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TEACHING HAITIAN CULTURE VIA LITERATURE:
A CULTRAPOETIC APPROACH

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Elizabeth Bell, B.A., M.A.

** ** **
The Ohio State University
1978

Reading Committee: Approved By
Professor Edward D. Allen, Adviser
Professor Erika Bourguignon
Professor Gilbert A. Jarvis

Edward D. Allen
Adviser
Faculty of Humanities-Education
To Professor O. R. Dathorne
I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the following people without whom this doctoral thesis could not have been realized:

--- To my adviser Professor Edward D. Allen for his interest and encouragement during my studies at The Ohio State University. His patient criticism of the thesis at its various stages and his ungrudging assistance have been of inestimable value to me.

--- To Professor Gilbert A. Jarvis for consenting to serve on my reading committee. His willingness to share his own experience in matters of style and structure and his kindness and intellectual expertise helped me tremendously.

--- To Professor Erika Bourguignon for her willingness to serve on my reading committee. Her generous words of encouragement and her wholehearted desire to communicate her great wealth of knowledge in the field of Haitian culture enabled me to maintain self-confidence and my sanity throughout the study.

--- To Mrs. Simone Jackson, a native of Marseille, France, for her helpful suggestions concerning the style and structure of the French activities in Chapter Five.
To my sorority sister Ms. E. Bunche, Art Instructor at Allen University, for drawing the map of Haiti included in Chapter One of this thesis.

To the past and present administrations of Allen University whose generous financial assistance made it possible for me to pursue graduate study at The Ohio State University and to do research in Haiti, West Indies.

To Mrs. Sharon K. Donovan for an excellent job in typing and proof-reading this thesis.

To my friend Professor Frank W. Medley, Jr. for insisting that I finish this thesis without further delay. I am indebted to him for his careful reading and sensitive criticism of my work. Not only was he a source of inspiration for my doctoral thesis, but also for my Master's thesis.

To my friend Professor Marion T. Johnson for allowing me to hibernate in her apartment for the past five months and for setting up a comfortable work area in her spacious basement. I am indebted to her for her kindness and moral support.

To all my friends who provided moral support during my studies at The Ohio State University.

To my family who so desperately wanted to know when, if ever, I would finish but never asked.

Finally, to my beloved friend George Bell for caring so much.
VITA

March 22, 1935---------- Born, Laurens County, South Carolina

1952--------------------- Diploma (Val.) Bell Street High School, Clinton, South Carolina

1956--------------------- B.A. (Hons.) French Allen University Columbia, South Carolina

1956-1965---------------- Instructor of French Kittrell College Kittrell, North Carolina

1959 (summer)----------- French Language Institute University of Wisconsin Madison, Wisconsin

1961 (summer)----------- Study Abroad, the University of Paris (Sorbonne) Paris, France

1965 (summer)----------- NDEA French Institute Howard University Washington, D.C.

1965-1967---------------- Director of Public Relations and Parttime Instructor of French Allen University Columbia, South Carolina

1966 (summer)----------- Graduate Assistant Indiana State University Terre Haute, Indiana

1967-1968---------------- Graduate Assistant Indiana State University Terre Haute, Indiana

1968--------------------- M.A., French Indiana State University Terre Haute, Indiana
1968 (summer)--------- Instructor of French
Indiana State University
Terre Haute, Indiana

1968-1972------------- Assistant Professor, French
Allen University
Columbia, South Carolina

1970 (Summer)-------- TESOL Institute
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.

1972 (Summer)-------- Instructor of English, Special Services Program
Allen University
Columbia, South Carolina

1972-1973----------- Teaching Associate
Supervisor of Student Teachers in FL Education
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

1973-1975----------- Graduate Administrative Associate,
University College, Division of Allied Health
Professions
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

1975 (March)-------- Researcher
Port-au-Prince, Haiti, West Indies

1975-1978----------- Associate Professor and Coordinator of
Humanities Program
Allen University
Columbia, South Carolina

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Foreign Language Education.
Professors Edward D. Allen, Gilbert A. Jarvis and
Frank Otto

Studies in Curriculum and Supervision.
Professors Elsie J. Alberty, James K. Duncan, Jack
R. Frymier, Charles M. Galloway and John B. Hough

Studies in Afro-French and Haitian Literature.
Professor O. R. Dathorne
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

During the 1970s foreign language educators have been concerned with a total response to student needs. An awareness that students are individuals with diverse interests and learning styles prompted those involved in foreign language education to draw on all available resources to meet urgent needs and demands of the foreign language learner. These resources included establishing individualizing instruction programs, emphasizing communicative competence, redesigning bilingual education programs, and a renewed interest in the age-old question of "what to do about teaching culture."

Volume V of the Review of Foreign Language Education (1974) presents an in-depth account of the interworkings involved in this total response to the learner's needs. In his introduction, Gilbert A. Jarvis, editor of ARFLE, points out that

In foreign language education all components of the educational process have changed. The goals are different; the strategies and arrangements for attaining the goals are different. . . .Learners with different experiences and attitudes populate today's classes. . . .The pluralistic concept is radically different from the profession's former self-righteous prescriptions.
In an attempt to illustrate the pluralistic concept, a new dimension was added to this volume of the *Review* for the first time in the history of the publication, a chapter on literature from "outside the metropolis": the writings of authors who are not associated with a European metropolis though they write in Portuguese, Spanish, French, or English. Written by O. R. Dathorne, the chapter includes analyses of poems translated from their original languages, and background information that would be useful to teachers.

In this presentation Dathorne poignantly states that nonmetropolis literature has been, with few exceptions, omitted from the foreign language curriculum. The reason, according to Dathorne, is "the nationwide over concern with academic caveats...the academic phobia for compartmentalization.... For example, "anything 'black' had to be handled only by an Afro-American Studies Department or an African Studies Department." But the question arises: "Where does (the literature of the) Angolan Portuguese, Haitian or Martinique French, St. Martsen Dutch or Cuban Spanish fit into such a program?" The writer concludes that the omission of these literary works was "probably due to our lack of knowledge about them, to our inability to relate the relevance of their experience to the United States....."

It is true that the problem of teaching nonmetropolis literature and culture should not be left entirely to departments of English, Black Studies, Comparative Literature or Caribbean Studies. Since none of these departments is designed to maintain the original languages -- French, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese -- in their instruction of the literature, foreign language departments have the medium (language) for
avoidance of literary distortions; however, it is unrealistic to presume that all foreign language departments are equipped with a staff that is trained to interpret and understand nonmetropolis literature. The tendency, unfortunately, is to omit that which is unfamiliar, or that which presents an additional problem in teaching a foreign language. The literature and culture of Haiti is one victim of the "sin of omission" committed time and again in foreign language curricula around the country.

There are indeed some foreign language teachers who desire to take on the challenge and make available to their students the option of nonmetropolis literature. This fact was evidenced by the inquiries of several teachers participating in an "individualizing performance alternatives in foreign language instruction" workshop during the summer of 1974 (West Chester State College, West Chester, Pennsylvania). The participants were primarily teachers of French and Spanish involved with individualizing and providing diverse study options in order to satisfy the needs and interests of their students. The majority of these teachers stated that they lacked a knowledge of non-European cultures, e.g., African and Caribbean, and therefore found it difficult to assist their students in discovering relevancy in the literary works. It was at this point that the writer of this thesis recognized the need for teaching and learning about cultures and literatures "outside the metropolis."

The diversity of cultures found in the Francophone world compounds the difficulty of learning about all of them at one time. An initial
step in this process would be to concentrate on the culture and the literature of a particular geographical region. Dealing with one Francophone area at a time increases the reliability of generalizations about its culture, and enables one to make factual statements about certain behavior patterns, beliefs and customs.

The region selected for the present study is the Republic of Haiti, a small country located in the Greater Antilles and that is in close proximity to the United States (see p. 11 for a map of Haiti). France and Africa have had strong cultural influences upon the Haitian people. French is the official language of the country, though Creole is spoken by the majority of the people. When the Creole speaking child enters school, he/she must learn French. As Selden Rodman states

> Until recently, classes in even primary schools were conducted in French (They still are in private schools) which meant that most children were listening to a half-foreign language. However efforts to make Creole the sole vehicle of primary education have not succeeded. It is felt that teaching children to read in a language that boasts no more than a dozen printed books would serve to cut them off even more completely from the rest of the world.4

Thus the peasant who attends school must learn French. Similarly, those who are employed as domestics in homes, hotels, and pensions must acquire a minimum knowledge of spoken French. In other words, French is spoken in public by members of the privileged class and Creole is the language of the masses. All newspapers, journals, magazines, and literary works are written in French, even works that give elaborate descriptions of peasant life, e.g., Gouverneurs de la rosée, La Bête de musseau, and La Case de Damballah. Prominent writers such as
Oswald Durand, Jean Briere, Emile Roumer, Léon Laleau, Philippe Toby-Marcelin, and others were educated in France and used French as the medium to communicate their poetic expressions. Of the vast amount of literature that Haiti has produced, much of it remains unknown to Americans (in the United States). Although Mercer Cook, a longtime advocate of Haitian literature, observed that the use of French by Haitian writers rather than Creole helps to render these works comprehensible to the outside world, communicating with the outside world is not the only reason for using French. Cook claims that in a conversation with Philippe Thoby-Marcelin, the latter explained to him that "his literary training and thinking have been done in French."5

At present there is a group devoted to "La défense et l'illustration de la langue créole d'Haiti." Proponents of Creole feel that this language should not present a problem, but should complement French, the national language. In his argument that Creole is a language (and not a patois), Bernard Dorin, French Ambassador to Haiti, claims that nine tenths of the words in Creole are French, in spite of their sound and syntactical distortions. Dorin feels that French should be for the Republic of Haiti, like a window open to the world (Le français peut apparaître ainsi pour la République d'Haiti comme une 'fenêtre ouverte' sur le monde),6 while Creole has its limitations, in that it is restricted to the Lesser Antilles and certain islands of the Indian Ocean. Dorin calls for bilingual harmony -- twin languages, French and Creole, like siamese twins. "Creole," according to Edward A. Hall, "is not a dialect of French, but an independent language, about as closely related to French as . . . modern Italian is to Latin."7 Thus it is important
to acknowledge that two languages exist in Haiti. French is the medium used in Haitian official institutions and in communicating with members of the outside world. Creole is the linguistic vehicle used to communicate the daily activities of the Haitian population. Since most Haitian literary works are written in French, this medium would be used by French students in the United States to learn about the culture as well.

The culture and literature of Haiti represent an untapped source for foreign language study. Since foreign language educators are advocating total responsiveness to student needs by providing as many options as possible, in order to maintain student interest and make foreign language study relevant, Haitian culture and literature ought to be included among the options of the foreign language curriculum. In our pluralistic society where lasting friendships are cemented between women and men of diverse cultures, and where misunderstandings are generated by the lack of knowledge about people of diverse cultures, every opportunity must be explored to make full use of all resources within the area of foreign languages. As Genelle Morain asserts: "An understanding of culture -- anthropological and traditional -- can provide the missing component in the language student's search for relevancy."8

Purpose

The purpose of the present study is to demonstrate how poetry can be used in the foreign language classroom to present the society and
culture of a people or of a nation. Attention will focus on the selection, preparation, and collection of background data which precede the actual classroom instruction, as well as on the day-to-day activities that accompany the use of literary selections as a teaching device.

This added dimension will be helpful to teachers of intermediate French (and higher levels) who do not have access to an interdisciplinary program, but who are engaged in survey courses, individualized instruction, or independent study.

Limitations

An approach (appropriately termed cultrapoetic) to teaching Haitian culture through literature with major emphasis on poetry is treated herein. African literature is not included, although cultural patterns derived from West Africa are explored. No attempt is made to analyze the everyday language, Haitian Creole. For detailed information on this subject, the reader is referred to publications by Edward A. Hall and Albert Valdman.

Within the boundaries of the study are included an examination of cultural patterns observed by specialists in the areas of anthropology and the social sciences; illustrations of cultural manifestations in Haitian poetry; and the development of a format for teaching Haitian culture using poetry as a medium. While Haitian culture and literature represent the specimen in this thesis, the strategy can be applied to other nonmetropolis cultures and literatures.
Organization

The thesis will be divided into six chapters: Chapter One includes the introduction, purpose, limitations, organization of the study and definitions. Chapter Two deals with the research on Haitian culture conducted by anthropologists and social scientists; major research that has been done on the teaching of foreign cultures in general; and studies on the teaching of culture through literature and other media. The chapter is divided into three sections:

1. Some Contributions to the Study of Haitian Culture;
2. A Summary of Research on the Teaching of Foreign Cultures; and
3. The Teaching of Culture Through Literature and Other Media.

Chapter Three, The Haitian Population: An Amalgam of African and French Peoples, is designed to show how France and West Africa have influenced the population. Basic data for the prospective teacher/learner of the Haitian cultrapoetic experience are provided. Chapter Four identifies major influences on literary writers and contains examples that reveal cultural manifestations. Chapter Five presents procedures for instituting the Haitian cultrapoetic experience in the second level French classroom: 1) selecting poetry for the classroom, 2) preparing the introduction and vocabulary list, 3) designing cultrapoetic activities, and 4) involving the learner in the cultrapoetic experience. The final chapter consists of the summary and recommendations for further research. Notes are appended to the end of each chapter.
Definitions

**Class:** the term "class" as opposed to "caste" is used to describe the Haitian societal structure. Two classes are discussed in this thesis: the elite (the privileged class) and the peasant (the masses).

**Compartmentalization:** two patterns of behavior relegated to different spheres of life.

**Cultrapoetic:** coined by the writer of this thesis, the term is used to describe poetry dealing with various cultural motifs.

**Cultural Material:** used by anthropologists in referring to the components of culture: behavior patterns, beliefs, and traditions.

**Culture:** the way of life of a particular group of people, their beliefs, behavior patterns, and traditions. Frequently called informal culture or culture with a small "c." According to Herskovits, culture includes all the elements in an individual's mature endowment that he or she has acquired from his/her group by conscious learning or by a conditioning process -- techniques of various kinds, social and other institutions, beliefs, and patterned modes of conduct. Formal culture, culture with a big "C" encompasses great contributions to civilization through the humanities and the natural sciences.

**Motif:** an underlying cultural element in literature. Here the term applies specifically to six cultural elements found in Haitian poetry: 1) African traditions, 2) reflections on slavery, 3) patriotism, 4) social conflicts, 5) rejection of Western
Western values (European and the United States), and 6) the emerging woman.

**Peasant:** small-scale cultivators who own or have access to land, who produce some commodities for sale, and who produce much of their own subsistence. The urban poor who have migrated to the city are also considered peasants.

**Reinterpretation:** the maintenance of old cultural material with change of use, meaning, form and/or function.

**Retention:** the maintenance of old cultural material. When the Africans were transplanted to the New World, they maintained some of their original cultural material.

**Syncretism:** a form of reinterpretation; the fusion of old and new cultural materials to form a new series of cultural elements. The fusion of the popular Haitian religion vaudou and Catholicism is an example of syncretism.

**Vaudou:** the popular religion of Haiti derived mostly from Dahomey, West Africa. There are many spellings — vodun, voodoo, vaudou, vodu, vodou, voudoo, vaudun, voudoun, and vaudoux. The form selected for this thesis is vaudou because it is most frequently used in contemporary Haitian newspapers and periodicals.
Notes


3. Ibid., p. 199.


CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter deals with some of the major studies in Haitian culture, Haitian literature, and the teaching of foreign culture in general. These studies serve as a basis for subsequent chapters. The African/French cultural patterns outlined in Chapter Three are based on the evidence of anthropologists and social scientists as well as on the observations of the writer of this thesis. General studies on the teaching of culture serve as a background for establishing a framework for teaching Haitian culture. The section on teaching culture via literature and other sources attempts to show what has been accomplished in the area of Haitian literary expression, and the attitudes toward teaching culture through literature and other media such as film and song.

Some Anthropological Contributions to the Study of Haitian Culture

The Caribbean has been of special interest to anthropologists, ethnohistorians and other social scientists. Haiti, in particular, became the focal point for major study after the publication in 1929 of Ainsi parla l'Oncle by Jean Price-Mars, Haitian ethnographer, historian and
Written during the American occupation of Haiti (1915-1934), this publication is a sort of "retour aux sources" which deals with popular beliefs, folklore, literature, and culture of the masses. It calls for a return to the study of things that are Haitian, especially of elements that derived from Africa. Price-Mars addresses himself to the question, Is there a Haitian literature? And he denounces Haitian writers for imitating great French literary figures and rejecting the literature of the Haitian masses. Price-Mars advocates the use of Creole in literature, and he outlines the local manners and African traditions, beliefs, and customs retained within Haitian peasant society. A vast amount of Ainsi parla l'Oncle is devoted to vaudou, of which Price-Mars was a strong supporter, one who defended the right to practice it.

The work of Price-Mars served as a resource for Melville J. Herskovits, the founder of scientific Afro-American studies and the first president of the African Studies Association. Six years after the publication of Ainsi parla l'Oncle, Herskovits conducted fieldwork in a small rural Haitian community called Mirebalais. From this experience, he published Life in a Haitian Valley (1937) which described the cultural ancestry of the Haitians, extending from West Africa to Haiti. The account deals with African traits, customs, and beliefs that were retained, reinterpreted or syncretized by the people of this Haitian community. Although written over forty years ago, Life in a Haitian Valley has special significance today because it stresses the cultural link between Africa and Haiti. In other words, it traces the "roots" of a large sector of the Haitian population. One year after the
publication of *Life in a Haitian Valley*, he published *Dahomey: An Ancient African Kingdom* (1938), although this work was done prior to his stay in Haiti. Much of the cultural information he collected in Dahomey was similar to that which existed in Haiti. Similarities were apparent in religion, folklore, music, magic, and economic and social organizations.

Referring to Haiti as "the child of France and Africa," Herskovits outlines the historical beginnings of the country and shows the different physical and mental characteristics of the African slaves. He theorizes on the origin of Creole, describes the beginning of the religion of the masses (vaudou), and the various types of French people who first came to Haiti. He elaborates on the class structure, explaining how contemporary Haitian society reflects the earlier structure.

A more general view of African influences upon the New World is found in the *Myth of the Negro Past* (1941) in which Herskovits first developed the scale of intensity of Africanisms of eleven countries of the New World. The scale reflects, on a continuum, retentions that are totally African to those that are least African and most European.

The publications of Herskovits extend from the early twenties to the present. Although he died in 1963, his wife Frances and others have continued to publish his research. Two publications were extremely helpful to the writer of this thesis: *Melville J. Herskovits* (1973) by George Eaton Simpson and *The New World Negro: Selected Papers in Afro-American Studies* (1966) edited by Frances Herskovits. The former publication contains a biography of Herskovits and a review of his
works. It represents a good starting point for the researcher who is interested in Afro-American studies. The latter publication contains articles that were published prior to the Myth of the Negro Past.

In describing Afro-American cultures, Herskovits invented the terms retention, syncretism, reinterpretation, and socialized ambivalence. A student of Herskovits, Erika Bourguignon, applied these terms to the study of Haitian culture, in addition to establishing another concept, that of compartmentalization, observed among the Haitian masses. These concepts were first examined by Bourguignon in her doctoral dissertation entitled Syncretism and Ambivalence: An Ethnohistorical Study (1952) which is based on extensive fieldwork in the Léogâne, Furcy and Port-au-Prince, Haiti. She has published two very important articles pertaining to this topic: "Haiti et l'ambivalence socialisee" and "Class Structure and Acculturation in Haiti."

Bourguignon gives an analysis of the dual perception of world view in the Haitian elite. The result of a Rorschach test administered to a Haitian subject revealed that his personality is characterized by 1) childhood fears: nightmares, magic, and cemeteries; and 2) contrasts and oppositions: the subject perceived ink blots first as vaudou spirits, haunted houses, and trees. On the second identification, he perceived them as geography, history and French literature. Two cultures exist within the subject, each pulling in different directions. This dual view of the world and of the value system is called socialized ambivalence: the simultaneous attraction and hostility toward the same object." The concept of socialized ambivalence was first introduced by Herskovits (1941).
According to Bourguignon, among the elite, there is socialized ambivalence toward religion: vaudou is said to be rejected, only Catholicism is said to be acceptable. The process of rejection, however, is not an easy task. Bourguignon observed that the early training of the elite child is influenced by the peasant who serves as a domestic in the home. From this member of the masses, the child learns to believe in vaudou during preschool years. When the child enters school (Catholic), he/she is forced to reject the vaudou beliefs, but the rejection process is never complete. Thus the elite vacillates between the two religions. Not only is there ambivalence toward religion, but also this characteristic is seen in the elite's attitudes "toward sex, toward birth control and standards of beauty, toward the masses and toward one's own self, as well as many other areas of life."³

The Bourguignon studies show that in the acculturative process of Haitian society, African retentions are found only among the masses; reinterpretation and syncretism are primary among the masses; compartmentalization characterizes individuals of all classes; and socialized ambivalence is only found among the elite and the upper echelon of the masses.

Other contributions made by Bourguignon include 1) "Ritual Disassociation and Possession Belief in Caribbean Negro Religion," which presents the origin of Haitian vaudou (along with other Caribbean religions) and defines and describes possession trance; and 2) "The Persistence of Folk Belief: Some Notes on Cannibalism and Zombis in Haiti" elaborates on the Haitian peasant beliefs in the supernatural and clarifies the misinterpretations of certain writers.
Other studies on the complex interworkings of vaudou have been done by Alfred Métraux in *Voodoo in Haiti* (1959) and *Haiti, Black Peasants and Their Religion* (1968). *Voodoo in Haiti* is an account of the author's experiences living among the masses, and observing vaudou ceremonies. He describes in detail the numerous vaudou gods (loa) and rituals. *Haiti, Black Peasants and Their Religion* illustrates the daily life of the peasant, which is governed by religious beliefs.

In relation to class structure, George E. Simpson's article "Haiti's Class Structure" (1941) categorizes Haitian society into three major classes: elite, middle, and peasant. The middle class, composed primarily of non-Haitians is not considered in this study. Simpson describes social and cultural differences between elite and peasant, and discusses the wide gap between the two classes. It is interesting to note that Simpson's descriptions made over thirty years ago apply to contemporary Haiti in the seventies, a fact which tends to underscore the relative immobility of Haitian social stratification.

In the area of folklore, music, dance, and religion, Harold Courlander is credited for having made numerous contributions. His works include *The Piece of Fire and Other Haitian Tales* (1964), a collection of 25 Haitian folktales, many of which are based on the African oral tradition. These folktales play a role in Haitian customs and beliefs.

Courlander's *The Drum and the Hoe: Life and Lore of the Haitian People* (1960) presents a broad view of Haitian culture. This work is the result of nine field trips to Haiti between 1937 and 1955. In addition to his interpretation of certain religious customs, Courlander gives insights
into the origins of popular Haitian dances, and explains their importance to Haitian culture:

Dancing touches on virtually every aspect of life in Haiti. It plays a part in the supplications of loa (African deities) . . . in planting, harvesting, and housebuilding. Catholic Church holidays, Nine nights, baptisms, the elections of a new president, and ordinary social gatherings -- all are celebrated, in part, at least, by dancing.4

Songs for various occasions and the folktales that Courlander discusses have been recorded on tape. The Courlander publication supports Herskovits' finding that there is a strong African retention in religion, music, and folklore.

Courlander, in conjunction with Rémy Bastien, has written Religion and Politics in Haiti (1966) whose content is divided into two sections: one is devoted to an article by Courlander, and the other by Bastien. The conclusion is that many politicians, especially presidents, use religion as a means of obtaining the support of the masses. The political structure of the country is also reviewed.

A general study of Haiti and its people is compiled by Selden Rodman in Haiti: The Black Republic (1973). In the first section of the book, the author presents an historical tableau of Haiti: colonial rule by the Spaniards, and later by the French; the Independence of 1804; and the first 150 years as an independent country. First published in 1954, and revised in 1961 and 1973, this book gives a thorough examination of the Haitian people: their economic, political, social, and religious institutions. Chapter Four is devoted to the artistic aspects of the country: folk arts, music, dance, literature, architecture,
sculpture and painting. The end pages include a section especially designed for the tourist: what to see in Haiti, a description of places of interest, and rates of hotel accommodations, and taxi fares.

In addition to the general interest in Haitian life, Rodman has taken a special interest in primitive art. He assisted DeWitt Peters in establishing the Haitian Centre d'Art in Port-au-Prince. The Miracle of Haitian Art (1974) is an account of the impact that Haitian art has had on the world.

Rodman's numerous visits to Haiti and his profound interest in its people resulted in his establishing residence in Jacmel, in addition to his home in the United States. In the opinion of the writer of this thesis, Rodman gives an excellent overview of Haitian society. The Rodman publications are good sources for both the researcher and the general public.

Another study concerning the historical, political, and social aspects of Haiti is found in The Haitian People (1941, revised 1966) by James Leyburn. The "Introduction" by Sidney W. Mintz reviews the political and economic structure from the period of the United States occupation (1915-1934) up to the mid sixties. In reference to Leyburn's book, Mintz states, "...anyone who wishes to get the best interpretive overview of the history and culture of that country (Haiti) is well advised to start with Leyburn's contribution."5

It is true that this very scholarly work continues to be a monumental contribution to Haitian studies. Leyburn, in describing the Haitian social stratification, employs the term "caste" instead of
"class" which is frequently used by others (Bourguignon, Comhaire-Sylvain, Simpson and Mintz). Leyburn asserts: "So rigidly are the class lines set that 'caste' is the only word to describe the effective separation of aristocrats from the masses." For the purposes of this thesis, the term "class" will be used in reference to societal structure.

In dealing with a more specific area of Haitian society, Mintz has contributed greatly to the understanding of the peasant market economy, and to the study of Caribbean peasantries in general. To the casual observer, the Haitian marketplace is one of total confusion, but for Mintz, they "possess an elaborate underlying order." In his study of Haitian markets, Mintz describes their organizational structure, and defines the roles of women in the market economy. According to Mintz, the "study of and internal market system may provide a lively vision of relationships among key economic and political groups in a society." Of particular interest for the purposes of this thesis are two articles written by Mintz that deal with the peasant market system: "Marchés et vie rurale en Haiti" (1960) and "Peasant Markets" (1966).

