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From Slave Revolt to a Blood Pact with Satan: The Evangelical Rewriting of Haitian History

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Abstract: Enslaved Africans and Creoles in the French colony of Saint-Domingue are said to have gathered at a nighttime meeting at a place called Bois Caïman in what was both political rally and religious ceremony, weeks before the Haitian Revolution in 1791. The slave ceremony is known in Haitian history as a religio-political event and used frequently as a source of inspiration by nationalists, but in the 1990s, neo-evangelicals rewrote the story of the famous ceremony as a "blood pact with Satan." This essay traces the social links and biblical logics that gave rise first to the historical record, and then to the neo-evangelical rewriting of this iconic moment. It argues that the confluence of the bicentennial of the Haitian Revolution with the political contest around President Aristide's policies, the growth of the neo-evangelical Spiritual Mapping movement, and of the Internet, produced a new form of mythmaking, in which neo-evangelicals re-signified key symbols of the event—an oath to a divine force, blood sacrifice, a tree, and group unity—from the mythical grammar of Haitian nationalism to that of neo-evangelical Christianity. In the many ironies of this clash between the political afterlife of a slave uprising with the political afterlife of biblical scripture, Haiti becomes a nation held in captivity, and Satan becomes the colonial power who must be overthrown.

Résumé : Un groupe d'esclaves africains et créoles se seraient réunis une nuit à Bois Caïman, dans la colonie française de Saint-Domingue. L'évènement qui eut lieu quelques semaines avant la révolution haïtienne de 1791 fut décrit à la fois comme un rassemblement politique et une cérémonie religieuse. Cette cérémonie organisée par des

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esclaves constitue un évènement politico-religieux important dans l'histoire haïtienne, une source d'inspiration fréquente pour les nationalistes. Dans les années 1990, cependant, un groupe néo évangélique réécrivit l'histoire de cette fameuse cérémonie qualifiée de "pacte sanguinaire avec Satan." L'essai retrace donc les liens sociaux et les logiques bibliques qui ont conduit les néo évangéliques à réécrire ce moment iconique. L'essai soutient que la confluence des révoltes en réaction à la politique du Président Aristide lors du bicentenaire de la révolution haïtienne ainsi que la montée du mouvement néo évangélique, Cartographie Spirituelle, et celle de l'Internet participèrent à créer de nouveaux mythes: les néo évangéliques donnèrent un sens nouveau aux symboles clés de l'évènement —un serment à une force divine, un sacrifice sanglant, un arbre et l'union du groupe— de la grammaire mythique du nationalisme haïtien à celle de la chrétienté néo évangélique. A travers les nombreuses ironies de la confrontation entre l'héritage politique d'un soulèvement d'esclaves et l'héritage politique des Saintes Ecritures, Haïti devient une nation tenue en captivité, et Satan, le pouvoir colonial qu'il faut renverser.

Keywords
Haiti, Haitian Revolution, Bois Caïman, Vodou, Spiritual Mapping, spiritual warfare, mythmaking

Mots clés
Haïti, révolution haïtienne, Bois Caïman, Vodou, Cartographie Spirituelle, guerre spirituelle, créer de nouveaux mythes

History belongs to the intercessors.
C. Peter Wagner, Warfare Prayer

The deadly earthquake that shook the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince and its environs on the 12th of January 2010 killed an estimated 300,000 people, making it the worst disaster in the history of the Americas. The next day television evangelist Pat Robertson, while hosting his news talk show *The 700 Club* on the Christian Broadcast Network, said that the earthquake could be best understood by a little known event that "people might not want to talk about." Haitians were cursed, he said, because they long ago "swore a pact to the devil." His exact words were these:

> Something happened a long time ago in Haiti and people might not want to talk about it. They were under the heel of the French, you know, Napoleon the Third and whatever . . . and they got together and swore a pact to the devil. They said we will serve you if you get us free from the prince . . . true story . . . so the devil said okay, it's a deal. And they kicked the French out. Ever since, they have been cursed by one thing after another. (Robertson, 2011)

A media outcry ensued, and the White House spokesman called Robertson's comments "utterly stupid." Experts and commentators pointed out that Robertson's ideas were outrageous and obscured the scientific and social truths that the quake was a natural disaster made even more lethal by social factors: overcrowded, inadequate housing and dire

poverty. Even the Reverend Franklin Graham disavowed the remarks, saying he thought Robertson "misspoke." In the view of most who spoke out, Robertson's offensive story was callous, racist and an embarrassment to America and even to Christianity.

Yet one branch of Christianity—the Spiritual Mapping movement—had been working actively for twenty years to promote this very story. Robertson had absorbed the idea through his affiliation with the movement and repeated it on the broadcast. Spiritual Mapping, which will be discussed at length in the second part of this essay, is premised on a recent evangelical understanding of world history as an ongoing battle between the devil and God; this battle is fought in "spiritual" ways but in the earthly, concrete places where humans live. Further, God has opened up the present time as a new opportunity for Christians to become warriors in this cosmic battle, and act as intercessors and spiritual warriors "on assignment" to fight the devil. They do this by mapping his activities and undoing his pacts, casting out his demons, and "reclaiming" the earth and its peoples for Jesus. So Pat Robertson's comments sounded perfectly reasonable to his audience of believers, who understand the world in terms of demonic activity that must be countered by Christian prayer. He was referring to an event that was indeed written into Haitian history and schoolbooks as a founding moment in the national story: the ceremony at Bois Caïman.

The story of Bois Caïman—an iconic one for Haitian patriots, nationalists and artists—has been written about, painted, dramatized, and rendered in poetry countless times. It is said that during a nighttime gathering at a place called Bois Caïman (Alligator Woods) in the north of colonial Saint-Domingue on 14 August 1791, several hundred slaves from different ethnic groups united under a leader named Boukman and vowed to fight the French who ruled the colony and used forced labor to fuel the sugar industry. Haitian writer Stephen Alexis wrote this dramatic version of the occasion in 1949:

> [Boukman] wore the long garment of *papa-loi* [spirit-priest], the red robe of sacrifice, and in his right hand glittered a heavy sword. In a deep, hollow voice, he began to chant his savage hymn of doom, calling down on the Negroes all the blessings of the invisible powers . . . At a sign from Boukman, acolytes brought him a gazelle, a pig, and a goat which were killed and disemboweled, and the entrails poured out. Each man present slowly approached, plunged his hands into the entrails, and raised them, vowing aloud as he did so that he would suffer death rather than continue to be a slave. (Alexis, 1949: 25–26)

Standard histories of Haiti recount that two weeks later the slaves rebelled, set fire to sugar plantations, and launched the Revolution. After eleven years of war, during which slavery was abolished, the Haitian nation broke free from French colonial rule and declared independence on 1 January 1804. Driven by the initial religio-political catalyst of resolve and unity at the ceremony at Bois Caïman, Haiti became the first independent Black republic in the Americas.

The story of the ceremony at Bois Caïman was taken up by an aggressive wave of evangelical missionaries in the 1990s, who recast the narrative with a new Christian interpretation. I will elaborate its logics below, but the gist of it is this: The enslaved Africans appealed to their ancestral gods and not to Jesus Christ, and since the African gods are pagan gods, they must have been demonic forces—in effect, devils. Boukman's

vow to the "invisible powers" to be free, and the sacrifice of the pig, therefore, made up the components of a pact with Satan. According to this logic, the pact was understandable in the sense that the enslaved people were victims of terrible injustice at the hands of the French. They naturally reached for freedom by any means. But biblical, "spiritual" law being what it is, and founding national events being what they are, the slaves had (perhaps even unwittingly) inaugurated Satan as the ruler of Haiti. Moreover, to this very day, Haitians who continue Afro-Creole traditional religious practices "ratify" that initial "covenant" every time they address the spirit world. It is this terrible diplomatic deal and its ongoing activation that explains the downward political and economic spiral of the country. Initially theologized in the 1980s by Argentinian and North American evangelicals who inaugurated the Spiritual Mapping movement, this logic came to make sense to a vocal minority of Haitians. Haitian theologians and pastors then went on to elaborate the idea and have filled in interpretive details from their own cultural perspective. (This branch of neo-evangelicalism is also called the Third Wave movement, and it is this movement I will reference with the simple terms "neo-evangelical" or "evangelical" throughout this paper, for the sake of style.[1])

Pastor Yvette is one such Haitian evangelical who understands Haiti in terms of Christians' battle with Satan and his legions of demons. When I visited her neo-pentecostal, 2500-person congregation six months after the earthquake, they were living in an encampment for Internally Displaced Persons on a soccer field in Port-au-Prince. Through their sanctified condition and strict codes of holiness (daily prayer, modesty, sharing, obedience, fasting, etc.), they were in direct communication with the Holy Spirit. Twelve prophets in the congregation were anointed with gifts of the spirit and could speak in tongues, heal, and prophesy. God repeatedly gave the church a message: He loved Haiti and was shaking it in judgment for the sins of its people. Their sins included not only Haitians' worship of idols in Vodou, but also corruption, thievery, sexual iniquities, and the prideful divisions within the Body of Christ, the Christian community. The prophets explained that God loves Haiti and wants the nation to experience a Christian revival before the imminent end of time. The whole nation must repent before God, take possession of Haiti for Jesus, and thereby undo the fateful pact with the devil (see McAlister, Forthcoming).

