

## HAT 3564, Haitian Culture and Society Monday, August 27<sup>th</sup>

Notes from Nicholls, 19 – 27; Arthur 17 – 35

1492 Columbus  
1625 “marauding bands”  
1697 Rijswick (French-Spanish treaty)  
1791-1804 Haitian Revolution; Invention of guerrilla warfare

Slave labor and French capital  
Dependence on the metropolis – no free trade  
Sugar and coffee

450,000 slaves = “black” (North)  
nèg kreyòl  
nèg bosal  
marrons

40,000 colonists = “white” (North)  
governor general = military leader  
grands blancs = wanted some free trade  
petits blancs... “blan mannan”

30,000 affranchis = “yellow, brown and black” (South)  
Mulatto affranchis versus black affranchis  
(In 1791 much of the South was owned by *affranchis*).

Causes and conditions: “the racial prejudice of the whites led to color prejudice on the part of the mulattoes”

Types of colonial slavery:  
“Paternalistic” / small-scale slavery in Hispanic societies  
“Industrial slavery” in Saint Domingue =  
The prevailing philosophy was that cruelty and torture increased productivity in the context industrial slavery.

Development of proprietorship

Haitian Culture and Society

## Classroom discussion module.

- Define these concepts with your partner: [2 minutes]  
Caste / class / race / color / ethnicity / culture / social group
- Prepare a 1 minute description (make 4 major points)
  1. Describe “slaves.”
  2. Describe the “whites.”
  3. Describe the “affranchis.”
  4. Describe the “marrons” [*mawon*] and marronage.
  5. Columbus’ encounter with the Tainos.
  6. The concept of forced conversion.
  7. The buccaneers and *flibustiers*.
  8. Describe how slavery grew in Haiti, especially between 1750-1791.
  9. What was the role of poison in Saint Domingue?

Arthur 45-68

Dessalines 1804 – 1806

State-run agriculture; plantation life and serfdom.

His egalitarianism and land redistribution angered mulattoes.

Assassinated

Henri Christophe 1807 – 1820

The Northern Kingdom  
Citadelle La Ferrière built at enormous human cost

Alexandre Pétion 1806 – 1819  
Distributed state land for political purposes  
Presided over the foundation of the Haitian peasantry  
This involved the dissolution of the plantation society

Jean-Pierre Boyer 1820 – 1844  
Unified the island or Invaded Spanish territory?

Rapid rise and fall of presidents in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries

U.S. Occupation 1915 – 1935 and the death of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Haitian military tradition and the spawning of the new military, arbiter of political control

Lescot - Estimé – Magloire –  
François Duvalier 1957 – 1971... Jean-Claude Duvalier 1971 – 1986

The Duvaliers presidential militia, the Tonton Makout, eventually exceed the military in membership, influence and acts of violence in Haiti

+Duvalier selects the Catholic priesthood in Haiti.

The Haitian left still calls elements of the right *makout* and *makoutis* to this day

Topics for discussion:

1. Taxing the peasantry versus taxing working professionals
2. Christophe's kingdom
3. Graham Greene's impressions of Haiti (60-61)
4. Violence under Jean-Claude Duvalier
5. Blood money: selling Haitian blood and cadavers

## Nichols 27 – 43

Ogé and Chavannes

Affranchis = “Freed people”

1. Anciens libres = predominantly mulatto
2. Nouveaux libres = predominantly black

Different economic and political interests (and historical experiences) undermined mulatto and black relations

Toussaint	versus	Rigaud
Dessalines / Christophe	versus	Pétion

Leclerc arrives in 1802 with 5,000 French troops.

Vodou allowed the African past to be perpetuated and provided an instrument of solidarity and communication

### Plaçage versus Marriage: Examples of Peasant and Elite Practices

Haitian elites are sensitive over marriage because of inheritance: money and land  
Individuals are concerned about jeopardizing family status/prestige.

