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I dedicate this paper to those who lost their lives during the François Duvalier presidency and to Marie Vieux-Chauvet for using her voice to speak out for those who did not have one.

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Introduction

In 1967 in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, author Marie Vieux-Chauvet gave a reading from her new triptych of novellas, *Love, Anger, Madness,* before her group of poet-friends during their weekly secret meeting of *Les Araignées du Soir* ("Spiders of the Night"). During these meetings, poets and writers would come together and discuss each other's work. As acclaimed Haitian author, Edwidge Danticat describes them, this group "hoped to weave a protective web around their own and keep out predatory pests."[1] Upon reading *Love, Anger, Madness* however, this web started to recede and her friends expressed concern over the triptych's mirroring of the François Duvalier regime. The characters' actions, dispositions, and backgrounds all strongly resembled Duvalier and his government. Furthermore, the work clearly highlighted the experiences of the oppressed peoples under this repressive regime. Advised by her friends and the Haitian ambassador in Paris to eliminate all copies of the triptych, Vieux-Chauvet and her husband retrieved all printed copies from bookstores in Haiti and proceeded to burn them.[2] Fearing for her safety, Chauvet fled to Queens, New York in exile in 1968. She was never to return to Haiti.

Born during the United States' occupation of Haiti, Marie Vieux-Chauvet had always known that the Haitian state was engaged in oppression.[3] By the time of the François "Papa Doc" Duvalier regime, however, this oppression presented itself in a form mostly derived from internal strife and dysfunction. With the deaths of her two nephews Didier and Paul Vieux in 1963, and further catapulted by the 1964 massacre in the city of Jérémie, Marie Vieux-Chauvet felt a necessity to expose Duvalier and "take revenge through her pen."[4] Chauvet was at war with

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[1] Edwidge Danticat, *Create Dangerously: The Immigrant Artist at Work* (New York: Vintage Books, 2011), 68. https://www.google.com/books/edition/Create_Dangerously/hpXAx7YD4-kC?hl=en&gbpv=0

[2] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (New York: Picador, 2012), 312-313.

[3] Madison Smart Bell, "Permanent Exile: On Marie Vieux-Chauvet," *The Nation.* January 14, 2010. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/permanent-exile-marie-vieux-chauvet/ See Appendix: Image 2, pg. 60.

[4] Thomas C. Spear, "Marie Chauvet: The Fortress Still Stands," *Yale French Studies*, no. 128 (2015): 12.

Duvalier, with her pen as the weapon and *Love, Anger, Madness* as the battle cry. That her work is used to study Duvalierism today shows the verity of the English saying, "the pen is mightier than the sword." At the time, some would presumably contest this, especially Duvalier sympathizers who would ascribe to the Haitian saying, "konstisyon se papye, bayonnèt se fè," meaning, "the constitution is just paper, but a bayonet is solid." However, Chauvet's willingness to use an alternative means to violence for change demonstrates a reconstruction of the idea of power and the denunciation of the reality of violent normalcy.

Chauvet's connection to writing was obsessive. She looked at writing as her emotive outlet and harbored a strong sense of sensitivity to her work.[5] Chauvet prided herself on her social awareness and the ability to empathize with others. In an interview titled, "Marie Vieux-Chauvet, the Person, and the Writer", Chauvet's older sister, Lillian Vieux Corvington, whose son was arrested and disappeared in 1968, described her as a woman who "liked poor and simple people."[6] Despite her privileged upbringing as a rich mulatto woman, she exerted herself as a nonprejudicial individual.

This mindset allowed for Chauvet to bring a unique perspective to Haitian literature. As an attractive, rich woman, Marie Vieux-Chauvet was accustomed to the common expectation that women like her were belittling to others and thought highly of themselves. Her role was predetermined by Haitian societal constructs. The culmination of her existence as a mulatto woman from the elite class would typically produce a superiority complex rooted in neocolonialism. The fact that she did not give in to this way of thinking, and challenged the status quo by becoming a writer, a profession often deemed unsuitable for women and associated

[5] Mohamed B. Taleb-Khyar, "Erma Saint-Gregoire," *Callaloo* 15, no. 2 (1992): 464.

[6] Lilian Vieux Corvington and Marie-Cécile Corvington, "Marie Vieux Chauvet, témoignages (The Person and the Writer)," YouTube video, 19:45. Ile en île. April 15, 2013. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gSIF1cgKTQ4

with low-paid intellectuals, separated Chauvet from common narratives. She drowned out the voices of those who criticized her and assumed that she could not produce worthy literature due to her prestigious background. Chauvet responded to these underestimations by gaining more insight into the diverse communities and ideologies of Haiti. Unlike most intellectuals at the time, she effectively did this by not associating herself with a political position for she vowed that she would, "never align [herself] with any group," and hated "all indoctrination and all dictatorship."[7] Her firsthand experience with the mulatto elite and their domination of most sectors of Haiti, provided Chauvet with an understanding of the negative consequences of radical politics. In a similar manner to the mulatto elite, Duvalier's presidency and his emphasis on the ascension of the black petty bourgeoise and peasantry was a racialized form of politics that caused division among the Haitian people. His presidency was a formal position that afforded him informal opportunities to institute violence, repression, and terror on his people as he attempted to implement his racial philosophy. Consequently, Chauvet's willingness to delve into a profession that undermined her status and to utilize this profession to denounce Duvalier's regime was threatening to her social and physical existence.

In virtually all aspects of Haitian social order, Marie Vieux-Chauvet defied commonality. As one of the few women in the Haitian writing scene, Chauvet had to battle endlessly to receive recognition. Despite being widely regarded today as one of the best Haitian writers, whose work is prestigious enough to rival some of the other great Haitian authors such as Jacques Roumain or René Depestre, Chauvet struggled in getting her work recognized during her lifetime. In a series of letters uncovered at the *Bibliothèque Nationale Française* (BNF) in Paris, France, this hardship is further explained.

[7] Mohamed B. Taleb-Khyar, "Erma Saint-Gregoire," *Callaloo* 15, no. 2 (1992): 465.

The correspondence between Marie Vieux-Chauvet and Simone de Beauvoir started in 1967 when Chauvet, who had heard of and admired Beauvoir's support in assisting female francophone authors, sent her the manuscript of *Love, Anger, Madness* to Gallimard. This collection of letters from the BNF does not contain the responses from Beauvoir, yet much can be deduced from Chauvet's responses. Firstly, it is apparent that Beauvoir and Chauvet shared a reciprocal relationship and valued each other's work. Chauvet and Beauvoir appeared to have discussed their families together and Chauvet even sent gifts to the French writer. Chauvet often responded to Beauvoir's opinions regarding her work by questioning how she could improve and the meaning of certain passages.

Secondly, the danger of Chauvet writing *Love, Anger, Madness* was not unknown to the Haitian author. In one letter to Beauvoir, Chauvet writes, "As a writer, I am confronted with great difficulties: persecuted, terrorized by a hideous dictatorial regime," she pleads with Beauvoir, "…it has been 10 years [of the Duvalier regime] that Haitian novelists and poets have been silenced. Help me break this silence, please."[8] In the discussion surrounding Marie Vieux-Chauvet's relationship with the Duvalier regime, most scholars focus on her exile as a point of reference in detailing the repressed state of Haiti. However, this letter and many more like it, delve deeper into Chauvet's own sentiments regarding this issue.

Lastly, the relationship between these two women is demonstrative of a type of global feminism. Beauvoir is widely accredited for her role in helping *Love, Anger, Madness* become published in 1968 through Gallimard. This act of helping a Francophone Caribbean author establish her voice in literature, despite being located in a completely different country in Europe, is an act of equality. Additionally, it is the unification of two women who support each

[8] Régine Isabelle Joseph, "The Letters of Marie Chauvet and Simone De Beauvoir: A Critical Introduction," *Yale French Studies*, no. 128 (2015): 32.

other and aid in each other's success. Chauvet valued Beauvoir's assistance and wrote to her, "But you must also understand what you represent, to all women who need help and who consider you as their only hope."[9] Marie Vieux-Chauvet drew inspiration from Beauvoir and proceeded to uplift and give a voice to the experiences of Haitian women, which is a central feature of the characters in *Love, Anger, Madness.*

The question of whether Marie Vieux-Chauvet was a feminist writer, or if *Love, Anger, Madness* is a feminist text, is one that I have struggled with while completing my research. From a certain standpoint, one could say that Chauvet and her literature were not feminist in that the perceived feminism in which they exert is rooted in the divergence from Haitian gender norms. In examining the female characters particularly and Chauvet herself, mentally, physically, and emotionally, they take on different forms of asserting their independence and do not abide by the constructs surrounding gender roles. These, from the non-feminist point of view, can be explained as feminist actions, but not inherently feminist. Additionally, the argument can be posed that in the context of Haiti during the 1960s, feminist organizations like the *Ligue Féminine d'Action Sociale* (Feminine League for Social Action) or the female sector of Duvalier's paramilitary group, the Tonton Macoutes known as the Fiyèt Lalo, were a guise for Duvalier to support the feminist movement. Women's liberation in Haiti was not based on the acknowledgement of their rights as human beings, but on the necessity to strengthen the regime. Therefore, in considering that Marie Vieux-Chauvet did not align to groups and ideologies that were rooted in authoritarianism, it would be a mistake to call her or her female characters feminist.

[9] Joseph, "The Letters of Marie Chauvet and Simone De Beauvoir," 38.

Alternatively, the legitimacy of Chauvet's feminism can be defended in the process of writing the triptych itself. Her contribution to literature as the only female member of *Les Araignées du Soir* and one of the few prominent Haitian women writers during the mid-twentieth century, places her in a position where describing her as anything but a feminist would be controversial. Marie Vieux-Chauvet engaged in an act that was groundbreaking and paved the way for other women. Her relationship with Beauvoir attested to her dedication to creating a legacy for women that would be respected and replicated. Despite her resistance to political groups and organizations, true feminism was determined by her and not by pseudo-feminist movements propagated by the regime. Chauvet's characters were not all intrinsically feminist, at times they were selfish, undermined the progress of other women, and aligned with men at the demise of women. However, they all demonstrate the capability of their feminism in an oppressed society, a type of pessimistic feminism. Although not much may have resulted from their actions, they were the steppingstones for the liberation of Haitian women.