This essay first explores the origin of the story of Bois Caïman (fascinating in itself) and the ways Haitian intellectuals and artists found inspiration in the story of the slaves' unity and determination to fight for freedom; this section relies on the painstaking scholarship of others. Next, through fieldwork, interviews, and using archival missions' sources, I trace the evangelical history of the concept of the Haitian pact with the devil and reconstruct the way Protestants formed it out of a nationalist mythology already in place. While the neo-evangelical story circulates on websites and blogs, nobody has yet pieced together how, precisely, it came about. Here I trace the politics, transnational flows and neo-evangelical logic that gave rise to this narrative of extreme demonization.

The contest over the meaning of Bois Caïman pits the political afterlife of a slave revolt against the political afterlife of biblical scripture. It is a case, in part, of competing national mythographies about a country long in crisis and the efforts of some citizens to rewrite national history as a way to create a more empowering identity for the present and the sense of a more secure future. Yet the empowerment they seek comes at the

expense of others—those affiliated with the traditional Afro-Creole religion known as Vodou. The evangelical project appropriates core symbols of Haitian nationalism and of Vodou and reworks them in a Christian register to give the story a new meaning. Evangelicals do not dispute the facts of the story or deploy professional historiographic arguments to recast its meaning. Rather, they re-signify the elements of the story theologically, putting in place the logic of biblical laws and the mythic grammar of evangelical Christianity's dualistic categories of good and evil. Simply put, for evangelicals, the ceremony may have birthed political independence, but it also inaugurated an epoch of spiritual slavery.

The images of the past thus offer themselves to neo-evangelical spiritual mappers as a tool in uncovering the demonic "motor of history" (see Dubois, 2003) that they believe has driven the course of events in Haiti. Once uncovered, historical events that are "discerned" to have been "legal spiritual transactions" must be undone in order to save Haiti. These historical events, in a process somewhat akin to Taussig's formulation of "history as sorcery," are "sometimes objectified as magically empowered imagery capable of causing misfortune" (Taussig, 1984: 87). The task of the spiritual warrior is to undo history by exorcizing it.

It is worth noting that this new evangelical demonization of Vodou is not actually new in its essence. Many scholars have written about how Catholic missionaries in the colonial period and after linked African ancestral spirits to the devil (e.g. Dayan, 1995; Ramsey, 2011). Elsewhere, I have written about how Europeans even triangulated their ideas about Africans with their pre-existing anti-Judaism, equating Vodouists with "the Jews who killed Christ" and demonizing Africans by analogy with the Hebrews who had supposedly refused to accept the messiah (McAlister, 2004). But the contemporary "satanic pact" story was produced out of different historical circumstances, operates according to a distinct logic in a new tone, and circulates with new digital technologies, for use in a new political landscape.

The evangelical version of the Bois Caïman narrative is highly controversial, judging by the scores of commentators who reacted against Pat Robertson repeating it on the air. It stresses that Haitian actions—reaching into the unseen world—were not the catalyst of the first successful slave revolt, but rather, the cause of all that is negative in Haiti, even the earthquake. The story punishes the slaves already wronged by injustice, rather than the French (who are cast as sinners in the evangelical story, yet go unpunished). And the story demonizes the iconic ceremony at Bois Caïman, thereby attacking a central source of Haitian national pride—the achievement of the first successful national slave revolt and the first Black independent republic. It also epitomizes racist thought, as it equates African religiosity with evil. The recast narrative forecloses a major source of empowerment long elaborated by Haitian intellectuals and everyday nationalists alike: pride in an identity firmly rooted in African culture, linked to a politics of Black liberation and decolonization (see Beauvoir, 2006).

It is indeed a puzzle for many onlookers that any Haitians would themselves subscribe to the demonization of their national culture and assist in crafting a counter-narrative that would seem so illogical, and so disempowering. This was a guiding question for me in watching this story unfold over the last twenty years and in interviewing some of its proponents. Some have argued to me that Haitians who hold Third Wave beliefs are dupes of

American neo-imperialism. Perhaps that is the end of the matter for some, but my assumption must be that born-again Haitians who hold this view are both intelligent and able to decide for themselves how to theologize the world. I decided to take seriously the Spiritual Mapping movement narrative and delve into its production. This essay aims to present a satisfying answer to the question of how, and what it means that, some Haitian evangelicals would take this alternative, Christian nationalist stand.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot writes in *Silencing the Past* that "theories of history rarely examine in detail the concrete production of specific narratives" (Trouillot, 1995: 22). The case of the evangelical story of Bois Caïman provides the opportunity for such a study, where we "discover artisans of different kinds," who work to "deflect, or reorganize the work of the professionals." Indeed, this new story is not a production of professional history written by academic historians, but rather an historical narrative generated by theologians, evangelical pastors and everyday people. It is a form of nationalism from below, produced through a kind of "vernacular historical sensibility" (O'Brien, 2010: xvii) that is simultaneously an evangelical historical sensibility.

The competing narratives that neo-evangelicals and some Haitian nationalists tell about Bois Caïman make certain kinds of claims that rest on the assumption that the originary event that brings into being a people, a nation, or the like, is somehow paradigmatic and revelatory of the ongoing identity of the group. Such origin narratives that make important claims can usefully be understood as myths, which, I want to say at the outset, is not meant to belittle the stories—either nationalist, Vodouist or evangelical—as false and silly. Rather, I make use of the intellectual tools of scholars of religion who link mythmaking and social formation. For them, myths are "that small class of stories that possess both credibility and authority . . . akin to that of charters, models, templates, and blueprints" (Lincoln, 1992). Myths are best viewed as "active processes akin to verbs" (McCutcheon, 2000: 200). Through mythmaking, people evoke the sentiments through which they can construct society, either to preserve the status quo, or to "advance novel interpretations for an established myth and thereby change the sentiments (and society) it evokes" (Lincoln, 1992: 25–26). So mythmaking is the ordinary, everyday process of constructing, authorizing, and also contesting social identities or social formations (McCutcheon, 2000: 202). In looking at the process of mythmaking here, I peel back the story's many layers and take note of how people recast older discourses and symbols, whom the story empowers, and the ways that knowledge is disseminated. It is a case of mythmaking in the making (see Mack, 2008).

The question of who gets to myth-make is akin to the question of who writes history. It is telling that Frenchmen published the first accounts of Bois Caïman. The enslaved in the colony of Saint-Domingue enter into the historical record only during interrogations by French superiors (Geggus, 2002: 82). The writers of the historical record, through their use of literacy and publishing technology, are in significant positions of authority. Similarly, the class of successful mythmakers is restricted to those who can assert their narrative forcefully and repeatedly, often also in writing. But mythmakers have additional techniques at their disposal, including rumor, song, dance, poetry, art, drama, and the very powerful strategy of ritual. Ritual allows ordinary people to participate in mythmaking. Nationalist mythmakers ritualize remembering when children line up to sing and chant for flag days, memorial days, and independence days, and when Pastor Yvette

and others led their congregations in prayer and song to clear their tent camps of *lwa* (spirits), to reclaim Haiti in the name of Jesus after the earthquake, they ritualized evangelical nationalist mythmaking.

As evangelical mythmaking about Haitian history gains traction, it presents a case of competing nationalist identity formations, achieved through narrative and cast through religion, but with raced, gendered, and foreign relations dimensions (all of which I cannot explore here). While I have just called the new version a story "from below," it is crucial to keep in mind that the new narrative is being crafted in partnership with powerful transnational allies—American and other Christians. The transnational dimension of the evangelical narrative reveals that Protestants have opened a space for a global religious informal economy, which provides an opportunity for cross-fertilization and mutual identity-construction. I have written elsewhere that the story about Haiti's demonic genesis is a backwards mirror image of the evangelical historical sensibility in which the United States is a righteous nation, founded by Christians as a Christian nation, and blessed to be chosen by God for a special destiny. In contrast, Haiti, announced an American missionary in 1993, is "the only nation to be dedicated to Satan." In this sense, the neo-evangelical story aligns squarely with a strand of right-wing American civil religious mythmaking. Third Wave evangelicals in each country produce themselves through an Old Testament sensibility that calculates the relationship of each nation to the favor of God (McAlister, 2005).

Writing National History in Haiti: The Oath and the Blood

The Haitian nation came into existence when slaves and free persons fought an eleven-year revolutionary war, abolished slavery, and proclaimed independence on 1 January 1804. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) writes that the Haitian Revolution was so radically an overturning of European ontological assumptions and political order that it was "unthinkable" even as it was happening. All its elements fell outside the European conceptual frame of reference, and therefore, outside the realm of possibility. Europeans' racial assumptions of the fundamentally lower state of civilization of Africans, for example, made it impossible for Blacks to overthrow Whites. I want to add to Trouillot's argument that the Revolution was unthinkable also because pagans could not vanquish Christians. A corollary to the politics of race, the reversal of Christian historical teleology—in which Christianity will spread to the far corners of the earth and inaugurate the millennium—was impossible to think. Spiritual Mapping evangelicals underscore that impossibility anew, when they effectively assert that the Revolution was only possible with the help of the Prince of Darkness.

The historical conditions out of which the Haitian nation struggled to form itself were similar to the conditions under which Haitian historians had to labor: power, technology, literacy, publishing and the circulation of information had all been disproportionately owned by the French slaveholding colonists, who in turn used them against the Haitian rebels. Similarly obstructive, other nations in the world refused to recognize Haiti and instituted a series of embargoes and punitive measures that would handicap the nation for decades. So the project of representing their nation was made particularly difficult for Haitians, whose historians and nationalist mythmakers alike faced the task of creating

for the new nation what Anderson calls an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991: 6). In addition, national representations had, as everywhere, at least two audiences: those inside Haiti and an international community, still engaged in slavery, which looked on in hopes that Haiti would fail.