In Chapter Two of Caribbean Transformations (1974), Mintz postulates some major problems that impede progress in Haiti. The agrarian country is controlled by a small percentage of the urban populace who will not make substantial investments toward improving and expanding agricultural production. On the other hand, the rural masses continue to resist social and cultural change, preserving their traditional way of life. In addition, there are problems such as governmental instability, excessive taxation, the absence of adequate roads, communication facilities, and small-scale credit facilities.
For problems concerning health and ecology, it was necessary to draw on the resources of the journal, *Conjonction*, which is published in Port-au-Prince. Among the many problems are water pollution and shortage, inadequate sewer systems, overpopulation and deforestation.

The varied roles of women are scrutinized in *Haiti et ses femmes: une étude d'évolution culturelle* (1957) by Madeleine Sylvain Bouchereau. This publication is divided into two parts: the Haitian woman in history and the Haitian woman in the family, society and the economy.

The research mentioned in the preceding pages could be a valuable aid in teaching Haitian culture in the foreign language curriculum. The necessary task is to draw on these resources, and to put them into some kind of cohesive form for the teaching-learning process, and make them accessible to teacher and student.

**A Summary of Research on the Teaching of Foreign Cultures**

George P. Murdock, an anthropologist, along with his colleagues at Yale University laid the foundation for teachers of culture with the publication of an *Outline of Cultural Materials* (1938). Murdock did not have teachers in mind when the document was compiled. It was originally designed to be used for government and Navy projects. The *Outline* comprises over 900 topics pertaining to culture. Unfortunately World War II interrupted the work and prevented Murdock and his colleagues from completing the final section which would have included suggestions on how to use it for fieldwork in cross-cultural study, and in other areas of research in anthropology.
Drawing on the resources of Murdock's *Outline*, Howard Nostrand compiled *Background Data for the Teaching of French* (1967), the nascence of his well-known Emergent Model. In developing his Emergent Model, Nostrand regrouped sections of Murdock's *Outline of Cultural Materials* which would be applicable to French culture. The original model classifies French culture into four major divisions: the Culture, the Society, the Individual, and the Ecology. Nostrand has improved the original model by dividing it into subsystems that he adapted from the structured inventory of Talcott Parsons. The four subsystems — cultural, social, ecological, and individual — include a total of 30 main headings.

Nostrand has relied on the research of anthropologists and sociologists, especially Murdock and Parsons, for creating techniques for teaching culture, and he strongly recommends the use of literature as a tool for teaching culture.

The Nostrand Model has been useful to educators involved in teaching French and Spanish culture. Tora Ladu's *Teaching for Cross-Cultural Understanding* (1968) is based on the Emergent Model. Her most recent book *What Makes the French French* (1974) is a revised edition of the former publication which included a section on the ecology.

In 1974, H. Ned Seelye published *Teaching Culture: Strategies for Foreign Language Educators*. This study is a review of major contributions to the teaching of culture, and it is a good starting point for anyone who is interested in this area. This very practical publication includes methods of teaching culture via assimilators, capsules, and clusters. The bibliography lists over 400 books and articles concerning
culture. Emma Birkmaier proclaimed the Seelye publication "a powerful, insightful, practical study."^8

*Essays on the Teaching of Culture: A Festschrift to Honor Howard Lee Nostrand* (1974) edited by Howard B. Altman and Victor E. Hanzeli, contains a series of articles by specialists involved in the study and teaching of culture and language. Among the contributors to this publication are William Marquardt and Genelle Morain. Marquardt is a longtime advocate of using literature as a vehicle to teach culture. He is engaged in studying cross-cultural communication portrayed in the literary works of American, Chinese, and Japanese writers. He plans to develop computer programs for this material. Morain has devised "A Megaplan for Instruction in Cross-Cultural Understanding." The megaplan is designed to give prospective teachers "extended contact with the cultural aspects" of the language they plan to teach. It contains six modules: 1) Cross-cultural understanding; 2) Language as a social tool; 3) Cultural ecology; 4) The lively arts; 5) The socio-political scene; and 6) Folklore, the oral heritage. At the end of the year, all students participate in a one-week summary seminar in cross-cultural understanding. The megaplan culminates with summer study abroad.

In addition to devising the megaplan, Morain and her colleagues have been successful in providing teachers with information and techniques on the teaching of French culture. Their contributions include an introduction to the cluster, a series of culture capsules pertaining to a particular aspect of culture which culminates with a summary, and
a strategy for listening comprehension called the audio-motor unit. The latter has a two-fold purpose: the improvement of listening skill and the learning of cultural information.

Morain believes that the language teacher who succeeds in helping a student to look objectively at another culture -- to accept it on its own terms for what it means to its own members -- is giving that student the tools and the insight to accept all cultures. She urges that the foreign language profession become more open -- more pluralistic in its approach to cultural instruction. She supports the views of Nostrand and Seelye that the understanding of informal culture requires "knowledge of disciplines outside foreign languages, i.e., linguistics, psychology, sociology, geography, and anthropology. . . .The cultural preparation for teachers must become more dimensional. . . ." 9

Two publications based on selected papers from the 1976 and 1977 Central States Conferences: Teaching for Communication (1976) and Personalizing Foreign Language Instruction (1977) edited by Renate Schulz and et al. point up the need for learning about diverse cultures through meaningful interaction in the foreign language classroom. Of special interest for the writer of this thesis were the following articles in Teaching for Communication: "Integrating Culture and Communication in the Foreign Language Class" (Constance Knop et al.) and "Strategies for Increasing Cross-Cultural Awareness" (Sidney L. Hahn) and in Personalizing Foreign Language Instruction: "Reading Assignments Versus Reading Instruction" (Frank W. Medley, Jr.).

Several publications designed to respond to the interest which students have in the human aspects of culture are now available in basic
French readers — Connaître et se connaitre (1976) and Vivent les différences (1977) by Gilbert A. Jarvis et al. — which emphasize the teaching-learning of culture through a variety of communication activities, and provide cultural information and suggestions on how to read the foreign language.

The revised edition of Modern Language Classroom Techniques (1977), Edward D. Allen and Rebecca Valette, devotes an entire chapter to teaching culture. Practical suggestions are given with examples for teaching French, Spanish and German culture. A section on teaching literature is also included in the volume.

The commentary in the preceding pages demonstrates that some foreign language educators in their concern for teaching culture, have drawn on the experiences of specialists outside the area of foreign languages. It also shows that concentration has been limited to cultures of the metropolitan regions. An attempt to find research on the teaching of nonmetropolis cultures, in general, proved futile for this writer.

The Teaching of Culture Through Literature and Other Media

When teaching culture through literature is discussed, it usually implied that novels furnish the major portion of cultural information. This is the reason for Beaujour and Erhmann's rejection of literature for teaching culture in favor of a semiotic approach: the use of signs to teach culture. According to the authors, a 'cultural' sign is made up of a 'cultural' signifier which refers to a cultural signified. For example, the word beret represents the signifier, and its underlying
meaning represents the signified. The signifier beret would be interpreted as a symbol of the French petit-bourgeois to American students for whom the word denotes a bohemian quality. The semiotic approach requires an interpretation of the underlying meaning of words.

Beaujour and Erhmann contend that semiotics can depict social reality, while literature cannot. This argument is valid to the extent that the author of a literary work is the sole determiner of mythical or realistic material in his or her work. Nostrand, however, sanctions the use of literature as a tool in teaching culture, but he warns that one must be careful in generalizing cultural concepts from literature.

Literature has been used in teaching Francophone cultures. Research by Herman Bostick (1971) establishes guidelines for teaching all literary genres, and gives background information on African and Caribbean cultures. Bostick's study demonstrates how Afro-French and Caribbean literature and culture may be taught in the secondary school. The major emphasis of the study is directed toward African literature and culture. Caribbean literature is linked with that of Africa in his discussion of the negritude movement.

In his concern for helping students to understand and appreciate the literature and culture of the Francophone world, Bostick is convinced that the study of African culture will stimulate renewed interest in learning French.

Another supporter of Francophone literature and culture is O. R. Dathorne, who has done extensive work in the area of African literature, and who is presently involved in research on Afro-Spanish literature. Dathorne deals directly with the teaching of poetry and novels. His
approach is to present the poem or have the students read the novel, and follow up with questions based on a literary analysis of the poem or novel often referring to cultural components manifested in the works.

Dathorne strongly recommends that the context of literary studies be broadened to include contributions of writers from Africa and the Americas. He contends that "only through the study of our literature can we become initiated to the mores of the parent society and thus know ourselves." It is true that the study of literature can increase one's knowledge of self as well as that of other cultures. The study of literature alone, however, represents only one means of acquiring knowledge. The methodology of social scientists, anthropologists, and ethno-historians is another means of acquiring and disseminating knowledge of cultures.

Enrique Noble's article (1957) "Ethnic and Social Aspects of Negro Poetry of Latin America, links the two elements of literatura negrīsta (Negro literature): the ethnic and the esthetic. The author claims that the association of these two concepts is important for the evaluation and understanding of this literature. Noble states that Latin American literature is the best source of sociological information for understanding the people. Themes are listed with examples of poems reflecting various cultural concepts. This article illustrates the potential that the use of poetry has in the teaching and acquisition of cultural information. Noble does not, however, suggest a plan for the instruction -- learning of this material. Articles such as the one by Noble furnish more on details (on culture) than anthologies.
One writer, Rachel Deutsch (1969) has furnished "Suggestions for the Teaching of Negro Literature of French Expression," which examines literary material to be used at different levels and recommends using Francophone literature with that of the writers of France. According to Deutsch, "This presentation should take the time normally allotted to reading supplementary texts, learning poems, or lecturing on civilization and at no time pre-empt the whole class period." Each text presented in this article is followed by the author's comments on its content and form. Deutsch uses examples from the works of African writers, with the exception of Aimé Césaire.

_Rendez-vous chez les Francophones_, Simone Oudot (1977), is a refreshing attempt to integrate metropolis with nonmetropolis cultures through the use of dialogues, letters, diaries, and narratives. Of the ten chapters in the book, six are devoted to Francophone cultures. Each reading passage is preceded by a brief introduction which gives clues or asks questions about the cultural content. Cultural notes provide answers to clues and questions in the introduction and give additional cultural information. Comprehension and personalized questions as well as topics for projects follow each reading passage.

Anthologies on the works of Francophone writers that have been useful in teaching literature include _Anthologie négro-africaine_ by Lilyane Kesteloot (1967) and _Manuel de la littérature néo-africaine_ by Janheinz Jahn (1969). These two anthologies illustrate the works of writers from Africa and the Americas. Anthologies specifically concerned with Haitian writers include the _Haitian-American Anthology_ by Mercer...
Cook and Panorama de la poésie haïtienne by Carlos Saint-Louis and Maurice Lubin (1950 and 1970). The Cook publication contains a series of articles by Haitian writers dealing with Haitian culture and civilization. The articles are followed by questions based on factual information. Panorama de la poésie haïtienne is a massive collection (643 pp.) of poems divided into four periods: 1) from Antoine Dupré to Oswald Durand, consisting of patriotic poetry based on the Independence of Haiti, 1804; 2) from Oswald Durand to Normil Sylvain, which parallels French Romanticism, Symbolism, and Parnassianism; 3) from Normil Sylvain to Roussan Camille, representing what Naomi Garret (1963) calls the Renaissance of Haitian Poetry, the period during the 1915-1934 occupation of Haiti by American Marines, when literary and social ideas were directed toward native interests: Haitian language (Creole), folklore, and concern for the plight of the masses, and rejection of French and American influences; and 4) from Roussan Camille to 1950, the era of negritude. This collection is the best source of poetic examples depicting Haitian culture.

An in-depth study of the third period of the Saint-Louis-Lubin collection has been made by Naomi Garret in her doctoral dissertation: The Renaissance of Haitian Poetry (1963). This study gives a detailed account of representative poets of this era. Chapter Five of the volume analyzes recurrent themes in Haitian poetry. The work includes an extensive bibliography.

Haiti: Poètes Noirs (1951), a special issue of Présence Africaine, includes articles on Haitian culture and elaborates on Haitian poets and their works.
In addition to the use of poetry as a tool for teaching culture, R. Damoiseau and E. Marc introduced in 1967 the concept of using songs to teach French culture. Their article, "La chanson moderne: étude de civilisation et de langue" (The popular song: study of culture and language), in *Le Français dans le monde*, demonstrates how French popular songs may be used pedagogically: 1) to teach certain linguistic elements; 2) to teach certain aspects of French poetry through the use of music; and 3) to teach different aspects of daily life. To illustrate how themes from popular songs can provide cultural enrichment, the authors present "La Montagne" by Jean Ferrat, who tells how young people from rural areas in France, especially in the Massif Central and in Bretagne, leave the country and go to the cities in order to find work and adventure.

The authors state that it is possible to select a certain number of songs that depict an aspect of cultural reality. Using the lyrics of "La Montagne," the authors outline 1) peasant life, type of agriculture; 2) urban life, the attraction of the city with its diverse activities, security, leisure, and comfort. They suggest that slides be used to illustrate the various themes.

Nostrand suggested the use of French poetry in depicting culture. Using a film recital of French poems by Pierre Viala, Nostrand and his colleagues expounded on the manner in which the actor presented the poems as well as the cultural content, and the linguistic elements of the poems. For example, the actor's facial expressions and tenseness of his lips demonstrate the kinesics of French gestures, and the tenseness of the spoken language.
The method of teaching the poem to students includes 1) presenting key vocabulary words via pictures or using words in sentences; 2) allowing students to tell in their own words what the poem is about; 3) showing the film; 4) asking students to look for certain aspects: facial expressions, intonation, and moral and linguistic elements while viewing the film.

The content (theme) of the poem is used to generalize about components of French culture, e.g., "La Fourmi" is compared with French students: both work hard to achieve their goals.

H. Ernest Lewald (1968) elaborated on problems involved in teaching culture. First, he points out that foreign language teachers have failed to incorporate the cultural information of anthropologists and linguists. The reason for this failure, according to Lewald, is that "the foreign language teacher is not knowledgeable of fields that lie outside his province. And furthermore, few language teachers seek other areas for cultural and linguistic knowledge." And the teacher who does, Lewald contends, "is considered an amateur, suspect or ignored by anthropologists, linguists, or behavioral psychologists." Lewald predicts that "the teaching of foreign culture will in the not too distant future be imported outside of departments of foreign languages."  

At this crucial period in the history of foreign language teaching, educators cannot afford to wait for that "not too distant future" for specialists to teach culture. Teachers who are bravely venturing to incorporate culture in their foreign language classrooms need assistance now. And this thesis attempts to render such assistance by providing a
resource for foreign language students and teachers who desire to learn about Haitian culture and literature. The resource represents another option which has not yet been pursued to further stimulate renewed interest in the study of foreign languages.
Notes


Chapter Three provides the teacher/learner with basic data on the historical background and culture of the Haitian people. The chapter is divided into four sections: I. Historical Foundations of the Republic of Haiti -- an historical overview of the country and its inhabitants; II. Origin of the Social Strata -- a discussion on how cultural materials were transmitted in varying degrees to all members of the Haitian population; III. Characteristics of the Social Strata -- a description of the privileged class (elite) and the masses (peasant and urban poor) in relation to ten cultural aspects as outlined in Herskovits' scale of intensity of New World Africanisms; and IV. Summary.

I. Historical Foundations of the Republic of Haiti

Haiti is a small country, approximately 10,000 square miles (about the size of the state of Maryland or Vermont), located in the Greater Antilles. According to Métraux, Haiti is an island of contrasts. A country of steep mountains and deep valleys, it contrasts lush plains with spiky deserts, limpid brooks with furious torrents; the
The cold mist of the peaks with the humid heat of the plantations.¹ The name "Haiti" meant "high ground" or "mountainous land" to its indigenous Arawak and Carib Indians.

Columbus landed on the island in 1492 and renamed it Hispaniola. At that time, the island that is now divided among Haiti and the Dominican Republic was one unit belonging to the Spaniards who called it Santo Domingo.

The Spanish colonizers forced the Indians to work the fields cultivating sugar cane and panning gold. The Indians "died under the conditions of slavery, or fled into the mountains, or took to the sea in their canoes, looking for sanctuary on other islands where the Europeans had not yet settled."² The need for laborers prompted the Spaniards to import African slaves to Santo Domingo in 1510.

In 1697, Spain ceded the western third of Santo Domingo (Haiti) to the French who called their third Saint-Domingue. For 94 years, the French planters continued the importation of African slaves to work the sugar and coffee plantations. Under the French regime, Haiti became the wealthiest colony in the New World. Sugar, brought to the island by the Spaniards in 1506, was the chief import product to all of Europe. Other important products were coffee, indigo, cocoa and cotton. The yearly export and export trade amounted to $140,000,000. Between 1766 and 1791, Saint-Domingue possessed more wealth than the thirteen American colonies and all the colonies of Spain combined.³

During this period of prosperity, social distinctions evolved into the following segments: (1) the wealthy French planters, numbering
36,000, who administered the affairs of Saint-Domingue; (2) the French settlers which included four groups: a) the buccaneers who were occupied with the hunt; b) the filibusters who cruised the seas; c) the habitants, who cultivated the land; and d) the bondsmen who ... lived with the habitants and the buccaneers; 3) twenty-eight thousand (28,000) gens de couleur, freedmen with African ancestry (also referred to as affranchis and mulattoes); and 4) 500,000 African Slaves.

Leyburn further divides the class system into three groups (excluding the slaves):

- **Grand blancs** - important Whites who owned large plantations, wealthy merchants and high officials of the state; petit blancs - white shopkeepers, artisans small planters with only a few slaves, little people busily engaged in social climbing, and shiftless whites lazily slipping downhill;
- and the gens de couleur who came into existence because of the Code Noir issued in 1685 by Louis XIV "to cover all colonial dealings with Negro Slaves."

Article 59 of the Code stated that any slave acquiring freedom by cash purchase or gift (from owner) was to be considered a full French citizen with all the rights and privileges thereof. Prior to gaining their freedom, the gens de couleur were employed as domestics "rather than field hands, bringing about a continuous dilution of Negro blood and a lightening of their skins." The prestige attached to light-skinned slaves caused them to feel "superior to free Negroes of undiluted African stock."

Some writers speculate that the gens de couleur caused the violent outbreak of 1791 which culminated with the 1804 independence of Haiti. Rodman claims that the mulattoes (gens de couleur) lived in constant
fear of the African slaves - "at least of falling back into their wholly unprivileged ranks," and the mulattoes were "held in check by the dominant and socially secure ruling caste of 'pure' whites." The only protection that the mulattoes had was the Code Noir, and as Leyburn states, "One by one his (the mulatto) rights in the Code were abrogated. The mulatto was not allowed to hold any responsible office either in the courts or the militia. . . . Certain careers. . . . were closed to him, i.e., goldsmithing, medicine, and the apothecary's art. . . . Law and religion (priesthood) were barred to him." By 1779, more rigid laws were passed: the mulatto's "clothes must be of a different material and cut from the White person's;" there was a nine-o'clock evening curfew for non-Whites; and segregated seating in churches and theatres. In spite of these conditions, the gens de couleur played a major part in the development of Haitian culture. For it was through them that European civilization flowed, since because of the closeness of their contacts with Whites they were the instrument by means of which the aboriginal African heritage of the slaves were modified to produce the farms in which it is found in Haiti today.

Excluded from this class struggle, and at the bottom of the social hierarchy were the 500,000 slaves who produced the wealth of Saint-Domingue. They were members of various tribes from West Africa: Dahomeans, Nagos, Congos, Arados, Fans, Ibos, Mandigues, Capalaous, and other tribes. Herskovits, using the sources of Charlevoix and Moreau de St. Méry, describes in detail the traits of the various Africans:
the Senegalese, tall, well made, and of ebony color, their
noses almost as straight as those of Whites, their hair less
tightly curled than that of other Negroes. . .superior
morality. . .and warrior-like; the Bambara, insolent, not
always to be trusted. . .the Arada women, 'continuous talkers'
and quarrelsome. . .rarely employed as domestics. . .the Ibos,
excellent for work in the fields, difficult to manage. . .
pron ed to commit suicide.9

The occupations of these groups were as varied as their physical
traits. Courlander states, "The slave cargoes included leaf doctors,
bards, musicians, wood carvers, metal workers, drum makers, boat-
b uilders, hunters, and farmers. . . .Each of them brought something of
his past and unwittingly poured it into the new amalgam that was to
be Haitian."10

According to Rodman, two things sustained the slaves in their hope­
less conditions: Their hatred for the master race (not all slaves
hated their masters, e.g., the Congos "often remained on the side of
their masters and most often betrayed their fellows."),11 and their
participation in religious ceremonies of their ancestors. From time
to time, slaves escaped to the mountains and became known as marrons.
They cultivated subsistence crops, forming the origin of a form of
peasantry (Mintz), and attacked isolated plantations. The importance
of the tradition of marronage is expressed by Herskovits: " . . . it
held out to the slaves a hope. . .of escaping their servitude, and
. . . allowed them to maintain an attitude of mind that kept many of
them from becoming a prey of despair." The [marrons] "offered a
ready means for continuation of African traditions and patterns of
behavior."12 In addition, the marrons trained for warfare, and in
1791, Boukman, a vaudou priest led a slave revolt in the North. This revolt started the Revolution that was continued by leaders such as Toussaint Louverture, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, and Henri Christophe. As a result, the French were driven out of the country and Haiti gained its independence in 1804. The inhabitants of the Republic of Haiti remained virtually isolated from the outside world for over one hundred years, 1804-1915.

II. Origin of the Social Strata

The ninety-four years, 1697-1791, of contact between the French and African peoples resulted in the transmission of certain traits, customs, and behavior patterns. This process is what Herskovits calls acculturation - cultural transmission in process. The process of acculturation occurs when people of two or more cultures live in close and continuous contact. Of the two groups, the French were the dominant or donor group and could impose much of their culture on the recipient group, the transplanted African slaves. The French had control over the subordinate group, thus bringing about changes in their way of life. This control did not result in a total replica of provincial France, primarily because of the presence of the institution of slavery, differences in the physical environment, the 'toughness' of African cultural patterns, and the emotional resistance of the slaves. The Africans were forced to modify their way of life, yet they managed to retain much of their own culture, however "they also freely took over the adopted the customs and behavior of the Europeans (French) among whom they lived." This does not mean that the acculturative
process flowed in one direction - from donor to recipients. The French acquired some of the cultural traits of the Africans, but to a lesser degree. Foster confirms that whenever there are "contact situations marked by disparity in power and cultural complexity, the donor group changes its ways to some degree, but the major changes are found in the recipient group." Foster supports Herskovits's theory noting that "When people having differing customs, beliefs, and cultural heritages come into continuous contact. . .both give, and each takes." Thus, differing cultures are transmitted in both directions, from recipient to donor.

During the long period of continuous contact between the French and Africans, the acculturative process became stabilized and an identifiable culture. As Bourguignon asserts, "a stable cultural amalgam was formed." When the French departed, their cultural impact remained. The master-slave tradition continued: mulattoes (gens de couleur) moved up the social echelon into the position formerly held by their French masters. Thus, the concepts of superordination and subordination were an ongoing process in Haitian society.

The former slaves, under their first Black ruler Dessalines who had himself crowned Emperor in imitation of Napoleon, were not given complete freedom; they were restricted to the plantations and forced to work. This practice has been termed a form of serfdom by Métraux. There were two major groups of former slaves, laborers and soldiers, with a few state officials who later emerged as the elite.
Land formerly owned by the French and the mulattoes was taken over by the state. The custom established by Dessalines, of keeping the majority of the people in servitude, binding them to the soil, had a direct influence on future generations of the masses. The tradition of servitude was continued by Dessalines' successor, in the Northern half of the country, Christophe who believed in hard work and strict discipline. He instituted the tenant-wage system whereby the laborer paid a certain amount of his earnings to the state; and he established the five and a half day work week which continued to the present day. "Honesty was promoted by planting purses on unsuspecting persons and punishing those who failed to turn them in." Contemporary Haitians boast of not being plagued by thieves, of being able to walk the streets at night without fear of robbery, and of being able to leave their cars unlocked.

Christophe, who crowned himself king, has been called the master-builder for having erected two gigantic monuments: Sans Souci, the family castle, and the Citadelle, a fortress constructed as a security measure against the return of the French. The massive Citadelle which was never completed and now stands in ruins has been called the eighth wonder of the world.

While Christophe ruled the Northern part of Haiti (1807-1820), Pétion, a mulatto, served as president (1807-1818) of the South and West. A benevolent leader, Pétion gave state land to the people, "fifteen acres to every soldier in the army," and other land was "parcellled out by sale or made available for squatting." This action, according to Rodman, brought about the peasant class.
Boyer, also a mulatto, continued Pétion's policy of dividing the land into small plots; thus, creating a large population of small-scale cultivators (generally called the masses or peasants). The privileged class, aristocrats, became known as the elite or bourgeoisie, comprising a small percentage (three to five percent) of the population.

Certain characteristics other than wealth separated the élite from the masses. The élite lived in urban areas; they were "mulatto (light-complexion); had a 'classical' education;" they spoke French and did not work with their hands. 24

Emphasis on skin-color has changed somewhat in contemporary times. Throughout Haitian history, from time to time dark-skinned men have become president. While in office, they have placed other non-mulattoes in positions of power who in turn emerged as élites. A most symbolic act performed by President Francois Duvalier to demonstrate that Blacks were in power was to change the color (from blue to black) and position of the stripes of the flag. Formerly the two stripes were attached horizontally to the staff, but President Duvalier had the stripes rearranged in a vertical position with the black stripe being placed next to the staff, and the red stripe, symbolizing mulattoes, was placed behind it.

"Culturally," states Mintz, "Haiti has drawn heavily on the African past as it has on the European (particularly the French) past." 25 The origins of this dual past of which Mintz speaks have been examined in the preceding pages.
There has been some disagreement concerning the division of classes of Haitian society. In describing the urban stratification of Port-au-Prince, Comhaire-Sylvain (1959) speaks of four classes based on the findings of Father Martin, a French Dominican Priest, which concluded that the urban population of Port-au-Prince was six percent upper class, sixteen percent middle class, twenty-four percent working class, and fifty-four percent unclassifiable 'subproletariat.' Comhaire-Sylvain points out that American scholars "have described the local (Haitian) society as split by two cultures."26 ("Two cultures" refers to elite and peasant.) American researchers (Bourguignon, 1952; Leyburn, 1941; Mintz, 1974; and Rodman, 1973) have grouped Haitian society into two classes because of the vast difference between the rural masses at the bottom of the social echelon, and the urban elite at the top of the social echelon. Both Rodman and Simpson acknowledge a small middle class made up primarily of non-Haitians.