At times it is difficult to conclude the feminist nature of Chauvet and *Love, Anger, Madness.* There exist many external factors involving politics, organizations, and the idea of feminism itself. These two contending viewpoints illustrate the noncity of feminism in Haiti during the 1960s and compel readers to look deeply into the historical context of this issue. Ultimately, I would agree that Chauvet and her triptych are feminist. However, it would behoove me and others who have reached the same conclusion to take into consideration the gross political impact of the Duvalier regime on the advancement of equality for women in Haiti. This form of feminism is presented in a fashion that is different from Western understandings of the ideology due to the severity of Duvalierism. Chauvet's triptych was a resolute form of protest for, among other pressing issues, the equality of women. Writing *Love, Anger, Madness,*

explaining the plight of women through her characters and allowing readers to be exposed to the reality that women were capable of having their own stories, whether they be rich or poor, black or mulatto places Marie Vieux-Chauvet as an author dedicated to the advancement of Haitian women. Overall, Chauvet's work is an empathetical text that esteems the ordeals of all Haitians who have shared in misfortune as well as injustice.

Love, Anger, Madness is a fictional book, but a great source that allows for these types of historical connections to be made. Chauvet allows her audience to question the state of Haitian politics, race relations, class structures, and gender issues. Chauvet uses the stories of the reality of her country to challenge her readers to change the course of Haiti and to denounce a regime. Brave, outspoken voices such as hers were silenced by oppression but have rung loud and clear in Haitian and Caribbean studies today as true representatives of renowned Latin American intellectuals. Marie Vieux-Chauvet and her critically acclaimed work *Love, Anger, Madness* provides a more in-depth analysis of the people impacted by the violence and repression of François Duvalier's presidency. The voices that she desperately fought for, are found in the many characters that are encountered in the triptych.

Although *Love, Anger, Madness* was republished in 2005 and translated into English in 2009, quite a while after her death, Marie Vieux-Chauvet's legacy is deepening and remains palpable. Chauvet laid out a path for other writers to disrupt the status quo and be firm in their beliefs, no matter the cost. Her life as not only a skilled author but an activist, makes her legacy in Haitian literature and history much more impactful and she will be continued to be remembered for the great love that she had for her country. With each passing year, Marie Vieux-Chauvet's literature is revered higher than it ever was when she was alive. This century is one in which Chauvet is lauded and admired, where her words can be celebrated, and where her

experience is appreciated. The twenty-first century, the century of a writer hailing from Port-au-Prince, artistically thrives from her courage and will forever be inspired by her sacrifice.

Duvalier's Emergence

François Duvalier was born into a period of intense instability in Haiti. President after president could not complete their term without experiencing a coup d'état, death, or a bout of toxic authoritarianism. Between 1804 to 1915, Haiti had about 25 governments running the country along with twenty revisions of the constitution.[10] The instability brought the attention of many other, more powerful western countries such as Germany, Britain and the United States who saw Haiti's troubles as an opportunity to not only extend racialized paternalism, but to take advantage of Haitian resources.

In the case of the United States specifically, their involvement in Haiti began with Haitian President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam's execution of 167 political opponents leading to a riot in the city of Port-au-Prince and his subsequent murder by his constituents. Shortly after, the occupation that would last from 1915 until 1934, commenced.[11] Reasons for American involvement can simplistically be equated to the need to fulfill the Monroe Doctrine and the fact that Haiti was monetarily indebted to the United States.[12] Haiti had taken loans from many countries to help pay the French indemnity, thrust upon them in 1825 for the French loss of slave property during the Haitian Revolution and to develop the country overall.[13]

During the First World War, the United States had noticed that their colonial rival Germany was establishing a strong presence in the Caribbean country. This drew many concerns from American officials for fear that if they did not act immediately, their side of the world would be overtaken by the Germans, although, there was no legitimate evidence to suggest this

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[10] Jerome Branche and Carolle Charles, "Coloring the Social Structure:Racial Politics during the Duvalierist Dictatorial Regime of 1957 – 1987" in *Race, Colonialism and Social Transformation in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Florida: University of Florida Press, 2008), 45.

[11] David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 145.

[12] Nicholls, *From Dessalines,* 146.

[13] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (New York: Picador, 2012), 204-212.

to be true.[14] Nevertheless, the United States persisted and with the economic development occurring in countries across Latin America, they found it necessary to ensure political stability through military occupation to overall protect their economic interests in Haiti. The United States' control of the Haitian federal bank, *Banque Nationale d'Haïti*, years before, made this pursuit much more plausible. Roger Gaillard, a Haitian historian, described this as the United States taking "preexisting plans for occupation out of a file drawer and having adjusted them to circumstances, [and putting] them in application.'"[15] Throughout the nineteen years that the United States was in Haiti, they handpicked presidents, changed the Haitian constitution to benefit their own economic interests, and created a national guard called the *Gendarmerie Nationale d'Haïti*.

The United States also helped to make improvements to Haiti. It can be argued that without the creation of technical and vocational schools in Haiti, there would not have been the emergence of the doctor and subsequentially, the presidential term of François Duvalier. Educated at these American-run institutions, Duvalier learned the practice of medicine. Despite the fervent fight against the American occupation by rebel leaders like Charlemagne Péralte and Rosalvo Bobo, the latter leading in the riot against President Sam, the United States remained in power and this greatly benefitted Duvalier.

In his youth, Duvalier attended primary and secondary school at the *Lycée Alexandre Pétion*, named after the mixed-race or *milat*, revolutionary. The school, which is located in the suburbs of Port-au-Prince suggests that Duvalier led a relatively privileged life. Schools such as these were the pride of Haiti and it was reputable if one was able to attend. His teachers included the famed Haitian anthropologist Jean Price-Mars and the future President of Haiti and mentor,

[14] Dubois, *The Aftershocks of History*, 211-212.
[15] Ibid., 210.

Dumarsais Estimé.[16] After attending the *Lycée Pétion*, Duvalier attended medical school. However, just a year after, Duvalier's classmates protested the current Haitian President Louis Borno for being an American puppet and advocated for the United States to leave Haiti. The backlash by the Haitian students was so strong, that it compelled the President of the United States, Herbert Hoover, to come up with a five-year plan for the United States to leave Haiti.

At this time of tribulation, Duvalier was expanding his studies by developing his understanding of blackness and what it meant to be Haitian. He, along with his friend and co-author of many of his publications, Lorimer Denis, utilized the influence of their heroes in their writing. Jean Price-Mars' *indigenisme*, Arthur Holly's *noirisme*, and Léopold Sédar Senghor's *négritude* all contributed to Duvalier and Denis' intellectual framework regarding the societal issues of Haiti in the context of its history. The ideological movement of which Duvalier was a part of was the result of the general popularity of pan-Africanist movements across Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa. *Négritude*, advocated for pride in African peoples and for black people of the diaspora to take pride in their respective histories while the *indigenisme* movement supported the goal for Haitians to be prideful in the African-based culture, and not to rely so heavily on the influence of the French. *Noirisme*, the ideology that Duvalier subscribed the most to, was an immersion of the two viewpoints.[17]

Noirisme built off the ethnological aspects of *négritude* and *indigenisme* and incorporated a racialized idea of politics with a pro-black, pro-Haitian argument. *Noiristes* believed in the "Africanization" of the Haitian people and that "Haitians were basically African in their genetic composition."[18] Therefore, African-based culture was to be highly regarded and socially, Haitian

[16] Al Burt and Bernard Diederich, *Papa Doc: Haiti and Its Dictator* (Great Britain: Penguin, 1972), 42-43.
[17] David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 152-158.
[18] Nicholls, *From Dessalines*, 167.

society should reflect their ancestry. In a series of essays published in *Le Nouvelliste* and *Les Griot,* François Duvalier and Lorimer Denis went as far as to assert that due to the biological superiority of those with strong African ancestry, psychologically, black Haitians were more capable of excelling in art, music, and many other aspects of Haitian society.[19] The *noirist* movement, also known as the *Griot* movement, emphasized that the true implementation of this ideology would be realized in gaining influence in the government. This however, proved to be a difficult task due to the dominance of the mulatto elite or *milat.* Despite black Haitians making up the majority of the percentage of the population, mulattoes overran most, if not all governmental and other impactful positions in Haiti. This lack of representation in the government was disconcerting to *noiristes* who contended that power should be given to the black middle class. Many *noiristes* emerged from the black petty bourgeois and found it most appropriate for them, as scholars on Haitian culture and history, to represent the black masses.

While *noirisme* aided in celebrating the works of talented Haitian writers, poets, and intellectuals, the movement centered its motivations for these works on the issue of the color question, which in the context of Haitian history dating as far as the colonial era, directly ties to the issue of class. This history of the domination of mulattoes caused many black Haitians to perceive the *milat* as a neocolonial agent of their oppression. Black people assumed that the *milat* thought themselves to be better, closer to Western civilization than black Haitians. The racial politics that *noirisme* encompassed illustrated a pent-up anger that many black citizens had towards the mulatto elite. These resentments can be traced back to slavery.

In the early slave history of the country that was once the French colony of Saint-Domingue, race or color was not a determining factor for a slave, but rather labor and politics.

[19] Ibid., 169.

Class determination was more important than race, although it undoubtedly played a role in societal distinctions. However, with the emergence of the mixed-race population, this understanding changed, and categories were created to be more racially defined and subject to the appropriate class. Now, the racial and class distinguished included the intersectionality of "their places in the economic structure, their socio-political status, their kinship networks, and the color of their skin." [20] Therefore, regardless of the fact that mulattoes were generally treated better in Saint-Domingue, it was possible that a black man coming from an affluent economic status could be more respected than a poor mulatto man.

Class and color have been closely tied in Haiti and were done so by the French who established the societal understanding of the supposed superiority of mixed-raced peoples as they were in proximity to whiteness. Consequently, the relationship between blacks and mulattoes has been nuanced. During the Haitian Revolution, both races united to fight against the French for independence. Undoubtedly there were anomalies, especially of the *milat* elite who wished to keep their slave-holding positions of power. Overall, however, the Revolution was a sign of racial pride and a feat that had never been accomplished before. It was the turning point of the country, a chance for a nation mostly comprised of slaves and freedmen to govern themselves independent of a colonial power.

