortir du milieu d'eux; ce sont des gens à mépriser. Les fidèles ne doivent avoir aucune communication avec eux. Je sais que cette religion est absolument mauvaise car deux jeunes gens sont entrés dans cette société, mais leurs parents ont eu du déplaisir et les ont forcés à la laisser. C'est une religion destructrice de l'humanité. Il est impossible qu'elle s'enracine dans cette République. Il serait nécessaire qu'elle soit exterminée."

Almost immediately after this proclamation, on Sunday February 13th 1820, a large number of Methodists were arrested while at worship and taken away to the prison, among them Pressoir, Charlotte Toto, and Colinette. Evariste had been working out of the city when this happened. On his return he heard the news and protested vigorously. He was told that Commandants Victor and Covin were charged to search for Methodists in the city and mountains respectively in order to cast them into prison. No visitors were allowed. Food that was brought for the prisoners was stolen. Pressoir was in the felons' cell. They sang hymns, but their hymn books were taken away from them. Bauduy reported that sympathy for the cause of Christophe had been one of the reasons given for the persecution. Bauduy had quoted Commandant Victor as saying: "Notre ennemi Christophe a adopté la même religion. Si on tolère que ces gens continuent ils causeront une révolte".²⁶ Methodists were also blamed for a big fire that broke out in Port-au-Prince in August 1820, even though several members (including Mme Bauduy) had suffered

much damage in the flames.²⁷ Evariste, who himself had been imprisoned from February 14th to March 25th, later wrote:²⁸

"On February 13th of the present year, from 40 to 60 persons of the Society were imprisoned. This was on a Sunday and during the remainder of that week they sought us in the city, plains and mountains. There were two rooms in the prison filled. The females were above in the debtors' part, and I was below with our brothers in the cell. We were kept there several days. My poor mother was much afflicted on my account. Orders were then issued requiring us to go immediately to the Church or Presbytery to give an account of our faith and to the priest to confess, make the sign of the cross, be Christians, and to profess henceforth the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion. Our brethren and sisters were taken out of prison by the police and led to the Presbytery. The priest questioned them all, then bid them go and join their mother the holy, Catholic, Church which they had abandoned to go and embrace the superstition of the Methodists. I was ordered, when taken out of prison, to go likewise, and I went and conversed with the priest, François Jérémie. At first we had a little dispute. Then I spoke to him of the birth, mission, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and of the inutility of every kind of image or idol: but seeing that he was angry, and not loving to dispute, I shut my mouth and left him to think for himself. They spoke to me on the subject of making me a priest: this was carried to the President of Haiti: and indeed my heart had a great inclination thereto. But God saved me from this thick darkness."

We shall look again at the pressure put on Evariste to become a priest. But first it is important to try to understand the reasons for the persecution. The political motive mentioned by Bauduy may well have been part of it. Pierre André, who had taken over the Lancasterian school from Brown and Catts, mentioned other reasons. He suggested that the spirit of persecution had passed into the Methodists who:²⁹

- i) "go out fanatically to draw people from the state religion,"
- ii) "preach to the country people a doctrine which tended to make them pure visionary contemplatives, a thing which in the end would be hurtful to cultivation."
- iii) "go in companies to the burying ground to tear away crosses from the graves."

Presumably, the second criticism would have referred to the fact that Evariste was accustomed to preach wherever his duties as a land surveyor took him, both on the plain and in the mountains. We know that several country people from

Duplan, la Selle, and Fort Jacques, came weekly to Sunday services. These were imprisoned with the rest. They were among the first to be released, along with most of the women. Pressoir, Evariste, and two or three of the women were kept in prison for six weeks. President Boyer himself, writing in the following year, explained how it was inevitable in the aftermath of revolutionary wars to have "some measure of disorder."³⁰

We must take André's analysis of events with caution. Brown added in the margin of André's letter that the members in Port-au-Prince were innocent of all charges of being schismatic. Evariste considered the Committee's action in sending Bibles to Boyer and André to have been totally unnecessary. André had had his blessed by the hands of none other than Père Jérémie himself.³¹ "Beware of Pierre André and have no communication with him, he is a deceiver," Evariste had written to his mentor Brown.³² And Brown himself, referring to the way the Haitian authorities had treated the Methodists, wrote: "Could I communicate all my thought to Mr Inginac and Pierre André I think I could make them ashamed of the conduct of their government towards these helpless lambs."³³ As for André's allegation that the Methodists were desecrating graves, there seems to be no other reference to this activity that would either prove or invalidate it.

After their release from prison, the persecution continued intermittently. J.C.Pressoir reported the following incident in 1821:³⁴

"The assembly had been stoned continuously from 5pm to 10pm. There were police and soldiers in attendance but they seemed only to be directing the persecutors. Some even brought barrows full of stones to be used in the assault. Inside the meeting place the faithful were struck with whips, outraged and beaten. The persecutors followed them beyond Poste Marchand to brother Floran's, sister Claire's and J.V.J.Laurent's. They treated Floran's wife very badly despite her advanced age. Sister Claire was dragged out by her feet, as also were her daughters. At Laurent's, the persecutors rushed in to his house pretending to brandish swords and cudgels. Laurent was driven to attempt to defend himself with a rusty musket, probably from the revolutionary wars. This led the soldiers to shout 'Quakers don't carry arms'."

Even the singing of a hymn was sufficient pretext for someone to send for Commandant Victor.

Pressure on Evariste and continuing persecution

Acting on Brown's advice³⁵, the Missionary Committee invited Martial Evariste to go to England to prepare himself for ordination and leadership of the Society as an Assistant Missionary. Brown recommended the young Haitian for his "simplicity, piety, zeal and perseverance" and suggested that giving him the status of Assistant Missionary would authenticate his leadership alongside that of Père Jérémie adding that much significance would derive from Evariste's colour and from the fact that he was a Haitian for "popular prejudice runs high in favour of a Black Créole."³⁶ Evariste referred several times to this invitation and indicated his desire to conform to the Committee's wish. "Je sens que c'est mon devoir de me rendre à Londres au mandement du Comité," he wrote. He even suggested coming with his fiancée, Elizabeth Michaud, so that they could be married by a minister of the Methodist church.³⁷ These positive remarks continued until late in 1821.³⁸ "My mind is much occupied with my journey to London. It is heaven that calls and I hasten to obey that call."³⁹ Yet less than a year later, Evariste had virtually ceased to be even a member of the Port-au-Prince society, much less its leader. Dr Catts Pressoir, the historian of Haitian protestantism, admits his lack of success in discovering the reasons for this sudden disappearance of Evariste from the reports of the Methodist community in Port-au-Prince.⁴⁰ To discover those reasons, we must turn our attention to a series of frank and tender letters that have survived in the MMS archives in London. Evariste wrote these letters to his brother-in-faith Charles Pressoir in the course of the year 1821 whilst on his surveying duties in the Artibonite Valley.⁴¹

In the first of these letters, written in January 1821, Evariste apologized to Pressoir for his cowardice. He asked those who knew about the

invitation to go to London to say nothing since "that might be prejudicial to me." He develops this in greater detail in his second letter written in April from Gosslin (in the Artibonite). It is worth quoting extensively:

"Pray for me brother, I pray for you and for all our brethren and sisters in Jesus Christ. Do not believe that the venom of the Roman Catholics, i.e. the pretended good religion of which it was agreed to name me Priest, remains upon me or is attached to my heart. No my dear brother, it was flesh and blood which wished to draw me aside to make me fall, but the Lord has supported me, he supports me still and will yet support me by his grace. I curse the hour in which my feet trod the floor of Père Jérémie's house to hear his speech and the flatteries of those around him which had almost produced in me so terrible a fall, but for the help of God my deliverer, not only so, but I curse the hour in which I entered with them into their church to see and attend their superstitious ceremony. My dear brother, I hate myself when I think of my profound weakness....truly I have all things in abomination and it is because of these things that I hate this country and desire the hour to depart from amongst this sinful race."

After a third letter written from the Artibonite in August, full of loving questions for his friends, his fourth, written a month later, took up the theme again:

"Charles, my dear brother, my heart never ceases to shed tears in secret whenever I think of that disastrous event....that circumstance which had almost made me lose forever the grace of God my creator and at the same time the communion, intimacy, attachment and oneness which have always made our greatest peace and brotherly harmony. It is a thing which had been planned and weighted by our cruel enemies, who jealous of our spiritual union, sought to destroy it by dividing us from each other. Our division had been considered as the most efficacious means of destroying the society of which we are the chief members. For a kingdom divided against itself is near its fall. The promise of making me a Roman Catholic priest was no great charm to me....I could not abandon abruptly the beautiful order and simplicity of the doctrine which the society follows to place myself under the power of the Pope...NO!...Let us love each other unceasingly; cast into oblivion the past and pray God to instruct us in the future."

Brown was horrified at the pressures put on Pressoir and Evariste and the attempts made to separate them. He called it a "hellish plot" based on flattery.⁴² Certainly Evariste found it very hard to cast the past into oblivion. He had been shaken very deeply by the grilling he had received from Commandant Victor and Père Jérémie. And the pressure to become a priest of the Roman Catholic Church must have taken a great deal out of him. In addition to that, his fiancée,

Elizabeth Michaud, was urging her family to conform to the Catholic way. She had been among those who had spent several weeks in prison. So had her sister, Marie-Marthe. They were now living with their mother and, since prayer meetings were still held at their home, she experienced directly the continuing jeers and threats of the hostile populace. It is perhaps hardly surprising that she began to wilt.⁴³ This must also have had some effect on Evariste in his predicament. Yet another factor was his appointment, reported in September 1820, as "commissioned land surveyor" for the whole Republic. He assured Brown that he had not sought the job. Was this new appointment another attempt by the authorities to achieve the ends they had tried to attain by luring Evariste into the priesthood? The new job would (and did) take Evariste away from Port-au-Prince more often and for longer periods. He spent several months in the Artibonite valley in 1821. But his new responsibilities would also remind him of his obligations to the government as his employer. Perhaps that is why mention of his possible going to London would have been "prejudicial." Whatever the precise combination of motives, this accumulation of threat, imprisonment, maternal anxiety, his fiancée's wavering, the temptation of a better job, - all seem to have left Evariste with no heart for the task of leading the suffering Methodist society. Pressoir and others tried to persuade him to come back. He made an effort to do so and began to lead meetings again. But the sudden appearance of a soldier on one occasion and the presence of an unknown woman on another were enough to unnerve him.⁴⁴ When he began resisting his friends' promptings it was obvious he was a broken man.⁴⁵ Commandant Victor reassured Evariste's mother that nothing would now happen to him. He (Victor) went on to say, however, that because Pressoir was still holding meetings, he was bent on catching him. Pressoir refused to give in either to his own fears, or to the advice from Brown that, for the moment, he should lie low. Pressoir never revealed to Evariste during his time of trial what he considered to be his own "precious jewel," namely the

weekly Sunday evening meeting he held in secret. Pressoir had written to Evariste in the following way:⁴⁶

"I gave him my advice which was to begin to strive to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem at the hazard of our lives, and if our blood was necessary to form the mortar let us not refuse it, but give it with all our heart, for God can raise up more excellent and valiant than us.....He (Evariste) answered: Yes!"

In December 1823, Pressoir wrote: "Evariste, poor lad, has wilted in the face of renewed persecution."⁴⁷ Two years later, Pressoir learned from Evariste's mother that he was soon to be married to a girl in the city and that he kept a concubine too. He was too ashamed to meet Pressoir.⁴⁸ Some time after these events, Evariste left Port-au-Prince and settled in Gros Morne, north of Gonaives. He made himself known to missionary James Hartwell in 1849 when an attempt was being made to develop work in Gonaives.⁴⁹ Charles Bishop, another missionary, reported meeting him in 1858 and made the following remarks:⁵⁰

"Refusing the offer of the Committee to proceed to London, a circumstance which he has more than once regretted, [Evariste] wandered from one place to another, till at length he settled at Gros Morne, Unhappily he fell into sin, and continued so for a length of time, but the Lord had yet mercy on him, and drew him out of the pit. He is now keeping school, and endeavouring to be useful, and in this way to atone somewhat for having in 1820 resisted the call of God."

Evariste later became a member of the House of Representatives and made contact in Port-au-Prince with Mark Bird. Bird noted that Evariste had a class of 12 members meeting in Gros Morne⁵¹ and, when Bird was the only ordained Methodist minister in Haiti in 1873, he authorised Evariste to administer the sacraments and take part in the ministry of the Methodist community.⁵² Evariste died in 1892 at the age of 99.⁵³ The pressure in 1820 had been too great for him, but who can dispute the courageous leadership he offered the Methodist society in the crucial months after the departure of Brown? "They say that after the missionaries were gone if Evariste, that headstrong fool, had not put himself at

the head of the society, it would have been done with before now."⁵⁴ The continuing Methodist witness depended on him as much as on any of those who followed him. One can feel his tragedy even now, and can guess at the number of times he must have been haunted by a vision of what his life might have been like.

We have already noted the departure of Père Jérémie in August 1821. The persecutions continued after the arrival of his successor. The number of Methodists in July 1823 had reached 83. They continued to suffer the insults and threats and stonethrowing of their antagonists.⁵⁵ Both Pressoir and Bauduy maintained a faithful leadership of the flock. They attempted to follow the letter of instruction left by Brown.⁵⁶ The only item they omitted (for lack of time) was the catechizing.⁵⁷ Pressoir suffered from some bad attacks of fever in 1822-3. One such attack led to his missing a service in February 1823. On that day, Bauduy and the whole company of 32 worshippers were arrested and, after passing before Colonels Thomas and Victor and a Justice of the Peace, were taken to prison. Pressoir, who went to the prison and carried a letter from Bauduy to President Boyer, described the sequel as follows:⁵⁸

"When I arrived under the piazza of the palace and asked the chief of a squadron on duty if I could see the President, he answered 'Yes!' I entered the hall where I found the President seated, and surrounded by a circle of Officers as well as placemen. After saluting them I presented the letter to the President who asked me from whence it came. I replied, 'From the Methodists who are in prison.' His good humour was immediately changed. 'Methodists,' he said, 'I did not know that.' Colonel Victor who was present, thinking perhaps through fear I would wish to conceal myself, addressed himself to the President saying: 'President, this monsieur is a Methodist,' as if the President did not know it. Immediately the President replied: 'You are fanatics.' 'Pardon me President we are not....' "

At this point, Pressoir reminded the President that the Methodist missionaries had come to Haiti at the express wish of Boyer's predecessor Pétion. Pressoir was dismissed and the next day the Methodists were released on payment of fines of one dollar each. They were forbidden to assemble. Pressoir's account continued:

"The judge made the following statement: 'No one can hinder you from worshipping God as you please, but let everyone abide at home, for as often as you are found assembled you shall be put in prison, and if you unhappily persist, I have received orders to disperse you everywhere. Despite this judgement, they met the next day. They were stoned, but continued in prayer until the stoning ceased.

Friday the same week Mme Augustin [Michaud] offered us her house to meet in on condition that we would not sing. We met the Sunday following, after a discourse which I [Pressoir] delivered, I said: 'My brethren and sisters, I take your opinion: judge, is it proper that we should sing a hymn to God or not. I will not do it of myself for I do not wish to expose you in anything. Mme Augustin trembling said with several others, 'It is right that we should sing a hymn to the Lord.' "

Pressoir went on to report that they had met and sung ever since. There had been some backsliders and others who were weak after being under "the power of fear for three years." Some thought that it would be better to meet in twos and threes. Pressoir urged them all to have courage. The members were grouped in six "classes," some of 13 and others of 14 members. They met by day. As well as the assemblies on Sunday mornings and evenings, there were preaching and prayer meetings on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. Pressoir visited each class once a fortnight. People came from the mountains on Saturdays to return home on the following Monday mornings. Of them, Pressoir remarked, "It is in this poor people that we see Jesus Christ in the greatest abundance." This same letter contains other interesting details. Pressoir asked the Committee for advice regarding the burying of the dead. The law required them to have the bodies blessed by the Roman Catholic priests, the penalty for not complying with this was imprisonment and a fine of 64 dollars. The London secretaries do not seem to have given a reply to this question. Eventually, Pressoir gave the Methodist society a plot of land at Post Marchand, on the edge of the city, for use as a burial ground. This removed an element of confrontation from the life of the Methodist community.

Bauduy's ordination and the end of persecution

It was at this time that Pressoir urged the Committee (through the mediation of Brown) to send for St. Denis Bauduy to be trained for the ministry.

Bauduy mentioned a M. de Pontavice from Paris, who had recently attempted to preach in Port-au-Prince. Boyer had sent him back to France because he did not have a valid certificate of ordination.⁵⁹ The Methodist leaders were aware of how important it was to do things in order. Thus Pressoir's request for Bauduy was an attempt to secure full-time, Haitian, "legitimate" leadership for the Society at a time when new protestant communities, mainly from the United States of America, were beginning to arrive in Haiti. Then again, Pressoir ordered Bibles, tracts, hymn books, and prayer books, suggesting in particular: "Why are you a Methodist?" and Wesley's "Character of a Methodist." These seem to indicate a need being felt by the Port-au-Prince Methodists to remember their identity, both as a response to the new groups arriving from America, and also as a defence against the anti-Methodist proclamations and literature being put about by the Roman Catholics. And finally, at the height of the persecution, Pressoir announced that a collection had been begun for building a church. He recognized that this would take a long time, but they had started. A few months later, they received a promise of £50 from London. Ten years were to pass, however, before land was bought and a further five before building began.

In October 1823⁶⁰, Bauduy replied to a letter from Brown inviting him on behalf of the Committee, to go to England for study and preparation as a minister. He found it hard to agree since yet another outbreak of persecution had occurred. A meeting had been taking place in the home of Mme Augustin Michaud. She was desperately ill (in fact near to death). So fierce was the hostility of their opponents that her house was totally demolished (fortunately, Mme Michaud had been taken out of the building). But the Methodists were arrested, yet again, by order of the city chief of police. They wrote to Boyer claiming to have been unjustly arrested. They assured the President of their total loyalty to him and the constitution. They claimed their rights to freedom of

worship, or else demanded that they be tried by law for whatever offence it was alleged they had committed. The President ordered that they be set free, but he also forbade them to hold public worship. When Boyer was questioned by one of the women as to his reasons for this ban on public worship, he replied that it was because the country was in a state of alert and expecting France to invade.⁶¹ The Methodists, ignoring the decree of the President, met that same evening for worship. A day or so later (September 13th) Mme Michaud died.⁶² She had once been a persecutor of her daughters Marie-Marthe and Elizabeth as they followed the Methodist way. Later she herself came to know the joy and peace of conversion and became one of the pillars of the persecuted community, opening her home constantly for worship and prayer despite the threats of the mob.

It is no wonder that Bauduy hesitated before agreeing to leave Haiti at such a crucial moment. Since the age of 16, he had been in the thick of the persecution. When he left for England in July 1824, he was still only 21. He spent four years in Europe, mainly in the French circuit in Guernsey. There he had the joy of working alongside James Catts. When he preached, it appears he always chose simple texts. His knowledge of Divinity and Methodist Discipline were weak, as was his use of the French language. He was well liked, gifted, "tho' not extraordinary." His voice was weak. He was given lessons in accountancy. "There is in him a want of energy and boldness, a natural timidity which prevents him setting to work with vigour and, yielding too much to this, he is frequently discouraged." Bauduy himself recognised this and asked to be placed alongside an experienced man who, he reckoned, would be "a comfort on account of my casting down so often." Catts too felt that the young Haitian would best use his talents if stationed alongside someone with experience.⁶³ Bauduy returned to Haiti in 1828. He found a situation so different from the one he had left that we must, for a

moment, examine some significant events and policies that had come to pass in Boyer's Haiti in the years preceding 1828.

The first major achievement of Boyer's presidency had already been accomplished prior to Bauduy's departure. A long process of unification was brought to its conclusion with the declaration in January 1822 of Haitian rule over the whole island, including "Spanish Haiti" in the east. The eastern part had been ineptly governed by an unwilling Spain since 1808 and there was deep dissatisfaction among local créoles and mulattos. They sought help from Simon Bolivar to make a break with the Spanish crown. He was, however, unable to help. Boyer, alerted to the situation by the large number of Haitians living in the east, pressed forward with a large army against Santo Domingo. Haitian rule was deeply resented by most "Dominicans." Large numbers of them emigrated. In 1800 the population of the Spanish region was estimated at 40,000 whites, 25,000 free mulattos, and 60,000 slaves - a total of 125,000.⁶⁴ This total is thought to have fallen to about 60,000 during the period of Haitian government that lasted for twenty years. High numbers of whites and mulattos left for Cuba, Colombia, Florida, and Spain. Vast tracts of land reverted to nature and there was a serious shortage of labour. But the island was re-united as one country from early 1822.⁶⁵

A second accomplishment of the Boyer government was the negotiation in 1825 of a treaty with France whereby, in return for paying an indemnity of 150 million francs (later reduced to 60 million) and favourable trading terms for French merchants, France would recognize Haiti's independence. This was considered a master-stroke of diplomacy in Port-au-Prince. In other parts of Haiti, and especially in the east, the agreement met with deep anger since the Spanish-speaking people did not consider themselves

under any obligation to France within whose hegemony they had never come. The agreement with France led, however, to recognition of Haiti as an independent nation first by France and then by Great Britain and Denmark.

A third feature of Boyer's presidency at this time was the promulgation of the Code Rural in 1826. Toussaint L'Ouverture and Henry Christophe had been successful in getting their people to work the land and thus to create wealth for their national treasury. They had implemented systems of forced labour, ex-slaves becoming serfs who earned a quarter of the value of the crops they grew. But Pétion had adopted a policy of laissez-faire and had also parcelled much of the state's land and given it away to his officers and soldiers. Boyer changed this policy. He attempted to strengthen the economic position of mulatto land-owners by providing for them a cheap and reliable labour force. The Code Rural sought to tie people to the land they worked and established strict conditions for the enforcement of labour. But it failed to achieve its objectives both because of the disinclination on the part of ex-slaves to work on plantations (especially as significant numbers of them were squatting on land and producing food for their own needs), and also because, since France was no longer a military threat since the 1825 indemnity agreement, the army became less than the disciplined force it needed to be to enforce the Code. Enforcement had been the secret of the success of both Toussaint's and Christophe's agrarian policy.⁶⁶ Thus, during Boyer's time, more land became available for agriculture. But there were fewer people available to farm that land and there was a distinct shift from plantation agriculture (producing cash crops like sugar, coffee, indigo) towards subsistence farming by an increasingly peasant population.

Another feature of Boyer's presidency was the immigration of freed slaves from the United States of America which took place at this time. Boyer

had been interested in the possibility of allowing such immigrants to settle in Haiti since 1820. It was in 1824, however, that the most substantial numbers arrived. Most of them settled in the eastern parts of the island. Five hundred settled in the region of Port-au-Prince and two hundred in Arcahie. Many of these new citizens were of protestant, often Methodist background. Indeed, Bishop Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, was personally interested in the emigration project and his son was amongst the first batch of arrivals.⁶⁷ It was this factor more than any other that resulted in a change of attitude on Boyer's part towards the Methodists in Haiti. The presence of so many American protestants in Port-au-Prince brought problems and also opportunities for the Wesleyans there which can now be examined.

Even before Bauduy's return in May 1828, Pressoir had written expressing concern at the fact that some of the Wesleyans were wanting to marry American immigrants. He described the new arrivals as "careless" in their religious habits.⁶⁸ Bauduy discovered that there was a congregation of American Methodists meeting in the capital under the leadership of Rev. Richard Robinson of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC). Robinson came from Maryland where he had been commissioned by Bishop Richard Allen for his new work in Port-au-Prince. He not only gathered up the American immigrants in the capital of Haiti, but also organised a circuit that took him to those living in Mirebalais, Pois la Générale (a plantation outside Mirebalais), and Arcahaie. At Christmas time they held camp meetings with an enthusiasm which was looked at disapprovingly by the Wesleyans. Bauduy and Pressoir addressed such a meeting in 1829 and noted over 2,000 hearers.⁶⁹ There was continual division and difficulty amongst the AMEC congregation. One such problem in 1831 was on the question of whether the communion service should be open or "closed" to non-members.

Robinson was able to secure the peace only by making moves towards an exclusive administration of the sacrament. Robinson left soon afterwards after a stay of seven years.⁷⁰ He left the church in the hands of Rev. Scipio Beans, also from Maryland, a man who spoke reasonable French and who had arrived by 1832. The following year the Americans bought some land on which, in 1834, they built the first protestant chapel in Haiti, known as St. Peter's.⁷¹ In that same year, however, there was deep division over some appointments made by Beans to positions of leadership within the church. He was struggling to keep the congregation together when he died in 1835.⁷² This presented a serious problem to the AMEC congregation. They were deeply split over whether to invite Bauduy to take over their cause, or whether to ask him to get help from the Wesleyan Methodists in London; whether to throw in their lot with the local Baptists under their recently arrived minister, or else to petition AMEC for a replacement for Beans. Some opted for the last and received the following reply:⁷³

"The Bishop condemns the schisms, dissensions and divisions that have arisen during and after the ministry of Scipio Beans. No minister is forthcoming from the United States - we do not have enough for our domestic needs. But if the Port-au-Prince congregation should have a preacher, duly approved, he may be sent to the US to be put in orders and return with due authority to lead."

Thus the Americans were left destitute. Despite some opposition, they eventually invited Bauduy to administer the sacraments (they also granted this right to one of their lay preachers).

The Baptist minister recently arrived in Port-au-Prince was Rev. William C. Munroe.⁷⁴ He represented the Baptist General Convention of the United States of America for Foreign Missions. The Convention commissioned Munroe in New York in 1835 to "collect the scattered Baptists in Port-au-Prince into a congregation..[and]..to acquire knowledge of French in order to widen his ministry later." He was described as pastor of a "Calvinistic Baptist Church"⁷⁵

but found it hard to keep to the calvinistic part of his brief. Several of the congregation he gathered were dissatisfied with his weakening position on predestination and other related doctrines. He confessed to Bauduy, however, his inability to do otherwise. By the end of 1836, he had baptised only three people, two in the sea and the other in a pool near the President's palace.⁷⁶ And so Munroe left and the Americans, Baptists and Methodists, found themselves looking increasingly to Bauduy for leadership. In 1829 Robinson had suggested that Bauduy should go to America to be ordained in the American Methodist Episcopal Church. Then he could return to Haiti and replace Robinson for two years while he (Robinson) returned to the United States. Eventually, Bauduy would enter into an appointment in the United States.⁷⁷ Bauduy refused and this early scheme for church unity was abandoned. But, when the room (18ft. square) hired by Pressoir since 1828 became too small for the Wesleyans, they were invited to use St. Peter's church.⁷⁸ Bauduy found himself, de facto, the minister of the American as well as the Haitian congregation. He tried hard to visit their outposts at Mirebalais and Arcahaie. There was a difference of opinion as to whether to ask for help from London. The Americans were not anxious to have a white missionary. Pressoir had, in 1827, urged the Committee to send another man, either mulatto or black, to help in view of the then unexpectedly long absence of Bauduy.⁷⁹ Later, some Americans had raised money to support a minister but were violently opposed to the idea of receiving a white missionary from London. Bauduy considered the discussion of colour to be irrelevant: "it is Religion we want, and ought not to care whether we get it through the means of either a white or a black man."⁸⁰

Bauduy and the Haitian Methodists had to deal with the presence of the Americans in other ways too. The kind of moral and ethical questions widened from the usual dissatisfaction with sabbath trading, concubinage, and superstition.

The Methodists were puritannical by temper, and they viewed some of the licence they had witnessed at the Americans' camp meetings with alarm. They disliked the hand-clapping and noise. But the new element can be judged from an ethical problem posed by a Mr Creighton.⁸¹ Creighton, whose name had been suggested as a possible future minister for the American Methodists, revealed to Bauduy that slaves in the United States did not need to register their marriages before a civil officer. They were married by a minister who simply gave them a certificate of marriage. Creighton wanted to know what was the status of such a marriage if slaves were sold, the man in Cuba and the woman in St. Thomas. Or if one partner should run away to freedom. Could such a partner re-marry if it were judged that his spouse could not hope to gain her freedom too? Bauduy had already written to London asking for advice on a similar case. A runaway slave had asked his Methodist minister for permission to remarry and had been refused. So he left the Methodists and joined the Baptists where he was quickly married. Then he re-joined the Methodists. In the meantime, his first wife had gained her freedom and had written to ask him to return to the United States. What would be the situation, asked Bauduy, if the wife should come to Port-au-Prince? Bauduy disapproved of the way his Baptist colleague had dealt with the matter.⁸² Again, there were women who were asking Bauduy whether they could put away their adulterous husbands in order to re-marry. The Constitution of Haiti allowed this and caused great discussion and debate, especially in the Roman Catholic church. Despite the urgency of these questions, Bauduy complained that the London secretaries did not reply to his pleas for help. In September 1834, Bauduy wrote to London urging that their new missionary, John Tindall, come armed with a full knowledge of the rules and regulations of the discipline of the Church. Bauduy described the divisiveness, the lack of submission to authority, the "troublesome elements" that Tindall would be likely to find among the "Americans" in Puerto

Plata. "Please to send me the rules for the exclusion of members, and do not send my dear brother to Port-au-Plaat without them."⁸³

On Bauduy's return from England in 1828, he wrote to President Boyer (after a close study of the Constitution) to ask for permission to hold public meetings. Boyer was furious. His secretary, Balthazar Inginac, tried to explain the president's reaction by suggesting that public preaching would lead to schism and that the people were not used to it. The Wesleyans could continue to meet in private but not for public worship.⁸⁴ Bauduy pointed out that the Americans were allowed to meet in public even though it was enjoined upon them that they should not proselytise. They had even opened a place of worship on the President's own estate at Arcahaie. And the American missionaries were learning French with a view to a "wider usefulness" later on.

Official attitudes were softening, however, as may be seen from an incident involving James Boco, who, after serving in the Government's Lancasterian schools in Jacmel, Port-au-Prince, and Samana, became a judge in the capital city (see above p.24). In 1832, he refused to take his hat off at the approach of a funeral procession and argued that he had acted according to his beliefs and conscience. The special enquiry established to investigate this incident found in Boco's favour. Bauduy was delighted with the verdict since he considered it reflected the mind of the President himself. He wrote: "a Methodist can now walk with his head up high."⁸⁵

Another example of such a softening of positions occurred in the rural area of Fond Cheval, near Mirebalais. Charles Pressoir, who had been several times seriously ill in Port-au-Prince, had decided in April 1830 to move to his property at Fond Cheval. About 40 of the members of the Port-au-Prince Society

went with him. By 1832, Bauduy was visiting the Fond Cheval group (about 30 miles distant) several times a year. Even when Pressoir returned to live in the capital in 1833, the Society continued to exist at Fond Cheval (as it did into the present century). In 1833, however, the Rural Officer forbade Bauduy from approaching people on neighbouring properties to invite them to attend services. The matter remained thus for some years. In 1838, Bauduy visited Fond Cheval with a newly arrived missionary from England, William Towler, who was soon to go to Puerto Plata. With Towler, Bauduy organised the Society into classes and began a Sunday School. They also laid the foundation of a new chapel, "Zion chapel, the first erected in the mountains of Hayti." At that time there was a Methodist community of 90, with 17 full members. After the laying of the foundation stone, however, some overzealous soldiers pulled the building down and the local military commander put some of the Methodists into prison. Strong representations were made to Boyer who over-rode the orders of his officers and decreed that the Methodists be allowed to build but that their building should not be called a chapel, but rather simply a meeting-house. Again, Boyer proved to be open to reason where, previously, he had acquiesced in the decisions of military and ecclesiastical officials anxious to quell the Methodist cause.⁸⁶

Apart from his visits to Arcahaie, Mirebalais, (the American circuit), and the regular calls at Fond Cheval, Duplan, and Fort Jacques, Bauduy made two visits to Jacmel (in 1836 and 1838). In Jacmel he got a good welcome and met a friendly Roman Catholic priest who distributed Bibles and tracts.⁸⁷ Bauduy also visited Jérémie twice. There he was received with great enthusiasm both by Haitians and also by members of the American (immigrant) community. This led him to urge the London Committee to send a missionary to Jérémie.⁸⁸ He organised a petition in Port-au-Prince to underline the urgency of this request.

But his efforts in this direction fell foul of the newly arrived Chairman of the District of Haiti, John Tindall, then residing in Puerto Plata.

The Haiti District

In 1834, in response to an appeal from American immigrants in Puerto Plata, the Rev'd. John Tindall arrived in Haiti to begin work in the Spanish part of the island principally among English-speaking immigrants. Within a year, the 24 year old old missionary had built a church in Puerto Plata and established the "District of Haiti" which included French and Spanish parts of the island together with the English-speaking Turks' Islands. During Tindall's stay (1834-1839), work was begun also in Samana and Cap Haitien - in each case restricted to American immigrants. By 1839, there were 52 members in Samana, 26 in Puerto Plata, and six in Cap Haitien. Tindall moved from Puerto Plata to Cap Haitien in 1838.

Bauduy did not enjoy a good relationship with Tindall almost from the outset. Tindall rather peremptorily summoned him to a District Meeting in Puerto Plata in 1836. Bauduy, who had been on his own as minister in charge for eight years, took the tone of the summons with poor grace.⁸⁹ He was not to attend another District Meeting in the time of Tindall (1834-1838), always finding some reason to justify his absence. Bauduy was furious when he read in the Minutes of the 1838 English Methodist Conference that Cap Haitien had been designated as meriting two ministers (a city, in Bauduy's view of proven unreadiness to receive the gospel), and, even worse, that Samana (a godforsaken place used by the government for the banishment of prisoners and reprobate elements) was also to have a missionary, while Port-au-Prince was to merit no extra attention despite all the years of managing without adequate help. And Jérémie and Jacmel, where there had been loud calls for help, were to be ignored altogether.⁹⁰ Bauduy felt that he and his fellow Haitians were being passed over

in favour of the new American immigrants. Mission strategy was now, he argued, being worked out in relation to these new communities.⁹¹ He felt even further aggrieved when the 1839 Conference stationed him to go to Cap Haitien. He had no desire to go there and indicated that he would help the newly arrived Mark Bird to settle in and then be happy to continue to serve the church as a Local Preacher.⁹² Something of Bauduy's disgruntlement came to the attention of John Tindall. He suggested that Bauduy could do a great deal among the native Haitians in Cap Haitien while the important work in Port-au-Prince (which, astonishingly, he identified as being among the Americans) could be done by missionary William Towler in English. "Brother Bauduy may have an objection" he wrote, "I do not."⁹³ In the end, Tindall's sudden departure and other events changed the arrangements described above and Bauduy went, in fact, to Jérémie in 1841.

Bauduy opened up a preaching place in Jérémie opposite the dwelling of the Roman Catholic priest. Some of those who attended his services were suspended from the Roman Catholic Church. Bauduy was conscious of what he considered the deleterious hold Roman Catholicism had on the mind of the superstitious peasant. "Distinguished or a little distinguished people have 9 days of prayers after their death at the price of \$4 per day," he wrote.⁹⁴ The priest sang prayers on their tombs at \$1 per Libera; he blessed crosses to put on graves at a price related to the wealth of the person asking for this service. Bauduy considered that protestantism was just what the "campagnard" needed to free him from superstition.⁹⁵ He opened up a school and registered six pupils. The 1842 Minutes of the District Meeting recorded that he held Monday evening meetings at Berguet near the town; a weekly meeting at Morne de Cadet, four miles out of town; a Sunday meeting at Gélan, 8 miles out; and meetings at Fond de Sin, 15

miles out of town. He had also visited Au Frond, Abricots, and Trou Bonbon. He considered he had made an encouraging start.⁹⁶

The Port-au-Prince Chapel

A fund to build a chapel had been opened at the height of the persecutions. When Bauduy returned from England he began amassing funds and reported having \$800 in 1829.⁹⁷ He secured promises from American and English businessmen, including Arthur Fulsom who was later to furnish the major part of the funding for the chapel to be built in Jérémie. The London secretaries had promised £50 in 1820 but this did not arrive until the early 1830s. They eventually sent £150. This brought the total in 1834 to \$2,045. Bauduy had been using the money to export coffee and was ploughing back the profit into the fund.⁹⁸ When he felt unable to continue with this activity he began to lend the money at interest. He formulated the idea of buying a plot of land out of the interest he might gain, and building the church out of the principal.⁹⁹ When Tindall arrived in 1834, he viewed the money-lending with horror and successive District Meetings ordered Bauduy to extricate himself from his financial complications.¹⁰⁰ In May 1836, a piece of land measuring 70 feet by 201 feet was bought on the Rue de la Révolution, in the name of "la société appelée les Méthodistes Wesleyens de la République d'Haiti." It was bought in the name of St. Denis Bauduy, Louis Hermulfort, Charles Alexandre, Alexis Augustin, Pierre Paul, Adonis Paul, Céqui Saint, Germain Philippe, Pierre Magloire, Michel Jean-Pierre, Jeannot Rocque Claude, and Jean-François Gourde. The conditions of sale were firstly that only those doctrines that were in accordance with the New Testament and John Wesley's sermons were to be preached there; secondly that, if sold, monies raised by the sale were to be used to build a chapel elsewhere; and thirdly that, if no alternative chapel were built, after payment of debts, the Methodist Conference (in England) was to be paid the proceeds of sale. Bauduy reported

that, after buying the land, there remained \$4,400 in the building fund.¹⁰¹ It is interesting to note that, in view of the article in the Haitian Constitution that forbade the purchase of land by foreigners, the English Conference had safeguarded its investment while acting through Haitian trustees.

Bauduy bought the land and then had it fenced. He also had rocks gathered for the construction of the chapel and a well sunk. It was missionary James Hartwell, shortly after his arrival in 1841, who oversaw the completion of the building. It was opened on December 4th 1842. It measured fifty feet by thirty six. It was built of stone with a brick frontage. It had cost a total of £1,000 and many Roman Catholics had contributed to its construction. The services on the opening day were led by Mark Bird and James Hartwell.¹⁰² The four services, two in English and two in French, were well-attended. Among those present were leading figures from the political and commercial sectors and also a Roman Catholic priest. Everything proceeded in perfect peace. Bird praised Hartwell for his management of the chapel project which had been opened with very little debt. He might also have added his word of praise to Pressoir and Bauduy who had laboured so long in the struggle to build their own chapel.

Hartwell analysed the Port-au-Prince congregation in 1841 as follows: as well as many American blacks (some of whom had been slaves), there were English, Dutch, Germans, and one Norwegian. He was anxious to keep this expatriate group together "because of its relative influence on the native work."¹⁰³ He noted the absence of young people in the society and concluded that "a day school in French is indispensibly necessary to the prosperity of the mission."¹⁰⁴ Hartwell saw funerals as affording "the best opportunity in Haiti of proclaiming the gospel, as no religious scruples prevent the natives from attending protestant

funerals."¹⁰⁵ By 1842 the membership had risen to 111. The wheel had turned full circle, the persecution was over and there was a new beginning for the Wesleyan Methodists of Port-au-Prince.

Chapter Three

A GOLDEN MOMENT

1843 - 1847

In December 1839 Mark Baker Bird arrived in Haiti to take charge of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, together with his wife Susan and their baby son Theophilus. Before Bird's arrival everything had been tentative and defensive. Henceforth, the Mission gradually attained a degree of self-confidence so that what had previously been a matter of reaction to events became a more positive response to perceived opportunities and a consequent reflexion upon these. Soon Methodists would be recording these reflexions and formulating the principles which they felt undergirded their work. Thus the thinking of Dr. J.B. Dehoux (see Chapter 5) and the teaching of Bird himself (chapter 6) would encapsulate the major elements of Methodist practice at this time. In addition, writers like Dr. Louis-Joseph Janvier (see chapter 7), Etzer Vilaire (chapter 8), Auguste Albert (chapter 9), and others would show the applicability of the ideas their Methodism had taught them to various aspects of national life. Bird's forty years in Haiti were a turning point for Methodism there and have left an imprint still perceptible to the present time.

Bird was born in 1807 in London and soon afterwards the family moved to his mother's home in Jersey. She died when he was six years old and the bereft family moved to Reading. It was at this time that Bird's father became a Methodist. Mark Bird underwent a conversion experience in his mid-teens, became a church member at 18, and a Local Preacher two years later in 1827. At that time he was a tailor by trade.¹ He was accepted for the ordained ministry in 1832 and sent to Jamaica where he worked well in the Falmouth circuit. This was at the time of the "apprenticeship period" preceding full freedom for slaves after

their emancipation in 1833.² After four years (1834-1838) in Jamaica a keenly felt need to be married, together with an almost fatal illness, led to his return to England and his subsequent marriage to Susan Guiton, a Channel Islander of Huguenot descent. They arrived in the Cayman Islands in October 1839, the first Methodist missionaries to be stationed there.³ Three months later, they were already in Cap Haitien ready to begin their life's work in Haiti.

Bird's work in Cap Haitien was unpropitious. He had a scant knowledge of French on his arrival there.⁴ He used the two and a half years he spent in the city of Cap Haitien to become oriented to Haitian life and manners and to prepare the population for the preaching of the gospel. He reported in April 1842: "I am now almost ready to hope for good days at the Cape".⁵ But such auspices were aborted by one of the worst disasters ever to afflict Haiti, an earthquake which virtually destroyed the city of Cap Haitien on May 7th 1842.

The earthquake was felt from Port-de-Paix to Samana, from Jérémie and Port-au-Prince to the Bahamas. The very centre of the earthquake seems to have been Cap Haitien and Santiago. In Cap Haitien two thirds of the population lost their lives in the crumbling masonry. After the initial destruction came conflagration as kitchen fires lit the fallen timbers, and those who had not been killed in the falling of the buildings died excruciating deaths in the flames. There was widespread pillaging as the country people came in for the pickings. Bird and his family were miraculously saved. They and their servants (Susan Bird had only nineteen days previously given birth to a third son) were unharmed even though their house had been in the centre of the worst destruction. The family had been on three different floors and the whole house had fallen down, yet none of them was hurt. They took to the harbour where a German brigg was at anchor. After several days' voyage with almost no provisions, no change of clothing, and

constant exposure to the sun, the Bird family arrived in Port-au-Prince where they were rapturously received by their fellow-Methodists.⁶ This disaster moved the centre of the Haitian Methodist work back to Port-au-Prince, to the relief of the Haitian Methodists there who had so faithfully continued the work in the capital over the years since 1818. It marked the end of the "District of Haiti" established by John Tindall. But, of much greater national significance, it was one of the hammerblows to the presidency of Jean-Pierre Boyer whose twenty five year rule ended a few months later in the early part of 1843.⁷

Haiti in 1843

At the end of Boyer's presidency the country was tired, divided, and lacking in ideas. One contemporary witness described the chaotic political situation. The supposed democracy was little more than a "hodge-podge of the most heterogeneous ideas, of American federalism with military control; the sovereignty of the people replaced by the sovereignty of a ruling clique". Added to this was the "intellectual vainglory of a people young and inexperienced" and also the brooding problem of an "antagonism of races".⁸

Another writer reported that "the fields of Haiti are dead". What had been France's richest colony was now lying waste; "one sees only a few crops and a little syrup to turn into raw rum. Lively growths of cactus cover with thorns the acres of cane, of fields, of pastures deserted by the hand of man; the cactus invades the towns, coming even up to the heart of the cities, flourishing in the midst of ruins, as if to insult the inhabitants". This observer noted that everyone seemed poor, that crops were stolen, that there was no police force to prevent this, and that, therefore, "no one cultivates with regularity".⁹

An English visitor, sympathetic to the cause of black self-determination, noted a total "indifference to knowledge" which had become a

"rooted habit of mind". For this observer education was the "grand moral desideratum for the country" and it alone could save the country from "the dominion of semi-heathenism ... and priestcraft by which its people are still fettered, or be likely to put forth that industry ... which will enable it, as an agricultural and commercial country, to take rank among the civilized nations".¹⁰

It was undoubtedly time for a change and the impetus for this came from a group of mulattos in the south of Haiti who projected Charles Hérard-Rivière into the presidency. The new president showed considerable energy and aroused great expectations. But he quickly made several fateful mistakes. He included no Spanish members from the eastern part of the island in his government¹¹, and he dealt severely with protesting Spanish people. The discontent caused by these and other arbitrary actions was to lead to the secession of the Spanish part in February 1844. In addition, Hérard-Rivière (a mulatto from the south) handled his northern deputies insensitively and offended them by surrounding himself with a group of fellow-mulattos.¹² In fact, a provisional government was named in Cap Haitien to support the presidency of the black, octogenarian general Philippe Guerrier in 1844.¹³ And in the south, Hérard-Rivière alienated substantial parts of the populace by imprisoning, amongst others, Louis Etienne Lysius Félicité Salomon, an immensely powerful, land-owning, black leader who was to become a leading figure in the government of Faustin Soulouque (1847-1859) and President of the Republic (1879-1888). Disorder, arrests, and executions were reported generally in the South. Hérard-Rivière found it necessary to undertake lengthy journeys with his army in order to impose his rule. At one point, he was reported to be in Puerto Plata with an army of 30,000 conscripts.¹⁴

There were, however, many signs that the new government had great ideas in mind. It had come to power with only token opposition. Taxes were

lifted on building materials in order to encourage the rebuilding of the towns that had been devastated by fire and earthquake.¹⁵ In May 1843, the government decreed that the towns, which had been ruled by "Conseils de Notables" chosen by the President, should henceforth be governed by Municipal Bodies chosen by the people.¹⁶ The new government included Ministers of Religion and Education, the first time that these areas of public life had been given such status. In order to boost agricultural productivity taxes were revised and that on coffee abolished.¹⁷ A new Constitution was published in December 1843 whose main provisions were to end the narrow élitism of Boyer's time in favour of more democratic models. It also sought to introduce co-educational primary schools in all the towns of Haiti, and "écoles supérieures" in the main towns.¹⁸

There can be no doubt that the leadership of the Wesleyan Methodist Church responded with scarcely containable joy to this change of régime. There were many evidences of sympathy for their cause on the part of the new government. A Methodist was appointed to be a judge in the Civil Court.¹⁹ Hérard-Rivière himself visited the Methodist school in Puerto Plata and promised material help with rebuilding it.²⁰ The Municipality of Port-au-Prince, elected in July 1843, decided to open six free schools for children of both sexes. One month later, they invited the Wesleyan Mission to take charge of one of them with the promise of \$100 per month for its operating costs.²¹ Missionary James Hartwell expressed the hope that among the priorities of the new government would be the "instruction of the peasantry" and the observance of the Sabbath.²² Bird too, knowing that Hérard-Rivière had been exiled in Jamaica and, therefore, exposed to the British way of life, hoped for the introduction of a non-commercial Sabbath.²³ When A. Dupuy, aide-de-camp of the President, was on a visit to London on government business, he was furnished by Bird with a letter of introduction to the secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.²⁴

This new relationship with government was most significantly enshrined in the new Constitution promulgated in December 1843. It included the following articles:²⁵

- Art. 28 : Tous les cultes sont également libres. Chacun a le droit de professer sa religion et d'exercer librement son culte pourvu qu'il ne trouble pas l'ordre public.
- Art. 29 : L'établissement d'une église ou d'un temple, et l'exercice d'un culte, peuvent être réglés par la loi.
- Art. 30 : Nul ne peut être contraint de concourir, d'une manière quelconque aux actes et aux cérémonies d'un culte, ni d'en observer les jours de repos.

All the previous Constitutions of Haiti, except that of Dessalines in 1805, had given a specially protected place to the Roman Catholic religion. This radically new departure was understandably interpreted as offering a totally new set of opportunities for Protestantism in Haiti. In fact, the Constitution was also the death knell for Hérard-Rivière's government. In a manifesto published by a group in the Spanish part of Haiti in January 1844, it was declared that the "state church has been humbled and threatened by sectarians and enemies." They proposed restoring their church to its "august splendour".²⁶ Bauduy too pointed to Spanish grief that "their religion is no longer the religion of the government", while William Cardy reported that the new Spanish government blamed Hérard-Rivière for surrounding himself with "sectaires".²⁷ The Constitution was also greeted with hostility in the streets of Port-au-Prince.²⁸ So, the very liberalism of this new bourgeois government contained the seeds of its own destruction.

It is little wonder, however, that the Wesleyan missionaries, after the stultifying years of grudging toleration by Boyer, should have sensed a heady feeling of new and unlimited possibilities. Added to the political phenomena, was the state of the Roman Catholic Church at this time.

Boyer's latest attempt to negotiate a Concordat with the Vatican, undertaken in January and February 1842 with Mgr Rosati, Italian bishop of New Orleans, had yielded an agreement. But hopes were dashed, first by the earthquake of May 1842, and subsequently by the demise of Boyer's government.²⁹ There is general agreement that Haiti at this time had become a haven for priests escaping from the discipline of the Church or simply seeking personal gain. Such elements from the United States, South America, and Corsica, left with no duly appointed hierarchical oversight, constituted an ecclesiastical community of highly dubious character.³⁰

The Wesleyan missionaries gave their own details. Hartwell noted the priest in Jacmel who had been married and was providing for his widow.³¹ Bauduy accused the priest in Jérémie of witchcraft for selling blessings at All Souls' tide. His replacement, a Jesuit, sold baptism and "aborts the gospel at 50 cents to \$4 a time". Bauduy criticized him too when he granted "to all his communicants plenary absolution for all past sins, and a future absolution for three hundred days".³² Hartwell pointed to the priests who were deeply involved in national politics: "the priest who yesterday was surpliced at the altar, is today epauletted and a general of Brigade".³³

The most stringent criticisms came, however, not from the missionaries but from the government itself. Bird quoted a government circular of 1844. The government regretted:

"... the neglect and indifference of our former Government, which never adopted any effectual measures for keeping out of the country evilly disposed and unworthy ministers, rejected by their own bishops, mere intruders whose papers no one took the trouble to examine, coming rather to cultivate our vices than to expel them; much more eager for gain than to gain souls to God; who, with impunity before an indifferent authority, have made a merchandice of religion, adding to their scandalous simonies the scandal of a wicked life, and thus misleading a people who would have followed better examples."

The circular urged Christian leaders to help with the task of building the nation by preaching "the duty of industry" and also exemplify the ideals of racial equality.

The exhortation had a word for protestant christians too:

"You, Ministers of the Protestant worship, continue to exercise with perfect liberty your religious rites; our creeds may be different but our hopes are in the same God; and let all our subordinate authorities bear in mind that intolerance is a monstrous thing."

This circular, both from its outright criticism of the Roman Catholic abuses and also for its open appeal to protestants to collaborate with government in the reconstruction of the nation, is a very significant document.³⁴

Thus the political and religious climate seemed to offer the Wesleyan missionaries reasons for optimism. Another important feature of the year 1843 was that they had had opportunity to travel the length and breadth of the whole island. In January, Cardy had travelled from Samana to Puerto Plata; and Bird and Hartwell had travelled from Port-au-Prince to Puerto Plata via the recently devastated Cap Haitien and (on their return) via Laxavon and Lascahobas. In July, Bird again visited Cap Haitien via the interior towns of Mirebalais and Hinche, returning by the coastal route. Hartwell made the journey to Jacmel in September. Cardy and Towler went from Puerto Plata to Santo Domingo in the same month. Hartwell visited Mirebalais in November, returning via the Artibonite towns of La Chapelle and Verrettes. Bauduy visited the coastal towns of Trou Bonbon and Abricots in the far south west in November. And Bird undertook the amazing trip to Cayes via the Caribbean coast towns of Jacmel, Bainet, Côtes de Fer, and Aquin before crossing the La Hotte mountains that rise over 7,000 feet. Thus he reached Jérémie and returned with Bauduy to the capital via the gulf coastal towns of Pestel, Anse-à-Veau, Miragoâne, and Petit Goâve in December and January (1844). Finally, Cardy, after travelling from Samana to Puerto Plata alone, continued with Towler to Port-au-Prince via Cap Haitien in

January 1844. These journeys totalled thousands of miles and, apart from the north western regions around Port-de-Paix, embraced the whole island.³⁵ The five missionaries - Bird, Hartwell, Cardy, Bauduy, and Towler - who met for the annual District Meeting in Port-au-Prince in January 1844 had an intimate knowledge of the Republic.

In the course of these extensive journeyings, a wide variety of experiences were reported. Wherever they went they were received courteously by the Commandant of the commune or arondissement. Very often they were offered hospitality in his home. In Banica, the Commandant even undertook to publicize the missionaries' meeting.³⁶ He also undertook to find a public meeting place for their services. This might be in the national school, as in Jacmel³⁷; or in the town hall, as in St. Marc; in Masonic halls³⁸, or even in the Roman Catholic church, as at Aquin. In Plaisance, the whole municipal body attended the missionary's service. When there was opposition from the priest, as at Miragoâne and Grand Goâve, the military Commandant came down in favour of the missionary. In such an instance in Grand Goâve, the mayor offered a room in his house for the service when Bauduy claimed his rights under the Constitution.³⁹

But not all the priests were hostile. The one at Aquin, in whose church Bird had preached, invited the missionary to take coffee with him and they enjoyed good conversation together.⁴⁰ Similarly in Cayes, after attending a service in the Roman Catholic church, Bird was invited to supper with the curé. Before accepting an invitation to preach in the church Bird and Hartwell were always careful to ask about local susceptibilities. Hartwell turned down an invitation in Jacmel rather than offend the priest or his congregation.⁴¹ Bird claimed, at the end of his life, that in the pre-concordat days he had made some

good friends among the Catholic clergy.⁴² But there was also, in some places, open and bitter hostility, notably in Jérémie, Grand Goâve, and Miragoâne.

In some cases, Protestantism was preached for the first time in the remoter areas. This was so in Banica, Lascahobas and Laxavon. In other places, like Cayes, the protestant message was heard for the first time since the visit of the Quaker, Stephen Grellet, in 1816. In Gonaïves, Bird and Hartwell met an English businessman, James Ostler, and his Methodist wife. Ostler had been in Haiti for a number of years. He exported timber and coffee in return for wines and other goods from France. He had known King Henry Christophe personally and undertook some of his trading.⁴³ Encouraged by offers of help from Ostler, Bird resolved to send one of his missionaries to Gonaïves. Bird and Hartwell found sympathetic responses in St. Marc, Cayes, Jacmel, Banica, and Laxavon. Thus, many a letter to London described Haiti as a "field white unto harvest", and pleaded "Do send us more men".⁴⁴

The missionaries, on their travels, not only took lodging with the military, civic, or commercial leaders, they also accepted hospitality from the peasant people in the country areas. They slung their hammocks or slept on the floor, and they ate food graciously prepared for them by their hosts. Once a host took Bird's lame horse and looked after it for four months until the missionary passed by on his next visit to the interior.⁴⁵ The Haitian peasant is always described as an open and welcoming person despite his ignorance and poverty. At Terrier Rouge, Bird's host excused the absence of his wife who was on pilgrimage to the popular shrine at Higuey in the Spanish east.⁴⁶ The impression given is of scattered dwellings and homesteads with little urban or community development outside the main townships.

The 1844 District Meeting

And so, the Annual District Meeting, held in Port-au-Prince in January 1844, took place in a spirit of keen optimism. Not only were the political auguries better than they had ever been, but also the missionaries had an unrivalled knowledge of the country. The 1844 District Meeting was of great significance in the history of the Mission. The minutes of the meeting report 112 members of the Church in Haiti. There were also three schools (in Port-au-Prince, Jérémie, and Gonaïves), which recorded 242 pupils. The Meeting made two carefully worded resolutions. The first was as follows:⁴⁷

"One of the results of the late Revolution is that the whole country is more than ever open to our Missionaries. The more intelligent of the community greatly desire the labours of Protestant Missionaries, and there is no doubt but that one would be welcome in every town of the Republic."