The questions of how to understand the role of enslaved African leaders and their ground-troops and how to represent their culturally specific modes of acting and speaking became charged ones. This was especially true when it came to the unseen world of African spirits, said to have been invoked at Bois Caïman. In her book *The Spirits and the Law*, on Afro-Creole religion and the law in Haitian history, Kate Ramsey points out that colonists were not able to fathom what we now term African-based religion *as* religion and spoke instead of "superstition," "fetishism" and "sorcery." However, colonists were afraid enough of the empowering potential of the slaves' spiritual practices that they took them seriously and promulgated a set of laws against them. Even after independence, the second Haitian president, Alexandre Pétion, in 1814 prohibited the gathering of "all dance groups... or associations which foster an *esprit de corps* and a hierarchy of position." Ramsey makes the point that it was "because popular religious organizations and leadership played a role in empowering rebels who first overthrew slavery, and ultimately French colonialism, that the new authorities placed them outside of the law" (Ramsey, 2011: 52).

Since the first days after independence, Haitians understood that they embodied the anomalous example of Black leadership and self-determination in the Americas. "At the ideological level, the early leaders of Haiti defined themselves as 'regenerators' or 'rehabilitators' of Africa; that is, they saw themselves as black representatives of Western civilization for black populations still under white domination" (Nichols, 1979: 35, cited in Magloire-Danton, 2005: 154). The intellectual piece of this project demanded an accounting and reconciling of the role of African-based culture and religion with the new, modern nation. Struggling to come into its own in an international arena dominated by nominally Christian nations, the project was, in effect, to create a civil religion for Haiti whose mythic symbols would both harness Roman Catholicism and reconcile it to the Afro-Creole cultural matrix of the people. As Terry Rey writes in an essay on the symbolic "chain of memory" linking history and cosmology in Haiti, politics and religion are deeply cross-layered. He points out that not only was 14–15 August the date of Bois Caïman, but it is also deeply significant as the Feast Day of Our Lady of the Assumption, one of the most popular saints in Haiti and namesake of both the Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haïtien cathedrals. "Popular Haitian history is thus mythologized in ways that inscribe saints (especially the Virgin Mary), ancestors, spirits, revolutionaries, and politicians alike in important dates such as August 14–15" (Rey, 2006: 208).

The question of how to narrate the ceremony at Bois Caïman has seemed to crystalize, in symbolic shorthand, the politics of political and religious meaning-making from the early days of the Revolution until the present. The historical record has been the subject of countless writings by historians and anthropologists. Ironically, the first written account of the ceremony was by Antoine Dalmas, a French doctor who fled Saint-Domingue during the insurrection. Written in the United States two years after the ceremony in the winter of 1793–1794, it was his report that was based on the interrogation of prisoners. He wrote:

> [They] celebrated a sort of feast or sacrifice in the middle of a wooded untilled plot on the Choiseul plantation, called le Caïman, where a very large number of Negroes assembled. An entirely black pig, surrounded by fetishes (*fétiches*), loaded with offerings each more bizarre than the other was the holocaust offered to the all-powerful spirit (*génie*) of the black race. The religious rituals that the negroes conducted while cutting its throat, the avidity with which they drank of his blood, the value they set in possessing a few of his bristles, a sort of talisman which, according to them, was to render them invulnerable, all serve to characterize Africans. That such an ignorant and besotted caste would make the superstitious rituals of an absurd and sanguinary religion serve as a prelude to the most frightful crimes was to be expected. (Dalmas, translated and cited in Hoffmann, 1999: 161)

Dalmas' haughty tone disparages its subjects. Joan Dayan (1995: 29) comments that although his account "seems an unlikely source for the spirits of liberation, what matters is how necessary the story remains to Haitians who continue to construct their identity not only by turning to the revolution of 1791 but by seeking its origins in a service quite possibly imagined by those who disdain it." Dayan points directly to two important points for our purposes here: that Haitians have worked against the grain of French and Catholic attitudes to cull knowledge about their history, and that nationalist mythmakers have nevertheless looked to Bois Caïman as a cornerstone on which to build their national identity.

One can also see that in Dalmas there is no mention of Boukman, a speech, an oath, renunciation of the Christian god, a priestess, a tree, or a thunderstorm; these elements would be added later by people farther removed across both history and geography. It is the blood, and especially the oath, that interest us here, because of the way neo-evangelicals would seize upon the idea of a "pact" in the contemporary era. It is one of the many ironies of this story that neither the speech, the renunciation of God, nor the oath appear until an account published twenty-eight years after the event, in Paris in 1819 by a Frenchman who had yet to visit Haiti. His writings, nevertheless, would circulate into the post-colony and throughout the French Antilles. Unlike Dalmas, Civique de Gastine meant his account as an anti-slavery testament, writing: "This speech [of the Orator] drew tears from all the listeners, and kindled in their hearts the desire for vengeance. The Orator ended with the account of general Ogé's martyrdom; they all swore to avenge his death and to perish rather than return to slavery. Then, they renounced the religion of their masters and, in order to gain the favor of the gods of their homeland (*patrie*), they sacrificed to them . . . " (Hoffmann, 1999: 164). According to historian David Geggus, "Gastine, a young French radical who had never visited Haiti, was the first writer to give the pre-revolutionary ceremony a specifically anti-Christian coloring and to associate it with a storm, an oath, and divination from entrails, in his case, a black ram's" (Geggus, 2002: 89). Later, neo-evangelicals will work to undo what some have argued was a fabulation by a French abolitionist in the first place.[2]

The oath to avenge injustice, the animal sacrifice, the renunciation of the whites' (Christian) god, and invoking the gods of the homeland, all became elements of the mythic grammar through which subsequent Haitian thinkers would work to construct what we might call a civil religious imaginary for the new nation. These elements signified proactive and collective agency, unity, self-determination, and an anti-European

stance that would be admired by later actors struggling against the continued hegemony of France, and then America. Ironically, the oath and the blood—as well as a tree pictured as a gathering spot—would also become key parts of the Christian mythic grammar (Mack, 2008) promoted by Spiritual Mapping evangelicals at the end of the twentieth century. All of these mythic images would become tools in the exorcism of history itself, and none would be more powerful than the performative pronouncement of the oath.[3]

The oath, in particular, carries ritual weight for both Christianity and national politics. Leaving aside the debate among Christian thinkers about whether or not Jesus admonished against oath-taking, the fact is that to declare one's country independent, to take an oath, to confess Christ, and to cast out demons in the name of Jesus, are all instances of speech acts. Such speech acts carry illocutionary force; that is, they produce an effect by and through the speaking of the statement. Very much like a sacrament, a speech act creates a change in the world; it 'is itself the deed that it effects' (Butler, 1997: 3, citing Austin, 1962: 52). The moment in which the revolutionaries vowed by their gods to claim their freedom became, for some evangelicals, the same moment in which the devil was engaged to rule over Haiti. And even at the same time that the oath is re-signified as part of a pact with the devil, the "African gods" of Bois Caïman are implicitly cast as demons.

In any case, through the centuries, Haitian intellectuals and artists have worked to incorporate the story of the oath and the African gods at Bois Caïman into the Revolution as part of a Haitian civil religion that would carve out a respectable place for ancestral religious practices. Michael Largey (2006: 13) helpfully notes: "As a practice of lower-class Haitians that has been put to use by elite Haitians in a variety of contexts, Vodou provides a look into the workings of elite historiographic constructions." As Roman Catholics, many elites have been ambivalent about Vodou, and this ambivalence has worked itself into discourses of Haitian nationalism. "In its capacity to instill revulsion in Haitian elites and fear in foreigners while providing a potential rallying point for Haitians wanting to distinguish themselves from outsiders, Vodou invokes what Michael Hertzfeld calls 'cultural intimacy,' or 'the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality'" (Largey, 2006: 13). If the awe-inspiring Revolution had been kicked off by a Vodou ceremony, then surely ancestral spirits were a driving force for self-determination; they helped generate heroic collective action and could be written into civil religion as a positive feature of culture.

As a response to the US Marine Occupation of 1915–1934, and in step with decolonizing cultural movements throughout the Americas, including Negritude and Pan-Africanism, Haitian nationalists contributed to the general effort to shift "African cultural traits" to occupy a position of positive value. The Haitian government opened its Bureau of Ethnology in the 1940s, tasked with studying African-based "traditional" culture. In the postwar period, Haitian ethnologists would work to fashion a normative place for Vodou in national culture. Ethnologists valorized the "heroic slave revolution" in a "counter-narrative to European cultural hegemony and North American colonialism" (Richman, 2007: 372). President François Duvalier, who would become a brutal dictator, began his career as an ethnologist who invested in efforts to recuperate a Haitian identity that would be pro-Black and African-culture-identified. Although he repressed

the adherents of the traditional practices, Duvalier promoted stylized representations of Vodou in folklore productions. The state invested in folkloric music and dance troupes that attracted tourists, anthropologists, and artists alike. Duvalier himself was famous for his impersonation of the Vodou spirit of the cemetery, Baron Samedi, during public speech making. His use of Vodou ended up as an instrument of control over the population rather than an affirmation of the culture. His son, who succeeded him, was ousted in 1986, and as the 1991 bicentennial of the Revolution drew close, Haiti had entered a period of political tumult and uncertainty.