Duvalier and Lorimer Denis recognized this and valued the sacrifices of their ancestors but asserted that the imbalances of power between races that Haiti was experiencing, was a result of the oppression bestowed by the *milat* of Haiti's early history. In many essays he wrote in the *Problème des classes à travers l'histoire d'Haiti: sociologie politique*, *Les Griots* and *Oeuvres*

[20] Jerome Branche and Carolle Charles, "Coloring the Social Structure:Racial Politics during the Duvalierist Dictatorial Regime of 1957 – 1987" in *Race, Colonialism and Social Transformation in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Florida: University of Florida Press, 2008), 40.

essentielles, Duvalier gave, occasionally comprised, retellings of the history of race relations in Haiti. For example, Duvalier stated that the mixed-race Alexandre Pétion aided in the assassination of the other revolutionary Jean-Jacques Dessalines because Dessalines wanted to give land to ex-slaves, when, it was Pétion who planned to distribute the land.[21] Duvalier's pro-black message was mostly based on factual events in Haiti, yet, even when he was wrong, he garnered support by those who felt that Haiti should strictly be run by blacks, for they were the ones who represented the true Haitian soul.

Duvalier's work with the *noirisme* movement shifted his attention from medicine to politics where he found likeness in Dumarsais Estimé, a man he most respected and admired for his pro-black stance. Estimé became president and made Duvalier his Minister of Health after the ousting of President Elie Lescot, whose anti-superstition campaign, a crackdown on Haitian vodou and the prioritization of Catholicism, made him largely unpopular. Estimé became president and Duvalier, his Minister of Health. As a black man from the petty bourgeoise, Estimé sought to implement progressive policies for those he represented, especially the black middle class and the peasantry. He expanded education programs for the poor, improved social security, issued new labor laws, and increased the minimum wage.[22] With the help of the American dancer Katherine Dunham, he helped expand interest in Haitian culture, leading to high rates of tourism in the country.[23]

Estimé's popularity started to wane in the late 1940s, with the left accusing him of trying too hard and spending too much money to appease foreigners, while the right found some of his policies radical towards the left. The final straw was when he attempted to extend his power by

[21] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (New York: Picador, 2012), 321.
[22] Dubois, *The Aftershocks of History*, 316.
[23] Ibid., 316-317.

revising the constitution in 1950. Army officer, Paul Magloire, a man that Duvalier would ultimately possess undying hate for, established a coup against Estimé and took on the presidency, despite not being elected.

Until 1956, Magloire was president of Haiti and he also, made some improvements to the country by rebuilding roads and providing hydroelectric power and irrigation to the Artibonite Valley, a place where many cultivated rice.[24] When it was time for his term to be over, he refused to allow an election causing protests to ensue. He fought relentlessly for the power of the presidency but was eventually dethroned. Just a year later, François Duvalier was elected president.

Duvalier surprised many when he decided to run for president. He was a short man, soft-spoken, and those who grew up with him remembered him as a "a quiet, introverted boy who did not play games, liked to be alone, and wore clothes tailored by his grandfather."[25] He was certainly not the person anyone would expect to run for president of an entire country, much less win. However, with the ousting of Estimé and the anger that he and many *noiristes* had with Magloire's sympathetic relations with the *milat,* Duvalier's decision to vie for a chance to become Haiti's next president is understandable.[26] His influence as a member of the black petty bourgeoise and his experience working under Dumarsais Estimé, helped to convince many that he was the right choice.

Duvalier was running against three men of prestige who had proven themselves in their respective crafts: Clément Jumelle, Daniel Fignolé, and Louis Déjoie. Jumelle was similar to Magloire in that he attempted to appease both blacks and mulattoes. Fignolé, a strong defender

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[24] Ibid., 318-320.

[25] Al Burt and Bernard Diederich, *Papa Doc: Haiti and Its Dictator* (Great Britain: Penguin, 1972), 42.

[26] Elizabeth Abbott, *Haiti: The Duvaliers and their Legacy* (United States of America: McGraw Hill Company, 1988), 63.

and representative of the urban masses, fought with Duvalier for the black vote. Déjoie consolidated most of the mulatto vote.[27] Duvalier campaigned by traveling to Estimé's hometown, telling the citizens that he was the right successor to their esteemed leader. Those in the countryside remembered his work as a doctor, helping in an American medical mission to eradicate yaws, a bacterial disease that many peasants were ailing from. They affectionately labeled Duvalier "Papa Doc". Duvalier's commitment to the peasantry, his frequent visits to old friends with promises to raise the minimum wage, and his dedication to black power in Haiti were compelling enough for his constituents to vote for him. [28]

In addition to the peasantry and black petty bourgeoise, Duvalier appealed to women. He advocated for the right for women to vote and created the *Faisceau Féminin*, a woman's group that supported Duvalier's campaign.[29] Another feminist group, *Ligue Féminine d'Action Sociale*, was also a supporter of Duvalier.[30] Women found Duvalier favorable for his unabashed prioritization of female involvement in the 1957 election. Just a year earlier in 1956, many women expressed frustration and protested the Magloire regime for its refusal to allow women to register to vote. They were expecting to build off the progress made in the 1940s with the many women's suffrage legislative wins, yet, Magloire was slow to implement change. Duvalier's clear plan for the advancement of women was attractive to women who felt ignored by the previous administrations.[31] As president, Duvalier took advantage of this popularity by putting

[27] Duke University Libraries. Bernard Diederich Collection. "Election Campaigns Are on Again." *Haiti Sun*. September 8, 1957. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00015023/00412. See Appendix: Image 1, pg. 59.

[28] Elizabeth Abbott, *The Duvaliers and their Legacy* (United States: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1988), 72-73.

[29] Abbott, *The Duvaliers*, 64.

[31] Grace Louis Sanders, "La Voix des Femmes: Haitian Women's Rights, National Politics and Black Activism in Port-au-Prince and Montreal, 1934-1986" University of Michigan. 2013. 171, 176.

one of his most ardent female supporters, Rosalie Bosquet, member of *Faisceau Féminin*, as head of the *Fiyèt Lalo*, the female sector of the civil militia, Tonton Macoutes.

On September 22, 1957, Duvalier was elected as president with almost 680,000 votes in comparison to the last candidate left in the race, Louis Déjoie who received only 267,000. As a result of his use of faithful peasant thugs, *cagoulards*, to intimidate Haitian citizens to vote for him, Duvalier was accused of having committed fraud. Déjoie made sure to also address that Duvalier's father, Duval, had been born in Martinique, not Haiti and that according to the Haitian constitution, François "Papa Doc" Duvalier could not be president. The issue was ignored and when the press asked how it could have been possible for him to have won, he replied, "The peasants love their doc."[32] Although it may not have been necessary for Duvalier to secure his election in such a way, he was laying the foundation for a corrupt and violent regime that would undermine the negative preconceived notions of his incapability that existed during his campaign.

As president, Duvalier implemented a state of unpredictability in Haiti. Despite previously praising the army for the removal of Magloire, he proceeded to demote them and established a paramilitary group known as the *Volontaires de la Sécurité Nationale* (VSN) or Volunteers of National Security. The VSN were a byproduct of the *cagoulards* and Haitian citizens referred to them as the Tonton Macoutes, a boogeyman in Haitian folklore. By recruiting from a largely uneducated, poor, and dark-skinned sector of Haitian society, Duvalier was not only sending a message to the mulatto elite, but he was also revitalizing a demographic of people who had often been disregarded. For decades, the peasantry was seen as inferior with little ability for social or economic mobilization. In a 2019 journal article, author Marvin Chochotte

[32] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History.* (New York: Picador, 2012), 324-325.

interviews ex-Tonton Macoutes who express how the paramilitary group allowed for them to be recognized for more than just their status as a peasant: "But when one was a milisyen, one was greatly valued (*gran valè*); even if you were the minister of justice, you had to value milisyen."[33] The VSN gave the peasantry the feeling of power that they had never experienced before, and in culmination with Duvalier's incessant paranoia of the intentions of his fellow Haitians, the violence and terror of the regime accelerated.

The 1968 episode, "Papa Doc: The Black Sheep", of the British documentary series, "Whicker's World" showcases the powerful influence that the Tonton Macoutes and Duvalier have on Haitian citizens to keep them in submission. The dark-skinned men and women of the Tonton Macoutes are armed with guns and machetes. The men surround the presidential palace looking on in every direction suspiciously while wearing dark, navy blue uniforms. Duvalier, who is interviewed, simultaneously celebrates the volunteer work of his civil militia, while downplaying the terror that they bring to the Haitian people. He asserts that the Tonton Macoutes are strictly a peasant organization that receive aid from the government to cultivate the land, clean the streets and maintain order. In one scene, Rosalie Bosquet, more commonly known as Madame Max Adolphe, attests to this claim by instructing a group of peasants on how to properly cut down a tree.[34]

Throughout the documentary, Duvalier does not present himself as a dictator. In fact, he refuses to be associated with the term, "[I am] not a dictator! What you call democracy in your

[33] Marvin Chochotte, "Making Peasants Chèf: The Tonton Makout Militia and the Moral Politics of Terror in the Haitian Countryside during the Dictatorship of François Duvalier, 1957–1971". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 61. no. 4 (2019): 939.

[34] Alan Whicker, "Whicker's World François Papa Doc Duvalier Full Documentary." YouTube video, 1:41:26. Michelle Cady. October 26, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChRUlldPcus

country, another country might call dictatorship."[35] The president, often referring to himself in third-person as "doctor", merely views himself to be representative of the peasantry and black masses, citing that eleven years prior to 1968, no black peasant could have conceived of becoming President of Haiti. His attachment to the peasantry is displayed towards the end of the documentary, when the peasants of Port-au-Prince are seen running after the president while he is being driven throughout the city shouting in excitement, "Duvalier! Duvalier!" Duvalier takes out large sums of money, and proceeds to distribute them to the peasants running after him.