This was followed by a specific request for a missionary for Santo Domingo where Cardy and Towler had recently visited, and where a good number of American immigrants was seemingly well-disposed to support a missionary. Another man was also requested for Cayes where Bird had sensed a good response to his visit. The second resolution was formulated as follows:

"The brethren ... would take this opportunity of observing that the want of education is now beginning to be felt throughout the length and breadth of the island, and the greatest confidence in the Protestant Missionaries is manifest in most parts of the country. Never was there a more inviting opening for the friends of Education than now exists in Hayti: it is therefore earnestly hoped that the West India Committee will recognize in their consideration the wants of a benighted people who are beginning to feel and deplore their condition."

The main thrust of these two resolutions seems to aim at opening work in all the major towns of the Republic, and also at concentrating that work in education. It was against these decisions that Catts Pressoir, historian of Haitian Protestantism, made a critical objection; pointing out that there were two

populations in Haiti since the Code Rural of Boyer, one peasant and the other bourgeois. Pressoir asked:⁴⁸

"Pour lequel se déciderait la Mission Wesleyenne? Où s'établiraient-ils leurs missionnaires? Imiteraient-ils l'exemple des apôtres qui sont allés s'installer au coeur des populations idolâtres ...; ou feraient-ils porter leur activité principale dans les villes? Tout l'avenir du Méthodisme haïtien dépendait de la solution que Bird donnerait à ces questions.

Bird choisit de travailler principalement dans les villes, et ce fut peut-être une erreur ... Bird pensait qu'il fallait d'abord évangéliser la classe dirigeante; il serait alors plus facile d'aller aux masses. Et pour agir sur la classe dirigeante il fallait créer des écoles méthodistes ... Il réussit à créer une élite protestante, mais une élite que le conformisme mondain condamna à être une petite minorité, et ce faisant, il perdit pied dans les campagnes, ces campagnes qui seules auraient pu lui fournir des milliers de membres [capables de] se suffire à elles-mêmes et [de] devenir autonomes."

That Wesleyan Methodism did become a small élitist minority is beyond doubt. That this was the consequence of a narrow concentration of effort into urban schools and dealing with bourgeois congregations, is also very clear. But to argue that Bird had any genuine alternative in 1844 is surely to argue with the advantage of hindsight. Boyer had forbidden any incursion into the country areas. There were few townships or even hamlets in the countryside where a missionary could easily settle. And there were only five missionaries to place. There was no sudden increase in money or men to match the opportunity now available. The annual grant from London in 1841 was £1,000. This rose in 1842 to £1,200. It was never to exceed £1,320 in the next thirty years. And the Missionary Committee put all the onus for meeting the expense of new buildings and every aspect of educational work squarely on the Haitian people.⁴⁹ This meant very little flexibility in the deployment of men or resources. Although the team of Bird, Bauduy, Cardy, Hartwell, and Towler, was well-balanced and worked well together, it cannot be really argued that they could have devised a strategy significantly different from the one they did adopt. The people of Haiti could only respond in a limited way to the need to raise more money. The Roman

Catholic church, by charging for its rites and services, and by virtue of a Government grant, was able to manage. The only Haitian help to the Methodists was the offer made by the Municipal Body of Port-au-Prince in respect of a school in the capital. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Bird seized the offer of \$100 a month and opened a school in November 1843. Tragically, the short-lived nature of this support led to the need to finance the school in other ways. And it was this change in method that restricted and limited the nature of the Methodist work in Haiti. But Bird could hardly be blamed for that.

Undoubtedly, the missionaries saw the year 1843, both then and in retrospect, as the great time of new opportunity. Hartwell summed up the feeling as follows:⁵⁰

"The Haytian Revolution of 1843 is no ordinary movement of the kind, nor does the term revolution present the requisite idea to the mind: - nearly bloodless and accompanied by no enormities; the revolution asks in behalf of the son of the African his place in religious, intellectual, and civil society. Superstition has usurped the place of religion; coerced (sic) ignorance has debarred him from intellectual society; and a military government has deprived him of his civil rights. Hayti has thrown off nearly every impediment and enters with daily stride into the ranks of civilised nations, and the conduct and disposition of the people now ask for missionaries, schools, and books.

This is a peculiarly favourable juncture. But what can five do in a land the size of Ireland?"

Political developments

Early in 1844, an uprising in the eastern part of Haiti led to the creation of the Dominican Republic with its watchword of "Liberty, Country, God, Separation".⁵¹ Together with the secession of the eastern part, there was discontent in the north and also a piquet revolt (an uprising of peasant malcontents under élitist leadership) in the south. This resulted in the fall of the government of Hérard-Rivière and the beginning of a period of great instability when Haiti saw five presidents in as many years.

The optimism amongst the Methodist community was soon threatened by an alarming series of events. St. Denis Bauduy had to lie low because of anti-mulatto agitation. Indeed, Bird wanted to send him to Jamaica for his safety but was prevented from doing this by the withdrawal of passport rights from all mulattos.⁵² James Hartwell suffered a long illness that kept him out of action from July 1844 to April 1845.⁵³ William Towler was in Puerto Plata and cut off from his colleagues by the secession of the Dominican Republic. The subsidy to the Methodist school in Port-au-Prince was cut from \$100 to \$50 per month (the Municipality of that city was closed in May 1844).⁵⁴ As a result, the very basis of the strategy outlined at the District Meeting in January 1844 was in ruins within six months.

Not only were the elements of the Methodist missionary enterprise in disarray, there was also considerable instability in Haitian national life as Hérard-Rivière gave way to Presidents Guerrier (1844-45), Pierrot (1845-46), Riché (1846-47), and Soulouque. Behind the black presidents, members of the mulatto élite were holding real power in an exercise of what has been called a "politique de doublure". There was tension along the Dominican border. Hérard-Rivière, in exile in Jamaica, threatened to invade Haiti in order to reclaim power. Martial law was declared.⁵⁵ Young men were being pressed into military service.⁵⁶ There was arson.⁵⁷ And agriculture was generally neglected at a time when the conscripted army was drawing young men away from the land. As a consequence, the prices of basic foodstuffs rose to very high levels. It is little wonder, therefore, that Bird reported: "there cannot be said to be any really organised government [and] poverty now begins to wear a threatening and rather fearful aspect".⁵⁹

Despite these signs of unrest and disorder, the Methodist work continued to make strides forward in these years. It is time now to describe the

work developed in this period by James Hartwell in Cap Haitien, William Cardy in Gonaïves, and Mark Bird in Port-au-Prince.

Cap Haitien and the ministry of James Hartwell

Work was resumed in Cap Haitien in April 1845, less than three years after the earthquake which had devastated the town. Hartwell began with a nucleus of members who had fled from Puerto Plata where they were afraid of being pressed into arms by the new Dominican government.⁶⁰ On his arrival, Cap Haitien was Pierrot's capital and rents and all other prices were very high.⁶¹ So Hartwell looked immediately at the possibilities of acquiring land and building premises in order to save the cost of rented accommodation. A vast quantity of rubble from the still ruined town was available for building.⁶² Hartwell sensed, on Riché's arrival in power, that the new president would be anxious to win support in Cap Haitien and was astute enough to seek and obtain a piece of land 120 feet square. Because this land was in the centre of the city and very close to their own site, the Roman Catholics were incensed.⁶³ They sought to influence the President, then on a visit to the city with a large army. They wanted to exchange the land granted to the Methodists for another piece further out of town. Hartwell refused and took his case to the British Consul who told him of the impending arrival of a British man-o-war, and of Lord Palmerston's (then Foreign Secretary) refusal to let British subjects be wronged, and he offered to send in a contingent of troops forcibly to secure the property. Hartwell refused this offer and asked only for protection of his person. He resolved to find more peaceable ways to put his case. So he read all the law of Haiti pertaining to the tenure of land in general, and that held by foreigners in particular. Then he delayed presenting his case until the President and his army had left the pressurising atmosphere of Cap Haitien. Back in Port-au-Prince, the President proclaimed in favour of Hartwell. Even though the soldiers had in the meantime sold all his

bricks and building materials, he could feel well pleased with his handling of the affair.⁶⁴

The ideally-situated piece of land that had been leased to the Mission for fifty years at a rent of \$20 per annum was theirs on condition that a church, school, and house should be built there. That fact, and the pressure Hartwell was experiencing from the Roman Catholic community, gave a sense of urgency to his demands to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society for financial help. He asked them to send £150 at once. They did, making an exception to their rule that church buildings were to be financed from locally raised monies.⁶⁵

By November 1846, Hartwell was reporting significant improvements in the Mission's prospects. There was a steady trickle of converts, some even prepared to face the strictures of their parish priest.⁶⁶ The priest attacked protestants for not believing in the saints, and criticized parents who sent their children to the Methodist school.⁶⁷ Despite this tension, however, progress continued. Hartwell reported at his leaving (in 1853) that "among the converts were the Chief Justice, an Assistant Judge, a Lieutenant Colonel, a subaltern, a Professor in the Lyceum, a Lawyer, with generally their families - beside others of lower position".⁶⁸ Here, as in Jérémie and Port-au-Prince, Methodism appealed directly to educated people. Its main ingredients at this time were early morning prayer meetings, preaching-centred worship twice on Sunday and at least one evening in the week, together with a stress on the need for each believer to make a personal response to the offer of grace made by God in Jesus Christ. All this was done in meeting places that were described as neat and plain, devoid of pictures and statues. Apart from the use of the liturgical morning prayer on Sunday mornings, the worship would have been spontaneous and direct, demanding

a personal response from the hearers. It took place in French, the language of the educated classes. Even so, there were a number "of lower position" who attended.

Hartwell made regular visits to the surrounding areas. He visited Dondon, Port Margot, le Borgne, Port-de-Paix, Gros Morne, and Gonaïves in September 1845, Lacul in 1846, and so on. He also began preaching in the hospital and prison. He seems to have ministered especially to prisoners condemned to death and sometimes had to accompany them to their place of execution.⁶⁹ Apart from the main church, Hartwell hired two rooms in Cap Haitien where he also held services. One of these was at La Fossette, known since the colonial days as "Africa" because that was where the slaves had been landed.⁷⁰ The other was near the main market place.

Work on the new chapel was begun on January 1st 1849 and it was opened with grand ceremony on Sunday September 16th of the same year. Hartwell had been clerk of works, fund-raiser, and architect. The church was built in gothic style with a bell in a cupola on a gable. This was opened without debt and the preacher (Bird was ill and could not be there) was a Mr Jones, the Baptist minister then in Cap Haitien. By then a house and a schoolroom had also been built.⁷¹

Hartwell had begun the school in 1845 at a time when he was not allowed to leave the town and there were many other restrictions on the movements of all foreigners. He did it, he confessed, for want of something to do.⁷² He was helped initially by a young pupil at the town's Lycée, probably Joseph Alexandre (Clairville) Heureaux.⁷³ By March 1846, Hartwell had been joined by Othello Bayard. Bayard was the son of a former senator and had been destined by his parents for the Roman Catholic priesthood. After serving as

apprentice to Jean Charles Pressoir in Port-au-Prince, however, he was converted to Methodism. Hartwell had got to know him there and now sent for him to help run the school in Cap Haitien.⁷⁴ The school greatly impressed a government commission of inspection which included the Roman Catholic curé. The syllabus at that time consisted of reading, arithmetic, French grammar, geography, sacred history, and English (for the more advanced pupils).⁷⁵ Hartwell was most concerned that French should be taught with a thorough attention to detail, recognizing that Haitians were concerned to speak it with a "punctilious correctness which would almost be considered affectation with us". He felt that account should be taken of this when choosing teachers and missionaries for Haiti.⁷⁶ Certainly, his own mastery of French was exemplary. He was arrested on his visit to le Borgne in September 1845 because, it was alleged, he spoke French so well (and looked old enough!) to have been a French survivor of the wars of independence. Only the intervention of an American friend saved him from further embarrassment.⁷⁷ The school, begun in 1845 with 10 pupils, had reached 199 by 1852, boys and girls. These are the last figures available before Hartwell's departure.⁷⁸

The church, meantime, had not registered the same speedy numerical increase. The fifteen members found by Hartwell in 1845 had become 42 by the time of his departure. The fifteen "Americans" had probably by then returned to Puerto Plata or joined others who had headed for Turks Island. Certainly, the English service in Cap Haitien dwindled away during Hartwell's ministry. There were almost no hearers to the English afternoon service on the opening day of the new church in September 1849.⁷⁹ Some of the 42 members recorded in 1852 lived sixty miles away in Gonaïves, then a part of the Cap Haitien circuit. Perhaps this modest numerical achievement can best be understood by the fact that a member of the Methodist church had to meet rigorous ethical standards (including a

rejection of concubinage) as well as make a total break with everything pertaining to "superstition".

The striking feature of Cap Haitien Methodism of this time was the emergence of four young Haitians who became Preachers and leaders in the work. Dugué Bertrand, a shipwright who, although of limited educational ability, kept the Methodist work going in Cap Haitien for nearly fifteen years in the 1860s and 1870s when there was no minister in residence. Dalismar Télémaque was converted in 1848 and helped with pulpit and school duties. He later became a wandering evangelist and, after Hartwell's departure, joined the Baptists. Othello Bayard ran the school for a while before becoming the catechist at Gonaïves. He was later ordained as an Assistant Missionary, built a chapel in Cayes, and served the Mission in that town until his death. Finally Clairville Heureaux was raised a Catholic and was attracted to the Wesleyan Mission when he heard their hymns being sung one day. This was in 1845 when he was 18 years old. He particularly admired the simplicity of the service and the fact that he could read in the Bible about the things he heard from the pulpit. He became utterly convinced of "God's mercy and salvation".⁸⁰ All of these young men, apart from Dugué Bertrand, were mulattos. Heureaux was able to convert the rest of his family. In June 1847, Hartwell, who had been a widower since 1842, married Heureaux's sister Célie Alexandrine. Their father became Baron Heureaux, Chief Justice for Cap Haitien, in the time of the emperor Faustin Soulouque.⁸¹

James Hartwell was a noteworthy man. He was born in Ashbourne (Derbyshire) in 1817. He was raised by an aunt and candidated for the ministry from Banbury in Oxfordshire in 1839. He was described as having "very acceptable preaching talents, and has had fruit of his labours".⁸² He was originally destined for India and had begun to learn the Tamil language in

readiness. He also had good knowledge of Greek and Latin. He was obviously highly thought of; he substituted on one occasion in London for Dr Jabez Bunting, probably the most influential Methodist leader of the 19th century. Hartwell was ordained by Rev. Richard Reece, then over 80 and who himself had been ordained by John Wesley, at the 1840 Newcastle-on-Tyne Methodist Conference. After marrying Ann Lewis in Bramham church, Yorkshire, they sailed to Haiti, arriving in December 1841.⁸³

Hartwell showed a keen sensitivity to Haitian life and institutions. Like other protestant missionaries, he was critical of sabbath trading, supersititon, and concubinage. But he alone looked for the economic reasons for the last of these, both for peasant smallholders with scattered little plots of land, and also for sailors with no fixed home. He also recognized very early the openness of the country people to receive the evangelical message. He commented: "there is more hope of doing good amongst them than in the towns but in order to benefit them it is necessary to have a knowledge of the Créole language, as it is with difficulty they understand French".⁸⁴ He was to acquire a knowledge of Créole and use it subsequently.

He made detailed notes of Roman Catholic ceremonies and ritual. For example, he noted the Good Friday custom of keeping windows and doors shut to keep the devil out. That day, no bells were rung, no drums beaten, flags were flown at half mast, and muskets were reversed during the three days Jesus was in the tomb. Then "children went about with rattles to awaken the Lord and Easter broke silence".⁸⁵ He also described the great procession through the streets of Cap Haitien on Corpus Christi day. Cannon fired at 7am and the streets were lined with soldiers. Houses were adorned with flags and banners. The procession was headed by a detachment of cavalry. Then came a brightly coloured coat for

the Saviour, carried by acolytes. This was followed by a richly decorated palanquin and there were cakes for the Virgin. Also a robe carried by three women in white. Then came a procession of the priests under a canopy carried by soldiers. On both sides of this procession were files of females, white and veiled, counting their beads. The rear was brought up by another detachment of cavalry. The close involvement of secular and sacred orders of society is very clear from this description. But there is an absence of criticism in Hartwell's account. Indeed, the missionary tries repeatedly to find common ground with Roman Catholic custom and teaching. He had refused the opportunity to preach in the Catholic church in Jacmel when it was offered to him in 1843 because he did not want to take advantage of the priest's absence from town in this way. He conducted his service instead in the National school, and he began by getting his hearers to recite the Apostles' Creed with him as a confession of beliefs held in common.⁸⁶ His careful handling of the Roman Catholic pressure to move the Methodists out of Cap Haitien has already been noted. His "victory" was achieved without a show of force which would only have deepened the enmity of the Catholic community. In an interesting letter⁸⁷ he set out his method of dealing with Roman Catholic opinions. He did not, he stated, (in contrast with Zwingli and Knox) attack the Roman Catholics openly, but (more in the manner of Luther) presented generalisations from which the truth could be inferred. In Bible study and at house meetings he felt able to go into more detail. But he confessed that he could not "unchristianise Rome", they did after all hold many beliefs in common. He preached Christ; "neither Romanism nor Protestantism availeth, but only faith that worketh by love". But he did criticize the Roman Catholics too, especially when they were reported telling their faithful that "apostasy (i.e. becoming Protestants) is a greater sin than adultery".⁸⁸ But his overall stance was amazingly open and accepting. He saw Haiti's great needs as overshadowing all differences between Catholics and Protestants.

He was particularly worried about superstition, or Voodoo, in this respect. When visiting Bassin à Diamant, near l'Acule du Nord, he took the trouble to discuss with the "Maître d'Eau" (the Voodoo priest) his instruments and worship. Unfortunately, there are no notes of the conversation. But the mere fact of his having had such a discussion is worthy of note. He also reported the visit of a man who believed himself possessed by the devil. He felt himself, especially after eating the bread of Holy Communion, torn apart, as if God and the devil could not co-exist inside himself.⁸⁹ But his most interesting description is that given in a letter of 1849, just after the arrival in power of Faustin Soulouque, during whose presidency there was a recrudescence of Voodoo. It is worth quoting at length:⁹⁰

"The same person is seen to receive the wafer from the priest and to assist at the orgies of the serpent god of the Vaudour (sic) rites. The religion of Vaudour, like that of Rome, has its saints, and this is alleged to give a sort of legitimacy to the practice of both by the same person. It seems to me that many of the people ... adopt a kind of Manichean belief of two principles in the Deity, one good and the other evil, - which they call bon-dieu of heaven, and the bon-dieu of the earth. The God of heaven is superior but at the same time having made the god of the earth and delegated to him the power to afflict men. A master mason once said to me: 'I worship the God of heaven because he does me good, - I am obliged to fear the god of earth because he can do me harm ...'"

"Every spring of water has, according to the Haitian peasant, its presiding divinity who is to be propitiated when the waters fail. Once as I was riding along a lonely road a filthy form presented itself before me whose grim features of darkest hue gave birth to a beard descending to his waist ... He said, 'Je suis le Bon-Dieu' - I am God. This was a priest of Vaudour, a magician and fortune-teller, and if such be the priest, what is the divinity? A filthy snake coiled up in a water-jar, and kept in a dark corner of a filthier sanctum sanctorum. To complete this picture of African superstition which has wonderfully revived during the political convulsion of this country, I may mention that it is generally believed that there are in the country ... persons who eat the flesh of young Children."

This letter is remarkable for its restrained tone as well as the phenomena it describes. One wishes there were more from Hartwell on these matters. He did add that it was extremely difficult to get hard information on Voodoo practices, and that trials had been held of those suspected of the same, but there had been

no convictions. He wondered whimsically whether, if these beliefs were widely understood, the battles of evangelical religion could continue principally against Romanism. And, by the same token, he wondered how Romanists could give so much energy to condemning the Methodists when superstition held such sway over people's minds.

Once, Hartwell visited caves not far from Dondon. The original Indian inhabitants of Haiti had used these 150 feet deep caves for their religion. Hartwell was deeply struck by the sculpted heads and the associations of the place. There was a legend that the sun and moon had burst from this cave and the first men who had tried to imitate them had been turned into statues of stone. "Poor, innocent people, butchered by European rapacity, ye are gone, but your temple remains while those of your ruthless destroyers have been thrown to the ground by the trembling of that earth which they had watered with your blood."⁹¹

Hartwell suffered from indifferent health for much of his time in Haiti. He frequently had to take to the hills or to the country for convalescence. This, and his family's needs for education, finally led to his leaving Haiti in January 1853. But another factor in his deciding to leave was undoubtedly his disillusionment with the Missionary Committee in London. He complained that they had never given him sympathy or encouragement, having written only once in six years despite the fact that he was a widower, a young man, living 60 miles from his nearest colleague.⁹² He condemned them for not having increased their help to the Mission for six years, berated them for their timidity. "Now do you think that three European missionaries are sufficient to handle (sic) this movement, and these men neither Luthers nor Melanchthons?" "It is all right to think of Tahiti about to be lost, but do think also a little about Haiti about to be gained." He indicated that the Committee's indifference was prompting him to

return home. He was also later deeply disillusioned with their rulings on the question of native ministers and agents. To this was added the deep disappointment that followed the death of his young brother-in-law, Clairville Heureaux, in December 1851, and also the sadness of seeing Louis Jean-Jacques Lilavoie (another candidate for the ministry who had been a teacher in his Cap Haitien school) go over to the American Baptists.⁹³ Much of his hope for a native ministry had been centred on these two young men.

And so, as Soulouque's reign lengthened, Hartwell's spirits fell. Yet he continued to extend his ministry. "I have begun to preach in Créole or Patois at La Fossette, and ... also ... at the prison. I found it extremely difficult to commence and was obliged to seize an opportunity one evening in the midst of a discourse when the people were more than usually attentive. I had always feared that the majority of hearers would burst out in laughter at such an attempt or else be quite disgusted, but contrary to my fears the sudden change in idiom acted like a charm. [There were many extra listeners.] I believe this is the first attempt to establish regular créole preaching in this country."⁹⁴ It was also the last for many years. A continuation of this gesture alone would have allowed countless people to identify with protestant preaching who otherwise were excluded.

Hartwell was given permission to leave in 1852 and left when his successor had arrived in January 1853. He had spent 12 years in Haiti. He had built the church, school, and manse; he had established preaching in two other places in the town. He had brought on five young lay preachers. He had been the first to breathe life into the Protestant cause in Cap Haitien after previous failures. He had preached weekly for six or seven years in the gaol and many former prisoners in the villages remained grateful to him. "The doctrines, usages, and morals of our people were all what I had taught them, and most of the tunes

sung in the church I had taught them. Our mutual attachment was, therefore, of no ordinary kind."⁹⁵

The Hartwell family served the Wesleyan Mission in Harbour Island (1853-1856), Turks and Caicos Islands (1856-1862), Antigua (1862-1871, including two years as Chairman of the District), Nevis (1871-1873), and British Guyana (1873-1875), before returning through ill health to England in 1875. He served four English circuits for twelve years before his retirement in 1887. He died in Gloucester in 1902 at the age of 85.

The course of Hartwell's life has been followed beyond the limits intended for this chapter in order to get a rounded impression of one of the architects of the Haitian Methodist Church. He was the complement to Bird as he (Bird) admitted several times in his published work and correspondence. But we must now look at the way Methodism developed in Gonaïves, Jérémie, and Port-au-Prince during the period 1843-1847.

Gonaïves: and the ministry of William T. Cardy

The list of stations recorded at the 1844 District Meeting showed Gonaïves with the rubric "One earnestly requested". It was recommended that William Cardy be sent there. Cardy, then aged 22, had arrived in Haiti in 1836 with his young wife. Both were natives of Salisbury in England. Cardy had been trained at the Richmond Theological Institute and was among its first graduates. After two years in Puerto Plata alongside the Chairman of the District John Tindall, Cardy moved to Samana in the north-eastern corner of the island. There he built two churches and founded a flourishing cause. His wife died in 1839 and Cardy married the daughter of a Dominican landowner in 1843. With his two sons and new wife, Cardy arrived in Gonaïves in April 1844 and stayed till February

1847 when he was replaced by Bauduy who himself stayed for one further year before his removal to Cayes. When Cardy arrived, after his years of service in Samana, he found the city of Haiti's independence⁹⁶ torn apart with revolutionary and secessionist fervour. There were small congregations and little interest. The one point of encouragement was the offer by English businessman James Ostler to provide all the materials for the building of a church.⁹⁷ Cardy applied to the London Committee for a grant of £100 to buy land on which to build. He got no reply and nothing was ever done.⁹⁸ There is no doubt that the Mission became interested in extending its outreach to Gonaïves only because of the presence there of Ostler and his English Methodist wife. Bird perhaps remembered good attendances at his meetings in 1843 when on his travels through the town, though he was astute enough to recognise that this was due in part to the novelty value of protestant preaching in the town.⁹⁹ Almost immediately, Cardy abandoned the English service which he had been used to in his Puerto Plata and Samana days.¹⁰⁰ His disappointment with Gonaïves was profound until he left. Bird, on a visit in 1845, reckoned that Cardy needed to resign himself to two or three years or unrewarding work distributing tracts and engaging in personal conversation with a wide section of the population in order to establish public confidence in the Mission.¹⁰¹

Only the school was encouraging, with forty pupils in April 1845 rising to 80 three months later.¹⁰² Cardy found great difficulty in getting someone to help. He would have liked to take it on himself but he remembered the injunction of the Wesleyan Missionary Society that "the Missionary is not sent abroad to establish schools".¹⁰³ He was afraid to employ "educated natives" since he suspected they were "no better in their morals than their countrymen". He did engage one "educated Haitian" whom he later had to dismiss for living in concubinage. Yet Cardy realised that the school was the one bright spot in an

otherwise barren picture; "could we attend to [schools] we should perhaps in this way be gaining access to the people more readily than by any other means". By January 1846 there were no members of the church at all; there were 89 pupils at the school. Cardy urged that help be sent either from France or the Channel Islands, or else that a normal school be established to train teachers in Haiti. In the meantime he asked the Committee to allow ministers to double as school-teachers: "As a preacher of the Gospel, [the minister] is thought nothing of ... but as 'Directeur' of a good school he stands very differently before society ... such is the state of things in Haiti, and we must bow to them if we would be useful among the people".¹⁰⁴

Cardy's lack of enthusiasm lasted until the time of his departure. Bauduy, on his arrival, successfully asked the Conseil des Notables for help with the running of the school; they agreed to pay \$20 per month.¹⁰⁵ He was also granted permission to visit the hospital and the prison.¹⁰⁶ By 1848, when Bauduy left, there were three members of the church in Gonaïves.

Gonaïves was half-way between the northern province and the capital. This was a time of regional loyalties, the North and the South alternating in their attempts to govern the country. Armies marched through Gonaïves going north or south depending on the president of the moment. The town was a recruiting ground for both. This military tension and political instability affected and afflicted Gonaïves in a particular way. It was a time of famine and poverty.¹⁰⁷ It was an inauspicious moment for beginning a mission there.

Jérémie and the ministry of St. Denis Bauduy

A missionary station had been opened in Jérémie since the arrival of St. Denis Bauduy in May 1841. He had already made several visits to the town in

the 1830s. He had also preached at several places in the vicinity of the town and had made contact further afield (usually along the coast) at such places as Abricots and Trou Bonbon, and also at Corail and Pestel. He had attempted to preach to those in the prison.¹⁰⁸ But despite all this activity, Bauduy was able to announce that a Society had been formed at Jérémie only in November 1844, and even then only four members were recorded (of whom two were Bauduy and his wife).¹⁰⁹ By the time of his departure in 1847 this total had risen to ten, not seemingly a picture of great success. A school, begun in 1844 with 14 pupils, had only four at the time of Bauduy's departure.

One of the difficulties for Bauduy in founding a strong Methodist cause was the political instability of the times. Jérémie long had a reputation for such tension. It was there that Gomond had held out for the black king Henry Christophe for so long against the mulatto régimes of Pétion and Boyer. And in the time after the demise of Boyer, when black and mulatto factions were jostling for power, when Hérard-Rivière continued long after being ousted from power to menace invasion and counter-insurgency, Jérémie figured large in the strategy of the ex-president's forces. This was partly because it offered a relatively isolated land base for an invasion, - far from the capital yet easily accessible from Jamaica where Hérard-Rivière had gone into exile. And thirdly, there was a substantial group of mulattos in Jérémie whose discontent at the prospect of black political supremacy would certainly have made them open to support Hérard-Rivière's cause.¹¹⁰ Bauduy was himself a mulatto and found that his freedom of movement and action were often severely limited.¹¹¹ On one occasion he was obliged to stay in Port-au-Prince for several months when mulattos, including women and children, were being killed by a "group of ambitious men".¹¹² When Riché ousted Pierrot from power in February 1846, there was a deep division of loyalty in the region of Jérémie, the "Commandant de

la Place" and the townspeople (dominated by mulattos) favouring the new president, while the "Général de l'Arondissement" with the support of the country people, mainly black, continued to support Pierrot. The former prevailed in the end, but there was a long period of total inactivity for all church work.¹¹³

In addition to the political tensions, it was in Jérémie that the greatest opposition was encountered from the Roman Catholic Church. Certainly, Bauduy had not been slow in criticizing the priest for selling baptisms¹¹⁴, marketing blessings of various kinds¹¹⁵, and also the "granting [to all] of plenary absolution for all past sins, and a future absolution of three hundred days" with the exception of one old lady whose unforgiveable sin was that her daughter had become a member of the Methodist church.¹¹⁶ The priest seems to have had very great influence with the authorities. Thus Guerrier was induced to forbid Bauduy's preaching in the prison and hospital on the grounds that all the inmates were likely to be Roman Catholics.¹¹⁷ Also, the priest held meetings to coincide with those planned by Bauduy, thus taking away a number of sympathetic hearers.¹¹⁸ When William Cardy replaced Bauduy in Jérémie in the early part of 1847, the full fury of the priest was vented on the missionary who was accused as a mover of sedition and subversion.¹¹⁹ And Cardy, when he attempted to approach the authorities, felt that they had all been influenced by the priest. Thus the "Commandant de la Place" refused to hear the person Cardy sent to make representations to him. The "Général de l'Arondissement" sent for Cardy and forbade his preaching in the country areas. The "Comité de l'Instruction Publique" refused Cardy's request to open a school, and the "Conseil des Notables" questioned his authority to be in the town at all. The missionary was certain that this concerted opposition was due to the work of the priest.¹²⁰ This opposition was to intensify as the building of a church became a possibility as will be seen in a later chapter.

In addition to these political and religious factors, there was the question of Bauduy's own personality. He was constantly filled with self-doubt. He felt that a European could do much better than he, and several times threatened to withdraw from the service of the Mission.¹²¹ His difficulties with administration seem to explain why he achieved very little in the realm of schools during his ministry. His style was also puritanical and he made stern ethical demands of all postulants.¹²²

For all these difficulties, Bauduy did set down the basis of a church community in Jérémie. Despite great pressure from the abbé Fontbone, two girls went on trial for membership in October 1845, Mlles. M.A. Villedrouin, and Rose Emilie Lavaud (the daughter of the Jérémie military commander).¹²³ A few months later the commander's wife was herself described as a regular attender. Indeed, Bauduy celebrated the marriage of the Lavaud couple who had previously been living in concubinage, and this must have been a very significant act.¹²⁴ Bauduy also reported in the same letter the marriage of two young people of the church, Louis Arius Rocourt and Agnès Germain. Perhaps the words of Cardy, written upon his arrival in Jérémie, best sum up the work of St. Denis Bauduy in that town:¹²⁵

"Our good brother Bauduy resided here for, I believe, six years, and although he was not permitted to see much positive fruit (sic) of his labours, yet he did much in clearing the ground ... While here he was treated as an apostate from the religion of his fathers and as soon as he left everybody was constrained to speak of him as truly a man of God."

All these early members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church whose names we have were mulattos, and their allegiance to the cause set the direction for the future development of the work in the town until the years of François Duvalier in the 1960s.

Almost immediately, Cardy's presence in the town caused great excitement. He reported several conversions:- a 70 year old woman, a young man, a married woman who came into the church despite objections from her husband. Another, previously a devout Roman Catholic, was converted, and brought the other members of her family with her. By 1849, 34 members were reported on the annual returns. Cardy found that he had now to do all his work in French since there was no English community in Jérémie.¹²⁶ He set up an Auxiliary Missionary Society to collect funds for missions overseas; established a Benevolent Society to provide alms for the sick and old whom he and his wife visited systematically; and he found a schoolmaster amongst the members of his church, which raised again the question of founding a school.¹²⁷ It is fitting that Catts Pressoir should have called the work in Jérémie "la plus brillante, la plus prometteuse".¹²⁸

Port-au-Prince under the ministry of Mark Baker Bird

In Port-au-Prince, the new era had begun with the opening of the new chapel in December 1842, a symbol of security and permanence. Mark Bird was then at the beginning of his 37 year period in the capital. With the downfall of the Boyer régime, contact was re-established with the members at Fond Cheval where their chapel had been burnt down. It was now rebuilt and pastoral visits recommenced.¹²⁹ The new chapel was opened on July 10th 1843 to good attendances. Work was also developed at Duplan at this time on a piece of land given by Adonis and Rosine Jean-Paul about six miles into the hills above Port-au-Prince.¹³⁰ This community had first been visited during the time of Brown and Catts.

In 1842 the membership of the Port-au-Prince church was 111. By 1849 this had risen to 145 with 11 in training.¹³¹ In May 1846 Bird purchased

another piece of land close to that on which the chapel was built. He envisaged that a mission house and school could be built there. He asked London for a loan of £300. As well as the normal services, prayer meetings, and class meetings, Bird reported that members were taking part in open air preaching on a site made available by friends in the city in September 1846.¹³² Pressoir writes that it was at this time that several new families joined the Methodists. He named a Mme Mérentié, Mme Dehoux and her family (a sister of the senator Bayard who had been advisor to President Pétion, father of Othello Bayard then teaching at the Mission school in Cap Haitien), the families Brisson, Hippolyte, Aimé, and Rivière. Mme Dehoux became a protestant when the Roman Catholic priest refused to come to bury two of her children killed in a domestic accident. Pressoir notes that all these families were of the "bourgeoisie haitienne".¹³³

The main feature of Port-au-Prince Methodism was its school. When the Municipal Body had invited the Methodists to collaborate in the opening of schools, Bird had immediately accepted. A school began in the new chapel in November 1843.¹³⁴ By 1844 there were 184 pupils. Bird wanted to build a schoolhouse and appealed to London for help. But he also began a public subscription and reported in June 1844 that he had 50 names on his list, all of whom had promised to give something every month.¹³⁵ Despite this support, however, political instability made it impossible to begin building until November 1845.¹³⁶ Among the subscribers to the building appeal were the President and his ministers. The building was fifty feet by thirty with a ten foot gallery on each side. Bird estimated the cost of \$4,000 to \$5,000.¹³⁷ By December 1845 he had already collected \$2,000¹³⁸ and appealed to London for help with the difference. The Committee, however, declined to make grants for schools resolving "that monies for schools or houses must be raised locally".¹³⁹ Bird replied in characteristic vein:¹⁴⁰

"It is a matter of regret that the circumstances of the Committee do not favour us with regard to schools. ... Education in a country such as this is a grand auxiliary to our Mission, for whatever discouragements we may have in the other departments of our work, certainly in this we cannot complain, but the District wants help, both men and means."

Even without the help from London, the school was opened with a great flourish and a small debt on July 1st 1846. Several speeches were made, including one by the minister of Education and Worship, Alphonse Larochelle, who praised the Mission and Bird for being non-sectarian in their approach. A hymn (still sung) was composed for the occasion and sung to the accompaniment of "two flutes, three violins, one bass-viol" to the tune of the English national anthem.¹⁴¹ Larochelle returned to chair the anniversary meetings a year later and again made a speech full of praise for the Wesleyan Mission.¹⁴² In order to justify the existence and objectives of the school to the London Committee, Bird mentioned that there were in the year of opening 160 subscribers who gave monthly contributions towards the cost of building the school. He added that six boys were attending a prayer meeting.¹⁴³

At about this time a second school was being planned for Croix-des-Bouquets, ten miles out of Port-au-Prince on the plain of Cul-de-Sac. Bird reported that land had been promised for this and that the school had begun to operate.¹⁴⁴ This school was being run by the young lay preacher Lilavoie whom Bird was also presenting as a candidate for the ministry.¹⁴⁵ By 1849 the total number of pupils in the Port-au-Prince schools was 300, which was to be the highest number in Bird's time.

And so we end our view of this period in the life of the Wesleyan Mission. It was a time of steady if not spectacular growth achieved in a time of great instability and social upheaval. The number of members in the District

went up from 112 in 1844 to 210 in 1849. The schools' total rose from 198 to 513 in the same period. Land had been acquired in Cap Haitien, Jérémie and Port-au-Prince. Schools had been opened in all of these towns and also in Gonaïves. Chapels had been built in Port-au-Prince and Fond Cheval. Subscriptions for the school, drawn from the whole of the capital's population, were good. The giving of the members was also going up, though, as Bird was anxious to point out, the decreasing value of Haitian currency made this not so obvious to those scrutinising the accounts back in London. In eight years the value of the pound sterling had passed from \$7 Haitian currency to \$24. There seemed to be a fine group of young men available for the service of the church as preachers, or teachers, or even as potential ministers. As well as Bertrand, Télémaque, and Bayard in Cap Haitien, there were Heureaux and Lilavoie in Port-au-Prince, both strongly recommended to be put immediately in training as ministers. One of the writers of the official history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society quotes Bird's assessment of this period as follows:¹⁴⁶

"The Church of Rome was indeed the national church, but its hold was then comparatively weak; no Concordat bonds at this time existed while every parish and cottage were open to any and every man who might wish to enter it with the word of God in his hand. This was indeed a golden moment for the diffusion of pure Christianity, whether by means of education, the public ministry, or otherwise. ... The simple peasant, as well as the educated man, felt that a happy moment had come for Haiti."

Chapter Four

THE SCEPTRE OF DESPOTISM

1847-1859

When President Riché died in early 1847 he was succeeded in office by Faustin Soulouque who had been head of the Presidential guard. Soulouque was a compromise candidate and was projected into office by mulatto factions acting through the powerful Ardouin brothers (Céligny and Beaubrun) together with Pierre André. He was thought to be safe and pliable.

In fact, Soulouque proved most capable of defending his position against possible usurpers. His ruthless purge of mulatto elements in April 1848, the dismissal of Auguste Similien (his own black chief of police), and astute appointments to his Cabinet, are all evidence of his political skill and strength. He identified the issue of territorial sovereignty as the one external principle on which to focus hopes of national unity. Thus the campaigns he mounted against the Dominican Republic in 1849 and 1855/6 are to be seen less as proof of expansionist designs than of his determination that the "Great Powers" should not take over the neighbouring republic and make it into a surrogate for European or American imperialistic aspirations. The campaigns failed miserably and this fact, together with Soulouque's declaring himself Emperor of Haiti (as Faustin 1st), and his repressive exercise of power, led to his being considered by the outside world as a poseur and a tyrant. Among those who portrayed him as a grotesque black dictator with no redeeming features whatever were Maxime Reybaud and Spenser St. John, the French and British consuls in Port-au-Prince.¹

Another element of the poor opinion in which Soulouque was held was the fact that the Roman Catholic Church kept its distance from him, refusing all

overtures to send a bishop to Haiti for his coronation as Emperor in 1852.² The schism with Rome was intensified during these years. Indeed, there was a resurgence of the practice of the Voodoo religion. It seems as if the Emperor's wife was a devotee of that religion. On her birthday in 1857 ceremonies were enacted which not only included the firing of canon and a High Mass, but also the "free permitting of African dances till the next day".³ The following is a description of an event that took place in Cavillon, in the south of Haiti, in 1853:⁴

"[I have seen] a Calinda, or Manger Zombi, which is a supper for the dead, their dead relations. The owner of the plantation expected 800 people ... When everything is ready, something is put on dishes for the dead and then deposited in a separate room. Though they see everything remains as it was, they believe the dead have satisfied themselves ... The witchcraft practiced in Hayti so much agreed with its catholicism that the one is as good as the other."

Another visitor to Haiti claimed to have been at a ceremony where a goat was sacrificed, blood drunk, and a sexual orgy held. He reported that the following day he had seen two bodies and a child's arm in a river at Gonaïves and let it be understood that cannibalistic rites might also be practised.⁵ François Eldin, a Frenchman serving with the Wesleyan Mission during these years, described a ceremony he claimed to have attended. The Voodoo priest was intent on delivering the soul of a dead girl. There were drums and dancing before a woman became possessed by a spirit. She went into a state of frenzied ecstasy. A lamb was sacrificed by the priest and enemies were cursed with wax rods. A snake was produced. The soul of the dead girl passed into lustral waters contained in a large urn which the priest broke thus liberating the spirit. Spirits were considered to wander freely after death, but only after this ceremony were they able to join the other spirits.⁶

The nature of Voodoo was given a gruesome quality by what became known as the Bizoton affair. This was a public trial held during the presidency of

Geffrard in 1863 but related to events that occurred during the Soulouque years. A group was found guilty of using a human child as a sacrifice in Voodoo ceremonies. Those found guilty were sentenced to death and the whole affair horrified the outside world and confirmed the worst impressions of Haiti. Nor did these events suffer in the reporting of them by Spenser St. John.⁷

Soulouque allowed Voodoo to "come out into the open". There is no evidence that he himself took part in its ceremonies. But he knew how to make the most of the Voodoo mystique in order to further his own political ends, especially by gaining support in the rural areas. Previous leaders of the Haitian people, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Christophe, Pétion, Boyer, and Riché, had denounced Voodoo. Soulouque, by allowing its free expression, was able to build support for himself across the country.⁸

Soulouque and the Wesleyans

In 1850, there was a direct conflict between Soulouque and the Wesleyan Mission. Catts Pressoir entitles his chapter on this period "La deuxième persécution".⁹ Mark Bird refers to the "sceptre of despotism" which descended on the Methodist community.¹⁰ The facts seem to be as follows. On Sunday March 24th 1850, the Government ordered a recruiting drive for the army. There was a great deal of agitation in the city. At the conclusion of the morning service at the Methodist church, some nine or ten young men were seized and pressed into service.¹¹ Pressoir names these as: Clairville Heureaux (Hartwell's brother-in-law and, at that time, Assistant Missionary), Louis Baron (cousin of the military commander of Port-au-Prince), Louis Joseph (uncle of Louis Joseph Janvier who was later to be a leading polemicist, man of letters, and diplomat), Frerville Grégoire, and Sémexan Michaud, who were all taken aboard one of three Haitian warships. Dorilas Laleau was put in prison where he remained a total of seven

years. Pierre Benjamin was also imprisoned aboard one of the warships where he remained for eighteen months. A Madame Dorval was also given a period of imprisonment. Heureaux was released in response to an appeal from Bird on the grounds of his being a minister of religion; Baron was released on representation being made by his cousin to the President. Soulouque made clear to Baron his view that those who changed their religion were capable also of changing their political allegiance. Other Methodists were kept in captivity. They were made to dance to the drum (abhorrent to a community which identified that instrument with the "African dances" of the Voodoo religion). Michaud was threatened with the death sentence at one time, but he escaped on the intervention of the President himself.¹²

Tension spread to the rural areas. The Methodist school at Croix-des-Bouquets had been closed since Benjamin (its headmaster) was arrested. In Jérémie, the new chapel being built (the gift of American businessman Arthur Fulsom) was subjected to lengthy delays. The priest in Jérémie got the work stopped, the fence and the scaffolding were pulled down. Bird and Fulsom made representations to their respective consuls. British consul Wyke was able to get Soulouque to take the pressure off the Methodists arguing that the Wesleyan body in England had been foremost among those "advocating the freedom of the African race".¹³ The building of the Jérémie chapel was resumed.

The "persecution" was not limited to the Methodists. American Baptists, at that time active in the northern towns of St. Raphael and Dondon, were also under government pressure. It is interesting to note that this was the time, in the aftermath of Soulouque's first military campaign against the Dominican Republic, when the Haitian government was under intense diplomatic pressure to sign a ten year peace pact with the neighbouring republic. There were

American warships in the bay of Port-au-Prince. The President was undoubtedly looking for possible negotiating points. In the end, a truce was agreed for one rather than ten years. Could pressure on the "English" Methodists and the "American" Baptists have been part of Soulouque's bargaining effort? It is hardly possible to do more than conjecture at such a question. But Bird was convinced that the nature of government opposition at this time was political rather than religious (in spite of the denunciations by the priests). Indeed, despite the countless letters he had written to London asking for extra missionaries, he now strongly advised the London committee not to send new staff because of the prevailing anti-British mood.¹⁴ And Soulouque's ruthless dismissal of the Roman Catholic priest in Jérémie who had dared to disagree with him on a matter of policy suggests that it mattered little to the President whether a person were Catholic or Protestant. He was more concerned with whether an individual or group posed a threat to his power.¹⁵

In August 1850 the Secretary-of-State for Religion announced to Bird that all Haitians were free to choose their religion. He criticized the Methodists, however, for their methods of fund-raising and distribution in the rural areas. On these grounds, the Secretary-of-State argued, all work in the interior would have to be suspended. Bird was deeply disappointed and protested vigorously. He resigned himself to the ban, however, arguing that "the towns, thoroughly saturated with the spirit of the gospel, [will] inevitably open the way ultimately to the interior."¹⁶

In a further interview the following year, the Secretary-of-State turned down a request from Bird to open up work in the town of Port-de-Paix in the north west of Haiti, arguing that Protestantism was bringing discord into Roman Catholic families. The Secretary-of-State argued that it could not,

therefore, be construed as a denial of the freedom of religious belief to prevent Protestants from undertaking any work which might be described as proselyting. Bird replied strongly to these allegations with a memorial addressed to the Secretary-of-State. He argued that Haiti, like other nations, had lost its way and was made up of sinners. The Wesleyan Methodist church was not seeking to proselytise, nor was it sectarian, - it sought rather to make vicious men virtuous. If Christianity was already widespread in Haiti, as was alleged, then where were its fruits? Bird indicated that he saw no schools, hospitals, or other evidence that ought to be the proof of the benevolent presence of Christianity in the land. The people of Haiti desired these advantages, he argued. The Constitution of Haiti promised them. He referred to the lamentable educational effort, noting that a mere 10,000 children out of a total of 100,000 were being schooled. European philanthropists would be distressed to learn what was happening to freedom of conscience in Haiti. Bird ended his communication by affirming that he wrote not as an Englishman, nor as a Wesleyan, but as a friend of Haiti.¹⁷

The tension between the government and the Methodists reached Cap Haitien in April 1851. But it arose more because of a particular incident than as the result of a general spreading of persecution. A Methodist soldier had, it seems, criticised a member of Prince Bobo's household guard on the grounds that he was not married. Since the Prince of Cap Haitien himself, Soulouque's appointed military commander in the North of Haiti, was not married, he bitterly resented the criticism when he heard of it. So too did the Emperor when the matter was reported to him. To add fuel to his anger, the two Methodist judges in Cap Haitien (Héraux and Heureaux!) had refused, when receiving the Légion d'Honneur (an award which made them Barons), to swear their oaths on a crucifix, choosing instead to swear on a Bible. The fury of the Emperor turned itself on the soldier who was cast into prison.

Another matter of interest in the letter from Hartwell that recounts these events¹⁸ is his observation concerning the opening of work in Port-de-Paix. Hartwell deeply regrets that Bird, knowing of the opportunities for getting work started with a pastorless group of Protestants in Port-de-Paix, had bothered to refer the matter to the authorities. Hartwell would have begun the work without even mentioning it to the government. It is hard to disagree with Hartwell. Bird, of course, was under some pressure and in the public eye in the capital city. But Hartwell too, as has been noted above, was in the throes of an anti-Methodist mood in Cap Haitien. It is certain that, in the years following, none of the Methodist preachers experienced any problems in travelling around the country.¹⁹ It was as Hartwell had predicted, and this puts the matter of Soulouque's "persecution" into some kind of perspective.

The most significant development in the Methodist work during the Empire came about as a result of these restrictions. Bird was moved by the limitations placed on work in the rural areas of Haiti to add a boarding section to his secondary school in Port-au-Prince. In this way, he felt, he could continue to have contact with parts of Haiti he was otherwise excluded from. The secondary school had been envisaged for some time. But the boarding section was the fruit of the tension (and its consequent restrictions) that prevailed at that time. This new venture was to cause a number of problems which had repercussions of a very serious nature.

Schools

The progress of the primary schools can be summed up very quickly. They changed very little during this period. Those in Gonaïves and Cap Haitien continued to receive small grants from the Government or Conseil de Notables. The difference between income received from these grants and the total running

costs of the schools was raised by public subscription. It was one of the missionaries' tasks to go asking for money from foreign business men and leading Haitian figures. The number of children at school often fell dramatically at a time of national emergency, as, for example, in the aftermath of the April 1848 massacres²⁰, and in the great agitation surrounding the campaign against the Dominican Republic in 1849.²¹ The school at Croix-des-Bouquets, as has been noted, was closed in 1850 in the wake of persecution and the arrest of the schoolteacher there.

At Jérémie, despite the fierce opposition of the Roman Catholic priest, a school was opened in 1848 and quickly numbered 120 pupils. But Charles Bishop did not hold out great hopes of the Mission benefitting from this. He conceded, however, that "an educated Papist is better than an ignorant and bigoted one".²²

When Bauduy investigated the possibility of opening a primary school in Cayes he encountered great opposition from the priests. He reported that there were already three government schools and several private ones established in the town.²³ A school was opened, however, after the arrival there of Othello Bayard in 1858. It registered 115 pupils in 1860. The statistical returns recorded in the Minutes of the District Meetings, note 334 pupils in all the Wesleyan Methodist schools in Haiti in 1847, a figure which rose to 609 in 1852. This total tailed away slowly over the following years to 421 in 1856 and 250 in 1860.²⁴ This decline was largely due to the departure of James Hartwell from Cap Haitien in 1853, and Othello Bayard from Gonaïves in 1858. The decline was also due to the fortunes of the Port-au-Prince school.

The opening of the school in Port-au-Prince in 1843 at the invitation of the public authorities and with a generous grant from them has already been noted.²⁵ Because of the political instability that attended the succession of Presidents in the years 1843-1847, the grants first diminished and then disappeared altogether.²⁶ Bird responded to this shortfall of income by widening the appeal for subscriptions so that, as well as raising money by public appeal for the building of school premises, the actual running costs of the school were now to be raised in this way. But this method of financing the school was highly dependent on political stability. Already, in 1848, Bird was driven to mention the possibility of putting the school onto a fee-paying basis.²⁷ Matters improved after this and it was not necessary to resort to such action. Indeed, in late 1852, Bird was happy to maintain his primary school on a subscription basis; but the secondary school that he then projected was to be on a fee-paying basis from its outset. This combination of method, subscriptions and fees, would, he felt, make the school financially viable from its beginning.²⁸ When the secondary section began in January 1853 in the already existing schoolroom, there were 25 pupils registered and six of them were to be boarders. Accommodation for these boarders was built above the schoolroom.²⁹

The first problem arose in mid-1845. The person appointed to take charge of the boarders, a judge in the Criminal Court, was found to have had "sodomitical predilections of many years standing" with the head of the school's literary department. This last was none other than Pierre Delatour, a Local Preacher, then being put forward as a candidate for the ministry. Bird feared a backlash against the Protestant cause when news of this got out. He dismissed both of the offenders, took the boarders in to live with his own family, and put out a leaflet to calm possible fears and criticisms.³⁰ The quick and thorough action taken enabled the school to survive the shock.³¹

The school continued in this way, with Bird looking after as many as eleven boarders in his own home, taking a large part in the teaching in the secondary school, running the church with its varied activities, and also regularly contacting subscribers with new appeals for financial support. In a printed report for the years 1855 and 1856, a list was given of all subscribers. There were over 150 names of individuals and companies. The report also contained an appeal for extra money for a teacher's house. The school needed £1,000 to become financially sound.³² Its academic success was highly rated by government examiners. The Emperor had himself sent a set of maps for the geography department of the school, proof that he held no animosity towards the Wesleyan Methodists.³³ But it must have been with great relief that Bird welcomed the arrival in December 1856 of a headmaster for the school, T.D. Toase and his wife, who had just arrived from England.

Toase had been educated for ten years at the Collège Bourbon in Paris and also at the Sorbonne. His wife looked after the boarding department while he superintended the school. Toase was a scientist. He immediately got a chemistry apparatus set up, the first in a Haitian school. He became a Fellow of the Chemical Society (in England) after identifying a Haitian chemical.³⁴ He was consulted by the Haitian government about copper and other mineral deposits in the country³⁵, and also by the family of Toussaint L'Ouverture about the mineral content of their land.³⁶ He gave chemistry lectures to the public of Port-au-Prince³⁷, and ordered a gas factory to introduce new possibilities of lighting to the Haitian capital.³⁸

The first half year under the new leadership was magnificent. The classes were organised efficiently. The syllabus for the second semester of 1857 gives a good illustration of the range of subjects offered. This was organised

under four sections. Firstly, under the title INSTRUCTION RELIGIEUSE, sacred history and geography and religious symbols are listed, all to be taught by Toase. Secondly, INSTRUCTION CLASSIQUE which included the following sciences: zoology, physics, chemistry, history, geography, astronomy, arts (joinery and metal-work), and the form, properties and composition of objects. All the subjects in this section too were to be taught by Toase except astronomy and geography where he was to be helped by Mark Bird's son Theophilus. Thirdly, under LITERATURE, were offered the various branches of French grammar, English, Spanish, Latin, and Greek. English was to be taught by Toase, the other languages by Haitian teachers. And fourthly, MATHEMATIQUES, with geometry and algebra, arithmetic and commercial arithmetic - all to be taught by Toase. This is a very impressive syllabus and, quite certainly, well in advance of any other school programme in Port-au-Prince at that time. Its note of optimism was summed up with the final sentence that proudly declared: "A la fin de chaque séance, il y aura des expériences chimiques."³⁹

In addition to the school itself, there was a "Training College on the Westminster model" which had attracted two students by July 1857 with another promised.⁴⁰ Mrs. Toase was looking after 20 boarders and 15 half boarders. There were 52 pupils in all. The government had nominated one pupil to the school⁴¹ and some parents were choosing to send their children to the Wesleyan college rather than to schools in Paris.⁴² In Bird's mind this was the way to cope with the government ban on working in the rural areas. Most of the boarders came from out of Port-au-Prince. All of them were required to attend Sunday School classes.⁴³

Before long, however, matters turned sour. An incident occurred between Toase and Theophilus Bird. Theophilus was then aged 18 and had just

returned from his studies in England at the Woodhouse Grove Methodist school. He was employed as an assistant to Toase. They had had a bitter quarrel over a matter of school discipline. Mark Bird had accepted his son's version of the incident. This led to a letter of resignation being written by Toase and submitted to London. The Committee made a ruling in favour of Toase and this was bitterly resented by Bird.⁴⁴ However, Theophilus was revoked and the school continued its way. But deep damage had been done. Bird criticised Toase's character as "peevish, petulant, and bitter". He found it hard to share the school which had been his main preoccupation (if not obsession) for so long with a man who was so young! He objected to the fact that Mr. and Mrs. Toase had indulged in the luxury of a mountain holiday, using for the purpose a house owned by Pierre André, a leading figure in Haitian politics.⁴⁵ Bird held the view that the school's financial situation was so precarious that they could not afford to shut it for holidays. He also criticised Toase for not taking advantage of his opportunities for evangelism, while Toase retorted that Bird hogged Sunday preaching, never allowing his Local Preachers an opportunity to preach.⁴⁶ But the main criticism seems to have been that, despite a Paris education, Toase spoke very poor French. This was held to be of critical importance (as we shall note again in the next chapter). Bird's opinion here was supported by his colleague Charles Bishop and, more significantly, by Frenchman François Eldin.⁴⁷

Bird was so aggrieved by the Committee's ruling in favour of Toase that he asked permission to return to Europe for a furlough.⁴⁸ In the meantime, a modus vivendi was agreed upon, but the tension remained. Bird blamed the small number of boarders (ten, as opposed to the hoped-for thirty at the beginning of the academic year) on Toase's inefficiency.⁴⁹ Thus, when Bird left Haiti in March 1859, there were three factors which seemed to signal death to the new college. Firstly, Bird's absence would make great difficulties of a financial nature for the

school. Its funding depended so heavily on his own contacts and efforts in raising money. Secondly, there was much uncertainty in the aftermath of the downfall of Soulouque and the advent of his successor Fabre Geffrard in power. And thirdly, Bird's position at the head of the mission was taken over by Charles Bishop who had taken a strong pro-Bird and anti-Toase position at the time of their dispute. In fact it was Bishop who subsequently took the decision to close the secondary school and to terminate Toase's employment.⁵⁰ Toase returned to England in December 1859.⁵¹ The Haitian compiler of an annual Directory of various forms of activity in the Republic, recorded the following judgement in 1863:⁵²

"Ecole Wesleyenne: Cette école est souchée à l'Eglise Wesleyenne. Elle a été fondée en 1843. Elle a produit un bienfait immense de sa fondation jusqu'en 1858, en propageant l'instruction alors qu'elle était négligée sous Soulouque. Une longue absence de son fondateur et la création de beaucoup d'écoles du gouvernement ont contribué à réduire considérablement le nombre des élèves de cet établissement."