The bicentennial of the Haitian Revolution, and thus of Bois Caïman, coincided with important political events of the 1990s and invited Haitians consciously to read the two periods, one against the other. In 1991, Jean-Bertrand Aristide was inaugurated president after a landslide election. He had been a Roman Catholic Salesian priest in the liberation theology tradition and spoke out forcefully against US structural readjustment programs. Against a political backdrop of opposition from elites and the business class that would eventually oust him, his administration worked to normalize Afro-Creole practices and to incorporate Vodou into development plans, civic life, and official historical memory.

In 1991 the Aristide government sponsored a bicentennial commemoration of Bois Caïman at the National Palace, and the Haitian parliament voted to make Boukman a national hero and the site a national landmark. After Aristide was ousted in a military coup d'état nine months into his presidency in September of 1991, Haitians protesting in the diaspora reminded themselves of the painful symbolism of the timing of the coup and the anniversary of Bois Caïman. At a rally in Brooklyn protesting the coup, Haitians declared they had a "'rendez-vous' with Lady Liberty, that constant companion since that liberating night of August 14th, 1791, until that liberating morning of February 7, 1991. The first date marks the Bois Caïman ceremony and the second, Aristide's inauguration, which some Haitians called 'Haiti's second independence'" (Opitz, 1999, citing *Haïti Progrès*, 22: 14–18).

After Aristide returned to Haiti in 1994, he held a conference for four hundred Vodouists at the National Palace, marking the first time in Haitian history that Vodou was publicly legitimated and formally recognized at a State ceremony. The president's opening speech was a poetic rendering evoking vèvè, the cornmeal drawings used in Vodou ceremonies, to call for democracy and justice:

> Let us make a vèvè of democracy so that the lwa of justice comes and dances in all of our heads. Make a vèvè of reconciliation so that the lwa of respect comes and dances in all of our heads. In the same way that we take flour to trace a vèvè on the ground, let us take the flour of justice and trace a vèvè of respect. So that I respect you and you respect me. We'll use our hands to trace democracy everywhere in this country. In this way we will have schools for the children. There will be food for everyone to eat, houses for everyone to live in, land for everyone to work. Our ancestors, it is for this they died, and we, their children, it is for this we work, to heal this ailing body. So that Haiti can stand up straight and tall, so that everyone feels that the spirit of our ancestors is alive and dancing in our heads. It is for this we continue tracing the vèvè of justice in the four corners of Haiti. (Aristide, translated and cited by Schnall, 1997)

Aristide was the first leader since François Duvalier to so explicitly harness Vodou to politics, but unlike Duvalier, his public mythmaking discourse attempted to incorporate the religion as part of a democratic, plural civil religion, intelligible to the majority for whom vèvè are stylized forms of spirit writing. To cast the image of a vèvè for democracy would be, in the ritual grammar of Vodou, to call down and become possessed by democracy. Aristide did this as part of a strategy to incorporate Vodouists into the nation officially and to make links between Vodou and state-sponsored development (Schnall, 1997).

However, as I will show in the following section, evangelicals in the United States and in Haiti decried the positive value the government was showing towards Vodouists. The more Aristide worked to incorporate and enfranchise Vodou, the more his opponents spoke out. The political stage became polarized into anti-Aristide and pro-Aristide camps struggling for economic power. Meanwhile, his opponents charged the president with committing nefarious acts of sorcery. Rumors circulated that the national commemoration of the Bois Caïman ceremony in 1991 would be a reenactment of the original event, complete with the "renunciation of God" and the drinking of pig's blood. According to rumor, the *oungan* (priest) chosen to officiate died suddenly, and a second *oungan* was chosen, who accidentally stabbed himself to death during a sacrifice. Finally, the ceremony went forward, but was cut short by heavy rain.

Longtime Haiti missionary Clinton Lane would elaborate on the anniversary ceremony in his missiology dissertation, writing:

> During a prayer meeting on the night of the [anniversary] ceremony, one young Protestant in La Suisse Church claimed a vision. He believed he saw Satan standing over the great tree of Caïman reaching out to take Haiti again. Suddenly, the voices of a great multitude of Christ-serving people began to quote the Scripture. They said that the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof. At the sound of this voice Satan turned and fled. (Lane, 1998: 71)

Two years later in 1993, word of this young person's prophetic vision would be reworked and cited as fact by evangelicals outside of Haiti, such as Patrick Johnston, compiler of the reference book *Operation World*, published by the organization Worldwide Evangelization for Christ. In Johnston's interpretation and that of other evangelicals in the Spiritual Mapping movement, the Aristide government's bicentennial commemoration of the ceremony at Bois Caïman was effectively a second "legal spiritual transaction" that re-dedicated the nation to the devil. Johnston wrote:

> In 1791 Haiti was dedicated to Satan. Voodooism is a pervasive evil that affects every level of Haitian society. The official recognition of Voodooism, the National Registration of Voodoo Practitioners and nationalistic spirits have led to intimidation of Christians—especially those who speak out against Voodooism. President Aristide re-dedicated the country to Voodooism in 1991 as its "cultural heritage"; shortly afterwards he was deposed. (Johnston, 1993, also cited in Louis, 1998: 94)

The bicentennial of the Revolution, juxtaposed against the inclusive policies of the Aristide government, underscored for people a way to link history to the political events of the present. For some evangelicals, political events could best be understood using what

they considered to be biblical logic, that is, biblical ideas that they extrapolated into the present. A new evangelical narrative that was a form of myth in the making was aimed at the Aristide administration and also at the genesis of the Haitian nation: the ceremony at Bois Caïman.

Evangelical Counter-Mythmaking: Exorcizing History

Evangelicals did not formulate the idea that Bois Caïman consisted of a "blood pact with Satan" suddenly out of thin air. Just as with the original story, several historical processes merged to give rise to new mythmaking and a new social formation. At least five interrelated factors were at work. First, as I have indicated, was the political contest revolving around Aristide's efforts to enfranchise the Haitian majority and to institute land redistribution and tax reforms, and the business class's opposition, ending in a coup d'état. The second factor was the Haitian and foreign evangelical community's reaction against the Aristide government's efforts to normalize Vodou and incorporate Vodouists. Third was that these current events were unfolding against the backdrop of the bicentennial of the Revolution, making the elements of national religio-political mythography stand out in relief, available for everyone to use in new forms of meaning-making. Fourth, these processes coincided with the rise of a new branch of thought within global evangelical missiology called the Church Growth Movement, together with its controversial offshoot, Spiritual Mapping. Fifth, the creation of email technology, which became broadly available in the 1990s, allowed the "blood pact with the devil" story to "go viral" and, later, to be reproduced on scores of evangelical websites, often as a fundraising tool. To begin to account for how these factors converged to produce the new demonic narrative of Bois Caïman, it may help to back up briefly to take in the long view of Protestantism in Haiti.

Protestantism was a presence in the colonial period and has woven an increasingly important thread throughout Haitian history. The first active Protestant mission was established in 1817. After a lull, the period from 1822 to 1945 saw thirty-seven different missions build bases in Haiti (Romain, 1986). These missions originated in the North, outgrowths of the earlier faith revival in the United States, and were dispatched by traditional Protestant denominations, mostly Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist. They presented an alternative political, cultural, and theological power to Catholicism. It was an American Methodist pastor, for example, who devised the first orthography of Haitian Kreyòl, thus disrupting the hegemony of French language and culture.

The United States Marine occupation of the country from 1915 to 1934 accelerated Protestant growth and ten new denominations came to Haiti; the two fastest growing were the Adventist and Pentecostal (Romain, 1986: 346). Mission activity increased dramatically in 1957, when François Duvalier took power. Fredrick Conway notes wryly that Duvalier may as well have been called the "Father of Protestantism in Haiti," because while he conspicuously identified with Vodou, he also promoted and supported foreign missionaries from the United States. American Protestants were known to avoid involvement in political affairs and would draw believers away from the Catholic Church while remaining pliant in the face of military rule (Conway, 1978: 166). Protestants embraced the use of technology to evangelize, and in 1958 the Oriental Missionary

Society founded Radio 4VEH, followed in 1959 by the West Indies Mission's founding of Radio Lumière, both of which are major radio stations to the present day (World-Vision/MARC, 1971).

From mid-century to the present, evangelicalism has become especially popular in Haiti as a religious movement independent of mission Christianity, leading some to estimate that a third of the population is now Protestant (Hurbon, 2001: 122). Linked historically, culturally, and often institutionally to US missions, evangelicalism creates extensive networks that reach throughout the world. By the 1970s, the American Baptists, World Vision International, Campus Crusade for Christ, Youth With A Mission, and others were launching what they termed "major saturation evangelism campaigns" throughout Haiti with names such as "Christ for All" and "Christ in Every Home," and distributing transistor radios by the thousands (World-Vision/MARC, 1971). From both directions—Haiti and the US—evangelicals participated eagerly in the increasing transnationalization of the Haitian social sphere.