*Plaçage* extramarital unions of respectable people  
Requires no civil or religious formality

*Placée* (common law wife) has complete control of farm in husband’s absence. But, the man chooses his wife, owns the land, and prepares land when he pleases...

Man and woman in Haiti are **economic partners in a struggle for existence**

Women outnumber men in Haiti – today 6 women to 4 men...

Elites marry; peasants use *plaçage* = an important split  
5 generations of marriage in the family.  
Parental consent needed for marriage.  
Certificate of civil marriage required before a religious marriage.

### **Status of women in the Haiti of the 1940s**

Women had to receive consent from husbands to buy and sell land.  
Could not vote or hold public office.  
It is taboo for elite women to do manual labor.

Husband freer in sexual life

Law specifies that adultery is a cause for divorce for men; but only for women *if* “he shall bring his concubine into the common dwelling” (192)

**Dessalines:**

- The state allows NO DOMINANT RELIGION
- ALL CHILDREN ARE LEGITIMATE
- (in or outside of wedlock) *Real family values*
- Freedom of DIVORCE established

**Pétion:**

- Recognizes the Catholic Church in his CONSTITUTION of 1806... but:
- Article 37: “If in the course of time other religions are introduced, *no person shall be hindered*, so long as he conforms to the laws, in following the cult [religion] he [or she] has chosen.”
- These are ENLIGHTENED and TOLERANT LAWS... but:
- He repealed Dessalines’ laws protecting ‘illegitimate’ children and divorce on MORAL GROUNDS

**The schism:**

- Provides Vodou with room to grow...
- 70 (non-Roman) Haitian Catholic priests in 1840
- Assured the independence of Haitian Catholicism till this day
- Methodists and Baptists earliest Protestants
- Boyer (and the entire political class) strive to bridge the gap:
- Recognition by Rome = LEGITIMACY
  
- President Soulouque the Vodouist president 1847 – 1859
  
- President Geffrard overcomes the schism in 1860
  
- In 1930, 70 years after the CONCORDAT, Haiti has 206 priests (8 Haitian), 105 Brothers and 366 Sisters for 2,652,290 Haitians...

## Questions for discussion from Arthur 69 – 85.

1. How does the excerpt portray smugglers?
2. Describe the modern elite; how did it view Aristide?
3. What factor has changed the traditional power struggle between landowners and the merchant capitalists? How did this new group damage landowners?
4. What kind of relationship did the “monopolist faction” have with the Duvalier dictatorship?
5. What did the Aristide government demand from the business elite?
6. Describe the coup d'état of September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1991.
7. What was a major setback for Haitian peasants in the early 1980s?

### ANSWERS

3 = The assembly industrialists

7 = African swine fever

**Quiz: Rural Haiti (Arthur 80-100)**

1. Madan Sara is a woman who:  
a. heals      b. re-sells      c. sells wholesale
2. A 'konbit / coumbite' is:  
a. voluntary collective labor   b. compelled / required collective labor   c. labor union
3. Successful peasants own:  
a. tiny and widely-dispersed plots.   b. large and concentrated plots.
4. Haiti was stripped of this valuable tree in the 19<sup>th</sup> century:  
a. Live Oak   b. Teak      c. Mahogany
5. A major set-back for farmers in the 1980s was  
a. a drought   b. African swine fever
6. The singing leader of a konbit / coumbite is the \_\_\_\_\_ :  
a. lambi/lanbi      b. corvée/kòve      c. simidor/simidò
7. Women do not carry out day to day maintenance of the fields:  
a. True      b. False
8. Girls are forbidden from going to the market place:  
a. True      b. False
9. Who does not want road improvements in Haiti's coffee business?  
a. Growers      b. Speculators

Chose the animal that best reflects the livestock and size of land holdings of the given period:

10. 1880:  
a. Goat      b. Chicken      c. Pig
11. 1920s:  
a. Goat      b. Chicken      c. Pig
12. 1980s:  
a. Goat      b. Chicken      c. Pig

## Nichols, 57 - 66

1. Match the concepts of “military oligarchy” and “military autocracy” with the North (Christophe) or the South (Pétion). Explain the terms.
2. What kind of arguments did the respective (North vs. South) regimes have?
3. Describe the balance of power in the respective governments.
4. How does Nicholls characterize the struggle between the North and the South?
5. What are some highlights and low-points of Boyer’s long rule (1818-1843)?
6. What were the consequences of the indemnity? What would you have done if you were in Boyer’s shoes?
7. The U.S. occupied Haiti. Talk about Haiti’s occupation of... and why is Mackenzie’s comment included on p. 64?

- Oligarchy is a form of government through a few wealthy/noble families (adellike families); family rule
- Autocracy, autocraat is een “heerser die alle staatsmacht in zich verenigt”

**Authoritarian, Haitian influence**  
**Nationalist**

*Noiriste*

Dessalines

Christophe

Soulouque (1847-59)

Duvalier, Papa & Baby

**Aristocratic, French influence...**  
**Parliamentary / 'Liberals'**

Pétion

Boyer (1818-43)

Geffrard (1859-67)

**Nichols, 67-87. Pride and prejudice**

1. Boyer presided over a peaceful 2 decades
2. The colour issue is used by mulatto and black to seek and justify power
3. Military government
4. Mid-1820s Haiti's population is 800,000 with an army of 32,000 soldiers
5. Boyer's "Rural Code" attempts to attach workers to the land and end vagrancy.
6. Vodou has always has always inspired passion, positive and negative.
7. Several Haitian leaders played Voodoo into their plea to have Vatican return.
8. Black or mulatto leader executed opponents
9. Boyer's downfall was blamed on "corruption," "nepotism," and racism.
10. The *piquet* leader Acaau denounced Boyer as an Black oppressor. Acaau wanted to confiscate land and distribute it among the poor.
11. *La politique de doublure*.
12. *La politique de doublure* and the rise of Soulouque. Black ruler, open to Voodoo.
13. The paramilitary *zenglen* [zinglins] as the roots of the *tonton makout*.
14. Geffrard and the Concordat of 1860.
15. Geffrard invested in a Medical School, a Law School and a few *lycées*.
16. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the leaders of 1804 became politicized and symbolic on racial grounds.

## Arthur 111 – 131

Identification Quiz: Please identify in one, short sentence [2 pts each].

1. Define *restavèk*?
2. What is Cité Soleil?
3. An example of a micro-enterprise?
4. Who said: “the deadly contagion called capitalism” ?
5. Where do “figurines of one’s enemies” come from?
6. Why is “zinc” referenced in the reading?
7. What is fritay?
8. What is the excerpt: “beast of burden” about?
9. What does Pocahontas refer to?

(1)– (10)

Report to the class what the most striking aspects of the reading are

## **Arthur 130-138**

Questions for group discussion:

1. Describe the life of a street child in urban Haiti.
2. What are some of the problems that beset Haitian hospitals?
3. What are key issues in family planning in Haiti? What are male and female attitudes toward birth control?
4. How has Haiti suffered misinformation regarding AIDS? Who is responsible and what were the consequences?
5. Describe public and private education in Haiti. What kind of schools are there and how can they be classified?
6. What are neighborhood committees? How are they organized, how do they function? What is their advantage?

## Questions for discussion from Arthur 209 – 27

1. Give several examples of foreign interventions in Haiti.
2. How did Haiti inaugurate the phenomenon of “Third World debt”?
3. What immigrant group became important in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century? How did they pose a threat? How did they survive?
4. Who was FRAPH?
5. What was the *corvée*? How did Americans obtain labor?
6. What are the lessons on U.S. occupation that Haiti provides?
7. What are the contradictions that Péralte points out in his letter?
8. How did Bauxite mining impact the Miragoâne region from 1957 – 1993?