The secondary school had tied up so much of the available energy and resources of the Mission. When it failed, it left the Mission drained and empty. The incident leading to its closure reveals a reluctance on Bird's part to share his work with others. The Mission was becoming "his" Mission and he resented interference. He had bad luck with Delatour and also with the Frenchman appointed to replace his son, who died of yellow fever almost at once. And so, despite academic success and great promise that the school "aurait eu une grande influence sur tout le pays"⁵³, this bright jewel in the Mission's crown faded from sight leaving a feeling of dull emptiness.

Personnel

William Cardy and his family left Haiti in 1851 after a period of service lasting fifteen years. He had almost completed the building of a chapel in Jérémie. His wife worked with courage and compassion with the inmates of a leper colony outside the town. Their departure from Jérémie was widely

regretted.⁵⁴ They went to New Brunswick in Canada, still in the service of the WMMS. Later Cardy withdrew and, it seems, died in Chicago about 1871. The leaving of the Cardy family was followed, in 1853, by that of the Hartwells. These two families were a grievous loss to the Methodist Mission in Haiti.⁵⁵

To offset these departures, there were some arrivals. T.D. Toase has already been considered. The replacement for James Hartwell in Cap Haitien was a man named William Williams who remained a mere few months. William Cardy's replacement was Charles Bishop. Bishop, who arrived in April 1851, was then twenty five years old. He had spent some time in business, spoke French fluently, and was a member of one of Guernsey's old Methodist families.⁵⁶ He was unmarried and unordained - both of which presented problems in Haiti where Bird and Bauduy had to travel great distances to administer the sacraments for him. He married Mlle Gallienne in Haiti in 1855⁵⁷, but was not ordained until January 1858.⁵⁸ He was by nature, it appears, something of a legalist and lacking in tact.⁵⁹ When Bird went home for his furlough it was Bishop who held the fort as acting Chairman of the District and, as has been noted, took the decision to close the secondary school and send Toase home.

The other new arrival in this period was twenty six year old Frenchman François Eldin. He had been a missionary with the "Société des Missions évangéliques de Paris" serving in St. Martin and Guadeloupe until 1851. When that mission failed, Eldin, who was without the means to return home, decided to go to Haiti where he arrived in October 1851.⁶⁰ When he made contact with the Wesleyan Mission, Bird employed him in the new secondary school he was then opening.⁶¹ Eldin served the school with great satisfaction⁶², and was sent to replace Williams in Cap Haitien at the end of 1853 even though he was not able to administer the sacraments.⁶³ Whilst in Cap Haitien, Eldin married another of the Heureaux daughters. Then when the Bishops came to Cap

Haitien in mid-1855, Eldin moved to Gonaïves where he remained until 1859. He was ordained at the District Meeting in March 1859 by Bird on the eve of his departure for England.⁶⁴

Very close collaborators with the Wesleyans, at this time, were the English Baptists who, since December 1845, had arrived in Jacmel on the south coast of Haiti. The Wesleyans, who had visited Jacmel several times and were themselves interested in opening work there, were pleased to leave that area to these new colleagues. After the early death of their first missionary in July 1846, a replacement, W.H. Webley, arrived in February 1847. He became a very close friend of the Wesleyans. Mark Bird was called to preside at the opening of the first Baptist chapel in Haiti in March 1853.⁶⁵ Webley's presence was subsequently noted at most of the annual District Meetings of the Wesleyans, and indeed he presided on occasions at their Annual Missionary Meeting, as well as laying hands (together with Bird and Bauduy) on Charles Bishop at his ordination in 1858⁶⁶, and also on Othello Bayard and François Eldin in 1859.⁶⁷ This intimate collaboration with Webley has to be contrasted with the distrust registered for other (American) Baptists in Haiti at that time. Hartwell referred to "Romanist enemies and Baptist friends (?)" who would be wanting to take over the Methodist work in Cap Haitien after his departure.⁶⁸ Bauduy complained at Baptist practices and lifestyle in Cap Haitien ranging from wife sharing to violence, all seemingly permitted after believers had been baptised.⁶⁹ It was through the "intrigues of a baptist schoolmaster" that half of the pupils in the Wesleyan school were said to have been lost in Gonaïves in 1859.⁷⁰

At the opening of this period, it had seemed that one of the brightest prospects for the Mission was that formed for a "native ministry". The time of Soulouque was to be, however, a time of disappointed hopes as far as these

Haitian helpers were concerned. Two candidates had been recommended for the ministry by the 1848 District Meeting. Jean-Jacques Lilavoie, born in 1823, had been a cadet in the Haitian army, carrying dispatches for President Pierrot. He had been converted from licentious living before becoming a teacher in a State elementary school. There, he was persecuted by his headmaster because of his beliefs.⁷¹ The Minutes of the 1848 District Meeting have been lost, but it seems there was an absence of wholehearted support for Lilavoie. London asked for further information. While this exchange of information was taking place, the Mission placed Lilavoie first in charge of the newly-opened school at Croix-des-Bouquets, and then in the Cap Haitien school. By 1851, he and a friend had opened their own school in Port-au-Prince. He was still at that time preaching for the Methodists.⁷² Not long afterwards, however, under pressure from "one whose sectarian views on the subject of Baptism have made him a troubler to our little flock ever since he has been in Port-au-Prince", Lilavoie left the Wesleyans for the Baptists.⁷³

Clairville Heureaux's candidature for the ministry, put forward at the same time as Lilavoie, was accepted. He was appointed Assistant Missionary in Port-au-Prince alongside Bird in 1850.⁷⁴ Bird and Hartwell pressed Heureaux's case to be sent to England for full training for the Methodist ministry.⁷⁵ But the request was turned down to the disappointment of all.⁷⁶ Heureaux was well educated, full of promise, had shown his mettle by assisting Bird and standing in for Hartwell during the latter's prolonged illness in 1850.⁷⁷ It was a great tragedy when, in December 1851, Heureaux died suddenly and unexpectedly. He was 24 years old. The many hopes that had been focussed on him were cruelly dashed.⁷⁸

Pierre Delatour's dismissal in 1854 for reasons of immorality has already been noted. Dalismar Télémaque, converted during Hartwell's ministry in

Cap Haitien, was for a number of years a wandering evangelist in the north of Haiti. He was teaching in the Mission school in Cap Haitien until 1853. Soon afterwards, however, he gave his allegiance to the Baptists under the leadership of Pastor Judd in Port-au-Prince.⁷⁹

Othello Bayard remained faithful and active in the Methodist cause during these years. After running the school in Cap Haitien, he moved in 1848 to Gonaïves where the school made wonderful progress under his leadership. His wife gave instruction in sewing and needlework and a girls' section was opened.⁸⁰ The 1852 District Meeting recommended that he be taken on as an Assistant Missionary. This status was granted and the Bayard family went to Jérémie to replace Charles Bishop in 1855. The District Meeting of that year recommended that he be ordained in order to celebrate the sacraments and maintain a "normal" ministerial rôle in the town. He was finally ordained in March 1859. By then he had moved to Cayes where he replaced St. Denis Bauduy in 1858. It was here that he was to supervise the building of the new chapel and spend the rest of his life.

One other young Haitian emerged at this time. Pierre L. Benjamin had been brought into the church through the ministry of Lilavoie. He had taken over the school at Croix-des-Bouquets when Lilavoie was transferred to Cap Haitien. It has already been noted how he was arrested at the time of the persecution of 1850. He spent 18 months in captivity aboard a war vessel. Subsequently, he served in Methodist schools in Gonaïves and Cap Haitien. He was also a Local Preacher. He left the Wesleyan Mission, with St. Denis Bauduy, in the 1860s and served the Episcopalian Church.

Throughout this period, St. Denis Bauduy was installed in Cayes. He left in 1858 to go to his new appointment in Cap Haitien. We note at this time

the beginning of a more judgemental tone and a concentration on moral and ethical issues. He began putting people out of the church for moral reasons. "Lately I put out a man and his wife; they say I am too rigid and expect to apply to Bayard [for a reversal of my decision], when he comes. If such people are members of society we would do much better not to have any society at all."⁸¹ Almost as soon as he arrived in Cap Haitien, Bauduy put out two members for their "party spirit".⁸² He had put out several in Cayes in 1853 for "not obeying the rules".⁸³ It is true that Methodist preaching had consistently made strong attacks on concubinage, fornication, and other moral misbehaviour. Some members had been cast out for breaking the rules in these matters. In 1848, for example, William Cardy had put out of membership in Jérémie a 20 year old boy for drinking and a pharmacist for living in concubinage.⁸⁴ And James Hartwell had acted similarly towards two members in Gonaïves who had become pregnant at Carnival time in 1851.⁸⁵ But "rule-breaking", the wearing of jewelry, "party spirit", and the like become more markedly a pretext for ex-communication by Bauduy. This was to lead to a great crisis in Cap Haitien and to Bauduy's withdrawal from the Wesleyan Methodist ministry.⁸⁶

Bird too became more rigid and inflexible in these years. He worked untiringly to secure financial independence for the school, leaving himself with little energy to spare for anything else. And yet, even as the crisis with Toase heralded the demise of the boys' boarding school, Bird was singling out a girls' boarding section as his next project.⁸⁷ He spent much of his time in America and Europe in 1859-1860 trying to raise funds for this.⁸⁸

This period marks the loss to Methodism of several young Haitians as well as the departure of two experienced missionaries and the secondary school

headmaster. Those who remained (Bauduy, Bird, Bayard, Eldin and Bishop) were to find themselves under great strain.

Membership and finance

The statistical returns for the period under study seem to indicate a time of relative stability. Membership was recorded at 152 in 1847. This rose to 262 in 1852, falling gradually to 199 by 1860. By the end of this period a "community roll" had been established: that is, a figure representing the total number of people relating to the Mission in all its activities, giving a more accurate idea of the overall influence of the Mission than the membership figures. In 1860, 1,300 were reckoned to be in some way influenced by the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Haiti. But this superficial picture of stability hid other troubling features. In 1847, for example, there had been four Local Preachers, three Class Leaders, ten Sunday School teachers teaching 120 scholars. In 1852, there were seven Local Preachers and ten Class Leaders. By 1860, only three Local Preachers and three Class Leaders were recorded and no Sunday School teachers were noted after 1849. These three categories of lay leadership in the preaching, pastoral, and catechetical spheres, represent the strength of Methodism and are a good yardstick to measure "real" potential for growth and expansion. The signs were very poor at the end of this period.

The financial support received from the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London varied very little during this period, being £1,200 for 1847 and rising to £1,300 in 1860.⁸⁹ But these figures masked a very precarious situation. The Haitian dollar had sunk to fifty to the pound sterling in 1849.⁹⁰ (It had been ten to the pound when Bird had arrived in Haiti ten years earlier). It had fallen to 80 to the pound before rising again to 63 in 1863.⁹¹ Since the money from England did not match the total expenditure of the Mission, and since this was calculated

in sterling, it meant that the level of giving from the Haitian church members and subscribers needed to meet any shortfall had to increase in proportion to the effective devaluation of their currency, - and this just to maintain the status quo. The huge devaluation of the Haitian currency put an enormous financial burden on the Mission. In addition, the government of Soulouque began taxing the income of the missionaries in 1852 and Hartwell reckoned that this reduced the real income of the ministers by 20/30 per cent.⁹² The Missionary Committee did not accommodate these pressures in any way, any overspending incurred in a financial year was debited to the personal accounts of the missionaries in the following year. Bird resented this bitterly.⁹³ Money raised locally depended so much on political and social stability. The massacres of 1848, the Dominican campaigns of 1849 and 1855/6, a fire in Port-au-Prince just as he was getting ready to undertake his round of collections, all left Bird bemoaning smaller incomes than he had hoped for. The fire, he estimated, lost him between £200 and £300.⁹⁴ In 1858, following the loss of the coffee crop there was a rash of bankruptcies and financial failures in the business world and, yet again, income was down on expectations.⁹⁵ Only the determination and personal drive of Mark Bird made financial solvency possible year after year. With his departure for Europe, disaster arrived. Teachers were dismissed in Cap Haitien, the secondary school closed, and the Mission retracted its activities.⁹⁶

During this period, chapels had been built in Cap Haitien (1849), and Jérémie (1851). This latter had been opened despite much provocation from the Roman Catholic priest who put people under pain of ex-communication if they associated with the Methodists and, even though the opening was planned for a Thursday, held rival services at exactly the same time both morning and afternoon.⁹⁷ In Cayes, Bauduy had raised the \$20,000 needed to pay for a plot of land on which a chapel would be built a few years later by Bayard. In addition to

these acquisitions, there seemed to be prospects for expansion in Port-de-Paix in the north west of Haiti, and in Cavillon and Anse-à-Veau in the south. Bird and Bauduy had made four visits to the last of these, conducting marriages and baptisms between 1853 and 1855.⁹⁸ Just to maintain the scale of the established work would have required an important injection of extra finance. To expand it would have demanded even more. This was not to be forthcoming. Mark Bird, instead of accepting the limitations within which the Mission would have to operate, toured America and Europe advocating the cause of a girls' boarding school, an extension of work that was already failing.

Bird welcomed the arrival in power of Fabre Nicolas Geffrard in January 1859. Geffrard had been a subscriber to the Methodist schools for "a number of years". He was described by Bird as a "religious" though not a "pious" man, and sympathetic to the cause of the liberty of worship.⁹⁹ Indeed, Bird saw in the revolution of 1859 which brought Geffrard to power, a new opportunity for the Mission that led him to compare 1859 with 1843.¹⁰⁰ His deception was to be profound.

Chapter Five

NO MEN OR MEANS

1860-1869

It was President Geffrard who brought Haiti into the community of nations. In the years of his presidency, agricultural production, both traditional crops and cotton (developed because of a world shortage during the American civil war), rose substantially. Ports were opened in several towns to handle the increased trade. Geffrard negotiated a Concordat with the Vatican and diplomatic relations were established with Washington. A number of reforms were made. Roads and bridges were built and a water supply provided for the capital. Steamship links with the outside world were made and Haiti supported an international postal convention and also the laying of a transatlantic telephone cable. It is little wonder that many commentators agree that Geffrard was the most progressive president of the nineteenth century.¹

The greatest achievement of these years was probably that made in the realm of education. The school of Medicine was reorganised and schools of Law, Music, and Engineering established.² Primary education was extended and some schools stressed the importance of manual work. Lycées were opened in several provincial towns. The Roman Catholic priests, nuns, and brothers, who arrived as a consequence of the Concordat, gave much-needed impetus to this educational programme. Scholarships were awarded that allowed Haitian students to complete their studies in France. Even so, however, expenditure on education amounted to a mere seven per cent of the national budget in the year 1863-64, and the total number of children who benefitted from these new opportunities still only constituted ten per cent of children of school age.

Geffrard reorganised the armed forces. The size of the army was reduced and those enlisting were given more professional training. Despite all

these signs of progress, however, Geffrard's time in office was a troubled period with many attempts to remove him from office. He reverted to the 1846 Constitution and declared himself president for life. As early as 1862 he dismissed the House of Representatives and found it difficult to encourage others to share with him the tasks of national leadership. All of this disappointed those longing for democracy after the years of Soulouque's despotism. Discontent was heightened by the "Rubalcava affair" when Haitian representatives were obliged to make humiliating gestures to Spanish officials seeking retaliation from the Haitian government for giving help to Dominican insurgents fighting against the Spanish repossession of their former colony in the neighbouring republic (1860-1865). And Geffrard was also thought ill of by many when he invited British help to dislodge his opponent Sylvain Salnave from his refuge in Cap Haitien in 1867. National pride was still sensitive to a too-open dependency upon the colonial powers of the day.

Opposition became so great that Geffrard's government eventually began to wilt. Arson, civil war, allegations of fraud, and a number of bad harvests, all contributed to his fall in February 1867. Despite the plaudits of external commentators, there still appears to be truth in Louis-Joseph Janvier's stinging criticism³:

"La présidence de Geffrard, présidence à vie, ne fut que la continuation de l'empire de Faustin 1^{er}, moins l'empereur, moins la noblesse, moins la paix à l'intérieur, moins les grandes vues de politique extérieure."

Religious developments

In March 1860, after four months of negotiations with the Holy See, a Concordat was agreed which sought to regularize relationships between Haiti and the Vatican. The Concordat consisted of seventeen articles, the fourth of which set out the procedures for appointing bishops and archbishops. This had always been the sticking point in previous negotiations. Although the President of Haiti

was to nominate people to the hierarchy, Rome retained the right of veto.⁴ The choice of first Archbishop of Port-au-Prince fell upon a priest from Brittany, Testard du Cosquer, curé of Brest. He arrived in Haiti to take up his duties in June 1864. By the end of 1865, 56 clergy were serving 38 of Haiti's 75 parishes. As well as Holy Ghost fathers to serve the parishes, there were teaching brothers and sisters of the Order of St. Joseph of Cluny who came to begin educational work and to open a hospital. Bird noted that the cost to the national treasury for clergy stipends amounted to 108,000 francs per year, a figure which did not include "funds for the general support of Roman Catholic worship, [nor] the heavy expenses of clerical seminaries."⁵

The Methodists did not seem specially worried by these developments. Indeed, it was thought by some that this was a very liberal Concordat.⁶ What is more, the newly-arrived hierarchy faced some formidable problems. They had to deal with those irregular priests who had long held sway in Haiti and who now resented the new Archbishop and his zealous Vicar General Alexis-Jean-Marie Guilloux. There were also differences with the secular authorities. The administration of parish funds was entrusted to the priest and to a churchwarden appointed by the municipal authority, an arrangement that caused a great deal of wrangling.⁷ The secular authorities also insisted that all births and marriages had to be registered with them before the sacraments of baptism or marriage were given in church. This was resented by the church. And finally, when the new prelates tried to remove certain statues from some parish churches, this was interpreted by the people as the imposition of a new religion upon them. In these early years of the Concordat, the church had to fight hard for its place in society.

But the church also brought into focus the Haitian love of all things French and the boys' school which was opened in the capital was very successful,

so much so that the Wesleyan school lost half its pupils almost at once to that run by the brothers.⁸

The Roman Catholic church came across its stiffest opposition after the demise of Geffrard when Sylvain Salnave, the new president, and his minister of state Dalismar Delorme, displayed their deep ill-feeling towards the Concordat. Salnave chose one of the pre-concordat priests as his personal chaplain. He suspected that the church was meddling in politics and this led him to dismiss Archbishop Testard du Cosquer in 1869 while the prelate was in Rome attending a congress of bishops.⁹ His dismissal was vigorously contested by Mgr. Guilloux in a statement read in all parish churches. This led to the breaking of all relations with the Vatican. When the Archbishop died in Rome in July 1869, Mgr. Guilloux was appointed Apostolic Vicar by the Vatican. He was soon faced with an unsigned statement in the Moniteur¹⁰ dismissing him from his functions. Guilloux replied:

"Non monsieur le Secretaire d'Etat, le Concordat n'est pas rompu, je ne suis pas révoqué de mes fonctions, les membres du clergé ne sont pas dégagés de l'obéissance envers moi. Je réserve et maintiens, selon le devoir de ma charge, tous les droits de l'Eglise et du Saint-Siège."

The behaviour of Guilloux throughout this time reveals a prelate and a church becoming more sure of themselves. This was a time of laying foundations for future work.

Another new factor in the religious situation in Haiti at this time was the arrival of Anglicans from the United States of America. Among the 2,000 or so immigrants who arrived in Haiti in 1861, was a group of Episcopalians under the leadership of James Theodore Holly, a black priest from New Haven in Connecticut. The group came with the desire of becoming citizens of Haiti as soon as possible. They found Geffrard most accommodating. He gave the

Episcopalians a parcel of land on one of his estates at Drouillard on the Cul-de-Sac plain and visited them regularly. When the Spanish navy arrived to threaten Geffrard in 1862, the "Americans" proved their loyalty to their friend by taking up arms in his cause. But the hope of creating wealth by the efficient cultivation of their land failed to materialise. Heavy rains, sickness, and death, led the Episcopalians to move into Port-au-Prince at the end of 1862.¹¹

The Episcopalians had financial problems too during their first few years. Despite a visit to the United States to raise funds, Holly had great difficulty making ends meet. The Civil War had given the Americans more domestic preoccupations. Those most inclined to support Missions tended to be evangelicals, low church people who disliked the very high churchmanship of ex-Roman Catholic Holly. They also disliked his authoritarianism. Holly intended his church to be a national church, fully staffed by Haitians (despite initial financial dependence on the United States of America). He changed his own name to Jacques Théodore Holly, and sent three young Haitians to America to be trained for the priesthood. Holly was a tireless worker for the cause of the black race and rejoiced when, in 1868, President Grant sent America's first black diplomat, Ebenezer Bassett, to be his ambassador in Port-au-Prince. Holly's personal friendship with Bassett (he acted as his personal secretary) gave him some standing in the eyes of Salnave and also gave him \$900 per annum which, effectively, doubled his stipend. The American church had no objection to a priest's supplementing his income in this way. He had previously eked out his stipend by giving English lessons and mending shoes.¹²

By 1867, the Episcopal church, for all its difficulties, reported having begun work in Cabaret Quatre, Cap Haitien, Aux Cayes, Jacmel, and Jérémie, as well as Port-au-Prince. Bird noted the laying of the foundation stone of the new

Episcopal church in Port-au-Prince by Salnave's Minister-of-State on February 11th 1868.¹³ The Episcopalians were to figure importantly in the future development of the Wesleyan cause.

The Baptists at this time were in great disarray.¹⁴ Their one successful location was Jacmel where William Webley and Jean-Jacques Lilavoie (the former Wesleyan preacher who became the first Haitian ordained Baptist minister) maintained their cause during the difficult days of Soulouque and on into the time of Geffrard. Unfortunately, the Baptists at this time suffered from factionalism. William Judd, an American minister whose practice of strictly closed communion, and whose violent denunciations of infant baptism had alienated the Methodists¹⁵, had resigned from his church but remained in Port-au-Prince on an independent basis. This splintered the work there. Membership figures for 1872 indicated 6 members in Port-au-Prince, 14 in St. Marc, 13 in Port-de-Paix, 5 in Cap Haitien, 16 in Grande Rivière du Nord, 10 in Dondon, 19 in St. Raphael, and 71 in Jacmel; that is, a total number of members throughout the Republic of 154.¹⁶

In the 1860s, therefore, we note the arrival of the Episcopalians, the formalising of relationships between the Vatican and the Haitian government, and also the ongoing witness of the Baptists, American and English. None of these showed significant numerical progress during the decade now under review. This perhaps should have been the time for the Wesleyan Mission to take a strong hold on the public mind as the longest-established regular church group in the Republic. But external and internal constraints made this a very difficult time for the Methodists too.

The departure of St. Denis Bauduy from the Methodist Mission¹⁷

The tragedy was to happen in Cap Haitien. But the complex story began in that town long before Bauduy's arrival there and in no way involved him. A later letter¹⁸ makes the comment that the "trouble" began in the time of William Williams. Williams was there throughout 1853 but there is no further detail, either in the letter referred to, or in Williams' own correspondence, as to the nature of the trouble. Williams does refer, however, to being shown around the town and introduced to the leading people of Cap Haitien by Judge Héraux.¹⁹ The only other clue from the correspondence sent to London during that year is a question put by Bird to the Missionary Society secretaries on the question of divorce.²⁰ He described the situation whereby marriage and divorce were a contractual affair between secular authority and those concerned, with the church's rôle of secondary importance. In the Roman Catholic church a service of blessing was denied those seeking it if one of the partners had been divorced. Bird wanted to know what the Methodist position should be in such cases. He wanted to know "especially for young missionaries". This question was followed up by another formulated at the District Meeting in January 1854.²¹ In view of the fact that divorce "is extensively practiced" in Haiti, were there "any cases at all (sic)" where divorce may be recognized? The meeting was seeking this advice lest any requests for re-marriage be received.²²

It now appears clear that this seemingly hypothetical discussion of divorce did, in fact, relate to a real and anticipated problem. Charles Bishop arrived in Cap Haitien early in 1855. François Eldin had replaced Williams at the beginning of 1854 and moved to Gonaïves at the arrival of Bishop. It is clear that, on Bishop's arrival, Chevallier d'Héraux (as he was in Soulouque's time) had already divorced his wife for adultery.²³ But he wanted to remain a member of the church. There were no problems until Héraux sought to marry Julie Heureaux, the daughter of Cap Haitian Methodism's other judge and sister of Clairville

Heureaux who had candidated for the Wesleyan ministry before his death in 1851. Eldin, who was sympathetic to the request, tried to influence Bishop. But Bishop was adamant that Julie would be forever excommunicated if she married Héraux. Héraux was furious and accused Bishop of pretending to omnipotence. The marriage took place and the religious service of blessing was performed by Eldin.²⁴ Héraux withdrew his membership of the church but pointed out that he had not been expelled from its fellowship. This was to be an important point in subsequent developments.²⁵ In all this, Bird seems to have given his colleagues total freedom to act according to the light of their conscience. Since there was obviously such a radical difference between the conscience of Eldin and Bishop, Bird's approach was not very helpful to the maintenance of good relationships between the missionaries.²⁶

In 1857 the Héraux couple approached Eldin (in Gonaïves) with a request to have their recently-born baby baptised. Eldin raised the subject with Bird who, in turn, referred the matter to London for a ruling from the Annual Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Héraux accused Bird of feebleness, and it is difficult not to agree, though Bird wanted very much to back up his one remaining English colleague.

When Bauduy arrived in May 1859 all this had already happened. He had not been involved in any way. On his arrival, he found that Héraux, who, he thought, had been put out of the church by Bishop, had been put in charge of the congregation by the members during the interregnum between ministers.²⁷ Bauduy found no reason to complain, nor did he hear others complaining, about the position or conduct of Héraux. Bishop and Bauduy exchanged a number of letters at this time when Bishop was handing over to Bauduy, letters whose intention was to prepare the new minister for his responsibilities in Cap Haitien. At that time,

Bird was in Europe and Bishop was in charge of the Mission. He made his strong hostility to the Héraux family very clear.²⁸ But he instructed Bauduy to act according to his own conscience on the matter of whether to baptise the second Héraux child. Bauduy accordingly performed the baptism. Bishop was displeased that Bauduy had referred the matter to the members for their advice. He felt that the minister ought to make his own mind up and act accordingly. He alerted Bauduy to the possibility of lies and deception ahead.

Another issue, quite different but just as explosive, arose in September 1860. Bauduy, who had ministered in Port-au-Prince, Jérémie, Aux Cayes, and Gonaïves, without a similar experience, found what was a very difficult problem for him. In Cap Haitien the people were wearing what, to him, was an objectionable amount of jewelry.²⁹ He wrote: "with regard to baques and pendants I was forced to publish Mr Wesley's notes on I Timothy 2.9 and I Peter 3.3. Those who would not submit left us."³⁰ Wesley had commented on the first of these verses, referring to the curling of hair, wearing of jewels, and costly clothing, that "these are expressly forbidden by name to all women (here is no exception) professing godliness; and no art of man can reconcile with the Christian profession the wilful violation of an express command". And Wesley's comment on the second verse that "these ought never to be allowed, much less defended, by Christians" was equally categorical.³¹ The result was that five³² or six³³ members were dismissed.

Bird returned from Europe a grief-stricken man. His wife Susan had died in New York on the return journey. In deference to Bird's feelings, no mention was made at the District Meeting in January 1861 of the dispute which had broken out during his absence. Matters got worse. In October 1861 Mrs Bishop, still in Port-au-Prince, suffered her fifth miscarriage. Bird somewhat

peremptorily decided that a change of air was needed by the Bishops and wrote to Bauduy to inform him that, after the 1862 District Meeting, Bishop would replace him in Cap Haitien and he, Bauduy, would go to Léogâne/Anse-à-Veau to open up new work. This was a total shock to Bauduy.³⁴ Mrs Bauduy adamantly refused the suggestion and it was agreed that she could stay in Port-au-Prince for as long as it took to help her make up her mind. But she did not want to go to what she described as a "crab's hole".³⁵ Bauduy himself seems to have been disposed to go wherever sent.³⁶

It was this decision to send Bishop back to Cap Haitien, taken so arbitrarily by Bird and in such tragic ignorance of the deep tensions that had arisen during his absence from Haiti, that raised a storm among the members in that town. A group of them wrote to Bauduy assuring him of their support, and also to Bird petitioning that anyone other than Bishop should be sent. They were afraid that Bishop, on his return, would discipline the "Héraux group" which had enjoyed Bauduy's favour, and let back the group that had left in the "jewelry dispute". Those who wrote to Bauduy considered the decision to put Bishop back in Cap Haitien to be "political" rather than pastoral. Bird travelled to Cap Haitien and, at Bauduy's request, visited only those people who had left the church. He was later criticized for not visiting others with different views.³⁷

The whole matter was brought before the District Meeting in January 1862. Bird wrote to Héraux: "Brother Bishop will come and preach among you at the Cape the gospel of peace and love - the Church will remain as it is - no one shall disturb it. If the members themselves break and rend it they shall take the responsibility of it before God. The Eternal 'can make these stones children of Abraham' ".³⁸ It was suggested that there was a reconciliation between Bishop and Bauduy at the District Meeting and that Bauduy had resolved to go, after all,

to Léogâne. In the copy of Bishop's letter that Bauduy sent to London he added in pencil in the margin the words: "I never said so".³⁹ Indeed any reconciliation seems to have been very superficial. Bauduy objected to the hypocrisy of Bishop who greeted Héraux to his face as a brother while slandering him behind his back. He also criticized Bird who, attempting to please everybody, wanted to be "pour et contre".⁴⁰ Héraux and the others were enraged because Bird had promised to consult the membership in Cap Haitien before making final decisions. But there was no such consultation.⁴¹ So the Cap Haitien members decided to petition the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference to get the decision reversed.⁴² When Bauduy heard that the appeal had not been upheld⁴³, he resigned from the ministry and ended a noble period of service that had lasted from the time of John Brown and James Catts in 1818.

The whole incident seems to have been a mixture of very bad judgement and ill luck. As Bird wrote, if only the issue had been raised at the 1861 District Meeting rather than deferring it because of his mourning and grief, then the matter might easily have been patched up. The stationing change, effected arbitrarily, but no doubt innocently, in October 1861, exacerbated matters beyond bearing.⁴⁴ During his visit to Cap Haitien in November 1861, Bird should have ignored Bauduy's advice and visited all the parties involved in the dispute. By seeing merely the few who had been ejected, Bird must have given the impression that he had accepted their version of what had happened and that that had influenced his decision to send Bishop back to Cap Haitien.

Bird had made his decision out of compassion for Mrs Bishop. But Mrs Bauduy too had experienced deep, personal, tragedy at this same time. Her one remaining son (the other two were already dead) died in the south of France in January 1862.⁴⁵ That left one daughter as the only surviving child. But this did

not in any way influence the mind of Bird, or lead to a reversal of the decision to send the Bauduy couple to the loneliness of a new and pioneering rôle in a relatively backward community. Bauduy was 60 years old at that time.

There were also some very reprehensible judgements. One member, who had been put out of the church in Cap Haitien by Bauduy, was re-admitted to membership by Bishop in Port-au-Prince. The London Committee rightly condemned Bishop for this.⁴⁶ Bishop retorted that Bauduy had similarly readmitted Héraux in Cap Haitien. But, as we have seen, Héraux had never been ejected from membership.⁴⁷ And again, when Bauduy was in Port-au-Prince at the beginning of 1862, waiting for his wife to make up her mind about going to Léogâne, he was not once asked by Bird to lead worship in the church there. Yet when Bishop came for just one Sunday Bird asked him to preach three times.⁴⁸

But perhaps the most gruesome item in this catalogue of errors and misjudgement can be laid at the door of London Committee. It seems that Bishop had accrued a debt in his personal account with London of over £250 in the seven years he had been in Haiti. Since his annual stipend was £199.10.0d. it can be appreciated that this was a considerable amount to be overdrawn. The Finance Sub-Committee in London, in looking at his case, ruled in his favour which effectively wiped out the debt.⁴⁹ How bitterly must Bauduy have received the news that the same Sub-Committee had ruled that native ministers were henceforth to receive only £125 per annum. Bauduy had always received the same as his European colleagues. Fortunately, Bauduy's decision to leave the Wesleyan fold did not depend on this ruling. He had already gone.

Bauduy entered the service of the Episcopalians. He organised a group of worshippers, informally at first, but as an ordained priest from 1866. With

James T. Holly, he shouldered the burdens of the Episcopalian Church until others were ordained in 1872. Bauduy was strongly fancied to become the first Bishop of the Episcopalian Church in Haiti in 1874 but was passed over in favour of Holly on the grounds of his age.⁵⁰ He continued to be a good friend of the Methodists, giving the sacraments in Port-au-Prince and Cap Haitien when there were no resident ministers in those towns⁵¹, burying the dead and visiting the faithful as late as 1881. Bauduy died in 1891.⁵² His departure from the Church he had helped to shape since its earliest days is one of the great tragedies of the Wesleyan Mission. He had looked after the congregation at Port-au-Prince virtually alone between 1828-1842. It was he who had opened up the work in Jérémie and Aux Cayes. His wife too was one of the first generation Methodists. All their children had died except Charlotte, who remained a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Port-au-Prince. St. Denis Bauduy was truly a tireless and faithful worker who sought, through the Wesleyan body, to bring moral and spiritual improvement to his fellow-citizens.

Other losses

Othello Bayard had been in the service of the Mission since the days of James Hartwell in Port-au-Prince.⁵³ In 1858, with his wife and seven children, he was stationed in the town of Aux Cayes. As an Assistant Missionary, he was subject (as were all Methodist missionaries) to the 1834 Instructions to the Wesleyan Missionaries. The last regulation listed in these Instructions laid down with great emphasis "that no Methodist Missionary may 'follow trade' ".⁵⁴ When the Finance Sub-Committee, in January 1863, ruled that native ministers were to receive £125 per annum with £10 for expenses, Bishop and Bird were horrified.⁵⁵ The 1860 District Meeting had ruled that Bayard be paid £170 per annum and that one of his sons be placed in a Methodist school in England.⁵⁶ This last request

was very speedily turned down⁵⁷, but no comment was made about the stipend being paid to Bayard. The 1863 District Meeting Minutes noted that the Bayard family needed £330 per annum to live on.⁵⁸ The reduction of stipend from the £170 already being received to the new level imposed by London of £125 was a crushing blow.

On April 17th 1864 the new Methodist chapel in Aux Cayes was opened. Bauduy had raised the money and bought the land, Bayard had financed and supervised the building of the chapel. Bird preached at the morning service, Bishop in the evening. There were 500 people in attendance. Bird heaped fulsome praise on Bayard for all his work and dedication. But in the same letter to London that reported all these happenings⁵⁹, Bird was obliged to add a note that Bayard had become engaged in business affairs, that he had hidden this from his colleagues, and was trading under an assumed name. He thus automatically put himself in contradiction of the rules of the Society and thereby ceased to be a native minister. Bird deeply regretted this. Despite his suspension, Bayard continued to serve the cause in Aux Cayes. For the years 1864 and 1865, the Mission gave him a token payment of £50 per annum. After that all payment ceased and Bayard continued to serve the Mission freely until his death. It is tragic that the rules which enjoined that missionaries should not engage in trade were so rigorously followed when the other part of that rule, namely that a reasonable salary be paid to native and other ministers, was so flagrantly overlooked.⁶⁰ We have already seen how the \$900 per annum received by J.T. Holly of the Episcopal Church at this very time (about £180) was not enough to meet his needs. He was obliged to take on extra work to make ends meet. His family needs were roughly similar to Bayard's. Engaging in supplementary activity did not hinder either his efficiency or the success of his church.

Another to be badly affected by the 1863 financial stringencies was François Eldin. Since 1858 he had been in Jérémie with his wife and three children. They had bought a house there with money raised largely from Mrs Eldin's family.⁶¹ Eldin objected to being reduced to £125 per annum for two reasons. First, his wife was expecting a fourth child and life would be more expensive. But he also objected to being paid less than Bishop and Bird.⁶² His colleagues shared his view. They felt that the stipends received by both Eldin and Bayard were well known to the London Committee from the annual accounts presented over a number of years. In their view, therefore, it was inhuman to cut them now. Eldin had tied up his capital in the purchase of his house before he knew anything about impending salary cuts. He had hoped to recover some of his money from amounts allowed by the Society for renting accommodation.⁶³ For a while this led to a breakdown of confidence in Bird who really could do nothing about it. Indeed, Bird was pleading with London for more money in order to improve Eldin's lot.⁶⁴ A good reconciliation was effected between them, to some extent due to a mediating rôle played by Baptist missionary Guillaume Bauman.⁶⁵ But Eldin was forced to leave Haiti.⁶⁶ He went in March 1864, returning to his native France. Before he left, he published a "romance on the Héraux divorce case"⁶⁷ in which Héraux is portrayed as the person in the right. It was an embarrassing note on which to leave. Fourteen years later, in Toulouse, Eldin published his Haiti, treize ans de séjour aux Antilles in which he wrote lovingly of the time he spent in Haiti, and very feelingly for the black people who were its citizens. It was another tragedy to have lost him.

Charles Bishop was the next to leave. Since his arrival in 1851 a great deal had happened. After her sad string of miscarriages, his wife did eventually give birth to a baby boy.⁶⁸ While living in Jérémie he had suffered a brutal robbery, the only time Bird had heard of a physical attack on a foreigner in all the

time he was in Haiti.⁶⁹ But for all his apparent self-confidence, the Héraux affair had shaken Bishop. He was somewhat insensitive, suggesting, for example, in the midst of the financial crisis that Haitians needed to eat less meat than Europeans.⁷⁰ The Bishops lived at a higher standard than their colleagues.⁷¹ The Héraux affair, the matter of his debt, and the steady loss of workers, must have dispirited him. He was delighted to be called home.⁷² He hoped that an Englishman rather than a Frenchman would be sent to replace him: "Our experience of this country and knowledge of the people lead us to wish you to send out Englishmen. English solidity, truthfulness, and common sense, are the things (sic) for Hayti."⁷³ By June he had gone and Bird was left alone with Benjamin, a non-ordained native agent, as his only colleague.

In 1867, Bird reported the death of Jean Charles Pressoir who died on July 13th of that year.⁷⁴ Pressoir had been one of the first converts to the Methodist cause in 1817, was a Local Preacher who had opened a mission station at his estate in Fond Cheval, 30 miles out of Port-au-Prince into the mountains towards Mirebalais.⁷⁵ His large family were all either hearers or members of the Methodist Church at his death. He left fond memories in the minds of Catholics and Protestants alike.⁷⁶ His death completes the catalogue of leaders lost to the Mission during the period under review.

Sunday

It was at this time that Sunday ceased to be the principal market day in Haiti. Pressure for this last had mounted after an earthquake felt in the south of Haiti in April 1860. A petition was presented to the government by Anse-à-Veau Methodists Labissière and Salomon that Sunday trading cease as an act of penitence to appease the anger of God which he had shown in the earthquake.⁷⁷ This soon became a campaign and Catholics and Protestants alike joined in. One

by one the main towns and cities decided to abandon Sunday trading. The abolition of the Sunday market in Port-au-Prince came about largely through the leadership of Methodist mayor J.J. Rivière and the Roman Catholic curé Fourcade.⁷⁸ In addition, the Sunday parade of the National Guard, a feature of the nation's life since winning its independence, was ended at this time.⁷⁹

Analysis of the Mission by J.B. Dehoux and reaction in London

One of the main events in the Methodist calendar was the Missionary Meeting held in the course of the annual District Meeting. It was customary to invite some personality of note to take the chair for these meetings. In 1862, General J.B. Damier, one of Geffrard's ministers, had done so. In 1865, ex-ambassador to the Court of St. James, General Bonce, had officiated. And Thomas Madiou, another of Geffrard's cabinet ministers and his country's most able historian, was chairman in 1867. Bird saw this as an expression of confidence in the Mission on the part of the government. In 1863, the chair was taken by Dr. J.B. Dehoux, the son of a Methodist family, who had completed his medical studies in Paris before practising medicine in Port-au-Prince. He was later to become Dean of the Medical School and to have great influence on the life of Louis-Joseph Janvier, another Methodist doctor whose contribution to black self-awareness was to be immense.

Mark Bird translated and sent the whole of Dehoux's long speech to London, no doubt feeling that it put any case he might have made for continued confidence in the Mission more strongly than he could have done himself. Dehoux reminded his audience (Roman Catholic as well as Protestant) that it was Alexandre Pétion who had invited the Methodists to come to Haiti. These had never sought merely to proselytise, nor were their views sectarian. They wanted "to establish true Christian moral principle in Hayti". Dehoux made this point

several times in the course of his speech. He recognized the dangers of dissension and argued that the Methodist Mission was a force that was fighting for national unity by bringing the advantages of Christianity to the population of Haiti. And the people wanted Methodism. They had contributed a total of over \$120,000 Cur. to its various appeals down to 1854. The Methodists, acting on John Wesley's dictum that they were "the friends of all and the enemies of none", had pushed ahead with their twin objectives of establishing Christian morality and education. Dehoux lauded the Haitian tradition of religious toleration that had prevailed in Roman Catholic Haiti. He hoped that the then recently signed Concordat would be more an instrument for bringing a "clergy of moral character" to his country than an indication that the "Romish Church will interfere with that spirit of religious liberty which is so deeply seated in the Haytian character and affections". He reminded his audience of the loss which had resulted to France after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day and the repeal of the Edict of Nantes when her "industrious protestants" had taken flight. "Uniformity, therefore, being impossible, the sooner a nation establishes religious liberty the better." Dehoux summed up his speech as follows:

"In fact, my friends, you doubtless see that sectarianism is not the aim of this movement, but it is simply to spread Christian knowledge and instruction, to inspire a sense of honour, and rectify the conscience, to spread Christian charity, and lead a people to abandon vice, to elevate Woman, and teach the importance of Marriage; these are not sectarian aims, rather the aim is the triumph of intelligence over absurdity, or pure Christian morality over immorality, and of industry over indolence. Yea, it is the victory of enlarged thought and view over all narrowness of mind, by teaching men that without sound principle the foundations of society are loose. These are the principles which are the true source of peace; Governments may establish law, tribunals, and prisons, but without these principles universally diffused, all will be vain. It is enlightened conscience which after all must rule, it must also be observed that enlightened and conscientious men are true lovers of independence. They submit to law not from slavish force, but from principle, their consciences becoming the rule of life; right by law, discovers the power of man, but right by conscience discovers that God has spoken to the heart."⁸⁰

This is the first substantial analysis made by a Haitian of the nature and rôle of the Methodist Mission in Haiti. Dehoux's often repeated claim that the Mission was not a sectarian body seeking merely to proselytise, was part of his case that the Mission ought to be considered an active collaborator with government in the tasks of nation-building. The Methodists had proved their fidelity to the independence of Haiti precisely by their non-sectarian nature and the complete absence of colonialising or ultramontane motives. He was careful to point to the possible dangers of the new Roman Catholic presence and hoped that they too would see national progress as the main object of their work.

Those who read this discourse in London, however, had failed to understand the subtleties of the Haitian political scene. They saw the constant references to non-sectarian aims and the absence of proselytising drive, as meaning that the Mission was more concerned to make a good impression on the Government and submit to its dictates than to concentrate on the unstinting evangelical effort needed to win large numbers of Haitian souls for the church.⁸¹ The London secretaries underlined all Dehoux's references to non-sectarianism, and this, together with lack of numerical progress and the fact that Dehoux was not at that time a Church member, led London to respond very negatively and critically to the Mission. In fact, in view of the great problems and loss of missionaries and preachers we have already noted, this speech was a very clear clarion call both to Haitian and British supporters of the cause, to rally round the banner while there was still time.

The nature of London's misapprehensions and criticism needs to be looked at in greater detail. This was a difficult period in the history of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. The Society's income had reached a peak in the mid-1840s of over £90,000. Then came the internal controversies that led

to the Fly Sheets and the loss of huge numbers of members and the subsequent loss of income.⁸² The lost ground was not to be regained until the late 1860s.⁸³ In the meantime, the Missionary Society was continuing to expand its work. Thus, in 1861, Methodist work was begun in Italy.⁸⁴ Also, with the receipt of a large legacy left to the Society to establish work in China, a big effort was made to put activities in that land on a serious footing after many years of interest and some tentative work.⁸⁵ While the finances of this last mission were independently secured, it made a great demand on available manpower.

Another source of contention at this time related to the secretaries' disappointment with the West Indies as a whole. The churches there "had failed to mature in the way of self-support and self-government".⁸⁶ Membership, recorded in 1844 at 55,000, had gone down to 34,475 in 1866. A great deal of building undertaken in the years of plenty left several thousand pounds worth of debts in the years of slump.⁸⁷ Dr Elijah Hoole, one of the London secretaries, was himself passionately interested in India and so resented the claims of the West Indies which he felt should be more self-sufficient after so many years of help.⁸⁸ These very general remarks will help us to understand the tone and content of the Committee's directives to Bird at this time in the wider context of financial strictures directed at the West Indian church in general rather than just at Haiti. For all that, they were devastating.

Much of the criticism of the London secretaries arose from the custom of paying Assistant Missionaries⁸⁹ the same stipend as their English colleagues. This was considered a mistake not only in Haiti, but also throughout the West Indies.⁹⁰ Hoole accused these native ministers of remaining "cooped up in villages" instead of seeking every opportunity to "itinerate extensively and throw themselves upon the people for support".⁹¹ He resented, as we have seen,

Dehoux's theme of non-sectarian, non-proselytising, missionaries whose task was to inject a moral tone into the effort to build the nation. He seems to have had particular criticism of Othello Bayard whom he accused of "aping" the Europeans and being extravagant in his demands.⁹² Boyce, a co-secretary of Hoole, wrote of Bayard as "out to get money out of us".⁹³ Both Bird and Bishop passionately defended their Haitian colleagues against these attacks. They referred to the family needs of Bayard, to his outstanding service, and the success of his work. But the Committee persisted in lowering the stipends of native ministers. We should note, however, that this was happening across the West Indies and not just in Haiti.

The second level of criticism from London came in the form of recommendations made at various times about the kind of ministry that should evolve in Haiti. Unfortunately, the advice was inconsistent, ill thought out, and totally unhelpful. The secretaries had obviously been reading reports in the London Baptist Magazine⁹⁴ about the Baptist cause at St. Raphael in the north of Haiti. This work was reported to be flourishing under the leadership of Haitian minister Metellus Ménard.⁹⁵ They were impressed by Ménard's success in drawing his financial support from the people to whom he ministered. Bird pointed out that Ménard was able to do so well simply because he eked out the money that came from his members with what he earned from his other activities. This was not allowed to Wesleyans. Ménard was living on about £300 per annum, Bird estimated. The Wesleyans had never had as much as £200. And Ménard had been ordained to the ministry by American William Judd who was not obliged to refer the matter to anyone else. Bird was not given this freedom. A very lengthy process had to be pursued before a Haitian could be accepted and ordained into the Wesleyan Methodist Church. So, whilst he applauded the success of what was

happening at St. Raphael, Bird dismissed it as a point of comparison with the Wesleyan cause.

Bird was equally adamant on the question of developing a native ministry. When all his colleagues had left, Bird and the District Meeting had asked for permission to ordain Pierre L. Benjamin (then teaching in the Methodist school in Gonaïves) in order that there should be a continuing possibility of offering the sacraments to the north of Haiti. London refused. Bird then wrote asking that Benjamin, as a layman, be given a dispensation to give the sacraments without ordination. London ignored this request despite several reminders from Bird.⁹⁶ Benjamin ultimately joined Bauduy in the ranks of the Episcopalian ministry. The London committee, influenced it seems by a recent visit to Haiti by Edward Bean Underhill, general secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, urged Bird to introduce "colporteurs"⁹⁷ into the Wesleyan work. Bird would have welcomed such a band of helpers but he and Bishop emphasised that this could not be done at the expense of ministers. Colporteurs would be fine for the rural and mountainous areas as auxiliaries, but only those ignorant of Haiti could suggest that little-educated agents could accomplish much amongst the well-educated urban populations.⁹⁸

In 1865, Bird made a determined effort to revive the work of the Mission. Five young Local Preachers had spoken that year at the Missionary Meeting. Two of them were proposed by Bird for training at the Wesleyan Theological Institute in London. These were Joseph Hogarth and J. Catts Pressoir (son of Jean Charles Pressoir).⁹⁹ The Haitian church would pay their travelling expenses to England¹⁰⁰, and also support them on their return.¹⁰¹ The suggestion was turned down. Bird went further and organised a District Finance Committee that undertook to raise £300 per annum if five missionaries were sent from

England. They promised that, once these missionaries had begun their work, the amount promised could well be improved upon. There seems to be no evidence that the proposal was ever considered by the London committee.¹⁰² It is difficult to see in all this any consistency between the urging of a native ministry and the refusal to encourage any of the initiatives being undertaken to achieve one. If Bird was cautious about a too-hasty adoption of a native ministry, we do well to remember the misfortunes he had had with his candidates in the past.¹⁰³

All this led the secretaries to write of "withdrawal" and "failure", and of the "anti-sacrificial character" of the Haitian ministers.¹⁰⁴ Bird responded with vigour. But he knew he was beaten. "I do not believe you can leave us to sink and be innocent before God", he wrote.¹⁰⁵ He was bitter that all his requests had been turned down "without a syllable of regret". He was sure of the value and importance of the Mission. "I am not convinced that the will of God, in this case, leaves the English fathers of this Mission without guilt."¹⁰⁶

The Committee in London, with no consultation with Bird, resolved in July 1867 as follows¹⁰⁷:

To communicate with the President of the French Conference with a view to ascertain if the desire to occupy that island (Haiti) as a Mission Station which was felt some time ago still exists, and offering if they will undertake to work a Mission there a fixed grant of £500 per annum.

Bird was certain that he wanted nothing to do with the French Conference that had had problems of manpower and finance since its becoming the first autonomous Conference of British Methodism in 1852.¹⁰⁸ Instead, he turned his gaze in the direction of the United States of America. He wrote a letter to Benjamin Hunt, an American who had been in business in Haiti for a number of years, in which he sought help from American sources in the event of withdrawal of support from England.¹⁰⁹ He wrote in a letter to London: "Divine Providence

is beginning to point Hayti to the United States as to her religious interests. Our own English Mission, after many years labour and expense, is a wreck and the American Episcopal Church not the Methodist is taking them [the various locations] up. I am quite persuaded that if Hayti ever needs to send young men to America, there will be no difficulty as to their reception."¹¹⁰ In the event, the Mission was transferred neither to American nor French bodies. The London Committee began not to answer Mark Bird's aggrieved letters. He felt himself abandoned with "no men or means".¹¹¹

Bird's personal vicissitudes

This had been a demanding decade for Bird. His wife Susan, had died in New York on her way back to Haiti from Europe in December 1860. Bird had met Susan, then aged 24, on a visit to Jersey in 1838 where his mother was buried. During his visit he had conducted missionary meetings in the island's Methodist churches. He had then spent four years in Jamaica. He and Susan were married in December 1838 before they sailed together for Grand Cayman where they spent a year before being called to Haiti. During that year, Theophilus, the first of the seven children she bore, was born. Only three of her children survived. Two died in the aftermath of the Cap Haitien earthquake of 1842. Theophilus, after helping in the boarding school, went to Cornell University. So too did Arthur, born in 1853. Lydia, who was born in 1851, was educated in Jersey and was married there to a Methodist minister T.J. Desprès in 1870. Susan Bird, ill already when she travelled home to see her aged mother, died on the return journey. She was Mark Bird's indefatigable companion, distributing class tickets, and running the boarding school for the years it existed. She was buried in the Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, New York.¹¹²

Bird knew the difficulties of being a single man in Haiti. On November 13th 1862 he was married by the Reverend William Webley, his Baptist friend and colleague from Jacmel, to Ann Eleanor Gray, a lady of colour from Kingston, Jamaica.¹¹³ The second Mrs Bird supported her husband well despite indifferent health. Ignoring advice to the contrary, Bird stayed in Haiti through the worst of the civil war between the piquets and the cacos¹¹⁴ that raged between 1867 and 1869. There were explosions, fires, and siege, and many people died in the streets of Port-au-Prince. But Bird set himself the goal of clearing the debt on the Port-au-Prince property. This done, he felt able to travel home to settle Susan's estate on his three children and arrange for Lydia's wedding. The second Mrs Bird was ill on arrival in Jersey.

Throughout this time Bird was planning or writing a book on Haiti in praise of the black race. He had lived in Jamaica during the exciting days just after Emancipation. He came to Haiti in 1840. As he wrote later: "Je contemplai avec un vif intérêt, pour la première fois, l'homme noir, libre, chez lui, dans son propre foyer, et, dans toute la force du term, indépendant".¹¹⁵ It was this independence, and the potential for self-government that the black race possessed, that Bird set about recording in his The Black Man: or Haitian Independence which he saw through the press in New York on his way home in 1869. It later appeared in French though in a not very felicitous translation. The book's 461 pages tell the historical narrative of Haiti since independence. It was prefaced by a recommendation from an official Haitian commission who recognized it as the work of a friend of their country who, nevertheless, had written "with perfect frankness". It was published for black people in America who, in the opinion of the Commission, "should understand the merits and resources of Hayti". James Leyburn, in the bibliography to his The Haitian People describes the book as "second-hand history from familiar sources, with religious

overtones of a Wesleyan variety. Only occasional illuminating remarks about contemporary conditions."¹¹⁶ This is a fair comment as far as it goes. The chapter on Geffrard's Haiti is as good a first-hand account of conditions in Haiti at that time as exists. Dantès Bellegarde, in his own History La Nation Haitienne, leans on it heavily.¹¹⁷ Its real merit, however, is the obvious love for Haiti and Haitians that shines through the accounts of bloodletting and strife with which it is so full. That one who had seen so much civil chaos in the thirty years he had spent in Haiti could still be proud of that land and the freedom it proclaimed for black people, when most white commentators who bothered to give Haiti their time in these post-Soulouque days, were dismissive or mocking, still strikes the sympathetic reader with the breath of pure faith and love.