III. Characteristics of the Social Strata

**The Elite:** The elite or bourgeoisie comprise approximately three to five percent of the population. Although all are positioned in the upper social echelon and totally separated from the masses, some individuals in this group are better off economically than others. Thus, even among the elite the continuum ranges from high to low. It is important to make this point because of the implications that the word "elite" has: wealth, social status, and prestige. The student or teacher of Haitian culture should be aware of the fact
that all individuals within the privileged class do not hold the same status. The same is true for the masses.

Simpson subdivided the elite class into three major groups: 1) economic groups; 2) political parties and factions; and 3) cliques. Within the economic groups, he identifies three categories: the prosperous-individuals who have inherited large estates, obtained good government or business positions or who have become professionally successful; the comfortable—those who have received modest legacies, achieved military rank or who are ordinary professionals; and the impoverished—those whose inheritances have dwindled, unemployed politicians, and professionals whose practices are not flourishing.

The second group, political parties and factions, is formed mainly through personal loyalty to particular politicians rather than by political ideas. According to Simpson, party loyalty only exists externally; there are always factional groups within the party that is in office. This may account for the long series of political coups that have plagued Haiti throughout history. The third major group, the cliques are related to birth, income, education, self-interest, and personal predilection.27

Some characteristics of the three groups are based on Haitian history, e.g., the old dislike between citizens of the North and those of the West and South which originated during the time when Christophe ruled the northern part of Haiti and Pétion was President of the West and South. "Discriminations," states Simpson, "are made on the basis of color, although this is often emphatically denied."28
In contemporary Haitian society, the skin-color element is played down. There is, however, a distinction made between the "old" families and the newly arrived ones from the provinces, in Port-au-Prince and Cap Haitian. A great deal of importance is attached to family names; a prominent name represents power and prestige. During the Duvalier regime, many of the so-called elite families were forced to leave the country.

The newly arrived elite are politicians and military personnel. From the latter, "dark-skinned Haitians have swelled the ranks of the elite under the last (three) administrations." (Estimé, Magloire, and Francois Duvalier) The emphasis on skin-color shifts from light to dark according to the attitudes of individuals within the administration. Bourguignon points out that class distinction is based on differences in culture and goal orientation rather than skin-color.

In the villages, Simpson (1941) categorizes the elite into two groups: permanent and temporary. This observation is based on the researcher's field experience in Plaisance, Haiti. The permanent elite hold positions such as agricultural agent, civil officer of the state; state tax collector, foreman of public works, justice of the peace, mayor and his staff, notaries, lawyers, postal workers, teachers, surveyors, and truck owners. The temporary elite include Catholic Priests, farm staff, merchants, Army officials, supervisor of agricultural agents, and the supervisor of rural schools. Here again, family name is linked with social status. If an individual has an important ancestor, she/he is highly respected.
Finally, social status within the elite is based much less on income than is the case in some societies. Social superiors and inferiors are rated according to birth, education, political affiliation and cultural interests.

In commenting on the French influence upon the elite, Leyburn attests that the external structure of social institutions which characterizes the life of the elite is clearly French, as seen in Haitian government and law, upper-class marriage, and the Catholic religion. Simpson's list is more comprehensive: language, occupations, religion, recreation, family life, income, education, mobility and political power. However, one internal element among the elite, that may not be attributed to the French, is the characteristic of ambivalence. Bourguignon observed this trait in Haitian informants while doing extensive fieldwork in Haiti. The internal structure of the elite individual is characterized by both acceptance and rejection, love and dislike for the same object, "a simultaneous attraction and hostility for the same object. . .individuals attracted to opposite ways of life."

To illustrate the aspect of socialized ambivalence, Bourguignon describes the attitude of the elite toward the Haitian folk religion vaudou. Outwardly, the elite individual disassociated himself/herself from vaudou, but inwardly the teachings of domestics (members of the masses who strongly believe in vaudou) during childhood remain throughout his adulthood. The element of socialized ambivalence is seen in the elite's attitudes toward "Haitian tradition, Haiti's African past and the outside world, toward France and America, toward religion and
toward sex, toward birth control and standards of beauty, toward the masses and toward one's own self, as well as many other areas." The elite is not aware of the existence of socialized ambivalence. This trait is also found in "the upward mobile members of the masses." A statistical study on Haitians living in France supports the findings of Bourguignon.

The aspect of ambivalence toward the masses has been discussed by Simpson who states: "The majority of the members of the elite always have had mixed feelings of disdain and paternalism for the peasants." Simpson observed the aspects of ambivalency in both the elite and the peasant. He claims that the peasant is ambivalent toward the elite and he also sees the peasant as "fatalistic about his station in life," resigned to his state of existence, accepting both Catholicism and vaudou (syncretism).

The Peasant: According to Mintz, the term peasantry refers to those small-scale cultivators who own or have access to land, who produce some commodities for sale, and who produce much of their own subsistence. And Mintz further states:

The peasant may be defined in terms of the elite; he is dependent on it and subject to it. . .without the peasantry, there would be no elite. The elite live by controlling and taxing the rural masses, and find their sustenance and their power in rural productivity.

While the general definition of peasantry equates the individual with a rural area, it is not unusual for peasants to migrate to urban areas and establish residence there. Simpson calls this latter group urban
proletariat. He divides peasant society into two groups: 1) the urban proletariat consisting of those employed in personal and domestic service and the unemployed; and 2) the rural mass which include subdivisions -- well-to-do peasants, poor peasants, the malheureux who are unemployed or who have met with misfortune, and beggars.\(^{39}\)

The peasant has been described as "peacable, law-abiding, good-humored and philosophical;"\(^{40}\) and as "...a simple stubborn and grasping peasant but also courteous and the guardian of artistic traditions lost to the West."\(^{41}\) Thus it is not surprising that Haitian peasantry has long been a focal point of study for researchers interested in Afro-American studies. All of the researchers examined agree that the African heritage is deeply ingrained in Haitian peasant society. Statements such as the following are dispersed throughout the literature: "...the African cultural impact has been much greater in Haiti than in some of the other Caribbean areas."\(^{42}\) "...they (Africanisms) are still sufficiently marked to be identified in a thousand details of everyday life."\(^{43}\) It is evident that the peasant in Haiti has deep roots joining his/her life style to his/her ancestral home on the "Dark Continent."

To illustrate the extent to which African cultural patterns have been retained, Herskovits devised a scale of intensity of New World Africanisms. Through contact with dominant cultures, pressures were brought to bear on the New World Negroes which resulted in the loss of retention of their traditional attitudes and beliefs. The scale
measures the degree to which differing cultural components have been retained when they come into contact with non-African ways of life.

The scale has been applied to eleven regions of the New World: Guiana (Guyana), Haiti, Brazil, Cuba, Jamaica, Honduras, Trinidad, Mexico, Colombia, Virgin Islands, and the United States. The measure divides each region according to class or regional differences. For example, Haiti has two subdivisions, peasant and urban (elite), while the United States has three, Gullah Islands, rural South, and rural North. The degree of African retention is applied to ten cultural aspects or institutions; only the greatest degree of retention is listed for each group. In the case of Haiti, the scale looks like this:

Table 1
Scale of Intensity of New World Africanisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Social Organization</th>
<th>Non-kinship Inst</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Magic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Economic Life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haiti (peasant)</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haiti (urban)</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>d</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Art</th>
<th>Folklore</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Language</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haiti (peasant)</td>
<td>d</td>
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<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haiti (urban)</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The legend for the scale is:

a: very African
d: a little African
b: quite African
e: trace of African custom, or absent
c: somewhat African
?: no report

Herskovits intentionally used broadly defined weightings because of the subjective nature of the material.
Both peasant and urban (elite) receive identical ratings in folklore, music (very African), magic (quite African), non-kinship institutions and language (somewhat African). This shows that retentions exist within the urban group along with European customs.

The discussion that follows includes an examination of the ten components of the scale as they apply to the peasant and elite groups.

1. **TECHNOLOGY** — Within the technological domain, three areas will be considered: a) tools and machinery, b) crafts, and c) types of dwelling.

A. Tools and machinery: In general, technological advancement in Haiti has been slow. Modern machinery is not used nor owned on a large scale. The peasant in rural areas still uses the machete, hoe, billhook and dibble to cultivate the soil, in spite of the attempts of the United States Marine Corps (during the 1915-1934 occupation) to introduce the peasantry to the use of modern machinery, methods of crop rotation, and the application of fertilizer. "The tools which a rural Haitian chooses, and the way they are used are in a West African tradition," states Courlander. However, Herskovits credits Europe for the machete more than Africa. Though seen in Africa, Herskovits feels that the machete was probably introduced by the Europeans. The machete, an all-purpose saber-like tool, is used for weeding, cutting sugar cane and trees, opening coconuts, peeling oranges and for making drums. The hoe is the primary tool for cultivating the soil. The type of hoe used in Haiti is no longer of West African, but of European origin. During the United States Occupation, the plow
was introduced but it did not gain popularity among the rural people. In some regions, it would be difficult to use a plow because of the hilly terrain. Horses, mules, and burros are used for riding and carrying loads. They are seldom used for pulling plows. The custom of carrying burdens on the head is widespread, especially among women. A troquetter -- piece of cloth rolled tightly, forming a ring -- is placed on the head on which the load is balanced. Often help is needed to place the heavy load atop one's head, but once in position, it appears to be carried with ease. It is not unusual for children, girls and boys, to carry loads in this manner.

In commenting on the technological aspect of the rural mass, Herskovits concludes that the peasant "prefers his African mode of cultivation. . ." And he proceeds to compare the style of the Dahomean planter with that of the Haitian planter -- both styles are the same.

Crop rotation is rare for the peasant; the same crop is planted in the same spot year after year. "Congo peas, millet or yams are grown over and over on the same hillside until a very low yield forces the peasant to burn off and move nearby; when nature and cattle-grazing restore some fertility, he returns to the original plot." In the use of fertilizer, Bourguignon observed that peasants in Furcy were willing to use fertilizer, introduced by the government, only with market crops, and not with their subsistence crops.

The method of storing produce is characterized by West African tradition. Corn is stored in silos and hung in trees. As in West Africa, grain is pulverized in large wooden mortars and winnowed.
in a woven tray. Peasant women use this technique to winnow the millet.

There is no electricity nor running water in the peasant caille (hut). Instead of electricity, kerosene lamps made from tin cans, or candles are used. The streams and lakes provide water for drinking, bathing and doing the laundry. Water for household needs is carried in calabashes on the head to the caille. Clothes are washed in the stream or lake which also serves as a natural bathtub. Some hamlets (a small group of huts) have streams that flow in a ditch along the roadside making it convenient to obtain water. This is a result of the irrigation process initiated during the U.S. Occupation.

Unlike the peasant or urban poor, the typical elite family enjoys electricity, running water, telephones, and other conveniences that modern technology (and money) affords.

B. Crafts: The peasants have long been involved in extensive recycling programs. Being far removed from the few factories that exist in the urban areas, the peasant uses traditional craft methods to produce numerous articles for daily needs and for marketing. Combs, bracelets, boxes are made from cows' horns and tortoise shells, sandals from old tires, buttons from bone; bamboo strips, withes, and fiber (especially sisal which is grown commercially) are used to make carrying bags, all kinds of baskets, and fish traps. Wood, especially mahogany, cedar and pine are used to make bowls, spoons, trays, tool handles, mortars and pestles. Tin cans are recycled and transformed into small suitcases, pots, cups, dippers and candelabras. Coffee
beans are used for necklaces and to decorate sandals which are made from tires and inner tubes. Mintz observes that timber is cut and dressed by sawyers; simple furniture (chairs, stools, tables), is made by cabinet makers. Clothes are handmade, or sewn on machines. While the elite profit from the sale of various handicrafts, the production of items is delegated to the peasant.

According to Mintz, housbuilding and woodworking techniques in the countryside have remained substantially unchanged from an earlier era. His opinion is that the quality of Haitian rural and craft industry is one of great stability and conservatism.

C. Type of Dwelling: In reference to housebuilding, Rodman describes three types of caillies: The poorest type is walled with mud-daubed wattles and thatched with palm branches or guinea grass. The second is plastered inside and out with lime over lathes and thatched with good straw. The third, and most elaborate, is painted over the plastering; it has a ceiling and wooden floors, sometimes a tin roof and a porch. The latter caillé has two or more rooms. Herskovits claims that the typical caillé is rectangular with two rooms, and that its rectangular floor plan and roof are of West African origin.

Furniture may be African or European, according to the economic means of the dweller. In his study on Mirebalais, Herskovits found that the straight chair which is European had replaced the African stool; and beds are used by those who can afford them. However, a large number of peasants still sleep on mats made from bananas tree leaves which is an African tradition.
In contrast to the peasant's hut and the slum shacks of the urban poor, the typical elite family lives in a modern home in or in close proximity to an urban area. The most exclusive homes, located in the Port-au-Prince suburbs, Pétionville and Boutilliers, are equipped with modern furniture and appliances. Many of the homes are surrounded by flower gardens, trees (fruit, palm or flame), and bougainvillea.

2. **ECONOMIC LIFE** -- The elite own family businesses, handed down from generation to generation, which are located in urban areas. In contemporary times, it is not unusual for the elite woman to work in the family boutique, department store or other business. The male may be a professional, an employee for the government or he may work in the family business.

Agriculture, however, is the primary source of economy. The principal exports include coffee, sugar, sisal, and bananas. Foreign industry exists on a small scale, e.g., the American-owned sugar company and the aluminum plant.

The institution of the market plays a major role in Haitian economic life. Herskovits claims that the market system, dominated by peasant women, "...is a carry-over of African tradition..." and that it (marketing) "gives to women a position in the economic world quite foreign to conventional European practice."54 Most importantly, the women's earnings are their own. Men rarely work as traders in the market. Many peasant men are small-scale land-owners who produce crops for consumption and crops for marketing.
This system of labor division whereby the men are farmers and the women marketers has been attributed to the African tradition. It is the consensus of both sexes that women are commercially shrewder than men. Women, because of their market experience know more about the towns and mix easily with outsiders. Market day also gives the women an opportunity to socialize among themselves.

Historically, the market system can be traced to colonial days when slaves grew their own food on plantation wastelands on in areas of the marronage. Surplus produce grown on plantation wastelands was sold in supervised market places. After independence, plantations and large estates were eventually divided into small plots which resulted in a firmly established large peasant society heavily dependent upon a market economy.

Mintz has conducted extensive studies in the Haitian market system as well as in other Caribbean areas. It is his contention that the market is the central economic institution in Haiti which is basically an agricultural country. Approximately ninety percent or more of the Haitian population live in rural areas and eighty percent are cultivators. There are close to 300 "officially controlled" market places throughout the villages and countryside. The largest and most famous is the Iron Market at Port-au-Prince.

The peasant woman controls the market transactions; she sells the produce cultivated on the family land. She uses the cash from the sales to buy necessary household commodities and produce for resale. Market days are staggered making it convenient for buyers and sellers
to visit more than one market. This too is a tradition derived from Africa.\textsuperscript{58} It is not unusual for women to travel all night, on foot, in order to reach the market early in the morning. Often the direct route, over the mountains (mornes), is used instead of the road leading to the market place. Simpson states that the distance may be as far as 40 miles, but the average trip is from four to eight miles.\textsuperscript{59} Comhaire-Sylvain gives a range of twenty to thirty miles with an average of fifteen miles in her report on the Kenscoff market system.\textsuperscript{60}

The other mode of transportation is the camion (truck) that travels throughout the country. Designed to carry eighteen passengers the camion is sometimes crowded with as many as twenty-eight people plus produce, chickens, sacks of coal and other commodities.

A typical market scene impresses the casual observer as one of total disorder with hundreds of people, noise, stalls here and there, heaps of produce and other merchandise spread on the ground, each carefully guarded by a squatting women or young girls. While cash sales are the rule at Kenscoff, bartering is common at some rural markets. Haitian currency is the gourde (20 U.S. cents) and the centime.

Although the market place appears to lack organization, Mintz contends that it is characterized by an elaborate underlying order. First of all, licensed traders (spéculateurs) from urban areas establish outposts some distance from the market place; and the women who are revendeuses (retailers) sell commodities to the spéculateurs prior to setting up in the market place. Sometimes, the spéculateurs
send middlemen/women called 'zombis' or 'submarines' directly to the farm to make purchases.61

In establishing themselves in the market place, women selling the same goods are always grouped together. This makes it easier to keep check on "the day's trade, or one's favored customers and on prices."62 Women selling the same items side by side are often related to one another, mother-daughter, sisters or cousins. For the peasant, "marketing is a prestigious occupation...a tradition. The younger women learn from the older ones."63 In clusters where women are related, one seller takes responsibility for all commodities when the tax collector requests his fee. The law requires each trader to pay market tax.

Within each group, there is a procedure called pratique whereby the seller gives special customers "certain concessions in price or in terms of credit in return for assurances of the customer's patronage when the market is glutted and prices are low."64 Shrewd businesswomen move up to the status of revendeuse, moving from one market place to another, buying and selling commodities. In addition to dealing with urban traders, the revendeuse is the middle-person between truckers who bring in bulk commodities and consumers. Truckers bring to market the few commodities that cannot be grown on the farm, i.e., salt. A similar transaction is carried on with fishermen who will not sell directly to the consumer. Once the merchandise is purchased from the trucker, the revendeuse sells it at a low price sometimes only gaining a net profit of below five cents a day.
The revendeuses use the truckers as a source of transportation from one market place to another. By servicing buyers and sellers, the revendeuse aids in uniting "the peasant plot and the local market place with national currents of exchange, stabilizing general price levels and contributing to economic growth." 65

According to Mintz, the trucker is a newcomer to the economy. His business is one of uncertainty -- roads are few and hazardous and gasoline is expensive -- 0.94 (U.S. currency) a gallon (in 1975). The trucker associates himself with the revendeuse rather than with the rentier (urban merchants and officials).

Thus the organizational structure of the market system is not as simple as it appears. Among the noise and apparent confusion there is a great deal of order, with the peasant woman playing the central role. She must deal with the spéculateurs before she reaches the market place, and on the fringes of the market place are the truckers waiting to sell their bulk goods. Once inside the market place, the seller must find ways of outsmarting the tax collector. And above all, there is the problem of dealing with the government, national and local. All market places are supervised by state officials who keep order and collect taxes and license fees.

Both the government and urban traders would like to have more strict control of peasant economy, but the peasant continues to resist and cling to the status quo.

3. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION -- The family is the main social structure. Among the elite there is a conventional pattern consisting of the
husband, wife and children. Generally, there are two or more domestics in the home: a maid who does the cleaning, cooking and cares for the preschool aged children, and a boy who tends the garden (lawn), does repairs, and serves as a companion for the children. Some domestics live in small cinder block houses on the premises of their employers. In 1975, salaries ranged from seven to forty dollars per month, in a country where the per capita income is $125.00 a year.66

Elite families also capitalize on the services of thousands of young children (ti-mouns) from rural areas, many of whom receive no salary except food and occasionally lodging. Working hours range from ten to twelve hours a day. Some families, however, develop paternalistic attitudes toward their servants. One case, in particular, is the fifteen year-old boy who was taught to perform the maid's duties after she left. For a family of four, he cooks, helps with the housework, and looks after the children. He lives in a small house on the premises. His employer tried to send him to school, but he refused. Because of the kindness shown him, the boy is very attached to this family. On the other hand, there are families who are not so considerate. As Simpson puts it, "the attitudes of the elite in utilizing peasant labor still bear much similarity to those of the French colonials."67

The family group, according to Simpson, is the focal point of Haitian peasant social organization. The multifaceted structure encompasses the extended family, the institution of plaçage, and the tradition of rendering assistance to relatives and friends, especially in agriculture and in housebuilding.
The extended family includes all relatives, parents-in-law, grandparents and godchildren. It is not unusual for godchildren to inherit a portion of their godparents' property. The oldest male is the authority figure of the family. He is consulted in all important matters, i.e., marriage, the purchase and sale of land, the arrangement of vaudou ceremonies and practices associated with mourning. Herskovits claims that this deference toward older family members is African "both in form and in spirit."

Responsibility is given to children at an early age. A six-year-old child, if he is the oldest, takes care of the younger children when the grownups are away. At age five or six, a child is given an animal, chicken, goat, or pig, to care for. Any profit made from the sale of the animal is used to buy clothes or other animals.

Traditions are passed on to the children. Girls are trained, at age 8 or 9, in marketing, and boys learn farming from their fathers. By observing their elders, children learn other traditions such as playing the drums, singing and carrying burdens on their heads.

Placage is a distinct African retention. Although not sanctioned by the Catholic nor the Protestant Church, the institution of placage is socially acceptable by the masses. Metraux claims that this retention has persisted because of the low economic status of many peasants. "If they cannot afford what is considered to be the price of a proper wedding they would rather do without."

The number of wives (called placées) depends upon the amount of land the husband owns. Placées, sometimes referred to as "garden
wives," live away from each other on different plots of land for which they are responsible. All placees do not have the same status: the femme caillle lives in her mate's house; the maman pîtite (Creole for child) has borne children without living in his house; the femme placée has no children and does not live in her partner's house. There may also be a legal wife.

The description of the classes of placees is based on Simpson's study of family life in Northern Haiti. The peasant wife or placee is expected to be faithful to her husband. Legally, the male is the dominant figure in the immediate family group. However, the women holds a prominent place in family life — aside from rearing the children and managing the household, she controls the business affairs. She keeps the money earned from market transactions and uses it at her discretion. The responsibility of the husband is to cultivate the crops. This division of responsibilities between men and women derived from West Africa.

The cooperative work-system, called combite in Haiti, has been described by Herskovits as a form of the dokpwe of Dahomey. The combite serves a two-fold purpose, work in the form of preparing (cultivating) a field, and socializing. Endless descriptions of the combite appear throughout the literature. The general procedure is to invite relatives and neighbors to a particular farm to help plant, hoe or clean off the ground. The men hoe to the rhythm of a drummer who leads the group, along with a simidor who leads the singing. After
work is completed, there is a big feast prepared by the women. The size of a combite varies from 10 to 12 men to 100 or more. Working and singing together to the rhythm of the drum and the feast afterward are retentions of Africanisms. This practice is said to be declining.

Recently, large scale cultivators are participating in modernized cooperative farming using tractors instead of work gangs. The number of cooperative participants is small, but this trend represents cultural change, and may cause the loss of more retentions if modern farming becomes widespread over time. However, this latter speculation is doubtful for three reasons: 1) many peasants are bound to tradition; 2) they lack capital and/or credit; and 3) the mountainous terrain in many regions makes the use of modern equipment impossible.


A. Education: The educational system is set up like the French: four to five years of primary schooling; secondary education through the lycée or collège. Many of the elite regarded Haiti as a cultural province of France long after Independence, and French literature and history have been given great prominence in Haitian schools. The only university in the country is the University of Haiti, located in the capital, Port-au-Prince. Both public schools and the University are free, although students must pass rigid examinations to enter the University. Children of the elite attend private Catholic schools which must adhere to the same regulations as government supported
schools. To attend private primary schools, the monthly fee was $7.00 (in 1975) per child, and books and uniforms were furnished by the parents. Classes are conducted in French and the direct method of instruction is used. French is used exclusively and students are required to memorize their lessons, page by page. It is not uncommon to see school children reciting their homework in the park, in the streets, along the quais, and after dark, under street lights (some urban dwellers do not have electricity in their homes). The school day runs from eight to eleven, with a two-hour lunch period; classes resume at one and continue until four in the afternoon. The children have lunch at home.

Although it is free and said to be compulsory, education is not as accessible to the rural child as it is to the urban child. Poverty often prevents rural children from attending school, for money is needed to buy books and clothes. In some regions, schools are not in close proximity to the hamlets where children live. Rodman claims that the average peasant family depends on school-age children for a large share of the work. Métraux reports that in some remote areas where there is no local state school, the peasants pay the teacher themselves. The problem is finding teachers who are willing to live and work in rural areas. "It is every peasant's ambition to send his children to school, and he will make any sacrifice in order to be able to do so. To get to school, pupils must often walk for hours, climb mornes (mountains) and cross torrents." It is prestigious to be able to read and write.
A major problem in rural education is that of language. Classes are conducted in French, and the Creole speaking child must cope with the problem of learning his "official" language. In some primary schools lessons are presented first in Creole, then in French.

Some children are fortunate to receive an education in urban areas while living as ti-mouns (the child lives with a friend or relative and helps with the household duties for room and board). In some instances, the parents pay room and board in order for the child to go to school). In other cases, ti-mouns are used solely as servants and receive little or no wages. Although laws have been passed to halt the exploitation of child labor, the problem still exists.

B. Government: Like France, Haiti is divided into departments: North, South, Northwest, West, and the Artibonite. The government consists of two branches: a National Assembly consisting of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, and the President, the chief executive who formerly served a six-year term and was ineligible for re-election. During the François Duvalier regime, the Constitution was changed whereby the President serves a lifetime term.

The peasant's attitude toward politics is one of detachment and fear of civilian authorities, 'the State'.” According to Bastien, vaudou is used as a control mechanism by politicians to influence the masses to vote in certain ways. Emphasizing the peasant's lack of involvement in the political system, Simpson states, "The peasants have no conception of political issues and they have almost nothing to do with government."
C. Health and Ecology: Formerly, yaws, syphilis, and malaria were prevalent diseases, but United States health agencies have aided in eliminating these and other diseases. In rural areas, there are few trained physicians and clinics.

More than three million people live within Haiti's 10,000 square miles. The density of the population has been estimated to be as high as 320 inhabitants per square mile.80 Eighty percent of the country is mountainous terrain. The severity of overcrowded conditions is felt in urban areas. One example is a 1973 study on living conditions in Bel-Air,® formerly a prestigious district in Port-au-Prince, now densely populated by the urban poor. From a sample of 380 homes, forty percent were occupied by two families. The rooms serve a multipurpose -- living and sleeping -- at night mats are spread out for sleeping and taken up during the day. There was no bed in seventy-five percent of the homes investigated. Ninety-two percent of the homes did not have running water. Water is purchased from neighbors or from peddlers. The price ranges from $ .02 - $ .15 (U.S. currency) for five gallons. Water is more expensive during the dry season. There was one faucet for every 150 persons (one's water bill is based on the number of faucets in the home), and one bathroom for every two hundred persons (there was also one latrine for every one hundred persons).