1. “Liberals” versus “Nationals” in Haitian politics.
2. Anti-clericalism 1880s – 1960s.
3. German involvement in Haiti.
4. The meaning of the McDonald contract in 1910.
5. The Masonic movement in Haiti.
6. The Latin versus Anglo-Saxon debate: *Banque Nationale*.

### **U.S. Occupation 1915-1934**

167 victims of President Vilbrun Guillaume

‘Voici ma pipe, m’ap fumin’ / ‘Men pip mwen, m ap finen’

- Imperialism
- Germany
- Misguided altruism: ‘a unique laboratory’ (148)
- Protection of foreign assets
- Land-leasing/land expropriations (150)
- U.S. war crimes (151)

### **Haitian reactions to occupation**

Collaboration

Collaboration – disillusionment

Resistance – Péralte and the Cacos

Intellectual resistance: Ethnological movement / *Noiriste* movement of the 1930s and 1940s

### **Attitudes toward Voodoo**

Léon Audin (1904) – transformation of Voodoo

Dorsainvil – Vodou et névrose (1913)

Dr. Arthur Holly “Haitians must direct prayers to Legba and Damballah”

Jean Price Mars: Vodou is ‘animism’ or ‘dynamism’ not ‘fetishism’

i.e. ‘spiritual power manifests itself through material forms.’ (157)

Jacques Roumain

Arthur, 228-245

1. What did the U.S. want to do under the application of 'neo-liberalism.'
2. Describe the activities of Christian mission groups in Haiti. How would these groups feel about Vodouist or Islamic mission organizations working in the U.S. saying: "Americans Christians are caught in Satan's grip"?
3. What is the republic of NGOs?
4. Describe the CIA's involvement in Haiti VS. the Clinton administration.
5. Who was Emmanuel Constant.
6. According to Haitian grassroots organizations, who really holds the power in Haiti?
7. What were the mixed feelings Haitians held when the U.S. returned President Aristide in 1994?
8. Describe the disarmament the U.S. military was charged with in Haiti post-1994. How did it go?
9. How do foreign goods impact an economy? Do Haiti and the U.S. share anything in common?

Nicholls, 165 - 181

- ‘mulâtrification’ Elie Lescot (1941)
- 50,000 Haitians in D.R. Sugar cane plantations
- Griots Noirisme
- Noiriste centrality of Voodoo in the life of Haiti
- Noiriste view of Catholicism self-imposing alien European culture
- Noiriste politics Authoritarian

1. Debate: “the biology of a racial group determines its psychology; its collective personality.”
2. Explain: “Voodoo perpetuates the African past.”
3. Explain this anti-liberal view: “...liberty of the press, free elections and democracy as sordid tinsel designed to mislead the masses.”
4. Describe the social class background of Haitian socialists.
5. Describe how blacks and mulattoes in Haiti viewed Mussolini’s invasion of Haile Selassie’s Ethiopia.

### **Noirisme**

African culture in religion, music, art and literature

Restructuring education; diminishing Catholicism

Sympathy for European fascism found among some *noiristes*

Catholic right saw fascism as alternative to communism

### **Socialism**

Jacques Roumain’s *Masters of the Dew* 1944

### **Mulatto reaction to *noirisme***

Agricultural self-sufficiency necessary

“Despotism of Soulouque,” Delencour

Rejected Voodoo as superstition (Delencour)

Noirists substitute ‘black racism for white racism’ (178)

## *Of Men and Gods*

Lecture on the reading

Presentation

### Questions from *Of Men and Gods*

1. What formal elements of the Vodou religion were present?
2. In what ways does the film illustrate the interpenetration of Vodou and Catholicism in Haiti?
3. Why do members of the gay community practice Vodou?
4. Where does sexual-orientation come from?
5. What do these men get from Vodou?
6. What is *universal* about their religious experience?