The statistical information for this decade is less abundant than that available for other periods. But it is clear that the membership continued to hover around the 200 mark throughout this time, with 140 or so of these recorded in Port-au-Prince. The Community Roll still claimed a total constituency of about 1,600 people. The schools, apart from the one run by Benjamin at Gonaïves, numbered only 130 pupils in 1864. This is the last figure available in the period now under review. The financial support from London diminished greatly as the number of missionaries decreased. From £1,300 in 1860, to £800 in 1864, down to £300 in 1868, before it was withdrawn altogether. It was a time of no men or means indeed.¹¹⁸

And so we come to the end of this depressing chapter. When Bird was in Jersey in 1870, he received the following letter from members of the Port-au-Prince church. He submitted it to the Missionary Committee as the report of the work of the Mission for 1869 and as indicative of the mood and spirit of the Methodists there.

"We are now doing as was done when our two first missionaries, the Rev's J. Brown and J. Catts left us more than fifty years ago - exhorting and watching over one another ... and although some have fallen off from various reasons, we have had some very interesting cases of conversion to God of late. St. Denis Bauduy, our former missionary, has during this year rendered us great assistance in various ways, at our funerals, visiting the sick, giving the sacrament etc ... in fact he is as zealous in our cause as any amongst us.

The Romish Church are doing all they possibly can against us, especially since the withdrawal of one among them from the Romish Church some little time ago who joined the American Episcopalians.

At Cayes, O. Bayard is working as usual ... and the work ... there gains ground."¹¹⁹

This was indeed a repetition of the situation in 1818, and the tragedy of the unnecessary loss of Bauduy and Bayard is deepened by this report. Subsequent to this letter's being written, the final terrible blow struck the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. On November 17th 1869, President Sylvain Salnave, cornered by his opponents in Port-au-Prince, was subjected to a heavy bombardment. There was another great fire. The Mission premises, property, and possessions, brick, stone, and wood, were totally consumed in the fire. For the second time, Bird's library was destroyed.¹²⁰ Everything was razed to the ground.¹²¹

In August 1870, the second Mrs Bird died after a long illness. This was the nadir point for Bird personally and also for the Mission he had loved and toiled for so hard. In a letter written eight years previously, Bird had written¹²²:

"Laugh at impossibilities and cry it shall be done."

He needed to invoke that spirit now.

Chapter 6

BELIEVING AGAINST HOPE

Mark Baker Bird's last years: 1869-1879

Mark Bird arrived back in Haiti on December 2nd 1871 after an absence of over two and a half years. The welcome he received from the members at Port-au-Prince was rapturous.¹ The time of his absence had been difficult for him. He had settled the estate of his first wife on his three children. He had seen to the wedding arrangements of his daughter Lydia. His second wife had died in the summer of 1870 after a long illness.² Throughout the time of his absence, he was unsure of his long-term plans. The destruction of the Mission premises in Port-au-Prince in November 1869, led the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society once again to consider closing the Mission. Bird's gloom was further compounded by the decision of the Committee to superannuate him. He felt ashamed to be a supernumerary minister at 63 years of age. "I can only say I am profoundly grieved and discouraged I feel fit for nothing I have no plans."³ He even suggested that, on the allowance he was to receive as a retired minister, he be allowed to settle in Haiti. "Better that", he argued, "than to be a supernumerary without real and positive need".⁴

From the end of August 1871, the tone of his letters changed totally. A decision had been made to allow him to return to Haiti as Chairman of the District. One of the factors that led to this abrupt change was undoubtedly the report of George Sargeant, Chairman of the Jamaica District, who had visited Haiti in June 1870. He had visited the members, rich and poor, and renewed their class tickets. He had inspected the damage to the Mission premises - only the walls of the Church remained standing. But he also noted that the members had already rented a room for use as a temporary place of worship. "They have fitted

it up creditably with benches, lamps, harmonium, etc." The President of Haiti had asked to see him. He had conversation with the leading men in the government, judges, generals, members of the House of Representatives and others. He had also visited markets, stores, villages around Port-au-Prince to assess attitudes to the Mission. He concluded:

"After all that I have seen, the conviction has forced itself upon me that our work in Hayti has taken a much broader, deeper, firmer hold upon the people than any mere tabulated results can indicate. True our numbers are but few among the masses of Port-au-Prince, and more insignificant still among the population of the country, but many of them are among the most intelligent of the community, and the most influential too. Their piety has led them to stand aloof from political parties, and to show themselves 'the friends of all and the enemies of none'. As storm after storm of political passion has passed over the country they have stood the unshaken representatives of reason, humanity, and religion. Their power is not ostentatious but in the future of this Republic it will be mighty to mould and uplift society."

He referred to the hundreds who had been educated in the Wesleyan schools and who, though not converted evangelicals, looked at Roman Catholicism with sorrow, considering themselves Protestants and "Methodism as the true expression of their visions and the spiritual want of the country". The members in Haiti earnestly wanted pastors and Sargeant strongly recommended:

" ... that the Mission may not only be continued, but reinforced and extended. Mr Bird has secured the affection of our people, and the confidence of all classes with whom I have conversed, and it is thought that no better man can be found to meet the present need."

Haiti, Sargeant considered, was as fine a Mission field as anywhere in the world. The Haitians loved liberty and the whole country was open to missionaries. He saw Haiti as presenting a possible base for eventual missions to other French and Spanish colonies in the Caribbean.⁵

Another factor which must have changed the assessment of the London Committee was the letter received from the Management Committee that Bird

had left in charge of the Church in Port-au-Prince. They were J.J. Rivière, ex-mayor of the city and leading businessman; J.B. Dehoux, then Director of the School of Medicine; L. Baron, medical doctor and politician; and J. Catts Pressoir, businessman and public employee, son of J. Charles Pressoir. They wrote in October 1870 urging the Committee to be speedy in their deliberations. They were conscious of the need for a more regular administration of the sacraments, and of the threat then being posed by the Episcopalian church which was poised to take over most of the Wesleyan work if nothing were done quickly.⁶

Sargeant's report and the letter from the Port-au-Prince committee were to the point. But it was still almost a year before the London committee moved to action. When they did, secretary Elijah Hoole made it clear that the church in Haiti must become self-sufficient and independent of London. Bird replied by reminding Hoole of his proposals made in 1865 which were intended to achieve precisely that objective.⁷ He also wrote to Port-au-Prince explaining the terms of his return, that after him there would be no further missionaries unless they could be supported by money raised in Haiti. He was coming, he explained, to begin "your independence I do not stagger before the thought of an independent Haitian Methodism."⁸ His salary was fixed at £200 per annum (not, therefore, at the level of a supernumerary's pension; rather, at the same rate as he had been paid previously). He married his third wife, Marjorie Deprès of Alderney, and the couple arrived in Haiti in December 1871. They found a congregation bristling with hope, indeed in a state of renewal.

The new government of President Nissage Saget was trying to come to terms with the aftermath of civil war. Port-au-Prince was in ruins; there were huge debts and runaway inflation. Legislation had been passed to withdraw the paper money that had been printed by the previous government to pay its debts,

and to replace it with United States coinage. This left many people and businesses in deep financial distress. It is, therefore, quite remarkable that the pastorless Methodist community in Port-au-Prince were able to announce that they had collected £400 towards the reconstruction of their premises even before Bird's return.⁹ This had risen to £700 within two months of his arrival.¹⁰

At the time of Bird's return, the members were meeting in each other's homes as well as in a rented room with furniture bought from the demoralised Baptist congregation. They were also holding open-air meetings at la Saline, St. Martin, and Bizoton - all at that time outside the city limits. Such meetings were also being held in Port-au-Prince itself. They consisted of songs, exhortation of a simple kind, prayers, and usually concluded with an invitation to hearers to attend the "ordinary" services in church. These "ordinary" services were enlivened by a trained choir led by Mme Jaeger (née Merentié) whose father had escaped the 1842 Cap Haitien earthquake with Bird and been soundly converted under his ministry. This revival produced a number of preachers. As well as J. Catts Pressoir and Paul Lochard (who had been preachers before Bird's departure), others who took up preaching at this time were Daumec Boyer and Jean Guillot. The latter was particularly effective at the open-air meetings with his strong voice and genial nature. The central figure of this revival, however, was Sadrac Hippolyte. George Sargeant had given him encouragement to preach when he visited Haiti in June 1870. He was the son of an ex-Senator who had once himself been a Local Preacher before he lapsed from church attendance. Sadrac Hippolyte was the brother-in-law of Paul Lochard. They, together with another Methodist friend Cinéas Audigé, were customs officials of renowned honesty. Hippolyte was lavish with his time and money which he spent on the cause of evangelisation.¹¹

The historian of Haitian Protestantism suggests that there were many new converts and that membership of the church rose as a result of this, the first revival of its kind (he claims) in Haiti. He gives an example that is illustrative both of the method of evangelisation and also the kind of person converted. It concerns a man named Borga who, by accident, attended one of Hippolyte's services. Borga, a member of the Port-au-Prince educated class, was living in concubinage. He agreed to regularize his life and marry his concubine which he did in a civil ceremony before the State notary. The marriage was subsequently blessed in church with Mme Jaeger acting as "marraine" for the early morning wedding. The direct and passionate preaching seems to have touched Borga very deeply. However many may have been touched in this way, the official statistical returns noted 140 church members for the Port-au-Prince congregation in 1872, suggesting that the newly converted did not pass into formal affiliation with the Society.¹²

The end of the revival came when the Port-au-Prince military commander General Lorquet (who was not unsympathetic to the Methodists), under pressure from the recently consecrated Roman Catholic archbishop Mgr Jean-Marie-Alexis Guilloux, sent his soldiers to stop the open-air meetings. "Pour éviter des actes de violence et peut-être même une reprise de la persécution, il fut décidé de suspendre pour un temps la prédication en plein air. Le sentiment des foules se refroidit, la ferveur passa et l'on n'entendit plus parler du réveil."¹³

All of this had happened before Bird's return in December 1871. Pressoir notes that Bird, almost as soon as he arrived back in Haiti, fell out with Sadrac Hippolyte who, apparently, failed to note his presence at a service. It may reflect the difficulty of two strong personalities, each used to being in charge of things, unable to come to terms with sharing or even sacrificing responsibility.

That is mere conjecture. But the end of the revival cannot be put down to this difference: that was already ended before Bird's return. The Methodist Church was certainly the poorer for the loss of Sadrac Hippolyte who went over to the same Baptist congregation "dont il avait naguère souhaité la disparition".¹⁴ He was to become a great preacher in the Baptist church and his son Lucius went on to lead the Port-au-Prince Baptists well into the present century.¹⁵

The Roman Catholic community had recently welcomed Mgr Guilloux as the new archbishop of Port-au-Prince. He had been consecrated in January 1871. He had previously served as Vicar-General to the first archbishop of Port-au-Prince Mgr du Cosquer since 1864, and had shown great firmness and a refusal to panic or retreat under pressure from President Salnave's government.¹⁶ There had also been (in August 1871) an infusion of new life with the arrival of numbers of priests (including two Haitians), sisters, and teaching brothers, who came to set up schools, a hospital, works of charity, and the like. Preparations were under way that were to lead to the consecration of Mgr Hillion, the first bishop of Cap-Haïtien, in 1873. The Vatican Council had just framed the doctrine of Papal Infallibility and this was greatly welcomed by Guilloux.¹⁷ The new archbishop was a firm opponent of freemasonry (which many of the élite belonged to) and also of Protestantism in any form¹⁸:

"l'impiété ouverte de certains milieux due à l'explosion des idées voltairiennes qui avaient été accueillies en Haïti et, héritage de la Révolution française, le principe de l'omnipotence de l'Etat en matière religieuse. Le deuxième danger était l'hérésie protestante dont le succès s'explique par le principe fondamental du libre examen qui donne à chacun de croire et de faire ce qu'il veut."

Guilloux resisted all attempts to bring the church under the control of the temporal power and his struggles centred on the major issues of marriage, baptism, and the rôle of the church warden in the local parish. Bird would

certainly have found an increasingly self-confident Roman Catholic church on his return.

The Episcopalian church was gaining in strength and influence too. Jacques Holly was acquiring the prestige and control that were to lead in 1874 to his consecration as the first bishop of the Anglican communion in Haiti (only the second black bishop in the Anglican church). On Bird's arrival, Holly was acting as advisor to Ebenezer Bassett, United States resident Minister in Haiti, who was examining the claims of American merchants against the Haitian government for compensation for damage done to their properties during the civil war. Holly was adamant that he wanted to establish a real (not a "sham") black church genuinely independent of white control.¹⁹ He sent young Haitians to the United States for theological training. There was a superficial harmony between the Episcopalian and Methodist leaders and congregations. Thus bishop Coxe, on his episcopal visit from the United States to Haiti in December 1872, preached at the newly rebuilt Methodist church to a packed congregation.²⁰ Holly had been present and participated both at the stone laying ceremony and the dedication of the new Methodist chapel in 1872.²¹ But Holly considered the Methodists to be "ineffectual"²² and disloyal and, therefore, dangerous.²³ The Methodists, in their turn, resented the fact that the Anglicans had taken over their work in Cabaret Quatre (near Léogâne) and Jérémie, and were threatening to do so in Gros Morne, Cap Haitien, and Aux Cayes. The relationship was an uneasy one.

Reconstruction and illness

On his return, Bird immediately focussed his concerns on the ruins that represented the only remains of his former premises. Happily, there was no debt on the property and this gave him the freedom to move speedily into action.²⁴ In February 1872, the foundation stone was laid for a new church much bigger than

that destroyed in 1869. It was to measure 80 feet by 45. The stone was laid by the same General Lorquet who had, at archbishop Guilloux's behest, ended the Methodist preaching in the open air during the revival. The chapel was opened in August 1872 with great joy.²⁵ A report appeared in the Port-au-Prince newspaper, le Peuple, as follows²⁶:

"La reconstruction de cet édifice est un exemple d'énergie, de foi, et de persévérance, que l'on rencontre rarement en Haïti; et cependant on a pu apprécier, depuis de longues années, la valeur de la Mission Wesleyenne dans toutes les parties de notre pays, comme ayant pour base des principes de régénération pour l'humanité entière. Nous annonçons donc avec un vrai plaisir, que le dédicace ... a attiré l'élite de notre cité plusieurs personnes furent obligées de rester debout, faute de sièges.

Dans cette vaste assemblée, contenant probablement douze cents personnes, se trouvait le secrétaire d'état ministre des cultes²⁷; et le spectacle que présentait cette assemblée était d'autant plus remarquable qu'elle représentait une immense variété d'opinions religieuses. Le catholique romain se trouvait ici adorant, en esprit et en vérité, le même Dieu que son frère protestant. ...

Le pasteur Bird a été ministre de cette église protestante pendant trent ans; et les heureux effets de ses travaux dans la république lui ont justement acquis la plus haute réputation. Nous remarquons avec plaisir parmi les preuves de progrès du culte qu'il professe le nombre de jeunes étudiants qui sont devenus des prédicateurs zélés et capables au sein de nos populations Parmi les missionnaires que M. Bird a formés à ces travaux, nous indiquons Bayard, aux Cayes; La Forest, à Jérémie; Catts Pressoir, Paul Lochard, et Sadrac Hippolyte, au Port-au-Prince"

The words underlined above would have given great pleasure to Bird as a description of the Mission's objectives.²⁸ The largest part of the money raised for the construction had been given by Roman Catholics.²⁹ Among those contributing were President Nissage Saget, future President Boisrond Canal, and future vice-President Septimus Rameau, as well as leading ministers and merchants of the capital.³⁰

Within the new church there was a balcony fifteen feet deep. Under this balcony (fifteen feet by forty five) Bird now established his residence. He

had taken a house on the Grande Rue when he and Mrs Bird had arrived in Haiti.³¹ The rent was the high figure of £120 per annum. Bird saved this amount for the Mission by dividing the space under the balcony into three rooms by means of canvas walls. It was here, within what he described as his "burning house"³² that his wife gave birth to Maryann in February 1873, and Alice in May 1874. He made repeated pleas to London for help with the building of a manse.³³ A new dwelling was necessary, he wrote, for reasons of "health and life". But his pleas elicited no response.

The efforts to raise money for the building project, the discomfiture of living in such restricted accommodation, the pressure of carrying on such a heavy job alone, all contributed to a breakdown in Bird's health in October 1873. Health and life were indeed threatened. A collection of letters exists which indicate how seriously ill Bird became. One unsigned letter dated October 10th, reported what were believed to be Bird's last words as heard by his wife and Catts Pressoir. He wanted his sons, Theophilus and Arthur, to give their hearts to God. A second letter, signed by Dr. J.B. Dehoux, described Bird's condition as being very serious. The doctor diagnosed cancer of the bowels and, in view of Bird's irrepressible vomitings, held out no hope of his recovery. The third letter, written a week or so later, noted an improvement in Bird's condition. He could still only take milk and his doctors remained convinced that he was going to die. The letter reported that he received a constant stream of visitors including the President of the Republic, ministers of government, leaders of commerce, and even Roman Catholic leaders.³⁴ By November, the indefatigable Bird was himself writing to report a recovery in his condition. He and his family then went to spent three months in Jamaica with his former superintendent Rev. Corlett.³⁵ He returned to Haiti in March 1874 with renewed vigour.

The work in the provinces, and in schools.

Before his illness, Bird had visited Fond Cheval (in January 1872) and been welcomed there by about a hundred people, 20 of them members of the church. They had erected a new wood and thatch chapel which Bird dedicated.³⁶ Soon afterwards, his preoccupation with what he called "methodical collections" for his building scheme made it impossible for him to visit the rural parts of Haiti. Cabaret Quatre, near Léogâne, was still reporting 20 members when it sent a contribution to the Port-au-Prince building fund.³⁷ But it soon after became part of the Anglican fold. So too did Jérémie where, since the departure of François Eldin in 1864, the congregation had been kept together by two laymen, Joseph Vilaire and Alain Clérier.³⁸ Towards the end of 1872, however, Pierre Jones, a young Haitian who had been sent to the United States for training, took over the Methodist cause for the Episcopalian church. No pastoral visit to Jérémie was undertaken by the Methodists until February 1875. On that occasion, the missionary J.W. Hérivel noted the presence of 40 hearers of whom only eight were what he described as "inveterate Anglicans".³⁹ Gros Morne presented another problem. The 22 members there sent a gift to the building fund in Port-au-Prince. Their pastor, Martial Evariste, who became a member of the House of Representatives, asked Bird to ordain him since an Episcopalian priest, he alleged, was using the fact of his being unordained to persuade his people to come under his pastoral (Anglican) wing. Mark Bird did, in fact, ordain Evariste on February 25th 1873 and he returned to his community to minister to his flock there. He received no remuneration for his work.⁴⁰ Nor did he succeed in keeping his people within the Methodist fold. James Sharp, on a visit in January 1878, reported that they had gone over to the Anglicans some four or five years previously.⁴¹ The work in Aux Cayes was maintained for the Methodists by the unstinting efforts of Othello Bayard. He had incurred heavy financial losses in the civil war and Bird wondered if Bayard (then the father of eight children) could

possibly be given some payment for his work.⁴² About 20 communicant members were reported throughout this decade and Bayard, unpaid, continued his pastoral oversight throughout this time. In Gonaïves a group of educated Haitians attached themselves to the Methodist congregation. They included Henry Bonhomme, Paul-Emile Latortue, and Me. Ignace Grant, his wife, and parents. Ignace Grant had a church built but, due to an ambiguity in the terms of his will, his widow was left free to let the buildings to whatever mission she chose.⁴³ This had been let to the Episcopalians but, when it was left empty in 1877, Bird snapped it up at a rent of £120 per annum. He sent James Sharp there to superintend the mission. In the face of a renewed Roman Catholic community and the founding of a school by the Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne in 1878, however, the cause floundered. The work in Cap Haitien was kept alive thanks to the faithful work of Dugué Bertrand, a local shipowner. He was unable, however, to administer the sacraments and was described by Bird as being "without attractiveness as a public man".⁴⁴ The work in Cap Haitien was being threatened both by the Episcopalians⁴⁵, and also by an order of Roman Catholic sisters who were looking for a place to establish their work. The property used by the Methodists had been given to them in 1847 on a fifty year lease provided that they had valid work in progress. Only Bertrand stood in the way of a total collapse of that work. He held two services in French every Sunday and also a prayer meeting on Wednesdays.⁴⁶ The Danish consul in Cap Haitien wrote several times to Bird and the London committee urging action in favour of the church there, offering himself to give half the salary of a missionary, and also to repair the church and the manse. When no response was forthcoming, he offered to modernise the manse provided he could live in it for a period of seven years. This permission was given by London to Bird's regret since it signified to the ageing missionary that no man was intended for Cap Haitien in the immediate future. Work continued too in Duplan, a few miles outside Port-au-Prince. "The fathers of the Methodist families residing at this retired spot,

joined our society under the two first Wesleyan missionaries in 1816 Nearly all of their children have remained faithful to us."⁴⁷.

As soon as the new church building in Port-au-Prince was nearing completion, Bird made an urgent request for help from the Haitian parliament both for the church and also for the school.⁴⁸ In fact, the House of Representatives voted in favour of grants of \$50 per month to the Wesleyan church and \$160 per month to the school. But the Senate reversed the first part of this decision.⁴⁹ In return for this grant, the government was to have the right of nominating forty pupils to the school.⁵⁰ In 1872 there was a total of 65 pupils, a figure which rose to 100 in 1874.⁵¹ The government gave assurances that its financial help was not meant to affect the content of the school's religious education programme despite strong Roman Catholic opposition to the grants. In return, Bird stated that he had no objection to his Roman Catholic pupils being catechized by their priest.⁵² A similar financial arrangement was maintained when Nissage Saget's government gave way in mid-1874 to that of Michel Domingue. Indeed, the grant to the school went up from £400 per year to £720. In 1877, the school had 170 children, a figure which fell slightly to 145 in 1879. The grants were maintained at this level by Boisrond Canal's government after the fall of Domingue in 1876.⁵³ It is evident, from all this, that the population of Port-au-Prince continued to have confidence in the Wesleyan school and in Mark Bird throughout this time since Roman Catholic parents sent their children in the face of stiff opposition from their hierarchy. Also, Roman Catholic schools of good quality had been founded by the Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne and the Soeurs de la Sagesse. In 1876, Mrs Bird wrote to the Ladies' Association (an auxiliary body formed by the Wesleyan Missionary Society Committee to help with the education of girls) asking for help with the setting up of a girls' school.⁵⁴ She

received no reply. Soon Bird began to think of building a schoolhouse. All classes had been held in the church. It was vital, he argued, to have a separate school building: "our Mission in Hayti would be distressingly incomplete in not providing for such an educational preaching of the gospel."⁵⁵ He was not, however, to see such a project materialize. He had, rather, to turn his attention to the quality of the education offered by his school. It was run by Haitian school-teachers - people like Joseph Hogarth, Alexandre Jackson, and Paul Lochar. But they all went on to other employment in public life. J.W. Hérivel, Bird's colleague, was convinced that a government grant of £720 could have been used not only to build a school, but also to employ excellent teachers with whom to launch a High School.⁵⁶ It seems that, after his illness, Bird was no longer capable of coping in detail with the administration and accounts as he had done previously. Things began to run away with him. From his arrival in Port-au-Prince in 1842, however, until his departure in 1879, Bird had maintained a school in accordance with his conviction that this was a positive way in which to provide responsible cadres of well-formed citizens for the development of national life.⁵⁷

In the other towns of the Republic, attempts to organize schools were intermittent during this time. In Aux Cayes, ten pupils were recorded in 1872, in that same year Gros Morne reported twelve. A new attempt to begin a school in Gonaïves was made in 1879 with 47 pupils registering. The founding of a school by Roman Catholic brothers in the city the previous year, however, (despite a government grant to the Methodists) meant only patchy success. The school was, for a time, in the excellent hands of Alexandre Jackson, later President of the Haitian Bible Society.⁵⁸

New colleagues for Mark Bird

No doubt it was Bird's illness in 1873-74 which jolted the London Committee finally to send help to Haiti. John Hérivel, native of Alderney in the

Channel Islands, arrived in Port-au-Prince in April 1874, just a month after Bird's return from his convalescence in Jamaica.⁵⁹ He and Bird seem to have got on well together at first. Hérivel had to live with the Birds in their makeshift dwelling. Bird protested against this (on Hérivel's behalf) and soon started a public subscription for a room (an outhouse) where the young man could do his study and enjoy privacy.⁶⁰ Hérivel reported that Bird was running all over Port-au-Prince to raise this money.⁶¹ Hérivel's salary was the very low figure of £80 per annum (he paid the Birds 28/- per week for his board and lodge). It must be remembered, of course, that London had clearly indicated that no further missionary salaries were to be paid by them and that the Haitian church must support its own ministers. Indeed, the Port-au-Prince members soon committed themselves to raise an extra £40 per year for Hérivel (as well as £50 for Bird).⁶² Hérivel's early complaints, however, arose not from the uncomfortableness of his lodging (he was soon noting how much he felt at home there), nor the level of his salary, but rather from the fact that he was not more occupied than he was. He regretted very much that he was not ordained. This meant that he was unable to administer the sacraments. He wondered whether he could go to Jamaica for ordination in order to widen his usefulness.⁶³ He wanted a horse so that he could visit the rural areas of Haiti more often.⁶⁴ In January 1875, with Pressoir and Lochard, he visited Fond Cheval. A year later, he went to Aux Cayes where he visited the twenty members and raised £22 from foreign merchants to get the church repaired. He then went on to Jérémie where he preached four times and visited the people. He also discovered the deeds of the Church property and noted that the use of the chapel had been intended solely for the Methodists. His visit also stirred up old loyalties among the members there.⁶⁵ By the time of his visit to Cap Haitien in October/November 1875, Hérivel had been given permission to administer the sacraments. He noted a great crowd in Cap Haitien, a city still full of ruins. The local magistrate offered to find £350 per year if the Wesleyans

would take up their work there again. In Port-de-Paix too, Hérivel reported a "substantial" offer of financial support if a missionary could be sent there.⁶⁶

Thus Hérivel, who began his ministry in Haiti in very difficult circumstances, unmarried, unordained, ill-paid and badly housed, seems to have been very zealous and anxious to do his best. He felt that Bird was too set in his ways and that his colleague might have used the government school grant more imaginatively. He also felt the manse (then being built) was on too grand a scale. But the two colleagues seem to have thought well of each other and enjoyed a good relationship. It is important to note this in view of its marked deterioration later. When Hérivel applied to London for permission to have a year's study in France before ordination, Bird wholeheartedly supported his request. And when the Committee's permission was not forthcoming, Bird sent Hérivel home on his own authority.⁶⁷ He was away from Haiti from July 1876 until October 1878. While away, he married a wealthy widow, mother of five children. Mrs Moffat had lived with her merchant husband in Port-au-Prince. The Hérivels left their children with relatives in Glasgow and, on arrival in Haiti, went to stay with the Birds in the newly constructed manse. Bird was happy to receive them, they were friends.⁶⁸

The London Committee replaced Hérivel with two young missionaries who arrived in October 1876 to the astonishment of Bird who had not been informed. The two young men were Englishman James Sharp, and William Picot, a native of Alderney.⁶⁹ Both were unmarried and unordained. Picot, who had expected to find that Haitians were "half-clothed blacks" living the lives of savages⁷⁰, was charmed to find them responsible, alert, and intelligent. Bird installed him in Cap Haitien in February 1877. At that time there were twelve French-speaking members there and eleven of English language.⁷¹ There was no

school in operation at that time. Bird secured promises worth £200 for the support of the Mission, £40 of which was promised by a Roman Catholic ex-scholar of the Cap Haitien Wesleyan school. The city's Municipal Body also promised to support a school when it could be begun. Thus Picot's prospects seemed good.⁷² Picot and Sharp were ordained to the ministry by George Sargeant, Chairman of the Jamaica District, in March 1877.⁷³ Soon after his return to Cap Haitien, Picot began frequenting the home of Mme. Héraux (née Heureaux), wife of the same Judge Héraux mentioned above (p.129ff). She looked after him. While visiting the Héraux home in this way, Picot fell in love with her 13/14 year old grand-daughter who was staying with her.⁷⁴ Picot announced his engagement to Alice Fouché without consulting Bird and then decided that he could not wait the three years required by the Wesleyan regulations for probationer ministers. This so worried Bird that he journeyed to Cap Haitien where Picot confessed to having committed "criminal intercourse" with his fiancée. Bird dismissed him from the Methodist ministry on the spot, even refusing to pay any of Picot's expenses for leaving Haiti.⁷⁵ The Picots left for Kingsley in Florida where they remained until Alice died a few years later. Picot left the Mission in Cap Haitien in £250 of debt.⁷⁶

James Sharp had come to Haiti directly from Richmond Theological College. He was not only unordained and unmarried, but knew no French at all. After his ordination in March 1877, Bird sent him to Gonaïves to hold on to the Mission school at a time of great opposition from the Roman Catholics.⁷⁷ Even though he returned to England to be married, neither he nor his wife could cope with their new responsibilities and returned home in February 1879.

Another missionary arrived in Haiti in June 1878. He was Hilton Cheeseborough Quinlan, a West Indian who had been born in St. Vincent's, schooled

in Antigua, and trained for the ministry at York Castle Methodist school in Jamaica. Like the others, he was unmarried, unordained, spoke no French at all, and (to make matters worse) had no books with which to do his probationary studies.⁷⁸ His first few months were erratic. He replaced Sharp in Gonaïves in August 1878 but was unable to manage because of his difficulties with the language.⁷⁹ Then he was sent to Cap Haitien. There the people were so upset at his ignorance of French that they wrote a letter of complaint to Bird who recalled Quinlan to Port-au-Prince.⁸⁰ He had achieved a few things of value: he had repaired the Cap Haitien church after it had been damaged in the civil strife in 1879, he had added two new members to the roll, he had visited the city prison in Port-au-Prince.⁸¹ But Bird reported to the 1879 District Meeting that Quinlan had read nothing at all in French, no works of theology, and too much "light literature". His English preaching was satisfactory, his French preaching non-existent.⁸² He left Haiti for Grenada in November 1879.⁸³

During these years, there were also hopes of finding some Haitians who might become ministers. The 1876 District Meeting considered the case of Mozart Thevenin and recommended him for acceptance.⁸⁴ Two years later, Bird wrote that his approach to two young Haitians was met with a negative response by them.⁸⁵

Pressure on Bird

At a domestic level too there were pressures. Mrs. Bird continued to give birth to children (there were four girls in all). Bird was anxious about his family and what might happen to them in the event of his death. But his letters on this subject to the London secretaries met with no response.⁸⁶ Mrs Bird opened her home to refugees in 1879 when Liberals and Nationalists were struggling for power⁸⁷, as she had done the previous year during an attempted

coup d'état.⁸⁸ On one occasion, eight people were killed immediately outside the manse.

Despite all this pressure, Bird continued to give himself unstintingly to his work. His normal Sunday consisted of a 4.00 am prayer meeting, a 9.00 am public service in French, Sunday School at 2.00 pm, a 4.00 pm public service in English, and a 7.00 pm public service in French. He introduced lantern shows to the Republic, showing pictures of Bible scenes, France, and (incredible!) the Franco-Prussian war.⁸⁹ A highlight of the Methodist year was the annual Missionary Meeting. Thomas Madiou was a regular collaborator at these. He had chaired the 1867 meeting. He did so again in 1873 (he was, at that time, minister in Saget's government).⁹⁰ The minister of Education did so in 1876.⁹¹ Secretary-of-State Armand Thoby was the chairman in 1879 when 1,000 people attended.⁹² All these men were Roman Catholics. In November 1877, with Local Preacher Paul Lochard in the chair, Dr. Louis Audain gave a public lecture to over 1,000 people on "The Need for Moral Culture", despite a ban placed on the meeting by Mgr. Guilloux.⁹³

Bird had finally built his manse in 1876. It cost the huge figure of £2,000. London made an interest free loan of £500⁹⁴, and the difference was borrowed on the local scene at 10% interest.⁹⁵ Bird paid off all the debts by means of the methodical collections he had become so specialised at. He even bought iron railings from London to surround the Mission property.⁹⁶ In 1876, Bird had at last bought a strip of land that had previously divided the Wesleyan property in two. This made the possibilities of building a boarding school and a teacher's house being erected on the site more tangible. But not in Bird's time.⁹⁷

Hérivel became highly critical of Bird's management of the Mission. He regretted that the normal Methodist system of Leaders' Meetings (regular

meetings of Class leaders) and Quarterly Meetings (to arrange the business of the church) was not being observed by Bird. But his deepest worries were on the question of finance. When Joseph Prior (missionary on Turks Island) came to regularise the accounts in 1879 it took him seven whole days to do so. He recorded that £5,000 had been spent on the church, house, and fence. "I never saw such a poor return for so much money", he wrote. "Why those buildings should have cost so much I am at a loss to understand, and many of our own people there are very dissatisfied I cannot conceal from myself the belief that money contributed from time to time for mission purposes, has been applied to personal and domestic uses." He described Bird, who had done so much good, as being old, failing in strength, a poor manager, his memory defective. "Let him go home" Prior urged the London secretaries.⁹⁸

"Le Paradis Terrestre": the cumulation of Bird's thinking

A collection of Bird's papers written at this time was published after his death in 1881 with the title Le Paradis Terrestre. It so clearly presents Bird's ideas accrued from a lifetime in Haiti that it seems worth offering a detailed analysis of its argument. This will allow us to assess the nature and outlook of the Wesleyan community that had for so long been exposed to Bird's ideas.

The first chapter is entitled L'homogénéité de l'homme. In it Bird argues that, whether a man be atheist, deist, mahomedan, catholic, or protestant, the differences are less important than the fact of belonging to the human family. All have been blessed with gifts and resources. It only needs energy and effort to make those resources bear fruit. A common basis needs to be found for building society together, whatever differences there may be among people as regards belief or temperament. Bird argues that it is justice that offers such a basis, a justice rooted in the principle shared for example by Jews, Mohamedans, and

Christians, that we should do to others what we might want them to do to us. War and strife are a denial of this principle. Justice, understood in this way, throws its light on politics as well as religion, on nations as well as individuals. Why can't people live in harmony then? Haiti is on the same footing as other nations, can hold her head up high, has nothing to fear. Slavery, thanks to Christianity, has been abolished and the country has all the resources it needs. So how are we to understand the failure of Haiti to reach a desirable level of civilisation and harmony? Such a failure, suggests Bird, has been caused by a "défaut qui existe dans l'élément moral". Bird goes on to criticise one piece of policy that had been constantly enshrined in Haiti's Constitutions since Independence, - that of forbidding foreigners to own land in Haiti. Bird claims to understand why, at the outset, this might have been necessary, and also that strict precautions should be taken before adopting any change of this principle. But, he conjectures, how much has been lost in terms of national development by refusing citizenship to those who, by their virtue, morality, and wealth, could have helped greatly. Stagnancy and paralysis will be the consequence of continued exclusivism of this kind.⁹⁹ Haitians can own land in other countries. Why can foreigners not do so in Haiti?¹⁰⁰ Especially if those foreigners identify themselves with the national effort and respect the country's laws and customs.¹⁰¹ If Haitians believe they are really fully part of the human family, then they have, according to Bird, to be more open to outsiders than they are at present.

Bird argues in his second chapter on Education that Haiti was a nation just like any other. It was her duty to prove to the world that the African origin of her citizens was not a hindrance to her progress. Egoism and exclusivism might prevent Haiti from realising her hopes. Illiteracy would be the biggest burden for her to bear, especially since she makes such claims for Equality. To those who doubt the efficacy of universal education, Bird replies that such a programme,

under the wing of non-sectarian Christians, would, by including morality as well as intellectual knowledge in the curriculum, safeguard the country against the evil of rule by a small élite that has already done so much harm to the people. Poets, philosophers, and free-thinkers are, in Bird's view, on the wrong track. They can mock his claims if they wish. But he is adamant that morality has to be at the centre of education. Also included must be an attention to "arts et industrie", by which he means agriculture, vocational skills, hygiene and the like. He compares Haiti to Fiji where cannibalism, until recently a common practice, has disappeared and the soil is being exploited with profit. In Haiti, on the contrary, all is left to Nature. The difference has been made possible in Fiji, he argues, because of the work of missionaries and education. They can do the same in Haiti. He defends himself against the suggestion that this is mere polemic, and grants that Haiti began her independent life differently from Fiji (especially with regard to slavery and concubinage). But there have always been those who have stressed that a lack of proper attention to education is to leave an intolerable burden for future generations to carry. Bird writes: "Dans tous les siècles, l'aristocratie a craint d'instruire le peuple". Education will not automatically lead to an equality either of intelligence or wealth. But it will counter one of the evil results of ignorance and illiteracy, namely that work is demeaning. The highest in the land are responsible for putting abroad the idea that work is degrading. The future well-being of the nation depends on the instruction of the masses. It is their effort that will lead to an improvement in the nation's wealth. "Le progrès d'une nation dépend de la condition des masses ... le produit national découle du peuple". If the people are to work and produce more, they must be given moral and intellectual instruction. Ignorance, concludes Bird, paralyzes initiative.

Bird then devotes a chapter of his book to La Femme. He claims that Christianity, unlike paganism, recognizes the true importance of women as fully

the equal of men. Woman's influence on human history is incalculable. He defines her importance in terms of her rôle as mother and home-maker. He argues that it is vital that women be educated in order that they perform their duties better for the well-being of the nation as a whole. Most mothers in Haiti, he claims, are incapable of providing their children with the moral instruction they need in the early years of life when a mother's influence is paramount. Bird goes on to argue the importance of marriage in this context. It should be above all sectarian differences. The only certain consequence of concubinage is the degradation of woman.¹⁰² Bird advocates marriage. He is clear in his mind that divorce, whilst permissible, can only (in the light of unambiguous scriptural authority) be allowed in cases of adultery. He attacks foreign residents of Haiti who, despite coming from "civilised" countries and often having received a Christian upbringing, give themselves to sexual libertinage. There is no posterity, argues Bird, for those who live in concubinage. How can a father give his daughter to a man who has other women already? The children of such partners suffer greatly; their fathers are often absent from the family home and their mothers are often very poor. It is Bird's view that education is the best remedy for these social evils.¹⁰³

Bird gives his attention to the subject of "Work" in four of his chapters: - Les ressources du pays, Le travail et le service militaire, Les routes publiques, and Le Sabbat.

In his description of Haiti's resources, Bird makes it clear that he means the natural, intellectual, and moral resources taken together. Haiti enjoys an abundance of the first, as good a supply of the second as any other country (he quotes the excellence of Haiti's contribution to the arts, commerce, science, law, politics, philosophy, and religion). But some of Haiti's leaders subjugate the moral to the intellectual. Bird disagrees strongly with this view. Nobody, he writes, can

blame Haiti for the socio-economic circumstances which attended her beginning as a nation. But since then, it is greatly to be regretted that she has remained so stagnant and progressed so little.

One of the reasons for this is undoubtedly, in Bird's view, that the means of communication within Haiti, so vital for trade and development, are lacking. He advocates a public works programme to build new roads. This would lead at once to the circulation of more money and, in the longer term, to commercial and other advantages. He refers to the steam boats linking the major ports of Haiti and welcomes the service they provide. But there is no road (much less a railway or tramway) linking the country's two most important cities. Such roads would give value to isolated communities and link them to the national effort. "Par le manque de bonnes routes publiques et de chemins de fer, les richesses du pays périssent, les marchés sont imparfaitement approvisionnés, la nourriture est chère, la vie est difficile, l'industrie est paralysée, les exportations qui sont préférables aux mines d'or, sont impossibles, la caisse publique souffre, et la nation demeure dans un état de misère et de pauvreté." It is true that there has been some progress (he quotes education schemes, law, the school of medicine, the national foundry, a reduction in the size of the army), but a country with a better infra-structure would attract capitalists prepared to invest in Haiti's future.

As far as the subject of work is concerned, Bird makes the traditional protestant case with as much cogency and force as he can manage. The Bible enjoins work as being necessary (Gen. 3: 19-23; Ex. 20:9; Eccles. 9:10; 11:6; I Thess. 4: 10-11; II Thess. 3:10; etc.) It is work that leads to wealth not only for oneself, but also for others (Eph. 4:28). And it is work that gives a person his dignity (Prov. 22:29). Bird also makes the important point that all work ought to

be done on the basis of commonly perceived objectives. It is necessary to avoid imposing work on people by trapping them on their land in virtual slavery under the surveillance of a rural police force.¹⁰⁴ Such an idea of work would be unworthy of a Republic.

Bird continues his argument by suggesting that a fortune that is not earned by personal effort cannot bring happiness. At the moment of writing, he asserts, there was no incentive to work on the part of the rural population despite the country's rich natural resources. Education was needed to provide such motivation. The teaching of morality would help in cases where those who work hard have their crops stolen by neighbours. And also greater industry would lead both to lower prices (with a cheaper cost of living) and to increased trade. There were, in Bird's view, three obstacles to such objectives being attained: - indolence, a false understanding of work, and military service. As far as this last is concerned, however necessary it may have been at the beginning of Haiti's independent life to have a large army, the need is no longer the same. The army is an unproductive force, dedicated to destroying fellow citizens and very expensive to maintain. In Bird's view, order would be easier to maintain without an army than with one - a view he would be prepared to hold against the most sceptical of opponents.

The last part of Bird's sustained treatment of the need for greater productivity based on hard work, is his chapter devoted to the sabbath. Here he outlines a long case for the perpetuity of God's law concerning the observance of the sabbath as a day of rest. The day was intended, he writes, for moral rather than ceremonial use and it was not necessary to have one standard way of keeping it. The observance of the sabbath, in Bird's mind, represented a guarantee against the mindless exploitation of labour and oppression by unscrupulous employers.

Indeed, a proper understanding of the sabbath as a day of rest was an expression of the sovereignty of the people. Bird, therefore, regretted military parades and the opening of theatres on the sabbath. He blamed the educated (*éclairés*) for breaking the observance of the sabbath. It was once argued, Bird reminds his readers, that Haiti was too poor to give up the traditional Sunday trading and markets. This has proved false.¹⁰⁵ The Sabbath could be a time for refreshment and renewal, for the cultivating of humane activities like visiting friends and the sick, relieving human misery, attending church and Sunday school - indeed any action that might bring someone nearer to God.

When Bird turns his attention to the question of religious liberty, he argues that Haiti has been schooled ineluctably, by more than half a century of independence from direct Vatican oversight, for freedom of belief.¹⁰⁶ He writes that there had been a vastly different climate of religious opinion in Haiti before the 1860 concordat, a more liberal spirit than might be found in any other Roman Catholic country. He mentions this as a mark of honour to the Republic of Haiti. Now, he argues, under the strict restraints of a rigid concordat, things are different. But men of intelligence, who have been used to following the light of their conscience in matters of religion, cannot easily submit to the will of an ecclesiastical hierarchy that imposes "the sentiments and customs of the Roman church". Bird regrets the change. He claims that in the days before 1860 "men knew each other better, met each other without embarrassment as brothers I even found amongst the Roman clergy of that time some true friends". At that time the central message of the gospel was preached, namely "that all men are brothers, and that Christ is the hope of humanity."¹⁰⁷ No wonder the present restraints have produced a consistent opposition to the church and the concordat. Those who have been used to freedom cannot suddenly adopt religious prejudices when told to.

Bird wanted Christ loved by the whole Haitian people. He was not interested in a mere furthering of his own sectarian interests:

"Cet espoir, je le dis franchement, n'était pas inspiré par un esprit étroit et sectaire, mais par une vraie affection pour le peuple, et pour Dieu, le Créateur de tous les hommes."

And even more clearly, he writes:

"Pendant mon séjour dans ce pays, je n'ai jamais occupé la position d'un sectaire, je n'ai jamais essayé de faire des prosélytes d'une église à une autre; mon seul but a toujours été de conduire mon semblable à Dieu par la voie du Christ, assuré qu'il est le seul guide infallible sous la direction duquel nous pouvons arriver au bonheur céleste."

When Bird invited Thomas Madiou to preside over one of his beloved missionary meetings, the latter is reported by Bird as accepting his invitation, despite opposition from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, with the words¹⁰⁸:

"Nous croyons, nous deux, que le Christ seul est l'espoir de l'humanité; je pourrai donc très bien présider, j'accepte avec plaisir."

Bird was always delighted that Roman Catholics attended without any hesitation the weddings, baptisms, and funerals that were held in the Wesleyan church, and that Roman Catholic parents sent their children to the Mission school. He even felt drawn to hope for the day when the churches could be one, a message far ahead of its time:

"Ce beau trait [he refers to Madiou's reply] démontre clairement la possibilité de trouver un terrain commun sur lequel tous les hommes sérieux pourraient se réunir pour travailler au relèvement moral et spirituel de l'humanité. Assurément, le jour n'est pas éloigné quand tous les chrétiens devront se comprendre sur ce sujet digne de l'attention de tous! Je ne tiens pas tant à ce que les différentes églises renoncent à leur individualité pour se confondre dans une église vaste et universelle; telle n'est pas ma pensée; mais ce à quoi je tiens, et sur quoi j'insiste, c'est que le moment doit être venu quand tous les chrétiens seront d'accord pour reconnaître le Christ comme le rédempteur de l'homme."

Departure and last days of Bird

As Mark Baker Bird, his wife and children, left Haiti in July 1879, it must have been with a sense of déjà vu.¹⁰⁹ The capital was once more in the throes of revolution as the National party (led by Lysius Salomon) struggled for power with the Liberals (under the leadership of Boyer Bazelais). The London Committee made the suggestion that Haiti be linked to the Wesleyan cause in Jamaica. Bird wrote with horror that if the work were put under the surveillance of the Jamaican church, Roman Catholic leaders in Haiti would not hesitate to use that fact to prove to the Haitian government that they should suspend the grants they were making to the Methodist schools in Port-au-Prince, Cap Haitien, Gonaïves.¹¹⁰ Nothing came of the suggestion.

Bird was replaced as chairman of the Haiti District by Thomas Robert Picot who arrived in September 1879. The new chairman was accompanied by John William Hérivel, whose cousin of the same name had been in Haiti since 1876. Bird left a church that claimed a membership of 213 (of whom 157 were in Port-au-Prince), and a community roll of 2,300. There were four Local Preachers, ten Sunday School teachers, 137 Sunday school pupils, and 289 registered pupils in the Methodist day schools.¹¹¹

After a few months spent on the island of Alderney (where he took his last service in January 1880), Bird fell ill and had to be taken back to Jersey. He partially recovered, but not for long. He died peacefully, surrounded by his family, on August 23rd 1880, and was buried in the Almorah cemetery on the outskirts of St. Helier.¹¹² Perhaps the most fitting way to end this assessment of the life and ministry of Bird would be to contrast his book Le Paradis Terrestre with that of the British consul Sir Spencer St. John, Hayti, or the Black Republic. The latter was written by a man who lived in Haiti for thirteen years until 1876; it

is full of sarcasm, hostility, tales of cannibalism, and withering criticism of Haiti's leaders and institutions. Almost alone it sealed Haiti's reputation in the Western world as a backward and ridiculous nation led by poseurs and self-interested men. Bird, on the contrary, while direct and open-eyed in his criticism of Haiti's leaders, is full of love and compassion for a land he dearly wants to see make progress. He concludes his book with the following words:

"Nous laissons à chaque Haitien, à chaque homme, à chaque femme dans ce beau pays, le pays de notre adoption, de se demander, en face de leurs ressources incomparables, si Haiti ne pourrait pas être un paradis terrestre."

Chapter Seven

"THE PLAGUE AND THE SWORD"

The first years of T.R. Picot: 1879-1885

Thomas Robert Picot, the new Chairman of the Haiti District, arrived in September 1879. He was 32 years old and descended from an old Huguenot family from the island of Alderney. He was a half-brother of William Picot who had left Haiti in disgrace in 1877.¹ He was also related to J.W. Hérivel, the minister already resident in Port-au-Prince on his arrival there.

Picot was married and had served nine years as a missionary on the Gold Coast in West Africa.² He had been Chairman of the newly-formed Gold Coast District which had been separated from the Yoruba and Popo District. He had seen large growth in Methodist work, both in terms of membership and number of preaching places. He had introduced lay participation at the annual Synod, overseen moves towards financial autonomy in the more developed circuits, coped with the eccentricities of strong-minded and venerable Thomas Birch Freeman, and developed the educational work of the Mission. The historian of Ghanaian Methodism describes Picot as an "imaginative Chairman". He had undertaken his work in Africa without the constraints imposed by the presence of other churches or missions. Methodism, during his time there, had a free hand. These details will be of interest as we note the developing of Picot's ministry in Haiti.

When Picot arrived he spoke little French.³ He had begun to preach in French, however, by December 1879 and was reporting good responses from his listeners.⁴ He at once set about a complete restructuring of the Port-au-Prince

congregation. Thus, he appointed Church and Circuit stewards whose task was to oversee the administrative and financial affairs of the Church.⁵ He also relaunched the Class meetings⁶, and reported that Class Leaders were visiting the members once a week.⁷ This was necessary, in Picot's view, in order to begin the fight against inefficiency, Roman Catholicism, and free thought.⁸ A further measure taken by Picot was to remove those members who had ceased to attend, arguing that it was better to be honest about such matters.⁹

The firmness with which Picot took hold of his new responsibilities did not please J.W. Hérivel who had hoped to become the new Chairman on Bird's departure.¹⁰ The Picots and the Hérivels had to share the Church manse in Port-au-Prince for a while and there were immediate strains. Picot wanted to send the Hérivels to Cap Haitien where there was a good house. But Mrs. Hérivel's business interests made this an unwelcome proposal.¹¹ Hérivel ridiculed Picot's poor French and the fact that the Chairman did not attend the 4.00 am prayer meeting. His letters became sarcastic and obstinate¹², and he refused to go to Cap Haitien.¹³ Picot had to get the London Committee to order Hérivel to his new station.¹⁴ He organised a petition among the Port-au-Prince members to attempt to change the Committee's decision, but this failed.¹⁵ Picot soon realised that either he or Hérivel would have to leave Haiti. It was all very unedifying, and Picot must be accounted to have done very well to have secured Hérivel's departure within a year of taking over the Chairmanship of the Haiti District.¹⁶

Troubles also lay in store with H.C. Quinlan. He had left Haiti in November 1879¹⁷ but returned, to Picot's surprise, less than a year later.¹⁸ Picot had suggested to Quinlan that, for reasons of economy, he should leave Haiti on a second class ticket. Quinlan was upset at this suggestion and felt that Picot held

racist views.¹⁹ When Quinlan, who thought he had made excellent progress with his French, found that he had been stationed in Puerto Plata (where the language was Spanish), he again accused Picot of racism. He alleged that Picot was trying to keep Haiti as a preserve for white missionaries, sending blacks to the Dominican Republic.²⁰ In fact, Picot was preparing a number of young Haitians for preaching and leadership rôles. In the end, Quinlan did consent to go to Puerto Plata. But he was always ready to criticize any action of Picot either in letters to the Committee in London, or else in conversation with others in Haiti.²¹ He soon got to like Puerto Plata and began to build a new church there. And Picot, for all the annoying criticisms, remained very fond of Quinlan, helping him to find funds for his new building even when he felt that his colleague had overstretched himself in his plans.²²

Thus Picot began his ministry in Haiti by putting the Port-au-Prince church on a new footing, allowing lay people to play a more significant part in the running of their affairs. He also had to determine a correct relationship with Hérivel and Quinlan and come to terms with their poor opinion of him. He did this by getting the former removed from Haiti by the Committee, and the latter safely ensconced in Puerto Plata with plenty of scope and freedom of action.

Another problem Picot had to face on his arrival in Haiti, was the fact that his house (so expensively built by his predecessor) was in a state of grave disrepair. Unseasoned wood had been used and plaster was peeling off the walls. The floor was rotten.²³ Picot set repairs in hand at once, and later added an extension of two bedrooms.²⁴

The new Chairman found the experience of going into government offices to claim money granted to the Mission schools by the Senate a

disagreeable one. At times he was made to wait several hours and, sometimes, came away empty-handed.²⁵ The grant was often made late and Picot then had to borrow money from the London grant, or else from local business men, in order to keep his schools functioning. It was a reminder of how dependent the Mission was becoming on government money.²⁶

Just a month after Picot's arrival in Port-au-Prince, General Lysius Salomon was elected by the Constituent Assembly to become President of the Republic. Salomon was leader of the National Party which represented mainly the interests of the blacks of Haiti against the Liberals who were, in the main, mulattos. Salomon had spent many years in France in exile after serving in the government of Faustin Soulouque (1847-1859). It is impossible to assess the significance of his arrival in power without noting his determination to eliminate all opposition to his rule. Picot noted the unrest in the capital on Salomon's election.²⁷ The new President was, according to Picot, intent on alienating the mulattos "with their capital, their credit, and their rascality".²⁸ Picot described Salomon as a tyrant and a despot, reporting how the President pressed between four and five hundred mulattos into military service within three months of taking office.²⁹ There were occasional acts of rebellion, as in December 1881, when martial law was imposed in St. Marc, Port-au-Prince, and Jérémie. "The President has always threatened", reported Picot, "that as soon as a gun would be fired against him, he would make rivers of blood flow".³⁰ Salomon promised "massacre, pillage, and fire to any town that [should] fire a shot against him".³¹ Picot held grave reservations about Salomon's ability to govern at this time, and about his clearly-stated anti-mulatto views.

In terms of his economic policies too, Salomon seemed to be leading his country into deep problems that had direct consequences for the Mission.

Despite the founding of a National Bank (largely with French capital), and also the creation and encouragement of popular savings schemes, the country was in a state of financial chaos by 1882. Picot reported that the government was borrowing money from commerce at 100 per cent interest and that this, though "benefitting a few rich foreigners and Jews", was disastrous for Haiti. "Poor Hayti", reported Picot, "is being ruined." The government was less and less punctual in paying the various grants to Mission schools.³²

Sharpening of differences with the Roman Catholic Church

At this time (early 1879), the African Methodist Episcopal Church resumed its activities in Haiti after an absence of over forty years.³³ The new beginnings were made with difficulty under the leadership of a missionary who spoke no French. Meanwhile, the Baptists in the Capital were a mere handful and the Episcopalians deeply divided by internal dissension.³⁴ Perhaps it was the weakness of other Protestant churches that led to a very vigorous anti-Catholic mood coming into being in the Methodist Church.