It is a wonder why Duvalier agreed to be interviewed by the Englishman, Alan Whicker, who insulted the president by referring to him as an "insignificant little man", called the country of Haiti a "devil land of voodoo" and labeled the capital city of Port-au-Prince as "primitive."[36] Presumably, Duvalier wished to change the international community's negative perception of him and his regime. However, no matter how hard he tried to put on a front before the world and demonstrate that he was not a dictator, the deaths of an estimated thirty thousand to sixty thousand people spoke for themselves. [37] The former peasant doctor who rarely left the confines of the presidential palace was a dictator and his "volunteers" were perpetrators of violence.

One of the earliest examples of violence by the Duvalier regime involved feminist activist and a leader of the *Ligue Féminine d'Action Sociale*, Yvonne Hakime-Rimpel. Yvonne Hakime-Rimpel was a supporter of Louis Déjoie and openly criticized President Duvalier's policies in her magazine *L'Escale.* As a result of this public display of discontent with the man

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[35] Alan Whicker, "Alan Whicker: my date with Papa Doc, the daddy of all dictators." *The Telegraph.* July 13, 2013.

[36] Alan Whicker, "Whicker's World François Papa Doc Duvalier Full Documentary." YouTube video, 1:41:26. Michelle Cady. October 26, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChRUlldPcus

[37] Alex von Tunzelmann, *Red Heat: Conspiracy, Murder, and the Cold War in the Caribbean* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2011), 374, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Red_Heat/Sz2qXTcQr5IC?hl=en&gbpv=0&kptab=overview

who described himself as an "immaterial being", on January 5, 1958, Hakime-Rimpel's home was broken into during the night by the Tonton Macoutes.[38] They ran upstairs, where she along with her two daughters were sleeping, dragged them out bed, outside of their home and beat them. The Tonton Macoutes left the two daughters along the sidewalks, while they abducted the mother.[39] There were nine macoutes who beat and raped her in an open field. Additionally, it is rumored that Duvalier was present and ordered that the macoutes, "finish her off." Hakime-Rimpel remarkably survived, and after three months in the hospital, she along with her family lived in silence.[40]

Years later in 1964 from August to October, a group of young intellectuals called *Jeune Haïti*, which included a black and twelve mulattoes were gunned down by Duvalier's forces for their role in attempting to overthrow the government. This was the most successful attempt to overthrow the Duvalier government out of the many that occurred since the 1957 election. Members had experience working for the United States Armed Forces and were familiar with "guerilla weapons and tactics."[41] The thirteen men prepared themselves for the invasion in New York, where many of them received their university education. *Jeune Haïti* engaged in guerilla-style warfare with the Haitian army that lasted three months with members hiding in mountain valleys and climbing mountain peaks to escape from Duvalier's forces. By October, *Jeune Haïti* was completely eradicated and Duvalier declared a "total victory" over the rebels:

> Dr. François Duvalier…has crushed and will always crush the attempts of the antipatriots. Think well renegades. No force will stop the invincible march of

[38] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (New York: Picador, 2012), 313.

[39] Al Burt and Bernard Diederich, *Papa Doc and the Tonton Macoutes* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 105.

[40] Elizabeth Abbott, *The Duvaliers and their Legacy* (United States: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1988), 79-80.

[41] Robert Debs Heinl, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492-1995* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America), 605.

> the Duvalierist revolution…The Duvalier revolution will triumph. It will trample the bodies of traitors and renegades and those who sell out…[42]

Upon the realization that most of them were from the town of Jérémie, Duvalier sent his Tonton Macoutes there, where they killed twenty-seven members of J*eune Haïti's* family. [43] The homes and businesses of these families were burned and looted. The killings of mulattoes who were not related to *Jeune Haïti* occurred as well. Hundreds of the *milat* elite in Jérémie were killed according to international reports from Great Britain and the United States.[44]

In one of the most inexplicable displays of violence completed by the Duvalier regime, in March 1958, an unknown man, most likely a Duvalierist, journeyed to a shrine located in Bel-Air, Port-au-Prince, one of the worst slums in the city and took down the shrine. After he left, a group of men came to dig a pit about ten feet deep where the shrine was once located, and policemen came to guard it. Late in the evening, three trucks filled with adults and children who were bound and gagged, arrived. The trucks proceeded to dump these individuals in the pit and workers shoveled dirt on top of them. Cement was poured directly over the pit and the same unknown man who took a wooden cross and implanted it into the area. The victims, nor the reason as to why Duvalier instructed for this event to occur were ever discovered. [45]

These examples show the extent of the terrifying, often unexplainable violence of the Duvalier regime. From the shy country doctor to a man willing to do anything to keep himself in

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[42] Al Burt and Bernard Diederich, *Papa Doc and the Tonton Macoutes* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 305-306.

[43] Isabelle L. Papillon, "Il y a 50 ans : les Vêpres de Jérémie" *Haiti Liberte* Vol. 8 No. 4 August 12, 2014 http://haiti-liberte.com/archives/volume8-4/Il%20y%20a%2050%20ans.asp?fbclid=IwAR1VDHau4Wma1FvI4KlKyO6zzbxAQao7QwPZckuMgdWP5TPtgt1ohigFr6k

[44] Robert Debs Heinl, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492-1995* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America), 606.

[45] Alex von Tunzelmann, *Red Heat: Conspiracy, Murder, and the Cold War in the Caribbean.* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2011), 101-102. https://www.google.com/books/edition/Red_Heat/Sz2qXTcQr5IC?hl=en&gbpv=0&kptab=overview

power, Duvalier exerted himself as a strong force in Haiti. His radical *noirist* beliefs, desire to be respected, and willingness to kill and inflict fear upon those he represented all led to the most authoritarian and violent regime in the history of Haiti. Duvalier saw himself as a progressive. He found that his ascension to power was a benefit to the black Haitian cause and aided in the needed representation in the government. Furthermore, his position demonstrated that people of his station were capable of achieving the same lot. The motto painted outside of the VSN headquarters in Port-au-Prince, "If you cannot progress, have yourself killed on the spot", exemplifies an essential aspect of Duvalier's presidency. Duvalier posed that he represented progress.[46] His presidency was supposed to allow the disadvantaged to gain equal opportunity. However, by restricting the agency of all his citizens, mulatto and black, Duvalier ultimately left a negative legacy that set Haiti back to the same days of inequality and division that he had sought to eradicate.

[46] François Duvalier, *Ouevres essentielles* (Port-au-Prince: Presses Nationales d'Haïti, 1966), 546.

Womanhood, Masculinity and Sexual Violence

The mistreatment of women under the Duvalier regime was a direct result of neocolonialism. In a manner that mirrors the French's usage of the *milat* to subjugate blacks, Duvalier flaunted his supposed allegiance to women and used his female supporters to create women who would be not only "mothers of the nation" but "political actors" as well. [47] His creation of *Faisceau Féminin* and the Fiyèt Lalo, along with support from the *Ligue Féminine d'Action Sociale* were not indicative of progressivism, despite appearing to be so on the surface. In fact, François Duvalier's violence towards women was an antiquated demonstration of patriarchy that ties the idea of what it means to be a Haitian man to violence.[48] Typically, women were provided "some semblance of safety" due to the patriarchal idea of their frailty, however, those who denounced the Duvalier regime, such as Yvonne Hakime-Rimpel, were stripped of their womanhood.[49] Duvalier altered the idea of gender roles by tying it directly to the extent of loyalty that an individual expressed to the regime. Just as slaves in the French colonial era were reduced to being "just another number" in the construction of an empire, women are reduced to their bodies, for their role in developing the Duvalier dictatorship rather than who they are as a person.[50]

Duvalier's neocolonialist reconstruction of gender applies to both men and women who are required to submit to Duvalierism by not speaking out against the regime, for if they do, they are regarded as insubordinate. Men must validate their manliness through violence, either by

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[47] Kaiama L. Glover, "'Black' Radicalism in Haiti and the Disorderly Feminine: The Case of Marie Vieux Chauvet." *Small Axe* 17, no. 1 (March 2013): 13.

[48] Hellen Lee-Keller, "Madness and the Mulâtre-Aristocrate: Haiti, Decolonization, and Women in Marie Chauvet's "Amour"." *Callaloo* 32, no. 4 (2009): 1302.

[49] Grace Louis Sanders, "La Voix des Femmes: Haitian Women's Rights, National Politics and Black Activism in Port-au-Prince and Montreal, 1934-1986" University of Michigan. 2013. 188.

[50] Hellen Lee-Keller, "Madness and the Mulâtre-Aristocrate: Haiti, Decolonization, and Women in Marie Chauvet's "Amour"." *Callaloo* 32, no. 4 (2009): 1297.

promoting or enduring it. Women and even young girls, suffered by being the sexual slaves of the Tonton Macoutes and experiencing sexual violence, all the while keeping quiet thereby affirming Duvalier's expectations of womanhood.[51]

Marie Vieux-Chauvet utilizes the unpredictability of Duvalier to illustrate how these issues of gender, exacerbated by terror and violence, exist on a spectrum. Chauvet goes a step further by giving her characters agency to determine how they respond to gender constructs promulgated by Duvalier and Haitian society. Some female characters exhibit the strength of Haitian women as the "*poto mitan*" or "pillars of society" while others struggle with selfishness. Male characters demonstrate the benefits of Haitian masculinity, as well as how it presents itself as a means to justify violence. Representations of gender in *Love, Anger, Madness* harbor similarities, contradictions, violence, and hate making them all intrinsically complex and unique.

Womanhood in "Love"

As the eldest of three sisters, the main character of *Love,* Claire, struggles to sustain her status as a matriarch in the largely patriarchal town of Grand-Rue. After the death of her mother and father, Claire is left as the breadwinner and to take care of her two sisters, Félicia and Annette. However, this is largely overshadowed by her status as an "old maid". In contrast to the men of her town, it is unsavory for her as a woman to be unmarried at the age of thirty-nine. As evidenced by the rebuke teenaged Claire received by her mother when she stated that she did not want to marry for money, it is apparent that in this society, in order to reach the true pinnacle of womanhood, a woman must be married. [52] Therefore, she is not defined by what she can contribute to society regarding intellect, economics, or politically, but rather if she is able to

[51] Grace Louis Sanders. "La Voix des Femmes: Haitian Women's Rights, National Politics and Black Activism in Port-au-Prince and Montreal, 1934-1986" University of Michigan. 2013. 167.