Arthur, pp. 300-315: Haitian literature

Folk literature (Price Mars, *So Spoke the Uncle* 1938)

- “Oraliture”
- Tales, legends, riddles, songs, proverbs and beliefs
- Bouki ak Malis, Bouki ak Lapen
- Talking animals

Literature and ideology (Carl Brouard, 1938)

“The most ignorant peasant feels which vaudou temple is more artistic than another... he will obey a dictatorship that works for order... people only gradually attain, step by step, liberalism... Pétion’s liberalism sank into despotism...”

Echos of the “Black legend.”

The peasant novel (Jacques Roumain 1944)

- Land conflict, conflict between families
- Shortages of water and resources

“Then we’ll call a general assembly of the Masters of the Dew, a great big *coumbite* of farmers, and we’ll clear out poverty and plant a new life”

Spiralism and experimental writing (Frankétienne’s *Dezafi*, 1975)

One of the first high quality Haitian Creole novels: *spiralism*

Sentil – *oungan*

Siltàna – his daughter

Zofè – second in charge

Klodònis / Mako

The revolution of the zombies against the evil *oungan* Sentil  
Exploiting Vodou

Violence in Haitian writing:

1. Murder and torture in Chauvet 1968
2. Killing President Duvalier in Phelps 1976
3. The culture of the Tonton Makout in Depestre 1979
4. The Tonton Makout/torturer in Danticat 1994
5. Haiti as more difficult than Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnai, Ollivier 1995

## MARXIST (COMMUNIST) HAITI

### 1. Etienne Charlier, 1950s (“Mulatto marxist”)

- Haiti in 1950s is a semi-colonial society in which **class** distinctions are associated with **color** (201).

### 2. Emmanuel C. Paul criticized him, arguing that

- Economic status, not color determines class structure (202).
- Accused Charlier of under-emphasizing the *nèg mawon* and overemphasizing the *afranchi*

...The Black and the Mulatto Legends are re-written every generation...

...Haitian authors have the propensity to spin the competing historical racial legends in their interpretation of the present...

## MARXISTS NOVELS

### 1. Jacques Stéphen Alexis (in the tradition of Roumain)

- Vodou as an opium... “it paralyzed men, alienated their courage...” *houngan* trap people in despair and resignation
- Dejan’s (2006) critique of the representation of learning, how could an illiterate student learn to read and write French in such a short span?
- “We see in, in the ideas of the people who are at the head of the Haitian communist movement, French retains its place in discussions about schools and education” (Dejan 2006: 79)

## DUVALIER’S PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

- Magloire departs into exile in 1956
- Toned down anti-clericalism and *noirisme* (pro-African, pro-Vodou)
- Praised the Church for its zeal in evangelization

- Paid tribute to the anti-Vodou campaigns of the south
- Argued for a Haiti without the distinction of color
- Praised the army for liberating the country from ‘a system of slavery’ instituted by Magloire
- Landslide victory (209)

## CULTURE & TYRANNY: Duvalier 1957-1971

1. What were Duvalier’s first moves upon taking power in 1957?
  2. How was Duvalier absorbed once in power? (213)
  3. Was Duvalier totalitarian or fascist? (213)
  4. What were some of the roles of the *tonton makout*? (215)
  5. How healthy were worker’s unions during Duvalier’s reign?
  6. What action did Duvalier take with regards to the University of Haiti?
- 
1. Reduce the power of the opposition and effect an accommodation.
  2. With staying alive and retaining office
  3. No. Focused violence on the opposition but did not exterminate ethnic minorities or build work-camps (death-camps) on a large scale.
  4. Repress opposition and build support for Duvalier; effect changes in the leadership of the armed forces
  5. Lowest membership in Latin America.
  6. He shut it down and reopened it with a new name and under his control.