To resolve the problems of living conditions in Bel-Air, the investigators recommended the construction of low-income homes by the government.
The diversity of Haiti's flora is amazing, but the problem of deforestation is severe. Trees are cut down and used for fuel, charcoal, and lime, causing extensive erosion throughout the countryside. Even in some urban areas, effects of deforestation are felt. For example, in the capital (Port-au-Prince), after a heavy rainfall, water washes down the mountainside and floods the city whose drainage system is inadequate.

Reforestation requires a considerable length of time, and the peasant is myopic when it comes to satisfying his hunger and his daily needs. Rodman relates two incidents that prove this point: a benevolent visitor had a shipload of coconuts planted near St. Marc. When he returned a week later, he found that the nuts had been dug up and eaten; and in 1952, a hundred-thousand seedlings were planted to preserve the capital's dangerously denuded watershed above Turgeau; again, the seedlings were pulled up and used for firewood.

An American Agency, the Service Coopératif Inter-Americain de Production Agricole (SCIPA) established in the 1940's to make improvements in rural areas, set up irrigation for the cultivation of rice, introduced wood conserving smokeless stoves and gave training in nutrition. The problem is, is the peasant able to change his traditional life style. A proper diet may mean that food, i.e., vegetables, designated for marketing would have to be consumed.

Many rural people have moved to the city, especially the capital, and they have maintained their traditional way of life, e.g., outdoor cooking in iron pots resting on three stones.
D. Travel and Transportation: There are few paved roads in Haiti. Most of the roads are narrow, winding, and show the effects of erosion and excessive travel. A project is underway to construct a modern highway from Port-au-Prince to Cap Haitian. For travel to other cities, Cap Haitian, Jacmel, or Jeremie, small planes are available. Other means of transportation include the camionettes ("Tap-taps") -- small gaily painted truck-like vehicles with open seats bearing signs such as "soulouque" "chez nous, soyez reine" and "Papa Joseph." The camion, also referred to as an autobus (bus) is a large gaily painted truck with open seats that transports people and produce to market. There are no passenger trains in the country.

In urban areas, there are Peugeot station wagons and taxicabs. Two types of taxicabs operate in Haiti: the regular taxi distinguished from other automobiles by a "P" on the license plate and a red banner in the front windshield, and the taxis driven by bilingual chauffeurs and bearing the letter "L" on their license plates.

E. Sports and Recreation: Le football (soccer) is the national sport of Haiti. Games are played in Stade Sylvio Cator, the stadium at Port-au-Prince, named after a Haitian Olympic champion.

Gaouère (cockfighting) is another favorite sport among Haitian men. Spectators sit or stoop under a shelter, talking to the cock they are supporting, commenting on the fight, and offering advice to the owner. Between rounds, the cocks are rubbed down, sprayed with water or rum, fondled and excited anew. Toward the end of the fight, the spectacle becomes gory and, to the uninitiated, distinctly cruel.
Soccer and cockfighting are the most popular sports in Haiti. Other sports such as tennis, swimming and basketball, are engaged in on a minor scale. These, including golf, are available in resort areas.

For recreation, the elite frequent the beaches. Some own private beach homes, while others go to public beaches, Ibo, Kyona, Ouanga Bay or Sand Cay. In addition, there are private clubs open to a select group. Sailing and horseback riding, as well as night clubs and restaurants attract many tourists.

5. RELIGION -- Religion dominates peasant life -- every action, significant or insignificant, is governed by religious beliefs. The peasant feels no inhibitions about practicing two religions at the same time. This practice of merging two different religions is known as syncretism -- "the amalgamation of old and new cultural materials to form an essentially new series of cultural elements: traits, complexes, patterns."83

Formerly, Catholicism was the major religion syncretized with vaudou, but within the past twenty years there has been a tremendous impact of Protestantism in Haiti. At present, there are Protestant churches -- Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist, Adventist, Penecostal, African Methodist, etc. -- in the rural and urban areas.

The African religion vaudou has several spellings -- vodun, voodoo, vaudou, vodu, vodou, voudoo, vaudun, voudoun and vaudoux. The form selected for this thesis is vaudou because it is most frequently used in contemporary Haitian newspapers and periodicals. The word "vaudou"
derived from Dahomey, West Africa where it refers to spirit or deity. A common term for deity or spirit is loa.

In attempting to explain vaudou, Courlander states,

It (vaudou) is an integrated system of concepts concerning human behavior, the relation of mankind to those who have lived before, and to the natural and supernatural forces of the universe... it is a true religion which attempts to tie the unknown to the known and thus create order where chaos existed before.84

During the sixteenth century, when the slaves arrived in Haiti, they brought with them their traditional religious beliefs. Later, in 1685, when Louis XIV issued the Code Noir, one article stated that all slaves must become members of the Catholic Church. Though many slaves became Catholics, they retained their former religion, syncretizing the old, vaudou with the new, Catholicism. The fusion of the two religions is illustrated by identifying Catholic saints and loa as one -- the Virgin Mary is identified with the loa Erzilie Wedo; St. Anthony is Legba; St. Patrick is Damballa, and so on.85

The loa are believed to have special physical features, wear certain clothing, live in particular places, i.e., at the crossroads, under water, in cemeteries, while others are always moving about. Each loa has favorite food, drinks and colors, and it is believed that the spirits have good and bad personalities. Thus it is necessary to please them in order to remain in their favor. According to Bourguignon, the identification of the spirits is associated with the "Haitian social structure and self-perception of cult members: spirits are identified with respect to power and class position and skin color and other racial attributes."86
Each individual has a special loa who is his loa-protecteur, along with other loa. Loa must never be neglected otherwise some misfortune is sure to come. On certain occasions, ceremonies are held for one's loa to render gifts, food and drinks.

In addition to placating the loa, cult members must cope with the spirits of the dead. For "when a person dies, he is believed to have a continuing interest in the affairs and welfare of those left behind." This concept is a West African retention, as well as the tradition of having special services for the spirits of dead twins, marassa.

There are various kinds of ceremonies, each having special significance. Some of the most significant ones are feasts for the loa called Mangé loa; feasts for the dead, Mangé Morts; feasts for living and dead twins, Mangé marassas. It is believed that twins have special powers, and even while living they are given special consideration. Twin belief is an important African retention.

Although rituals vary from region to region and even within the same region, the principal members hold similar positions. First in order of importance are the mambo and houngan -- priestess and priest. Next in line are the assistants -- la place (chief male assistant); the mambo caille, female caretaker of the premises; the serviteurs or hounsi who become possessed by the loa; and finally the fideles, worshippers who never become possessed during ceremonies, and who have not gone through initiation rituals.
A most significant African retention is that in rural areas ceremonies are given by family groups. Herskovits claims that only family members have the right to become possessed. Other retentions include the actual state of possession and ritualistic styles. As described by Bourguignon, possession occurs when the *loa*

'mount' individuals, displacing their personalities temporarily and using their bodies as vehicles. The person is then referred to as the spirit's 'horse'. Facial expressions, bearing, patterns of behavior and of speech are transformed and the individual's own presence is obliterated by that of the possessing spirit. Male spirits may possess women and less frequently, female spirits may possess men. 'Mounting' by the spirits is preceded by a brief period of intense concentration or of distraction, and is frequently followed by a moment of collapse or unconsciousness.

In order to summon the spirits and induce possession, special drums, songs and dances are used in the ritual. African too, are the practice of using iron to sound basic rhythms for the drums, the outer form and function of the *asson* (rattle used by the priest), and the counterclockwise movement of the participants in the ceremony.

Although the rituals take different forms, some characteristics are typical. Ceremonies are held in a *peristyle* or *tonelle* which is covered with a thatched or tin roof. In the center of the *peristyle*, a pole (*poteau-mitan*) extends from the ground to the roof. The *loa* is believed to use this pole to make its entrance and exit. At the beginning of the ceremony, the *houngan* draws a *vèvè* design around the *poteau-mitan* (using flour or ashes) symbolizing
the particular loa to be summoned. The design is eventually erased by
dancers during the ceremony.94

Vaudou is for the peasants a religion that gives them protection
from outside forces and controls daily life. It is different from
Western religions, and it must be viewed in this context: a religion
derived from West Africa that has retained many of its original features.
The professed religion of the elite is Catholicism, while there is an
ambivalence toward the folk religion, vaudou.

6. MAGIC — Since magic has little or no place in the placating of
the deities, it is placed on the periphery of vaudou. Magic concerns
the relation of the living with each other and with the loups-garous
(werewolves) and baka and bocors (sorcerers).95

"Black" magic and vaudou are two separate entities. "Black" magic
is evil that "maims or destroys human beings." The respectable vaudou
priest does not deal in "black" magic. If one does mix "black" magic
with cult activities, he is accused of 'working with two hands': one
for the deities and one for evil. For this reason, according to
Courlander, a cult priest, in making his vèvè symbol, holds one hand
behind his back to show that he is working with only one hand.96

In discussing the peasant world view, Bourguignon makes the
following distinction between vaudou belief and sorcery beliefs:
Sorcery involves a perversion of the vodun spirits on the part of
certain individuals who wish to manipulate them (the spirits) for their
own immediate gain and for antisocial ends. Vodun, on the other hand,
is the only effective method of defense a man has against sorcery, "black" magic and the troubles of everyday living. And while the vodun world view can be distorted for malevolent purposes, "it offers protection against the resulting sorcery."97

One feared symbol of magic is the mapou tree (a large tree that grows to 100 feet) which is thought to be the meeting place for evil sorcerers and all kinds of demons (Courlander, 1960). Although deforestation is extensive in Haiti, mapou trees are rarely disturbed.

The peasant believe that care must be taken to guard against the evils of "black" magic. There are two methods of defense: service to the gods, the dead, and the twins, or counter-magic. For both the former and the latter, the service of a cult priest is needed.98

Using counter-magic and wearing charms to ward off "black" magic are both aspects of African life. Haitian "black" magic derives both from Africa and medieval Europe.99

7. ART -- The theoretical explanation for the loss of retention in art is that the slaves, in adapting to colonialism, retained the inward nonmaterial, i.e., music, dancing, games, religious beliefs, concepts of nature and the supernatural, folktales and legends. Lost were the outward, material things such as the traditions of wood carving, bronze and brass casting, and weaving.100 The plantation system, concerned with mass production of sugar, did not allow for the retention of artistic abilities.

It was not until 1944, when DeWitt Peters founded the Centre d'Art in Port-au-Prince that Haitian Art began to flourish, especially
primitive painting. The Centre was established for the purpose of providing educated Haitians with conventional instruction in Art. And it was only by accident that Peters discovered the talent of Hector Hyppolite, a vaudou priest, who had painted birds and flowers on the door panels of a roadside bar near St. Marc. Peters later discovered that his chauffeur, Rigaud Bénoît, was a painter; his yardboy Castera Bazile was a talented painter, and others, Toussaint August, Wilson Bigaud, Gabriel Lévêque and Philome Obin were among the talented painters. The mural in the Episcopalian Cathedrale Ste. Trinite shows the combined talents of the latter artists. Completed in 1951, under the direction of Peters and Rodman, the mural consists of three sections: "the Nativity," "Christ on the Cross" and "the Ascension."

The artistic talent of these and other Haitian painters cannot be linked to traces of retentions, although Rodman makes the implications.

In sculpture as in painting, an American Jason Seley was responsible for discovering talented Haitians such as Odilon Duperier, Jasmin Joseph and André Liataud.

8. FOLKLORE -- There is a strong relationship between Haitian folklore and the African oral (Ashanti) tradition. Retentions are characterized by the method and purpose of story-telling and the content of the folk literature. Tales, proverbs, and riddles, passed on orally from generation to generation, are designed to be told rather than read. The narrator, known as a maitr conte 'story chief' or master of ceremonies or a samba, begins by saying "Cric" to which
the audience replies "Crac," and the former proceeds with the story. The word Cric implies the narrator wants to tell a tale; the response "Crac" from the audience is the signal for the narrator to proceed with his tale. The African belief that tales must be told only at night persists in Haiti. ¹⁰³

In addition to serving as a form of entertainment, the morals of folk literature are employed in the training and rearing of children. The proverb, "a folkloristic element that gives Haitian life a strong African flavor,"¹⁰⁴ points out morals to children, reinforces a point in disagreements, and comments on social situations.

Courlander compares two main characters of Haitian folktales, Bouki and Ti Malice, with the West African spider Anansi who is both trickster and buffoon. Ti Malice has been given Anansi's cleverness because of his ability to triumph over his adversaries while Bouki is attributed with Anansi's stupidities and greed.¹⁰⁵ The adventures of Anansi are also closely paralleled in the American Br'er Rabbit tales.

The themes of Haitian tales are directly linked with West African folklore. Similarities are found in the pursuit of an elephant's tail required for some magic purpose; the hoe that worked by itself in the fields; the pot that boiled without fire; the singing animal who refuses to sing when proof is needed; and proverbial or moralistic endings.¹⁰⁶ The central element is the weak against the strong and powerful or the clever against the stupid.

9. MUSIC -- Another strong African retention is music in the form of songs of complaint, political songs and songs dedicated to the loa. Rodman divides the songs into two classes: vaudou and
secular activities (secular activities include Ra Ra, Combites, and Bambouches). 107

Songs of social criticism, derived from West Africa, remain a tradition in Haitian life. There are songs made up for every occasion, to complain about a person's behavior, to protest or to ridicule an individual. The song of social criticism is used to expose an individual for his misconduct, or to reveal the maltreatment or insults of others. 108 The lyrics are sung aloud by the victim so that the public may hear it and pass it on. Prevalent themes are being impolite to a neighbor, domestic quarrels, unfaithful friends, scandals and comments about historical political figures. Courlander asserts that African slaves probably used songs of complaint to criticize their masters as they had used the same method to complain about the actions of their chiefs and tribesmen. 109 In addition to criticism, songs of praise are composed for those who are worthy.

Many of the musical instruments used by the mass derived from West African heritage. Although elite society depends on Europe for its music, the Haitian peasant has retained the Africa tradition, and makes his own musical instruments -- the drums from trees, the trumpet from the bamboo cane, and the flute from a reed. For African-style bells, rattles and horns, metal is used. The creative ability of the peasant is demonstrated by the variety of instruments that are handmade.

The drum, the most common musical instrument, is used to accompany songs and chants for all occasions -- vaudou ceremonies,
dances (bamboches), combites, and Ra Ra (processions with drums and bamboo flutes held during Lent). Various types of drums are used for different occasions. Courlander, in describing the Arada or Vaudou drums comments on their resemblance to those used in Dahomey, Nigeria and Togaland.110

Young boys learn to play the drum at an early age. Herskovits claims to have seen a six-year old boy give "a demonstration of drumming that spoke eloquently of his promise as a drummer of talent."111

Another important musical instrument is the asson or baksor used by the vaudou priest or priestess. It is a sacred pear-shaped gourd covered with beads that strike against the outside. Derived from West Africa, the asson is used to "summon the spirits of the dead, to praise or call upon the deities, and to accompany the performance of magic."112

Courlander has recorded over six hundred examples of Haitian music. Some of the recordings have been placed in the Archives of Indiana University and Northwestern University.

10. LANGUAGE -- Two languages, French and Creole, are spoken in Haiti. In public formal situations, French, the official language is used exclusively by the elite. The ability to speak French is a symbol of prestige. Fluency (in speaking French) ranges from very good to creolized, according to the amount of formal education one has received. Many educated Haitians were trained in France. Efron
claims that because they are better educated, men speak "a more cultivated and literary French than women, although among the younger generations women speak better French than their mothers and grandmothers, who are rarely educated to any significant degree. . . ."113

The children of the elite are encouraged to speak French, but they learn Creole from their parents and their nursemaids. Efron reports that in some homes, when the child reaches the age of three or four he is scolded, and sometimes beaten for speaking Creole, while in other homes the rule is that "parents may speak to the children in Creole" and the "children must reply in French, both as a token of 'respect' and for 'practice.'"114 This, of course, instills in the child the attitude of ambivalence toward language (Bourguignon).

The origin of Creole dates back to the colonial era when it became the medium of communication between masters and slaves. A common theory is that Creole derived from languages spoken by French colonists (from Normandy, Picardy, and Brittany) and from African slaves (from West Africa).

The slaves, having mastered a requisite number of words in the language of their masters, merely poured them into this mold of their own linguistic patterns and, approximating the phonetic values of such words in terms of the West African modes of speech, thus established a means of communication between one another. . . ."115

Leyburn claims, however, that Creole was already well-developed when the slaves were imported to Haiti and they learned the language quickly. The Leyburn theory is that "Creole was born of bucaneeering"
which included French, Spanish and English buccaneers who frequented the island during the early part of the seventeenth century. Leyburn states, "In 1700 Creole existed only in germ; by 1800 it (Creole) was formed." Hall states, "The origin of its (Creole) structure is to be sought in a merger of the speech-habits of the French-speaking masters and the African slaves. . . . The basic features of grammatical structure are those which are common to both French and West African languages. . . ."  

There is common agreement that certain words of Indian (to describe flora and fauna), French, Spanish, and English derivations are found in Creole vocabulary. Researchers including Herskovits and Efron, have found retentions of Africanisms in the vocabulary used to express certain aspects of cuisine (including its preparation and certain dishes), of household objects, and of other elements of daily life.  

According to Efron (1973), many characteristic Africanisms are prominent in Creole such as repetition of words to make an emphatic statement and the use of onomatopoeia. For emphatic stress, Efron gives the examples -- He runs, runs, runs; it's sweet, sweet, sweet -- (li kouri, li kouri, li kouri, li dous, li dous); and onomatopoeia, he slapped her, v'lap v'lap or he fell down ban. Hall illustrates the use of stress in the following: a very beautiful daughter yo bel bel fi; a great big, big mapou-tree yo gro gro gro mapou.
Efron asserts that the relationship between Creole and French is the same as Latin and French. She further describes Creole as "an independent and well-integrated tongue, colorful and savory, preferring poetic imagery to abstractions, rich in proverbs and sayings, singing and musical expression."  

A single Creole word may connote a whole institution derived from African tradition — vaudou with its variety of spellings connotes a complex religious belief system; placage is a type of marriage; tı moun represents a quasi-adoption system; "troquette" is more than just a piece of rolled cloth to place on the head to balance loads, it enables the wearer to move about gracefully while carrying her burden: "bambouche" means a party with drums and singing; "lambi," a stew made from conch, is reminiscent of the conch shell blown as bugle call to rally the cause of the Maroons and later used as a musical instrument in Combites; "morne" (mountain) represented a place of refuge for the maroons, and for the peasants it represents, an uninhabited place to cultivate crops in order to earn a livelihood, as well as a shortcut for women on their way to market. Thus Creole is saturated with rich nuances to express, or interpret patterns of daily life.

Creole, formerly used as the medium of communication between master and slave, is still associated with low economic class status. However, Haitian intellectuals are beginning to realize that Creole can adequately express "the Haitian 'soul' or personality." This point of view was advocated by Price-Mars (1928) many years ago.
IV. Summary

The preceding pages have shown that Haitian history and culture are deeply rooted in the French and African traditions. The discussion focused on two social classes: the elite and the peasant. The elite include a small percentage of the Haitian population whose heritage remains in the French tradition. Their ancestors, mulattoes or gens de couleur, replaced their French masters (after the latter were driven out of the country during the Revolution) and continued the master-slave tradition. The peasant, on the other hand, represent the African sector of the Haitian population. The term peasant is commonly used to refer to small-scale cultivators and the urban poor.

The ten cultural aspects from Herskovits' scale of intensity of New World Africanisms were used to describe the elite and the peasant classes. The ten aspects include 1) Technology, 2) Economic Life, 3) Social Organization, 4) Non-kinship Institutions, 5) Religion, 6) Magic, 7) Art, 8) Folklore, 9) Music, and 10) Language. For the Haitian peasant, the greatest retentions of African traditions are found in religion, folklore, and music, as revealed in the practice of vaudou, the Ashanti folktales, and the frequent use of the drum for all celebrations. Following these three retentions are economic life, social organization and magic as demonstrated in the complex market system, the extended family, the system of plaçage, the combite and the practice of black magic. Lesser retentions were found in technology, non-kinship institutions and language. This is due to the fact
that European and American made tools and machinery are used and that non-kinship institutions and the national language are modeled after the French. Art received the least amount of retention. During the time that Herskovits conducted his study at Mirebalais, there were no prominent Haitian painters. One wonders if the now popular primitive paintings would have changed the rating of Art on the scale of intensity.

Among the elite, social status is predicated upon several criteria: family name, political influence, profession, income, education, ability to speak French, and skin color. External cultural structures are patterned after the French — government, education, language, religion, legal (Catholic) marriage, and manners. The internal structure of the elite is characterized by ambivalence — the simultaneous attraction and hostility toward the same object, ideal, or individual (Bourguignon).

Finally, the wide cultural gap between the elite and the peasant reveals on one side a privileged class minority, especially among the older members, holding steadfast to their French heritage. And on the other side are the masses, heirs of the African tradition, resisting drastic change, in spite of outside influences, e.g., the American occupation and the United Nations experts. Thus one may conclude that the Haitian population is definitely an amalgamation of African and French peoples.
Notes


9. Ibid., p. 18.


12. Ibid., p. 60.


15. Herskovitz, Life in a Haitian Valley, p. 32.


17. Herskovits, op. cit., p. 32.

24. Ibid.
28. Ibid., p. 641.
32. Leyburn, op. cit., p. 310.
34. Bourguignon, op. cit., p. 319.
38. Ibid., p. 271.
40. Rodman, op. cit., p. 34.
41. Métraux, op. cit., p. 11.


43. Métraux, op. cit., p. 11.


45. Courlander, op. cit., p. 120.


47. Ibid., p. 256.

48. Rodman, op. cit., p. 36.

49. Bourguignon, op. cit., p. 318.

50. Courlander, op. cit., p. 120.


52. Ibid., pp. 276-277.


54. Ibid., p. 260.


57. Mintz, op. cit., p. 112.


65. Ibid., p. 118.
70. Métraux, Haiti: Black Peasants and Their Religion, p. 57.
71. Ibid., p. 50.
73. Métraux, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
76. Métraux, op. cit., p. 57.
81. Rodman, op. cit., p. 44.

82. Leyburn, op. cit., p. 296.


84. Courlander and Bastien, Religion and Politics in Haiti, p. 9.


89. Ibid., p. 13.


94. Rodman, op. cit., p. 68.


96. Ibid., p. 10.


98. Ibid.


100. Courlander, op. cit., p. 5.


103. Courlander, op. cit., p. 11.


110. Ibid., pp. 189-190.

111. Herskovits, op. cit., p. 265.


114. Ibid., p. 223.


118. Efron, op. cit., p. 216.

119. Ibid., p. 218.


122. Ibid., p. 238.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE MANIFESTATION OF CULTURE
IN HAITIAN POETRY

This chapter examines some literary expressions of Haitian culture. Since the emphasis is on cultural motifs — the underlying theme or main element in a literary work — no attempt has been made to divide the literature into specific periods. Although literary styles change, similar motifs are found throughout the literature. For this reason, the chapter is divided into two sections: major influences on literary writers from the 19th Century to contemporary times, and some examples of culture motifs found in poetry.

Major Influences on Literary Writers

A literary tradition was not one of the legacies left to Haiti following independence in 1804. Thus the 19th century Haitian writers looked to France for literary modes of expressions and used their French compatriots as models. Literary movements in Haiti trailed those of France, from Romanticism to Parnassianism, so much so that Haitian writers were later to be criticized for imitating the French, especially by Price-Mars (1928). Commenting on the early Haitian writers' imitations of the French, Thoby-Marcelin comes to their defense: "...their chief concern was to give the lie to our detractors by proving that the Negroes
of Haiti had the same abilities, the same possibilities as the White man, and that...they were just colored Frenchmen, no longer having any bond with ancestral Africa.1

In spite of strong dependence upon French literary styles and ideas, some of the early writers incorporated Haitian material in their poetry. Attention was given to patriotism, lauding the new nation and its past heroes, and recalling the atrocities of slavery. This emphasis on nationalism was designed to serve as a unifying force for the new nation.

Amid the muses and crepuscules, attempts were made by some of the early poets to express the sentiments and problems of the people. One poet, Oswald Durand, stands out among the nineteenth-century Haitian writers for his devotion to social poetry of the times: the extreme demarcation between rich and poor, color barriers, the exploitation of the poor, and he dared to use Creole, the language of the masses to compose the well-known poem "Choucoune." Thus in the midst of lyric odes, poems, and sonnets, Durand was able to reflect on the human condition of his people. He is viewed as a romanticist and as a spokesman for the people. Garret refers to him as the 'Mistral', the Verlaine, and the Walt Whitman of Haiti, and she states: "The charm of his native land, and the joys and sorrows of his fellow citizens were the sources of inspiration for most of Durand's poems."2 This is probably the reason Durand chose to entitle two volumes of his poems Rires et Pleurs.

Along with Durand, other 19th Century Haitian poets, Massillon Coicou, Edmond Laforest, and Etzer Vilaire devoted some verses to the human situation, and to patriotism. Nevertheless, the poetic campaign
for patriotism was overshadowed by political strife, and during the early 20th Century (1915), the United States Marines intervened to restore order in the country.

The United States occupation had a tremendous effect on the lives of the Haitian people, both the elite and the masses. The United States remained on Haitian soil for nineteen years, and "...what had begun as an intervention with the United States acting in an advisory capacity, became a military occupation of the small republic, with the United States assuming the role of dictator among a conquered people. ..."\(^3\)

Statute labor (corvée) was imposed upon the masses, and many were massacred when they rebelled. The elite suffered humiliations from the Americans' attitudes of superiority. All Haitians, elite and masses, were treated alike, with no regard for class differences.

To counteract the indignities brought on by the occupation, Price-Mars began publishing ethnological essays and lectures. The latter resulted in the publication of *Ainsi Parla l'Oncle* (1928) which admonishes Haitian writers to develop their own literature while concentrating on the abundant material of folklore derived from their African ancestry: "Magnifiques matières humaines", (Magnificent human material) which represents the . . . "l'âme collective du peuple haïtien!" (. . .collective soul of the Haitian people). Price-Mars suggests tales, songs, legends, proverbs and beliefs as sources for literary material. He denounces early Haitian writers for not using more Haitian material and for imitating the French. He contends that writers must seek sources
of inspiration from manners, character studies and social facts which
are characteristics of ". . . notre façon d'aimer, de haïr, de croire, à
notre façon de vivre en fin (our Haitian way of loving, hating, be-
lieving, and finally, our way of life)." The response of Price-Mars'
appeal was overwhelming: writers began to explore their African heri-
tage by turning to the plight of the masses whose ancestry is linked
with Africa. Thus the publication of Ainsi Parla l'Oncle and the
American Occupation are the two major reasons for the shift in literary
emphasis from France (a rejection of French culture and literary styles)
to the African dimension of Haitian life.