There was much recrimination and hostility in evidence at this time between the Roman Catholic Church and Salomon's government. Two things seem to have brought matters to a head. Firstly, Pope Leo XIII published his Encyclical Arcanum divinae sapientiae in March 1880. The subject of the Encyclical was Christian marriage and it raised again in acute form the difference of opinion on the matter in Haiti. The State claimed the right to register births and marriages and was insistent that the Church could only proceed to baptism and the religious ceremony of blessing a marriage when the civil law had been fulfilled. The Encyclical seemed to question the State's right on this matter.³⁵ Five thousand copies of a tract by Alexandre Dumas on divorce were put out across the Republic by government supporters. The Bishop of Cap Haitien, Mgr. Hillion, replied to

this and expounded the Pope's teaching. But the dispute fed the Haitian parliament's suspicions of Roman interference in their country's affairs. The Chambers of the parliament passed a motion in August 1880 that criticised vehemently the Roman Catholic Church (including the Archbishop of Port-au-Prince) for baptising and marrying people who had not registered with the civic official.³⁶

The tension was accentuated by the fact that much of the anti-Roman Catholic feeling of the time was being orchestrated by freemasons who had infiltrated deeply into public life. Even worse was the fact that Salomon himself (who maintained good relationships with the Roman Catholic hierarchy) became Grand Protector of the Order of Freemasons in Haiti in 1880.³⁷ The bishops felt that the freemasons were using the question of marriage for their ulterior motives of renouncing the 1860 Concordat and diminishing the importance and power of the Church.

Picot and his fellow Methodists reported this confrontation between Church and State with relish. Judging that the days of the Roman Catholic Church in Haiti were numbered, the Methodists joined forces with the critics of Roman Catholicism, and gave voice to their own criticisms. Picot wrote:³⁸

"Having fought and conquered indifference and coldness of the [Methodist] church, I am now preparing in the name of the Lord to battle against Romanism and Freethought with all their supersititions, errors, and vices. In this warfare I mean to engage every one of our members in the spirit of faith and of prayer."

It is interesting that Picot linked Roman Catholicism and freethought as the twin enemies to be fought. The Roman Catholics linked freethought to Protestantism, feeling that there was a plot afoot to establish freemasonry in the towns of Haiti and put the rural areas under the sway of the Protestant missions. This feeling

was fed by a dispute between the hierarchy and the government about the appointment of a Protestant schoolmaster for the rural township of Gros Morne. Despite the Church's opposition, the appointment was allowed to stand.³⁹ In August 1880, the Haitian parliament not only criticised the Church, but also recommended that land and resources be given to the Protestant missions to establish agricultural schools in the rural areas of Haiti.⁴⁰ The archbishop protested strongly and wrote a condemnation of the decision. To this the Hérivel cousins replied. J.W. Hérivel published posters and pasted them all over Cap Haitien⁴¹ and then replied to the bishop of Cap Haitien's defence of his Church with 1,000 copies of a letter that, he reported, infuriated the priests.⁴² His younger cousin of the same name also wrote a pamphlet which he distributed in the capital.⁴³ A more considered and extended Methodist contribution to the debate came from the pen of Paul Lochard, poet, Local Preacher, customs official, a man much respected by the Port-au-Prince public. He published a 46-page booklet in answer to criticisms of Methodism by the bishops of Port-au-Prince and Cap Haitien, a reply (argued Picot) that "will crush them and put them to shame".⁴⁴ The 1881 District Meeting Minutes noted that it was a document "clearly pointing out that the Church of Rome [is] a corrupt and apostate Church."⁴⁵

The relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the State reached its lowest point in August 1881 when, with Archbishop Guilloux safely on a voyage in France, the Haitian parliament published a denunciation of the 1860 Concordat and demanded that it be rescinded or at least renegotiated.⁴⁶ The Archbishop, before leaving Haiti, had preached a sermon in which he had said: "Take care, demons are surrounding us and trying to destroy the Church." An answer had appeared in the freemasons' journal L'Oeil indicating that no one wanted to destroy the Church, "for the Church of Christ being founded on a rock

cannot be destroyed; but the Confessional, pilgrimages, superstition, and religious intolerance, must be destroyed It is not our fault if God opens our eyes so that we can see. So much the worse for Romanism if it will remain blind."⁴⁷

The Methodists echoed these criticisms. The 1881 District Meeting summed it up thus:⁴⁸

"Our work is that of saving Hayti from the grasp of the Romish priest, and of winning it over to the Saviour ... something has to be done to arouse the masses from their torpor ... we have been engaged in direct warfare against the forces of Rome by means of the press."

Not only by means of the press. In May 1880, the elder Hérivel wrote from Cap Haitien that "Christians are agonising [sic] at the throne of grace for the capsizing of the Romish power." There had been a drought and, May being for Roman Catholics the month of the Virgin Mary, a crowds of Roman Catholics processed to the sea shore where their priest dipped a cross into the sea and prayed to the Virgin to send rain. This elicited the following response from Hérivel.⁴⁹

"... when our Christian friends heard of this they set to prayer to prevent the priests attaining their desires. Eight or ten days have already passed and their Goddess of Heaven is still deaf [sic], no rain to the inexpressible joy of our brethren."

Prayer continued to be offered that no rain might be sent till June 1st as a proof of the need for faith in "our almighty and living God". Thus the drama of Mount Carmel was replayed in reverse!

When Thomas Picot was on his way in January 1881 to the District Meeting in Cap Haitien, he and his wife and children found themselves on the same boat as the Archbishop of Port-au-Prince, the Bishop of Cap Haitien, a priest, and twelve Sisters of Mercy. Picot reports that he stared at the Bishop,

made audible comments on the "pharisaic" saying of prayers in Latin, the use of beads, the kissing of rings etc. He hoped the Roman Catholics would see how much happier a Protestant minister was able to be, being a married man with children. The Archbishop (who had gone to see the dying Mark Bird out of respect for him) blessed Picot's child. "The Lord bless thee", he said, to which Picot replied "Amen!"⁵⁰

Picot was convinced that the Haitian government was on the point of giving wholesale backing to the Protestants. He wrote:⁵¹

"The President of the Republic is so convinced that Protestants only are trustworthy, that he has given orders to take all the names of our members who are capable of filling responsible places in the Republic in order that they may be employed."

It is obvious in retrospect that the ultranationalist elements in Salomon's government⁵² saw the Roman Catholic Church as a threat to Haiti's independence and sovereignty. Freemasonry was a convenient structure through which to organise an opposition to the powers of the Roman Church under the able and bold leadership of Mgr. Guilloux.⁵³ In looking around for allies (or pawns) in this struggle, the government used the Protestants as a focus which could remind the Roman Catholic hierarchy that religious matters could be entrusted to other bodies if necessary. At that time, as we have seen, only the Wesleyan Methodists were without deep internal problems. Picot was freshly arrived in the country. He had had no experience, either in his native Alderney or in the Gold Coast, of dealing with Roman Catholicism. Bird's more conciliatory and long experienced attitudes were a thing of the past. Sensing that the tide might be running with the Methodists and that his Mission would soon enjoy the full backing of the government as a replacement for Roman Catholicism as the religion of Haiti, Picot and his companions committed themselves to the battle. Unfortunately, this led the Roman Catholic hierarchy (who perhaps did not need much persuading)

to believe that Methodism and freemasonry were combining to attack the Church and, when things calmed down again, it left Roman Catholicism and Methodism sharply polarized with little or no possibility of building bridges to repair the damage done.

The Methodist Church's internal state

Internally, the first matter to concern Picot was finance. The Chairman was faced with the fact that the London Committee was wanting to diminish its grants to Haiti on a progressive basis.⁵⁴ At that time the Mission was receiving the small amount of £500 per year.⁵⁵ Picot's own salary was £200 per year. The share of the London grant allocated to Port-au-Prince was £150. The difference, plus the running costs of the church there, had to be found locally. Picot, used to the notion of self-support from his West Africa days, made a big effort to raise as much money as possible in Haiti. The following is the financial statement approved at the 1881 District Meeting.⁵⁶

	<u>Income from Circuits</u> <u>inc. gov't grants</u> <u>for day schools</u>	<u>Services for poor</u> <u>Donations for Chapel</u> <u>and Missionary Subs</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>P-au-P</u>	£1,013.19. 1	£153. 7. 2	£1,244. 6. 3
<u>Cap H.</u>	£ 170.15. 1	£ 9. 1. 4	£ 214.15. 7
<u>Gonaïves</u>	£ 270.10. 0	-	£ 270.10. 0
<u>Puerto P</u>	£ 27.10. 9	£ 22. 0. 0	£ 59.10. 9
<u>Samana</u>	£ 82.12.11	£ 7.16. 0	£ 95. 8.11
<u>Turks Is</u>	£ 158.17. 9	£ 30.19. 4	£ 290.19. 4
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	£1,724. 5. 7	£223. 3.10	£2,175.10.10
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It will be seen at once that the money sent from London for the whole of this District amounted to a mere 18 per cent of the total District budget. The rest of the money needed was raised locally. The government grant to schools at this time was \$320 per month in Port-au-Prince (£768 per annum); \$40 per month in

Cap Haitien (£96 per annum) and probably the whole of the Gonaïves figure. That is, the Haitian government at this time was contributing to the budget of the Methodist Church a total of £1,134, 42 per cent of the total. Of the money raised by the Methodist people in the District at this time (a total of £1,041), £476 was collected in Port-au-Prince, far more than in any other station (including the numerically stronger Turks Island). But the heavy dependence of the Mission on the government is equally clear.

Picot worked hard in other ways too. Every Sunday he preached at the 9.00 am French service, followed by the 11.00 am English service. In the afternoon, he either led the Sunday School, or else he made a journey into the hills to an outstation (probably Duplan or Fond Cheval) where he preached at a service and visited the sick, before returning to the capital for the 7.00 pm service in French which he might lead himself or ask a Local Preacher to lead.⁵⁷ In addition, as we have seen, Picot prepared a group of young Haitians to pray and speak in public so that they could undertake evangelistic work in various parts of the city. Picot formed a very high appreciation of the work of Jean Catts Pressoir who, as well as preaching regularly, visited the sick and buried the dead, and also gave generously to the Mission.⁵⁸

The work being done in English was to Bahamians (in Cap Haitien), and to Jamaicans in Port-au-Prince, who had left their native islands in the late 70s because of a recession in the economies of their islands. The 1879 District Synod reported that there were 800 Bahamians in Cap Haitien.⁵⁹ Picot reported that there were 2,000 Jamaicans in the capital in 1879.⁶⁰ But they were already leaving in great numbers because of failure to find work in Haiti.⁶¹ Twenty five Jamaican Methodist members had diminished to seven by November 1879.⁶² They went largely to Panama where work was beginning on the canal. It is from this

time that Methodist work in that country begins.⁶³ Those Jamaicans who remained lived in abject poverty. Mrs. Picot seems to have had a special ministry to:⁶⁴

"... low, degraded, Jamaica [sic] women, trying to bring them to chapel and to induce them to reform their lives. She is now taking entire care of [a] poor creature who was dying from bad diseases, the result of profligacy and from starvation. The poor woman has found the Saviour."

There were also a number of Cubans in Haiti at this time, exiles from their native island after a failed attempt to lead a revolution against the ruling Spanish colonial power. A couple named Rodriguez was converted in 1881 and began bringing their friends too.⁶⁵ They all left Haiti in the troubles of 1883 and, unable to return to Cuba, they took a supply of Bibles and books to their new refuge in the Dominican Republic where they wanted to continue in the ways they had learned.⁶⁶

Picot felt very positive about the future of the Mission. He called for a massive investment in its affairs, suggesting that the Wesleyans should aim at matching the 114 Roman Catholic priests with fifty pastors: he was certain this would result in overwhelming success. "Romanism has had its day in Haiti", he wrote, a conclusion based not only on the fact that the Methodists had received their government grant while the Catholics had not, but also on the evidence he had gathered from a visit in June-July 1880 to the South and West of the island. He had journeyed to Léogâne, Grand Goâve, Petit Goâve, Anse-à-Veau, and Petit Trou des Nippes, usually staying with influential and well-disposed people in each town. On the Sundays he attended the principal Roman Catholic mass, sometimes hearing the priest denounce passionately the work of Protestantism. The striking image Picot's report of this tour leaves is of the interest in Methodism shown by the men of the different communities. Of Petit Goâve, Picot wrote: "There

cannot be short of 10,000 people in this town; the women are Catholics, the men are Freemasons." He was well received there. In Anse-à-Veau, he recorded that between two and three hundred men attended an evening service on the Sunday and a lecture on "Africa" given at the Conseil Général later in the same week. At the final service, in Anse-à-Veau, over three hundred attended, including the military commander, the Commissaire, the town Judge, and four lawyers. Picot echoed pleas made by Mark Bird since the 1860s that a minister be found for Anse-à-Veau.⁶⁷

1882 - a year of epidemic

Late in 1881, Haiti was struck by a virulent outbreak of smallpox. From the missionaries' correspondence, we can follow the path of the disease from Cap Haitien (October 1881), Puerto Plata a month later, to Port-au-Prince in January 1882, and on into the south, especially Miragoâne (April 1882) and Cayes (August 1882). The younger Hérivel noted twelve deaths per day in Cap Haitien. He himself was struck but recovered.⁶⁸ H.C. Quinlan noted eighteen deaths per day in Puerto Plata.⁶⁹ Picot reported that 1,000 had died in the capital in the preceding two weeks, that a new cemetery had been opened where graves were being dug round the clock and filled as soon as dug.⁷⁰ One plantation close to Port-au-Prince had had twenty families living on it. Now there was nobody left alive there. A mother with nine children saw them all die before she herself died. Two weeks later, in February 1882, Picot noted that 105 had died in a day, that he had been able to finish his church accounts only by refusing to bury that day's dead. Seventy children had died in the Baptist school. The death rate was down to fifty per day by the end of February. Picot described the smallpox as the cruellest disease, a "filthy plague".⁷¹ In Miragoâne, five hundred out of the town's population of 2,500 fell to the disease and all the rest were left marked by it.⁷²

The small pox epidemic was accompanied by outbreaks of other diseases too: scarlet fever, diphtheria, and typhoid.⁷³ Several members of the Methodist community fell. Picot's children were attacked by fever, and one of his house servants died. Church members in Duplan as well as Port-au-Prince went to their graves. In all, some 15,000 deaths are reported to have occurred at this time.⁷⁴ Schools and churches were shut in February 1882 by government decree and were not re-opened until the end of March.⁷⁵ Picot and his Haitian leaders were assiduous in performing their duties despite the risks. They visited the sick, buried the dead, brought afflicted families to live in the Manse⁷⁶, and Picot drove himself even harder by taking four or five services each Sunday.⁷⁷

Added to all this came an outbreak of yellow fever. Among its first victims was the younger J.W. Hérivel in Cap Haitien who died on November 16th 1881. He had spent two years in Cap Haitien and was greatly loved there. His preaching was energetic and his impact on the people had been real. He was greatly missed. He was buried in the yard of the Mission, just in front of the Manse.⁷⁸

The London Committee acted quickly to send help to Picot. In October 1882 two young missionaries arrived. Philip Baker came from the island of Sark where his father and brother had been, in their turn, sénéchal (magistrate). He was unmarried, fluent in French. He began his work in Port-au-Prince well, but succumbed to yellow fever only three weeks after his arrival. Picot was in Cap Haitien at the time, installing the other new arrival. Mrs. Picot's letter to her husband reporting the death of the young missionary is still sad to read:⁷⁹

"Bro. Baker came in, in good spirits, ... He appeared quite well and wished to take my letter to the post ... I would not let him ... it was already 10 o'clock and the sun was getting hot. He returned to his room, but in an hour came to me saying, 'I am feeling quite poorly' ... His hands were quite cold and his head hot. [He went to bed and stayed there until evening.] Drs. Aubry, Lamothe, and Baron were in attendance. They bled the patient and leeches were applied. The black vomit began. He died on 8th [November] as we were singing 'In my Father's house in glory'. The Church was full of members singing around the coffin. The body was embalmed and covered with flowers[Pressoir drove Mrs Picot who had been the chief mourner to the burial ground.] The leaders and members carried him all the way, and the hearse with the white plumes followed behind. Mr. Bauduy, having come to the end of the service, burst into tears and every man, woman, and child cried aloud.⁸⁰

Poor dear boy, he was come here to die so soon."

Robert Newton Portrey was Baker's companion on their arrival in October 1882. He was an Englishman. It is interesting that he was stationed in Cap Haitien despite his lack of knowledge of the French language, no doubt because he was married. Picot had high hopes for him. Portrey too began with great optimism.⁸¹ But he soon fell to the yellow fever.⁸² He died on December 14th. He was buried alongside Hérivel in the Mission yard. Picot was deeply afflicted, as was the whole Methodist community. It was agreed that, for the moment, no further recruits should be sent to Haiti.⁸³

The Roman Catholic community too lost a large number of priests and nuns to the various diseases.⁸⁴ Yellow fever continued to take its victims well into 1883.⁸⁵

1883 - a year of revolution

In April 1883, Picot began reporting events that were to lead to several months of civil unrest and loss of many lives. A group of exiles, under the leadership of Boyer Bazelais (grandson of former President Jean-Pierre Boyer), had landed in Miragoâne on the south coast of Haiti from Inagua in the Bahamas.

They were armed with modern weapons. 7,000 government troops had been sent to deal with the insurgents, they too were well armed. Hundreds were killed and wounded.⁸⁶ Thus began the long siege of Miragoâne and what Picot described as "the most terrible" of Haiti's revolutions.⁸⁷ In June 1883, after three months of siege, Picot reported that Bazelais was still holding out.⁸⁸

"[Miragoâne] has been bombarded and reduced to ashes; showers of shot have been poured in from the gattling guns stationed on the neighbouring heights. Yet they have succeeded in converting the town into a network of trenches and ramparts from which they have inflicted most terrible losses to the government troops operating against them. Several other towns have now joined the revolution so that affairs are growing worse and worse. [This is a reference to the towns of Jacmel, Jérémie, Côtes-de-Fer, and Corail.] We have not been without excitement in Port-au-Prince but our troubles are yet to come."

Communications with the Dominican Republic were cut off⁸⁹, and the government grants came so late that Picot had to pay off his teachers.⁹⁰ Church members were among those summoned to enlist in the government forces.⁹¹ The struggle reached Port-au-Prince in September. Terrible things happened on the night of Saturday September 22nd as a long and detailed report from Picot reveals:⁹²

"I hope I never witness such again ... the town has been cannonaded, pillaged, and burnt by the government troops and tens of thousands of fiends called in from the country for the purpose, men, women and children have been killed and wounded and dishonoured. It seemed that hell was let loose on the city. ... All our own people who had a little property have been ruined with the exception of Mr. C. Pressoir and Mr. S. Basse. Mme. Dermost has lost all she had, Mr. Brisson our second circuit steward had, after 20 years of hard work, built a fire proof house in which he lived and carried on his business. It stood the fire all day Saturday, but at night the door was forced and burning oil poured into his store, he then with his family, fourteen in all, had to run for their lives and the house was burnt. They escaped to a French house where over a hundred persons had taken refuge, but in the night the house was fired into and they all had to get over a high wall into an adjacent yard. Sunday morning they got back again and, hearing of their situation, I went to their rescue and brought them safely to the Mission house where they are still staying. Mr. Héraux, now a venerable old member and brother-in-law of the Rev'd. Mr. Hartwell, now in England, also lived in a fire proof with his family but they were burnt out and when leaving were furiously attacked and their lives

were saved almost miraculously. Some of them were wounded though not seriously. ... Even some of the devoted friends of the government have been ruined. Mr. Baron our oldest leader, who is the director of the arsenal, has lost his all which consisted of four houses and while a nephew of his, a young man of 22 years, was conducting two young ladies out of the fire, he was shot dead. Through the timely interference of the Consuls who threatened to bombard the president in his palace, everything was quiet on Monday morning and our own premises were saved. We still live in awful suspense; the liberals may arrive any day in which case the remainder of the town will be burnt and the palace converted into a large powder magazine will be blown up."

Peace was imposed by the gunboats of the English, French, and Spanish navies. There had been enormous destruction in the city with many lives lost. Picot was persuaded that the struggle was:⁹³

"... a war of colour - that blacks say 'the country is ours and none but blacks will live in this country' while the mulatto says with reason, 'the country is as much ours as yours.' This, therefore, is a war of extermination, and as modern arms are being used, there is much bloodshed on both sides. Of all the merchants in this city only two are black which was sufficient motive for the government causing at the least provocation the whole of the commercial part of the city to be destroyed."⁹⁴

It was not until January 1884 that the hostilities were over. Boyer Bazalais was killed in the action at Miragoâne and the Liberal Party was totally destroyed. Jérémie gave in to the government troops after a battle of eleven hours, Jacmel after a bombardment of 24 hours. Côte-de-Fer and Corail were taken by assault with terrible slaughter. Picot reported that no man was left alive in Corail.⁹⁵ After the year of the plague, Haiti had indeed been visited with the year of the sword.

The events of 1883 marked deeply two young men who had been raised in the Wesleyan Methodist fold. Etzer Vilaire, a mulatto, was a child of eleven in the besieged city of Jérémie.⁹⁶ Louis-Joseph Janvier was a university student in Paris. He rose to defend his country and the policies of Salomon against the criticisms of the French press.

Louis-Joseph Janvier

Janvier was born in 1855, the son of a tailor and the grandson of a peasant. He was proud of the hard work and toil of his grandfather and liked to think of himself as a spokesman for the piquets, the peasant people who were deeply involved in the political disputes of his day.⁹⁷ Three of his grandparents, Louis Hermulfort, colonel Janvier and his wife née Marie-Thérèse Jolicoeur, were among the first converts to Methodism and were persecuted by President Boyer.⁹⁸ Janvier's uncles too had been persecuted under Faustin Soulouque in 1851.⁹⁹

Until the age of seven, Janvier was educated by his father. Then, he went to the Wesleyan school for his primary studies before going on to the Lycée. In 1877, after beginning medical studies in the Haitian School of Medicine under J.B. Dehoux (another Methodist), he won a scholarship to the Faculty of Medicine in Paris. Here he excelled in various studies which allowed him in his publications to describe himself as "Docteur en médecine et Lauréat de la Faculté de Paris, Diplômé des Sciences Politiques de Paris etc."¹⁰⁰ For twenty nine years he served his country as a diplomat in France, Switzerland, Belgium, and England. He spent fifteen years as Haiti's ambassador to the Court of St. James.¹⁰¹ He married Belgian novelist Catherine Alberdingk-Thym in 1894.¹⁰² After attempting unsuccessfully to gain election to public office in Port-au-Prince (the ultranationalist had become a foreigner to his own people) Janvier lived quietly there until his death in 1911.

The home and business of Janvier's father had been destroyed in 1869 by the anti-Salnavé group which later became the Liberal Party.¹⁰³ Although he owed his Paris scholarship to Liberal President Boisrond Canal, Janvier identified firmly with the National Party's programme of land reform, national independence, and sovereignty, and the creation of resources for a programme of

national regeneration within Haiti itself. The Liberal Party's slogan, "Government by the most able" was repugnant to him.

Janvier, dismissed by J. Catts Pressoir as a "polemicist"¹⁰⁴, was undoubtedly one of the seminal thinkers in nineteenth century Haiti. His noiriste views inspired those who, at the time of the American occupation of Haiti (1915-1934), were formulating a cultural and political ideology that would help them to cope with (and combat) the foreign oppressor amongst them.¹⁰⁵ How important to Janvier was his Methodist upbringing in the formation of his ideas?

For whatever reason he wrote his various books or treatises - whether, for example, to rebut French critics of Haiti (as in La République d'Haiti et ses visiteurs), or else to give voice to the peasant point of view (as in Le vieux piquet), or to justify the struggles of 1883 against the charges of genocide being levelled against Salomon (Les affaires d'Haiti), or even to present his views of Haitian constitutional history (Les Constitutions d'Haiti), Janvier always went beyond mere bombast and polemics in an attempt to define a programme of reconstruction for his beloved homeland. In doing this, he attempted to describe those elements which, in his view, would help to give coherence to a proud and self-determining nation. And always among those elements can be found an advocacy of Protestantism as an ideology consistent with enlightenment and progress. Certainly, the Protestantism is of an Erastian nature¹⁰⁶, but it is ineluctably a part of Janvier's thinking about the future of his country. In Les Affaires d'Haiti (1885) for example, Janvier argued that part of the programme necessary to rebuild the nation in the aftermath of the 1883 disturbances, would be what he called la réforme mentale whose main ingredient would be "la protestantisation". Pétion invited Protestant pastors, Boyer closed the chapels they founded. This was a pity. The Catholic says "Si Dieu veut" which is little

different from the muslim's "Allah est grand". The Protestant, on the other hand, says "Aide-toi et le ciel t'aidera". This contains the genius of Protestantism.¹⁰⁷

He had argued in Haiti aux Haitiens (1884) that:¹⁰⁸

"... the protestant is thrifty, a respecter of the law, a lover of books, a friend of peace, rich in courageous hope and in perseverance. He is self-reliant, knows how to turn immaterial forces into material capital. He suppresses carnival and the festivals which are as numerous as they are costly, and which tire and diminish man's productive capacity ... Everything which trades, cultivates, manufactures, earns, gets rich, prospers, is protestant."

Janvier, no doubt inspired by his own father's example of hard work and dedication to the education of his son, argued strongly for Protestantism as offering an appropriate ideology for economic development. His arguments were close to Mark Bird's.¹⁰⁹ Janvier attacked Roman Catholicism on two grounds. Firstly because it concentrated people's attention on the supernatural and away from the world where action needed to be taken. Protestantism, he argued, was subjective and abstract, audacious, intuitive yet scientific, demanding initiative from its adherents. Catholicism on the other hand was, in his view, a form "plus épurée, plus fine, plus artistique du paganisme de l'antiquité et du fétichisme primitif, ... opposée à l'idée du patriotisme."¹¹⁰ Catholicism, emphasising the sacraments and the supernatural, holds education to be of lower importance. The supernatural, according to Janvier, is like a poison which kills. On the other hand:¹¹¹

"Le protestant admet le libre examen et, par conséquent, est un ami de la culture intellectuelle, un protecteur de la science. Il met la lumière sur la montagne."

Janvier constantly held up the examples of Great Britain, Germany, and The United States of America as three great, industrial and wealthy nations whose prosperity was a consequence of their having embraced Protestantism.

If Janvier's first criticism of the Roman Catholic Church was framed in terms of its deficiencies as an ideology suitable to support Haiti's economic development, his second was more directly political. He accused the Roman Catholic Church, with its foreign hierarchy and priests, of being "anti-national". He argued that the thirty pupils supported by the Haitian government at the Petit-Séminaire-Collège St. Martial came in no way under the surveillance of government education inspectors and that, in fact, they left the Collège totally alienated from their own culture.¹¹² Janvier suggested that, just as Voodoo could be considered as a "fétichisme africain" (once useful to the slaves aspiring to independence from their French overlords but now inoffensive and dying out), so also Roman Catholicism might be described as a "fétichisme européen", a religion for primitive peoples.¹¹³ The same President Boyer who closed Protestant chapels, also promulgated the Code Rural which effectively imposed "servage" on a people who had once known "esclavage". This was not an accident. Roman Catholicism had favoured slavery, decried the value of the black race; "il a aidé au développement du préjugé de couleur des blancs contre les noirs". It had been against the ideals of Haiti's independence won at such great cost in the years preceding 1804.¹¹⁴

Janvier was among those who denounced the 1860 Concordat and argued that Protestantism deserved to be given an equal place with Catholicism since "les Protestants aussi paient l'impôt".¹¹⁵ Janvier objected to the ultramontane ("anti-national") nature of Roman Catholicism, the fact that its clergy was not Haitian, that it created a "state within the state", and that some of its leaders had directly interfered in the political affairs of Haiti since the time of Sylvain Salnave. He argued that Protestantism would be more suitable to national ideals.¹¹⁶

"Il nous faut, au lieu d'un catholicisme qui tend au bigotisme, au papisme, à l'ultramontanisme, un catholicisme épuré que j'appellerai l'haitienisme, une espèce de religion où, à l'imitation de l'ancien gallicanisme, le clergé soit entièrement dans la main du gouvernement temporel, même au point de vue des doctrines; il faut que les dogmes enseignés et pratiqués ne soient pas en désaccord avec cette donnée, à savoir que: l'Etat haitien est tout, l'Eglise n'est rien que par l'Etat auquel elle doit l'obéissance absolue."

Janvier envisaged three possible ways forward as far as a religious system for a developing nation was concerned:¹¹⁷

1. Ou l'Eglise haitienne sera catholique, centralisée à Rome, et traitera avec le gouvernement de puissance à puissance comme il est en France;
2. Ou l'Eglise sera protestante, mais hiérarchisée et dépendente de l'Etat comme elle l'est en Russie et en Angleterre;
3. Ou enfin, on aura, en Haiti, l'Eglise libre ou plutôt les églises libres, comme il en est de nos jours en Suisse et aux Etats-Unis."

If the first of these suggestions were to work, the Concordat would have to be renounced and not only bishops but also parish priests named and appointed by the Haitian government. The second might work with the Episcopal Church of Haiti being named the National Church, other churches being free to worship according to their consciences. But Janvier clearly favoured the third, with all priests/pastors subject to the laws of the land just like any other citizen. He is quite certain that a new model has to be found since:¹¹⁸

"... un catholicisme hiérarchisée, sans un clergé national quant aux origines des prêtres, est une monstruosité politique."

Protestantism, on the other hand,¹¹⁹

"... n'ayant pas un monarque spirituel et prétendu infaillible, et étant une religion divisée en multiples sectes, n'offre nullement une organisation autocratique. Le protestantisme ne serait jamais un danger pour Haiti et lui vaudrait l'affection des nations protestantes."

Janvier's arguments were economic and political rather than theological. They carried considerable weight during this difficult time in Church-State relations,

and continued to give point to the increasingly anti-Catholic Protestant stance for many years.

Conclusion

The early years of Salomon's presidency were difficult ones for the Wesleyan Mission and for the whole country. In Cayes, it was the end of an era. Othello Bayard, who had been teaching or preaching for the Mission since the days of James Hartwell¹²⁰, died in September 1884 after a long illness.¹²¹ Picot visited Cayes two months after Bayard's death and reported a great deal of interest there. He left Judge Bonhomme, a Local Preacher, in Cayes and had high hopes for the future of the Mission there.¹²² In Jérémie, the church survived the terrible damage done in the 1883 siege with no damage. The congregation had been looked after by Episcopalian priests for a number of years. Two Local Preachers, Alain Clérié and Joseph Vilaire, again accepted responsibility for the affairs of the church.¹²³ In Cap Haitien, there had been an unprecedented series of tragedies. The elder J.W. Hérivel's ministry had been a tragic failure. The younger Hérivel, much loved, died in November 1881. Dugué Bertrand, the Local Preacher who had kept the chapel open in the 1860s and 1870s, fell ill. For the first time there was no preaching. Then a Frenchman, two thirds of whose pupils in Gonaïves had died in the epidemics of 1882, was appointed to run the school in Cap Haitien. He quarrelled with an English Local Preacher there.¹²⁴ The Frenchman was put in prison, the Local Preacher left the Mission. The school dwindled from 140 pupils to 15.¹²⁵ Then came Robert Portrey, the "last chance" for Cap Haitien, according to Picot. After Portrey's tragic early death, Picot secured the services of Joseph Day, an AMEC minister who had been in Miragoâne. His church was rased to the ground and his Mission could no longer pay him. He stayed in Cap Haitien from September 1883 to July 1884 (when he returned to the AMEC fold). The Wesleyan work in Cap Haitien reached the point of real crisis.¹²⁶

Picot had not only responsibility for the Wesleyan work in Haiti, but also for the Dominican Republic and Turks Island. It does not fall within the scope of this thesis to relate developments there in detail. But it is important to note that the Chairman had to give advice to colleagues on Turks Island. And Picot's responsibilities also included overseeing Quinlan's work in Puerto Plata and Samana. In addition, a new station was established at Monte Christo and Fort Liberté on the Haitian-Dominican border at this time.

In Port-au-Prince, Picot had trained a group of young men and women who were going from door to door "among the Romans and bringing some to Christ".¹²⁷ A group of young Local Preachers were supplying a Sunday afternoon open air service as well as taking services regularly at Duplan and Fond Cheval.¹²⁸ The main Port-au-Prince church, which held 500 people, was always full.¹²⁹ A second church was taken and it too was regularly filled.¹³⁰ When it is considered that the total membership in the capital at this time was still only 160¹³¹, one would dearly like to know more about those who attended, their social and economic circumstances, as well as the style and ethos of Methodist spirituality at this time. By 1884, the Methodist community was in good heart. There were two new Local Preachers in Port-au-Prince, a judge and a lawyer.¹³² And there were two young men who seemed to Picot to be potential ministers. One was a 25 year old named L. Rose, a poet and author, who was on the point of becoming a doctor.¹³³ The other young man Picot had in view, was Jean Charles Pressoir, 17 year old son of J. Catts Pressoir. The young man was just finishing his studies at the Lycée and was disposed to go to France or Switzerland for training. His father was prepared to pay the expenses of sending both young men.¹³⁴ Another outstanding young man of this time was Solon Ménos, a doctor of law.¹³⁵ He gave a brilliant speech at the 1883 Missionary Meeting on the "Life and work of Jesus and his influence on the world at large". This was published in

full in the newspaper L'Oeil. Picot was greatly impressed and wondered whether this might also be a future candidate for the ministry.¹³⁶ It is a mystery that nothing more came of any of these possibilities.

The Mission survived these difficult years surprisingly well. Money given per member in 1884 amounted to 6/6d in Port-au-Prince (total £48.13s.0d) and 9/8d in Cap Haitien (total £22.4s.3d) as opposed to the 1881 figures of 5/8d (total £47.11s.0d) in Port-au-Prince, and 4/11d per member (total £13.3s.0d) in Cap Haitien. Total membership was 206 in 1884 as opposed to 211 in 1881.¹³⁷ Picot was in good cheer. On the eve of the setting up of the West Indian Methodist Conference, he expressed the hope that "Hayti will soon become the mission field of the West Indies".¹³⁸

Chapter Eight

ROMANCE OR REALITY?

Haiti: a District of the West Indian Conference

1885-1902

The period 1879-1902 is dominated by three fairly long presidencies, those of Lysius Salomon (1879-1888), Florvil Hippolyte (1889-1896), and Tirésias Simon Sam (1896-1902). Yet this was not a time of stability in Haiti. From the time Salomon attempted, in 1886, to change the Constitution in order to perpetuate his period in office, confidence in his regime was undermined. When Salomon fled into exile in France in 1888 there was a time of fierce civil strife. Large parts of the city were set ablaze, and hundreds died. There were Methodists on both sides of the dispute. Leading members of the Cap Haitien church belonged to the revolutionary committee planning the campaign first of Thélémaque and then of Hippolyte.¹ But the President of the Constituent Assembly who actually announced the choice of Légitime as President of the Republic, was Alain Clérié, Methodist Local Preacher from Jérémie who found Légitime's provenance more important than allegations by the Reverend Westmore Smith in Cap Haitien that the southern candidate was hostile to Protestantism.² As it happened, Légitime did not last long, giving way to Hippolyte in October 1889.

President Hippolyte, despite his energy and an initially buoyant economy, soon began to incur heavy debts to pay for grandiose projects. He dismissed Anténor Firmin, a competent Finance Minister who began asking for tighter control of expenditure. Hippolyte, whose brother married a Methodist, was well-disposed towards Protestantism and his government made important

grants to Protestant schools. At his sudden death in 1896, there was more restlessness, arson, and a virtual halt to business activity.

At first, Tirésias Sam's government cut back on public expenditure, including grants to Methodist schools.³ But yet again, as the government incurred vast debts to pay for its projects, Anténor Firmin resigned in protest. The value of the local currency underwent a 200 per cent depreciation.⁴ There was relief when Sam voluntarily shortened his period in office and retired in May 1902. His departure was followed by more disorder and strife. Anténor Firmin became a candidate for the presidency and attracted the support of the business community as well as idealists and intellectuals. He did not, in the event, prove capable of withstanding the army of 84 year old veteran General Nord Alexis, who brought an iron hand to his rule of Haiti. Among the towns which had supported Firmin's candidature, and which now suffered a tyrant's revenge, was Petit-Goâve which was sacked and put to the sword in 1902. Of the thousands to suffer were many members of the Methodist church recently opened there.⁵

The West Indian Conference

The British Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church was anxious to cast off its responsibilities for its overseas districts as quickly as possible. This was especially true of the West Indies, its oldest mission field. Either a poor economic climate in the West Indies, or else internal dissension (with attendant loss of revenue) at home, kept the issue at bay for a number of years. The founding of independent conferences in North America, Australia, and (in 1883) in South Africa, heightened the desire of the British Conference to take similar action in relation to the West Indies. The West Indian Conference was established in 1885.⁶

Two regional Conferences were to meet annually. The Western Conference consisted of Haiti and Jamaica (with, later, Panama). It had 20,000

members. The Eastern Conference (Antigua and St. Vincent's Districts) had 23,000. Every three years there was to be a General Conference to oversee regional policy. The local Conferences were in charge of recruitment, training, disciplining, and stationing of ministers. All new legislation was to be approved by London. There were some concessions for Haiti (the cost of outfitting and travel of new missionaries for a period of seven years), but financial help was to be progressively withdrawn.

The arrangements were too cumbersome. The long distances to be travelled to attend the Conferences and maintain a connexional system made this a costly and time-consuming business. Lay people could scarcely give up the time to attend, indeed Haiti's lay representatives never once got to Conference. The absence of two ministers for a month per year from a District which had only eight was also costly in terms of pastoral care. No General Conference was held after 1894. It seemed to Thomas Picot that major decisions were being made by a mere handful of men. Inefficiency, poor leadership, and a fall in West Indian trade, combined to leave the West Indian Conference with debts amounting to £60,000 by the end of the century. It was a disaster.⁷

London set up a Commission to investigate this serious situation. The Commissioners (Reverend W.R. Winston and Major J. Smith) noted: "It is difficult to understand how practical and responsible men ... could have allowed the finance to fall into such a condition." It was requested that the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society resume responsibility for the West Indies. This was reluctantly agreed. An appeal was made to the British church to raise half the £60,000 debts incurred by the West Indian Conferences. The other half was raised in the West Indies. Within ten years of the resumption of control by the British Conference, the debts had been effaced and the flow of missionaries resumed. The

Jamaica District was once more established, and the Haiti and Santo Domingo District brought into being. It is now time to look at how the work in Haiti fared in relation to the rest of the Western Conference area to which it was attached.

First of all, a glance at the membership of the Church.

	1888	1892	1896	1900
Haiti	316	395	441	377
Rest of Haiti District	750	870	881	840
Jamaica	19,634	21,588	22,599	20,852

In Haiti, despite the political strife and emigration following 1896, there was an increase of just under 20 per cent compared with 12 per cent in the rest of the Haiti District, and five per cent in Jamaica.⁸ As far as schools are concerned there is also a rise which continues until the fall of the Hippolyte government.

		1888	1892	1896	1900
Haiti	<u>Schools</u>	5	9	8	5
	<u>Pupils</u>	429	455	526	314
Jamaica	<u>Schools</u>	108	121	123	104
	<u>Pupils</u>	9,626	12,224	13,794	13,491

The main reason for the fall in enrolled pupils after 1896 was the cutting of the government grant which led to the dismissal of teachers and closure of some

schools. In 1888, 83 per cent of the school budgets in Haiti came from government money as opposed to 63 per cent in Jamaica. In 1892 the figures had barely changed. In 1896, however, while the Haitian dependence on government grants had increased to 89 per cent, in Jamaica this had risen to 95 per cent, with 46 per cent and 99 per cent, respectively, being the figures by the year 1900. Haiti had to learn to find its money from other sources after 1896 while, in Jamaica, other sources virtually dried up. The following table shows the amount of money charged to each pupil in the form of school fees. The second figure in each column represents the cost of running the schools per child.

	1888	1892	1896	1900
Haiti	£0. 3. 3	£0. 6. 8	£0. 5. 10	£0. 8. 4
	£2.13. 3	£2. 7. 0	£2.13. 0	£0.15. 0
Jamaica	£0. 2. 4	£0. 2. 3	less than 1d.	£0. 0. 1
	£0. 9. 0	£0. 8. 0	£0. 7. 9	£0. 8. 4

Although as a percentage of the total cost per child the school fees in Haiti were lower than those in Jamaica in the earlier years, yet they are much higher in terms of cost to parents. When the government grants diminished it was possible to ask more of Haitian parents whereas, in Jamaica, the times of difficulty experienced by the Conference led to a reduction in income from school fees and a greater reliance on government money.

It is interesting to note how much Church members were giving at this time to the running of their Church.

	1888	1892	1896	1900
Haiti	£1.12. 0	£1. 3. 9	£3. 0. 6	£0.15.10
Jamaica	£0. 7.11	£0. 8. 4	£0. 8. 2	£0. 7. 2

Haitian members were giving between twice and three times what their Jamaican equivalents were giving. Thus, despite the difficult times at the end of the century, Picot was able to write to the London committee to inform them that:

"if the good brethren Winston and Smith pass this way, they will see at least one circuit which does not look poverty stricken. Our trusts in Hayti and Santo Domingo are worth £20,000 and on the whole we have hardly £50 of debt! [The Jamaica District had £40,000 of debt] Our membership of 1,000⁹ supports eight ministers (seven with families) with a London grant of £350.¹⁰ What other District in the world is called upon to do much!! ... If instead of being in the midst of the West Indies, it had been filling up Lake Chad, we would easily obtain from the Committee £1,000 ... [yet] there is as much to do now as if it had always been situated in the interior of Africa."¹¹

Picot and his collaborators were glad to end the link with Jamaica which had been so unfruitful for his District. More generous giving on the part of the Haitian membership (and the above figures do not reveal money raised for various building projects undertaken during this period), and also more astute management, had not led to an increase in investment which, in the view of those in Haiti, would have borne great fruit. Picot went to the 1903 Conference "just to say goodbye". He was delighted to be part of the body which sent its telegram to London declaring "Conference surrenders unanimously".¹²

The years of the autonomous Conference were then a time of increasing membership. The Wesleyan chapels, whether in Port-au-Prince, Cap Haitien, or Aux Cayes, were reported to be bursting at the seams and, obviously,

those attending worship exceeded the numbers recorded as members. Many of them must have been from lower social strata. There is, however, little description of the occupations, expectations, or experiences of such people within the Methodist fold. What does emerge with great clarity at this time is a well-defined and articulate group of people from the bourgeoisie who are full of commitment and enthusiasm for the Protestant cause. We now examine the characteristics of this leading group within the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Haiti.

Social Background of the Methodists

The following list of church officials appears with papers and letters dating from 1905:¹³

Paul Lochard	Editor of <u>Le Moniteur</u> (the official government newspaper), Local Preacher, Trustee.
Ernest Bonhomme	Judge at the Supreme Court of Appeal, Local Preacher, Class Leader, Circuit Steward, Trustee.
Charles Pressoir	Inspector General Customs, Local Preacher, Superintendent of the Sunday School, Trustee.
R.V. Domond	Attorney General and Judge, Local Preacher.
Aurel Bayard	Druggist, Church Steward.
Alexandre Jackson	Customs Inspector, Local Preacher, Trustee, President of the Bible and Religious Books Society.
William Savain	Ex-merchant, Local Preacher, Church Steward.
Robert Jeffries	Merchant, Church Steward.
Charles Moravia	Banker, Church Steward.
Daumec Boyer	Headmaster of Methodist School, Trustee.
Jean Guillot	Schoolmaster, Local Preacher.
Fritz Jaegre	Merchant, Trustee, Vice President Y.M.C.A.
Joseph Hogarth	Solicitor, Trustee.
I. Oscar	Customs Employee, Local Preacher.
Octave Najak	Saddler, Local Preacher.

Catts Pressoir, in his history of Protestantism, mentions others. Thus, magistrates like Héraux and Martineau; doctors like J.B. Dehoux, Louis Joseph Janvier and Gédéon Baron; senators like Révolus Hippolyte and Alain Cléirié (both of Jérémie); musicians like Occilius and Charles Jeanty; druggist Ernest Dehoux; teachers like Joseph Vilaire and Luximon Hyson; journalist (later Wesleyan

minister) Auguste Albert; and also from Cap Haitien, Stewart, a man being groomed as President Hippolyte's successor. The daughter of Judge James Boco¹⁴ married Hippolyte's brother. This was a well-educated and impressive group.

Spirituality and Intellectual make-up

Alexandre Jackson (1851-1932) was the son of one of those American Protestants who had come to Haiti during the time of President Boyer (see page 56 above). The Jackson family had belonged to the American Methodist Episcopal Church under the leadership of the Reverend Henry Allen (1800-1877), son of Bishop Richard Allen who had founded the first black Methodist church in the United States. There was a schism when attempts were made to join the AMEC congregation to the American mother church at the death of Allen. There were many, among them the Jacksons, who joined the Wesleyans. He became a Local Preacher and taught at the Wesleyan schools in Gonaïves and Port-au-Prince before going into public service in Customs. Just before he died, he wrote a series of pamphlets in which he tried to sum up his life and convictions. It is a document of little literary value, but it does throw some light on details of Wesleyan piety at this time. A normal service of worship, for example, consisted of four elements:- the singing of hymns, prayer, one or two chapters read from the Bible, and the preaching of the gospel.¹⁵ The sermon was very much looked upon as the high point of the service. At prayer meetings, people had the opportunity to offer prayers for whatever subjects they wished. This kind of spirituality depended heavily on the spoken word. There was little ritual, colour, or ceremony. Mark Bird had worn a gown for preaching and a "claque" (a cocked hat) for funerals and bigger public occasions.¹⁶ Picot continued with the gown. His successor at Port-au-Prince, Westmore Smith, dispensed with it on the

grounds of its ostentation. He also dispensed with set or liturgical prayers in favour of extempore prayer.¹⁷

It is at this time that we begin to form a picture of the books and reviews which the "second generation" of Methodists were reading, and also the importance that literature had for them. Jackson gives a list of such works as the Sermons of Horace Monod, the History of the Early Church by Edmond de Pressensé, John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, the Imitation of Christ by Thomas à Kempis, Bible dictionaries and guides, John Wesley's sermons (mostly in English), and the History of Methodism by Stevens.¹⁸ Pressoir lengthens this list by citing the Encyclopédie des Sciences religieuses by Lichtenberger, Auguste Sabatier's classic Les religions d'Autorité et les religions de l'Esprit, and also his Life of St. Francis of Assisi. A life of the Buddha, the Koran, François Puaux's anti-Catholic seven volume history of the Reformation, works on ethics and philosophy also figured. Also read were reviews such as Puaux's Revue Chrétienne, Paul Doumergue's Foi et Vie, Alfred Boegner's Journal des Missions évangéliques, Elie Gounelle's Le Christianisme Social, as well as the Magasin Méthodiste des Iles de la Manche. In addition several collections of French hymns were in use in Haiti at this time.

In 1885, the "Société biblique et des livres religieux d'Haiti" was founded under the guidance of Noguessine Pressoir, daughter of Wesleyan founder member Charles Pressoir. She had collected money to allow her to distribute copies of the scriptures in a Port-au-Prince prison. The work later attracted financial support from the Hippolyte government, and a lending library was set up in addition to a service for disseminating the scriptures. Ernest Bonhomme became the first President of the Society, and he was followed in 1888 by Alexandre Jackson who remained in that post until his death in 1932. The Society

linked with the work being done from 1887 by the British and Foreign Bible Society in Haiti. Its headquarters until 1895 was the Wesleyan Methodist church schoolroom. In that year it acquired the locale of the old AMEC St. Peter's church on the main road of Port-au-Prince. The Society was always inter-denominational. Among its earliest Vice Presidents were Aurel Bayard, Fritz Jaegre, Joseph Hogarth, and J.C. Pressoir. It had, therefore, a strong Methodist flavour. By 1910, the Society had distributed 3,199 Bibles, 416 New Testaments, 4,301 scripture portions, 2,709 religious books, 4,437 hymn books, 1,401 Bible posters, and 91,174 religious tracts. It had also (since 1892) established its own revue, the Messager Evangélique.¹⁹

The French Protestantism which this generation of Haitian Methodist was reading so avidly can well be described as "liberal". The Protestant faculties of theology at Montauban and (since 1877) at the Sorbonne were producing a theology described as "foncièrement évangélique, radicalement libérale, irrésistiblement social". The mysticism and piety of Horace Monod, the social gospel of Elie Gounelle and Paul Doumergue, the anti-Catholicism of Piaux, were all synthesised in the work and person of Auguste Sabatier in Paris. And French Protestants, despite being a minority group, outnumbered Catholics by twenty to one in positions of Public Service.²⁰ All of this is important to understand as we examine their Haitian peer group. This embracing of "liberal Protestantism" was to leave Haitian Methodism with intellectual difficulties when "dialectical theology" swept across the Protestant world in the aftermath of the First World War, and also when North American evangelicalism came in greater force with the American marine Occupation of Haiti in the years following 1915.

This high-powered group which included members of the diplomatic, judicial, educational, medical, public service, and commercial life of the

Republic, socially respectable and of undoubted probity, not only read a great deal, they also wrote. The doyen of the group, owner of one of the best libraries then available in Port-au-Prince, was Paul Lochard (1835-1919). He had begun his life in the Baptist church, become a Methodist after the dispersal of the Port-au-Prince Baptists in 1870. He had worked with Bird as a preacher and teacher. In 1877 he was appointed a Customs Official in Gonaïves and continued in that branch of public service until his appointment to the editorship of the official Le Moniteur in 1904. He published two volumes of poetry, Les Chants du Soir (1878) and Feuilles de Chêne (1901). These poems are largely on biblical themes (there is one written in memory of Mark Bird) and do not rise to the heights of great literature. But they continue to feature in anthologies of Haitian verse.²¹ The later volume featured a preface written by Anténor Firmin, leading Haitian man of letters and political aspirant.

Another senior Methodist figure of this time was Dr. J.B. Dehoux. He had directed the national School of Medicine under Presidents Saget and Canal (1870-1879) but was dismissed by Salomon. He was described as a "chirurgien de valeur, un esprit ouvert à toutes les questions scientifiques, plein d'initiative et libéral: ce dernier trait de caractère d'où peut-être à son origine protestante".²² He re-organised the Medical school, sent the best students to France for training, achieved recognition for all graduates of the school with the title of doctor or pharmacist, introduced the study of microscopy, and the first use of dissection, into Haiti. His pupil, Gédéon Baron (also a Methodist) launched the first courses of ophthalmology. Dehoux founded a Medical Society of Haiti in an attempt to raise the standards of medical practice. President Hippolyte charged him with founding a Vaccination Institute, but he died before accomplishing this. He also concerned himself with the study of "notre folklore médical et des superstitions de nos campagnes".²³ In 1891 he brought out his Rapport au gouvernement, a

comprehensive and historical study of the medical institutions in Haiti from the time of her independence. He was widely considered the doyen of Haitian medicine and "jamais l'École de Médecine n'avait eu une période plus florissante que sous cette direction".²⁴

Louis Joseph Janvier, whose writings were appearing at this time (see above pages 195ff.) was one of Dehoux's students. So was Luzincourt Rose whose collection of verse Les Soupirs (including poems dedicated to the memory of Mark Bird and Philip Baker) appeared in 1884. Rose was the grandson of a Venetian shipwright who, after going to the United States and marrying a black woman there, came to Haiti to avoid American prejudice. His verse is undistinguished. He was the friend of two of Haiti's leading poets of the time Délorme and Durand. He had been encouraged in literary affairs by Paul Lochard. There also appeared at this time two volumes of verse by Edmund Héraux²⁵, Préludes (1893), and Fleur des Mornes (1894). Héraux's prose writings were contained in Mélanges politiques et littéraires which appeared in 1897. His literary accomplishments were less spectacular than his judicial and political career (he became Minister of Finance and also of Public Instruction). Solon Ménos, not a member but very sympathetic to the Methodist Church, became Minister for External Affairs in Sam's government. While in that post, he wrote L'Affaire Lüders, an account of a diplomatic scandal which had touched Haitian sensitivities on the raw.

Without doubt the most influential intellectual ferment of this time came from the mulatto group of poets and thinkers associated with the journal La Ronde:- men like Georges Sylvain, Edmond Laforest, Charles Moravia, Louis Borno, Seymour Pradel, Dantès Bellegarde, Jules Dévieux, Pétion Jérôme, and Etzer Vilaire. They were all well-educated and sought to give voice to the deep anxieties they had for Haiti on the eve of the centenary of her independence.

Subsequent generations of writers and critics (especially the indigenist and nationalist schools which were at work during the American occupation) dismissed the "génération de la Ronde" as having produced a "littérature d'évasion". But recent critics have been fairer to their patriotism than that²⁶, and many of them became leading figures in the struggle with the Americans during their military occupation. Laforest, Moravia, Dévieux, and Vilaire were Methodists. Others too had frequented the Methodist preaching places.²⁷ We note the appearance of Laforest's Poèmes Mélancoliques in 1901. But the most influential of them all was Etzer Vilaire.

The spiritual and intellectual pilgrimage of Etzer Vilaire (1872-1951).

Vilaire was born in Jérémie where his family had settled for two generations. His ancestors, all mulattos, had fought in the wars of Haiti's independence. His uncle had run one of the town's schools for a number of years. Vilaire attended this school in his early years, it was closed down for two years following the troubles of 1883. In 1886, much of the town was destroyed in a fire which swept through the streets and buildings of Jérémie. The Wesleyan church and school were spared.²⁸ The Church, at that time, had had no Methodist minister since the departure of François Eldin in 1864. Joseph Vilaire (1819-1901), Etzer's father, who had been converted by Eldin, and who had spent eleven years in exile in Jamaica during the years of Soulouque (where he became a Local Preacher in the Kingston circuit) had held the Jérémie congregation together with his preaching. Under his ministry, Alain Clérié (whose wife was already a Methodist) was converted to the Protestant faith. These two, teacher and lawyer respectively, continued to care for the congregation until 1895 - apart from two short periods when Episcopalian priests were invited to oversee the church's affairs.²⁹ Joseph Vilaire married one of Clérié's daughters. The Methodist church in Jérémie was little more than a big family, its members frequently inter-

marrying. Joseph Vilaire preached week by week to "un auditoire très restreint, uniquement composé de parents et d'amis."³⁰ The little provincial town with its self-conscious mulatto élite had an even more restricted Protestant minority within it. Even the best families were scourged by tuberculosis, and heavy drinking constituted one of the few social activities. Congenital idiocy and suicide were frequent occurrences. Etzer Vilaire, who grew up in a home of piety and learning, could not escape the prevailing atmosphere of sickness and melancholy which were features of his church and town.³¹

Etzer Vilaire read and studied in such measure that his neighbours and friends considered him to be a strange creature, cut off from life, and, to his father's dismay, he began to interest himself in poetry.³² His grandfather's influence (while President of the Constituent Assembly) secured a position for him as teacher of French at Jérémie's newly-opened Lycée at the young age of 17. He left this to attend the Collège St.-Martial in Port-au-Prince on a bursary awarded by President Hippolyte. His two years there (1890-1892) were spent mainly in the study of Latin and Greek. Then he returned to his native Jérémie to teach in the Lycée once again, a position he held until his marriage in 1899. It was his return to Jérémie that marked the beginning of his well-documented spiritual odyssey that was to lead to his conversion in 1900.³³

It began with a sowing of wild oats, recorded in his Notice autobiographique as follows:³⁴

"Alors commença pour moi une période de découragement à laquelle succéda la dissipation, une course après les plaisirs faciles et bruyants, pour réveiller et distraire mon coeur engourdi dans la mélancolie monotone des heures inoccupées, où, par-dessus la tristesse et le vide de l'âme, la joie factice et les folies de jeunesse sonnaient creux, comme des grelots agités dans une pantomime ennuyeuse."