## QUIZ ON ARTHUR & DASH, 1999

1. According to Arthur & Dash, Graham Greene's book *The Comedians* gives a fair portrait of Duvalierism.

- a. True      b. False

2. Wade Davis

- a. *The Serpent and the Rainbow*    b. *The Magic Island*    c. *Black Baghdad*

3. Langston Hughs

- a. *The Rainy Season*      b. *White Shadows in a Black Land*      c. *Cannibal Cousins*

4. Langston Hughs saw a Haiti controlled by blacks

- a. True      b. False

5. Discussion about the terms "Juida" and "Ardra" is associated with who?

- a. Moreau de Saint-Méry      b. John Houston Craige    c. William Seabrook

6. What is the missing word from Seabrook's sentence: "a mysterious something super-added... the \_\_\_\_\_ magnificently descended"

- a. demons      b. ancestors      c. gods

7. Seabrook compares Vodou dances with

- a. Cannibalistic rituals    b. fashionable nightclubs of Europe    c. subversive activities

8. Amy Wilentz's journalistic work that examines the rise of Aristide's *Lavalas* party is:

- a. *The Rainy Season*      b. *Haiti or the Black Republic*      c. *The Dry Season*

9. What will Pierre Mabillet who wrote *The Haitian Panorama* never forget?

- a. farmers working the soil      b. women with loads on their heads    c. Vodou drums

10. For Langston Hughs, Haiti was "a sort of military dictatorship back by the guns of what nation?"

- a. Germany      b. France      c. U.S.A.      d. Dominican Republic

## The view from abroad, Arthur 315-30

*How foreigners (mis)perceive Haiti*

“Haiti challenges the prevailing view that blacks were incapable of revolutionary insurrection” (Arthur & Dash)

### 18<sup>th</sup> century

Moreau de Saint-Méry (c. 1789)

Juida		Wida
Ardra		Rada

- “Affect Vodou in public” (321)
- Vodou is “a school where those easily influenced give themselves up to a **domination** which a thousand circumstances renders tragic”
- “Nothing is more **dangerous**, according to all the accounts...”

### 19<sup>th</sup> century

Spencer St. John, *Hayti or the Black Republic* (1886)

### 20<sup>th</sup> century

John Houston Craige, *Black Baghdad* (U.S. occupation)

Faustin Wirkus, *Cannibal Cousins* (U.S. occupation)

William Seabrook, *The Magic Island* (1929)

Haiti as given over to Vodou and **ritual sacrifice**

“Blood maddened, sex-maddened, god-maddened...”

“It seemed to me magnificent and not devoid of a certain beauty”

- Collective **ecstasy** VS. soulless robots
- Vodou dances VS. our fashionable nightclubs
- “a mysterious something super-added... the gods magnificently descended” (324)

Langston Hughes, *White Shadows in a Black Land* (1932)

- Cracker English in little cafes owned by blacks...
- Black tellers, white comptroller
- Larger stores owned by French, Germans and Syrians (“Assyrian Jews”)
- Military dictatorship backed by American guns

## Recent works

Graham Greene, *The Comedians* (1967)

“demonic head of state and malevolent Tontons Macoutes”

Bernard Diederich, *Papa Doc and the Tonton Macoutes*

“Duvalier’s reign of terror...”

Wade Davis, *The Serpent and the Rainbow* (1986)

Amy Wilentz, *The Rainy Season* (1994)

## Nicholls 1979, pp. 221-237: Duvalier and the Catholic Church, 1957 - 1971

Griots: The church is an ideological instrument for a small francophone elite and the church enables its hegemony.

Janvier: The church is a body within the state owing allegiance to a foreign power.

Duvalier Expected the clergy to pray for him and the Haitian State (222)

## Purges

- Priests expelled (Mgr Robert because of his involvement in the anti-superstition campaigns of 1941)
- “Communist” educators, school teachers fired
- Newspapers closed, raided
- House arrest of Anglican priest who asked for mercy for political prisoners (225)

-- Duvalier broke the foreign control of the Roman Catholic Church

-- Insisted on an **indigenous hierarchy** (226); Pope Paul VI agrees in 1966

-- The Church is seen as a “vassal to the Haitian state”

Big plans to combat illiteracy fails.