Influenced by Price-Mars' earlier ethnological studies, the Renais-
sance poets, Emile Roumer, Emil Sylvain, Jacques Roumain, Philipe
Thoby-Marcelin, Carl Brouard, and others set out to demonstrate how
their generation could contribute to the preservation of Haitian culture.
The initial step was to publish La Revue indigène (1927), a literary
review which served as a reaction against the influences of the United
States.

The mission of La Revue was to prevent Haitian culture from being
absorbed by the dominant culture. The poets felt that in order to
achieve recognition, they had to write as Haitians "speaking the language
of their own country and their own times." Emil Sylvain outlines the doctrine for the group: the special
mission of literature is to express the infallible soul of a people;
poetry should be directed toward youth and young women; the literary
style should be a synthesis of French method with Haitian ideas; poetry
should reflect the sufferings, joys, ambitions and hopes of the people;
poets should concentrate on the expressions of the illiterate masses and of children; and finally, poets should familiarize themselves with foreign literatures in order to contrast the latter with their own. The doctrine attempts to combine the Haitian and human elements in literature representative of Haitian culture.

In order to speak the language of the masses, the poets continued to write in French, but used Creole words "to portray with real authenticity the feelings and habits of thought of native Haitians." The Creole words were used in such a way that the context would make the meaning comprehensible. This technique is often used in the novels of Jacques Roumain and the Marcellin brothers.

In the 1930s, the revitalization of Haitian culture was further underscored by the publication of Melville Herskovits' *Life in a Haitian Valley* (1937). Unlike some other non-Haitians (Blair, 1926 and Seabrook, 1929), Herskovits illustrated in a very positive manner the influence of Africa on all aspects of Haitian culture. Thus, the renowned anthropologist was well received by Haitian intellectuals, and he was given an award for his book.

During the late forties, the theme of *nègritude* appeared in literature. Most writers agree that the word "negritude" was first coined by Martiniquan writer Aime Cesaire in *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1947). The concept of *nègritude* embraces Africa and rejects Western values. "Nègritude," states Collins, "was essentially a revolt against the oppression of the Black race by the White race, fused with the desire to restore human dignity to the Black who had borne four centuries of servitude."
The concept of negritude extended into politics during the Durmarsais Estimé regime (1946-50). Emphasis was placed on the African components of Haitian life. Estimé launched programs for the study of Creole and folklore. Some members of the rural mass, predominately dark-skinned, were given opportunities to become educated and receive government positions.

It is difficult to link négritude with a particular group of Haitian writers because they had been projecting négritude concepts since the twenties, beginning with Price-Mars' ethnological studies, the founding of La Revue indigène (1927), and the publication of Ainsi Parla l'Oncle (1928).

Literary expression in Haiti was suppressed during the François Duvalier regime (1957-1971) which forced many writers to go into exile in America, France and Canada.

Contemporary poetry of the sixties and seventies alludes to the usual motifs of love, sadness, descriptions of landscapes as well as concern for humanity. Literary styles vary according to the whim of the poets, from surrealistic sketches to prose poems with a message for or about the people. The French influence continues for some, e.g., Anthony Phelps favors Rimbaud, Appolinaire, Elvard, and Aragon as models, while René Philoctete, a frequent contributor to Le Petit Samedi Soir, prefers prose poems to express his sentiments about Haiti and its people.

Haiti has been described as a land of poets, of lyric poetry of feeling rather than intellect. Involvement in literary expression is
expected of intellectuals. As a result, one author has observed that there are surely more poets per square mile in Haiti than anywhere else in the world. To have his or her work published, one must pay a private printer of the state. The reading public is small; one becomes prominent by attracting attention from abroad, especially from France or Canada.

The conflict between the use of Creole and French, and the authentic portrayal of Haitian life continue to persist. At present there is a group devoted to La Défense et l'illustration de la langue créole whose mission is to promote the Creole language. And Roumain's novel Gouverneurs de la rosée (Masters of the Dew) is being attacked because standard French was used to describe the trials and tribulations of the Haitian peasantry whose sole language is Creole. The cycle continues with pros and cons about whether or not to use the language of the people, Creole, in literature, and denunciation of older writers for failing to present the realities of Haitian life. Ironically, people who write in Creole have no chance for publication and recognition abroad. For Creole, a spoken language, is restricted to the Antilles and certain islands of the Indian Ocean. As yet, no standard Creole orthography has been developed.

Finally, the dual heritage, French and African, caused Haitian writers to shift from a total French cultural monopoly during the 19th Century to an intensive search for their African heritage during the late 1920s. The latter began with the publications of La Revue indigène and Price-Mars' Ainsi Parla l'Oncle which sought to express the Haitian
soul by turning to the masses for inspiration. This quest merged with the nègritude movement which formed a literary coalition of all Black writers throughout the world. Since the late fifties, many Haitian writers, because of political reasons, have been in exile. Today, some Haitian writers continue to defend their culture and fight for recognition abroad.

**Some Cultural Motifs Found in Poetry**

In their attempt to serve as voices of the people Haitian poets have integrated in their poetry material about the country and its people. The following discussion illustrates some of the cultural motifs manifested in poetic expression. The most prevalent motifs found in Haitian poetry are covered in six categories: African traditions, patriotism, reflections on slavery, social conflicts, rejection of Western (European and the United States) values, and the emerging woman. The six categories are discussed in the following pages.

**African Traditions**—The poet Charles Fernand Pressoir illustrates in "L'Ile noire" some of the traditions that bind Haitians to their African heritage. Addressing women who are symbolic of Africa, the mother country, Pressoir speaks of the tradition of song accompanied by the drum and of Damballa (also spelled Damballah), the serpent loa of the vaudou religion:
L'ILE NOIRE

Femmes de mon pays, nègres aux pieds nus,
Dont les chants attachants du tambour s'accompagnent,
Si, fuyant la cité, j'erre dans nos campagnes,
Je cherche votre chair aux charmes inconnus.

Je voudrais pénétrer jusqu'au fond de votre âme,
De votre âme candide, étrange en même temps,
Vous tendez à l'amour vos bustes haletants,
Je pense à Damballa quand votre corps se pâme!

Vous êtes, pour mon coeur, une vivante Afrique
Façonnée en ces lieux, du temps des négriers,
J'évoque vos aieux et leurs membres liés
Transportés de Guinée en lointaine Amérique.

Although he is cognizant of the African presence, the poet detaches himself from the ancestral linkage to Africa (J'évoque vos aieux, I call forth your ancestors, not our (nos) ancestors). And again, the poet's detachment is apparent when he excludes himself from the Island in votre île (your island).

The traditions are kept alive through faith in the houngnan (Vaudou priest). Haiti, an extension of Africa, has become an object of study for scholars:

Vous invoquez vos lois, lorsque revient le soir,
Vous cherchez le hougan, si vient la maladie,
Votre île se révèle, alors qu'on l'étudie 13
Un morceau détaché du vieux Continent Noir.
Jacques Roumain points up a traditional African belief that the soul of the dead returns to Guinée, the ancient name for Africa, the home of the loa (gods). This belief continues among Haitian Vaudou cultists. Because the dead are believed to become spirits, they are placated with offerings of their favorite food and drink. For it is strongly felt that the dead exert direct influence upon the living.

The poem below describes the reunion with ancestors in "Guinée":

GUINÉE
C'est le lent chemin de Guinée
La mort t'y conduira
Voici les branchages, les arbres, la forêt
Ecoute le bruit du vent dans ses longs cheveux
d'éternelle nuit.

C'est le lent chemin de Guinée
Tes pères t'y attendent sans impatience
Sur la route, ils palabrent
Ils attendent
Voici l'heure où les ruisseaux grelottent
comme des chapelets d'os
C'est le lent chemin de Guinée
Il ne te sera pas fait de lumineux accueil
Au noir pays des hommes noirs:
Sous un ciel fumeux percé de cris d'oiseaux
Autour de l'oeil du marigot
les cils des arbres s'écartent sur la clarté
pourrissante
Là, t'attend au bord de l'eau un village paisible,
Et la case de tes pères, et la dure pierre
familiale où reposer enfin ton front.

Patriotism—Haitians are proud of the fact that they won their independence, and they sing the praises of their country and their past heroes. In lauding his country, Franck Fouche portrays a dazzling array of images in "Notre Pays" that reaches the height of exaltation. Haiti is special: there is an eternal summer where the sun is so bright that
the gardens become weak from too much perfume, and the flowers die from
too much sunlight:

Nous avons ce pays de rêve,
ne du cœur bleu de tes désirs, ô Poète,
un pays de soleil éblouissant
éclos aux cratères de notre éternel été
et qui fait les jardins défaillir
de trop de parfums
et les fleurs mourir de trop de lumière.15

Larouche says to understand the love Haitians have for their country,
one must know these valleys, mountains, these waters and forests, one
must know Haitian soil. The Haitian is united to his country by a
sensual bond.

And René Depestre becomes overwhelmed with emotion in "Je connais
un mot." The word "Haiti" engulfs the poet's life, his hopes, sadness,
and his personal being. It gives meaning to his life; it explains the
color of his skin; it is his future and his passion:

Je connais un mot qui renferme toute ma vie
Mes espoirs
Ma tristesse
Mes soirs de tête-à-tête

Ce mot donne un sens à ma vie
Il explique la couleur de ma peau

Ce mot est mon avenir
Ce mot est ma folie: Haiti.16

"Notre pays" and "Je connais un mot" illustrate the adulation for the
country. The first poem reveals the external elements that nature has
dowered only upon Haiti (according to the poet), and the second
encompasses a more personal view of the poet. Both poems show the love of the poet for Haiti.

Oswald Durand demonstrates another way of showing pride for his country in "Contraste." In this poem, the poet boasts that Haiti is better than Paris. Written during the 19th Century, the poem is dedicated to one of Durand's French masters, François Coppée. In essence, Durand states that Haiti is favored with a tropical climate and a steady temperature. There are no dangerous animals in the country; tropical fruits grow wild; and strangers are welcome:

Murit le fruit, même l'hiver!
Où le feuillage est toujours vert!
Où le coeur est toujours ouvert!

Aucune saison n'y détonne.
Son climat, dont le charme étonne,
Dans sa constance monotone,
N'a pas d'hiver et pas d'automne!

Dans ses forêts, aucun danger!
Pour la soif, voici l'oranger.
Et le noir dit à l'étranger:
Entre, assied-toi, tu peux manger!

On the other hand, the poet paints a dreary picture of Paris: the city is cold in winter; people are poor and dying from cold and hunger:

Et voici que change la scène.
Je me dis que c'est février,
Et je suis au bord de la Seine.

Comme il fait froid, pauvre ouvrier
Que ta blouse à peine protège!
Mièvre enfant qui ne peux crier!

......
Entendez-vous le glas sonner?
C'est l'enfant, trésor éphémère,
Que la mort aime à moissonner.

Puis viendra le tour de la mère!
Vous êtes vite délivrés.
Hélas! de cette vie amère!

The implication is that Haiti has warmth and nourishment supplied by nature, and humanity offers friendship, while this is not the case in Paris. The contrast between Haiti and Paris is used to accentuate Haitian pride.

In referring to the emphasis placed on patriotism by early poets, Garret claims that this element served as a welding force in order to survive exigencies at home and possibilities of aggression from abroad. However, the patriotic motif did not terminate in the 19th Century. It is also found in contemporary poetry, e.g., "Haiti", Jolicoeur (1970).

Coinciding with praise poems for Haiti are exaltations of past leaders. Several heroes are lauded in a single poem such as the one by Battier:

Salut ô Dessalines ô Pétion, ô Guerrier!
Salut, brave Magny, modèle du guerrier!
Et toi, vaillant Lamarre, à la bravoure antique!
Et vous tous, fondateurs de cette République!

Or, poems dedicated to a specific hero were composed as illustrated in the excerpt in which Coicou pays hommage to Toussaint Louverture, the Haitian hero who fought against Napoleon, and died a prisoner in the Jura mountains:
À toi qui, pour l'amour de nous, souffris le froid
La faim, l'affront cruel, la plus lâche torture!

... ...

Tes fils ont le front haut quand ils parlent de toi,
Car ta gloire est sacrée, ô Toussaint Louverture!

The masterbuilder Henri Christophe who crowned himself king is
given an accolade in "A Christophe."

Oh! oui, garde ton calme ainsi que ta fierté.
On finira, demain, par comprendre ton rôle
Dans son côté sublime; et la postérité,

Dénosant sur ton front une blanche auréole,
T'invocera souvent comme un vivant symbole
Du Travail cimentant l'Ordre et la Liberté.

Emmanuel Edouard sings the glories of numerous past Haitian heros,
among which is Alexandre Pétion, the benevolent leader who ruled the
country with Christophe:

ALEXANDRE PÉTION

Quand d'autres dans le peuple haitien naissant
Ne voyaient qu'une poule aux œufs d'or une vache
A traire, tu restas grave et triste et pensant
Aux grandeurs, aux beautés nombreuses de ta tâche.

L'avenir d'Haiti seul te préoccupait.
Tu pouvais, satisfait d'avoir le rang suprême,
Vivre égoïstement, bafouer sans respect
La Justice, engraisser tes amis et toi-même;

Mais non, tu refusas. Tu te laissas mourir
Quand tu désespéras de voir la République
D'après ton idéal se créer et grandir:
C'est bien. On n'oubliera jamais ton nom stoïque.
The aspect of patriotism is an outgrowth of the independence. First used as an impetus to promote solidarity and pride within the new nation, patriotism is dispersed throughout Haitian poetry.

Reflections on Slavery--The examples below reveal that part of Haitian culture that belongs to the transplanted African ancestors. In the first excerpt, Justin L herisson gives an account of the runaway slaves in "Les Marrons":

Fatigués de gémir sous le poids de leurs chaînes  
De voir leur corps sacré s'en aller en lambeaux,  
Ils se sont exilés sur les cimes sereines  
Pour mettre près de Dieu leur vie et leurs tombeaux.22

The runaway slaves known as Marrons (Maroons) played a major role in the Haitian Revolution. From this group emerged the present-day masses. A monument of a maroon slave now stands in the Champ de Mars at Port-Au-Prince.

The suffering experienced by the slaves is illustrated by Coicou in "Complaintes d'esclave," as the slave questions God about his existence, his suffering and misery:

Où donc es-tu, toi-même? On m'a dit que, d'en bas, 
Lorsqu'une âme qui prie est souffrante et sincère,  
Vers toi qu'on nomme, ô Dieu, peut monter sa prière:  
Et tu ne m'entends pas!...  
La prière du nègre a-t-elle moins de charme?  
Ou n'est-ce pas à toi que s'adressent ses larmes?23
And in 1944, Jean Brierre speaks of the horrors of the slaves in his long poem *Me Voici Harlem* which relates the common suffering of both Haitians and Black Americans:

Nous connûmes tous deux l'horreur des nègres...
Et souvent comme moi tu sens des courbatures
Se reveiller après les siècles meutriers,
Et saigner dans ta chair les anciennes blessures.24

**Social Conflicts**—Under social conflicts, there are two subdivisions: 1) division of classes within society because of color or economic status, and 2) the plight of the masses. There are other areas that overlap into rejection and ancient traditions.

1) Division of classes—Class division originated during colonial times, and took a firm hold in 1804, following the revolution. The consequences of color differences are shown in Durand's "Le fils du noir." The son, whose mother is White (mulatto) and whose father is Black, falls in love with a girl who has the physical features of his mother:

Et ma mère était blanche, aussi blanche que Lise!
Elle avait des yeux bleus ou scintillaient les pleurs.
Quand elle rougissait de crainte ou de surprise,
On croyait voir soudain une grenade en fleurs.

The son is perplexed because the Church sanctioned the marriage of his parents:
Mon père était plus noir que moi; pourtant l'église,
Dans un pieux hymen, maria leurs couleurs.

But society will not tolerate it: the girl, Lise, scorns this Black who does not belong to her class because of the color of his skin:

Orphelin, je vis Lise, et je l'aimai comme elle.
Mais son front pur pâlit à mes aveux tremblants:
Le fils du noir fit peur à la fille des blancs!25

Durand uses a subtle approach to attack the ideologies of the mulatto elite: he attacks les blancs instead of les mulatres as shown in "Deux bouts de l'échelle." The poem is a dialogue between two men, one White and rich, and the other Black and poor. The rich man is a planter who owns both material wealth and human labor.

...Je suis planteur, propriétaire
De ce château, là-bas, de toute cette terre
Qui s'étend jusqu'à la montagne; je réponds
Au nom de monsieur John, j'ai bâti ces deux ponts
Qui traversent le fleuve; un seul geste, un seul signe
De moi fait accourir - pour eux, honneur insigne -
Quatre cents paysans qui m'appellent sauveur.

The poor man is portrayed as very humble, a dreamer who walks with bowed head for fear of crushing an insect or a flower.

...Moi, je suis le rêveur;
Je m'en vais doucement, côtoyant la double arche
De vos ponts, l'œil baissé, car j'ai peur,
Quand je marche,
D'écraser un insecte ou bien quelque humble fleur.26
The rich man boasts of having a prosperous year. In contrast, the poor man lost his wife and two daughters. Times are hard; he works at the hospital, and writes letters for those who cannot write. In his spare time, he writes poetry. He is content with his fate.

The rich man, with all his wealth, is unhappy. He invites the poor man to come live with him and read to him when he is depressed. The poor man refuses.

Durand, in sympathizing with the poor, draws attention to their wealth of human qualities.

2) The Plight of the Masses—Writing in 1963, during the regime of François Duvalier, Garret observed that the most important problem treated in Haitian poetry has been the unenviable situation of the masses, growing out of the economic, political, and social forces. At the heart of the problem is poverty. Jean Lenoir's "Vif du sujet" is a poverty-stricken scene that characterizes the poor people of Haiti:

Une femme accroupie près du feu  
la pipe à la bouche  
un lézard se chauffant au soleil de la route  
un enfant debout dans la poussière des jours  
un peuple pris dans les ronces du malheur  
une nuit qui se poursuit jusqu'à la nuit nouvelle

toutes griffes dehors  
la misère gratte la terre  
et les hommes.27

At one time, there was a law that everyone had to wear shoes in the city. Anyone caught in the city without shoes was arrested. Marcel Dauphin comes to the defense of the peasant for not wearing shoes. In "Va-nu-pieds," the poet addresses the gendarme, and explains that the peasant does not wear shoes because he/she is too poor to buy them.
Où l'entraînez-vous
terrible gendarme
si plein de courroux
Pourquoi tant d'alarme
à ce pauvre coeur
si plein de douceur

Il ne voudrait guère
s'en aller pieds nus
car le béton brûle
Mais l'a tant battu
l'ardents misère
avec sa ferule

Laissez-le partir
pour aller guérir
sa maigre pâture
Car la faim tenaille
ses tristes entrailles
et tord sa figure

Massillon Coicou paints a sad portrait of a child who is told to say his prayers. In the process, he confuses God (Notre Père) with his own father. The latter returned home without bread (donnez-nous... notre pain), and the child is saddened:

PATER

Et la mère lui dit: "Viens donc, fais ta prière;
Ne dors pas; pour prier l'on n'attend pas demain"
Et souriant, l'enfant commença: "Notre Père
"Qui regnez dans les Cieux, que votre nom soit saint!
Que votre volonté soit faite sur la terre
"Comme au Ciel; donnez-nous aujourd'hui notre pain..."
Puis, s'arrêtant soudain, il dut longtemps se taire
Sous le heurt des sanglots qu'il étouffait en vain.
Or, savez-vous pourquoi, tout à coup, ses paupières
se gonflent sous les pleurs quand, priant Dieu pour
nous,
L'enfant devant la mère a fléchi les genoux?....
C'est qu'il est soir: partout s'éteignent les
lumières,
Et le père, accablé des lourds soucis du jour,
Vient de rentrer sans pain....
L'enfant n'a plus d'amour.29

Bernard Jean Casimir, a contemporary poet, views the peasant's
situation in "L'Espoir." The frightened and hungry peasant wanders into
the city searching vainly for food and shelter. Misunderstood by
society, the peasant hopes for a better day. It seems that a better day
would come if the peasant were not illiterate:

L'ESPOIR

J'ai faim
je veux bien manger
je n'en trouve rien
si je pouvais voler
un petit morceau de cassave ou un pain
mais
J'ai faim
je me suis évadé de la plaine
par crainte des bocors
des chefs sections
de la faim
je suis entre en ville
je côtoie chaque jour les maisons
à la recherche d'un appât qui me fuit
la nuit sous un balcon quelconque
je m'abandonne sur le trottoir dur et sale
souvent le vent me fouette
et la pluie me mouille
Seigneur
dois-je donc végéter toute ma vie?
Aujourd'hui personne ne me comprend
Et demain
le grand Demain?30

Rejection of Western Culture—Coulthard identifies four main types
of rejection in Caribbean literature: 1) the attitude that the
Caribbean Negro must conform to patterns of European thought and behavior which are not fitted to his nature. In rejecting European culture, Haitian and other Caribbean writers turned to African culture in Africa as well as in the West Indies. In Haiti, writers became concerned with the masses whose cultural ties were linked with Africa; 2) the European system of values has placed excessive concern on power and technical progress rather than on the production of happiness for the human individual; 3) the Christian religion, which, to the Haitian, is linked with colonialism. In Haiti, the Code Noir decreed that all slaves be converted to Catholicism; and 4) the double standard of the European civilization because of the brutality and cynicism with which it enslaved and exploited the Negro, while still maintaining highsounding principles of freedom and humanitarianism. These attitudes appear in Caribbean literature between 1925-1960. Not only did Haitian poets attack European culture during that period, but the United States was simultaneously under constant reproach as a result of its 19-year occupation of Haiti.

One of the first poets to show his conflict with European culture was Léon Laleau. His short poem "Trahison" reveals the Haitian's internal suffering for having borrowed European culture: his language, clothing, patterns of thought belong to Europe, while his internal being belongs to Africa:

Ce coeur obsédant, qui ne correspond
Pas à mon langage ou à mes costumes,
Et sur lequel mordent, comme un crampon,
Des sentiments d'emprunt et des coutumes
D'Europe, sentez-vous cette souffrance
Thoby-Marcelin makes a more poignant statement of rejection in "Sainement." While proclaiming his disdain for European civilization, Thoby-Marcelin advocates breaking all constraints and reviving the decaying civilizations (of Africa):

```
Jurant en éternel dedain aux raffinements européens,
Je veux désormais vous chanter:
revolutions, fusillades, tueries
Bruit de coco-macaque sur des épaules noires,
Mugissements du lambi, lubricité mystique du Vaudou;
Vous chanter dans un délire trois fois lyrique et religieux,
Me dépouiller de tous oripeaux classiques
et dresser nu, très sauvage
et très descendant d'esclaves,
Pour entonner d'une voix nouvelle le de profundis des civilisations pourrissantes.33
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Jacques Roumain makes violent attacks on Christianity in several of his poems. In "Nouveau sermon negre" Christ is depicted as having the characteristics of thieves (the wealthy who profit from the poor). The church is portrayed as corrupt with the priests taking the money for themselves:

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Mais Christ aujourd'hui est dans la maison des voleurs
Et ses bras déploient dans les cathédrales
l'ombre étendue du vautour
Et dans les caves des monastères le prêtre compte les intérêts des trente deniers
Et les clochers des églises crachent la mort sur les multitudes affamées
```
For all of this Roumain paraphrases a Biblical quote:

Nous ne leur pardonnerons pas, car ils savent ce qu'ils font.34

One of the most celebrated poems exemplifying protestation of the institution of slavery is Roumain's Bois d'Ébène. First, the poet describes the hardships endured by the various African tribes as they were transported, in bondage, to the New World:

Mandingues Arada Bambara Ibo
gémissant un chant qu'étranglaient les carcans
(et quand nous arrivâmes à la côte
Bambara Ibo
Il ne restait de nous
Bambara Ibo
qu'une poignée de grains épars
dans la main du semeur de mort)

In referring to the slaves who survived the voyage, Roumain uses the term "grain" held in the hands of the "semeur de mort" which represents the slave master, manipulator of the helpless seeds.

An analogy is made between the Blacks who have died and "Ebony Wood"--linked by the following:

Mais je sais aussi un silence
un silence de vingt-cinq mille cadavres nègres
de vingt-cinq mille traverses de Bois d'Ébène
Sur les rails du Congo-Océan
mais je sais
des suaires de silence aux branches des cyprès
des pétales de noirs caillots aux ronces
de ce bois où fut lynché mon frère de Georgie

The dreadfulness of the result of pain and suffering is accentuated by the image of "Vingt-cinq mille cadavres nègres" like "Bois d'Ébène,"
crossties on the Congo-Ocean railroad. The impression of trains consistently running over these crossties represents the oppressor-oppressed concept: the trains are those who exploit, yet they could not exist without the support of the crossties, the oppressed. The Congo-Ocean railroad is metaphorically used to show how slaves were transported to the ships for their journey to the New World. The silence of 25,000 Black bodies -- of 25,000 ebony railroad ties -- becomes Roumain's strong appeal for revolt against injustice. This message is typical of négritude poets:

vengeance et châtiment
un raz de marée de pus et de lave
sur la félonie du monde
et le tympan du ciel crevé sous le poing
de la justice

The theme of the African heritage flows throughout the poem. Finally, the poet concedes that Africa is a part of him, and he desires to belong to the masses:

Afrique j'ai garde ta mémoire Afrique
tu es en moi

POURTANT
je ne veux être que de votre race
ouvriers paysans de tous les pays

Although alienation of European culture was strongly proposed, the dual heritage remained: rejections were made in French, and many writers were educated in France.
For Haiti, not only was there cause for rejection of French culture but also for American culture, because of the United States Occupation. Anthony Phelps described the impact of the military intervention in *Mon Pays que Voici*. First, he relates the massacre of five thousand peasant guerrillas and their leader Peralte, and suggests that the peasant belief system (loa) could not match the power of the Americans:

En vain sur une porte
fut crucifié Charlemagne Peralte
Et les cinq mille cacos
en vain donnerent leur sang
par toutes leurs blessures

Le dieu vert des yankees était plus fort que les loas

The intervention brought with it changes and prejudices that infringed upon the privacy of the Haitian:

Et tout fut à recommencer
selon le rythme de leur vie
selon leurs lois leurs préjugés

Et tout fut à recommencer
car un matin ils sont venus
ces protecteurs vêts de jaune
nous enseigner avec la honte
la delation et la servilité

After enumerating the unfavorable deeds of the Americans (Yankees), the poet makes a subtle suggestion of revenge.