Haitian pastors went frequently to the United States and beyond to study in seminaries and Bible colleges, often returning to plant churches and to participate in politics. Notable examples include Charles Poisset Romain, who studied at the Baptist Theological Seminary in Haiti and then earned a doctorate in sociology at the Sorbonne; he wrote *Le Protestantisme dans la Société Haïtienne* in 1986. He was a Minister of Education and ran for president in 2005. Chavannes Jeune studied development and communication at Chicago's Wheaton College in 1983 and did post-doctoral study in theology, sociology and development administration at Columbia Bible School in North Carolina. Jeune was vice-president of Haiti in the de-facto government of 1988–1989 after the fall of Duvalier and campaigned for president in 2005 and again in 2010 after the earthquake. As I will elaborate below, Chavannes Jeune and his cousin Joel Jeune have been perhaps the most prominent and activist evangelical Haitians to promote the "pact with Satan" story. The Jeunes, like many other Haitian pastors, are members of the Haitian Protestant Federation and have enjoyed transnational fellowship and partnership with a great number of evangelicals worldwide, such as the Reverend Billy Graham, Reverend Franklin Graham of Samaritan's Purse, Thomas Fortson of Promise Keepers, David Paul Yonggi Cho of the Yoiddo Full Gospel Church in Seoul, Korea, Vernon Brewer of World Help, Bishop Ezra Sarganum of the Evangelical Church of India, and many others.

With the increase in evangelical cross-fertilization throughout the hemisphere came the more typical evangelical understanding of spiritual energy. One main difference between evangelicals and traditional Protestants was their orientation towards the cosmology and ontology of Vodou. Protestants arriving in Haiti were confirmed in their anti-Catholicism when they witnessed the creolized correspondences between Catholicism and Vodou—what Haitians called "le mélange." The majority of the population that claimed Catholicism as its national religion was oriented also to African ancestral practices, which included an elaborately developed priesthood, pantheon of spirits, and cyclical and personal rites of passage including funerary rites, supported by a cosmology and basic worldview foundational to Vodou and not Catholicism. Characteristic of mainline Protestants was the view that belief in non-Christian spirits is a superstitious, ontologically false belief standing in the way of modern progress and a proper understanding

of Christ. Evangelicals, on the other hand, were likely to engage with the spirit entities of Vodou as if they were real adversaries populating the spiritual plane.

Through the lens of evangelicalism, missionaries and Haitians together crafted new narratives about Haitian history and traditional culture. These narratives, while using the same scriptures as the Catholic clergy, were weighted differently in Protestantism. Whereas the saints had lent themselves to syncretism with Vodou spirits, Protestants would stress the absolute authority of Jesus Christ and the absolute irreconcilability—even opposition—of Vodou with Christianity. For Pentecostals in particular, Vodou spirits were as real as Christ himself, and were in fact demons working as the foot soldiers of Satan. Though they are all Christian, then, the theologies and goals of Catholics, traditional Protestants and evangelicals in Haiti are not the same.[4] Their stories and the stories they created about Haiti, its past and its religion also have a different effect on their Haitian converts.

Making converts—evangelizing—is a priority of evangelical missions. It is not enough to offer the "good works" of charity, mercy, education, relief aid, or simple solidarity, as has been the thrust of many mainline Protestant missions in Haiti and elsewhere. Evangelicals are defined, even in their very name, by the "burden" placed on their "hearts" to spread the Good News of the Gospel. Starting in the 1960s, Bible colleges and seminaries began to emphasize the necessity to convert *large numbers* of souls to Christianity as part God's plan for the Second Coming and the new millennium. The Church Growth Movement, begun by Yale graduate and long-time missionary to India Donald A. McGavran, became a major influence in seminaries and concerned itself with understanding the conditions necessary for people to accept Christ and convert to Christianity. One factor that aids receptivity, wrote McGavran, is to influence large groups, such that collective decisions and actions would lead to conversions of "people movements." A paramount strategy was to apply a social scientific approach, studying the anthropology and sociology of the people they were evangelizing, with the aim of converting people in large numbers (Holvast, 2009: 17–18).

The doctoral dissertations in missiology and ministry of several American missionaries reveal the links between Haiti and the Church Growth and Spiritual Mapping movements. Missionaries put a fair amount of energy into trying to understand the ancestral religious practices of Haitians. They cite ethnographic accounts of Alfred Métraux, Harold Courlander, and others, and reproduce several of those post war era scholars' analyses of the African content of Vodou. Clinton Lane is one such missionary, who spent more than twenty years at the Christian Center of the North starting in the 1970s. In his missiology dissertation from Asbury Theological Seminary in Wilmore, Kentucky, he paraphrases folklorist Harold Courlander saying, "Voodoo is the glue that holds Haiti together," and works to outline both its positive aspects (its guidelines for social behavior, its herbal medicine) and its negative aspects (its basis in fear, distrust, and a drive for power) (Lane, 1998: 55–56).

Lane and other students quote Charles Kraft and C. Peter Wagner, the most prominent proponents of the techniques of Spiritual Mapping. Both were on faculty at the Fuller Theological Seminary, and Wagner was particularly influential as a Professor of Church Growth who was also a prolific writer and speaker. Wagner taught courses on Spiritual Mapping at Fuller in the 1990s (Holvast, 2009: 40) which were likely attended by

missionaries working in Haiti. Together Wagner and Kraft worked out an approach that would prove controversial, even in evangelical circles. They extended the pragmatic, managerial, and social scientific approach to Church Growth from the visible world to the *unseen world*. Wagner and Kraft read scholarship in anthropology in order to understand the specific spiritual forces that they believed affected—and afflicted—the people they were working to convert. This process centered on reading history, ethnography, and sociology, and attending to the spiritual forces working in a given locale, and then "mapping" them so that missionaries could understand—and do battle with—any demonic activity that might be working to thwart church growth and large-scale evangelization. By using spiritual warfare as leverage to convert large numbers of people, Spiritual Mappers could change social structures and hasten the return of Christ. "This is why I believe that *history belongs to the intercessors*," wrote Wagner (1992: 93).

Wagner taught that believers can play an active role in bringing about the second coming of Christ by aggressively and strategically spreading the gospel. In areas where people were Christianized but still not living Christian lives, were suffering, or experiencing extreme poverty or violence, the Church was faced with a situation of "demonic entrenchment," where demonic "territorial spirits" may be holding "people groups" in a form of spiritual slavery. In his books *Engaging the Enemy* (1991) and *Warfare Prayer (1992)*, Wagner explains the premises of Spiritual Mapping: that Satan and his demons are real, that Satan is engaged in a spiritual war against God in the unseen world, that Satan's hosts include "territorial spirits" that may be identified by name, and that some Christians are called to be intercessors, to engage in battle with territorial spirits by name in aggressive spiritual warfare (Wagner, 1991). As in the case of African slaves in Haiti, the origins of these demonic territorial spirits may be collective trauma, which may have led people, in desperation, to enter into pacts with ancestral spirits. Says George Otis, Jr, a developer of Spiritual Mapping: "In return for a particular deity's consent to resolve their immediate traumas, they have offered up their singular and ongoing allegiance. It is through the placement of these ancient welcome mats, then, that demonic territorial strongholds are established'" (Otis, 1993: 30–31). Missionaries would come to apply these ideas directly to the ceremony at Bois Caïman. Wrote missionary Lane, "Haiti's oral tradition tells us that Boukman, looking to heaven, denounced God because He could not deliver them from slavery and then gave the country of Haiti to the Voodoo spirits if they would deliver Haiti" (Lane, 1998: 32).

The first explicit application of Spiritual Mapping theology to Bois Caïman that I have found so far is by North American David Taylor writing a 1993 PhD dissertation in Missiology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. Like Haitian nationalists, he discusses the Bois Caïman ceremony as the foundational moment of the Haitian nation, quoting the 1949 account of Alexis, as I have done at the opening of this essay. In a telling passage, he reveals that it was North Americans such as himself who pressed the idea of a "satanic pact" on Haitian seminarians and tells of the resistance Haitians had to the idea. Applying Wagner's idea of "territorial demons," he writes:

> There are Haitians who have argued with me that the Bois Caïman experience should not be interpreted as a demonic incident. Rather it should be viewed politically or socially. It is very awkward for a white foreigner to present the case for a Satanic origin to their country

> since their independence is such a vital part of what precious little national pride they have. A Satanic origin naturally would be viewed negatively, particularly by ministerial candidates! Nevertheless, the weight of evidence is in the Satanic direction. My suggestion is that during this ceremony a host of territorial demons was let loose in Haiti that not only gained for it its independence but also created for it the ecological, economic, moral and political disasters it is infamous for around the globe today. (Taylor, 1993: 101–102)

Taylor cites anthropological works to discuss the history and ethnography of Haitian Vodou, and in the legal language typical of the Third Wave movement, stresses the "Satanic" "weight of evidence." Ironically, he quotes a 1984 text by Weinstein and Segal titled *Haiti: Political Failures, Cultural Successes*, saying: "Even secular writers such as Weinstein and Segal can make the following conclusion: 'Out of slavery into other forms of oppression, Haitians have fashioned their own responses to the cruelty of fate. It is a response that reaffirms their ties to their Haitian and African ancestors'" (cited in Taylor, 1993: 102). Once African ancestors were redescribed as demonic, even ethnographic writings—*especially* those linking Haitian religious culture to African sources—confirmed the Spiritual Mapping premise that anything non-Christian was evil. It was through these neo-evangelical logics of Spiritual Mapping, taught at seminaries and Bible colleges, that both American and Haitian seminarians worked intellectually to connect Haitian Afro-Creole religion and Bois Caïman to the demonic, and thus to a neo-evangelical paradigm centered on the battle between evil and good.