[52] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 103-104.

obtain a husband. A woman does not marry for love, rather, she marries for stability and social mobility. Eugénie Duclan, a friend of Claire's, experiences this reality head-on. As an "old maid" herself, Duclan finally accepts the advances of Charles Farus, the town pharmacist. When news of this spreads throughout the mulatto bourgeois elite, Duclan is ridiculed for having plans to marry at such an old age. She recognizes that she is being made fun of, but confesses that it is "better than staying an old maid".[53] This comment is a subtle slight towards Claire, who although regarded as beautiful throughout her life, has struggled to see the beauty within herself due to her dark skin and the abuse she received as a child by her light-skinned father, Henri.

When speaking to family friend Dr. Audier about his harsh treatment of his daughter, Henri Clamont states, "…my own black blood has been reabsorbed and… I inherited certain traits that will blemish her unless I correct her." [54] As Claire grew older, she hated her father for imposing his expectations onto her through violence and complicity in her lack of self-esteem. Her father resented her for being dark-skinned and the fact that his firstborn child was not a boy. Now at the age of thirty-nine, Claire laments on missed opportunities for love and consequently finds solace in her mind, making up fantastical situations involving romance, sex, and the family she wishes she had always had. Her love for her sister Félicia's husband, Jean Luze accelerates these desires.

As a Frenchman, Jean Luze's presence in Grand-Rue is celebrated due to the neocolonialist ties that the Haitians of Grand-Rue possess. However, from Claire's point of view, Jean Luze is someone who she can feel like a woman with. Not merely in the sense of her completing traditional tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and managing the household, but rather in evoking more feminine characteristics pertaining to sex and love. Claire is not in love with Jean

[53] Vieux-Chauvet, *Love*, 53.
[54] Ibid., 94.

Luze himself, but with the idea of him. “Do I just like the idea of love? ... This is my challenge. I am going to belong to Jean Luze.” [55]The fact that he is accessible to her as Félicia’s husband allows her sexual fantasies to run wild. As an older woman, who has never been married and is a virgin, Claire’s ideas about her unrequited love for Jean Luze and sex are a result of the incredible constraints of Haitian society. Jean Luze has violated his marriage by having an affair with the other Clamont sister Annette; however, he is not reprimanded to the same degree that Annette is for her many flings as a single woman. This double standard propels Claire to keep her vast array of pornographic materials and sexual fantasies to herself.

Living her dreams through the sexual promiscuity of Annette specifically allows Claire to recall her younger years and have a kind of “do-over”. Disregarding the moral controversy of Annette’s relationship with Félicia’s husband, Claire attaches herself to Annette, most likely due to Annette’s youth and her skin tone being darker than Félicia’s, “I don’t like Félicia. She is too white, too blond, too lukewarm, too orderly. Ah! If only I had Annette’s youth.” [56] Pretending that she is unaware of the affair, Claire orchestrates Annette’s and Jean-Luze’s meetings and silently cheers them on, “I want Annette to be Jean Luze’s. I want her to take Félicia’s place in that man’s life.” [57] As Kaima L. Glover argues, Claire’s lack of care for the feelings of Félicia demonstrates how womanhood can be developed by the disregard for other women.[58] The eldest sister of the Clamonts has reached a point in her life where she is selfish in her dreams and fantasies for a better life. Claire Clamont’s understanding of herself as a woman and her sexuality is that they are based on the expectation that she withholds of her desires and takes her

[55] Ibid., 150.
[56] Ibid., 8-9.
[57] Ibid., 8.
[58] Kaiama L. Glover, “’Black’ Radicalism in Haiti and the Disorderly Feminine: The Case of Marie Vieux Chauvet.” *Small Axe* 17, no. 1 (March 2013): 18-19.

rightful place as caretaker of the home left by her parents. Those such as Eugénie Duclan, who threaten the status quo of all "old maids" are subject to ridicule. Despite marrying for security, thereby playing into the notion of what constitutes womanhood and an ideal marriage, they are able to assert a certain level of freedom from societal constructs. Claire contrastingly, finds herself bound to these constructs and lives in the freedom of her mind, where she can be selfish and decide for herself what she wants for her life. It is there that she is able to live life the way Eugénie and even the young Annette do.

Sexual Violence and Emasculation in "Anger"

The second novella in Marie Vieux-Chauvet's triptych, *Anger* follows the Normil family which consists of the patriarch known simply as "grandfather", his son Louis and his wife, and their children Rose, Paul, and Jean Claude who is referred to as "the invalid" throughout the novella due to his paralysis. When the Normil's land is dispossessed by the villainous black shirts, the Normils, especially the men, are confronted with the reality of the violence of their time. No longer could they hide behind their wealth, made possible by the grandfather's father, a black peasant man who defeated the odds and class expectations by purchasing the land. They had to acknowledge that they were no longer in control of their land and the future of their families. The black shirts had not only succeeded in exerting their power but in the emasculation of the Normil men.

The black shirts, a military defense group that represents the Tonton Macoutes, bring terror and violence to the town on the part of their leader, a man who lives atop of the hills and similarly to Duvalier "never leaves his residence in the *Palais Nationale*" to face the destruction

left by his men.[59] Like vultures, they swoop in and take the property, integrity, and legacy of the Haitian people.

For Louis, this emasculation presents itself in the fact that he, as the able-bodied "man of the house" is ineffective in protecting his home against the black shirts. After the men descend upon his great-grandfather's land, Louis visits the local lawyer's office to discuss the legal action that he can take to remove the black shirts. The lawyer, who, expressing an undeniable hatred for Louis and his family's class position, informs the man in a series of innuendos that in exchange for his land his daughter, Rose, must engage in a sexual relationship with the leader of the black shirts, "the gorilla". Louis attempts to fight for his daughter's purity, but overrun by fear, he ultimately complies with the violation of Rose's sexuality. This causes his son, Paul, to carry insurmountable hatred and lack of respect for his father. Paul's anger with his familial situation is also, interestingly, directed towards Rose.

As opposed to feeling respect for Rose's courage in deciding, along with her father, to prostitute her body to save the land, or proactively asking about her welfare, he resorts to branding her as a "whore". [60] Paul views his sister as someone who has compromised their sexual dignity to align herself with an oppressive regime. Most likely, however, this anger is due to his own inability to defend his sister. Despite being the younger sibling, Paul is accustomed to playing the protective role in his relationship with his sister and, with the ascendance of the black shirts, that role is threatened. Additionally, this role is undermined by Rose who he refuses to admit is the savior of the family. This denial is also prevalent in the grandfather's attitude as well. His close bond to the youngest of his grandchildren, Jean Claude, is based not only on the

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[59] Alan Whicker, "Whicker's World François Papa Doc Duvalier Full Documentary." YouTube video, 1:41:26. Michelle Cady. October 26, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChRUlldPcus

[60] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), Chapter 13, pg. 1-2.

fact that he reminds the grandfather of his own father, but in the hope that he will grow up to be the hero that their family, town and even Haiti needs. The relationship that they have mirrors that of Jean-Claude Duvalier and François Duvalier. At the age of nineteen-years-old, Jean-Claude took over the power of the presidency after the 1971 death of his father. François Duvalier, wishing to continue his legacy, revised the Haitian constitution so that his son, who would have been previously too young to be president, could rule over the country. He states, "That a Duvalier should one day succeed a Duvalier, should alarm nobody." [61] The character of the grandfather exhibits the same faith in Jean Claude. Although only eight years old and unable to walk, the young boy takes this role seriously and pride in his supposed calling, "Grandfather says God has chosen me to become a hero." [62]

The grandfather's attachment to Jean Claude demonstrates a complete erasure of Rose. Throughout the novel, he barely speaks to her or acknowledges her existence. The one person he deems worthy to preserve the Normil legacy has more setbacks than the person he refuses to recognize. Although the grandfather's relationship with Jean Claude is clearly valuable to the boy and necessary, it is problematic because it inspires ingenuine hope. Jean-Claude's value is the result of the grandfather's disappointment with the lack of masculinity displayed by Louis, who is cowardly and meek, and Paul, who is rash and over-emotional. The grandfather subscribes to the traditional notion of dominance and power which leaves Rose on the backburner, for in this ideology, a woman cannot be the savior. Therefore, the only option that the grandfather has, is Jean Claude or the "invalid".

[61] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (New York: Picador, 2012), 349.

[62] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych*. (New York: Modern Library, 2010), Chapter 5, pg. 3.

In all these examples of the men of the Normil family, the black shirts aid in the destruction of the patriarchy.[63] It is also evident that Rose, despite preserving the land of her ancestor, is denigrated and not acknowledged for her contribution to the family. These men hold onto the false hope that one day, in such an oppressive society they will succeed in bringing honor to the family name. They rely on their traditionalist notions of Haitian masculinity to inspire them; however, this inhibits them from being made aware of the reality that they have lost their place in the Duvalierist society of which they live.

Masculinity in "Madness"

The last novella of the triptych, *Madness* is aptly named. The main character René, who resides in a shack with his three friends, Simon, Jacques, and André, lives in persistent fear of the "devils" who wear black and red, have gold helmets whose voices are like "hissing bullets" and "move without noise".[64] Throughout the novella, it is questioned whether the "madness" that many of their neighbors claim he possesses, is legitimate. Could it be that everyone else in this Haitian town has accurately subscribed to the notion that René the poet is a fool? He stays in his shack for a period of eight days, only contacting the outside world through a hole in the wall. To occupy his mind, he writes poetry endlessly and pours libations for the *vodou* ancestral spirits or "*lwas*" that his mother instructed him to serve faithfully before her death. Most importantly, the "devils" that René speaks of, are invisible to those around him.