**Hurbon 1972** + Vodou as the preservation of African identity.  
+ Christians should respect Vodou as they respect the other big religions.  
+ Vodou in Haiti; Islam in Algeria = resistance to cultural domination (Frantz Fanon 1963)

## **Noiriste theme and legend under Duvalier**

- The *marron inconnu*, nèg mawon, ‘the unknown runaway’ 1968
- Goman and Acaau
- Dessalines
- Pierrot
- Soulouque
- Antoine Simon
- Salomon

The challenge from Price Mars (230)

You cannot reduce the social question in Haiti to the color question.  
There have always been poor mulattoes and rich blacks.

The challenge from Depestre (231) – exiled to Cuba in 1960

Human nature does not differ significantly between races (231)

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Duvalier’s propaganda mixes Catholicism, Haitian historical legend, Vodou  
and military imagery (233)  
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## **LEGACIES**

Rhetoric of populism, empowered peasantry.

National scale of the VSN.

Maintained good relations with the peasantry and black middle class.

Welcomed Vodou leaders into the presidential palace.

Haitianized the church.

Political violence, political prisoners, torture and murder

Failure to enact lasting educational reform and literacy.

The linguistic complexity of Haitian Creole in Haiti (Dejean 1993: 81-2)

## **HAITIAN CREOLE**

### **MONOLINGUALS**

- South (regional HC)
- Central (regional HC, Standard HC)  
(n.b. many migrants to P-au-P end up knowing 2 varieties).
- Northern (regional HC)

### **TRADITIONAL 'BILINGUALS'**

1. HC basilect (varieties spoken by monolinguals)
2. HC mesolect (variety spoken by bilinguals, i.e. there is French influence)
3. French

### **NON-TRADITIONAL BILINGUALS FROM THE DIASPORA**

- HC + English
- HC + Québécois French
- HC + Dominican Spanish

### **FRENCH**

- The traditional French of Haiti (bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie)
- French full of *Créolismes* (not spoken at home and used for meetings, television, radio, etc.)
- This group also speaks the HC mesolect in # 2.

1. The church is an ideological instrument for a small francophone elite and the church enables its hegemony.

- a) Griots                      b) Goman                      c) Antoine Simon

2. Duvalier did not want the clergy to pray for him and the Haitian State.

- a) True                      b) False

3. Duvalier ordered the house arrest of the \_\_\_\_\_ priest who asked for mercy for political prisoners.

- a) Vodou                      b) Catholic                      c) Anglican

4. Pope Paul VI did this in 1966:

- a) Stopped persecuting Vodou.  
b) Let Haitians chose their Catholic leaders.  
c) Excommunicated Duvalier.

5. Vodou in Haiti (1791) and Islam in Algeria (1950-60s) share:

- a) Fundamentalist ideology.  
b) Resistance to cultural domination.  
c) The use of drums to announce war.

6. Hurbon (1972) said that Christians

- a) should respect Vodou.  
b) are incapable of respecting Vodou.  
c) are incapable of respecting any religion.

7. "You cannot reduce the social question in Haiti to the color question. There have always been poor mulattoes and rich blacks."

- a) Price Mars                      b) Janvier                      c) Depestre

8. "Human nature does not differ significantly between races."

- a) Price Mars                      b) Janvier                      c) Depestre

9. Who was Goman?

- a) Marron (*mawon*) ruler of South.  
b) Marron (*mawon*) ruler of North.  
c) Marron (*mawon*) ruler of Port-au-Prince.

10. What is the most prestigious variety of Haitian Creole?

- a) Northern                      b) Central                      c) Southern