Later in his life, Vilaire was able to describe as a Damascus road experience the discovery made at this time that Nothingness (le Néant) and Forgetfulness

(l'Oubli) were realities which had to be faced. They constituted a black emptiness which might become unbearable, chasing life, love, ambition, and enthusiasm from one's soul. Even one's name and reputation, which might survive one's death, were themselves doomed to be forgotten one day. With the advantage of hindsight, Vilaire recognized that Jesus had preached with insistence:³⁵

"Il faut mourir à soi pour sortir du monde de la vanité, de l'erreur, et du mal, pour échapper au néant, pour entrer dans la vie éternelle."

But, in the mid-1890s, he was a long way from finding his faith in this Jesus.

In 1907, there was published in Paris the volume of Vilaire's verse entitled Poèmes de la Mort. The title is misleading. It in fact contains seven sections (written between 1895 and 1905) called Tristesses Ultimes, Les Dix hommes noirs, Amour, Les Etoiles, Homo (vision de l'Enfer), Poème à mon âme, and Epilogue. The order in which these poems appear describes Vilaire's path to faith.³⁶ Tristesses Ultimes, a collection of eighteen poems, is a magnificently sustained, carefully wrought, examination of boredom, death, emptiness and the abyss of nothingness. These are the confessions of a tortured soul convinced that his life and art count for nothing. One group of poems within this collection describes fevers from which the poet suffered a great deal.³⁷ These fevers produce dreams and visions, surrealistic pictures of coffins, corpses swollen in the waters of despair, and death, with non-being and nothingness the only release from it all. As a human being he asks life's fundamental questions: What am I?, What am I capable of?, What can I know?, Where am I headed? But he can find no answers. His vision of the End is one where Death has seized every atom, Nothingness has sucked everything into itself, Winter reigns, there is no movement. Only God remains to touch this fossil of a world where there has been so much pain and sadness.³⁸

As an artist too he despairs. Poets are shown to be poor specimens, unhappy, burnt dry in the desert, hungry, betrayed, hated.³⁹ Vinaire, whose poetic theory was inspired by the Symbolist writers in France (his own work has often been compared with that of Verlaine and Mallarmé), was horrified at the tendency for "realism" to crush "idealism". Realism exerts pressure to be modern and to embrace the material world. Dreams, religion, poetry, and the imagination are to be forgotten. Vinaire cried against the theories of Taine, Comte, and Zola that truth should be examined in terms of the natural, the physical, and the external. For him rather,⁴⁰

"... the function of poetry was to evoke, not to describe; its matter was impressions, intuitions, sensations; reality was what one represented for oneself; and the poet's images should be symbols of his state of soul, inspired rather by latent affinities than by resemblances."

The most vociferous criticism of Vinaire's work has been that he does not give enough "local colour". He always derided those who thought that merely by adding a palm tree or references to Africa a poet had said anything new about life. When he wrote the Tristesses Ultimes he felt deeply how little he would be understood by his contemporaries.

And even love could not help alleviate the gloom. Rather it reveals the finiteness of our humanity, leads to pain, reminds us not of our togetherness but separateness. When two hearts seem in harmony and ready to sing together, it is a sob and not a song which issues forth.⁴¹ His last vow, bringing this collection of poems to an end, is that he might be allowed to live in a monastery in order to have "la douceur de mourir lentement à chaque heure". It is fitting to give the last word to Death.

These poems were written by 1897 and a year later Vinaire composed his best known poem, the 797 lines of Les dix hommes noirs. This is about ten

young men who had met in the Haitian army and who became so disenchanted with life that they formed a solemn pact to commit suicide together. It is a story that may have been inspired by the Jewish historian Josephus. Before they put an end to themselves they spell out their deception with life. They live in a country without honour, whose glory is a thing of the past. There is no work for people to do ("travail rédempteur" sounds a good Protestant description). Artists have no outlet for their creativity, families no chance to live decent lives. Alcohol, gambling, prostitution, tyranny are the order of the day. Friends betray each other, and there is nothing left worth living for. The poem offers a more dramatic vehicle than the lyrical Tristesses for conveying the grip in which Ennui, Despair, and Death hold Haiti's youth. The death pact is accomplished with one exception. The tenth young man, the youngest, who seems to have a mixture of Christian and Stoic virtues in him⁴², is unable to kill himself but goes mad, an end which is as gruesome as the death of his companions.

In the Tristesses Ultimes there is a poem addressed "A Mlle. Ch...", a person described as a saint who has been urging the despairing poet to hope and believe in life. This lady can be identified as Mlle. Chamson, sister-in-law of the Methodist minister appointed to Jérémie in 1895 - the Reverend Henri Belloncle. It was Belloncle who began the process which led to Vilaire's conversion. He was a Frenchman, an ex-Roman Catholic, who had married a woman of Huguenot descent. He became a Methodist evangelist in Paris before going to Haiti in 1892. For three years he worked as an evangelist in Gonaïves, a sterile place for Protestantism. Whilst there, he launched a journal La Bonne Nouvelle which sold 700 copies (it appeared every other month). The main lines of this journal's content were its studies of the economic and social problems of Haiti, the advocacy of the use of the Créole language in preaching and the translation of the Bible into Créole.⁴³ It was Belloncle's balance of pride in his intellectual and

The two groups of poems which follow in Poèmes de la Mort take on a much more positive note. In Amour he has come to terms with death, seems able even to face the possibility of losing his beloved (he married a Roman Catholic in 1899) on the grounds that true love continues in heaven.⁴⁸ And in Les Etoiles eight poems are presented with the prevailing metaphor of stars which now are no longer "furtive" but pointers to heaven and eternity. In 1901, Vilaire wrote in memory of his father who had died early in that year, a poem called Homo (Vision de l'Enfer). This is his longest poem and opens with a picture of the "old man", the unconverted Vilaire who has lived without virtue, at the mercy of his passions and selfish desires. This "old man" has a vision of hell, of the torture which awaits him there, a torture whose main ingredients are a looking back over his past life, his deceptions, unsatisfied appetites, and remorse. In the second part, it is the converted Vilaire who speaks in the first person, claiming God as his father, happiness as his goal, and claiming:

"L'Eternel est amour, et vous pouvez, maudit,
Entrevoir, à travers l'enfer, des paradis."

He is healed and filled with joy.

The four poems of the Epilogue are chosen to give an answer to claims and questions raised in the poems of his unconverted days. "La Guérison" reveals his remorse for the days of the past and the claim that:

"Avril m'est né: ne comptons plus mes fleurs flétries!"

In "A des desespérés" he rails against those who believe in Nothingness and who claim that Death is the to-be-desired end. In "Aux jeunes" he urges:

"N'écoutez pas, amis, le siècle corrupteur!"

and ends with the plea that despair and listlessness be dismissed:

"Va, marche, crois et rêve à la face des cieux!"

And finally, "A ma patrie", after cataloguing the "sanglots et ... spasmes" of his native land, where his fellow countrymen had to live with lost ideals and dead heroes and re-imposed chains, Vilaire announces that even though Scepticism reigns and Haiti carries her heavy cross, wears her purple robe and crown of thorns all the way up her own personal Calvary, it is not fitting that her people should despair.

"..... D'une immortelle flamme
Je voudrais raviver ton âme,
Et sur la scène de ton drame
Graver le secret d'espérer."

And, faithful to Sabatier's balance of forces, Vilaire sought to contribute to his society an active involvement in its public life. He became the first headmaster of the Lycée Nord Alexis which opened in Jérémie in 1905 and remained in this post until 1923 when he left teaching and moved to a legal career in Port-au-Prince. He had been awarded the prestigious Prix Archon Despérouse by the French Academy in June 1912.⁴⁹

Vilaire, who had been a lawyer in Jérémie for a number of years, became a judge in the Port-au-Prince Court of Appeal. He was its vice-President at his death in 1951. He had been committed in politics since his support for the presidential aspirations of Anténor Firmin in 1902. While many of his class supported (and were enriched by) the marine occupation from the United States of America, Vilaire (together with people like Georges Sylvain, an old friend from the days of La Ronde, and Methodist minister Auguste Albert) was fiercely opposed to it. This vociferous opposition did not date from the late 1920s when many began to see the ill being effected by the prolonged occupation of Haiti, but was an immediate reaction consistently maintained.⁵⁰ With the occupation's end

in sight, Vilaire was returned as Deputy for Jérémie in the 1930 elections. Vilaire voiced the needs of the peasant masses and also the rôle of the élite towards them.⁵¹

In 1902, Vilaire began preaching in the Methodist church of Jérémie in order to help the Reverend Henri Belloncle whose health was fast failing. Thus began the preaching activity which Vilaire was to continue until his death. The sermon was henceforth to be the genre which carried his thoughts and aspirations. It has seemed important to offer this extended analysis of Vilaire's spiritual development both because it is so fully documented, and also because it so well describes the state of mind of many of his class at the end of the nineteenth century. At issue was Haiti's future as she approached the centennial anniversary of her independence. Vilaire found, in the liberal Protestantism he embraced, a programme which would be helpful at such a juncture - a package which combined moral, social, spiritual, and philosophical elements in a most compelling form.

Evangelistic outreach: the revival of 1885-1889

The name of Jean Charles Pressoir, grandson of the founder member of Haitian Methodism, is closely linked with a "revival" which took the Methodist preaching onto the streets of Port-au-Prince. Picot had hoped that Pressoir would become an ordained minister and had taught him some theology. Pressoir, one day in 1885, responded to a request to preach at Croix-des-Bossales, a heavily-populated part of the capital on the sea front. This evening meeting was the first of many and attracted crowds of hearers. Pressoir's description is of interest:⁵²

"Vers sept heures du soir, le travail de la journée fini, les frères qui s'intéressaient à l'oeuvre, se rendaient au lieu convenu. Une petite table était prêtée pour y déposer la Bible; on donnait aussi quelques chaises. Le chant, bien nourri, servait de cloche d'appel, des soeurs de l'Eglise venant parfois s'adjoindre aux chanteurs. La réunion se poursuivait avec prières, lecture de la Bible et prédication; comme un culte méthodiste. Au moment de la prière on invitait les assistants à ôter leurs chapeaux, ce qu'ils faisaient sans difficulté.

Le point principal de la réunion, c'était la prédication; de brefs discours, deux ou trois, à chaque réunion. Il ne fallait pas être long, pour intéresser la foule qui se tenait debout dans la rue. Les services duraient environ une heure."

Similar meetings took place in several parts of the city, at the St Joseph gate, Bel-air, Poste-Marchand, la Fonderie, Croix-des-Martyrs, Fort Ste. Claire, Pisquettes, and la Saline.⁵³ Sometimes the popular services ended with candle-lit processions of people making their way either to the main Wesleyan church, or else to the St. Peter's (AMEC) church. A little house was rented and the Bethel mission started. This work, near the main market place, was destroyed nine years later in the 1897 turmoils. There were good crowds on Sunday evenings and also on Thursday mornings. Quite a group of young men and women led the preaching and singing. A second preaching place was opened in the red light area of Port-au-Prince known as Pisquettes. This was called Bethesda and was burnt down in the political troubles of 1889. There were spasmodic incidents of stone throwing, but on the whole these popular manifestations of evangelical zeal were welcomed by the crowds. There were conversions and a number of new Church members. The "revival" came to an end effectively with the 1889 revolution, just as its predecessor had done in 1869.⁵⁴ The Bethesda work was re-opened in 1900 by an American-Irish lady named Mlle. Langley and continued until 1922.

This "revival" activity took the evangelical message out beyond the limits of Port-au-Prince. Chevallier Dévieux came across a Voodoo séance one day while surveying some land at Croix-des-Bouquets. He went into the meeting and announced with authority, "Au nom de Jésus Christ, renoncez à vos mauvaises pratiques." The "houngan" (Voodoo priest), named Normil Emile, showed signs of reverence and awe at this unexpected message. Another visit was paid a year later (in 1887) and weekly visits after that. Dévieux and Pedro Lopez (a young Cuban who had converted to Protestantism in Haiti) also began visits to a famous "houngan" named Thibert Rosembert at Bon-Repos on the southern limits of the

capital. Among Rosembert's clients were politicians and members of the bourgeoisie, as well as peasant people. In addition to these visit, Pétion Baron began work at Bois St. Martin within the city. But the 1889 troubles put an end to all these initiatives.⁵⁵

Dévieux married and moved to set up a business in Petit Goâve in 1889. He opened up a room in his house for preaching. In 1890, Picot was visiting Petit Goâve (about thirty miles from the capital) twice per quarter and, within eighteen months of the work beginning there, 36 communicant members were being reported.⁵⁶ Picot then made a disastrous appointment, sending an ex-priest of the Roman Catholic church named Palmieri who had left the Roman Church after the promulgation of the dogma of papal infallibility. He found the work of a Methodist minister too much for him and left to rejoin the Roman Catholic fold. He was accepted back and his wife and children taken into a convent. This gave fuel to anti-Roman Catholic elements within the Protestant ranks who did not hesitate to take advantage of it.⁵⁷

In the first instance, the new work begun at Petit Goâve was financed from collections taken at the annual missionary meetings during the District synod. Later, a government grant of £100 per year was paid for an evangelist named J.B. Jolicoeur.⁵⁸ He was soon supported by a young man named Pierre Nicholas, who had been converted to Methodism by the preaching of Picot in 1879 at the consecration of the St. Paul's (AMEC) church in Port-au-Prince. He had been living in Petit-Goâve for a number of years and was delighted to attend Dévieux's services when they began in 1889. He was soundly converted to the life of preaching and evangelisation. His account of this experience is still very vivid to read:⁵⁹

"Un mardi soir, l'assemblée était nombreuse et les membres priaient avec ferveur. Moi aussi, je voulais ouvrir mes lèvres pour prier, mais j'hésitais, secoué par l'émotion. C'était une lutte pour moi. Enfin l'Esprit m'emporta sur la chaire: j'ouvre la bouche et je dis: "Seigneur Jésus, divin Jésus ..." je prie en pleurant, je verse de douces et abondantes larmes, et chose surprenante et qui tient du miracle, tandis que je continuais à m'épancher en la présence de Dieu, je vois tout à coup à travers mes larmes, projetée sur le mur, très nette que Jésus est là et qu'il se révèle à moi dans mon indignité et dans ma misère. A ce moment une transformation complète s'était opérée en moi. A la sortie du temple, j'avais la sensation d'être devenu plus léger, comme délivré d'un grand poids physique. Pour regagner ma demeure mes pas s'étaient faits plus vifs. Je sentais que j'étais dans un monde nouveau."

It was Dévieux who bought the land at Petit Goâve on which he began the construction of a little chapel. He often complained at the lack of help given by the Port-au-Prince minister (after 1892 this was Westmore Smith). In fact, Picot himself paid for the completion of the chapel nine years after its having been begun.⁶⁰ Dévieux and Jolicoeur often had to contend with fierce opposition from Mgr. Beauger the curé of the Roman Catholic parish (he was one of the earliest Haitian priests ordained since the 1860 Concordat). Dévieux died in 1902. He had been converted to Protestantism by the preaching of Picot when isolated from his native Miragoâne during the 1883 troubles. He had married Aline Agnan who used to attend the open air meetings at Bethesda. In the year of his death, the whole town of Petit Goâve paid dearly for its allegiance to the Firmin cause.⁶¹ It was virtually destroyed. So was the Methodist chapel, valued at £1,000. The following description was written two years later:⁶²

"Petit Goâve was once a beautiful little town with about 8,000 inhabitants, but today it is a picture of misery. After the fire which was caused by the revolutionary parties, there were not six complete houses standing. Now they are rebuilding it again but very slowly, for the people were destitute. So where was once a beautiful city, with fashionable houses and a lovely stone-built Wesleyan church, is to be found mud huts and wooden houses, and the old, bare, broken-down walls of our beautiful church. Amidst these ruins I held my services, having fixed a temporary roof to shield us from the sun.

Many - yes very many - who were members with us were either killed or died of starvation and fright during the siege of the town, while others left the neighbourhood and went into the country or other towns. Oh! the siege and burning of Petit Goâve was a terrible

catastrophe, and I have just come from the scene, having heard the story of those who were saved as brands from the burning. You will hardly believe it, but this is true! The soldiers surrounding the town at last were able to enter, and as they did so they set fire to it in every direction. And as the terror-stricken men and women fled from their houses to escape being burned to death, the soldiers stood in the streets and shot them down like ninepins. While wives were bending over the half-dead bodies of their husbands and striving to carry them to a place of safety, they were pounced upon and shot. At this time were lost many of our members, several local preachers, and our stationed evangelist [Jolicoeur] who had charge of the work."

Once again, revolution quelled the fires of revival. Pierre Nicholas took over the work in Petit Goâve but had almost nothing left to work with.

Social outreach

Various attempts were also made in these years to give expression to social concerns. In 1885, Dr Pétion Baron founded a society which he called "The Good Samaritan". Medicines and consultations were provided free for poor people unable to obtain such services. 1,300 gourdes were collected and fifty cases treated.⁶³

In 1888, "La Société d'Amour" was founded by Noguessine Pressoir to raise money for the housing of indigent people. Two such dwellings were built. In the same year, Cécile Thévenin founded the "Dorcas" group whose objectives were to care for the sick, bring relief to the poor, and to lay out corpses for families stricken by death.

In October 1895, a branch of the Y.M.C.A. was founded in Port-au-Prince. This was not restricted to Methodists, nor even to Protestants. It met, however, on Methodist premises and its first officers were Judge Ernest Bonhomme and Joseph Hogarth. It set itself the task of providing a Christian environment for young people to enjoy their leisure time and to indulge in sound

and moral activities. The Association soon acquired a harmonium and a library which enabled it to hold musical and literary evenings as well as more social occasions with games. Fritz Jaegre ran a journal called La Jeunesse which engaged in lively polemical exchanges with those running the Catholic young people's periodical La Croix in Cap Haitien. One of the subjects of this exchange of points of view was the Voodoo religion. Unfortunately, all back numbers of these journals seem now to be lost.⁶⁴

The presence of Methodists in the Customs service and in the different branches of public life has already been noted. They were reputed, by Catholics as well as their fellow-Protestants, to be of great probity. Westmore Smith visited the Port-au-Prince prison every Sunday, ran a benevolent society for the poor, and offered his belief in faith healing (somewhat disparaged by Picot) to the sick.⁶⁵

The Ministry of Westmore S. Smith (1886-1902)

For the first time since the 1840s, when James Hartwell and Mark Bird were working so well together, we note a pair of experienced missionaries at the helm of the Wesleyan mission in Haiti. Smith, like Picot, had already gained experience in other parts of the mission field, having served in the St. Vincent's District (1875-1881) and the Trinidad District (1881-1886). He was a short man of a "mystical temperament" who disliked ritual or finery. He refused to wear a gown and moved away from the liturgical forms of service which had enjoyed favour since Wesley's day. He believed, as we have seen, in faith healing and insisted "not only on conversion but on the necessity also of sanctification".⁶⁶

His first preoccupations on arriving in Cap Haitien, however, were more mundane. He had the 1848 manse demolished and replaced by a house which

he had shipped from England at a total cost of £1,400. The London Committee thought this was excessive but Smith pointed out that part of the house was used for the purposes of the mission school. He also differed with the Missionary Society on the question of his salary which he found impossibly low. Soon after moving into his new house, one of his children died. Yet the Smith family settled in to a fine ministry in Cap Haitien.

Within a year of his arrival there, Smith was reporting an increase in the "French" membership from 15 to 29, and in the "English" (immigrants from the Bahamas and other islands) from 20 to 39. During the 1888 troubles, while Cap Haitien was under direct bombardment from government gunboats, Smith and his family left the city for their safety. But they were soon back and at work.⁶⁷ It was soon after this that Auguste Albert, who had been teacher at the Wesleyan school under Hérivel's ministry, but who had left the church to become a journalist in the cause of northern aspirants to the presidency, became converted to the Christian gospel. Again, as in the case of Heureaux forty years earlier, it was the singing of a hymn which clinched things:⁶⁸

"Apporte sur le calvaire
Tes pesants fardeaux;
La tu trouveras mon frère
Le repos."

Albert was to become one of the most remarkable of Wesleyan Methodist ministers. Smith taught him the notions of theology and he was ordained at the Western Conference in Jamaica in 1892.⁶⁹

In May 1892, Smith and Picot exchanged posts. Smith settled at once into his new responsibilities in the capital. He visited Fond Cheval as well as the regular "stations" in the city. He acquired a lantern projector and used it to great effect.⁷⁰ Within a year, he had founded a girls' boarding school named after Mark

Bird. He was anxious to provide Protestants with an alternative to the convents.⁷¹ To the London secretaries, who had refused to help with the building of a new school, Smith wrote expressing his disappointment:⁷²

"I know it is useless to apply to the Committee for anything except sympathy and good wishes - you evidently imagine we can paddle our own canoe. Well praise the Lord we have not yet gone under although sometimes we feel it really rough work especially now that you are cutting off by degrees the blade of our paddle [a reference to the diminishing grants to the West Indian Conferences].

When the school building could wait no longer (numbers having risen to 43 of whom four were boarders) Smith was able to get a grant from the HIPPOLYTE government of \$850 out of the total projected cost of \$2,500.⁷³ The school began with two French-speaking teachers recruited by Smith in the United States, Miles Huber and Juillerat. The school received excellent reports from the government inspector of schools, but Smith saw it also as an instrument of evangelism. In its first year, fourteen of the school's 24 pupils had "stood up for Christ", including the four daughters of the Circuit Steward.⁷⁴ In 1898, eleven of the school's pupils had become church members while 25 were in the "catechumen class".⁷⁵ In Smith's view, this was the school's main purpose. By 1900, despite cutbacks and smaller rolls, Bird College was stronger than ever with 12 boarders and 73 day girls.

Smith had been finding it difficult to manage on his salary since arriving in Port-au-Prince. This started a series of complaining letters to London and, finally, to his return to England in the summer of 1901. He was sorely missed and Picot remained convinced that some financial help and another missionary to help him in Port-au-Prince would have saved Smith for Haiti.⁷⁶ He did, indeed, later apply to return to Haiti, but it was by then too late. He lived in England until his death in 1925.

The ministry, leadership, and conversion of Thomas Picot

Much of what Thomas Picot achieved in these years is clear from the foregoing pages. J. Catts Pressoir, the historian of Haitian Protestantism, is sometimes very critical of Picot's confidence in Haitians to take responsibility for their own church affairs. This view is hard to sustain from available evidence.⁷⁷ On the contrary, his preaching seems to have generated a very positive response from young intellectuals, many of whom were converted under his ministry (Chevallier Dévieux, Pierre Nicholas, Charles Moravia etc.). Practically all those associated with La Ronde used to come to hear him preach. And he was regularly reporting to the London committee good prospects for finding Haitian young men for the ministry:- Ernest Bonhomme and two others in 1885⁷⁸, Jean Charles Pressoir in 1890⁷⁹, four un-named candidates to the 1893 District Meeting⁸⁰, and "good young men" from Jérémie in 1901.⁸¹ The main reason why nothing came of these possibilities may well be that the existence of the autonomous West Indian Conference did not favour such men, being unable to cope with them financially. It is significant that the one young Haitian who did come into the Wesleyan ministry at this time did not go to the theological institution in Jamaica but was trained by Westmore Smith in Port-au-Prince.⁸² Picot approached the Hippolyte government seeking funding for the training of his potential candidates in Lausanne where there was a Wesleyan seminary. No further word of this initiative is recorded. Picot thought most highly of the Haitian sense of management, the scale of Haitian generosity, and the potential for growth which existed in Haiti. He was constantly arguing these themes to the meetings of the Western Conference in Jamaica, comparing the achievements of Haiti with the rest of the West Indies. It is likely that Pressoir's jaundiced view of Picot springs from an undoubted decline in his energy and interest in Haiti after 1908 (when the whole Port-au-Prince property was burned to the ground), and also to the fact that a deep schism in the church which was to occur in 1915 found Pressoir and

Picot on opposing sides. At the time being studied here, it seems clear that his leadership was most positive and well received.

It must not be forgotten that Picot was, at this time, the Chairman of the Haiti and Santo Domingo District. Indeed, much the greater part of his District's membership lay over the border in the Dominican Republic. He was unable to give due attention to the Spanish work although, while stationed in Cap Haitien, he regularly visited Monte Christi and was soon preaching in the Spanish language.⁸³ He made two visits to the neighbouring Republic in these years, overseeing its affairs by correspondence for the most part. He had to deal with the appointment of missionaries, the maintenance of premises, the general development of the work, the aftermath of the revolution which followed the downfall of dictator Ulysses Heureaux in 1899, retirement terms for Jacob James who had been ministering "unofficially" in Samana since 1866, etc. This dimension of Picot's work must not be forgotten at this time.

Nor must his personal circumstances. Five of his children died in Haiti (two had died in West Africa, there were three survivors). This was shattering both to him and his wife. Indeed, Mrs Picot suffered gradual debilitation and died in Cap Haitien in January 1898. She was widely respected, especially for her ministry to the dying. She would care for them and tend to their needs, offering prayerful consolation in their last moments. This was not a ministry restricted to Protestants, but included many Roman Catholics. When she died, a fine bouquet of flowers was sent by the bishop of Cap Haitien Mgr. F.M. Kersuzan.⁸⁴ She had been a Class Leader and members of her class kept meeting round her sick bed right until the end. She was 51 at her death. Three years later, Picot married Mlle. Huber, one of the teachers at Bird College. By then, he was once more established in the capital.

Whilst at Cap Haitien (1892-1902), Picot had had the church there rebuilt. But first of all, the land which had been secured on a fifty year lease from President Riché in 1847 had been secured in perpetuity through the ministrations of one of the Cap Haitien community leaders named Stewart.⁸⁵ The new church was built in 1894. The foundation stone was laid in January at the time of the District Synod. That day, the national flag flew over the manse and there was a procession through the town with banners and singing. A copy of the current Moniteur was buried under the foundation stone.⁸⁶ The church was opened on November 25th of that year. It had cost \$7,400 to build; \$2,500 had been given by the government and the rest had been raised locally. Nothing had come from London or Jamaica.⁸⁷ There were five hundred people present at the opening. With the congregation in place, a knocking on the main door let in Picot and his colleagues Smith and Belloncle who processed towards the pulpit. A Bible was placed on the Communion table and the service continued. The collection amounted to 500 gourdes and meant the new building was open without debt.⁸⁸

One final detail about Picot remains to be mentioned. After his wife's death he was obviously going through a time of personal difficulty. While at the 1899 Conference in Jamaica, he had an experience which was to change him radically and make a big difference to the mission.⁸⁹ He was recuperating from an illness and had several days of seeing visions. He described this in some detail. After a vision of hell and the constant singing of hymns (through successive days), he was given a vision of God judging the world and of the blessedness of God's presence. He gives the essence of what this experience means to him in the following terms:

"I thought I was going to die and made my last will ... This I had just signed when what should appear before me but ... a whole city - a Haytian city full of inhabitants and a strong impression came on me that I should have given one half to Hayti ... Since then I have been full of the joy of the Lord. My all is on the altar."

It seems that Picot had inherited money on the death of one of his relatives. He had invested the money (or else loaned it at interest) and had begun to realise large profits.⁹⁰ This may have been on his conscience. As a result of his vision, he began to give very liberally to the cause of the mission. He paid for a visit to England by Smith and his family, provided the building for Bird College, completed church buildings at Samana, Sanchez, Petit Goâve, and cleared debts on others. He offered to pay the expenses of two young men to train at the Richmond Theological College in England. He contributed £1,000 to the West Indian effort to clear the old Conference debts. His cash donations within a year of his experience amounted, in Haiti alone, to £1,250. In addition, he paid the salary of a new colleague from England, A.F.P. Turnbull, as well as that of colporteurs, teachers, and evangelists. In short, he financed the expansion of the Methodist work from this time and made good any deficits on the accounts.⁹¹ The destruction of the Petit Goâve chapel in 1902, however, which had only recently cost £1,000 to build, was a warning about building on sand.⁹² For the moment, Haiti survived the disasters which struck the rest of the Conference and survived in much better shape. It should be pointed out that this had been due as much to generous grant aid from successive Haitian governments, and also to sacrificial support from the membership of the church in Haiti, as to the liberality of Picot which, in any case, did not begin to materialize until late in the year 1899.

Westmore Smith left in 1901. James Picot (Thomas's younger half brother) and the West Indian Elijah Mair had spent very short periods in Haiti in the 1880s, ministering mainly to the Jamaican immigrants who were in Haiti at that time. Henri Belloncle, whose wife had died in Jérémie in 1900, fell seriously ill and left Haiti in early 1902. He died in Paris four years later. At the end of this period, therefore, a familiar picture re-emerges. Despite these years of activity and interest, only one Haitian candidate for the ministry had

materialized. There was no minister in Jérémie, Gonaïves, Petit Goâve, or Aux Cayes. Picot was left with Turnbull and Albert as his only colleagues. The sound financial position was also illusory since it depended so much on the generosity of governments, political stability, and one man's liberality. In Haiti such dependence was dangerous unless linked to real growth.

Chapter Nine

LIKE A LEAF IN A STORM

The last years of Thomas Picot: 1904-1916

January 1st 1904 marked the centenary of Haiti's independence. The years between that date and the arrival of the occupying force of American marines on July 28th 1915 were without doubt the most turbulent in Haiti's chequered history. Eight presidents ruled over the nation's affairs: Nord Alexis (1902-1908), Antoine Simon (1908-1911), Cincinnatus Leconte (1911-1912), Tancrède Auguste (1912-1913), Michel Oreste (1913-1914), Oreste Zamor (1914), Davilmar Théodore (1914-1915), and Vilbrun Guillaume Sam (1915). A number of rebellions were organised against the established power of the day. These usually originated in the north of Haiti and were known as Cacos uprisings. Protestors used arson to project their dissatisfaction, and damaging fires occurred throughout these years at Aux Cayes, Jérémie, St. Marc, and Port-au-Prince. Most spectacular of these protests were the destruction of Aux Cayes in 1911 and the blowing up of the presidential palace in 1912 (with the sleeping President Leconte inside it). There was deep financial uncertainty as successive presidents sought to raise more and more money to back their bids for (and hold on to) power. The culmination of the troubles of this period came with the assassination of president Guillaume Sam by a militant mob in the streets of Port-au-Prince in July 1915. A disastrous hurricane, within weeks of that event, reduced much of the population to despairing poverty and caused some Haitians to look upon the arrival of the American marines as a deliverance of God.¹

January 1st 1904 was also the official date from which the West Indian Districts reverted to dependence upon the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London. The period between that date and Thomas Picot's retirement in

January 1916 was also the most turbulent in the history of Haitian Methodism. It was a time of financial uncertainty: Picot's money ran out, church members were impoverished by the political and social disturbances, the London committee was preoccupied with India and other places. The destruction of Methodist properties in Port-au-Prince (1908), Aux Cayes (1911), and Puerto Plata (1912), following that of Petit Goâve in 1902, all but destroyed the spirit of the Methodists. It all led to Picot's withdrawal from Haiti and a loss of morale which degenerated into bickering and unpleasantness. Indeed, there is a strange parallelism through these years between the affairs of the nation and the Methodist mission.

The effects of social unrest on the mission

Mention has already been made (above page 226f) of the destruction of the mission property in Petit Goâve and the killing of leaders and scattering of others as part of the anti-Firministe reprisals conducted against the town by the forces of President Nord Alexis. An even worse event occurred on July 7th 1908 which called to mind the happenings of November 1869 (above page 149). A fire spreading through the streets of Port-au-Prince destroyed the whole Methodist establishment: the chapel, the girls' college, boys' school, the mission house, and all ancillary buildings. Books, schedules, and records were all lost. Only the property deeds and the circuit accounts were rescued. There was no loss of life either to the mission staff or to the college boarders. Leading members such as judge Ernest Bonhomme and teacher Joseph Hogarth lost everything in the blaze. The school had been "at the height of its prosperity". The mission itself was flourishing and buoyant. The fire changed all that in one hour and a half, doing damage estimated at £10,000.² To make matters worse, Parkinson Turnbull (Picot's colleague) was in England on furlough leave at the time of the fire. There was a surge of loyalty and determination in the face of the damage suffered. Mid-week services were held in the open air, Sunday worship was held in the nearby

Baptist church. Other premises were found for the boys' and girls' schools. But, despite all of this, it was obvious that Picot sensed he was not going to be able to summon up the reserves of energy needed for reconstruction.³ Even so, he sought the opportunity to buy pieces of land adjoining the mission property in order to run his land back to better boundaries and thus minimize the likelihood of a recurrence of the tragedy.⁴

February 11th 1911 is another date in the annals of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Haiti which bespeaks destruction - this time in the southern town of Aux Cayes. It was reported as follows:⁵

"... the town was destroyed by fire, and our church and manse disappeared in the terrible conflagration that ruined our members. Not one escaped the disaster. Private and business houses were reduced to ashes, and our people cast into the street destitute. For every one it meant beginning life over again - for there are no insurance companies in Haiti."

Among those ruined by this disaster was Methodist evangelist Eugène Margron. His wife and family moved first to Jérémie and then to the capital to look for lodging and work (she was a midwife). Margron's stoical acceptance of his situation moved his colleagues to admiration.⁶ Money was raised in Haiti for rebuilding and a grant accorded from London. Henry Arnett, a missionary who arrived in Haiti in 1912, took charge of the project in 1915. He had virtually finished work on the chapel when the town of Aux Cayes was struck by a fearful hurricane. Arnett's description of the storm and his two accompanying drawings are most graphic, showing how thoroughly the building erected by Othello Bayard in 1859 was destroyed.⁷

The mission premises at Puerto Plata, Samana, and Sanchez (work in the Dominican Republic formed part of the Haiti District through these years) were also severely damaged at this time. In 1911-1912, a twelve month siege was

mounted by government forces to starve out their opponents in Samana and Sanchez. Both towns were bombarded.⁸ Many Methodist members took up arms against the government. Many died in the protracted battles. The Samana church and manse were riddled with bullets.⁹ Puerto Plata also suffered a long siege in 1914. W.E. Mears, the Methodist missionary stationed in the town at that time, sent vivid descriptions of fighting and famine in the town. The church became a refuge for the townspeople.¹⁰ Children and invalids died in great numbers either from starvation or dysentery.¹¹ The population of the town was reduced to eating soda biscuits and the flesh of donkeys. "Nearly all the old people, invalids and little babies have died", Mrs Mears reported.¹²

In Cap Haitien too the struggles for power took their toll of the Methodist membership and property. The church had been partly destroyed during a siege in 1906 but was restored thanks to a grant made by Nord Alexis' government.¹³ The 1914 uprising, described by Turnbull as the worst he had seen, with "people shot down before our eyes [and] men, women, and children literally cut to pieces in the streets. The prisons were opened and all the criminals let loose; looting and pillaging of stores and private homes became the order of the day."¹⁴ A number of Methodists were among the dead, including one of the sons of Auguste Albert, the minister stationed at that time in Cap Haitien. As a result of that unrest, both manse and church in the town were badly in need of repair and restoration.¹⁵ A year later, yet another attempted uprising began in Cap Haitien. This was the beginning of the troubles which led to the invasion of Haiti by American marines. The uprising was led by Dr. Rosalvo Bobo, "the husband of one of our best members at the Cape church". Indeed, Bobo (who soon escaped to Jamaica on the failure of his attempted coup d'état) had once been a Methodist local preacher.¹⁶

There are many other references which indicate the extent to which the revolutionary temper of the times had become all-pervasive. Turnbull was asleep in the re-built Port-au-Prince manse in 1912 when he was abruptly awakened by the explosion which destroyed the nearby presidential palace and killed the president and hundreds of other people. Turnbull wrote:¹⁷

"The arsenal had contained 10,000 kegs of powder, millions of cannon shells and other smaller cartridges. The mission yard was strewn with débris, but no one was hurt. Our house shook for a moment like a leaf in a storm and all the iron doors were burst open whilst nearly all the inner venetian shutters and doors of wood were shattered to pieces. In my own bedroom, where I was of course fast asleep (it was 3.30 a.m.), the door leading onto the balcony was blown in and part of the wooden ceiling came down. The air was charged with gunpowder smoke."

The 1915 Synod, which also took place in the Port-au-Prince manse, occurred in the middle of a time of disturbance. No one was allowed out of the house even to purchase food and provisions. The Turnbolls' first child was born in that very house during the time of the Synod.¹⁸

The Arnetts almost lost their lives on one occasion when they were stranded by revolution in Petit Gôave.¹⁹ And in Jérémie, John du Feu lamented the fact that his excellent group of young men was being threatened by the disorders of the day. Alain Clérié, Emile Rocourt, and Henri Villedrouin spent some time in prison. Etzer Vilaire and his cousin Edmond Laforest were taken as far as the prison gates before being released. Many of those in the same prison had been herded pathetically like sheep into a boat and taken away by the army to an unknown destination.²⁰

The event which served as a pretext for the arrival of the USS Washington and the beginning of a nineteen year period of occupation by the American marines, was the "fearful death" of President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam in July 1915. Sam was dragged out of the French legation where he had taken refuge

and he was assassinated by a furious mob in the centre of Port-au-Prince. Parts of his mutilated body were borne triumphantly to all the corners of the capital. One of the atrocities alleged to have been committed by Sam, and the cause of the fury of the crowd, was the massacre of all the inmates of the city's prison. There had been such slaughter that the blood was said to have run from the prison along the street gutters right down to the sea. There had been Methodists among the slain whose bodies Turnbull went into the prison to search for.²¹

The ministry of Auguste Albert

One of the voices raised against the abuses which were generating the revolutionary atmosphere of the times, was the Haitian Methodist minister Auguste Albert. In a speech delivered (and subsequently printed in the newspapers) with a view to calling Haitians to celebrate the centenary of their independence in appropriate ways, Albert had not minced his words:²²

"Les haitiens se sont simplement assassinés dans des guerres fratricides. Ils ont appauvri la Patrie par des rapines financières, ils ont troublé notre système économique par des taxations abusives et le gaspillage des revenus du fisc. Ils ont rendu le travail impossible par l'insécurité des conditions d'existence fournies au travailleur. Ils ont disloqué les ressorts de la vie nationale par des entraves humiliantes mises aux libertés publiques."

Albert urges his listeners to recognize the value of their native land, their culture and history. He wants to avoid the mere erection of bronze statues in memory of the centenary and recommends rather the setting up of discussion groups, clubs, newspapers - anything which might heighten awareness and create the preconditions for genuine freedom. This would necessitate a liberty of work, circulation, suffrage, press, and speech: elements at that time lacking in Haitian society. And, he adds, above all, "il ne faut pas que 1904 se solennise par des démonstrations archaïques et ridicules."

Auguste Albert was a remarkable man, though there now remains so little material to reconstruct an adequate picture of his life and work.²³ He was born in Cap Haitien in September 1860 into a middle class family. His schooling took place in his native town and he began work in a commercial enterprise little suited to his abilities. When John William Hérivel became the minister of the Cap Haitien circuit, he immediately quickened interest in what had been a waning cause. He re-opened the school and employed Albert as its headmaster in 1880. He remained in this position until after Hérivel's death in 1882. He had been among those who had disagreed with Picot for wanting to remove Hérivel from Cap Haitien in 1880.²⁴ In 1882, Albert was chosen to direct the state school at Carrénage and, for the following seven years, he combined these duties with those of a public notary (he had some very influential customers), and a publicist. He was an active member of the Cap Haitien freemasons' lodge. In 1889 he was appointed sub-inspector of schools. It was from this time that he set up his newspapers, two of which bore provocative titles - Les Maringouins (Mosquitos), and La Foudré (Thunderbolt), as well as L'Argus. These, like many Haitian journals, were of short duration, but in them Albert relentlessly attacked irregularities and unscrupulous behaviour in public figures. An article entitled "La curée" in the last-named of these papers was reckoned to have driven one of the generals implicated in the overthrow of President Salomon in 1888 to suicide. His style was widely recognized to be devastating. He was self-taught and able to hold his own in legal, educational, journalistic, and administrative circles. He was deeply patriotic and suffered ill those who sold their country short. He was himself black but held no prejudiced view of those mulattos with whom he had grown up. In this he resembled his contemporary and fellow Capois Anténor Firmin who had said:²⁵

"La vérité, c'est que la question de couleur est à l'usage de tous ceux qui désirent perpétuer la nuit qui règne dans le cerveau populaire en Haiti pour en tirer des avantages personels."

As a school inspector he made determined efforts to ensure that the history of Haiti was taught, especially in schools run by foreigners. He attributed to the fact that this was not being done the consequence that young people were being brought up with no aspirations, with a moral short-sightedness, with no nerve or life.

He found solace in the pleasures of alcohol and the flesh until, one day in 1889, passing by the Wesleyan chapel, he was attracted by the singing of a hymn, to approach the minister (at that time it was Westmore Smith) to seek the consolations of religion. After much prayer, Albert found himself a converted man and, at the age of 29, he began a new chapter in his life which was to be dedicated to the service of God.

His conversion and subsequent theological instruction occurred under the ministry of Westmore Smith, and Albert's ritual-free services were undoubtedly the consequence of contact with Smith. Both men also believed in a God who intervened directly in human affairs. He united a thirst for truth and justice in his sermons. Thus:²⁶

"... d'après la conception divine, un homme est celui qui cherche la vérité et s'évertue à pratiquer la justice. Seules les énergies divines s'exerçant dans l'individu en font la vraie valeur."

His theology too was uncluttered. For example, his teaching on the nature and meaning of the sacrament of Holy Communion which was, he argued, first of all a divine command, then an act of commemoration, thirdly a proclamation of a glorious fact to the whole world, and finally a perpetual obligation for all believers. Albert was ready to recognize brothers and fellow workers in any church, including the Roman Catholic. There was no sectarianism in him. But,

wherever he saw injustice, he would attack it with vigour either with the pen, or in his sermons.

President, Hippolyte is said to have invited Albert to serve in his cabinet in 1891.²⁷ By then, however, he had already decided to become a Methodist Minister. Indeed he castigated those who found themselves so tempted by the glories of political life that they were prepared to give up the dictates of their consciences. When, in 1926, his old friend Dr Rosalvo Bobo, who had collaborated with him in opposition to the American occupation and those Haitians who had thrown in their lot with the Americans, decided to offer himself as a candidate for the Presidency of Haiti, Albert was very deceived. He wrote a virulent article in the newspaper he at that time edited, L'Opinion Nationale, under the headline "Never!!"²⁸ in which he wrote as follows:

"... le voilà confondu parmi les quémandeurs du Pouvoir, lui naguère si fier, et agenouillé devant le Baal de la Politique, il tend la main et sollicite à son tour la Présidence avec ceux qui ont revêtu la loque du mendiant."

These were the words of a man who had more than once had to make the choice between public life and principle.

After being sent to serve as an evangelist in the southern city of Aux Cayes, he became the minister there after the departure of Elijah Mair in 1891. He was put on probation by the West Indian Conference in 1892 and ordained at the Port-au-Prince synod in 1897. He remained in Cayes for nine years where he imposed a very strict discipline on the members, in particular urging them to keep the Ten Commandments. It is said of him that he once refused to baptize a child whose godfather was the military commander of the southern department, Antoine Sam (later to be President of Haiti), until the carriage in which the baptismal party had come to church had been sent back to its home. Albert

argued that not only human beings but also animals were forbidden to work on the Sabbath day. Antoine Sam complied with these requirements and, in cocked hat and full dress uniform, returned to his home on foot after the service.²⁹ This disregard for anyone's grandeur was a feature of Albert's personality. It can be seen in the following remarks from his 1896 sermon entitled "Haiti devant le tribunal de Dieu".³⁰

"Elle [immorality] loge dans le palais des grands. Elle se cache sous le luxe insolent de leurs rapines. Vous la trouverez sous le gibus du Magistrat en habit queue de merluche comme derrière la cocarde rouge et bleue du Député du peuple. Elle coule, en plein soleil dans les voitures armoirées des grands fonctionnaires de l'Etat, elle dore l'uniforme galonné des Prétoriens de l'armée. Cette immoralité en grande tenue, qui décore nos salons en se fardant d'honnêteté et de vertu, on l'appelle le vol, on l'appelle la débauche. C'est aussi LE QUANGATISME."

This last allegation that the leaders of the nation indulged in the practices of Voodoo was spelled out in an accusation that they hid fetiches, attended ritual sacrifices, paid their own favoured Voodoo priests. To think, argued Albert, that Haiti's affairs might be in the hands of people such as these! People who would not offer any help to a labourer down on his luck. It is little wonder that Albert's colleagues thought him the most competent missionary in Haiti³¹, his country's Jeremiah or John the Baptist.³² Crowds came to hear his sermons and speeches.

Albert moved to Cap Haitien to replace Picot in 1902. He began at once to nurture his members in small groups. He set up preaching posts at Carrénage and la Fossette in the city of Cap Haitien, and also at Limbé, Port Margot, and la Plaine du Nord, small towns in reach of the city. He established organisations whose objective was to offer social opportunities (service and fellowship) to their adherents. Thus the White Cross, the Cap Haitien branch of the YMCA, and the Evangelical Alliance, which attracted non-Methodists as well as his own members. He constantly preached the theme that a good Methodist

was a good Christian, and a good Christian necessarily a good Patriot. And the lesson began with himself. "Mon caractère ecclésiastique", he wrote, "ne m'enlève ni mes droits ni mes privilèges d'Haitien."³³

There was a steady trickle of conversions from the time of Albert's arrival in Cap Haitien. The first to be noted was a young Roman Catholic teacher of philosophy from the town's lycée.³⁴ In 1906 Albert and Charles Héraux, a judge recently arrived in the town, preached at "revival" meetings they had organised.³⁵ Héraux had had a vision of himself as a preacher to Cap Haitien, and of the need to preach from one particular verse of St. Luke's gospel, that in Chapter 13 that reads: "Except ye repent, ye shall all perish." To this Albert added a sermon from a later verse in the same chapter: "[of the useless fig tree] cut it down; why doth it also cumber the ground?"³⁶ These services led to weeping, trances, breakdowns, as people came forward to register their conversions. Nineteen such conversions were recorded in the course of three weeks. This was supplemented by those converted at the open air meetings at Plaine du Nord. Albert's own son was converted at this time.³⁷

The revival came to an end due to the Cacos activities which broke out again towards the end of Nord Alexis's presidency. This third period of revival, like its predecessors in 1868 and 1886³⁸, was instigated and led by Haitians. Also like them, it came to an end in conditions of social unrest. Albert's health broke down under the strain of hard work in the rural areas around Cap Haitien.³⁹ His ministry became intermittent during the years of regular uprisings, most of which in these years originated in the north. His son was killed in one such revolution in 1914.⁴⁰ He was reported to be on the verge of a mental breakdown in 1916.⁴¹ His discouragement was not only with the discord and civil

unrest of the times, but also a reflection on his fellow-Methodists. Picot, on a visit to Cap Haitien in 1909, reported:⁴²

"... [Brother Albert] is discouraged with the spiritual state of our Haytian members who through party feeling and misunderstandings have many of them lost their first love."

All these pressures, together with financial uncertainty (his salary was paid from increasingly uncertain Government grants), and heavy domestic responsibilities⁴³, led to his seeking a premature retirement from the ministry as a junior supernumerary.

Albert's re-appearance on the public scene to champion the cause of Haitian nationalism against the American occupation lies outside the scope of this thesis. It was he who founded the Ligue du Bien publique and the newspaper L'Opinion Nationale which gave focus and voice to the efforts of those resisting the occupation in the north of Haiti. He died in 1926, widely mourned throughout Haiti.

Pamphlet war with the Roman Catholic church

Between 1904 and 1908 there was conducted in the newspaper Le Nouvelliste and through the appearance of a number of pamphlets a keen discussion of Church practice, theology, and Biblical interpretation. Port-au-Prince merchant Annibal Montasse defended the Roman Catholic position with verve and, sometimes, with vitriol. He was enthusiastically supported by Mgr. François-Marie Kersuzan, the Bishop of Cap Haitien. In the last of a series of pamphlets, Montasse described how the controversy had broken out in the first place.⁴⁴ Apparently Alexandre Jackson, through the contacts he so readily enjoyed as Controller of Customs, had built up a list of subscribers to the Haitian Bible Society (of which he was the President). A number of these were Roman

Catholics. Jackson invited all of them to a special meeting at the Wesleyan Church to celebrate the centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1904. Montasse was astonished to discover that the occasion was turned into an opportunity to commend Protestant values rather than elevate the virtues of the Bible. As well as questioning some of the points made by Jackson, Montasse felt that discourtesy had been extended to the invited guests and he wrote the first of his tracts to defend this point of view. Among his respondents were Baptists and Methodists from Jacmel, Cap Haitien, Aux Cayes, as well as the capital. When the brochures came to their end, Picot entered the lists and a copious correspondence took place in the columns of one of Port-au-Prince's daily newspapers.⁴⁵ Bishop Kersuzan wrote to Montasse at one point in the following terms:⁴⁶

"La note que j'entends autour de moi ... c'est que les discussions religieuses se prolongent trop dans le Nouvelliste. Je ne donne pas mon avis, je serais bien embarrassé. Ce qui est la vérité, c'est que, étant donné le stock de brochures et de revues protestantes répandues parmi nous, nous ne répondons pas un mot pour dix."

As for the subjects discussed in these writings, all was predictable enough. The veneration of the Virgin Mary, the infallibility of the Pope, the doctrines of purgatory, transubstantiation and the confessional, the rôle of the Roman Catholic Church in the political life of the nation, all raised questions in the minds of the Protestants and were defended with vigour by Montasse and Kersuzan. The Protestant understanding of the Bible, the tendency of Protestants to sectarianism (with particular reference to a split in the Baptist church in Port-au-Prince between conservative and liberal camps), were criticized by the Catholics and defended by the Protestants. The Catholics resorted to arguments from conventional European sources, especially post-Vatican I dogmatics, while the Protestants founded theirs on the tenets of the French liberal protestantism of the day. The contemporary issues in France of Modernism and Gallicanism in

the Roman Catholic Church and the 1905 separation of Church and State figured prominently in the Haitian debate.⁴⁷

The style and tone of these discussions was also predictable. Bible texts were accumulated in support of various contentions (on both sides). Rhetorical flourishes abounded. The following gives a taste:⁴⁸

"Le protestantisme, c'est la sainte et glorieuse révolte de tout l'homme outragé par la vente à l'encan des indulgences, le trafic odieux des choses sacrées. Demandez-le à l'Évangile; demandez-le aux apôtres; demandez-le aux martyrs; demandez-le aux anges; demandez-le au Christ de Dieu; demandez-le au Dieu du ciel et de la terre. Vous en serez ébloui."

Montasse was dismissive of such tirades, describing them as "vides de sens". He himself wrote much more pointedly. In particular he poured scorn on Picot and Jackson. "What evil spirit has pushed you to abandon your position as a professional preacher in order to stick your nose into these matters?" he asked, and continued: "Pourquoi ne pas vous contenter de faire résonner de votre voix mâle, abondante, les voûtes du temple de Wesley, où la besogne terminée, l'on va parfois vous entendre pour se recréer?"⁴⁹ If Picot was, as had been suggested to him, suffering from nervous fatigue as a result of these exchanges then let him remember that he (Picot) had started it all. But Montasse was generous too, and we find the following tribute:⁵⁰

"Tous ceux à qui Dieu a fait la grâce d'entendre avec recueillement votre sermon quadragésimal se souviendront longtemps, ô très longtemps, de vos qualités de prédicateur bien inspiré."

Despite the predictability of style and content, there emerge some interesting details of Methodist worship and methods of evangelisation at this time, including a most interesting caricature of the Port-au-Prince Church and its worship;⁵¹

"Une double rangée de bancs qui s'étendent roides et sombres; une nef toute prosaïque au centre de laquelle se dresse ... une estrade; des murs tout unis où rien rappelle les divines beautés du Christianisme ... Supposez-vous en cette Eglise au moment où se célèbre l'office. Un monsieur lourd et à l'allure roide et froide couvert d'habits uniformes se présente, gravit l'estrade et débute la lecture des textes bibliques. Parfois, c'est un jeune homme, dépourvu de science théologique, mais par contre bourré de classique, qui prend contact avec l'assemblée. C'est un aspirant à l'apostolat qui vient s'essayer à la chaire en qualité de prédicateur laïque libre, jusqu'à ce que l'Eglise reconnaissant en lui des aptitudes suffisantes, se décide à lui conférer le titre de Pasteur."

The chapel was certainly very plain, though it should be remembered that the building served as a school during the week. It was also a feature of Methodist practice to give young intellectuals their chance to lead worship. Picot had had designs on a number of them whom he hoped to send to England or Switzerland to be trained for the ministry. But, at this time, a new practice began to emerge. Unlike Albert, who had been trained by Smith in Haiti and then ordained in Jamaica with the full authority of the West Indian Conference, some young preachers were beginning to claim (or at least be addressed by) the title of "Pasteur". Thus Alain Clérié was known in this way. This was to happen more frequently later. But Montasse was correct to point out this irregularity, the title of minister having previously been given only to those ordained by the Methodist Conference.

Methodist evangelism was directed to the educated classes. Montasse described their approach.⁵² He had once attended a series of discussion evenings at Wesley Church. He noted among the audience some personal friends, Protestants by conviction, whose good faith and morality he does not question (easily recognizable are Solomon Basse, Alexandre Jackson, and Paul Lochard). But also present are a number of lapsed Catholics who were finding the yoke of the Roman Catholic Church too much for them. Discussion was on the subject of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. A Catholic point of view was represented to the meeting but by a Methodist rather than a Catholic. Montasse added to this

the fact that in the Protestant library there were (as has been seen above pp.210 ff.) a number of books on other religions but none on Roman Catholicism. In view of Methodist advocacy of freedom of conscience and thought, Montasse found this an anomaly. He had, he claimed, gone to the meetings with an open mind. He objected to being pressurized into becoming a registered member of the church.

The ministry and character of A.F.P. Turnbull

After the fire of 1908 in Port-au-Prince, the Methodist community set about rebuilding their premises with energy and spirit. The person who stands out at this time is A.F. Parkinson Turnbull, a missionary who arrived in Haiti in January 1901.

Turnbull was well-connected in British Methodist circles (his brother-in-law was general secretary of the National Children's Home). He suffered from poor eyesight since an accident in his youth.⁵³ Shortly after his arrival in Haiti, while on a visit to Petit Goâve, he suffered an attack of yellow fever which almost brought about his death. But his constitution was strong enough to survive this attack⁵⁴ and also later attacks of malarial fever.⁵⁵ When he arrived in Haiti, he had no French and, indeed, needed an interpreter several years after his arrival.⁵⁶ With the help of Charles Moravia (a leading intellectual identified with the journal La Ronde - see above p.214), he eventually acquired a mastery of the French language which left him with no trace of an English accent.

In his first years in Haiti, he acted as a kind of roving ambassador, visiting and spending several weeks in Petit Goâve and Jérémie. He reported the 1902 destruction of Petit Goâve (see p.216). He began to practise photography in that same year and took an interest in bringing various Haitian artefacts to the

attention of the British public.⁵⁷ But the whole of Turnbull's time in Haiti prior to the 1908 fire can be considered as his time of apprenticeship. It was the disaster which gave him a prominence that, possibly, he might not otherwise have had. Picot was thoroughly demoralised by the fire.⁵⁸ Indeed, he bought a house in Jamaica and, from this time, lived there, continuing to oversee the affairs of Haiti by regular and sometimes protracted visits. Increasingly he kept abreast of things by correspondence.

Turnbull was in England at the time of the fire. At once, he suggested that money should be raised there by a general appeal and with Mission House support.⁵⁹ Picot joined him in requesting the sum of £1,000 from the Missionary Society and, by patient insistence, got it.⁶⁰ The Society suggested that rebuilding should begin with the manse but Turnbull started with the school and was able to open it just a year after the fire and free of debt. The opening ceremony took place in August 1909 before a full and representative audience. John du Feu, another British missionary, preached from Isaiah Chapter 59 verse 1: "The arm of the Lord is not shortened that he cannot save, neither his ear heavy that he cannot hear."