Despite the thoughts that others may have about his mental state, René contends that he is living life the safest way that he possibly can. Conversely, he only questions his sanity as a result of the presence and fear brought about by "the devils" in his town. These "devils", a militant

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[63] Christopher T. Boner, "Staging a Dictatorship: The Theatrical Poetics and Politics of Marie Chauvet's *Colère.*" *Small Axe* 19, no. 3 (2015): 50-63. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/602410

[64] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 23.

group of men who possess similarities to Duvalier's Tonton Macoutes, kill men in the street, spy on the town's citizens and pronounce their right to eradicate any subversive activities of which, as it is later revealed, René and his friends have been previously arrested for. In this context, René's perceived "madness" is genuine and understandable. If he steps outside of his little shack on Grand-Rue, he risks his life and the lives of his friends. However, staying inside his home, with his unpublished poetry, and "*marrassas*" (bowls) filled with rum and syrup for the *lwas,* fills René with loneliness. The wailings of Jacques, fervent prayers of André, and the increased denial of the "devils'" existence by Simon, the white Frenchman, do not help René waive off the feeling that his life lacks purpose. Similarly to Paul in *Anger,* René gets bouts of false courage. He makes elaborate plans in his mind as to how he will infiltrate and destroy the "devils", thereby bringing peace to the town, "I'm going to kill one of them, just one, I will slip on his uniform and then I wedge myself among their ranks and keep my head down."[65] Saving the town from the "devils" also means saving the love of his life, Cécile. As his neighbor and as a woman he has known since childhood, Cécile has always been the object of René's affection. However, with his poor upbringing and reputation as a madman, René's attempts have been denied, especially by Cécile's maid, Marcia.

Cécile's obliviousness to René's affection for her mirrors the unawareness of the townspeople regarding the plight that René and his friends experience. Yet, as opposed to this contributing to him being seen as a poor, deranged man of mixed-race, Cécile's unawareness affects his masculinity. Cécile is a beautiful woman, from a successful family and on all other fronts, is the prime example of a true Haitian lady. René, a malnourished, writing-crazed, vodouist is unsuitable for Cécile. He cannot provide for her and give her the life that is befitting

[65] Vieux-Chauvet, *Love,* 19.

of her status. When conversations about his love for Cécile arise, René is attacked based on his upbringing as the child of a poor black woman, his frenzied state of mind, and has status as a man who lives in a shack. All these contribute to René's emasculation as a man worthy of being taken seriously. Nevertheless, he remains faithful in his advances towards her, consistently expressing a desire to rescue her from the claws of the "devils". What is left of René's masculinity is found in his built-up resentment for the uniformed men in red and gold as well as Cécile.

After gaining enough courage to step outside with his Molotov cocktail and smashing it in the middle of the street, he along with his friends are arrested by the Commandant due to their plot to overthrow the state. Upon witnessing the entire course of events, Marcia tells the town officials what happened; however, they interpret this as a sign of involvement. Cécile steps in to prevent Marcia from getting in trouble, but she also ends up being accused of involvement. Understanding that severity of the situation and that she could die, René vows to protect Cécile from Commandant Cravache's men. He tells her that when they ask about what has happened, to tell them that it all his doing. René's role as Cécile's "savior", is grounded in a history of cowardice and lacking the ability to prove himself. When push comes to shove, René evolves and takes on the "manly" characteristic of standing up for the "damsel in distress." Interestingly, his friend Simon turns this "savior" notion on its head by allowing the woman he is seeing, Germaine, to support him and save him in times of need. In fact, when arrested he asserts that Germaine will "stop at nothing to get us out."[66] Simon's willingness to take part in such an "un-manly" task as allowing Germaine to essentially be his "sugar mama", is similar to the fear and cowardice previously demonstrated by René. Simon's dependence on Germaine is a form of

[66] Ibid., 15.

cowardice because he expects Germaine to come to his rescue when he has never attempted to save himself. Throughout the novella, Simon has repeatedly denied not only the existence of the "devils" but the terror that Haitians in Grand-Rue have experience. Now that he must face the brunt end of what René has warned him of, he fails to stand up for himself and enlists the help of an already married Germaine. Unlike Simon, René is able to redeem himself towards the end of the novella by reaffirming his masculinity in his attempt to save Cécile's life and the town from the "devils.

Although René's attempts may not have directly resulted in a change in how his mental state, class status or race is perceived, they helped René to no longer live in complacency. Charlee Redman Bezilla similarly states, "René's ambiguous "madness allows him to act: it is in his "*folie* (madness)" that he throws the Molotov cocktail that catapults him onto the public stage. His act does not necessarily open a new future or provide an immediately clear vision for an alternative society within the novel, but it is incontrovertibly, an act of revolt." [67] René's revolutionary moment after opening his shack door after eight days signified a need to end his torment. His loneliness tormented him, and he was a slave to his mind. Whether the "devils" were real or not, and contributed to this, the novella does not disclose, however, it is clear that these experiences shaped René's bravery, his ability to stand up for what he believed in and what he valued most.

[67] Christian Flaugh and Lena Taub Robles. *Marie Vieux Chauvet's Theatres: Thought, Form, and Performance of Revolt* (Boston: Brill, 2018), 82, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Marie_Vieux_Chauvet_s_Theatres/AcKODwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1

Race and Class Issues

The intersectionality of color and economic status in Haiti has persisted since the origin of the country. The phenomenon of the minority mulatto elite dominating over the majority-black population was a contributing factor in the division of Haiti between 1807 and 1820 with Henri Christophe ruling the North and Alexandre Pétion ruling the South. It was evident in the American occupation and with the preference for the *milat* who were more willing to submit to white American authority as this meant that their economic positions would be in-tact. This phenomenon also presented itself in the stronghold that the elite had over trade and commerce. These *milat* ruling elite were often descendants of those who used to export coffee on the basis of the work of black peasants. The *milat* "lived off the peasants' labour" and they collected direct and superfluous taxes which made up to 90 percent of the Haitian government's revenue. [68]

Peasants recalled this taxation as the government's way of making them "miserable".[69] The *kat* system especially, in which tax agents would determine a tax based on the size of the merchandise that peasants would sell in the marketplace, along with the animal that would accompany them on the journey, was inconsistent and harshly implemented. Encounters with tax agents would oftentimes lead to arguments and arrests, spiking the tensions between the lower class and the elite. The anger of the peasantry was not limited to Haitians who were light-skinned or mixed-race. Anyone who was in a superior economic position that allowed them to be influential in Haitian politics and society was a part of the *milat.* Therefore, when a racially unambiguous black man in the form of François Duvalier emerged in the political scene as

[68] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Taxing the Peasantry" in *Haiti's Nightmare and the Lessons of History* in *Libète: A Haiti Anthology.* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers Inc., 1999), 54.

[69] Marvin Chochotte, "Making Peasants Chèf: The Tonton Makout Militia and the Moral Politics of Terror in the Haitian Countryside during the Dictatorship of François Duvalier, 1957–1971". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 61. no. 4 (2019): 942.

someone dedicated to representing the black petty bourgeoise and peasantry, the black masses who were excluded from the ruling elite, felt that they had finally found solace.

However, as Marie Vieux-Chauvet so eloquently demonstrates in *Love, Anger, Madness* and as history itself evidences, Duvalier's insistence on the blackness of Haiti in all sectors of society in conjunction with his authoritative and violent nature, only served to further disenfranchise and elevate tensions among Haitians. Unequivocally, as Erma Saint-Gregoire and Lillian Vieux Corvington both attest to, Vieux-Chauvet was aware of her own privilege as a light-skinned *milat* and is critical of the traces of the French colonialist mindset of Haitian society. Race and class as discussed in *Love, Anger, Madness* is more of a critical analysis brought about by noirisme's "anti-literary, and fundamentally anti-liberal…promotion of an authoritarian and exclusive state which would be realized in the presidency of François Duvalier" and the "deterioration of social cohesion and the complete dehumanization of a people."[70]

Noirisme sought to fight fire with fire and was not as egalitarian as it proclaimed. The *noirisme* movement was a form of racialized politics that mostly benefited the black middle class of Haiti, brought false hope to the peasantry, and demonized the mulatto elite for their economic, political, and societal power. Through the election of François Duvalier, the effects of the *noirisme* movement were actualized in such a violent and divisive manner, Marie Vieux-Chauvet felt compelled to delineate and warn of the negative trajectory of her country. Her first-hand experience in witnessing how the *milat* divided Haiti along with an overall understanding of Haitian politics, equipped her to speak prophetically and bluntly about her country's history, which as a woman, was dangerously unprecedented.

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[70] Martin Munro, "Chauvet the Prophet: Writing the Future and the Future of Writing." *Yale French Studies*, no. 128 (2015): 48.

Losing "Milat" Status in "Love"

The character of Claire in *Love* clearly demonstrates the nuances of racial and class identities in Haiti. As the child of two white-passing mulatto parents, Claire grows up feeling ostracized due to her skin color. It is often a marvel for herself and the rest of the Haitians living on Grand-Rue that Claire's skin is so dark. Her existence is somewhat of a contradiction. Her father, Henri Clamont, prides himself in not being from the poorer, darker-skinned class of Haitians. When speaking to his friend, the local Dr. Audier, he proudly asserts, "Tell me, if you hadn't known me for so long, would you have believed that I have black blood in my veins?"[71] Despite the fact that his late grandmother was just as dark as Claire, he equates lighter hues of the black race with prosperity, superior intellect, and civilization. These beliefs are tested with the birth of his eldest daughter, Claire, a name that ironically means light. Claire's plight is also not aided by the fact that her two younger sisters, Félicia and Annette are as light as her parents.

Throughout the novella, Claire's parents rarely directly address her skin color. On the off chance that they do, it is superseded by her position as a *milat.* When Claire asks her mother, "Why am I black? Why?", she simply replies with, "Your father will make a rich heiress out of you."[72] Another example would be when one of the black peasants working on the Clamont's farm proclaims, "Black, your black like me…and when I am bigger I will marry you."[73] The young man is later fired by Henri Clamont and labeled as insubordinate. Topics of race are often pushed aside in the Clamont family, yet simultaneously, they are some of the key the foundational elements of the Clamont's existence.

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[71] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 94.

[72] Vieux-Chauvet, *Love*, 103.

[73] Ibid., 94.

Race along with class, dictates how the Clamont family lives, who they associate with, and who their subordinates are. As a child, Claire's father's role as a politician, brought about unbridled respect among those who lived in Grand-Rue. Although unable to win his bid for the Haitian presidency, his work in Grand-Rue and his position as the great "agronomist" made him impactful in the *milat* elite. Claire's mother came from a rich family and had an incredibly large dowry that served to demonstrate just how valuable her position was and continued to be by marrying a man like Henri. This privileged status along with the notions of superiority that accompanied, precipitated negative criticism, especially from the peasantry.