The flow of information and people involved in Spiritual Mapping ran from the US to Haiti to the US and back again. One Haitian Protestant intellectual, André Jeantil Louis, wrote a doctoral dissertation in 1998 at Fuller Theological Seminary under the direction of Charles Kraft, author of *Defeating Dark Angels* (1992), who taught and promoted Spiritual Mapping along with Wagner. Kraft was particularly interested in anthropological works on animism and became convinced that animism and biblical figures share the same worldview. This is to say that both for animists and in biblical stories, there are invisible spirits who are actively involved in the human sphere (Kraft, 2002: 224, cited in Holvast, 2009). Kraft taught that Christians must use what was termed the "power encounter," the visible, dramatic display of Christ's power over elements of the human world. Miracles, healings, and other gifts of the Holy Spirit such as deliverance from personal demons, speaking in tongues, and prophecy, were all tools Christ gave believers to fight the devil and win converts. He drew from the gospel to encourage missionaries to face local demons and cast them out, reminding them that when Jesus sent out his twelve disciples "... *He gave them power over unclean spirits, to cast them out*" (Matt. 10:1). Kraft taught that evangelization is most effective when carried out not through reason, but by demonstrating that "the old religion had lost its powers and fears" (Holvast, 2009: 21–33).

The dissertation that Haitian seminarian Louis wrote under Kraft follows Kraft's ethnographic method to outline the elements of the "demonic" in Haitian Vodou. He draws from classic sources on Vodou such as Milo Rigaud and Alfred Métraux to outline Vodou practices at length and then applies Christian interpretations using Kraft, Wagner, and Christian works on the occult such as Rodger Bufford's *Counseling and the Demonic*. He writes of Vodou solving the medical problems of its followers and works

to prescribe ministry methods for demon-possessed people, as well as for the non-possessed but still demon-afflicted (Louis, 1998: 300). He stresses the importance of education and reaching the poor and non-literate through culturally appropriate methods of storytelling, drama, and music. He concerns himself with community-level, contemporary mission work. Returning to Haiti, he worked as a pastor and a lawyer in the evangelical social circles around Port-au-Prince. But he does not focus on Haitian history and stops short at addressing himself to Bois Caïman. While some Haitian evangelical theologians viewed the Bois Caïman ceremony as a demonic pact, not all did by any means. In fact, many, if not most, resisted the idea.

Those who *were* drawn to the Spiritual Mapping and spiritual warfare approach joined an international network of intercessors and prayer warriors. In addition to the transnational circuits of seminarians doing intellectual labor, pastors were traveling across emerging global networks, learning, fellowshipping, praying and exchanging viewpoints and techniques. Pastor Joel Jeune was a prominent Haitian evangelical, active on Protestant radio throughout Haiti since the 1970s. In 1991, Paul Yonggi Cho invited Pastor Jeune to visit the Yoidi Full Gospel Church in Seoul. This megachurch was already the biggest in the world, boasting half a million members. Pastor Cho himself was said to have preached two services each day, seven days a week, and was known for his charismatic style as well as his promotion of a spiritual warfare worldview. Cho made a deep impression on Jeune, who began to reflect on what God might be saying about Haiti's territorial spirits. Throughout the 1990s, Pastor Joel Jeune attended workshops and conferences in the United States and elsewhere on various aspects of ministry, church growth and Spiritual Mapping. He learned of other ministers' and missionaries' approaches to conversion in places in the developing world where non-Christian religions including "animism" and "paganism" prevailed. The idea, developed by Wagner, Kraft, and others, that some places, cities, or nations were both suffering and particularly difficult to evangelize, and that the reason was to be found in embedded spiritual forces working invisibly in the culture, made sense to him. Others working in the mission field were convinced that the best remedy for such cases of "demonic entrenchment" was to wage spiritual warfare (Jeune, 2001).

The Spiritual Mapping movement teaches that Christian intercessors, known as "prayer warriors," can choose to accept "assignments" to do battle with "territorial spirits" if they feel called to such work by the Holy Spirit. An intercessor may call together a "prayer team" for a "prophetic prayer action" on the "spiritual battlefield." The warfare is not supposed to be aggressive to anyone or anything in the material world, but consists of round-the-clock fasting and prayer in the spiritual realm. Drawing on Ephesians 6, prayer warriors "put on the whole armor of God," that they may be able to "stand against" the "wiles of the devil." Working "in the spirit," they "gird their loins with truth," and "don the breastplate of righteousness." They "take up the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit," and mount "prayer marches," walking around demonic spots rebuking the devil and his army in order to "pull down strongholds," that is, places where demons live and operate. If they know the names of ancestral spirits, they cast out demons by name. Most importantly, the Holy Spirit is invited to enter the space and spread His healing grace. The results of such prayer warfare would be transformative: people would be healed, crops would grow,

social unrest and division would resolve, and the group or nation would finally experience abundance and prosperity.

Pastor Joel Jeune had been vocal in his opposition to Afro-Creole religious practices for many years on the radio. He decided in the mid-1990s that it was time to do something more concrete. "This is when I felt that God was talking to my spirit to do something more significant," he told me in an interview (Jeune, 2010). Others in the Spiritual Mapping movement had developed a strategy of large-scale, public crusades featuring believers marching to a spot infested with demons and praying publicly. The technique was used as an example in workshops and conferences and was said to have been particularly successful in spiritual warfare efforts in Argentina in the 1980s. After several televised rituals, including one in which he burned a picture of the pig symbolizing the sacrifice at Bois Caïman, Pastor Jeune felt it was time to stage a larger prayer action. In 1997, Jeune's church members put up notices around the National Palace and the downtown area announcing they would be dedicating Bois Caïman to Jesus on 14 August.

Gathering the people who came forward, including several Haitian-Americans, the evangelicals took buses and trucks from Port-au-Prince to the north, to the site commonly known to be Bois Caïman. There, the church and their guests staged a spiritual warfare crusade and exorcism of the land that would come to international attention and effectively remythologize the Bois Caïman story, first for the evangelical public in Haiti, then for evangelicals worldwide. The dramatic public revival would recombine the elements of the nationalist mythic grammar of Bois Caïman into a powerful ritual reversal in the Christian register. The story of the ritual bled from evangelical networks into the broader public sphere through countless repetitions on emails, and then websites. It would be reiterated at points of political crisis in the decade of the 2000s and again by Pat Robertson after the catastrophic 2010 quake.

Jeune had studied the techniques developed by other warriors elsewhere and performed one particularly powerful ritual: a "Jericho March." The Jericho March draws its symbolism from the Book of Joshua, when the Israelites entered Canaan at God's command and demolished the city of Jericho by walking seven times around the city blowing trumpets. The technique was therefore to replicate the Israelite action by encircling a city, building, or spot believed to be a demonic stronghold, marching around it seven times, and through prayer and exhortation, dissolve the stronghold in the name of Jesus. This spiritual warfare battle maneuver would exorcize the devil from the tree standing as a focusing spot at Bois Caïman (Jeune, 2001).

After the event, Bishop Jeune would write up his account for another pastor, Reverend Gerry Seale, when both were sharing a room while attending a Promise Keeper rally in Washington, DC. Reverend Seale was General Secretary of the Evangelical Association of the Caribbean and the Caribbean coordinator of a campaign called "March for Jesus." He was also the regional coordinator of the AD2000 and Beyond Movement, a global network of Spiritual Mapping movement evangelicals with a headquarters in Colorado Springs and under the supervision of Peter Wagner. The goal of AD2000 was to "break principalities and powers" by the year 2000, and by 1997, momentum was building throughout the Spiritual Mapping movement and beyond. Reverend Seale was thrilled to hear of Bishop Jeune's crusade and success in "declaring Bois Caïman for Christ." He circulated Jeune's report to numerous Spiritual Mapping organizations, several of

which published it on their listservs. Through this ritual exorcism and its wide circulation via the publicity efforts of Spiritual Mapping movement members, the new evangelical mythmaking about the Haitian Revolution made its way into the written record, and thus into popular history.

Pastor Jeune used logic consistent with Kraft, Wagner, and Otis in describing how the slaves at Bois Caïman ended up doing business with the devil. His report stated:

> The slaves brought from Africa went through many, many years of so much cruel treatment and atrocious sufferings from the slave masters in complicity with the Catholic Church who blessed the slave market and thought that black was the colour of the devil, therefore black slaves didn't have a soul. That terrible situation caused the slaves to turn away from our loving God in heaven to their tribal gods of Africa for help. (Jeune, 1997)

In Jeune's reasoning, the enslaved Africans were the double victims of French slavery and Roman Catholic racism and complicity. It was this double sin, this "terrible situation," that forced the Africans into their spiritual deal with their tribal gods. Jeune went on to explain that at Bois Caïman "they had a satanic ceremony, killed a pig, and drank the blood, swearing and dedicating Haiti to serve the devil. All Haitian historians believe and teach that Haiti's independence in 1804 came from that satanic ceremony." Eliding the nationalist valorization of Vodou, Jeune presented the satanic as a natural and self-evident category. His dramatic report continued:

> As we approached that satanic field where no Christian has ever before been, it was not easy for us. The power of witchcraft was so strong and the air so heavy. As we pushed our way towards that big tree where the pig had been slain, we really had to be violent in the Spirit, praying, rebuking, fighting, and casting out the devil and all his spirits. The battle raged until we broke into a Jericho March seven times around that big witchcraft tree . . . and . . . the seventh time we all felt that the heavy power of the devil had been lifted and God gave many people a vision of the devil flying and leaving that place. Joyful noises and victory shouts went up to God as we rejoiced over God's victory.
>
> We took communion together and applied the blood of Jesus to the land under that same tree where the blood of the pig had been shed. We canceled the satanic contract and broke the curse. We consecrated the place to Jesus Christ as a prayer center, claimed Haiti back to God forever, and claimed August 14 as a National Day of Prayer. After the day of fasting, prayer, marching, and the big crusade with many thousands attending and many decisions for Christ (including some of the witch doctors) we went back to Port-au-Prince rejoicing. (Jeune, 1997)

We can notice, once again, that the oath, a key element of mythic grammar for standard Haitian history makers, is also at the center of the struggle to name reality on the part of the spiritual warriors. Assuming that the original oath of Boukman had actually dedicated Haiti to the devil, a second oath was necessary to undo the pact. The prayer warfare method of rebuking the devil entails a strong Christian believer speaking aloud to castigate, shame, and discipline the demons by denying their right to occupy the space. Casting out the devil and his spirits is a speech act with sacramental force, as the believer, acting under the authority of Jesus, and "in the name of Jesus," is "legally" empowered,

by God's cosmic law, to evict the spirits in the unseen world. The group "cancelled the contract," "broke the curse," "consecrated the place to Jesus" and "claimed August 14th as a national day of prayer." These statements name, identify, and change the world through the process of their uttering. In their ritual spectacle, even in its description afterwards, they seek to convince the world that they effected the change they named. By performing this spectacular ritual at the original site and on its anniversary, the evangelicals were counting on their privileged understanding of biblical law to move Haiti forward and for themselves to be anointed leaders of the new era.