Turnbull's energy at this time was enormous. He noted that he had circularized two thousand foreign businessmen, political leaders, and merchants.⁶¹ At the time of building, he had to cope with buying materials in a market artificially inflated by heavy American investment in the building of railways and dock installations.⁶² The buildings he planned were in the grand style: solid brick walls, iron shutters (which alone cost £411), firm foundations, so that no revolution, earthquake, or fire would in future harm them.⁶³ They survived the terrible explosion in the nearby presidential palace in August 1912 as was noted above. The house was completed by March 1910. Picot, who had had

reservations about the size of the buildings, was completely swayed by what he saw when he arrived for the 1910 Synod: "The splendid work being done by Turnbull is the marvel of the city", he wrote, "so large, so ornamental, so substantial".

In 1912, Turnbull fell in love with Mlle. Velten, one of the daughters of a French family resident in Port-au-Prince and members of the Methodist Church. He married her later that year and, after a honeymoon in North America, took a special furlough which lasted from April 1913 to September 1914. This effectively put an end to the building programme. The boys' school and manse had been completed; the college was being housed in temporary buildings erected on the Mission site. The Church had not even been begun; services were held in the boys' school.

It was obvious that Turnbull was a man of firm disposition who impressed many by his leadership. Thus, when representations needed to be made to the British Government about certain aspects of a 1905 Anglo-Haitian Nationality Convention which threatened to "cripple seriously our English work", the British trading community in Haiti turned to Turnbull. "I am charged with a petition from all the leading commercial firms", he wrote, "and from British subjects in Port-au-Prince to H.M. Government, and am in communication with Sir E. Grey on the subject."⁶⁴ When the matter was later being discussed in Parliament, Turnbull also made representations to Methodist Member of Parliament Robert Perks.⁶⁵ His intervention did not, however, change the terms of the Convention.

With the Haitian Government too, Turnbull's stock was high. When, in 1914, on the arrival in power of President Théodore, the new head of State gave a reception for all the Protestant clergy of the city, it was Turnbull who gave a

speech on behalf of all the others (who included Anglicans, African Methodists, Baptists, and Wesleyans).

And when the Americans came, Turnbull was able to forge a strong relationship with those in charge of the occupying force. One of the London secretaries of the Missionary Society wrote thus:⁶⁶

"He is a great worker, and preaches with great earnestness and fervour. He has gained an almost extraordinary influence over the American officers, beginning with the Admiral [Caperton] himself, who are in control of the American occupation. Day by day, hundreds of starving men, women, and children, among them the most piteous objects I have ever seen, are fed at the Mission House as a result of Mr. T.'s arrangements with the Americans. Mr. T. has built up a position of great influence in this and other ways."

Turnbull's energy and strong character obviously achieved the rebuilding of the premises in Port-au-Prince against all the odds. His wisdom and judgement were not always so felicitous and this contributed to the virtual demise of the Mission at this time.

Degeneration

The incident which proved to be the final straw which broke this particular camel's back was petty and should have been suffered with little difficulty. But a number of factors had been draining the energy of the embattled Methodist community so that there was nothing left with which to face and overcome the threat when it arrived. It may be useful to rehearse these at this point.

Firstly, there were the external factors which have been listed above - the destruction of property, the uncertain political climate, the threat to the livelihood of large numbers of the Methodist membership (with the consequential threat to the financial base of the Mission's work, especially in education). Also,

there were successive bad harvests⁶⁷, a devastating hurricane⁶⁸, and the flood of 1915⁶⁹, which created further poverty and hardship.

Secondly, the single most devastating internal factor to affect the struggling Methodist community was the decline of its leader Thomas Picot. He fell ill in 1908, and became thoroughly disillusioned by the fire of that year. The value of his investments in Haitian government stock fell so much that he withdrew his holdings and re-invested them in Jamaica. He moved house to that island. He began to forget things. He fully recognized that his powers were failing and begged the London secretaries to find a successor for him.⁷⁰ They kept urging him to do "just one more year" and this went on from 1912 to 1916. This resulted in an absentee leadership and allowed each of the missionaries to make his own policy as he saw fit. Emerson Mears, missionary in Puerto Plata and a strong critic of the policy which led to 80 per cent of the London grant being invested in Haiti while two thirds of the District's membership were to be found in the neighbouring Dominican Republic, was unsparing in his attacks on Picot at this time. Methodism was lapsing into "congregationalism" he alleged⁷¹, and John du Feu, the missionary in Jérémie, agreed with this.⁷²

There were some dreadful, and dreadfully handled, appointments. Two single women were appointed to the administration of Bird College in Port-au-Prince. Both Edith le Masurier who arrived in 1911, and Blanche Chamoux who came in 1914, turned out to be ill-suited to the life and tasks for which they had been appointed. One fell in love with Turnbull and had to be sent home early; the other was a gossip who fed domestic tensions between the two missionary families with whom she lived. Mark Bird would have known how to handle both of them!

Missionaries began taking their furlough when it suited them. At one time, John du Feu, Parkinson Turnbull, Emerson Mears, and Thomas Picot were all

absent together from mid-1913 to late 1914. At this same time, Auguste Albert was ill and that left Henry Arnett, recently arrived in Port-au-Prince, as the only ordained minister in the whole District on active duty.

The Methodist community at this time lost two of its outstanding Haitian leaders. Ernest Bonhomme, one of the nation's leading judges, died in 1911. He had been a most competent preacher and leader of the Port-au-Prince congregation. He was given a full state funeral with the honour and courtesies appropriate to his position in society. His death, and its timing, was a great loss to the Methodist cause. In addition, Charles Pressoir was dismissed from his job as General Treasurer of the Republic in February 1910 for bringing accusations of corruption against certain members of the administration of that time.⁷³ Pressoir had personally promised \$2,500 to the Mission re-building scheme, he was ideally placed to influence the Government to deliver its promises. He was above all, however, a man of deep spirituality and prayer. His dismissal led to a time of insanity. Special prayer meetings were held to pray for his recovery. He did recover and, indeed, later became Minister of Finance in Dartiguenave's government (1915-1922). But his loss at this time was grievous.

The final area of tension and strain to identify is more domestic. Turnbull had built the imposing new manse in Port-au-Prince with the intention that it might accommodate two families. During his absence in Europe (April 1913 to September 1914), the house was inhabited by his old college friend Henry Arnett and his family. Arnett had begun his ministry in a French settlement in West Africa and was fully master of the French language.⁷⁴ Shortly after his arrival in Haiti, he and his wife were put in charge of Bird College.⁷⁵ They were very popular with some of the Port-au-Prince congregation. They were both upset and insulted when Turnbull wrote from England to stipulate that he, as the newly

named superintendent of the Port-au-Prince circuit, wanted sole possession of the house on his return to Haiti. He asked the Arnetts to find somewhere else to live.⁷⁶ They refused and, as can well be imagined, there was considerable tension between them as they lived in the same house from the time of the Turnbulls' return in October 1914. In fact, Mrs Arnett suffered a nervous breakdown and went to recuperate with the Picots in Jamaica where she stayed from December 1914 until January 1916, only returning when her husband was no longer living in Port-au-Prince.

Both du Feu and Arnett declared themselves to be unwilling to work under Turnbull's leadership if he were to be named as Picot's successor. Turnbull resented the fact that Arnett had been put in charge of the College.⁷⁷ Picot began writing to London disagreeing with Turnbull's judgements and decisions, but without discussing such matters with Turnbull himself.⁷⁸ Mears described Turnbull as "the spoilt child of the Haitian Synod".⁷⁹ All this was a sure formula for disintegration. And the London secretaries were fully aware of it all before the final blow fell, as can be seen from the following letter:⁸⁰

"I am greatly disturbed about your District. Arnett and Turnbull create a serious position. I ought not to have let Turnbull go back but he is not without cleverness, and he made an impression here. But we cannot have God's work ruined in this way. I must think it over, but I am inclined to advocate drastic measures. I shall try to arrange for Mr Cartwright [Chairman of the Jamaica District] to visit both republics during 1916. We must decide whether to keep on the Dominican work. Then we must [sic] have a different sort of missionary - men who will save souls. I will be no party to the continuance of this wicked and vulgar quarrelling. I believe a new staff is the only thing.

As to the chairmanship, wait and talk it over to Mr Cartwright. I don't think du Feu will do. We must send out a man from England, an evangelist and a gentleman."

Later, it became the "received line" to blame the negligence and weakness of Picot for the sad demise of the Mission. He was certainly of little use at this

time. But the officers of the Missionary Society in London, aware as they were of the degenerating situation in the Haitian church, must take a share of the blame too for their failure to act sooner and more decisively. But then, there was a World War being waged and men were unavailable for service overseas. It all became too much for anyone to carry any longer.

The final blow and the 1916 Synod

The somewhat saddening final blow sprang from all the above. It was a domestic matter which could so easily have been cleared up without the long-term consequences which ensued. Eugène Margron was the splendid Haitian evangelist who had worked in Aux Cayes in the aftermath of the hurricane and flood in 1915. His wife had had to move into Port-au-Prince to pursue her work as a midwife. Their home in Cayes had been destroyed and his salary was no longer regularly paid in those times of financial depression. The Margrons and the Arnetts were close friends. But the friendship of Mme Margron and Henry Arnett, both separated from their spouses, gave rise to malicious rumours. And Turnbull joined in the unpleasantness, placing spies and writing to his influential brother-in-law in London. Was there any truth in the allegations that Arnett and Mme Margron had behaved improperly? It is impossible to give a definite answer. But Mrs Arnett and Eugène Margron stood unflinchingly by the stories their spouses put forward in their defence. And Turnbull had other motives for wanting Arnett's reputation damaged - their personal hostilities had already produced much unpleasantness and Turnbull wanted the house for himself. Both Arnett and Turnbull found pockets of support within the Church and the beginnings of a deep and lasting division were laid. It was very unfortunate that the Chairman of the District was at that time in Jamaica. Because of the limitations of war-time shipping services, he and the Jamaica District Chairman were not able to arrive in Haiti until December 1915. The main incidents which eventually led to a charge

of adultery being brought by Turnbull against Arnett had taken place in May and June of that year. The first word of such happenings, however, were communicated by Turnbull's brother-in-law to the secretaries of the Missionary Society in London. Those in positions of responsibility, therefore, got to know about the seriousness of the situation too late to be able to do any good. It was sad that the matter had to be resolved in the official meeting of the District Synod in 1916.

The sessions of the Synod took place in French, Créole, and English. The following findings were recorded in the Minutes in relation to Turnbull's charges:⁸¹

1. "The charge of adultery is not sustained."
2. "Undue familiarity" while not sinful, was unwise and unseemly. Greater care needed in future to avoid "the very appearance of evil".
3. Turnbull's "serious breach of discipline" and the "grave irregularity" with which he had handled things "constituted conduct deserving severe censure".

These findings were sent to London. There was lengthy correspondence before it was decided to bring both Turnbull and Arnett home. By then, however, parties had begun to form around both protagonists. Turnbull, with a Haitian wife, was unwilling to leave Haiti and allowed himself to be persuaded that he should take the Port-au-Prince congregation into independence from the London Society. But those events lie beyond the scope of this work.

The other major decision taken at the 1916 Synod was that Picot's tenure of the Chairmanship of the Haiti District, which he had held since 1879, should come to an end. He retired to Jamaica where two of his children were living. He died there in 1926.

The total number of members of the Haitian Methodist Church at this time was in the order of 250, little different from the mid-nineteenth century. It was dominated by those well-educated members who belonged to a small number of socially prominent families. John du Feu remained in Jérémie with the thirty or forty members registered there. The ailing Auguste Albert watched over a handful of members in Cap Haitien. The fresh air which blew in 1843, the revivals of 1868, 1886, and 1908, the hopes of financial independence and an indigenous ministry, had all disappeared. In 1916 the gloom and emptiness must have been as engulfing as that felt in November 1869 (above page 149). Then Mark Bird had urged: "Laugh at impossibilities and cry it shall be done". Seventeen years were to pass before an Irish missionary would come to Haiti in 1933 to challenge a struggling, inward-looking, town-centred, Methodist Church into radically different paths which were to lead eventually to an indigenous ministry, growth among rural communities, a written form for the Créole language, a literacy campaign and extensive work in the field of community development. How dark the light of subsequent glories make the year 1916 seem!

NOTES

1. Obscure beginnings

1817 - 1820

1. For fuller details see Townsend, Workman, and Eayrs A New History of Methodism London 1909 Vol.2 pp.283ff. and Osborne and Johnston, Coastlands and Islands (unpublished mimeograph for United Theological College of West Indies (1972) pp.44ff.
2. There is some confusion between July 1815 and July 1816 as the date of Reynolds' visit. Dr Catts Pressoir in his Histoire du Protestantisme Haitien pp.73ff. gives the year, several times, as 1816. Pressoir seems to have had access to copies of the original Inginac/Reynolds correspondence which carry the 1816 date. It is the copied version that still exists in the MMS Archives, Box 113. The 1815 date is attested to both in John Brown's Journal (MMS Box 590), and also in the Obituary Notice for Reynolds published in the Methodist Magazine 1833 pp.161-175. Reynolds was born in 1763 and died in 1831.
3. This quote and most of the information relating to Reynolds used here is from the Obituary notice mentioned above.
4. Pressoir: Protestantisme pp.74f.
5. Pressoir op.cit. p.76. Pressoir's emphasis.
6. At that time the Wesleyan Methodists used the Order of Morning Prayer in the Prayer Book form as used in the Church of England. The work being begun in Haiti was the first undertaken by WMMS in a French-speaking country.
7. Many of the details given in this chapter concerning the movements of Brown and Catts are taken from Brown's Journal: MMS Box 590: which covers the years 1815-1819.
8. In general, I have based the following section of historical background on Dantès Bellegarde's La Nation Haitienne (Paris 1938) pp.94-104. An excellent recent book which gives graphic details of the period 1791-1804 is David Geggus' Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Dominique 1793-1798 (OUP 1982).
9. In fact, I have not been able to discover a figure for Pétion's army. But one writer estimates Christophe's army at between 15,000 and 20,000 (the King's own boasted figure was 100,000), so we can reasonably assume that Pétion's army was roughly the same size. See: W.W. Harvey Sketches of Hayti (London 1827) pp.171f.
10. The main export crops had fallen drastically in quantity during the years of revolution. Clayed sugar had fallen from 47,516,531 lbs in 1789 to 198 lbs in 1818; Muscovado sugar from 93,573,300 lbs to 5,443,567 lbs; coffee from 76,835,219 lbs to 26,065,200 lbs; cotton from 7,004,274 lbs to 474,118 lbs. Indigo and molasses had disappeared by 1818. Figures from Charles Mackenzie: Notes on Hayti (London 1830) Vol.2 p.298. Mackenzie was British Consul in Haiti from 1826.

11. For details see Robert K. Lacerte: "The first land reform in Latin America: the reforms of Alexander Pétion 1809-1814." Inter-American Economic Affairs Vol.28, No 4 (1975) pp.77-85.
12. This is the figure given in Mackenzie op.cit. Vol.2 p.77 and in Note X on p.275. Franklin, however, (op.cit. p.207) indicates that Pétion reduced the tariff to seven rather than five per cent.
13. See Mackenzie op.cit. Vol.2. pp.83ff. With the restauration of the Bourbons in 1814 there were renewed attempts to re-establish the sovereignty of France over St. Domingue.
14. Franklin op.cit. pp.326f.
15. Brown's Journal Vol.1 (MMS Box 590); also Brown February 18th 1817 (MMS Box 113); and Catts January 12th 1818, reported in Le Magasin Méthodiste des Iles de la Manche March/April 1818 p.95.
16. MMS Box 113 Brown February 18th 1817.
17. ibid. The last article, in fact reads: "Le pouvoir exécutif assigne à chaque ministre de la religion l'étendu de son administration spirituelle. Ces ministres ne peuvent en aucun cas former un corps dans l'Etat." This clearly establishes the supremacy of the civil government over any council, assembly, or other ecclesiastical group in matters pertaining to the deployment of ministers.
18. The British and Foreign Schools Society was founded in 1813. One of the leading lights in its early years was William Allen the Quaker philanthropist. The Lancasterian method used the Bible as a textbook for new readers and made a point of offering Christian education but with no sectarian bias. This was in distinction from the method of Andrew Bell which had a definite Anglican flavour. See Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement ed. Carl F. Kaestle (Columbia University Press 1973).
19. MMS Box 113 Pétion to Brown and Catts May 27th 1817. Original in MMS archives.
20. MMS Box 113 Brown March 11th 1818. The underlining is Brown's.
21. Quoted in Pressoir: Protestantisme Haitien p.90. A further interesting detail furnished by Catts in a letter written early 1818 and reported in the Magasin Méthodiste des Iles de la Manche March/April 1818 ...pp.96f. indicates that the Methodist community was using a hymn book that had been produced for prisoners of war in the recent times of hostility between France and England.
22. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol.2, entry for January 24th 1818.
23. Magasin Méthodiste des Iles September/October 1818 p.239.
24. Details of the discussion within Roman Catholicism at this time on the questions of clerical celibacy, the Inquisition etc. can be found in Owen Chadwick The Popes and European Revolution (Oxford 1981) esp. chapters 6 and 8.

25. Until the 1860s, Sunday was the principal day for trading in Haiti. See chapter 5 below.
26. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol.1 entry for March 1817.
27. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol. 1 entry for March 13th 1817.
28. Magasin Méthodiste des Iles de la Manche September/October 1818 p.238. There have been several studies of Voodoo from an ethnological angle, the most famous of which is by Jean Price-Mars: Ainsi parla l'oncle (New York 1954). Recently, Laënnec Hurbon's Dieu dans le Vaudou haitien (Paris 1972) has thrown light on Voodoo from a theological angle. But there is very little of substance about the history of Voodoo. Some historians comment on the part played by Voodoo in the revolutionary wars; and a resurgence of interest came during the years of the American occupation (1915-1934). But little has been written about Voodoo in the 19th century.
29. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol.1 entry for May 4th 1817.
30. Details of Catts' welcome by the Commandant at Fort Jacques are contained in Magasin Méthodiste des Iles de la Manche September/October 1818 p.234.
31. These details from Brown's Journal (MMS Box 590) Vols.1&2 passim.
32. *ibid.* Vol.1 entry for March 31st 1817. The British and Foreign Bible Society have no record of a branch in Haiti at this time.
33. *ibid.* The reference is to Art 44 of the Constitution. See p.12 above.
34. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol.1 entry for April 19th 1817.
35. Details of these journeys appear in Brown's Journal Vol.2; and in Brown's letter of January 3rd 1818 (MMS Box 113); Catts, March 23rd 1818 (MMS Box 113); and Catts to William Toase in Guernsey, reported in Magasin Méthodiste des Iles de la Manche September/October 1818 pp.231ff.
36. see above p. 9f.
37. Entry for December 18th 1817 in Brown's Journal. For the rôle of the maroons in the struggle for independence see David Geggus: The British Occupation of St. Dominique 1793-1798 (OUP 1982).
38. Magasin Méthodiste Sept./Oct. 1818 p.234.
39. MMS Box 113 Brown January 3rd 1818.
40. Both these quotations are from Brown's Journal Vol.3 April 23rd entry 1818.
41. MMS Box 113 Brown March 11th 1818. Further details about Evariste appear in the next chapter.
42. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol.3, entries for this period.

43. MMS Box 114 Brown November 17th 1819. Brown was himself at this time back in England.
44. Pressoir: Protestantisme Haitien p.93.
45. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol.3 entry for April 1818.
46. ibid.
47. New believers were put into classes where they received instruction.
48. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol.3 July 1818.
49. Harvey: Sketches p.360f.
50. Details of Bosworth's training as well as two letters he wrote from Port-au-Prince can be found in the archives of the B&FSS, Correspondence files and Register of Masters. C. Pressoir, Protestantisme p.79f is wrong in suggesting that Bosworth taught in Boston, Massachusetts. It was rather Boston, Lincolnshire.
51. MMS Box 113 Brown January 3rd 1818.
52. Pétion had previously refused the missionaries' request for financial help with renting charges. He agreed only after Bosworth's death and the acceptance of responsibility for the school by Brown and Catts. See Brown's Journal (MMS Box 590) Vol.2 entry for October 11th 1817, and 12th February 1818.
53. Quoted in Brown's letter to London of March 11th 1818.
54. MMS Box 113 Brown July 27th 1818.
55. Included with news from a number of Methodists in Port-au-Prince to Brown (then in Jersey): MMS Box 114, November 19th 1819.
56. B&FSS archives, Annual Report for 1823 carries a letter from Pierre André dated February 3rd 1823, p.128f. Also a reference to the School in Franklin op.cit. p.398. There is no mention of it in Candler Brief notices of Hayti (1842).
57. Box 113 Brown Oct.3rd 1818, Brown's underlining.
58. In the Wesleyan Magazine for July 1817 and 1818 Cape Henry had been designated as a "station" with the rubric "Two to be sent" indicating that the Society was looking for men to appoint. In 1819 the names of W.W. Harvey and E. Jones appeared.
59. MMS Box 113 Brown March 11th 1818. Pétion was still alive at this time.
60. ibid. Brown June 8th 1818. Boyer was now President and Christophe was making an attempt to unsettle him early in his presidency.
61. ibid. Brown December 8th 1818. In this letter Brown reported that Boyer was anxious to maintain good relations with Great Britain. That may be so. Other commentators had noted his anti-English views: cf. Mackenzie op.cit. Vol.1 p.23; and Franklin op.cit. p.259.

62. MMS Box 113 Brown December 8th 1818.
63. MMS Box 113 Brown November 9th 1818, Brown's underlining.
64. *ibid.* Brown December 8th 1818.
65. This and most of the following details are from the account given in Brown's Journal (MMS Box 590) Vol.4, entries for November and December 1818.
66. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol.4 *passim*; and MMS Box 113, Brown's letters of November 9th, December 2nd and 8th *passim*.
67. M. Grégoire: De la liberté de la Conscience et de culte à Haiti (Paris 1824) p.4.
68. See chapter 2 below for further details.
69. Mackenzie *op.cit.* Vol.2 p.131.
70. PRO F035/33. Mackenzie to Inginac July 31st 1826 pp.152-165. The arrival of American Methodists will be looked at in Chapter 2 below. The underlining is mine.
71. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal Vol.4 entry for March 31st 1819.
72. Box 114 Brown (from New York) February 4th 1819.
73. All these quotations are from the December/January entries (Volume 4) of Brown's Journal.
74. MMS Box 590 Brown's Journal: Vol.4 entry for December 25th.
75. The way in which a Mission took root during the absence of missionaries can also be seen in B.A. Gow's Madaqascar and the Protestant Impact (London 1979) p.30.
76. MMS Box 22 Copies of letters to missionaries: secretaries to Elliot Jones May 19th 1819 (Correspondence book p.151f.)
77. Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson: a correspondence eds. Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator (New York 1968) p.189 quoting a letter from Christophe to Clarkson dated March 17th 1820.
78. For details of the laws see Haytian Papers by Prince Sanders (London 1816) pp.vii-xiv; and for details of exports from Cape Henry see Notes on Hayti by Charles Mackenzie, Vol.2 pp.298ff.
79. Harvey's Sketches p.202.
80. Correspondence in B&FBS archives, 1817/1818 Committee Book entries Bk.9 p.353 and p.465; Bk.10 p.15 re the sending, gratis, of 3,000 Fr./Eng. New Testaments and 300 Fr. New Testaments/Bibles to Haiti.
81. MMS Box 22 Copy Book p.307; letter of secretaries to Harvey and Jones November 1819.

82. MMS Box 115 Elliot Jones February 9th 1820.
83. *ibid.* Harvey April 12th 1820.
84. Harvey Sketches p.307f. Also Jean L. Comhaire "The Haitian Schism: 1804-1860" in Anthropological Quarterly Vol.29, No 1 January 1956 p.2f.
85. MMS Box 115 Harvey July 5th 1820.
86. Harvey's Sketches p.306.

2. At the Hazard of our lives.

1818 - 1842

1. MMS Box 115 quoted by John Brown from a letter to him dated March 28th 1820 from Pierre André.
2. MMS Box 114 Evariste to Brown February 4th 1820.
3. Much of the following paragraphs is based on material found in these works: Beaubrun Ardouin: Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haiti Paris (1853-1860) esp. vols. 8-11; Mgr A. Cabon: Notes sur l'histoire religieuse d'Haiti de la révolution au concordat: 1789-1860 (Port-au-Prince 1933).
4. Pressoir Protestantisme haitien p.101.
5. Ardouin *op.cit.* Vol.8 p.423ff.
6. Further details of the anti-Methodist campaign appear in subsequent pages.
7. Griggs and Prator, Henri Christophe and Thomas Clarkson p.224f.
8. Ardouin *op.cit.* Vol.9 p.26f.
9. Ardouin Vol.9 p.61 and Robert *op.cit.* Part 1 Ch.2.
10. Cabon *op.cit.* p.134.
11. Ardouin *op.cit.* Vol.9 pp.61ff.
12. Ardouin *op.cit.* Vol.9 p.262f. Cabon *op.cit.* chs. XVI, XVII, and XVIII.
13. Robert L'Eglise et la première république Noire Ch.3.
14. See Chapter 3 below.
15. Pressoir Protestantisme haitien p.124f. Pressoir had access (in 1945) to a handwritten "biography" of Evariste covering the years of his infancy. This had been written by Evariste in 1845. The ink was almost unreadable a century later.

16. Full details of Grellet's visit to Haiti which took place in July - September 1816 are given in Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet (2 vols) edited by Benjamin Seebohm, London 1860. Vol.2 pp.332ff.
17. Pressoir, op.cit. p.127f. Catts Pressoir, the historian of Haitian protestantism, was the great grandson of Jean-Charles Pressoir.
18. MMS Box 114 November 19th 1819 Bauduy to Brown.
19. Details of Bauduy from Pressoir op.cit. p.146f.
20. Both spellings appear in various documents.
21. Article 14 of Dessalines' (1805) Constitution read: "Le mariage est un acte purement civil et autorisé par le gouvernement." This was broadened in Pétion's (1816) Constitution, Article 52, to read: "Le mariage, par son institution civile et religieuse, tendant à la pureté des mœurs, les époux qui pratiquent les vertus qu'exige leur état, seront toujours distingués et spécialement protégés par le gouvernement." But Pressoir (op.cit. p.117) refers to a law of June 1805 which continued to offer civil marriage to those who required it without any religious ceremony. "Titre IV. L'instant de Pradines, Lois et Actes T.I."
22. MMS Box 115 March 28th 1820 Bauduy to Brown; and February 4th 1820 Evariste to Brown.
23. ibid. February 4th Evariste to Brown.
24. Pressoir op.cit. p.119.
25. MMS Box 57 (Channel Islands) September 20th 1820, Brown quoting a letter from Evariste.
26. MMS Box 115 March 28th 1820 Bauduy to London.
27. ibid. September 6th 1820 Bauduy to Brown.
28. ibid. September 14th Evariste to Brown, translated by Brown.
29. MMS Box 115 André to Brown March 28th 1820.
30. MMS Box 116 Boyer to the Committee February 6th 1821.
31. MMS Box 116 Evariste to Brown January 15th 1821.
32. MMS Box 57 (France) Brown to Committee July 15th 1822.
33. ibid. November 14th 1822.
34. MMS Box 116 Pressoir to Brown December 9th 1821. The reference to quakers probably comes from memories of Stephen Grellet's visit to Haiti in 1816.
35. MMS Box 115 Brown to Committee November 4th 1820.

36. *ibid.* September 20th 1820.
37. MMS Box 116 Evariste to Brown January 15th 1821.
38. Thus letters written to Guernsey Local Preacher Le Sauvage (who had spent a few weeks in Haiti in 1818 before leaving with Brown) February 9th and 18th; and to Brown February 28th 1821.
39. *ibid.* Evariste to Pressoir September 16th 1821.
40. *op.cit.* p.124f.
41. MMS Box 116 Four letters dated January 15th, April 18th, August 8th and September 16th, all with a letter from Pressoir to Brown who translated them for the Committee in London.
42. MMS Box 59 (France) Brown November 14th 1822.
43. MMS Box 116 Marie-Marthe Michaud to Brown January 26th 1821.
44. MMS Box 117 Pressoir to Brown March 22nd 1822.
45. MMS Box 118 Pressoir to Brown July 31st 1822.
46. Box 117 March 22nd 1822.
47. Box 119 Pressoir to Brown December 9th 1823.
48. Box 123 Pressoir to Brown April 2nd 1826.
49. Box 207 Hartwell September 26th 1849.
50. Box 207 Bishop October 21st 1858.
51. MMS Box 207 Bird February 24th 1865.
52. Box 205 Bird March 22nd 1873.
53. Pressoir *op.cit.* p.249.
54. Box 57 (Channel Islands) Brown September 20th 1820.
55. Box 118 Pressoir to Brown July 31st 1822.
56. See Chapter One p.30 above.
57. Box 119 Bauduy July 31st 1823.
58. Box 118 Pressoir to Brown, April 1823.
59. MMS Box 119 St. Denis Bauduy January 14th 1823.
60. MMS Box 119 Bauduy October 29th 1823.
61. Quoted in Wesleyan Magazine (1824) p.492 original letter from Pressoir to Bauduy September 1823.

62. MMS Box 119 Bauduy to Brown October 29th 1823.
63. There are two letters from James Catts in MMS Box 57 (Channel Islands) dated March 1st 1826 and June 16th 1826. Also one from Bauduy dated June 28th 1826.
64. Compare these figures with those for Saint Domingue in 1789; there were 40,000 whites, 28,000 free mulattos, and an astonishing 452,000 slaves. This total of 520,000 had fallen to 380,000 by 1805: See Leyburn op.cit. p.18 and p.33f.
65. For details of this period in the eastern part see Sumner Welles Naboth's Vineyard 2 Vols. (New York 1928) esp. Vol.1 pp.1-61.
66. Details of the agrarian policies of the various Haitian leaders in the period down to 1843 are given in Leyburn op.cit. pp.32-88. Also David Nicholls From Dessalines to Duvalier p.68f. And a letter from businessman James Franklin written in 1826 to be found in PRO FO/35(1) pp.204, 213 indicates the problems experienced in enforcing the Code Rural.
67. See George A. Lockwood: El Protestantismo en ^{La República} Dominicana (Santo Domingo 1982) p.74f.
68. MMS Box 118 Pressoir to Brown April 23rd 1823.
69. MMS Box 128 Bauduy December 18th 1829 and Box 129 Bauduy March 4th 1830.
70. MMS Box 130 Bauduy September 30th 1831.
71. MMS Box 135 Bauduy September 10th 1834.
72. MMS Box 136 Bauduy to London February 4th 1835.
73. MMS Box 137 Bauduy June 29th 1835.
74. Munroe left in 1836. He became an episcopalian priest and collaborated with James Holly in the organisation of the Cleveland Emigration Convention in 1854. He emigrated to Liberia where he died in 1860. Masonic funeral rites were given by Holly. See David Dean: Defender of the race Boston 1979 p.114f et passim.
75. MMS Box 137 Bauduy September 30th 1835.
76. MMS Box 138 Bauduy September 30th 1836.
77. MMS Box 128 Bauduy September 25th 1829. It may be this proposal that led George Lockward mistakenly (Correspondencia de Tindall Santo Domingo 1981 p.34) to believe that Bauduy was prepared for the ministry in New York.
78. MMS Box 136 Bauduy June 29th 1835.
79. MMS Box 125 Pressoir November 26th 1827.
80. MMS Box 137 Bauduy September 30th 1835.

81. MMS Box 136 Bauduy March 31st 1835.
82. These matters are treated in several of Bauduy's letters to London. E.g. MMS Box 127 December 31st 1828; Box 129 March 4th, April 9th and June 24th 1830; Box 133 July 14th and September 28th 1833.
83. MMS Box 135 Bauduy September 30th 1834.
84. MMS Box 126 Bauduy June 3rd 1828.
85. MMS Box 132 Bauduy September 12th and September 24th 1832. Details of James Boco can be found in Magasin Méthodiste des Iles de la Manche May 1895 p.152; Auguste Rameau, Idées et Opinions (Paris 1894) pp.37-44; and his obituary appears in newspaper Le Peuple September 26th 1891.
86. MMS Box 206 Bauduy February 7th 1839.
87. MMS Box 206 Bauduy October 26th 1838 and December 30th 1836.
88. MMS Box 206 Bauduy June 30th 1837 and February 7th 1839. The Jérémie priest was hostile and only the support of the local military commander enabled Bauduy to carry out his preaching.
89. MMS Box 206 Bauduy April 9th 1836.
90. Details of the stationing of ministers can be found in MMS Box 151 where the Minutes of the District Meetings for 1838-1841 are kept.
91. MMS Box 206 Bauduy February 13th 1839.
92. MMS Box 206 Bauduy March 30th 1840.
93. MMS Box 206 Tindall February 26th and April 12th 1839.
94. MMS Box 206 Bauduy to London September 2nd and November 5th 1842.
95. MMS Box 206 Bauduy to London February 14th 1841.
96. MMS Box 152 Minutes of 1842 District Meeting.
97. MMS Box 128 Bauduy June 23rd 1829.
98. MMS Box 135 Bauduy September 10th 1834.
99. MMS Box 137 Bauduy June 29th 1835.
100. MMS Box 138 Bauduy September 30th 1836 encloses a "Chapel Deed" - a copy of the original - dated May 26th 1836.
101. MMS Box 206 Hartwell December 28th 1842 and Box 152 Minutes of District Meeting 1843.
102. MMS Box 588 Hartwell's Biography p.80.
103. MMS Box 206 Hartwell March 2nd 1841, Hartwell's underlining.

104. MMS Box 588 Hartwell's Biography p.82.

105. *ibid.* p.68.

3 A Golden Moment

1843 - 1847

1. MMS Box 659 Notes of a meeting to discuss candidates for the Ministry, June 28th 1832, p.60.
2. MMS Box 195, Jamaica correspondence, contains two letters from Bird written in 1837 and 1838, together with several written by J. Edmundson, the chairman of the Jamaica District, in which there are scattered references to Bird's activity.
3. N. Williams: A history of the Cayman Islands p.48.
4. MMS Box 659 as 1. above.
5. MMS Box 206 Bird April 19th 1842.
6. All the missionaries then in Haiti recorded their impressions of the earthquake. Their letters are in MMS Box 206. Bird's own letters of May 12th [written aboard the German boat carrying them to Port-au-Prince] and May 23rd, June 20th, August 4th and 19th, recorded the total loss of possessions and property he suffered in the earthquake, including about \$4,000 cash and his entire library. Also noted were the subsequent death in Port-au-Prince of Stephen and Alexander, Bird's youngest sons. It took several months for the Birds to recover their health and strength.
7. A good account of the earthquake and government inaction after it, appears in Beaubrun Ardouin's Etudes sur l'histoire d'Haiti Vol.11 pp.221ff.
8. Lepelletier de Saint-Rémy: "La République d'Haiti; ses dernières révolutions; sa situation actuelle", Revue des Deux Mondes XV No.4 (November 1845) pp.681-682. These are the observations of a French historian.
9. Victor Schoelcher: Colonies étrangères et Haiti: Paris 1843 Vol.II pp.263f. This is the work of a French anti-slavery campaigner who visited Haiti and other West Indian islands.
10. John Candler: Brief Notices of Hayti: London 1842, pp.75f.
11. David Nicholls: From Dessalines to Duvalier: Cambridge 1979, p.77.
James Leyburn: The Haitian People: New Haven 1966, p.89f.
12. Louis-Joseph Janvier: Les Constitutions d'Haiti: Paris 1886, p.187.
13. MMS Box 206 Bird May 7th 1844.

14. *ibid.* Bird May 12th and Towler, July 5th 1843.
15. *ibid.* Bird May 12th 1843.
16. *Pressoir: Le Protestantisme Haitien: p.187.*
17. *ibid.*
18. Janvier *op.cit.* p.158.
19. MMS Box 206: Hartwell May 22nd and Bird June 28th 1843.
20. *ibid.* Bird May 12th 1843.
21. *ibid.* Bird August 31st 1843 and *Pressoir op.cit.* I p.188.
22. *ibid.* Hartwell May 22nd 1843.
23. *ibid.* Bird June 28th 1843.
24. *ibid.* Bird September 2nd 1843.
25. Janvier: *op.cit.* p.158.
26. MMS Box 206 Hartwell March 21st 1844.
27. *ibid.* Bauduy March 27th and Cardy April 7th 1844.
28. *Pressoir op.cit.* p.187.
29. Cabon: Histoire religieuse p.305f.
30. Cabon *op.cit.* pp.358ff. where full details of these priests are given. Also Schoelcher: Colonies Etrangères pp.291ff.; Eldin: Treize ans de séjour pp.66ff.; Leyburn: The Haitian people pp.120ff.; Brown: The History and present conditions of St. Domingo vol.2. pp.273ff. The matter is well enough attested.
31. MMS Box 206 Hartwell December 6th 1843.
32. *ibid.* Bauduy November 5th 1842; August 18th and November 18th 1845.
33. *ibid.* Hartwell March 21st 1844.
34. Quoted and translated in Mark Bird: The Black Man p.264. I have not found the original of this circular but Bird's translation is consistent with Cabon's general view of the situation at this time.
35. See the map on p.6.
36. MMS Box 206 Bird August 31st 1843.
37. *ibid.* Bird February 9th 1844.
38. *ibid.* Hartwell December 6th 1843.

39. *ibid.* Bird February 9th 1844.
40. Bird: Black Man p.238.
41. *ibid.* pp.238ff.
42. M.B. Bird: Haiti, Un Paradis Terrestre: Edinburgh 1881 p.20.
43. J. Candler *op.cit.* pp.62f; 65.
44. MMS Box 206 Bird August 31st 1843.
45. Bird: Black Man: p.218.
46. *ibid.* p.210.
47. MMS Box 153, 1844 Synod Minutes, for this and following quotation.
48. Catts Pressoir: *op.cit.* pp.179f.
49. MMS Boxes 558, 559, 560 - Minutes of Finance Sub-Committee.
50. MMS Box 206 Hartwell December 6th 1843.
51. MMS Box 581 Towler Journal p.95.
52. MMS Box 206 Bauduy February 21st 1844 and January 16th 1846
53. *ibid.* Bird September 5th 1844 and January 7th 1845;
Hartwell September 18th 1844 and July 23rd 1845.
54. *ibid.* Bird May 7th and June 19th 1844.
55. *ibid.* Bird April 8th 1845.
56. *ibid.* Cardy May 1st 1845.
57. *ibid.* Bird November 21st 1845.
58. *ibid.* Bird October 24th 1845.
59. *ibid.* Bird June 7th 1845.
60. *ibid.* Towler April 9th 1844.
61. *ibid.* Hartwell December 22nd 1845.
62. MMS Box 154 District Meeting Minutes 1847.
63. MMS Box 206 Hartwell March 16th 1846.
64. MMS Box 588 Hartwell Biography p.163. There is no mention of this approach to the British Consul in the relevant PRO file.
65. MMS Box 206 Hartwell July 13th 1846.

66. *ibid.* Hartwell June 29th 1846.
67. *ibid.* Hartwell November 16th 1846.
68. MMS Box 588 Hartwell Biography p.207.
69. *ibid.* Hartwell Biography p.174.
70. MMS Box 206 Hartwell July 31st 1850.
71. MMS Box 588 Hartwell Biog. p.195; also Box 206 September 26th 1849.
72. MMS Box 206 Hartwell August 18th 1845.
73. *ibid.* Hartwell December 22nd 1845.
74. *Pressoir: Protestantisme Haitien:* pp.197f. Also a fragment in the possession of Me Maurice Vilaire in Port-au-Prince which shows Bayard's name as one of six registered for entry to a Roman Catholic seminary.
75. MMS Box 206 Hartwell March 16th 1845.
76. *ibid.* 1847 Letter 4 Hartwell.
77. *ibid.* Hartwell December 22nd 1845.
78. Statistics found in minutes of District Meetings. MMS Boxes 152-155.
79. MMS Box 206 Hartwell September 26th 1849.
80. Many of these biographical details are found in *Pressoir: Protestantisme Haitien:* pages 192-198. Also MMS Box 206 Heuraux February 12th 1888.
81. MMS Box 588 Hartwell Biog. p.174; also Box 206 Bird June 23rd 1847.
82. MMS Box 659 Candidates Notes 1839.
83. For much of the biographical material that follows see MMS Box 588 Hartwell: Biography *passim*.
84. MMS Box 206 Hartwell March 2nd 1841.
85. Hartwell: Biography pp.72/3.
86. *ibid.* p.141.
87. MMS Box 206 Hartwell February 9th 1847.
88. MMS Box 588 Hartwell Biography p.75.
89. MMS Box 206 Hartwell November 16th 1846.
90. *ibid.* Hartwell December 31st 1849.
91. *ibid.* Hartwell November 16th 1846.
92. *ibid.* Hartwell February 9th 1847.

93. *ibid.* Hartwell November 17th 1851. For further details of Lilavoie see below p.117f.
94. *ibid.*
95. Hartwell Biography Box 588 p.207.
96. It was in Gonaïves that Haitian independence was declared in January 1804.
97. MMS Box 206 Cardy April 7th 1844.
98. *ibid.* Cardy December 14th 1844.
99. *ibid.* Bird August 31st 1843.
100. *ibid.* Cardy October 7th 1844.
101. *ibid.* Bird July 24th 1845.
102. *ibid.* Cardy July 27th 1845.
103. *ibid.* Cardy May 1st 1845.
104. *ibid.* Cardy January 2nd 1846.
105. *ibid.* Bauduy March 29th 1847.
106. *ibid.* Bauduy June 5th 1847.
107. *ibid.* Cardy June 13th and July 19th 1846.
108. *ibid.* Bauduy September 30th 1844.
109. *ibid.* Bauduy November 4th 1844.
110. Pressoir: Protestantisme Haitien: p.189.
111. MMS Box 206 Bauduy July 5th 1844.
112. *ibid.* Bauduy August 29th 1843.
113. *ibid.* Bauduy March 21st 1846.
114. *ibid.* Bauduy August 18th 1845.
115. *ibid.* Bauduy November 5th 1842.
116. *ibid.* Bauduy August 18th 1845.
117. *ibid.* Bauduy February 20th 1844.
118. *ibid.* Bauduy March 21st 1846.
119. *ibid.* Bird August 7th 1847.
120. *ibid.* Cardy December 27th.

121. *ibid.* Bauduy March 30th 1840.
122. *Pressoir* Protestantisme Haitien pp.147-150.
123. MMS Box 206 Bauduy November 18th 1845.
124. *ibid.* Bauduy January 16th 1846.
125. *ibid.* Cardy July 7th 1847.
126. *ibid.*
127. *ibid.* Cardy December 27th 1847.
128. *Pressoir*: Protestantisme Haitien p.189.
129. *ibid.* Bird August 31st 1843 and July 24th 1845.
130. *Pressoir*: Protestantisme Haitien: p.195.
131. MMS Box 154 District Minutes 1849.
132. MMS Box 206 Bird May 8th 1846.
133. *Pressoir*: Protestantisme Haitien: pp.198-9.
134. MMS Box 206 Hartwell December 6th 1843.
135. *ibid.* Bird June 19th 1844.
136. *ibid.* Bird June 7th 1845.
137. *ibid.* Bird November 21st 1845.
138. Bird December 23rd 1845.
139. MMS Box 558 Minutes of Finance Sub-Committee.
140. MMS Box 206 Bird February 22nd 1846.
141. *ibid.* Bird July 7th and 8th 1846; also *Pressoir op.cit.* p.210f.
142. MMS Box 206 Bird July 23rd 1847.
143. *ibid.* Bird November 7th 1846.
144. *ibid.* Bird April 23rd 1847.
145. *ibid.* Bird June 23rd 1847 and March 7th 1848.
146. MMS Box 575 Notes by G.G. Findlay for the History of WMMS. p.199.

4. The Sceptre of Despotism

1847 - 1859

1. Gustave d'Alaux L'Empereur Soulouque et son empire Paris 1860. It seems as if the author was Reybaud himself writing under an assumed name. Also Spenser St. John Hayti, or the Black Republic London 1884. A much more sensitive and balanced assessment of Soulouque can be read in an article by J. Murdo MacLeod "The Soulouque régime in Haiti, 1847-1859: a re-evaluation". This can be found in Caribbean Studies Vol.10 No.3 (1971) p.36.
2. Ch.XXVII of Cabon's Histoire Religieuse gives details of the manoeuvrings of the Abbé Cessens to secure Papal approval for the coronation of the Emperor.
3. MMS Box 206 Bishop August 16th 1857.
4. ibid. Bauduy November 14th 1853.
5. Paul d'Hormoys Une visite chez Soulouque Paris 1864 p.48.
6. François Eldin Treize ans de séjour aux Antilles pp.77ff.
7. St. John op. cit. pp.210-220.
8. MacLeod op. cit. p.44f.
9. Pressoir: Protestantisme Haitien p.210.
10. Bird Black Man p.296.
11. MMS Box 206 Bird March 24th 1850, and Black Man p.296.
12. Much of this detail is given in Pressoir op. cit. pp.210ff. Especially p.214 where he quotes the Notice sur le général Louis Baron written in 1892 by Ernest Bonhomme. Also MMS Box 206 Bird May 7th 1851.
13. PRO 35/38 p.249f. Letter from Wyke to Lord Palmerston dated August 27th 1850.
14. MMS Box 206 Bird June 6th 1850.
15. For details of persecution of Baptists in the north of Haiti see Pressoir op. cit. p.215. The expulsion of the Jérémie priest (a Frenchman) is related in MMS Box 206 Cardy September 29th 1848.
16. MMS Box 206 Bird August 25th 1850.
17. ibid. 206 Bird June 25th 1851. Also Black Man pp.297-300.
18. MMS Box 296 Hartwell April 16th 1851.

19. The one exception was Charles Bishop who, after a missionary tour that took him to nine locations in ten days, was ordered to remain in Jérémie. But that he undertook the tour at all suggests a degree of confidence in its being possible. MMS Box 206 October 15th 1853. Bauduy, who might have been hesitant to attempt too much since he was a mulatto, travelled widely. Bird himself travelled to Jacmel and Anse-à-Veau. Indeed, in this latter town several visits were undertaken by Bird and Bauduy to serve a group of Protestants there. MMS Box 206 Bird September 25th 1853; Bauduy November 14th 1853; Bauduy July 21st 1854; Bauduy May 1855.
20. *ibid.* Bird August 3rd 1848.
21. MMS Box 154 District Meeting Minutes for 1849.
22. MMS Box 206 Bishop October 15th 1853.
23. *ibid.* Bauduy October 4th 1852.
24. These statistical returns are gathered from the Minutes of the District Meetings of 1849, 1852, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, and 1860; in MMS Boxes 154-158. As can be seen, there are some missing years. Some of the information for these years can be supplied from the correspondence.
25. See above p.99
26. MMS Box 155 Minutes of 1852 District Meeting.
27. MMS Box 206 Bird August 3rd 1848.
28. *ibid.* Bird September 10th 1852.
29. *ibid.* Bird July 26th and November 10th 1853.
30. *ibid.* Bird July 15th 1854. This refers to such a leaflet of which no copies appear to survive.
31. *ibid.* Bird December 8th 1854.
32. This report appeared in 1857 and a copy is attached to the Minutes of the 1857 District Meeting. MMS Box 157.
33. MMS Box 206 Bird April 6th and August 10th 1855.
34. *ibid.* Toase July 23rd 1858. This detail is confirmed from the records of membership of the Royal Society of Chemistry.
35. *ibid.* Toase August 28th 1857.
36. *ibid.* Toase January 26th 1858.
37. *Pressoir*: Protestantisme Haitien, p.203.
38. MMS Box 206 Toase August 28th 1857.
39. A copy of the 1857 Syllabus, the first over the name of T.D. Toase as headmaster, can be found with the 1857 correspondence from Haiti (item 22) in MMS Box 206.

40. *ibid.* Toase July 21st 1857.
41. *ibid.* Bird May 25th 1857.
42. *ibid.* Bird May 25th and Toase July 21st 1857.
43. *ibid.* Bird August 10th and November 10th 1855.
44. *ibid.* Bird to Toase November 22nd, and Bird to London November 25th 1857; Bird January 25th and Toase January 26th 1858, both to London.
45. The figure of Pierre André keeps re-appearing in this story. See above pp.23, and 45f.
46. MMS Box 206 Bird July 10th 1857 and Toase October 9th 1858. Eldin was also to complain about this.
47. *ibid.* Bird June 10th; Bishop February 19th 1858; and Eldin: Treize ans p.113.
48. MMS Box 206 Bird January 25th 1858.
49. *ibid.* Bird (undated) 1858.
50. *ibid.* Bishop November 25th 1859.
51. *ibid.* Toase December 23rd 1859.
52. Quoted Pressoir: Protestantisme p.206.
53. Eldin: Treize ans p.113.
54. Pressoir: Protestantisme p.216
55. For details of Cardy's ministry see above pp.92ff and 98 for Hartwell see pp.82ff.
56. Magasin Méthodiste des Iles September 1894 pp.289ff.
57. MMS Box 206 April 25th 1855.
58. *ibid.* Bird January 1858.
59. Pressoir Protestantisme p.217.
60. The "Société des Missions évangéliques" ceased to operate between 1848 and 1856 according to Léonard Histoire Générale des Protestantisme Vol.III p.493. Some biographical detail of Eldin appears in Robert Cornevin: "A propos du pasteur François Eldin (1852-1892)" in Conjonction 1979 Vol.141/2 pp.53-61.
61. Eldin: Treize ans p.113; MMS Box 206 Bird June 25th 1853.
62. *ibid.* Bird July 26th 1853.
63. *ibid.* Bird March 25th 1854. The people of Cap Haitien were deeply dissatisfied with this.

64. *ibid.* Bishop March 19th 1859.
65. Bird: Black Man p.270ff. and Missionary Register 1854 p.299.
66. MMS Box 206 Bishop February 19th 1858.
67. *ibid.* Bishop April 9th 1859.
68. *ibid.* Hartwell March 9th 1852 (Hartwell's question mark).
69. *ibid.* Bauduy May 9th 1859.
70. *ibid.* Bauduy August 20th 1859.
71. *ibid.* Bird April 20th 1849.
72. *ibid.* Bird July 5th 1851.
73. *ibid.* Bird September 25th 1851. This "troublers" is not named.
74. *ibid.* Bird March 7th 1850.
75. *ibid.* Heureaux April 25th 1851, and Hartwell June 18th 1851.
76. *ibid.* Bird July 5th 1851.
77. *ibid.* Hartwell July 31st 1850.
78. *ibid.* Bird December 27th and Hartwell December 30th 1851.
79. *Pressoir: Protestantisme* p.194, and MMS Box 206 Bird March 25th 1854. Also above p.86.
80. MMS Box 154 Minutes 1849 District Meeting.
81. MMS Box 206 Bauduy September 21st 1858.
82. *ibid.* Bauduy April 9th 1859.
83. *ibid.* Bauduy March 31st 1853.
84. *ibid.* Cardy March 31st 1848.
85. *ibid.* Hartwell April 16th 1851.
86. See above pp.129ff.
87. MMS Box 206 Bird May 25th 1857.
88. Bird's correspondence during the whole of his furlough is littered with references to this project. Also a cutting from a New York newspaper filed with 1859 correspondence.
89. MMS Box 559 Minutes of Finance Sub-Committees 1843-1871.
90. MMS Box 206 Bird April 6th 1849.

91. *ibid.* Bird February 24th 1863.
92. *ibid.* Hartwell February 16th 1852.
93. Finance Sub-Committee Minutes for 1853 and 1854 Box 559; reply by District Meeting; Box 156 1855 and 1856.
94. MMS Box 206 Bird July 10th 1857.
95. *ibid.* Bird March 29th 1858.
96. *ibid.* Bishop January 7th 1859, and November 25th 1859.
97. *ibid.* Bird April 25th 1851; also Black Man, p.301f. The chapel was opened on August 28th 1851.
98. *ibid.* Bird June 25th and September 25th 1853; Bauduy November 14th 1853, July 21st 1854, and May 1855.
99. *ibid.* Bird April 30th 1860. He was writing from Jersey.
100. *ibid.* Bird March 19th 1859.

5. No Men or Means

1860 - 1869

1. See Spenser St. John Hayti p.112; Leyburn The Haitian People p.223f.. The most detailed assessment of this period is that given by J.E. Baur: "The Presidency of Nicolas Geffrard of Haiti" in The Americas X (1953-54) p.443.
2. Bellegarde La Nation Haitienne p.124.
3. Janvier Constitutions d'Haiti p.270.
4. The whole Concordat is reproduced in Bellegarde *op.cit.* pp.315-319.
5. Bird Black Man p.373.
6. Bauer *op.cit.* p.447. Bauer is quoting James Redpath, organiser of the American immigration to Haiti at that time, who compares Haiti with other Latin American countries of the day.
7. Article 14 of the Concordat quoted in Bellegarde *op.cit.* p.317.
8. MMS Box 206 Bird November 8th 1864.
9. Cabon: Mgr Alexis-Jean-Marie Guilloux: p.156f.
10. The official government newspaper, October 16th 1869, quoted in Cabon, *op.cit.* p.165ff.

11. Much of this section is drawn from the relevant chapters of David M. Dean's Defender of the Race: James Theodore Holly, Black Nationalist Bishop Lambeth Press, Boston Mass. 1979. This is a published version of the author's Ph.D. Dissertation to the University of Texas at Austin (May 1972).
12. This detail has been included because it will offer a contrast with the Wesleyan refusal to allow their missionaries to engage in trade, a refusal that was to have a serious effect on their work. See p.136 above.
13. MMS Box 206 Bird to London February 24th 1868.
14. Much of the detail that follows I have found in Ivah T. Heneise's unpublished D. Ministries dissertation (1974) A History of the Baptist Work in Haiti Colgate Rochester Divinity School.
15. See p.116.
16. Heneise op.cit. p.92. Compare these figures with those given by Bird in Black Man p.378f. where he shows the English Wesleyan Methodists as having 8 places of worship and a total number of attenders as 1,160. For the English Baptists there are 2 places of worship and 350 worshippers; the American Baptists have two places and 150 worshippers. The Episcopalians are given two places of worship attended by 230 people. The "African Methodists" have three places and 250 attenders. "Colored American Immigrants dispersed through the Republic without Pastors" totals 400. These totals are of those influenced by the churches rather than of communicant or baptised members. On these figures, of whose reliability it is difficult to be sure, 45% of the total of 2,540 protestants recorded in Haiti were related to the Wesleyan Mission.
17. Much of the next few pages has had to be put together from materials found out of sequence and in different locations. I feel the story is interesting for its own sake, but also for the light it throws on current attitudes to questions like divorce and a "protestant life style". To some extent I have had to make guesses in order to make the story comprehensible, but for the most part all the details were there to be teased out of letters, reports, etc.. Another interesting feature is that much of the correspondence that has survived is between the missionaries themselves, or the church members and missionaries, rather than the normal "duty" letters to London.
18. MMS Box 206 Héraux and others to Bird November 26th 1861 .
19. ibid. Williams March 10th 1853.
20. ibid. Bird June 25th 1853.
21. MMS Box 154 District Meeting Minutes (1854).
22. MMS Box 155 District Meeting Minutes (1855). A reply was received from London but considered inadequate.
23. MMS Box 206 Bauduy June 23rd 1862: Bauduy includes a number of letters exchanged in 1855-1858 between Héraux, Eldin, and Bishop on which much of the following paragraph is based.
24. ibid. Bishop to Bauduy April 20th 1859.