The character of Tonton Mathurin, an old black man persistent about calling out the discrimination of Claire's father not only demonstrates the validity of Mathurin's claims, but the "us against them" mentality of Haitian society regarding racial and economic status. Claire, who at the present age of thirty-nine has come to realize "the stupidity of social classifications based on wealth and color," recalls Tonton Mathurin with a sense of appreciation.[74] She states, "Ah the brave Tonton Mathurin we had learned to fear as if he were the very devil."[75] The audaciousness of Mathurin to go against the status quo was fearful to Haitians belonging to the *milat* elite because it suggested that they were not as superior as they claimed.

The irony of the Clamonts having a black daughter and of Henri losing his presidential bid, only served to prove the claims of hypocrisy by Tonton Mathurin's to be accurate. The Clamont family claimed to be more powerful and dignified than the Creole-speaking blacks, but their failure to gain votes in Port-au-Prince and the blatant reminder of their black heritage through their first-born challenged these assertions. When Henri Clamont arrived back in Grand-Rue after failing to gain support in the Haitian capital, Mathurin taunted him, shouting,

[74] Ibid., 10.
[75] Ibid., 5.

"Clamont, you are nothing but a pitiful ignoramus, a pretentious and narrow-minded mulatto…A phony!"[76] He further criticized Henri for "boast [ing] of being white and… [closing his] doors in the faces of worthy black men." Mathurin's constant probing of Henri Clamont shakes Clamont to the core. Mathurin reminds Clamont of his black ancestral past that he so often tries to deviate from. In response to this insecurity, he lashes out by implementing severe discipline on his dark-skinned daughter with the defense that "our old slave blood requires the lash."[77]

The inability of Claire's parents to accept her skin color and their resentment of her because of it, causes Claire to grow up with a deep, resounding hate for herself that inhibits her from forming sustainable relationships. Parents like the Clamonts who have dark-skinned children, "scapegoat their children and hold their lighter skinned children in higher regard." [78] They will racially discriminate against their children based on the traditions of their own upbringing and to, in a counter act, protect and prepare their children for the racial discrimination they will experience in the outside world. Darker-toned children who experience this, often develop issues of self-esteem and resentment towards their parents and light-skinned individuals in general. [79] Consequently, as Claire's entire family is light-skinned, she comes to detest her class status as it is a hypocritical façade that masks the prejudicial injustices of Haitian society.

When Claire's parents die, Claire is tasked with maintaining the legacy of her family. However, several factors inhibit her from completing her duty in entirety. Firstly, most of the money that the Clamont family had obtained was gone due to Henri Clamont's presidential campaign. In addition, Henri was not successful in the masculinization of his daughter, meaning,

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[76] Ibid., 106.

[77] Ibid., 94.

[78] Lauren A. Fultz, "The Psycho-Social Impact of Colorism Among African American The Psycho-Social Impact of Colorism Among African American Women: Crossing the Divide" Wright State University. 2013. 15-16.

[79] Antoinette M. Landor, et al., "Exploring the impact of skin tone on family dynamics and race-related outcomes." *Journal of Family Psychology: JFP: Journal of the Division of Family Psychology of the American Psychological Association (Division 43)* vol. 27,5 (2013): 4.

the projection of his own desires of having a son in conjunction with his physical and emotional abuse toward Claire, were roadblocks that prevented Claire from developing reverence for her family name. This is evidenced in her act of losing the Clamont coffee farm. While Claire had her entire teenage years to learn how to take control of the farm, she was uninterested, which resulted in her low-paid peasant workers rioting and subsequently dying at the hands of rival planters. Lastly, while still running the home that her parents left her and her sisters, Claire faces opposition by the commandant of Grand-Rue, Monsieur Calédu.

Commandant Calédu is a character who bears many similarities to "Papa Doc" Duvalier. He is described as a "ferocious black man who has been terrorizing [us] for about eight years now" and who "wields the right of life and death… and abuses it."[80] In one instance, Calédu kills the local madman Jacques in the middle of a Catholic church service after the mentally disabled man refers to the Commandant as a "demon."[81] This altercation mirrors a late 1959 incident in which a Haitian senator, Yvon Emmanuel Moreau, once a Duvalier supporter, accused the Duvalier regime of terrorism. Moreau was arrested and never heard from again. The killing of the comrades of Hector Riobé, a rebel leader whose father had been killed by the Tonton Macoutes, along with his subsequent suicide, is another incident that demonstrates the interconnectedness of the Duvalier-like character that is Calédu and the truth of the regime.[82] With the enlistment of beggars who resemble the Tonton Macoutes, he spies on the people of Grand-Rue, inflicts harsh punishments and death to those who contest his power and inserts himself in elite spaces that he never would have been able to access due to his race and class position. Similarly to the societal shift that Duvalier's presidency brought to Haiti, especially

[80] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 8.
[81] Vieux-Chauvet, *Love*, 41.
[82] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (Picador: New York, NY. 2012), 340.

with the *cagoulards* recruited by Duvalier's aid, Clement Barbot, Calédu's presence in Grand-Rue challenges the position of the mulatto elite and gives poor beggars the opportunity to elevate themselves, albeit not by much.[83]

Throughout the novel, it is evident that Claire despises Calédu, and he reciprocates the feelings. Calédu's hatred for Claire is straightforward. She is a member of the elite and whenever in his presence she does not show reverence to him or his position. He finds this as an insult and interprets these actions as her thinking that she is better than him. Alternatively, Claire's feelings about Calédu are nuanced. There are the nationalist reasons: he has imposed violence and terror towards Haitians, as well as limited egalitarianism. Additionally, there are the self-motivated reasons, the most profound being the fact that Calédu reminds Claire of herself.

Calédu is the physical representation of Claire's "own anguish as a darker-skinned member of her family and social class."[84] In a sense, Calédu exhibits the courage that Claire lacks. Unlike her, he does not submit to cowardice and opposes the Haitian social norms through the means of being a violent and authoritarian commandant. Claire's confliction regarding Calédu is based on her own captivation with him and her disgust not only with what he has done to her country, but with the fact that she is just as capable of being a demoralizing figure like him.

Despite her attempts to build a façade that places her as a satisfied, dark-skinned "old maid" whose only purpose is to attend to the needs of her family and socialites, Claire's undisclosed desires cannot be denied. She dreams of a life with Jean Luze, her sister Félicia's husband. A veteran of World War I, the insertion of the Frenchman serves to validate the

[83] Dubois, *The Aftershocks of History*, 329.

[84] Kaiama L. Glover, "'Black' Radicalism in Haiti and the Disorderly Feminine: The Case of Marie Vieux Chauvet." *Small Axe* 17, no. 1 (March 2013): 20.

supposed prestige of the Clamont family. For Claire specifically, she prides herself in having a deeper emotional and intellectual relationship with Jean-Luze than Félicia does. Undoubtedly, she is also enamored with the prominence of Jean Luze, "Gorgeous Jean Luze! Brilliant Jean Luze! The exotic and mysterious foreigner, who has set up his library collection in our house, and makes fun of our backward way of living and thinking."[85] Claire's admiration of Jean Luze is another representation of her identity crisis. Similarly to the thinking of other members of the mulatto elite, France is seen as a beacon of civilization and anything or anyone that comes from the country is to be replicated.[86] Although Claire may honestly be in love with Jean Luze's personality, the ignorance and racial prejudice that he imposes on Haitian culture and her lack of response to it, demonstrates that there is an aspect of Claire's love for Jean Luze that is dominated by neo-colonial infatuation.

Jean Luze, who has witnessed the murder of a local madman by the hand of Calédu, the mistreatment of beggars in the street, and the superiority of the elite, still has the audacity to ask, "Have blacks in this country suffered that much?". It is also clear that Jean Luze does not understand the class element of Haiti as well due to his shock in Dr. Audier's assertion that Calédu's violence is retaliation against the elite. Despite these actions, Claire remains in love with Jean Luze. This love and infatuation with Jean Luze is so pertinent, that towards the end of the novella she concludes that the only way to form an actual relationship with him is by killing Félicia, who she has always hated for her white-passing skin tone and blond hair. She "practices" by killing one of her neighbors' cat but falls into her typical theme of cowardice and is unable to

[85] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), 3.
[86] Danielle Wainwright, "Jean Price-Mars, the Haitian Elite and the American Occupation, 1915-35 by Magdeline W. Shannon." *Research in African Literatures* 29, no. 3 (1998): 224.

kill her sister, an act that, in her mind, would have been a brave expression of her undying reverence for Jean Luze.

Claire's cowardice aligns contrastingly with her audacious ways of thinking. Her bold thoughts are an outlet for assertiveness, while her cowardice allows for her to be complacent and not have to face criticism. They demonstrate the identity crisis that she has with being a dark-skinned black woman in a predominately light-skinned family and as a member of the mulatto elite. This duality is experienced by many biracial and multiracial individuals and can be explained as the "Me and Not-Me" phenomenon. "Me and Not-Me" acknowledges the outside influences that aid in constructing how an individual is seen in society and takes a step further by asserting that the individual's identity, in part, is determined by the individual themselves. At times, this can be contradictory to society's racial understandings. Consequently, this causes the person struggling with identity to take on different methods to affirm their identity.[87] In Claire's case, selective association, intermingling with the *milat*, is the route that she takes. This racial strategical approach of aligning with one aspect of her identity, however, does not eradicate the stigma of blackness in her class and further develops the confusion and uncertainty that she possesses.

At the end of the novel, when the town of Grand-Rue experiences a riot, Claire, upon happenstance, builds up the courage to kill Calédu by stabbing him in the back with the dagger that she planned to use on Félicia. While this action exhibits the overcoming of Claire's cowardice and avenges the misfortune of her people, it fails to bring the relief that one might expect. The death of Calédu does not change the reality of her circumstances: she is an old maid, lost the love of her life to her sister, is dark-skinned, represents a hypocritical elite class, and

[87] Nikki Khanna and Cathryn Johnson, "Passing as Black: Racial Identity Work among Biracial Americans." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (2010): 383-84, 386-88.

hates herself. Killing the man who has brought terror to Grand-Rue is a relief to the community, however, she, along with her country's societal structure face deep-rooted issues that must be re-evaluated and cannot be solved through violence.