But not everybody appreciated the spiritual warriors' efforts, and people from nearby Cap-Haïtien protested this invasion of out-of-towners and their aggressive proselytizing, especially when they preached against Vodou from street corners in the city (Beauvoir-Dominique, 2000: 57–58). The crusade also caused an uproar in the capital, and many considered it an insult to national pride. A coalition of popular organizations called the Initiative Group for the Commemoration of 207 Years of Bois Caïman revealed on the radio that the crusade was funded by Americans at the International Republican Institute to erode Haitian national sovereignty (n.a., 1998). The government issued an order prohibiting the Protestants from assembling at Bois Caïman again.

Bishop Jeune would not be discouraged, however, and in 1998 he collaborated with two other pastors from Cap-Haïtien. Along with Pastors Gregory Joseph and Berthony Paul, they announced their intention to hold another prayer meeting at the famous revolutionary site. These northern pastors too had transnational Spiritual Mapping connections; Pastor Paul worked closely with the Christian Center of the North where Lane, whose seminary dissertation had worked out the Spiritual Mapping of Bois Caïman, was a long-time missionary (Joseph, 2001; Lane 1998: 13). Going to pray at the site before the August 14th anniversary, the three pastors were arrested. It was reported in several places that the American ambassador intervened to secure permission for the church to exercise its religious rights there. In their statements to the press, the pastors pronounced a victory, "a breakthrough. Haiti has reached a historical turning point."

The arrest of the pastors allowed evangelicals to claim religious persecution, and they made a documentary video describing their ordeal that circulated in Haitian evangelical households and throughout the diaspora. The pastors are filmed in the back of a flatbed truck holding their handcuffed wrists aloft proudly, and the caption below announces "Pastors Handcuffed for Christ!" Through the public and performative attack on the spirits living at the revolutionary site, evangelicals attempted at once to rewrite Haiti's past and turn a corner to a new future.

But after several years, Haiti had not experienced the peace and abundance the neo-evangelicals were hoping for. The year 2004 would mark the bicentennial of independence itself, and just as during the 1991 bicentennial of Bois Caïman, many evangelicals wove sacred and secular history into a narrative about the nation that cast Aristide as, once again, opening the door to demonic influence. In 2003, Aristide's government had moved to recognize Vodou as an official religion of Haiti (in addition to Roman Catholicism), stating that Vodou is "an ancestral religion" and "an essential part of national identity." Vodou priests were invited to register with the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs in order to be able to perform legally binding marriages, baptisms and funerals. Newspapers reported that "the authorities consider that it is the duty of the State to

protect the cultural heritage of the nation," and went on to portray Vodou practitioners as agents of "the social, political and moral development of the Haitian people" (AHP, 2003). Meanwhile, as the bicentennial of the independence of 1804 drew near, the political climate heated up and polarized around Aristide's progressive economic policies and various attempts were made to destabilize the government. For many Catholics and Protestants alike, recognizing Vodou was anti-Christian and unwise. Not only that, many suspected Aristide of enfranchising Vodouists in order to empower his popular base of political supporters. Once again, religious and political mythmaking went hand in hand.

Pastor Chavannes Jeune, Joel Jeune's cousin, launched a year-long prayer movement in 2003 to "take Haiti back from Satan," which culminated in a spectacular revival in the national stadium. Produced by Reverend J.L. Williams of New Directions International (NDI) in North Carolina, an all-star American team joined the event, including Thomas Fortson and Joe White of Promise Keepers and baseball pitcher Dave Dravekey. Teams were present from World Vision, World Help, and Campus Crusade for Christ, and Franklin Graham of Samaritan's Purse sent a brief video greeting. The revival was videotaped by NDI and several versions were released to the group's members and beyond. As at Promise Keepers events and other stadium revivals throughout the world, this extravaganza made use of audio and visual technology and was produced with a sophisticated attention to ritual mythic detail, with music, lighting, props, sermons and a live dramatization by Joe White playing the role of a Roman carpenter building Jesus' cross.

The theme of the revival was "Breaking the Blood Pact," and the breaking of the pact was ritually effected, once again, as it had been in 1997 and 1998. God gave Reverend J.L. Williams the method in a vision. "I was to have two tables on the stage—one representing 'the cup and table of the Lord' and the other 'the cup and table of demons'" (Williams, 2004). From the stage, Williams spelled out the biblical law that had landed Haiti in its cursed state until the present moment: "Exodus 20 says that worshipping other gods results in punishment for four generations. Each fifty years is two hundred years" (Williams, 2005). Referring to the Commandment against bowing down to images, Williams reminded the crowd that God would punish the children for the sin of the parents to the third and fourth generation. He then gave a message from I Corinthians 10:20–21. There the Apostle Paul exhorted the saints at Corinth: "... I do not want you to be participants with demons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons; you cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons" (Williams, 2004). Williams made use of his gift for preaching and boomed authoritatively from the stage in a climactic moment: "This event is to break the blood pact of the devil, and bring Haiti under the blood of Jesus Christ!" He and Pastor Jeune took an axe and broke the table of demons, and then held aloft the "cup of blessing" invoked in I Corinthians, as the crowd cheered with joy. Using material objects to perform the biblical concepts, Reverend Williams imparted to the assembled crowd the revelation he had received from God, in a dramatic and compelling ritual performance. The message was clear: ancestral religion and Christianity were incompatible and opposed. Like Boukman at the original ceremony at Bois Caïman, Williams worked to unify those present by rejecting one divine force and swearing allegiance to another, and by sealing the oath with blood.

Chavannes Jeune's speech at the revival also resignified several of the key elements of the mythic grammar of Vodou, beginning with his striking opening statement: "Haiti is at the crossroads of decision." In Haitian Vodou the crossroads can be a mystical place where spirit energies are invoked, since different crossroads are "owned" by specific spirits. Discursively setting the nation in the metaphysical crossroads, he evoked a powerful cultural metaphor, ironically one associated with the very tradition he sought to erase. He made Williams' point clear again: "We must choose God or choose Satan." The message of his sermon was simple and elegant: "the wood of the cross at Calvary will replace the wood (*bois*) of Bois Caïman. The blood of Christ will replace the blood of the pig." Like Williams, Jeune presented himself as a figure with privileged biblical knowledge, but more than Williams, as a native Haitian, Jeune spoke using insider symbols and images from the culture. A sort of mediator, Jeune was fully immersed in local culture but also had traveled, studied, and formed partnerships with others elsewhere, to come home a politician who would run for president. He spoke with double authority, fluent in multiple symbolic languages. Through this ritualized drama of invoking traditional culture in order to exorcize it, the pastors taught the lessons of spiritual warfare (see Frankfurter, 2006: 37).

Always thinking strategically, the leaders of Spiritual Mapping, in Haiti gear, staged rituals to the crowd in dramatic language and music that the non-literate majority can easily apprehend. Like conservative nationalist mythmakers in the United States, evangelical Haitian leaders use both ritual and media by design to disseminate their story. During commemorations and anniversaries they combine dramatic symbolic narrative performance, performative speech acts, and audience participation, with a sense of historic, ultimately cosmic, occasion.

The pastors of the Spiritual Mapping movement are working to re-narrate Haitian history, resignify religio-political mythmaking, and therefore recast Haitian civil religion and change the culture of the country. They claim to understand the cause of Haiti's problems—a curse derived from the revolutionaries' breaking of God's Commandment by calling on pagan gods and shedding pig's blood—and its precise time-limit, or expiration date, the two hundred year mark. They also offer a powerful answer to Haiti's problems, which is the transforming power of Jesus Christ, who would bless the nation through his sacred blood, shed on the cross to for pay the sins of all humanity. In emplotting Haitian history onto the biblical narrative, the pastors and church leaders claim not only an ultimate, cosmic authority, but also an authority that any believer can share. By staging performative spectacles with technology, color, music, lighting, drama, and the offer of a more powerful and true interpretation of reality, spiritual warriors work to bring about the events they narrate.