Yankee de mon coeur
qui bois mon café
et mon cacao
qui pompes la sève
de ma canne à sucre
Yankee de mon coeur
qui entres chez moi
en pays conquis
imprimes me gourde
et bats ma monnaie

Yankee de mon coeur
qui viens dans ma caille
parler en anglais
Qui changes le nom
de mes vieilles rues

Yankee de mon coeur
j'attends dans ma nuit
que le vent change d'aire

The points made in *Mon Pays Que Voici* are based on actual events. As a result of the occupation, many peasants were killed; Americans owned the largest sugar company in Haiti -- the Haitian-American Sugar Company (HASCO). American currency was accepted, and some streets bear the name of Americans.

The Emerging Woman--Poets have devoted much attention to the Haitian woman as a motif in their literary works. As early as the 19th Century, praise poems to women paralleled poems exalting the country and its past heroes. Women were lauded for their virtuousness, their physical attributes, and for their sensual and sexual characteristics. All of these qualities were viewed as aspects of the beauty of women. To expound on Black female beauty in the 19th Century was a departure from European literary tradition. Thus some poets attempted to defend the beauty of the Black woman. Pierre Faubert, for example, in "La Négresse" comments on the inner beauty of the female: her noble virtues and her chaste heart. The poet implies that the female is a victim of prejudice because of her color:
--Je suis fier de le dire, ô nègresse, je t'aime!
Et ta noire couleur me plaît. Sais-tu pourquoi?...
C'est que, nobles vertus, chaste coeur, beauté même,
Tout ce qui charme enfin, le ciel l'a mis en toi.

--Je t'étonne? Eh bien! donc écoute, rare femme:
Qu'est-ce que la vertu, sinon le dévouement?
Et la beauté sinon le doux reflet de l'âme
Qui, radieux et pur, sur nos traits se répand?

Or, d'une absurde erreur, innocente victime,
Mire-toi dans cette onde aux feux naissants du jour;
Et vois comme tes yeux sont beaux du don sublime,
Source de dévouement, et que l'on nomme amour!

Oh! combien je souffris! que je fus égoïste,
Moi blanc! Et l'on prétend que je suis plus que toi!
Mais au risque, être pur, que ton coeur s'en attriste,
Je te dirai toujours: tu vaut bien mieux que moi.

In the above poem, the Haitian woman is viewed as a saintly individual whose qualities are superior. The poet's tone is one of condescension. He apologizes for having overlooked the traits of the Haitian woman, and acknowledges that she is better than he, un blanc (a mulatto). In "La Nègresse" Faubert holds the female in high esteem. He deviates from the norm in stating that the female is superior to the male. It was, and still is, a fact that Haitian males represent the authority figure.

Oswald Durand shows the authoritative component in "Nos Payses" a tribute to women of all complexions. His treatment of women in this poem is one of admiration analogous to viewing a flower garden. The poet, however, sees himself as superior (je vous donne les fleurs de
From his point of view, women are beautiful to look at and admire.

From another point of view, Durand sees women as beautiful and desired by all men. Because she is beautiful, she can be selective in her choice of males. In the Creole poem "Choucoune," the marabout (mulatto with blue eyes) is admired by a peasant boy, but she rejects him for a Frenchman with a red beard. The peasant boy relates the story (in Creole) of how he lost Choucoune to the Frenchman. Durand's commentary is that Haitian women are attracted to Frenchmen rather than their own Haitian men. Choucoune becomes pregnant, but the peasant boy still loves her. As in many of Durand's poems, the subject of race, White against Black underlies the central theme of the poem. Choucoune is often interpreted as symbolical, personifying Haiti.

In "Petite noire, petite noire," Thoby-Marcelin celebrates the beauty and poise of the peasant girl whose blackness and facial features were formerly considered ugly. To create a favorable attitude toward the physical attributes of the female, the poet emphasizes her smile, and the graceful and rhythmical movements of her body. These characteristics accentuate her beauty:

Bouche épaisse, nez écrasé, elle est bien vilaine,
la petite noire, bien vilaine.

Et très noire comme tous les péchés. Mais tu souris
Et c'est une fête des anges.
Douceur de tes regards blancs,
Candeur de tes dents blanches...
Je te chanterai, petite noire, c'est bien ton tour.
Je te dirai la grâce de ton corps droit comme un palmiste mais souple
Comme la flamme
Je dirai ta démarche cadencée et la file indienne parfumée de baume et de menthe, qui nous apporte des mornes fruits, les légumes de Kenscoff et de Furcy.

Thoby-Marcelin uses one of his favorite techniques of including native folklore in this poem. After work is done, tales and riddles are told with the classic Cric-Crac beginning. The riddle is used to insert Creole words which render native authenticity to the poem:

Je dirai les soirs de mon enfance, où ton travail achevé tu t'asseyais à même le carrelage de la cuisine pour trier ces contes-devinettes qui faisant mes délices. Tu commençais très vite et il fallait répondre à toutes énigmes Cric? Crac. Captain derrière pot? Balai.

This poem also has a tone of sympathy and condescension for the Black woman. The poet, in repeating c'est bien ton tour, seems to be stating a position that the time has finally arrived for the Black woman to be admired. This is a form of rejection of Western values.

The sensual and sexual characteristics of women are portrayed in the following poems:

Alcibiade Fleury Battier's "La Blanchisseuse" is viewed as an object of work, and as a sex symbol. The poet looks at la griffone (also known as a métis woman having face and hair of a Negro, but yellow in color)39 contemplating his own sexual desires. Upon discovering she has other interests, the poet labels her a prostitute (Il paraît que tu fais le métier).
Dans l'eau, sur une pierre on la voyait assise
Chantant, elle lavait un peignoir nanou.
Le soleil, éclairant ses lèvres de cerise,
Faisait briller ses traits comme un divin bijou

Les sourcils noirs, touffus de la vive griffonne,
Ses deux pommes d'amour d'une ferme rondeur,
Doux objets dont l'aspect nous trouble et nous
chiffonne,
Faisaient frémir les sens de la plus vive ardeur.

Mais tandis qu'à loisir je comptais tous ses
charmes,
Survint un maquignon qui dit à Roséla:
"Je ne peux plus attendre, allons, c'est trop
d'alarmes,
"Tu m'as déjà promis, et le moment est là."

La griffonne, à ces mots, se lève rayonnante,
et conduit le bozo dans un hallier voisin,
Dans l'herbe très épaisse et partout débordante
Je les ai vus entrer, devinant leur dessein.

Après un long moment d'une attente fièvreuse,
Je les vis satisfaits, reprendre le sentier,
Alors, tout furieux, approchant la laveuse,
Je lui dis: "Il paraît que tu fais le métier!..."40

Similarly, Emile Roumer comes to the defense of the Black woman
for having been overlooked because of her blackness. The poet outlines
the inner beauty of woman which he calls her "réelle beauté." The
words "humble," "délicate," "sourire d'ivoire," "grace féline" are
descriptors for this inner beauty:

PARCE QUE TU ES...

Parce que tu es humble et délicate et noire
Les hommes ne voient pas ton sourire d'ivoire
ni ta ligne parfaite en soi de vénusté.
O svelte Marabout d'une grace féline,
qu'au rythme d'un tango le hourvari d'été.
Me jette aux yeux ta chevelure léonine.
In another poem, "Déclaration paysanne," Roumer compares the physical attributes of a marabout with tropical fruits and vegetables. The attitude of sensuality in Haitian poets is clearly seen in this poem. While Western poets compared flowers to the physical attributes of women, Haitian poets used fruit and vegetable analogies. Flowers are admired for their color and perfume, while fruits and vegetables are eaten. Coulthard claims that this fruit imagery reflects an attitude of frank sensuality which is perhaps the predominant note in the West Indian attitude to life. Sensuality is linked with fertility and the fusion of sensuality and fertility is illustrated in "Déclaration paysanne" which represents a hyperbolic description of a marabout, a female with dark skin and blue eyes.

Marabout de mon cœur, aux seins de mandarine,
tu m'es plus savoureux que crabe en aubergine,
tu es un afiba dedans mon calalou,
le doumbeuïl de mon pois, mon the de Z'herbe à clou.
Tu es le boeuf salé dont mon cœur est la couane
l'acasson au sirop qui coule en ma gargane
Tu es un plat fumant, diëdion avec du riz
des akras croustillants et des thazars bien frits...
Ma fringale d'amour te suit où que tu ailles;
ta fesse est un boumba chargé de victuailles. 42

The exploitation of women is another concern of the Haitian poet. In the first example, René Depestre draws attention to the abuses of the ti-moun situation: an arrangement whereby children from rural areas are placed in the services of well-to-do urban families. These families may be relatives or nonrelatives. The ti-moun's own family
is desirous of finding a better life for the child. "Face a la nuit" reveals the plight of a 16 year-old peasant girl who goes to the city to work for a well-to-do family. Depestre emphasizes the class differences between the young peasant girl and the elite family who speaks French and appreciates refined manners, and French literature:

...........

Elle renconatra donc la dame
la dame qui l'attacha à son service
comme domestique
comme esclave
la dame n'était pas seule
elle avait un mari
un mari très comme il faut
qui caitait et Racine et Corneille
Et Voltaire et Rousseau
et le père Hugo et le jeune Musset
et Gide et Valéry
et tant d'autres encore
un mari qui savait tout
mais à parler franc qui ne savait rien
parce que le culture ne va pas sans concession
une concession de sa chair et de son sang
une concession de soi-même aux autres

Refinement as established by European values (le colon) leaves one insensitive to the human condition. The concept that European values lack humanism is displayed here. There is no love for the child. To the elite, she is no more than an animal:

.....

Ce mari très comme il faut
n'avait jamais fait de concession
quand même il était civilisé
quand même il était cultivé
civilisé comme le colon le fut
la dame presenta l'enfant à son époux
comme on presenta un chein à son nouveau maître
l'enfant qui avait seize ans
Yet, as the child dreams of being loved and wanted by someone, the husband takes advantage of her. The mistress kicks the child out of the house. The child becomes a prostitute, and finally dies:

\[
\text{Une nuit elle rêva de ses bois}
\]
\[
\text{et de ses flamboyants en fleurs}
\]
\[
\text{et de combites au travers des saisons}
\]
\[
\text{elle rêva enfin de l'amour...}
\]

\[
\text{Ce même soir elle rêva d'amour}
\]
\[
\text{elle sentit sur ses épaules fatiguées}
\]
\[
\text{sur ses genoux meurtris}
\]
\[
\text{le sceau brûlant de l'homme}
\]

\[
\text{qui se glissait sous l'escalier}
\]
\[
\text{comme le colon s'insinuait}
\]
\[
\text{dans la case où dormait l'esclave}
\]
\[
\text{Mais l'enfant qui avait seize ans}
\]
\[
\text{fut surprise}
\]
\[
\text{surprise par la dame}
\]
\[
\text{la dame même comme il faut}
\]
\[
\text{qui l'accabla de gifles}
\]
\[
\text{de gifles lourdes comme je n'en sais rien}
\]
\[
\text{qui la poussa dans la nuit}
\]
\[
\text{et la nuit n'offrait rien à l'enfant}
\]
\[
\text{et la nuit écrasait l'enfant}
\]
\[
\text{et la nuit livrait l'enfant tout entière}
\]
\[
\text{à la prostitution}
\]

\[
\text{Elle est morte de la prostitution}
\]
\[
\text{de ce métier vilain}
\]
\[
\text{de ce métier qui enlève la vie}
\]
\[
\text{comme la mer enlève le sable.43}
\]

Depestre denounces the well-to-do for exploiting the poor. He satirizes the elite who are supposed to be intelligent, yet they remain ignorant of the plight of the masses. The ability to remain unsympathetic
toward the masses is attributed to the elite's assimilation with European values. The poet defends the girl implying that her fate is governed by the actions of the well-to-do.

In "les Petites marchandes," Sténio Féthière speaks of how peasant parents eager for a better life for their young girls, and unaware of the consequences, place their young girls in brothels. These girls sell bread for their mistresses, but when they reach a certain age, they are kicked out into the street, and they are subject to become prostitutes themselves. Féthière contends that the children are better off remaining in the country with their parents:

Pauvres enfants,
que je vous plains!
Vos parents ignorants,
Chez des catins,
vous ont placées.

*********

Vous n'avez pas plus de neuf ans,
Marchandes qui vendez des pains;
Avant longtemps, pauvres enfants,
Vour serez pubères, pensent certains.

Quand vous aurez vos quinze années,
Votre serez belles, petites filles,
Puis, par une matinée,
Vos maîtresses, pour des peccadilles,
Vous chasseront de leurs maisons,
sans songer--quelques catins--
Que pendant de longues saisons,
Vous fûtes leurs gagne-pains.

Sans instruction aucune,
Vous ne pourrez être que des bonnes,
Des bonnes fraîches et brunes,
Que séduiront les hommes.

Ils vous donneront des souliers
Que tous les jours vous porterez
Ils vous feront oublier
"Les Petites marchandes" also represents the _ti-moun_ arrangement. The poet shows how females with good intentions are exploited by the evil forces of urban life. Exploitation comes in many forms to the uneducated young peasant girl. At one time, almost all peasants went without shoes, and to be given a pair of shoes was a luxury. According to the poet, it is better to resign oneself to the fate of rural life than to risk degradation in the city.

Durand shows maternal love in "La Mère et l'enfant." The unwed mother represents the exploited woman whose fate is governed by poverty and social ostricism. The mother desires to protect her child from similar circumstances. The child is the result of a brief love affair with a rich man who pretended to be a common laborer. The mother, a poor seamstress, thought the man was of her own milieu; instead, he used her as a diversion from his own society. The poem is a monologue of the mother explaining to her newborn baby the conditions under which they live. After musing over their fate, the mother concludes that death is the only way to escape the suffering that will come to her and her child:
Une mère chantait dodo
A son enfant né de la veille;
et, de crainte qu'il ne s'éveille,
Avec soin fermait le rideau.

--"Ta naissance n'est pas prospère,
--Disait-elle à l'ange à l'œil bleu;--
Tu n'as ici-bas que le Dieu
Des enfants qui n'ont pas de père.

Le lit où tu t'es endormie,
Où pour toi, je prie à genoux,
Ô ma fille, n'est pas à nous:
Tu dors sous le toit d'une amie!

"Ta mère, pauvre couturière,
Croyait ton père un ouvrier;
L'hypocrite savait prier,
Et moi, je crus en sa prière.

"Mais c'était un riche seigneur!
Pour se distraire du grand monde,
A ma misère si profonde,
Il ajouta le déshonneur.

"Oh! nos jours seraient trop hideux!
La faim, et le froid, son complice,
Achèveraient notre supplice,
Bientôt, nous serions morts tous deux!

Chère enfant, voilà ma défense;
Voilà ce qui veut mon trépas.
Le malheur ne me permet pas
De diriger ta faible enfance!

--"Adieu! Les voiles de la nuit
Ont descendu sur la colline.
Dans tes langes de mousseline,
Enfant, viens avec moi sans bruit!"
Renee Marie-Ange Jolicoeur writes an elegy to grandmothers in "Pour Grand Mère." The poem demonstrates the strong religious beliefs that the elderly possess as well as the love and respect that one has for the elderly. There is no trace of vaudou beliefs in this poem; only Catholicism is referred to:

C'est bien fini elle est partie  
Trouver son bon "Seigneur Jesus  
Au paradis comme elle l'a cru  
Voir sa "Sainte Vierge Marie"  
Verra-t-elle son "seigneur Jesus?  
Il soit faire bon être là-haut  
Parmi les saints dans le ciel bleu  
Tout le monde pleure dans le hameau  
Et de grosses larmes encore il pleut  
La reverrai-je un jour là-haut  
Parmi les saints dans le ciel bleu?  
Sur sa tombe l'on grava:  
Ma petite Mamie repos ici  
Et bien longtemps je la pleura  
Passant arrête toi ici46

With the exception of Jolicoeur, all of the preceding poems concerning women were written by men. Women who have joined the ranks of contemporary writers include novelist Nadine Magloire, playwright and poetess Mona Guerin-Rouzier, poetesses Jeanine Travernier Louis, and Renee Marie-Ange Jolicoeur. The lack of participation of women in literary expression has been due partly to the notion that women needed little academic training to manage a household: a woman's place, it was felt, was in the home. To this effect, Lubin comments: "Until recently our country (Haiti) still held 17th Century views concerning the position of women. It was felt that home management required little learning."47 During the 19th Century, few women were involved in
literature. If women did write, they published their works under pseudonyms. For the most part, women studied music, painting, and decorative arts. Lubin further explains: "It was not until 1943 that the foundation of the Lycée de Jeunes Filles brought secondary education within the reach of our sisters and daughters." This accounts for the small number of women writers in the past.

Of the women writers, Jolicoeur has produced three small volumes of poetry: _Guitare de vers_ (1967), _Violon d'espoir_ (1970), and _Oiseaux de mémoire_ (1971-1972). This poetess and musician who was born in Jacmel wrote her first poem at the age of eight. Her poetry illustrates the varying moods of a Haitian woman: pride, sadness, loneliness, and reflections on the human condition.

From the point of view of the Haitian female, Jolicoeur projects a self-image in "Je Suis": A Creole girl from Jacmel who considers herself beautiful and charming:

Je suis une fille créole
Au charme caraïbe
Une fleur de Jacmel

She is endowed with love, especially for her country:

Une antillaise
Au regard
Plein d'amour
Je porte en moi
Mon Haïti cherie

Jolicoeur reveals through her poetry the freedom of expression of the contemporary Haitian woman.

Cultural motifs are dispersed throughout the poetry. For literary figures could best speak about the human condition through their works.
The following chapter demonstrates how the teacher and learner may deal with cultural motifs in poetry.
Notes


3. Ibid., 57.


8. Personal communication with Dr. Erika Bourguignon.


20. Ibid., A Christophe," 137.


34. Jacques Roumain, "Nouveau sermon nègre," (Supplement) 4 in Panorama de la poésie haitienne.

35. Ibid., Bois d'ebène, 1-3.


41. Émile Roumer, "Parce que tu es..." 362-363 in *Panorama de la poésie haitienne*.


44. Sténio Féthièere, "Les Petites marchandes," 408-411 in *Panorama de la poésie haitienne*.


48. Ibid.

Chapter Five outlines procedures for the teacher/learner to explore Haitian culture through poetry. The study of cultural motifs (underlying elements in poetry) in Haitian poetry is designed for second-level learners and classes where Francophone literature and culture are taught. The term "cultrapoetic," coined by the writer of this thesis, is used to describe poetry dealing with the six motifs discussed in the preceding chapter: 1) African traditions, 2) reflections on slavery, 3) patriotism, 4) social conflicts, 5) rejection of Western values (France and the United States), and 6) the emerging woman.

Teachers who are concerned about introducing cultural motifs through poetry must first have some knowledge of the particular foreign culture. Thus it is advisable to rely on the resources of anthropologists and social scientists who have had firsthand contact with the people in the foreign culture. As a rule, this contact includes prolonged studies in the field (geographical area). A review of Chapters Three and Four will adequately equip the teacher with knowledge of Haitian history and culture. For teachers who prefer to do research on their own, a selected bibliography is located in Part I of the Bibliography at the end of Chapter Six.
The following pages include four major steps for instituting the Haitian cultrapoetic experience in the classroom: 1) selecting poetry, 2) preparing the introduction and vocabulary reference list, 3) designing cultrapoetic activities, and 4) involving the learner in the cultrapoetic experience. This procedure is not limited to Haitian poetry; it may be applied to any Francophone poetry.

I. Selecting Poetry

In selecting appropriate poems for second-level learners an anthology of recognized authors is needed. An excellent source for Haitian poetry is *Panorama de la poésie haitienne* (St. Louis and Lubin, 1950/1970). By merely scanning the titles of the poems a general classification of motifs may be arranged as in Table 2.

A more critical reading is required in order to classify the poems according to their cultural content. All poems cannot be classified. For the title may fit a motif, but the content may not have adequate cultural information. On the other hand, the cultural information may be adequate, but the vocabulary may be too unfamiliar, e.g., the abundant reference to flora and fauna which has no equivalent in the native language or the excessive use of Creole. Thus, it is very important to have an extensive repertoire of poems from which to choose. Because of the unique features of poetry, the structure of the poems is of little importance. The main objective is to make a careful examination of each poem for its cultural content.

In the selection process, some consideration must be given to the length of the poems. One rule of thumb is to make sure that long poems
Table 2
Table of Poems with Cultural Motifs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African Traditions</th>
<th>Reflections on Slavery</th>
<th>Patriotism</th>
<th>Social Conflicts</th>
<th>Rejections</th>
<th>The Emerging Woman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assotor</td>
<td>Nostalgie</td>
<td>Notre pays</td>
<td>Pater</td>
<td>Trahison</td>
<td>Je Suis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Griots</td>
<td>Les Marrons</td>
<td>Je connais</td>
<td>Prière</td>
<td>Sainement</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinée</td>
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<td>A Toussaint</td>
<td>Va-nu-pieds</td>
<td>Mon pays que voici</td>
<td>Face à la nuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudade</td>
<td>Le nègre devant Dieu</td>
<td>A Christophe</td>
<td>Le fils du noir</td>
<td>Nouveau sermon nègre</td>
<td>La mère et l'enfant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaudou</td>
<td>Sagesse</td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>Vif du sujet</td>
<td>Bois d'èbène</td>
<td>Petite noire, Petite noire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrique inconnu</td>
<td>Au nègre d'Haiti</td>
<td>L'Espoir</td>
<td>Black Soul</td>
<td>Parce que tu es...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

are not introduced during the initial stage. The number of long poems will depend upon student interest and the amount of time allotted for the study of the entire series of poems.

II. Preparing the Introduction and Vocabulary Reference List

Each poem is preceded by the particular motif and a brief introduction which gives the reader some information about the general nature of the poem. The introduction serves to reinforce knowledge which the learner will have already internalized during the initial
presentation on Haiti and serves as a springboard for comprehending the poem.

To further facilitate comprehension of the poem, a vocabulary reference list must be compiled. The purpose of the vocabulary reference list is to serve as a resource to the learner; it is not designed to test the learner in any way. The typical vocabulary reference list is brief; words are defined in French or synonyms are given wherever possible; and unfamiliar tenses are represented by familiar ones. For example, using corresponding present indicative forms of verbs to help identify the past definite. There must also be a cutoff point for new words in each poem. The maximum number used in the present study is fifteen; whenever the number of new words exceeded fifteen, the poem was discarded.

The experienced teacher who is cognizant of his/her learner's level of linguistic ability will be able to make an assessment of the vocabulary in each poem and determine whether or not it can be mastered by the learner. Or, to determine levels of linguistic ability, the teacher may prefer to ask one or two students to judge difficulty by assigning several poems as independent study projects. Once the vocabulary reference list is compiled, varied learning activities must be developed.

III. Designing Cultrapoetic Activities

Cultrapoetic activities, developed from the cultural content of each poem, provide learning experiences for those who study poetry. The activities are divided into three basic categories:
1. **Literal questions or questions sur le poème** — based on contextual meaning and designed to determine the extent to which the learner has understood the poem. To avoid confusion, it is important that the questions be sequential starting from the first stanza of the poem and proceeding to the last. Care must be taken to avoid the reflection of the same words so the learner could answer the question without attending to its meaning.

2. **Inferential questions** — designed to make the learner aware of similarities and contrasts between the native and target cultures. By responding to inferential questions, the learner is given an opportunity to express his/her opinions on real-life and hypothetical situations.

3. **Motif expansion** — designed to aid the learner in moving beyond the realm of the poem in order to generate a more substantial development of ideas in the form of essays and oral reports. That is, the study of each cultural motif may be expanded by assigning out-of-class projects which require research in the library or in the community.

In designing the activities, a variety of formats are used: multiple choice, matching, completion, hypothetical situations, opinion polls, comparison, items for debate, discussion and for mini-research. The activities may be completed by individuals, pairs, and small or large groups.

**IV. Involving the Learner in the Cultrapoetic Experience**

To become involved in the cultrapoetic experience, the learner must possess some knowledge about the particular country and its culture, such as that presented in Chapters Three and Four. A well-prepared presentation of slides or transparencies on Haiti with a prerecorded commentary provides an excellent source of information. If commercial slides are not easily accessible, the teacher may use pictures from
National Geographic Magazine and, with the assistance from the media center, prepare slides as well as transparencies.

Following the introduction to Haiti and its culture, it is important to discuss briefly the relationship between literature and culture. The discussion will seek to answer two major questions: 1) What is culture? 2) What is literature? The teacher may point out examples of the two meanings of culture (culture with a small c and culture with a big C), and stress the fact that all people have a cultural heritage encompassing the two types of culture. It must be made clear that all people have certain basic needs in order to survive and that the manner in which these needs are satisfied represents cultural diversity.

The meaning of literature may be explained by merely pointing out the various literary genres -- the novel, short story, poetry, drama, essays -- and by explaining that through literature, the author is able to make personal statements about certain aspects of society. Thus it is possible to gain some insight into the cultural background of the people of a particular country.

During the initial introduction to Haiti and its culture, the teacher may ask the learner to make a list of questions on aspects that are unclear or that need further explanation. It is important that ample time be given for question-answer sessions.

Prior to studying the poems, it is essential to stress the fact that ideas expressed in literary genres are often hyperbolic. When the learner is ready to begin studying selected poems, the teacher will explain the format of the poems and the purpose for studying them:
A. Poems are arranged in six categories dealing with Haitian culture: 1) African traditions, 2) reflections on slavery, 3) patriotism, 4) social conflicts, 5) rejection of Western values, and 6) the emerging woman.

B. Each poem is preceded by a brief introduction which reinforces knowledge that the learner has previously internalized during the initial presentation on Haiti.

C. To aid in understanding the content, each poem is followed by a vocabulary and questions about the poem.

D. Reading the poems. The poem must be read twice, the first time without looking at the vocabulary and the second time referring to the vocabulary.

Thus a single format, consisting of eight components, is used for all poems:

1. Motif
2. Title of poem
3. Introduction to the poem
4. The poem
5. Vocabulary reference list
6. Literal questions
7. Inferential questions
8. Motif expansion activities

The following pages show how the Cultrapoetic format may be applied to selected poems.

CULTURAL MOTIF: PATRIOTISM

Poem: Notre Pays

Introduction: In 1804, the slaves won their freedom by overthrowing the French and driving them out of Haiti. The Haitians are proud of their country and their heroes. Haitian poets express their
love for Haiti in many ways. Here is an example of patriotism shown through poetry.