25. *ibid.* Bishop to Bauduy April 9th 1859, and June 5th 1862, one of letters written by Bauduy to London in support of his case.
26. *ibid.* Bishop to Bauduy April 20th 1859.
27. *ibid.* Bauduy May 9th 1859.
28. *ibid.* There are six letters between Bauduy and Bishop sent in a batch to London with Bauduy's letter of May 9th 1859.
29. *ibid.* Bauduy June 5th 1862.
30. *ibid.* undated letter Bauduy to London, probably end of 1860.
31. John Wesley: Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament London. No date or page numbers. The quotations are comments on the verses mentioned.
32. MMS Box 206 Bauduy September 20th 1860.
33. *ibid.* Bauduy June 5th 1862.
34. *ibid.* Bird October 7th 1861.
35. *ibid.* Bauduy June 5th 1862.
36. *ibid.* Héraux to Mark Bird November 26th 1861; and March 4th 1862 Bauduy who writes: "I am the fruit of the Wesleyan Mission in Hayti, and I hope to do anything I can in preaching about to help the Wesleyan cause which I believe to be God's."
37. *ibid.* Bauduy to Bird November 26th 1861.
38. *ibid.* Bird to Héraux and others February 1st 1862. Bauduy objected to Bird's having written to Héraux as if he were the leader of a party. He should have written to Bauduy as the minister in Cap Haitien. Bauduy to Bird February 18th 1862.
39. *ibid.* Bishop to Bauduy January 18th 1862.
40. *ibid.* Bauduy to London June 5th 1862.
41. *ibid.* Héraux to Bird in which he wrote (January 1862): "You said you would consult us, that despotism has no part among us. You have despised our arguments and ignored our warnings. Let schism happen - it will not be our fault. You are sending the one man we don't want."
42. *ibid.* Bauduy and others to Bird February 18th 1862.
43. *ibid.* Bauduy to London June 23rd 1862.
44. *ibid.* Bird April 8th 1862.
45. *ibid.* Bauduy June 5th 1862.
46. *ibid.* Bird quoting the London secretaries' criticism, June 5th 1862.

47. *ibid.* Bauduy June 5th 1862, in which Bauduy pointed out that, before readmitting Héraux, he had fully consulted the Church members and given ample time for any objections to be lodged.
48. *ibid.* Bauduy June 5th 1862.
49. MMS Box 559 Minutes of Finance Sub-Committee January 28th 1863 (p.406).
50. David M. Dean Defender of the Race p.65.
51. MMS Box 161 Letter from Christians in Port-au-Prince to Bird, then in Jersey (1869-1870), which Bird submitted as the annual report of the Mission for the year 1869.
52. Unpublished manuscript by W. Emerson Mears: A Century of Missions in Espanola (1917) p.22.
53. See pp.84 and 118 above.
54. G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society London 1921-1924, Vol.I p.163. A footnote on the same page adds the comment that "some [Missionary] Societies in the early days deliberately paid their Missionaries inadequate salaries, which were to be supplemented by trading, farming, etc.. This enabled them to increase their staff of Missionaries, but at the price of entanglements and mischiefs that soon condemned the policy".
55. MMS Box 559 Finance Sub-Committee Minutes of meeting January 28th 1863 p.406, MMS Box 206 Bishop March 20th, June 24th; Bird May 7th; all 1863.
56. MMS Box 158 Minutes of 1860 District Meeting.
57. MMS Box 206 Bishop January 26th 1860.
58. MMS Box 158 Minutes of 1863 District Meeting; and MMS Box 206 Bishop October 20th 1863.
59. *ibid.* Bird May 3rd 1864.
60. See Findlay and Holdsworth *op.cit.* Vol.I p.164.
61. MMS Box 206: Eldin July 2nd 1863 where he gives detailed figures of his expenditure on the house. With loans and help from his wife's family this amounted to \$30,664.
62. *ibid.* Eldin March 10th 1863.
63. *ibid.* Eldin July 2nd 1863.
64. *ibid.* Bird May 7th and September 23rd 1863.
65. *ibid.* Bauman to Eldin June 27th 1863.
66. MMS Box 159 Minutes of 1864 District Meeting.

67. MMS Box 206 Bird March 26th 1864. I have discovered a copy of this "romance", published in Port-au-Prince in 1863 under the title Herman et Elva ou Pharisaisme et Christianisme. Episode du temps de Soulouque. It is a highly coloured and very stylised account of the relations between the two families (Héraux and Heureaux) affected by the divorce and remarriage. It is set against the backcloth of Cap Haitien and the Wesleyan chapel there. It constitutes an interesting account of the social history of the time.
68. *ibid.* Bishop March 20th 1863.
69. Eldin: Haiti, treize ans. Ch.11.
70. *Pressoir*: Protestantisme Haitien p.217.
71. MMS Box 206 Bishop June 18th 1862. A quart of ale per day was one of the unusual items on Bishop's domestic budget.
72. *ibid.* October 20th 1863.
73. *ibid.* Bishop May 9th 1864.
74. *ibid.* Bird August 24th 1867.
75. See above p.19 and Chapter 2 *passim*.
76. *Pressoir*: Protestantisme Haitien p.144.
77. *ibid.* p.233f.
78. *ibid.* and Eldin: Haiti, treize ans de séjour aux Antilles p.228; and MMS Box 206 Bird September 8th 1862.
79. *ibid.* Bishop May 24th 1860. Also Cabon Notes sur l'histoire religieuse d'Haiti p.472f. where only the part played by Fourcade is mentioned.
80. MMS Box 206: This speech, much of which is given in précis form here, is found with Bird's letter to London secretaries dated February 24th 1863. The underlining was added by the London secretaries (there are several other similar sentences thus underlined).
81. MMS Box 206 Bird May 7th 1863, quoting and replying to many of the criticisms of Elijah Hoole, one of the Society's secretaries.
82. See Rupert E. Davies Methodism p.144f. The Fly Sheets were anonymous pamphlets through which the authority of an over-centralized Connexion and a very powerful man, Dr Jabez Bunting, were virulently attacked. 100,000 (about a third) of the membership of the Wesleyan body left.
83. Findlay and Holdsworth *op.cit.* Vol.I p.185.
84. Findlay and Holdsworth *op.cit.* vol.IV p.478f.
85. *ibid.* vol.V p.441.
86. *ibid.* vol.II p.359.

87. *ibid.* vol.II pp.363ff.
88. *ibid.* vol.II p.361 Note 1.
89. *ibid.* vol.I p.333f. and 397. The term "Assistant Missionary" had been designated by the 1833 British Methodist Conference to distinguish native ministers serving overseas from their British colleagues. This gave offence to some and was later changed to "native ministers".
90. *ibid.* vol.II p.365.
91. MMS Box 206 Bird June 5th 1862.
92. *ibid.* Bishop June 24th 1863.
93. *ibid.* Bird May 8th 1865.
94. Quoted in Heneïse: History of Baptist Work in Haïti p.116f.
95. We must note, however, (Heneïse p.85) that in 1872 there were only 23 members at St. Raphael.
96. MMS Box 206: letters from Bird dating from May 3rd 1864 to February 23rd 1866.
97. Edward Bean Underhill: The West Indies: their social and religious condition. London 1862. p.120f. Underhill suggested an "order of Scripture readers and colporteurs of the Bible". He suggested this, however, as a complement to the regular, ordained, ministry.
98. MMS Box 206 from Bird February 20th and May 3rd 1864 and from Bishop May 23rd 1864.
99. Pressoir: Protestantisme Haitien p.235.
100. MMS Box 206 Bird March 24th 1865.
101. *ibid.* Bird February 24th 1865.
102. Bird noted the rejection of Hogarth and Pressoir in his letter to London of February 23rd 1866 MMS Box 296.
103. We have in situ written of Delatour, Lilavoie, Heureaux, Télémaque, and Bayard who were all favoured by Bird at particular moments. For a variety of reasons we have seen them all fall by the wayside.
104. MMS Box 206 Bird February 24th 1868.
105. *ibid.* May 23rd 1864.
106. *ibid.* July 8th 1865, April 6th 1866.
107. Box 559 Minutes of Finance Sub-Committee for 1867 p.490.
108. Findlay and Holdsworth *op.cit.* vol.IV p.452.

109. Boston (Massachussetts) Public Library: Ms Haiti 68-10, February 29th 1868.
110. MMS Box Bird February 23rd 1866.
111. *ibid.* Bird November 12th 1867.
112. MMS Box 206. Most of the details in this paragraph are taken from an obituary Bird sent to London in February 1862.
113. *ibid.* Bird December 8th 1862.
114. These are the names of the peasant groups of combatants who rallied respectively to the cause led by southern leaders and President Sylvain Salnave.
115. Mark B. Bird: Le paradis terrestre Edinburgh 1881 p.17.
116. Leyburn *op.cit.* p.327.
117. Bellegarde *op.cit.* pp.120-126.
118. MMS Boxes 158-161 for statistical information in the Minutes of the District Meetings for 1860-1870. And Box 559 for information concerning the decisions and grants of the Finance Sub-Committee.
119. MMS Box 161 1870 District Minutes.
120. The first time, of course, had been in the Cap Haitien earthquake in May 1842.
121. MMS Box 206 Bird (then in Jersey) February 24th 1870.
122. *ibid.* Bird September 8th 1862.

6. Believing against Hope

1869 - 1879

1. MMS Box 205 Bird December 7th 1871.
2. MMS Box 207 Bird November 11th 1870.
3. MMS Box 205 Bird June 1st and 20th 1871.
4. MMS Box 205 Bird July 14th 1871.
5. MMS Box 200 (Jamaica) George Sargeant to London July 9th 1870. Sargeant was to be the first President of the West Indian Conference which was set up in 1885. He was a senior statesman of Methodism in the Caribbean.
6. MMS Box 207 Port-au-Prince Committee to London October 1870.

7. See p.144 above: also MMS Box 207 Bird November 24th 1870.
8. MMS Box 205 Bird August 25th 1871.
9. *ibid.* Bird April 4th 1871.
10. *ibid.* Bird February 8th 1872.
11. The whole of this paragraph and much of the succeeding one draws on the account of the Revival given in *Pressoir op.cit.* pp.240-245.
12. MMS Box 162 Minutes of District Meeting 1872.
13. *Pressoir op.cit.* p.244 quoting notes of Daumec Boyer.
14. *Pressoir op.cit.* p.245.
15. *Heneïse op.cit.* p.117f. and p.122f.
16. Cabon: Monseigneur J-M-A Guilloux p.74 and above p.126.
17. Cabon *op.cit.* p.180.
18. Robert: L'église et la première république noire Part 2 Ch.IV.
19. Dean: Defender of the Race p.58. The close identification of Holly with the American interest, as well as contrasting radically with his declared avowal to create a genuine Haitian church, was totally different from Bird's. When Spencer St. John, the British resident minister, offered to make strong representations on Bird's behalf for compensation in respect of the Mission's loss of property, Bird wrote: "It may do for men in commerce to place themselves under the shadow of English guns, but such a position for us would probably wither all our hopes." (MMS Box 205 Bird July 23rd 1874). Cf. Hartwell's similar position above p.82. St. John also expressed the feeling that the Wesleyans would have done better to espouse freemasonry (Hayti: of the Black Republic p.287f.) Bird refused this course too. He resolutely avoided identification with particular bodies or political groups. He desired to be the same to all parts of the social and political spectrum. (Paradis Terrestre p.13 and p.48).
20. Dean *op.cit.* p.64 and MMS Box 205 Bird February 8th 1873.
21. *ibid.* Bird March 9th 1872 and September 6th 1872.
22. Dean *op.cit.* p.61.
23. *ibid.* p.73.
24. Bird: Paradis Terrestre p.41.
25. *Pressoir, op.cit.* p.246 claims that the exact date of the opening of the chapel is not known. It clearly is, hence Paradis Terrestre p.43; MMS Box 205 Bird to Rev. L. Wiseman September 6th 1872; and the newspaper report below. Just over half of the £2,000 spent at that stage had been raised. By March 1873 the debt was reduced to £600 (MMS Box 205 Bird March 22nd 1873). The whole debt was paid within two years of the inauguration (Paradis Terrestre p.44).

26. The original account had appeared in English translation, in the Methodist Recorder. It had been re-translated, as above, into French in the Magasin Méthodiste dans les Iles de la Manche, March 1873, p.100.
27. Thomas Madiou, Haiti's most eminent historian and a friend of the Wesleyans.
28. Cf. the analysis of Dehoux's 1863 speech, above pp.139ff. Also Education Minister Larochelle's remarks at the inauguration of the Port-au-Prince school in 1843, above p.100; and the terms of Bird's memorial to Soulouque p.107; and the assessment of George Sargeant in 1870, p.151. "Non sectarianism" is clearly a key concept in Bird's time in Haiti.
29. Pressoir op.cit. p.246.
30. ibid. p.247.
31. ibid. p.245.
32. MMS Box 205 Bird October 8th 1874.
33. ibid. letters dated July 23rd 1873, March 27th 1874, October 10th 1874.
34. ibid. letters to London dated October 10th - 22nd.
35. ibid. Bird November 22nd 1873.
36. ibid. Bird February 8th 1872.
37. ibid. Bird February 8th 1872.
38. Pressoir op.cit. p.250.
39. MMS Box 205 Hérivel April 22nd 1875.
40. ibid. Bird March 22nd 1873. Bird seems to have ordained Evariste without consulting anyone. Bird justified his action by arguing that he was providing Christian leadership for an isolated community. It was highly irregular.
41. MMS Box 205 Sharp January 10th 1878.
42. ibid. Bird March 8th 1872.
43. Pressoir op.cit. p.251.
44. MMS Box 205 Bird June 23rd 1873.
45. ibid. Bird to London September 6th 1872.
46. ibid. June 1st 1872. There is also a description of a visit to Cap Haitien and a meeting with Bertrand by H. Bleby (Chairman of the Bahamas District - which included the work in the Dominican Republic at this time) in his A Missionary Father's Tales (2nd series) London 1878 pp.169-196.
47. MMS Box 164 Minutes of 1879 District Meeting.
48. MMS Box 205 Bird July 9th 1872.

49. *ibid.* Bird September 6th 1872.
50. *ibid.* Bird February 8th 1873.
51. MMS Box 163 Minutes of District Meetings 1873-1876.
52. *ibid.* Bird March 12th 1875. Mgr. Guilloux's new Catechism (in use until recent days) had appeared in March 1872. See Cabon *op.cit.* p.199.
53. MMS Box 164 Minutes of District Meetings 1876-1879.
54. MMS Box 205 Bird August 10th 1876.
55. *ibid.* Bird November 24th 1877.
56. *ibid.* Hérivel February 10th 1879.
57. *ibid.* Bird July 23rd 1873.
58. *ibid.* Sharp October 17th 1878.
59. *ibid.* Bird May 5th 1874.
60. *ibid.* Bird May 5th 1874.
61. *ibid.* Hérivel May 6th 1874.
62. *ibid.* Hérival June 6th 1874.
63. *ibid.* Hérivel January 1st 1875.
64. *ibid.* Hérivel April 24th 1875.
65. *ibid.* Hérivel May 25th 1875.
66. *ibid.* Hérivel December 10th 1875.
67. *ibid.* Bird May 10th 1876 and July 7th 1876.
68. *ibid.* Bird October 24th 1878.
69. *ibid.* Bird October 24th 1876.
70. *ibid.* Picot November 11th 1876.
71. *ibid.* Picot March 1st 1877. The English-speaking population would have been from among the merchant class and also those Bahamians who were reported at the 1879 District Meeting as being in Cap Haitien in their hundreds due to the decline in trade that was affecting them.
72. *ibid.* Bird February 24th 1877.
73. MMS Box 201 (Jamaica) George Sargeant to London May 7th 1877.
74. MMS Box 205 Bird May 11th 1877.

75. *ibid.* Bird October 24th 1877.
76. *ibid.* Bird December 24th 1877.
77. *ibid.* Bird June 23rd 1877.
78. *ibid.* Bird June 18th 1878.
79. *ibid.* Bird August 10th 1878.
80. *ibid.* Cap Haitien residents to London June 10th 1879.
81. *ibid.* Quinlan November 13th 1879.
82. MMS Box 164 Minutes of 1879 District Meeting.
83. MMS Box 205 Quinlan September 18th and November 13th 1879.
84. MMS Box 163 District Meeting minutes 1876. No further reference to this person has been found.
85. MMS Box 205 Bird January 16th 1878. I have not found the names of these two candidates: they may have been Catts Pressoir's son Charles and Joseph Hogarth.
86. *ibid.* Bird November 30th 1874 and November 9th 1875.
87. *ibid.* Bird July 10th 1879.
88. *ibid.* Bird August 24th 1878.
89. *ibid.* Bird to London December 23rd 1874.
90. *ibid.* Bird February 8th 1873.
91. *ibid.* Bird July 10th 1876.
92. *ibid.* Bird February 10th 1879.
93. *ibid.* Bird November 1877.
94. *ibid.* Bird February 9th 1876.
95. *ibid.* Bird February 10th 1875.
96. *ibid.* Bird July 7th 1879.
97. *ibid.* Bird August 10th 1876; also Paradis Terrestre p.46; and Pressoir op.cit. p.247f.
98. MMS Box 205 Prior February 20th 1879.
99. We are not here concerned to evaluate in detail these statements of Bird, but rather to present them as illustrative of his mind and convictions.

100. A radically different understanding of the foreign ownership of land in Haiti was put forward in a series of books written 1883-86 by Louis-Joseph Janvier, a product of the Wesleyan Mission who became spokesman for the National party of President Salomon which held power from 1879-1888. See Chapter 7 below.
101. Thomas Madiou, who held office both in Soulouque's government and also in Salomon's, expressed views almost identical with Bird's. Cf. the following quoted in A. Lescouflair: Thomas Madiou; homme d'Etat et historien haitien (Port-au-Prince 1950) p.24. "Notre pays ne se relèvera, qu'en mettant en pratique la fraternité universelle, en s'ouvrant par conséquent aux hommes de toute race, les appelant non pas seulement comme trafiquants, mais comme citoyens de notre République".
102. Bird's views on marriage are not merely those of a moralistic Methodist of his time. Others in Haiti had been influenced by the tract of the Abbé Grégoire written in 1823: Considérations sur le mariage et le divorce, adressées aux citoyens d'Haiti. This can be found in the reprint of the works of Grégoire (Vol.VIII) - Paris 1977 - pp.71-137.
103. Bird worked very hard, as we have seen above, p.122 to raise money to found a girls' school. He was never to realise his ambition.
104. This is surely a reference to the stipulations of President Jean-Pierre Boyer's Code Rural (1826), see above p.56.
105. For Methodist contribution in bringing this about see above p.138.
106. Bird writes about the question of religious liberty in his chapter entitled: Esquisse de mon séjour en Haiti pendant trent-neuf ans (pp.17-50). At the time he wrote there had been fifteen years of concerted opposition to the concordat by many of the country's leaders and Bird regretted the part religion was playing in creating division.
107. Once again, throughout this summary of Bird's thinking, the claims to offer the benefits of religion in a non-sectarian way are most strikingly clear.
108. Paradis Terrestre p.37.
109. Magasin Méthodiste des Iles de la Manche June 1881 p.189.
110. MMS Box 205 Bird March 23rd 1879.
111. MMS Box 164 Minutes of District Meeting 1879.
112. Magasin Méthodiste des Iles: June 1881 pp.181-198: the text of the sermon preached at Bird's funeral by Rev. William King.

7 "The Plague and the Sword"

1879 - 1885

1. See above p.164
2. The details of his work in West Africa can be found in F.L. Bartels: The Roots of Ghana Methodism (Cambridge 1965) pp.83ff. Also MMS Box 265, correspondence Gold Coast to London.
3. MMS Box 205 Picot October 24th 1879.
4. *ibid.* Picot December 10th 1879 and January 10th 1880.
5. *ibid.* October 24th 1879.
6. *ibid.* October 22nd 1879.
7. *ibid.* November 22nd 1879: the Minutes of the 1881 District Meeting (Box 165), however, reported that "the old members have not yet entirely overcome their aversion to the Class Meeting".
8. MMS Box 205 Picot January 10th 1880.
9. MMS Box 165 Minutes of 1881 District Meeting where it is reported that: "finding that rank unbelief was the cause of their non-attendance at the means of grace, we have been compelled to cast them off as dry branches fit only for burning".
10. MMS Box 205 Picot October 22nd 1879.
11. *ibid.* Picot October 22nd 1879.
12. *ibid.* Picot November 24th 1879.
13. *ibid.* Hérivel February 6th 1880.
14. *ibid.* Picot April 23rd 1880.
15. *ibid.* Hérivel February 20th 1880.
16. *ibid.* Hérivel July 24th 1880.
17. *ibid.* Quinlan November 13th 1879.
18. *ibid.* Picot August 3rd 1880.
19. *ibid.* Picot November 22nd 1879.
20. *ibid.* Quinlan April 4th 1881. In 1879 the Methodist stations in the Dominican Republic, which had been attached to the Bahamas District since 1865, were once more part of the Haiti District.
21. *ibid.* Quinlan March 27th and July 31st 1883.
22. *ibid.* Picot February 23rd 1883 and Quinlan June 22nd 1884.

23. *ibid.* Picot November 22nd 1879.
24. *ibid.* Picot December 9th 1880.
25. *ibid.* Picot September 23rd 1879.
26. *ibid.* Picot: January 10th 1880; December 25th 1881; December 12th 1882.
27. *ibid.* Picot October 22nd and 24th 1879.
28. *ibid.* Picot November 24th 1879.
29. *ibid.* Picot December 10th 1879.
30. *ibid.* Picot December 12th 1881.
31. *ibid.* Picot May 10th 1882.
32. *ibid.* Picot December 22nd 1882. For an assessment of Salomon's presidency see Nicholls *op. cit.* pp.110ff. and Bellegarde *op. cit.* pp.135ff.
33. D.A. Payne: History of the African Methodist Church New York 1891, p.479f.
34. MMS Box 205 Picot July 9th 1883. Also: Heneise Baptist Work p.117f; and Dean Defender of the Race ch.VIII entitled "Troubles on every side".
35. Cabon: Mgr Guilloux (Port-au-Prince 1929) p.385.
36. Cabon *op. cit.* p.387f.
37. Cabon *op.cit.* p.382.
38. MMS Box 205 Picot January 10th 1880.
39. Cabon *op. cit.* p.382.
40. Cabon *op. cit.* p.390 and also MMS Box 165 Minutes of 1881 District Meeting.
41. MMS Box 205 Hérivel May 8th 1880.
42. *ibid.* Hérivel July 24th 1880.
43. *ibid.* letter 52 n.d. Hérivel.
44. *ibid.* Picot October 21st 1889.
45. Box 165 Minutes of 1881 District Meeting. I have not been able to find a copy of Lochard's booklet.
46. Cabon *op. cit.* p.416. The author reports a personal interview between President Salomon and Mgr Belouino (auxiliary bishop of Port-au-Prince) which indicates that the over-forthright stance of Guilloux was not helping those who wanted to mollify things. Belouino promised to try to influence the archbishop to modify his stance.

47. Box 205 Picot June 1st 1881 (he does not give the date of the newspaper).
48. Box 165 Minutes of 1881 District Meeting.
49. MMS Box 205 Hérivel May 8th 1880.
50. *ibid.* Picot March 23rd 1881.
51. *ibid.* Picot February 10th 1880; this is a detail which finds corroboration in Cabon *op.cit.* p.382 and also Pressoir Protestantisme p.257.
52. The most outspoken and coherent spokesman for this ultranationalist group was Methodist Louis-Joseph Janvier. See below pp.195ff.
53. For a description of how freemasonry offered a framework within which an identifiable social group could express its solidarity and maintain its identity in changing social circumstances, see Abner Cohen: "The Politics of Ritual Secrecy" in Man Vol.6 No. 3 (1971) pp.427-447. Cohen describes a situation in Sierra Leone.
54. MMS Box 205 Picot December 10th 1879.
55. *ibid.* Picot February 21st 1881. In 1860, the grant had been £1,300. See above p.148. The £500 was split as follows: £150 for Turks Island, £75 for Puerto Plata, £125 for Cap Haitien, and £150 for Port-au-Prince.
56. MMS Box 165 Minutes of 1881 District Meeting.
57. MMS Box 205 Picot April 23rd and August 23rd 1880.
58. *ibid.* Picot May 6th 1880.
59. MMS Box 164 Minutes of 1879 District Meeting.
60. MMS Box 205 Picot October 24th 1879.
61. Pressoir (*op. cit.* p.308ff) suggests that these Jamaicans were either mechanics and smiths, or else teachers and merchants. They tended to be literate and too well qualified to make a living in Haiti.
62. MMS Box 205 Picot November 22nd 1879.
63. Findlay and Holdsworth: History of the Wesleyan Missionary Society Vol.2 p.402.
64. MMS Box 205 Picot to London June 7th 1880.
65. *ibid.* Picot June 1st 1880.
66. *ibid.* Picot August 8th 1883.
67. *ibid.* Picot August 3rd 1880.
68. *ibid.* Picot October 24th 1881.
69. *ibid.* Quinlan November 11th 1881.

70. *ibid.* Picot January 23rd 1882.
71. *ibid.* Picot February 22nd 1882.
72. *ibid.* Picot April 4th 1882.
73. *ibid.* Picot January 23rd 1882.
74. *Pressoir Protestantisme* p.293. Picot reported a figure of 20,000: Box 205 February 8th 1882
75. *ibid.* Picot February 8th and March 23rd 1882.
76. *ibid.* Picot February 22nd 1882.
77. *ibid.* Picot January 1st 1883.
78. *ibid.* Picot February 2nd 1882; also "Notice Biographique" in the July and August 1882 numbers of Magasin Méthodiste des Iles de la Manche: pp.217-224 and 253-263 respectively.
79. MMS Box 205 Picot (quoting his wife's letter) November 17th 1882; also Magasin Méthodiste May (pp.145-150) and June (pp.181-193) 1883.
80. It is interesting to note the participation of Bauduy in this ceremony.
81. MMS Box 205 Portrey November 4th 1882, in which he writes that he hoped to turn the Cap Haitien Roman Catholic cathedral into a Wesleyan Chapel! Also a short biographical note in Magasin Méthodiste (June 1883) pp.191-193.
82. MMS Box 205 Picot December 22nd 1882.
83. *ibid.* Gedye (Turks Island) January 13th 1883; also Picot January 23rd 1883.
84. Robert: L'Eglise et la Première République Noire (Rennes 1964) Part 2 Ch.VI, where 20 deaths are reported among the "religieux" 10 per cent of the total.
85. MMS Box 205 Picot June 9th 1883, in which he reports sickness of Norwegian sailors taken ill at St. Marc, "vomiting blood, and bleeding at the eyes, ears, and nose for several days while in a state of unconsciousness".
86. *ibid.* Picot April 9th 1883.
87. *ibid.* Picot September 6th 1883.
88. *ibid.* Picot June 9th 1883.
89. *ibid.* Quinlan April 24th 1883.
90. *ibid.* Picot June 9th 1883.
91. *ibid.* Picot August 8th 1882.
92. *ibid.* Picot October 6th 1883.

93. *ibid.* Picot November 9th 1883.
94. For the importance of the colour question in this struggle see Nicholls: From Dessalines to Duvalier; (CUP 1979) pp.108ff.
95. MMS Box 205 Picot January 9th 1884.
96. See Roger Gaillard: Etzer Vilaire: Témoin de nos malheurs: (Port-au-Prince 1972) pp.25ff. A consideration of Etzer Vilaire's work appears below, Ch.8.
97. This is the main theme of Le Vieux Piquet written in 1884.
98. See above p.20f for the names of the first converts and pp.41ff for details of Boyer's persecutions.
99. Constitutions d'Haiti p.286, and above pp.103ff.
100. For example on the title page of Les Antinationaux.
101. Much biographical detail used here is found in La Caisse d'Épargne, a lecture given in the Wesleyan Church in Port-au-Prince in 1906.
102. This detail from Haitian newspaper Le Peuple May 12th 1894, quoting Paris daily Le Figaro of April 4th.
103. Les Antinationaux p.20.
104. J. Catts Pressoir: Historiographie d'Haiti (Mexico 1953). This Catts Pressoir, who also wrote the history of Protestantism in Haiti, was the grandson of the Catts Pressoir who was a Local Preacher and church leader in Port-au-Prince during the 1880s.
105. See Nicholls From Dessalines to Duvalier p.89 and 135.
106. This is a favourite description of Nicholls *op. cit.* p.114 *et passim*.
107. Les Affaires d'Haiti pp.297ff.
108. *op. cit.* p.36; quoted here from David Nicholls: Economic Dependence and Political Autonomy (McGill University 1974) p.22.
109. See above pp.168ff.
110. La République d'Haiti et ses Visiteurs p.372.
111. Les affaires d'Haiti pp.304-308.
112. La République d'Haiti et ses Visiteurs p.30.
113. Constitutions p.151.
114. Constitutions p.188 and p.285.
115. Les Affaires d'Haiti p.387.

116. La République d'Haiti p.375.
117. Les Affaires d'Haiti p.386. See also Antinationaux p.67.
118. Affaires p.301.
119. La République d'Haiti p.371.
120. See above p.84f 118 and 135f.
121. MMS Box 205 Picot September 24th 1884.
122. ibid. Picot November 11th 1884.
123. ibid. Picot November 8th 1884.
124. ibid. May 10th 1882. It has been impossible to discover the names of the these two persons.
125. ibid. Picot August 9th 1882.
126. ibid. Picot July 10th 1884.
127. ibid. Picot December 9th 1884.
128. ibid. Picot February 22nd 1883.
129. ibid. Picot September 24th 1884.
130. ibid. Picot December 9th 1884.
131. MMS Box 165 Minutes of 1884 District Meeting. The low figure because of some deaths in the 1882 epidemics.
132. MMS Box 205 Picot January 9th 1884.
133. ibid. Picot December 22nd 1882.
134. ibid. Picot Letter 68 n.d. 1882.
135. ibid. Picot February 22nd 1883.
136. The issue dated March 8th 1883.
137. All statistics from MMS Box 165: Minutes of District Meetings 1881-1884.
138. Box 205 Picot September 24th 1884.

8: Romance or Reality?

1885 - 1902

1. MMS Box 265 Smith November 22nd 1888.
2. *ibid.* Smith November 22nd and December 18th 1888. For Clérié's speech to the Constituent Assembly see Maurice Vilaire: Prosateurs Protestants Haitiens Port-au-Prince 1964 p.6f.
3. *ibid.* Smith March 14th 1897.
4. *ibid.* Picot February 1st 1898. Dantès Bellegarde: La Nation haitienne: Paris 1938 pp.135-147 is useful for its summary of these events.
5. MMS Box 733 Picot December 3rd 1902. Also Work and Workers May 1904 p.207f. An article written by A.F.P. Turnbull.
6. Much of the detail of this résumé is found in Findlay G.G. and Holdsworth W.W. The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society vol.2 pp.444-471 and N. Allen Birtwhistle: "Methodist Missions" p.93 in A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain Vol. 3.
7. MMS Box 733 Picot April 8th 1890.
8. This statistical information has been culled from the bound volumes of Minutes of the West Indian Conferences (1885-1900) in the MMS archives at SOAS. There seem to be no Minutes for the years 1901 or 1902. I have used the years 1888, 1892, 1896, and 1900 as "representative years". I do not think that figures for the other years would show a dissimilar picture.
9. This figure includes members in the Dominican Republic.
10. At the beginning of the Conference period the London grant to Haiti had been £700.
11. MMS Box 733 Picot November 30th 1898.
12. *ibid.* Picot April 22nd 1903.
13. Box 733 undated document appearing with 1905 correspondence.
14. For biographical details of this remarkable man see Le Peuple September 26th 1891. For notice of his daughter's marriage see same newspaper July 15th 1893.
15. Alexandre Jackson Notice sur ma carrière de Prédicateur (1932) p.xxxi.
16. Jackson *op.cit.* p.xxv.
17. Pressoir *op.cit.* p.312.
18. Jackson *op.cit.* p.vi ff, and Pressoir *op.cit.* p.270.
19. Pressoir *op.cit.* p.273.

20. For details of French Protestantism at this time, see Vol.3 of E.G. Léonard's Histoire générale du protestantisme esp. pages 245f, 417f, and 563ff. Sabatier had been professor in the University of Strassburg, closed after the Franco-Prussian war. He commanded the support of "orthodox" thinkers in Montauban, and also "liberal" theologians in Paris.
21. See for example Berrou F. Raphael and Pompilus Pradel: Histoire de la littérature haitienne (1975) Vol.1 pp.492-497.
22. Catts Pressoir, La Médecine en Haiti Port-au-Prince 1927, p.79f.
23. Pressoir Médecine p.85.
24. A short notice giving the details of Dehoux's life is added to the Rapport by someone else, vide p.224.
25. One of the children of Judge Héraux of Cap Haitien baptised by Bauduy in the 1850s. See above p.131.
26. For example, J. Michael Dash Literature and Ideology in Haiti 1915-1961 MacMillan 1981 pp.24-41.
27. Pressoir op.cit. p.339f.
28. MMS Box 703 Picot September 29th 1901.
29. For Methodism in Jérémie at this time see Pressoir op.cit. pp.326-332; and for the Episcopalian church op.cit. Vol.II p.39f.
30. Etzer Vilaire Notice Autobiographique p.5f.
31. See Roger Gaillard, Etzer Vilaire, témoin de nos malheurs Port-au-Prince 1972 pp.66ff.
32. Notice autobiographique p.11.
33. Apart from his published literary works, there are typewritten sermons, and an up-dated version of his Notice autobiographique called Trente ans après which Vilaire's descendants kindly made available to me in Port-au-Prince.
34. p.14.
35. Sermons d'un laïque p.182f.
36. They were re-arranged with a consequent loss of progressive force in the Poésies complètes (3 vols.) published in Paris in 1914, and 1919.
37. Thus "Rêve d'un soir de fièvre", "Ballade du suicidé", and "Requiescat"; also see Notice p.15.
38. "Vision de la fin" Tristesses p.24.
39. "Litanie des poètes malheureux" Tristesses p.38.

40. The Oxford Companion to French Literature eds. P. Harvey and J.E. Heseltine p.691.
41. Tristesses "Douleur d'aimée".
42. See article by Rosny Desroches in Nouveau Monde newspaper April 1972 entitled: "De la poésie à la prédication ou l'itinéraire spirituel d'Etzer Vilaire".
43. Pressoir op.cit. p.302.
44. See Sermons d'un laïque p.227.
45. Notice autobiographique p.15.
46. Rosny Desroches, article quoted above.
47. Témoins de nos malheurs p.74.
48. op.cit. p.120f.
49. Notice autobiographique: Trente ans après p.76ff.
50. Gaillard op.cit. p.80f. and Trente ans après p.87ff.
51. For example, Sermons d'un laïque p.74ff.
52. Pressoir Protestantisme p.259.
53. Pressoir op.cit. p.260 quoting Jean Charles Pressoir's Mémoire sur le réveil de 1886-1888 inédit 1926.
54. See above p.153f.
55. Pressoir op.cit. p.264f. quoting a manuscript by Chevallier Dévieux: Journal d'évangélisation.
56. MMS Box 703 Picot May 20th 1890.
57. ibid. Picot June 30th 1890. Also Réalmon Domond: Défense d'évangile et liberté p.90f.
58. ibid. Picot February 8th 1892.
59. Pressoir op.cit. p.307 quoting unedited manuscript (1927) Souvenirs du pasteur Pierre Nicholas.
60. MMS Box 703 Picot February 12th 1900.
61. See above p.204.
62. A.F.P. Turnbull: Work and Workers May 1904. p.297f.
63. Pressoir op.cit. p.278 quoting a report of the Society dated January 26th 1890.

64. Pressoir op.cit. p.279f. and also Marc Péan L'illusion héroïque (Port-au-Prince 1977) p.123ff.
65. Pressoir op.cit. p.311f.
66. Pressoir op.cit. p.312.
67. MMS Box 703 Smith December 18th 1888.
68. Pressoir op.cit. p.312f.
69. See Minutes of Western Conference 1892.
70. MMS Box 703 Smith May 30th 1892.
71. ibid. Smith April 14th 1893.
72. ibid. Smith October 10th 1893.
73. ibid. Smith May 14th 1894.
74. ibid. Smith October 15th 1893.
75. Work and Workers November 1898 p.460f.
76. MMS Box 703 Picot February 12th 1900.
77. See Pressoir op.cit. p.262.
78. MMS Box 703 Picot January 10th 1885.
79. ibid. Picot June 30th 1890.
80. ibid. Picot February 2nd 1893.
81. ibid. Picot September 29th 1901.
82. Pressoir op.cit. p.331.
83. MMS Box 703 Picot August 14th 1892.
84. MMS Box 703 Picot January 26th 1898, and Magasin Méthodiste des Iles April 1898 p.75f.
85. see above p.82. and Pressoir op.cit. p.315 quoting Bulletin des Lois et Actes, No. 16 p.118, 121 (1885).
86. Magasin Méthodiste des Iles Belloncle's article March 1894.
87. MMS Box 703 Picot April 24th 1894 and January 14th 1895.
88. Magasin Méthodiste des Iles March 1895, article by Belloncle.
89. MMS Box 703, much of the paragraph which follows comes from Picot's letter to London dated June 6th 1899.

90. Pressoir op.cit. p.338f.
91. MMS Box 703 Picot April 14th 1900.
92. ibid. October 9th 1902.

9: Like a Leaf in a Storm

1904 - 1916

1. See for example H.O. Arnett's letter to London August 23rd 1915 in which he describes conditions in Aux Cayes after the hurricane. MMS Box 703.
2. MMS Box 703 Picot July 9th 1908.
3. ibid. Picot July 9th 1908.
4. ibid. Picot July 18th 1908.
5. Foreign Field December 1915.
6. MMS Box 703 September 30th 1913, typewritten report of the afflictions since 1908 by A.F.P. Turnbull.
7. Foreign Field article by Henry Arnett, December 1915.
8. Foreign Field June 1914, p.259. Article by F. Deaville Walker.
9. MMS Box 703 Picot November 10th 1913.
10. MMS Box 703 Mears June 24th 1914.
11. ibid. Mears July 17th 1914.
12. MS entitled A Century of Missions in Espanola typed by Mrs Mears, graciously given to me by Rev'd. H. Ormonde McConnell M.B.E., B.A., page 29. Mrs. Mears' nursing skills were invaluable. A street in Puerto Plata was later named after her in honour of her heroic labours of this time.
13. Foreign Field April 1908; article by A.F.P. Turnbull p.268.
14. MMS Box 703 Turnbull November 13th 1914.
15. ibid. du Feu January 7th 1915.
16. Foreign Field April 1916 J.H. Cartwright: "New Hope for Haiti" p.184.
17. MMS Box 703 Turnbull August 18th 1912.
18. ibid. Turnbull March 8th 1915.
19. ibid. Turnbull November 13th 1914.

20. *ibid.* John du Feu June 22nd 1911.
21. This detail was communicated to me by Turnbull's widow in Port-au-Prince in January 1984.
22. Prosateurs Protestants (Port-au-Prince 1964) pp.36f.
23. The main source for what follows is Massillon Gaspard's Le Pasteur Auguste Albert (Port-au-Prince 1939). This was given me by the author's daughter and was not available in any Haitian library. Maurice Vilaire's Prosateurs Protestants Haitiens (Port-au-Prince 1964) pp.34-42 contains extracts from two of his speeches. Catts Pressoir's Le Protestantisme haitien (Port-au-Prince 1945) contains some scattered material. George Marc's lecture on Albert given in the Baptist Church in Port-au-Prince in November 1983 (he kindly gave me a copy of his notes) is largely derivative of the above sources. The newspapers, personal archives, and correspondence of Albert are all lost.
24. MMS Box 265 MacKenzie May 21st 1880.
25. Gaspard *op.cit.* p.6.
26. *ibid.* p.19.
27. Gaspard *op.cit.* p.11; and Pressoir *op.cit.* p.332.
28. Gaspard *op.cit.* p.54.
29. Pressoir *op.cit.* p.332. Also personal recollections handed down in the Rocourt family and related to me by the Rev'd Alain Rocourt in Port-au-Prince, January 1984.
30. Gaspard *op.cit.* p.15.
31. MMS Box 703 Turnbull January 7th 1915.
32. *ibid.* Picot February 25th 1902.
33. Pressoir *op.cit.* p.343.
34. MMS Box 703 Picot April 12th 1904.
35. Héraux had been converted himself in 1901 and was the son of that same judge who had been baptized by Bauduy in the troubles of the 1860s. See above pp.129ff.
36. Verses 5 and 7 of Luke chapter 13 respectively. Héraux preached for three successive Sundays on the same text.
37. MMS Box 703 Picot April 18th 1906.
38. See above p.153f. and pp.223ff. respectively.
39. MMS Box 703 Picot June 12th 1907.
40. *ibid.* Picot October 12th 1914.

41. *ibid.* Mears May 30th 1916.
42. *ibid.* Picot January 14th 1909.
43. Albert had married in 1891 and, by 1908, had thirteen children.
44. These brochures can be found bound together in the library of the Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne in Port-au-Prince. Their titles, authors, and dates, are as follows: 1. Une Opinion Maintenu by Anibal Montasse, a reply to Jackson's open letter in the newspaper Le Justicier. 20pp. May 1904. 2. Marie: Vierge Perpétuelle by Montasse. 23pp. July 1904. 3. Grand Malheur Spirituel an attack on Montasse's views by Cap Haitien Baptist, Michel Nord Isaac. 4pp. 1905. 4. La Vérité: réfutation de l'exégèse de M.Michel Nord Isaac by Montasse. 28pp. May 1905. 5. Le Pêché Originel et ses conséquences by Montasse. 70pp. 1905. 6. Marie sa perpétuelle virginité by François-Marie Kersuzan. March 1907. 7. Le Docteur Kuiper: Ancien Président du Conseil des ministres de Hollande et la loi française de séparation by Montasse. 12pp. March 1907. 8. Lettre ouverte à M. Annibal Montasse by J.W.A.A. Moss; a reply to Montasse's pamphlet on Mary. 9. Aperçu apologétique chrétienne on various points of Catholic doctrine. Montasse in reply to Moss. December 1907 pp.63. 10. Un mot à M. Annibal Montasse by Alain Clérié, Methodist preacher in Jérémie. 20pp. 1908. 11. Une leçon à M. Alain Clérié by Montasse 63pp. February 1908.
45. The correspondence in Le Nouvelliste ran from March to June 1908. Montasse wrote letters or articles on March 21st and 25th; April 2nd, 10th, 11th, 15th, and 18th; May 29th and 30th; June 23rd and 29th. Picot's efforts are dated March 21st and 28th; April 7th and 11th; and June 29th. Sometimes these filled a whole page of a four page newspaper.
46. Letter by Kersuzan to Montasse June 8th 1908.
47. See for example E.G. Léonard: Histoire générale du protestantisme Vol.3 p.562ff.
48. Alain Clérié: Un mot p.9f.
49. Le Nouvelliste March 25th 1908.
50. *ibid.* April 15th 1908.
51. Le Nouvelliste June 23rd 1908.
52. Montasse, Le Pêché originel p.8f.
53. Related by Mrs Turnbull in an interview, January 1984.
54. MMS Box 733 Picot November 20th 1901.
55. *ibid.* Barnes (Turnbull's brother-in-law) to London secretaries October 20th 1910.
56. *ibid.* Picot November 3rd 1908.
57. MMS Box 703 Turnbull December 12th 1906 and October 16th 1908.

58. *ibid.* Picot July 9th 1908.
59. *ibid.* Turnbull September 3rd and November 5th 1908.
60. *ibid.* Picot to London June 25th 1909 when the pledge of financial support had been made. No money came until much later that year.
61. *ibid.* Turnbull May 29th 1909.
62. *ibid.* Turnbull July 29th 1910.
63. *ibid.* Turnbull January 1st 1909. In this letter Turnbull indicated that the Haitian government was allowing the Methodist mission to import building materials free of duties and taxes.
64. Foreign Field March 1908 p.231f. The full description of the situation which led to the signing of the Convention can be found in PRO FO35/184. In the unstable times following the Petit Goâve massacres in 1902 many people who could trace their descent from a British parent were seeking to protect themselves from recruitment to the Haitian army or positive taxation by claiming British citizenship. Many such people were of Jamaican or other British West Indian background. The Convention refused to grant British citizenship to people of Afro-Caribbean origin born in Haiti on the grounds that such people, under successive Haitian constitutions, were entitled to all the benefits of Haitian citizenship. Leading the protest against these measures were the Wesleyan missionaries who argued that this would be discrimination against Haitian-born children which was totally out of line with British policy elsewhere in the British Empire. British Consul A.G. Vansittart hated his posting ("purgatory" he called it) and disliked black people (using adjectives such as "slimy", "treacherous" and "deceitful"). He bitterly resented the rôle of the Wesleyan missionaries, berating them as "mischievous and venomous and doing their best to lash the British coloured colony into a fury and insubordination They seem to think there can be no harm in declaring every kind of black Haytian to be a British subject."
65. MMS Box 703 Turnbull November 7th 1908.
66. *ibid.* Cartwright January 13th 1916.
67. *ibid.* Solomon (from Sanchez, Dominican Republic) July 24th 1909.
68. *ibid.* Turnbull December 4th 1909.
69. See above p.238f.
70. *ibid.* Picot (from Jamaica) April 30th 1912.
71. *ibid.* Mears March 3rd 1910.
72. *ibid.* du Feu July 2nd 1914.
73. *ibid.* Turnbull July 29th 1910.
74. *ibid.* Turnbull April 29th 1912; also Box 733 Brown (in London) to Turnbull March 29th 1912.

75. MMS Box 703 Picot (from Jamaica) March 10th 1913.
76. *ibid.* Turnbull (in England) December 1st 1913, a copy of letter sent to Arnett; and Arnett December 23rd 1913.
77. *ibid.* Picot (from Jamaica) February 4th 1914.
78. *ibid.* Picot July 5th 1911.
79. *ibid.* Mears May 30th 1916.
80. *ibid.* London September 3rd 1915.
81. The minutes of the 1916 Synod and most of the correspondence dealing with this unfortunate affair are in a special folder within MMS Box 703.

APPENDIX A

Chronological lists showing those having pastoral care of the various stations in Haiti in the period 1817 - 1916. Those marked with an asterisk were unordained Local Preachers.

(i) Port-au-Prince

1817 - 1717	John Brown and James Catts
1818 - 1823	Martial Evariste*
1822 - 1828	Jean-Charles Pressoir*
1828 - 1841	St. Denis Bauduy
1828 - 1839	William Towler
1841 - 1845	James Hartwell
1842 - 1859	Mark Baker Bird
1859 - 1862	Charles Bishop
1860 - 1869	Mark Baker Bird
1869 - 1871	Jean Catts Pressoir*, Paul Lochard*, and Sadrac Hippolyte*
1871 - 1879	Mark Baker Bird
1874 - 1876)	Jean William Hérivel
1879 - 1880)	
1879 - 1892	Thomas Robert Picot
1882	Philip Baker
1892 - 1901	Westmore Smith
1901 - 1916	Thomas Robert Picot
1900 - 1916	A. F. Parkinson Turnbull
1912 - 1915	Henry Arnett

(ii) Cap Haitien

1820	Elliot Jones and William W. Harvey
1838	John Tindall
1839 - 1842	Mark Baker Bird
1845 - 1853	James Hartwell
1853	William Williams
1853 - 1855	François Eldin
1855 - 1858	Charles Bishop
1858 - 1862	St. Denis Bauduy
1862 - 1864	Charles Bishop
1864 - 1877	Dugué Bertrand*

Cap Haitien cont'd.

1877	William Picot
1878 - 1879	James Sharp
1879	Hilton C. Quinlan
1879 - 1881	Jean William Hérivel
1882	Robert Newton Portrey
1883 - 1884	Joseph Day (of the American Methodist Episcopal Church)
1886 - 1892	Westmore Smith
1892 - 1901	Thomas Robert Picot
1902 - 1916	Auguste Albert

(iii) Jérémie

1841 - 1847	St. Denis Bauduy
1847 - 1851	William Cardy
1851 - 1855	Charles Bishop
1855 - 1858	François Eldin
1864 - 1872	Joseph Vilaire* and Alain Clérié*
1872 - 1879	Pierre Jones (of the Episcopalian Church)
1880 - 1883	Léon Ponce (of the Episcopalian Church)
1884 - 1895	Joseph Vilaire* and Alain Clérié*
1895 - 1905	Henri Belloncle
1907 - 1916	John du Feu

(iv) Gonaïves

1844 - 1847	William Cardy
1847 - 1848	St. Denis Bauduy
1848 - 1855	Othello Bayard*
1855 - 1859	François Eldin
1875 - 1877	Paul Lochard*
1877 - 1878	James Sharp
1878	Hilton C. Quinlan
1878 - 1883	Alexandre Jackson*
1892 - 1895	Henri Belloncle

(v) Aux Cayes

1848 - 1858	St. Denis Bauduy
1858 - 1884	Othello Bayard (from 1862 as an unpaid minister)
1886 - 1887	James Picot
1887 - 1890	Elijah Mair
1891 - 1902	Auguste Albert
1915 - 1916	Henry Arnett

(vi) Petit Goâve

1889 - 1902	Chevallier Devieux*
1890	Palmieri (ex-Roman Catholic priest, no first name discoverable)
1892 - 1902	J.B. Jolicoeur*
1902 - 1916	Pierre Nicolas*

Appendix B

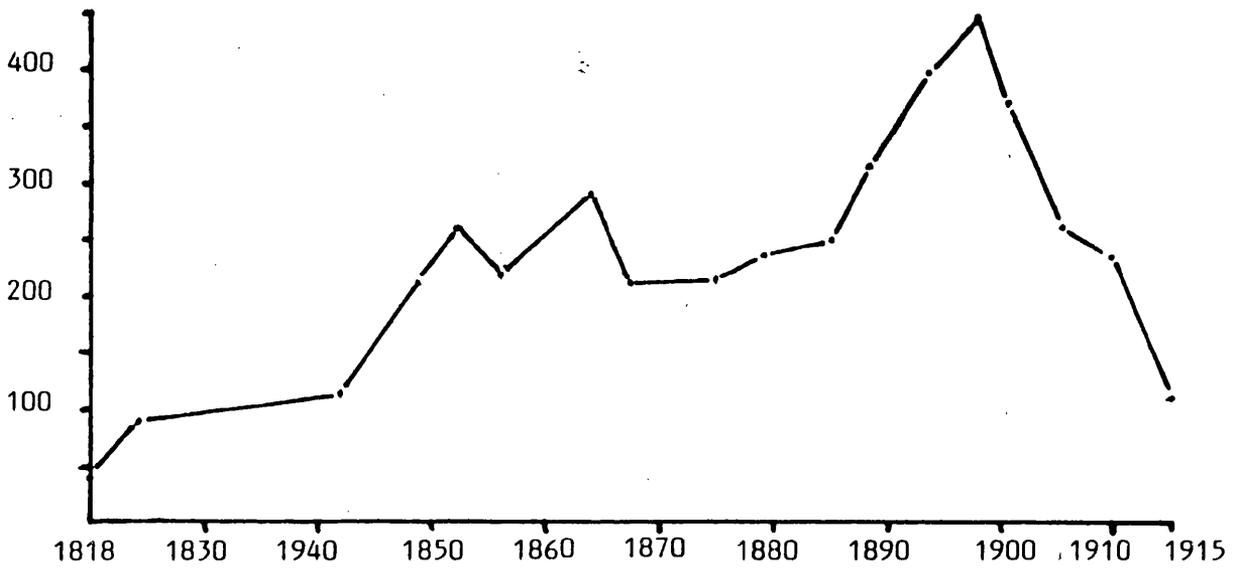


Figure 1. Membership figures of the Methodist Church in Haiti: 1818 - 1915

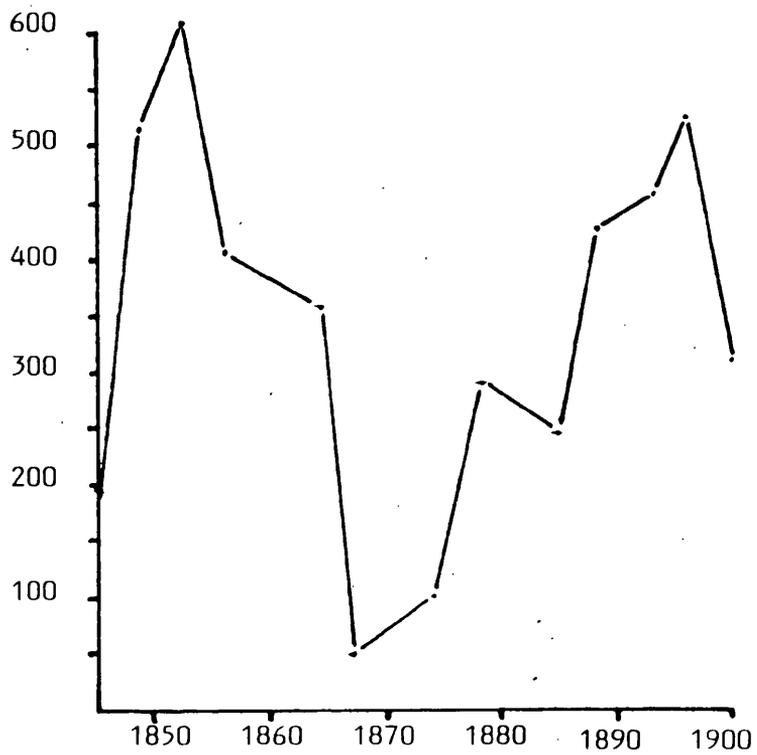


Figure 2. Pupils enrolled in Methodist schools in Haiti: 1844 - 1910

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Haiti Correspondence 1834-1890	Boxes 205-297
Bahamas Correspondence 1855-1879 (The Dominican Republic was in the Bahamas District during these years.)	Boxes 219-221
West Indies Conference: Correspondence 1880-1904	Boxes 710, 144, 145, 703
West Indies Conference: Accounts 1882-1901	Boxes 146-147
Haiti Correspondence 1905-1934	Boxes 733-734
Minutes of District Meetings (Synods) 1822-1886	Boxes 148-166
Minutes of Finance Sub-Committee of Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) 1825-1880	Boxes 558-560
Letters (copies) from WMMS Secretaries to the field	Boxes 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9
Channel Islands Correspondence	Box 59
France Correspondence	Boxes 62-65
Jamaica Correspondence 1870-1880	Boxes 200-201
Africa (Gold Coast) Correspondence 1870-1880 (letters from Thomas Picot in the years prior to his arrival in Haiti)	Box 265
Official WMMS Correspondence and Circulars (including "Regulations for Missionaries".) WMMS Notes on Candidates for missionary service	Boxes 46-47
WMMS Correspondence with the Colonial Office	Boxes 659-661
The Journal of John Brown (3 volumes, handwritten) 1816-1819	Box 48
The Journal of William Towler (typescript) 1838-1853	Box 590
Biography of James Hartwell (handwritten) 1817-1902 (Hartwell's years in Haiti were 1841-1852)	Box 581
Notes for a lantern lecture by James Sharp 1915	Box 588
The Journal of James Eacott 1840-1843 (Eacott was a missionary in the Turk's Island Circuit)	Box 579
	Box 580
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