Captivity Narratives and Colonial Powers

People have reached for the imagery and power of the Bois Caïman myth in historical moments of great pressure from the outside: first during the struggle to recognize and maintain Haitian sovereignty, then during the Marine Occupation, the contest over Aristide's presidency, and more recently after the earthquake. (At the time of writing, the new president Michel Martelly has just said that he wants to make the site of Bois

Caïman a tourist attraction, and the story of the ceremony into something like a Broadway show.) The neo-evangelical story of Haiti's pact with Satan is vociferously contested by people holding a wide range of positions. Those who have stepped forward as public leaders of Vodou decry the explicit demonization of their traditions and identify the aspects of evangelicalism that are foreign imports, serving American political interests channeled through evangelicals linked to the religious right in the US. In her thorough study of the history and contemporary community surrounding Bois Caïman, Rachel Beauvoir-Dominique cites with alarm the Protestant intellectual Romain as saying that Protestantism "will try to desacralize and destroy the spatio-temporal frame of Vodou . . . and will propose Protestant counter-symbols adapted to Western civilization" in its place (Beauvoir-Dominique, 2000: 59, citing Romain, 1986: 85–86).

Opposition to the "blood pact" theology also comes from fellow Pentecostals, such as Haitian Church of God Pastor Jean Gelin, who outlines various historical and Christian reasons why the satanic pact does not make sense. "I would not be surprised if the satanic pact idea (followed by the divine curse message) was put together first by foreign missionaries and later on picked up by local leaders," he astutely guesses (Gelen, 2005; see also Gelin, 2004). Likewise, the founder of the oldest Haitian Protestant church in the US, Pastor Philius Nicolas, disavows the story and explains that it causes division in the Body of Christ where there should be unity (Nicolas, personal communication).

Although it is the belief of only a minority of adherents, the story of the blood pact with Satan has proliferated on the English-language Internet. It is repeated more frequently (and matter-of-factly) by Americans than by Haitians, Francophone Antilleans, or French. The story is oft-repeated as a fundraising tool for missionaries. Said one website, "We believe with all our hearts that we are part of a spiritual war for the heart of the nation, and that one day we will see the murderous and destructive demons of Satan ejected from the nation by the prayers of the people . . . " (Heart of God Ministries). The idea of an entire nation being "held captive by Satan" seems to inspire in American evangelicals a longing to help the spiritually afflicted and provide support for prayer warriors on the "front lines" of a kind of modern-day captivity narrative. One cannot help but see the parallels between this longing to help and the more general Americanism celebrated by American Civil Religion, in which the United States publicizes its leadership in spreading democracy and freedom throughout the world.

For Haitians, "breaking the blood pact" is part of a neo-evangelical nationalism in the making that is in profound tension with previous nationalist mythmaking. At issue for non-evangelical nationalists is a respect for ancestral tradition, and the inspirational vision of unity the ceremony at Bois Caïman offers that might still serve the ongoing project of decolonization. At issue for evangelicals is the very "soul of the nation" and its people's salvation. For those with both kinds of investments, the ultimate stakes are in determining the cultural identity by which Haiti will move in a positive direction and prosper.

While no nationalist narrative is consistent and unambiguous, there are various interesting—and painful—ironies in the present case. Nationalists anywhere generally gather their mythic elements from what is culturally distinct in their country. Indeed, the Haitian state since the 1990s has moved to commemorate, celebrate and enfranchise the "folk" culture distinct to Haiti. In their alternative rewriting, however, evangelicals

ascribe negative value to much of what is "African" or "traditional" about Haitian culture. Haitian evangelicals lean towards a transcendent Christian nationalism, a Christendom, whose mythical grammar in fact stems from the medieval church (see Mack, 2008). They disavow much of their own culture as they seek to exorcize their national history. Theirs is an impassioned new Christian nationalism.

The impulse to reach back and undo the past, release the country from its magical trap and dedicate the nation to the Christian God is part of a longing for justice, for an end to suffering, and for an orderly and plentiful world. Yet in another of the many painful ironies to be considered here, the present-day evangelicals seek to exorcize from history their own ancestors, the enslaved Africans and Creoles in the colony (and *their* ancestral spirits in turn) whose own longing for justice and the end of suffering gave rise to the Revolution, ended legal slavery, and brought forth the new nation.

Spiritual Mapping evangelicals' techniques of fighting demonic fetishism—of resignifying traditional symbols, and ritually performing spiritual work in large-scale spectacles—are, in another ironic way, components of another kind of fetishism. They work against the Enlightenment idea of rational progress and effectively re-enchant the nation with spirits and demons (McClintock, 1993). Casting out demons at Bois Caïman, breaking the table of demons and holding up the cup of blessings are all performances of a kind of enchantment that would seem to run counter to modern nationalist discourse. Yet, they are just the tools evangelicals use to instantiate their mythmaking and to grow its attendant formation of Christian nationalism.

Perhaps the deepest irony of all is in the tension between the anti-colonialist narrative of the nationalist Bois Caïman story and the (many say neo-colonialist) new evangelical mythmaking. The original story of Bois Caïman has been put to use in various ways in anti-colonial, and then decolonizing, movements in Haiti. Ironically, the neo-evangelicals construct an anti-colonialist narrative in which *Satan is the colonial power who must be overthrown*. If we look a bit more closely at the "blood pact" story as an anti-colonialist narrative, we may gain insight into why some Haitians would adopt the story as their own. In the new story, the passion of fighting the colonizer is harnessed, but redirected to an invisible realm. Still, the issue remains that of slavery and freedom. Viewed in these terms, the project to free all of Haiti in a second, Christian revival-revolution is consistent with the original nationalism, but in a radical new way. What is more, while evangelical mythmaking in Haiti is constructed in active dialogue with Americans, it allows for a recombination of mythic elements that are beyond the control of the Haitian elite (Corten, 2001: 106). Within the hemisphere, the movement may be neo-colonialist, but within Haiti, it is a vision of nationalism from below.

The neo-evangelical version of the Bois Caïman story writes the Bible and its patterns and tropes into the national history of Haiti. Just as the story of the Fall of Adam and Eve from the Garden explains suffering and death to Christians, the Bois Caïman story provides an account of the genesis of the nation, together with a diagnosis of where the nation went wrong and why it cannot prosper. Like Eve, whom the serpent convinces to taste the fruit and share it with Adam, Boukman sacrificed to demons, drank sacrificial blood, and shared the sacrifice with the rebel slaves and the nation-to-be. In both myths this original human interaction with evil creates and explains all subsequent suffering. And just as the remedy for humanity's original sin is in the crucifixion of Christ, the hope

for Haiti's prosperity lies in its citizens "coming under the blood" and accepting the new covenant with Jesus. In an ironic parallel with the figure of Boukman, the pastors reunite the new crowds and attempt to lead them to the new oath, to be saved and thus free, with the new blood—not of the pig but of Christ. Christianity can explain the creation of the earth and the suffering of humanity, the root cause of Haiti's many problems, as well as the future end of the world and the afterlife. It can offer a complete picture of reality and of power, the ultimate power of God. Neo-evangelicalism captures the symbolic grammar of the national story, re-enacts it and converts it, and in the process offers a recognizable and intelligible version of reality for Haitian converts to accept as their own.

In taking on the rhetorical and ritual work of mythmaking to "break the blood pact" and "win Haiti for Jesus," any citizen can stand in the stream of history and act on behalf of the entire nation in the great cosmic battle between good and evil. Pastor Yvette, carving out a small space of Christian sanctification and holiness with her congregation in a Red Cross camp for the Internally Displaced, can dedicate every Friday morning to pray and prophesy for the nation. As their country fights chaos and crisis after the earthquake, the members of Pastor Yvette's congregation live as everyday prayer warriors taking up the profoundly meaningful work of mythmaking in the making.

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Notes

1. Some observers classify the Third Wave Spiritual Mapping movement as Pentecostal, and indeed its adherents are charismatics who, like Pentecostals, stress the primacy of communication with the Holy Spirit as well as prophesy and intercessory prayer. But Spiritual Mapping leader Peter Wagner and others who self-identify as Evangelicals do not consider themselves Pentecostal; this movement is a loose network of people from many denominational homes.
2. The details of this rebel meeting have been the subject of passionate debates. It is certain that there was a nighttime assembly of slaves who planned to set fires in a widespread insurrection; this was the recorded testimony, on 17 August 1791, of slaves arrested by French authorities. Conducting oral histories and song analyses, Rachel Beauvoir presents evidence that there was likely a politico-religious ceremony on 14 August, the Catholic feast day of Our Lady of the Assumption, when slaves, many of whom were Kongolese Christians, had the day off and would likely have gathered to celebrate. It was simultaneously the feast day of Ezili Kawoulo, a spirit—who requires pig sacrifice—in the early Kongo-Petwo-Lemba secret societies whose members fought in the revolt. Taking a wider view, Lucien Smarthe, concludes that the Bois

Caïman ceremony was a shorthand amalgamation of all the individual ceremonies which were performed in the different seats of the rebellion" (cited in Hoffmann, 1999: 179).

3. Some observers posit that Boukman was a Muslim. Rachel Beauvoir notes that the Morne Rouge where the Bois Caïman ceremony would have happened retained the Islamic religious influence of the Senegambian wave of slave migration; they also founded secret societies that would have enabled conspiratorial planning networks. Attiya Ahmad points out that the uniting of a group through oathtaking under a tree is also an element of the story of the Bayan in Islam when the Prophet united a group of followers under a tree through a pact (Ahmad, personal communication). The Islamic influence in Haiti bears further research.
4. Haitian Catholicism has increasingly become charismatic in its orientation; see Rey (2010).

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