NOTRE PAYS

Nous avons ce pays de rêve
né du coeur de tes désirs, ô poète,
un pays de soleil éblouissant
éclot aux cratères* de notre éternel été
et qui fait les jardins défaillir*
de trop de parfums
"et les fleurs mourir de trop de lumière."

Nous avons un pays où toujours les arbres
sont verts, car* nous ne connaissons pas
l'automne aux doigts de fanure et de rouille*
ni le triste hiver aux paysages de glace.

Notre pays est peuplé de femmes,
belles dans la diversité bizarre de nuances,
belles, mais d'une unique beauté,
car nos payses,* poésie d'Haiti,
ne ressemblent à aucune autre femme.

Nous aimons le violon,
autant que le tambour:
Nous adorons l'Eglise
et nous aimons le vodou.
L'étude nous passionne comme la femme.
Trop souvent sommes-nous palabreurs*
et trop peu comptons avec les actes
qui marquent...imposent...sont des révolutions;
mais toujours altière* est notre tête,
altière comme nos gigantesques ancêtres
circule, martiale et chaude, l'épopée, en feu.

(Franck Fouché)

VOCABULAIRE

eblouissant -- éclat (dazzling)
éclos aux cratères -- bursting forth in the craters
defaillir -- devenir faible
les doigts (m) de fanure et de rouille -- sans couleur vive et âgé
car -- parce que
NOTRE PAYS

I. LITERAL QUESTIONS or questions sur le poème are designed to determine whether the students have adequately comprehended the contextual meaning of the poem. Each poem is followed by a set of literal questions which are considered the point of departure for the study of a particular motif. Hereafter, there will be no statement preceding the questions sur le poème.

Questions sur le poème.

1. Dans ce poème, le poète donne une description de son pays. Quel temps fait-il?

   A. Il fait froid.
   B. Il fait chaud.
   C. Il fait frais.
   D. Il fait du vent.
2. Aux États-Unis, il y a quatre saisons: l'automne, l'hiver, le printemps, et l'été. Dans le pays du poète, il y a combien de saisons?

   ___ A. Une.
   ___ B. Deux.
   ___ C. Trois.
   ___ D. Quatre.

3. Dans ce pays, la/les saison(s) est/sont...

   ___ A. l'été.
   ___ B. l'hiver et l'automne.
   ___ C. le printemps et l'été.
   ___ D. l'automne, l'hiver, le printemps et l'été.

4. Le poète admire les femmes de son pays. Les femmes comment sont-elles?

   ___ A. Laides.
   ___ B. Jolies.
   ___ C. Vieilles.
   ___ D. Bizarres.

5. Quel synonyme le poète utilise-t-il pour le mot "femme"?

   ___ A. Peuple.
   ___ B. Bizarre.
   ___ C. Payse.
   ___ D. Nuance.

6. Selon le poète, quelle(s) religion(s) aiment-ils?

   ___ A. L'église (Catholique).
   ___ B. Le vodou.
   ___ C. L'église et le vodou.
   ___ D. Ils n'ont pas de religion.
7. Qu'est-ce que les gens aiment faire?
   ___A. Etudier.
   ___B. Jouer.
   ___C. Manger.
   ___D. Compter.

8. Comment s'appelle le pays dont le poète parle?
   ___A. L'Amérique.
   ___B. La France.
   ___C. Il n'y a pas de nom.
   ___D. Haiti.

9. Quel est le sentiment du poète?
   ___A. Il aime seulement les femmes.
   ___B. Il aime seulement les instruments musicaux.
   ___C. Il aime son pays.
   ___D. Il aime l'Eglise.

II. TYPES OF INFERENTIAL QUESTIONS

   In the Cultrapoetic approach, various types of inferential questions are used to a) increase an awareness of Haitian culture while intensifying knowledge of the native culture; b) develop communication skills; c) encourage freedom of expression while using the foreign language; and d) show similarities and contrasts between the target and native cultures. Further, the Cultrapoetic approach incorporates affective and cognitive activities so that students may simultaneously communicate their feelings and ideas while learning about Haitian culture.
A. OPINIONS -- Using the patriotism motif as a springboard, students are given an opportunity to express their feelings about their own country and the people in it. The students may choose from the list of adjectives provided or they may add their own. There is no limit to the number of choices one can make. The level of difficulty is minimal.

Maintenant, à votre tour. Comment est votre pays?

1. Mon pays est... joli.
   historique.
   laid.
   parfait.
   idéal.
   ______

2. Les femmes de mon pays sont... belles.
   sportives.
   optimistes.
   idéalistes.
   indépendantes.
   laides.
   bavardes.
   pessimistes.
   révolutionnaires.
   ______

3. Les femmes de mon pays ne sont pas... révolutionnaires.
   indépendantes.
   individualistes.
   pessimistes.
   bavardes.
   ______

4. Généralement, les femmes de mon pays préfèrent...
   faire le ménage.
   se marier.
   travailler.
   rester célibataire
   vivre avec un ami.
   ______
5. Les femmes de mon pays s'occupent... des affaires civiques. des affaires politiques. des affaires féministes. __________

6. Dans mon pays, la chose la plus importante est...
   l'économie.
   la politique.
   la mode.
   l'ERA.
   le sexe.
   la bière. __________

7. J'aime mon pays, mais je préfère habiter... en France.
   en Afrique.
   en Amérique du Sud.
   en Haïti.
   au Canada. __________

8. En général, les hommes de mon pays sont... (voir #2)
   beaux.
   sportifs.
   optimistes.
   idéalistes.
   laids.
   bavards.
   pessimistes.
   révolutionnaires. __________

B. COMPARISON -- The patriotism motif may be expanded to gain insights into the political system, the government, national symbols, modes of transportation and other aspects of culture. Information included in each of the questions below allow students to learn an aspect of the target culture while comparing it with their own. Thus, while learning about Haitian culture, the students are able to intensify their knowledge of their native culture. Since poetry
has its limitations, cultural information can be built into any activity. The student should encounter minimal difficulty in performing this activity.

1. En Haïti, le Chef d'État est un président à vie (C'est-à-dire qu'il reste président jusqu'à sa mort. Pour combien de temps le président des États-Unis est-il élu par le peuple?

   ____ A. Un an.
   ____ B. Deux ans.
   ____ C. Trois ans.
   ____ D. Quatre ans.

2. Le drapeau d'Haïti est noir et rouge. Le drapeau des États-Unis est...

   ____ A. noir, rouge, vert.
   ____ B. rouge, vert, blanc.
   ____ C. vert, blanc, bleu.
   ____ D. rouge, blanc, bleu.

3. Les modes de transport pour les Haïtiens sont les autobus (les Taps Taps), les motos, les chevaux (Oui, même en ville!), les bicyclettes, les autos et les petits avions. Faites une liste des modes de transports des Américains:

C. & D. MATCHING/COMPLETION -- These activities represent large "C" culture which will acquaint the learner with famous monuments and landmarks while reinforcing the concept that every country (or culture) has its great contributions to civilization. The technique used is similar to the preceding one in activity B. A review of the introduction to Haïti is required before completing these activities. The level of difficulty is average.
C. MATCHING

Il y a beaucoup de monuments aux États-Unis et en Haïti. Choisissez le monument américain qui correspond au monument haïtien.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Haïtien</th>
<th>Américain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Le marron inconnu de Saint-Domingue.</td>
<td>A. Abraham Lincoln (statue à Washington, D.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. La Cloche de la Liberté</td>
<td>D. Le Bureau de Tourisme à N.Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. La Cathédrale de Port-au-Prince</td>
<td>H. La Maison Blanche.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. COMPLETION

1. En Haïti, il y a un Casino International.  
   A Las Vegas, Nevada, il y a beaucoup de __________________________.

2. En Haïti, on parle français et créole.  
   Aux États-Unis, la langue officielle est __________________________.
3. L'Haiti est petit, mais l'Amérique est ________________________.

4. L'argent haitien s'appelle la_gourde; l'argent américain s'appelle ________________________.

E. VALUES CONTINUUM -- Students are given an opportunity to make position statements. To further generate oral or written communication, the teacher may ask the students to state in five or ten sentences reasons for their positions.

Comme femme/homme en Amerique, je suis __________________________________________

libre   /  un peu libre   /  pas libre

F. MON AMERICAIN(E)/ETRANGER/ETRANGERE IDEAL(E) -- This activity provides an opportunity for freedom of expression. The students make a list of adjectives describing the people they most admire. This activity could be expanded into two or three paragraphs or a brief oral presentation.
Mon Américain(e) idéal(e).

A. Nom__________________________

B. Elle/Il est (liste d'adjs):
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 
   6. 
   7. 
   8. 

Mon étranger/étrangère idéal(e)

A. Nom__________________________

B. Elle/Il est:
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 
   6. 
   7. 
   8. 

G. RANK ORDER -- The students are given an opportunity to examine their values by ranking from one to ten the things that are most important to them. This activity is likely to generate lively discussion in the form of varied opinions of the most or least significant values.

L'Ordre des choses les plus importantes du monde.

   1. la paix
   2. les droits des femmes
   3. les droits des femmes et des minorités
   4. l'éducation
   5. la politique
   6. le loisir
   7. la religion
   8. le mariage
   9. la liberté
  10. l'argent
H. OÙ VOUDRIEZ-VOUS PASSER VOTRE LUNE DE MIEL? -- In this activity, the students are given several countries from which to choose or they may select their own. They are asked to give ten or more reasons for their choices.

Où voudriez-vous passer votre lune de miel?

1. Au Canada
2. En Amérique du Sud
3. En Haïti
4. En France
5. ____?____ (votre choix)

Je voudrais passer ma lune de miel __________________________
parce que...

I. SITUATION -- This activity is used to reinforce information that has already been learned. An activity of this type can best be done in paired conversation. Students working in groups of two can prepare their conversations before presenting them in class. The model below is intentionally open ended in order to capitalize on the imagination and creativity of the students.

Vous faites la connaissance d'un(e) Haïtien(ne). Il/Elle vous parle de son pays. Quelles sont vos réponses?

L'Haitien: Dans mon pays, il fait toujours chaud.

Vous: Dans mon pays, il ne fait pas toujours chaud, quelquefois il fait ____________________.

L'Haitien: Notre pays est petit.
Vous: Notre pays est ________________.

L'Haitien: Dans mon pays, on parle français et créole.

Vous: Dans mon pays, on parle ____________.

L'Haitien: Dans mon pays, il y a un président à vie qui habite dans un Palais National.

Vous: Dans mon pays, il y a un président qui habite dans une ________________.

L'Haitien: La capitale d'Haiti est Port-au-Prince.

Vous: La capitale des Etats-Unis est ________________.

L'Haitien: En Haiti, le sport le plus populaire c'est le football, c'est-à-dire "le soccer."

Vous: En Amérique, il y a beaucoup de sports populaires, mais à mon avis, le sport le plus populaire c'est ________________

**III. MOTIF EXPANSION ACTIVITIES** — By participating in Motif Expansion activities the learner is able to move beyond the realm of the poem and inferential questions in order to develop a particular motif through the exploration of a wide range of topics related to the target culture. Motif Expansion activities may be prepared by individuals or small groups. The final product will be an essay, oral report or a small group discussion. An examination of the suggested topics below will provide further awareness of the target country and some of its traditions. Some topics are more challenging than others so that students with varied linguistic abilities may participate.
Motif Expansion -- Pour la recherche

1. Haïti: sa géographie et son climat
2. Les produits haïtiens
3. Le question de vaudou en Haïti
4. Le Mardi-Gras
5. Le tourisme en Haïti
6. Les modes de transports en Haïti

CULTURAL MOTIF: SLAVERY

Poem: Nostalgie

Introduction: Haitians were once enslaved by the French. The slaves were brought from Africa and forced to work on the plantations. In the poem "Nostalgie," the poet reveals the transplanted Africans' sentiments for their homeland.

NOSTALGIE

Dans les sombres forêts de l'Afrique sauvage
Où, gigantesque, croît le Baobab sacré,
J'ai vécu libre, heureux, sans ces fers d'esclavage
Que le Blanc a forgés pour le noir exécré.

N'ayant pour horizons que déserts ou montagnes,
Mes yeux ont ignore ces plaines que je vois,
Ces ravins et ces pics et ces riches campagnes
Où de mes dieux aimés je n'entends plus la voix.

La Mer -- la vaste Mer aux flots multicoles,
Ne m'a jamais bercé de ses vagues sonores;
Pourtant, dans mon exil, c'est elle qui, le soir.

M'apporte en ces rumeurs dolentes et lointaines
Les sanglots affaiblis des forêts guinéennes,
Où l'amour maternel se tord de désespoir!...

(Justin Lherisson)
**VOCABULAIRE**

sombre — peu de lumière.
gigantesque — très grand.
le Baobab — un arbre qu'on trouve en Afrique.
les fers (m) d'esclavage — les chaines pour l'esclave.
exécré — détesté.
le ravin/les pics (m) — (ravine/peaks).
sonores — sonorous.
dolente — triste.
les sanglots (m) affaiblis — (weak sobs).
guinéenne — africaine
se tord — (distorted)

1. **QUESTIONS SUR LE POÈME**

1. Le Baobab est un arbre sacré. Est-il grand ou petit?
2. Où se trouve le Baobab?
3. Dans le poème, le personnage est "le noir." De quel pays parle-t-il?
4. Où est-ce qu'il a vécu?
5. Où est-il maintenant?
6. Est-ce qu'il est heureux ou malheureux?
7. Qu'est-ce que le noir n'entend plus?
8. Qu'est-ce qui sépare le noir de son pays natal?
9. Selon le noir, qu'est-ce qui est dans les forêts guinéennes?
10. A votre avis, pourquoi est-ce que ce poème s'appelle "Nostalgie"?
II. **TYPES OF INFERENTIAL QUESTIONS**

The Cultrapoetic approach continuously incorporates personal experiences with learning Haitian culture. Thus, students can simultaneously communicate their feelings and ideas while learning about the target culture. Activity A shows how personalization may be achieved by capitalizing on the title of the poem.

A. **QUAND ETES-VOUS NOSTALGIQUE?**

Je suis nostalgique quand...

1. je voyage seul(e).
2. je quitte mes parents pour aller à l'université.
3. mon/ma fiancé(e) va à un pays lointain.
4. ?
5. ?
6. ?

B. **L'AIR D'UN ESCLAVE** -- This activity requires that the term *esclave* (slave) be used in the figurative connotation -- "to work like a slave" or "my prof is a slavedriver." The teacher may explain that the word *esclave* is not to be taken literally in completing the activity. This activity gives students an opportunity to use their imagination while communicating in the foreign language.

Aujourd'hui, l'esclavage n'existe plus mais quelquefois on a l'air d'un esclave. Par exemple, j'ai l'air d'un esclave quand...

1. il faut aller à la blanchisserie automatique.
2. il faut faire la vaisselle.
3. il faut travailler après mes classes.
4. il faut rester chez moi au lieu de sortir le soir.
5. je n'ai pas d'argent.

Dites quand vous avez l'air d'un esclave:
J'ai l'air d'un esclave quand...
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

C. OPINIONS -- The objective of this activity is to "feel the pulse" of the class about a social problem, the status of the homemaker. The students express their opinions and the results are tallied and reported to the class.

Opinions (Sondage)

La femme de ménage est traitée comme esclave par sa famille surtout par son mari.

Souvent Rarement Jamais

D. & E. Activity D links the slavery motif with the now famous saga of television series in order to underscore a similar aspect of Haitian and American culture: the institution of slavery. Another way to emphasize this similarity between the two cultures is by asking students to list famous American slaves as shown in Activity E.
D. Imaginez que vous allez interviewer l'esclave célèbre Kunta Kinte (de Roots). À votre avis, comment répond-il à vos questions?

1. D'où est-il venu?
2. Pourquoi est-il en Amérique?
3. Qui est sa femme?
4. Comment s'appelle sa fille?
5. Comment trouve-t-il le nouveau pays?

E. Dans le poème "Nostalgie" le noir est un esclave. Un esclave est une personne qui n'est pas libre. Il y a beaucoup de personnes célèbres qui étaient des esclaves. Faites une liste:

**Femmes**
1. Harriet Tubman
2. Phyllis Wheatley
3. Sojourner Truth

**Hommes**
1. Frederick Douglass
2. Nat Turner
3. Chrispus Attucks

III. **MOTIF EXPANSION ACTIVITIES** -- The activities below will allow students to explore the lives of former slaves who became famous Haitian leaders and learn about flora indigenous to Haiti (the mapou) and Africa (the baobab). Activities 4-6 require an examination of some contemporary issues in American culture as well as Haitian culture. The final activity creates an opportunity for students to come in contact with senior citizens in the community.
Motif Expansion -- Pour la recherche

1. La vie de Toussaint Louverture, d'Henri Christophe, de Jean-Jacques Dessalines

2. L'histoire du Baobab

3. L'histoire du Mapou

4. La nostalgie
   a. chez les femmes
   b. chez les jeunes
   c. chez les vieux

5. Les pauvres du monde restent des esclaves parce qu'ils....
   (Terminer la phrase)

6. La question d'esclavage est/n'est pas importante au vingtième siècle parce que....

7. Interviewez une vieille personne qui est descendante des esclaves. Après l'interview, dites à la classe:
   a. Les noms des esclaves.
   b. Où ils habitaient.
   c. Leurs âges à leurs morts.
   d. Un événement important dans la vie de la descendante.

CULTURAL MOTIF: REJECTION OF WESTERN VALUES

Poem: Mon pays que voici

Introduction: Here is a poem that demonstrates the rejection motif. The United States Marines occupied Haiti for 19 years. In "Mon pays que voici" Anthony Phelps describes some of the events that took place during that period:
MON PAYS QUE VOICI

En vain sur une porte
fut* crucifié Charlemagne Peralte*
Et les cinq mille cacos*
en vain donnerent leur sang
par toutes leurs blessures*

Le dieu vert des yankees était plus fort
que les loas*

Et tout fut à recommencer
selon le rythme de leur vie
selon leurs lois leurs préjugés

Et tout fut à recommencer
car un matin ils sont venus
ces protecteurs vêtus de jaune
nous enseigner* avec la honte
la délation* et la servilité*

Yankee de mon coeur
qui bois mon café
et mon cacao*
qui pompe la sève*
de ma canne à sucre*

Yankee de mon coeur
qui entres chez moi
en pays conquis
imprime ma gourde*
et bats ma monnaie*

Yankee de mon coeur
qui viens dans ma caille*
parler en anglais
qui changes le nom
de mes vieilles rues

Yankee de mon coeur
j'attends dans ma nuit
que le vent change d'aire

(Anthony Phelps)
VOCABULAIRE

fut -- était.

Charlemagne Peralte -- un chef haitien.

les cacos -- guérillero/troupe de partisans (soldats).

blessures -- faire mal à quelqu'un.

les loas (m) -- dieux africains.

le cacao -- poudre chocolat.

enseigner -- instruire, éduquer.

la délation et la servilité -- la dénonciation et la soumission (comme esclave).

la sève -- le jus de la plante à sucre.

la canne à sucre -- la plante à sucre.

imprime ma gourde -- faire l'argent haitien/la gourde est l'argent papier.

bats ma monnaie -- faire l'argent metal; comme la centime.

la caille -- la hutte.

I. QUESTIONS SUR LE POÈME

1. Si Charlemagne Peralte était crucifié, il était...
   A. blessé.
   B. préjugé.
   C. tué.
   D. fort.

2. Les cinq mille cacos étaient...
   A. blessés.
   B. préjugés.
   C. tués.
   D. forts.
3. Un synonyme du mot "soldat américain" est
   A. loa.
   B. dieu.
   C. soldat haitien.
   D. Yankee.

4. Le poète n'aime pas le yankee parce qu'il
   A. bois son café.
   B. veut tout changer.
   C. imprime son argent.
   D. vient dans sa caillé.

5. En un mot, le sentiment du poète est celui de la/l'
   A. pitié.
   B. vengeance.
   C. inquiétude.
   D. peur.

II. TYPES OF INFERENTIAL QUESTIONS
Activities A, B, and C require the student to make judgments
about real-life situations. In Activity A, a key word, "yankee,"
taken from the poem creates an opportunity for the student to
concentrate on the American influence on other cultures.
Activity B allows the student to hypothesize about an event
that actually took place in Haiti which is not unlike the reac­
tions of many Americans to the Vietnamese War. Activity C again
"feels the pulse" of the class. This activity may be expanded by
asking reasons for student responses.
A. A Votre Avis

Que signifie le mot "yankee"? Pour l'Haitien? Pour l'Américain? Pour le nord Vietnamien? Pour le sud Vietnamien? Pour vous?

B. Charlemagne Peralte était un chef révolutionnaire qui se révoltait contre les soldats américains. Mais ils l'ont tué et ils l'ont blessé ses cinq mille cacos (quérilleros). Si vous étiez M. Peralte, que feriez-vous?

Si j'étais M. Peralte, je ........................................
........................................................................
........................................................................
........................................................................

C. Sondage: Etes-vous militant(e)? (Poll the class and tally the results)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Très militant</th>
<th>Assez militant</th>
<th>Pas du tout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>1111 11</td>
<td>1111 1111 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. IMAGINEZ -- Another hypothetical situation which requires a more abundant use of the imagination, this activity is designed to make the students aware of the impact of Western culture (American) on Haiti.

Imaginez: un vieux Haitien vous expliquer comment l'armée américaine entrait dans son pays et changeait tout: sa langue, son argent, les noms de ses vieilles rues et son mode de vie. A ce moment-là il avait sept ans. Ecrivez ce qu'il vous a dit:

Quand l'armée américaine entrait dans mon pays, j'avais sept ans. J'habitais Jacmel avec mes parents. Un jour deux Américains entraient chez moi. Ils.... (finissez l'histoire)
E. LE DEBAT -- The debate requires a more sophisticated manipulation of linguistic structures learned. Out of class preparation and teacher supervision are needed for the successful completion of this activity.

Le Débat: Pour ou Contre

L'Amérique est riche et puissante, alors il faut/il ne faut pas aider les petits pays comme le Viet-nam du sud, l'Haiti et l'Afrique du sud.

Pour Contre

Il faut les aider parce que Il ne faut pas les aider parce que

III. MOTIF EXPANSION ACTIVITIES -- The following activities provide opportunities for interdisciplinary study. The projects should appeal to prospective majors in history, religion, anthropology, foreign languages, political science and social science.

Motif Expansion -- Pour la recherche

1. L'Occupation américaine d'Haiti -- 1915-1934
2. Les loas populaires d'Haiti
3. Le conflit entre le créole et le français en Haiti
4. Le structure actuelle du gouvernement haitien
5. Un portrait d'un président à vie: Jean-Claude Duvalier

CULTURAL MOTIF: THE EMERGING WOMAN

Poem: Je Suis

Introduction: Renée Marie-Ange Jolicoeur is a young poetess who has compiled her inner feelings in three small volumes of poetry. In this poem she
gives you a portrait of herself. Read it and see how it feels to be a proud liberated woman.

JE SUIS

Je suis une fille créole*
Au charme caraïbe
Une fleur de Jacmel*
Par la Gosseline
Portée

Une antillaise
Au regard
Plein d'amour
Je porte en moi
Mon Haïti chérie

J'aime dansant
Le congo
Faire résonner* mon rire
Par delà la vallée

J'aime la folle meringue*
Les senteurs* sauvées*
Laisées après la pluie
Contempler les oiseaux
Les fleurs, les étoiles
Partir les pieds nus
A travers la campagne
Traverser les ruisseaux*
Sauter de pierre en pierre

Je suis une fille créole
Aux charmes caraïbes
Une antillaise
Au regard plein d'amour

(Renée Marie-Ange Jolicoeur)

VOCABULAIRE

un/une créole -- personne (élite noire ou mulâtre) née dans les Antilles, la Louisiane.

le créole -- langue parlée par la plupart des Haïtiens.

Jacmel -- ville haïtienne.

résonner -- un écho.
par delà — à l'autre côté.
la meringue — danse populaire en Haïti.
la senteur — odeur.
sauve — agréable.
les ruisseaux (m) — cours d'eau.

I. QUESTIONS SUR LE POÈME
1. La poétesse de quoi parle-t-elle?
2. Où habite-t-elle?
3. Est-ce que la poétesse est jeune ou vieille?
4. Que pense-t-elle de son pays?
5. Comment s'appelle son pays?
6. Quelles sont ses danses favorites?
7. Qu'est-ce qu'elle aime faire?
8. Que pense-t-elle de la nature?
10. Est-ce qu'elle est une femme libérée? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas?

II. TYPES OF INFERENTIAL QUESTIONS
This is considered a light, informal activity which will make the students feel at home in the foreign language. Again, the technique of taking a key word from the poem, "la meringue," to generate interest and communication is used. Some dances for oldtimers (the Jitterbug, Twist, Foxtrot, etc.) have been included to stimulate reactions from the class.
A. La meringue est une danse créole. Aux Etats-Unis on l'appelle souvent le "merengue." Qui a vu danser le "merengue"? Qui sait danser le "merengue"? Le congo?

Qu'est-ce que vous aimez danser? (Poll the class and tally the results.)

1. The Bump
2. The Hustle
3. The Boogie
4. The Robot
5. The Disco
6. The Freak
7. The Twist
8. The Jitterbug
9. La Valse
10. La polka
11. Le Foxtrot
12. Le Congo
13. La Meringue
14. _____
15. _____

B-H. Activities B-H are designed to capitalize on the free-spirited tone of the poem by providing opportunities for varied communicative interaction among students.

B. Terminer la phrase:

Je suis content quand...

je danse ma danse favorite.

je mange un hamburger.

je sors avec mon ami favori/amie favorite.

_____________________

C. Rank order (students place in order from the most desirable to the least).
Je suis content quand... je marche pieds nus.
je danse le congo ou la meringue.
je traverse les ruisseaux de pierre en pierre.

D. Rank Order
Pour mes vacances, je voudrais aller... en Louisiane.
en Haïti.
à la Martinique.
au Cuba

E. Quelles sont vos odeurs préférées?
a. l'air frais après le pluie.
b. un repas délicieux.
c. un parfum français.
d. _______________
e. _______________
f. _______________

F. Values Continuum*
Où aimeriez-vous vivre?

| Très loin de la civilisation | A la campagne | Au alentours d'une grande ville | Dans une grande ville près du centre | Au centre |
Students indicate with a check mark how near or far they wish to live from a big city. Above their check mark, they write their name.

G. Terminer la phrase

Pendant la nuit j'aime contempler __________________________.
Pendant le jour j'aime contempler __________________________.

H. Pieds Nus (à voter)

Est-ce que les étudiants devraient être permis d'aller pieds nus:

a. dans une école? Oui____ Non____
b. dans un grand magasin? Oui____ Non____
c. dans un supermarché? Oui____ Non____
d. dans un restaurant? Oui____ Non____
e. dans une église? (catholique) Oui____ Non____
   (protestante)
f. dans un temple Oui____ Non____
g. dans un hôtel? Oui____ Non____

I. Pensez à la fille créole du poème. Dans votre imagination, elle est comment? Faites une liste d'adjectifs:
Exemple: jolie

J. Faites une description d'un(e) ami(e). Liste des adjectifs:
K. The activity below allows students to take a look at their personal traits, to experience a process of mini self-actualization in the foreign language.

Maintenant, faites votre description personnelle...une liste d'adjectifs: Je suis...

III. MOTIF EXPANSIONS ACTIVITIES -- The topics below require research extending from the library to the community and they are all designed for enjoyment and continued improvement in communication skills.

Motif Expansion -- pour la recherche


2. Trouvez une poétesse dans votre ville ou dans votre école et faites une interview avec elle.

3. Petit exposé: Ma poétesse préférée (écrit ou oral).

4. Composez un petit poème intitulé "Je Suis."

CULTURAL MOTIF: THE PLIGHT OF THE MASSES (POVERTY)

Poem: "Vif du sujet"

Introduction: Among the many problems of Haiti is that of poverty. With a per capita income of $100.00 a year, the average family is deprived of basic necessities of life -- adequate shelter, shoes, clean water, etc. Jean Lenoir's "Vif du sujet" gives poignant sketches of the poverty-stricken Haitian society.
VIF DU SUJET

Une femme accroupie* près du feu
la pipe à la bouche
Un lézard se chauffant* au soleil de la route
Un enfant debout dans la poussière* des jours
Un peuple pris dans les ronces du malheur*
Une nuit qui se poursuit* jusqu'à la nuit nouvelle
Toutes griffes* dehors
La misère gratte* la terre
Et les hommes.

(Jean Lenoir)

VOCABULAIRE

accroupie — s'asseoir sur les talons (squatted)
se chauffer — avoid chaud
la poussière — poudre de terre
les ronces (f) du malheur— la peine du malheur (trials and tribulations of misfortune)
se poursuivre — continuer/suivre
les griffes (f) — les ongles que se trouve au bout des doigts (claws)
gratte — frotter avec les ongles (scratches/claws)

I. QUESTIONS SUR LE POÈME


2. Dans le poème, comment est la femme?

3. Qu'est-ce qu'elle a à la bouche?

4. Le poète parle d'un animal. Du quel?


6. Quels mots expriment la pauvreté?
II. TYPES OF INFERENTIAL QUESTIONS

The following activities will give students a chance to explore an aspect of the social conflict motif, poverty. In Activity A, certain images from the poem are used to elicit the student's personal point of view. The situational activities in B allow for extensive use of the imagination and creativity in the foreign language. In Activity C, it is assumed that poverty is undesirable in a society. Students are asked for solutions to a very real social problem after seeing its impact poignantly displayed in the brief message of the poem.

A. A votre avis -- terminer la phrase

1. Les femmes qui fument des pipes ____________________.
2. Un enfant qui joue dans la poussière _____________.
3. Un lézard est ____________________.
4. Si "un people est pris dans les ronces du malheur," il ________________.
5. La misère est un mot qui exprime ____________.

B. Situation -- Imaginez que vous êtes un/une touriste qui passe devant la scène que le poète a décrite en "Vif du sujet."

1. Donnez une description de la femme en disant ce qu'elle porte; la couleur de ses cheveux; si elle est près de sa hutte; si elle parle à quelqu'un en fumant sa pipe. Il faut beaucoup d'imagination.

2. Maintenant, decrivez l'enfant qui est debout dans la poussière. Dites ce qu'il porte; s'il y a d'autres enfants avec lui; si la femme dans le poème est sa mère ou sa grand-mère; ce que l'enfant vous demande.
C. A Bas La Pauvreté!
Terminer la phrase.

Il n'y aurait pas de pauvreté chez nous:
1. si j'étais Président des États-Unis.
2. s'il y avait assez de travail pour tout le monde.
3. _______ ? _______.
4. _______ ? _______.
5. _______ ? _______.

D. UN PETIT DISCOURS -- By participating in this activity, the student will see that poverty, a social conflict motif, is universal. It will also point up a similarity between different cultures.

Cherchez des photos ou faites un collage qui représente "les ronces du malheur" aux pays du monde et faites un petit discours (une ou deux minutes) devant la classe.

A consulter:

1. National Geographic Magazine
2. Time
3. Newsweek
5. TV documentary on hunger
6. Any other articles (current) on poverty

III. MOTIF EXPANSION ACTIVITIES -- The suggested topics will provide an opportunity to do an in-depth study on an aspect of the social conflict motif, poverty.
Motif Expansion -- Pour la recherche

1. Les causes de la pauvreté du monde
2. Le problème de la pauvreté en Haïti
3. Le problème de la pauvreté aux États-Unis
The purpose of this thesis was to demonstrate how Haitian poetry may be used to gain knowledge about the culture and to develop communication skills in second-level or advanced French classes. The diversity of cultures within the Francophone world mandated that attention focus on one particular geographical region; therefore, the scope of the present study was limited to the culture and poetry of the Republic of Haiti.

Data on the cultural patterns of the Haitian population were obtained from specialists in the areas of anthropology, social science, and from the author's firsthand experiences in Haiti. Hundreds of poems were examined for their cultural content and facility of comprehension. A careful examination of the poems revealed six recurring cultural motifs or underlying elements: 1) African traditions, 2) reflections on slavery, 3) patriotism, 4) social conflicts, 5) rejection of Western values (those of France and the United States), and 6) the emerging woman. The process of studying cultural motifs in poetry is termed a Cultrapoetic approach by the author of this thesis.

The worth of the present study lies in the immediate accessibility of cultrapoetic data that may be helpful to learners and teachers who
desire to make an initial exploration into a specific region of the Francophone world. In Chapter One, the Introduction, a rationale was given for the study along with the purpose, limitations, organization, definitions, and a map of Haiti. Chapter Two showed the major contributions made to the study of Haitian culture and to the teaching of foreign cultures in general. The chapter also revealed that with the exception of Léopold Sédar Senghor and Senegal and a recent publication by Simone Oudot, little attention has been given to contributions made by writers in specific regions of the Francophone world. Chapter Three is a compilation of easily accessible cultural data gathered from various specialists. The examination of French and African influences on Haitian culture provides a unified component of background information. This chapter also points up the impact that the United States had on Haitian culture as seen in the influx of Protestant churches, the use of American currency, various streets named after American leaders, and so on. Chapter Four showed that Haitian writers were first influenced by their French literary figures and later, during the early part of the 20th century, by the work of Jean Price-Mars and the intervention of the United States Marine Corps causing writers to become advocates of the masses and to exalt their African heritage. The latter part of the chapter illustrated vivid examples of the six cultural motifs in selected poems. Chapter Five, considered the crux of the thesis, provides a Cultrapoetic format for teaching Haitian culture through poetry. Included in this chapter are selected poems preceded by brief introductions and followed by vocabulary reference lists and varied learning activities designed to facilitate
comprehension of the language, 2) increase an awareness of Haitian culture while intensifying knowledge of the native culture, 3) develop communication skills, 4) encourage freedom of expression while using the foreign language, 5) show similarities and contrasts between the target and native cultures. A significant aspect of the Cultrapoetic approach is the integration of affective and cognitive activities so that students may simultaneously communicate their feelings and ideas while learning about the target culture.

Recommendations for Further Research

1. There is a need for the replication of the Cultrapoetic approach in the literature, especially in poetry and short prose, of other geographic regions of the Francophone world. Some regions for possible consideration include Martinique and writers René Maran and Aimé Césaire, Guadeloupe and the poet Guy Tirolien, French Guiana and the contributions of Léon Damas, the Ivory Coast and the poems of Bernard Dadie, Senegal and the works of Birago Diop and Léopold Sédar Senghor, and others including some Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries.

2. Dictionaries containing definitions of words unique to particular regions of the French-speaking world should be published and made available to teachers and students in the United States. Vocabulary pertaining to flora, fauna, certain kinds of food, creolized words, etc., are excluded from the dictionaries of France.
3. Research is needed to determine the correlation between foreign language teachers with formal training in cultural anthropology and their effectiveness to teach foreign cultures.

4. There is a need for the development and distribution of instructional materials related to the Francophone world so that foreign language teachers may become more involved with Francophone studies by incorporating into the curriculum a unit, mini-course, semester course or individualizing instruction. To successfully achieve the latter more seminars and workshops focusing on Francophone literature and culture must be held throughout the United States.

Finally, this thesis represents a partial response to a primary concern of foreign language educators: promoting and maintaining foreign language interest and study.
APPENDIX A

AFRICAN TRADITIONS
CULTURAL MOTIF: AFRICAN TRADITIONS

Poem: La Guédée

Introduction: An integral part of Haitian life is the worship of certain gods (loa) in the vaudou religion. The Guede is a family of loa associated with death. They are believed to appear during All Saints time. In the following poem, Alexandre tells about the favorite spot of the Guédée -- the cemetery.

LA GUEDEE

Vers les pâles
cimetières
s'en va la guédée
en poussant des plaintes sacrilèges,
c'est l'heure où dans le matin frileux
le chant du coq au loin
déchire l'air atiédi;
et la guédée
en sa mise ridicule,
s'en va timidement
vers les pâles
cimetières.

(Antoine C. Alexandre)
Poem: Assotor

Introduction: The drum, made from trees and derived from Africa, is the most common musical instrument in Haiti. In addition to being the most important instrument in vaudou ceremonies, the drum accompanies songs and chants for all occasions, Ra, Ra, Mardi Gras, weddings, funerals, etc. The largest drum (rarely seen in Haiti) is called the Assotor.

ASSOTOR

Assotor, je te sens,
De tes mille accents,
Tantôt lourds, tantôt lents,
Rejouer en moi ce soir
La tragédie des nègres.
De tes plaintes, de tes râles, de tes rages,
Tu redis la douleur et berces les espoirs
De tous ceux qui, sur cette terre d'Amérique,
Tendent des mains gercées de peines
Vers la brûlante Afrique.
Parfois je pense à tes baobabs sacrés
A ta brousse immense.
Afrique, Afrique, Terre de douleur
A la sensualité sauvage et fâcheuse
De tes filles aux lisses nudités,
Afrique, Afrique, Terre de douleur,
A tes cases obscures
Où râlent des lépreux impurs.
Afrique, Afrique, Terre de douleur
A la détresse de tes nuits d'enfer
Où l'obscurité est soeur de la terreur.
Afrique, Afrique, Terre de douleur,
Et je brûle alors d'un désir fauve
D'allier jusqu'au fond de la brousse
Savourer dans des crânes craquelés
Le sang de tes sublimes écrasés.
Assotor, je te sens
De tes mille accents
Pathétiques et vibrants
Moduler en moi ce soir
Les espoirs immenses
De l'immense Race noire.

(Raymond Beaulieu)
CULTURAL MOTIF: SLAVERY

Poems: Les Marrons and Complaintes d'esclave

Introduction: During slavery many of the slaves ran away from the plantations and found refuge in the mountains (mornes). They (the escapees) were known as maroons or guerillas (les marrons). They played a major role in the Haitian Revolution (1804). From this group emerged the present-day peasant class. A monument of a maroon slave now stands in the Champs-de-Mars at Port-au-Prince, the capital.

LES MARRONS

Fatigués de gémir sous le poids de leurs chaînes,
De voir leur corps sacré s'en aller en lambeaux,
Ils se sont exilés sur les cimes sereines
Pour mettre près de Dieu leur vie et leurs tombeaux,

De l'infame Colon ne craignant plus la race,
Ils errent par les bois aux dômes protecteurs
Et trouvent pour calmer leur faim âpre et rapace,
Ces fruits antiléens adorés des planteurs.

Et quand las d'explorer ces lieux sûrs et paisibles,
Ils ont gravi leur gîte aux rocs inaccessibles,
Rarement le sommeil ferme leurs yeux pensifs.

Car le soir, les marrons perçoivent dans la plaine
Des plaintes, des sanglots, qui ravivant leur peine,
Les font songer au sort de leurs frères captifs.

(Justin Lherisson)
COMPLAINTES D’ESCLAVE

Pourquoi donc suis-je nègre?
Oh! pourquoi suis-je noir?
Lorsque Dieu m’eut jeté dans le sein de ma mère,
Pourquoi la mort jalouse et si prompte au devoir
N'accourut-elle pas l'enlever de la terre?

Je n'aurais pas connu tous ces tourments affreux;
Mon coeur n'aurait pas bu tant de fiel, goutte à goutte
Au fond de mon néant. Oh! je serais, sans doute,
    Moins plaintif, plus heureux.
Mais Dieu m’a condamné, le sort doit me poursuivre;
De mon sang, de mes pleurs, il faut que tout s'enivre!...

Car libre l'oiseau vole et redit ses concerts;
Car libre le vent souffle au gré de son caprice;
Libre, l'onde limpide, harmonieuse, glisse!
    Entre les gazons verts.
Esclave, il n'est pour moi nul bonheur, nulle fête,
Et je n'ai pas de place où reposer ma tête.

Où donc es-tu, toi-même? On m'a dit que, d'en bas,
Lorsqu'une âme qui prie est souffrance et sincère,
Vers toi qu'on nomme, ô Dieu! peut monter sa prière:
    Et tu ne m'entends pas!...
La prière du nègre a-t-elle moins de charme?
Où n'est-ce pas à toi que s'adressent ses larmes?...

Ah! si tu m'entends bien, tu dois aussi me voir,
Si je blasphème, hélas! tu vois bien que je pleure?
Tu sais, toi qui sais tout, que je souffre à toute heure,
    Parce que je suis noir!
Eh bien, oui, trop longtemps j'ai souffert sans mot dire,
Seigneur, pardonne-moi si j'apprends à maudire.

(Masillon Coicou)
APPENDIX C

PATRIOTISM
CULTURAL MOTIF: PATRIOTISM

Poem: Je connais un mot

Introduction: In 1804, the slaves won their freedom by overthrowing the French and driving them out of Haiti. The Haitians are proud of their country and their heroes. Haitian poets express their love for Haiti in many ways. Here is an example of a patriotic poem.

JE CONNAIS UN MOT

Je connais un mot aux résonnances d'ailes
Il provoque le vertige du bonheur
Il ressuscite les heures immortelles
Il gonfle le voile de mes rêves
Il fige une lueur d'amour au coin de mes yeux

......

Je connais un mot qui renferme toute ma vie
mes espoirs
ma tristesse
mes soirs de tête-à-tête
mes bondissements de poulain
lâché dans la savane du monde
ce mot donne un sens à ma vie
il explique la couleur de ma peau
la fatalité de mes baisers
ma haine des compromis
la détente de mes mains prêtes
à gifler ceux qui auront prostitué leur métier
d'homme
ce mot est mon avenir
ce mot est mon amour
ce mot est ma folie: Haiti.

(René Depestre)
Poems: A Toussaint Louverture and A Christophe

Introduction: Haiti has several famous heroes, and poets have dedicated verses to them. Here are two poems that pay tribute to Haitian heroes: Toussaint Louverture who fought against Napoleon Bonaparte, and died in the Jura Mountains; Henri Christophe, the masterbuilder who crowned himself king, and constructed La Citadelle (a fortress) and Sans Souci (a castle).

A TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE

Je te consacre un culte, à toi que transfigure
En Dieu notre humble orgueil qui jamais ne décroît;
A toi qui, pour l'amour de nous, souffris le froid,
La faim, l'affront cruel, la plus lâche torture!

Apôtre précurseur des rédempteurs du Dieu
Tu mourus immortel! Ton martyre t'épure;
Tes fils ont le front haut quand ils parlent de toi,
Car ta gloire est sacrée, ô Toussaint Louverture!

Lorsqu'un traître pour toi dressa le Golgotha;
Quand dans l'enfer du Joux un ingrat te jeta,
Dans l'âme de tes fils tu fis passer ton âme.

On t'appelait: Le Nègre, on t'appelait l'Infâme
L'infâme a su charmer l'auguste Liberté,
Du nègre, avec orgueil, un peuple se réclame.

(Massillon Coicou)
A CHRISTOPHE

Dans ta sphère sereine -- oh! tu fais bien -- repose
Impassible, certain que jamais nul affront,
Rien de tout ce qu'on dit, rien de tout ce qu'on ose,
Ne ternira l'éclat dont rayonne ton front

Ayant moulé le bronze -- ô noble Forgeron!
Que t'importent ceux-là que l'oeuvre grandiose
Fait bondir de colère! en vain ils baveront:
Ils prendront part quand même à ton apothéose!

Oh! oui, garde ton calme ainsi que ta fierté.
T'invoquera souvent comme un vivant symbole
Du Travail cimentant l'Ordre et la Liberté.

(Massillon Coicou)
APPENDIX D

REJECTION OF WESTERN VALUES
REJECTION OF WESTERN VALUES

Poems: Trahison, Sainement, and Black Soul

Introduction: Convinced that Western (France and the United States) civilization was overly concerned with technological advancement, and negated concern for human development, poets wrote about their disdain for Western culture, i.e., behavior, language, and customs.

TRAHISON

Ce coeur obsédant, qui ne correspond
Pas avec mon langage et mes costumes,
Et sur lequel mordent, comme un crampon,
Des sentiments d'emprunt et des coutumes
D'Europe, sentez-vous cette souffrance
Et ce désespoir à nul autre égal
D'apprivoiser, avec des mots de France,
Ce coeur qui m'est venu du Sénégal?

(Léon Laleau)
J'ai le Coeur, ce matin, plein de jeunesse,
Tumultueux de violences.
Ma joue appuyée contre la fraîcheur de l'aube,
Jurant un éternel dédain aux raffinements européens,
Je veux désormais vous chanter: révolutions,
fusillades, tueries
Bruit de coco-macaque sur des épaules noires,

Mugissements du lambi, lubricité mystique du Vaudou;
Vous chanter dans un délire trois fois lyrique et religieux,

Me dépouiller de tous oripeaux classiques et
dresser nu, très sauvage et très descendant
d'esclaves,
Pour entonner d'une voix nouvelle le de
profundis des civilisations pourrissantes.

(Philippe Thoby-Marcelin)
Cinq siècles vous ont vu les armes à la main
et vous avez appris aux races exploitantes
la passion de la liberté.

A Saint-Domingue
vous jalonniez de suicides
et paviez de pierres anonymes
le sentier tortueux qui s'ouvre un matin
sur la voie triomphale de l'indépendance.
Et vous avez tenu sur les fonts baptismaux,
étreignant d'une main la torche de Vertières
et de l'autre brisant les fers de l'esclavage,
la naissance à la Liberté
de toute l'Amérique Espagnole.

Vous avez construit Chicago
en chantant des blues,
bâti les États-Unis
au rythme des spirituals
et votre sang fermenté,
dans les rouges sillons de drapeau étoile.
sortant des ténèbres,
Vous sautez sur le ring:
champion du monde,
et frappez à chaque victoire
le gong sonore des revendications de la race.

Au Congo,
en Guinée,
yous vous êtes dressé contre l'impérialisme
et l'avez combattu
avec des tambours,
des airs étranges
où grondait, houle omniprésente,
le choeur de vos haines séculaires.

Vous avez éclairé le monde
à la lumière de vos incendies.
Et aux jours sombres de l'Ethiopie martyre
vous êtes accouru de tous les coins du monde,
mâchant les mêmes airs amers,
la même rage,
les mêmes cris.
BLACK SOUL (continued)

En France,
En Belgique,
en Italie,
en Grèce,
you avez affronté les dangers et la mort...

Vous souriez, Black Boy,
you chantez,
you dansez,
you bercez les générations
qui montent à toutes les heures
sur les fronts de travail et de la peine

qui monteront demain à l'assaut des bastilles
vers les bastions de l'avenir
pour écrire dans toutes les langues,
aux pages claires de tous les ciels
la déclaration de vos droits méconnus
de puis de cinq siècles,
en Guinée,
au Maroc,
au Congo,
partout enfin où vos mains noires
ont laissé aux murs de la Civilisation
des empreintes d'amour, de grace et de lumière.

(Jean F. Brierre)
APPENDIX E

THE PLIGHT OF THE MASSES (POVERTY)
CULTURAL MOTIF: THE PLIGHT OF THE MASSES (POVERTY)

Poems: L'Espoir and Va-nu-pieds

Introduction: The majority of the Haitian people (over 90%) live in severe poverty. They are often deprived of the basic necessities for survival. "L'Espoir" describes a hungry wandering peasant in search of food and shelter, and "Va-nu-pieds" criticizes the gendarme for demanding that the barefoot peasant wear shoes. It is obvious that the peasant cannot afford to buy shoes.

L'ESPOIR

J'ai faim
je veux bien manger
je n'en trouve rien
si je pouvais voler
un petit morceau de cassave ou un pain
mais
J'ai faim
je me suis évadé de la plaine
par crainte des bocors
    des chefs sections
    de la faim
je suis entré en ville
je côte chaque jour les maisons
à la recherche d'un appât qui me fuit
la nuit sous un balcon quelconque
je m'abandonne sur le trottoir dur et sale
souvent le vent me fouette
et la pluie me mouille
Seigneur
dois-je donc végéter toute ma vie?
Aujourd'hui personne ne me comprend
Et demain
le grand Demain?

(Jean Casimir)
VA-NU-PIEDS

Où l'entraînez-vous
terrible gendarme
si plein de courroux
Pourquoi tant d'alarme
à ce pauvre coeur
si plein de douceur

Il ne voudrait guère
s'en aller pieds nus
car le béton brûle
Mais l'a tant battu
l'ardente misère
avec sa férule

Laissez-le partir
pour aller quérir
sa maigre pâture
Car la faim tenaille
ses tristes entrailles
et tord sa figure

Ne le frappez pas
gendarme mon frère
D'un tranquille pas
foulant ses chimères
devant vous il va
regardant la terre

Dans sa poche creuse
dans sa main calleuse
le juge de paix
qui lui fait la guerre
ne verra jamais
que de la misère

Laissez-le partir
pour aller quérir
sa chère pâture
Car la faim tenaille
ses tristes entrailles
et tord sa figure.

(Marcel Dauphin)
THE EMERGING WOMAN

Poems: La négresse and Petite noire

Introduction: These two poems describe the beauty of the Haitian woman. In addition, the second poem emphasizes the most important profession for peasant women, marketing.

LA NEGRESSE

--Je suis fier de le dire, ô négresse, je t'aime!
Et ta noire couleur me plaît. Sais-tu pourquoi?...
C'est que, nobles vertus, chaste coeur, beauté même,
Tout ce qui charme enfin, le ciel l'a mis en toi.

--Je t'étonne? Eh bien! donc, écoute, rare femme:
Qu'est-ce que la vertu, sinon le dévouement?

Et la beauté sinon le doux reflet de l'âme
Qui, radieux et pur, sur nos traits se répand?

Or, d'une absurde erreur, innocente victime,
Mire-toi dans cette onde aux feux naissants du jour;
Et vois comme tes yeux sont beaux du don sublime,
Source de dévouement, et que l'on nomme amour!

Oui, tu sais bien aimer! Qu'importe qu'on t'abreuve
De ces chagrins amers qui sont pis que mourir?
D'un amour vrai, dis-tu, la souffrance est l'épreuve:
Epargnez-la, Seigneur, et faites-moi souffrir!

Oh! combien je souffris! que je fus égoïste,
Moi blanc! Et l'on prétend que je suis plus que toi!
Mais au risque, être pur, que ton coeur s'en attriste,
Je te dirai toujours: tu vaux bien mieux que moi.

(Pierre Faubert)
PETITE NOIRE, PETITE NOIRE

Bouche épaissée, nez écrasé, elle est bien vilaine,
la petite noire, bien vilaine.
Et très noire comme tous les péchés. Mais tu souris
Et c'est une fête des anges.
Douceur de tes regards blancs,
Candeur de tes dents blanches...
Je te chanterai, petite noire, c'est bien ton tour.
Je te dirai la grâce de ton crops droit comme un
palmiste mais souple

comme la flamme
Je dirai ta démarche cadencée et la file indienne
parfumée de baume et
de menthe, qui nous apporte des mornes
Les fruits, les légumes de Kenscoff et de Furcy.
Evoquerai-je les lavandières du satyre Oswald?
Je te chanterai, petite noire, c'est bien ton tour.
Je dirai les soirs de mon enfance, où ton travail
achevé tu t'asseyais
à même le carrelage de la cuisine pour tirer ces
contes-devinettes qui faisaient mes délices.
Tu commençais très vite et il fallait répondre à
toutes tes énigmes
Cric?
Crac
Captain derrière pote?
Balai.

(Philippe Toby-Marcelin)
Poem: La mère et l'enfant

Introduction: This poem shows maternal love, and demonstrates another way in which women are exploited.

LA MERE ET L'ENFANT

Une mère chantait dodo
A son enfant né de la veille;
Et, de crainte qu'il ne s'éveille,
Avec soin fermaît le rideau.
--Ta naissance n'est pas prospère,
--Disait-elle à l'ange à l'oeil bleu;--
Tu n'as ici-bas que le Dieu
Des enfants qui n'ont de père.

Le lit où tu t'es endormie,
Où pour toi, je prie à genoux,
O ma fille, n'est pas à nous:
Tu dors sous le toit d'une amie!

"Ta mère, pauvre couturière
Croyait ton père un ouvrier;
L'hypocrite savait prier,
Et moi, je crus en sa prière.

"Mais c'était un riche seigneur!
Pour se distraire du grande monde,
A ma misère si profonde,
Il ajouta le déshonneur.

Oh! nos jours seraient trop hideux!
La faim, et le froid, son complice,
Achèveraient notre supplice,
Bientôt, nous serions morts tous deux.
Chère enfant, voilà ma défense; 
Voilà ce qui veut mon trépas. 
Le malheur ne me permet pas 
De diriger ta faible enfance!

............... 

--Adieu! Les voiles de la nuit 
Ont descendu sur la colline. 
Dans tes langes de mousseline, 
Enfant, viens avec moi sans bruit! 

(Oswald Durand)
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