Ascension in "Anger"

The Normil family in "Anger" represent the black petty bourgeoise that François Duvalier himself ascended from. Although not members of the mulatto elite, their influence in the community cannot be denied. Grandfather gained the land that the entire Normil family currently lives on from his father, a black man who fought thieves to maintain it. The legacy of the family is respected due to this black peasant managing to "make it in the bigoted world of bourgeois blacks and mulattoes by dint of honest and sheer tenacity."[88] Therefore, it is astounding when one day, the "men in black" begin driving stakes around the Normil property, claiming it on behalf of the Haitian government. Even more shocking is the reaction of those closest to the Normil family, who proceed to avoid them.

In contrast to the Clamonts, the fate of the Normil's social standing is left up to interpretation. Given the ultimatum of either losing their land or, if they are able to provide the necessary funds, keeping it, the decision of how the Normils wish to be treated by the Tonton Macoutes-like "men in black" and Haitian society is given to them. The Clamonts were not able to escape from the negative connotation that accompanied the *milat*. However, once Louis Normil betrays the wishes of his family to stand firm against the men and exchanges the sexuality of his daughter Rose for the maintenance of the land, the treatment of the Normils drastically changes.

[88] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), Chapter 1, pg. 4.

Louis, and his son Paul are most affected by this superior social treatment. While working at his office job, Louis had previously felt that his coworkers "wanted to get rid of him discreetly.", but after submitting to the power of the "men in black" people were beginning to "flatter him to get on his good side."[89] Paul, who had once felt ostracized by his friend, Fred, and his love interest Anna, is now "exasperated by their growing friendliness".[90] Louis and Paul have now found themselves on the opposite side of the social spectrum. At the expense of Rose's dignity, Louis and Paul now have the ability to acclimate and experience the power that comes with being associated with the "men in black". Louis is instantly enamored by this lifestyle. He attends outings with the men and relishes the reverence that he is now receiving. A once insecure man who would let people walk over him, Louis can now simply invoke the names "gorilla" or "men in black" to validate his newfound prestige. Although he is ridiculed and criticized for the way in which he achieved this position, it is difficult for him to deviate from the allure of this lifestyle.

Paul, alternatively, shows more resistance to the "men in black" or "blackshirts" than his father does. He is resentful of the influence that being connected to these men brings to his life. Paul finds those that he once thought to have known, to be inauthentic. He no longer knows who to trust, who his real enemies are, and what is right and wrong. He, along with his little brother Jean Claude and his grandfather, feel frustration with the submissive actions of Louis. However, Paul, who is the most able-bodied of the three, struggles to stand up against the paramilitary group.

Paul Normil is torn between the prospects of his academic future and the brevity of his current reality. Angered and confused by the violation of his sister, Paul makes elaborate plans to

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[89] Vieux-Chauvet, *Love,* Chapter 9, pg. 12.; Chapter 16, pg. 2.
[90] Ibid., Part 2, pg. 4.

kill the "gorilla" by infiltrating the ranks of the blackshirts. However, he desires to live a life where he can be free of these troubles and travel to Paris to further his education, "Yes, but me, I am a young black man who passed two university entrance exams brilliantly and who's drawn to study architecture. I want my peace and quiet. I want my freedom."[91] Consequently, he ponders if joining the blackshirts in actuality will be the entryway for his academic dreams to come true. Paul's indecisiveness is reflective of the Haitian peasantry, who had to determine if joining the Tonton Macoutes would be the gateway for political freedom. In many cases, the peasantry and those outside of the demographic like public administration officials, were forced to join, at times by a physical removal from their homes. [92] [93] Although more privileged, Paul shares a similar struggle with the peasantry of the 1960s who are faced with the question of whether engaging in a "morally ambiguous position" is the best route for success.[94]

Despite Paul looking down on his father's cowardice, he and Louis share a likeness in their manipulation of Rose's misfortune for personal gain. Paul's inability to succeed in killing the "gorilla" and his attraction to academic freedom, along with the social ascension of Louis and his response of "growing arrogance in his newly well-favored position", demonstrate the subconscious, high valuation that they place on the upper-class lifestyle.[95] Now that they have encountered the benefits of living a prestigious life, it has grown increasingly difficult to remember their roots: that they descend from a family of slaves.

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[91] Ibid., Part Two, pg. 9.

[92] Marvin Chochotte, "Making Peasants Chèf: The Tonton Makout Militia and the Moral Politics of Terror in the Haitian Countryside during the Dictatorship of François Duvalier, 1957–1971". *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 61. no. 4 (2019): 930.

[93] Mats Lundahl, "Papa Doc: Innovator in the Predatory State", *Scandia,* vol. 50: 1984. 56.

[94] Marvin Chochotte, "Making Peasants Chèf: The Tonton Makout Militia and the Moral Politics of Terror in the Haitian Countryside during the Dictatorship of François Duvalier, 1957–1971". *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 61. no. 4 (2019): 940.

[95] Christopher T. Boner, "Staging a Dictatorship: The Theatrical Poetics and Politics of Marie Chauvet's *Colère.*" *Small Axe* 19, no. 3 (2015): 50-63. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/602410

The Normil family encapsulates Marie Vieux-Chauvet's argument that *noirisme* presents itself as an inconsistent ideological movement. While Paul and Louis focus on their rise from the middle-class sector of Haiti to a more influential position, they do not prioritize the reality that their race has an incredible impact on their newfound station. However, the Grandfather and the youngest Normil, Jean Claude, disregard the opportunity of social ascension in this violent context as it would mean the undermining of their slave history which directly ties to their blackness. Grandfather, persistently keen on instilling in Jean Claude the history of his ancestors, takes pride in his peasant roots because they represent the true nature of Haiti. When recalling his father, the Grandfather describes him as a "true Haitian black man".[96] He and Jean Claude create a masterful plan to dig up the grave of his father, summon him and provide him with the appropriate weaponry to defend his land as he once did many years ago. The Grandfather's father is buried on the family plot, which is a tradition practiced by many black Haitians, especially those in the peasantry. As he was a vodouist, unearthing him will make "the land, the family, and the spirits…one in the same."[97] Their attachment to this ancestral connection validates their identities as black Haitians and despite the trying times, brings hope for future understandings of blackness.

While this goal is justifiable, the Grandfather specifically represents how these beliefs can fester into hate and cause further division. The Grandfather's treatment of Louis' wife, a light-skinned mulatto woman and his strong sense of hatred for her is rooted in the reverence of his father's legacy. At the wedding between the black Louis and his mulatto wife, the

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[96] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), Part One, pg. 6.

[97] Karen McCarthy Brown and Claudine Michel, *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn. (*Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 36, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Mama_Lola/zbowDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0

Grandfather cried, "They're [mulatttoes] a bunch of defectives, you'll regret this!"[98] In his eyes, Louis has tarnished the sanctity of the Normil family by marrying a mulatto woman, who, even worse, is an alcoholic. The positive side of this union is the birth of Jean Claude, who the Grandfather can now train and project these feelings onto.

As Paul and Louis utilize their status for self-motivation, Jean Claude and his grandfather do the same with race. They esteem their own needs and fail to advocate for the individuals who require it the most, such as Rose. The uncertainty of their lives while the "men in black" assume power is the uncertainty that, Chauvet deems, *noirisme* brings about. It is the uncertainty of an ideological movement that is built on a shaky foundation, basing power on race. While they Paul and Louis can pretend to be safeguarded by their social status and Jean Claude and his grandfather by their race, they live in a society that fluctuates and has conditions. The fantasies that they wish to live out, are not as black and white as they seem.

The Paradox of Poverty and Privilege in "Madness"

As a mulatto man who went to complete his studies in France, the poet René is expected to be living a much more economically secure life. Although deserted by his white-passing mulatto father and raised by his poor, single, black mother, René was given the best schooling and opportunity for success, "My black mother, who did not know how to read and who sold trinkets at the market, slaved away to make a scholar of her son."[99] René's race in conjunction with his dedication to academic excellence should have been the stepping-stone for a successful career in French academia. He prided himself in his ability to read French classics and speak the language as if he was a Parisian native. He had started writing poetry, incessantly reciting and

[98] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), Part One, pg. 9.

[99] Vieux-Chauvet, *Love,* Book One, pg. 4.

correcting errors. When he returned back to Haiti from France, the same year of his mother's death, he had completed his second baccalaureate. His mother, Angélie, replied contentedly, "I can die now", upon hearing the news.[100]

The deterioration of René into a state of "madness" is clearly precipitated by the death of his mother. To alleviate his pain, he turns to drinking rum or *clairin,* consistently and becomes addicted. He grapples with the fact that, for the first time in his life, he must directly maneuver the constructs of his society without an intermediary. His mother has always sheltered him, treating him as if he were royalty. While this could be attributed to a mother merely bestowing love onto her child, in this context, it appears that Angélie was attempting to retract her blackness from René and esteem his existence as a mulatto. Her relationship with her son was almost a fetishization, maintaining the virtue of his identity in his race. The effect of this is evident in René's proactive mentioning of the blackness of his mother whenever recalling her memory.

Scholar David Marriot, in his analysis of Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Mask,* describes racial fetishization as a "perverse relation to difference, of which the fetish acts as a defense against more intolerable forms of anxiety…"[101] Angélie's fetishization of René's skin color is not only the result of European beauty standards, but substantiated by her fear of the future of her child in such a racially divided country. The differences in their race force Angélie to attempt to relate to him by invoking her vodou religion. She makes René wear a necklace for protection against the "evil eye" she feared "would fall on her mulatto boy like the plague."[102]

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[100] Ibid., Book One, pg. 17.

[101] David Marriot, "On Racial Fetishism" *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences.* Duke University Press. Volume 18, no. 2. Spring/Summer 2010. pp. 215-248. 216.

[102] Marie Vieux-Chauvet, *Love, Anger, Madness: A Haitian Triptych* (New York: Modern Library, 2010), Book One, pg. 36.

Serving the ancestral spirits and asking for their guidance create a spiritual wall of protection against Angélie's anxieties yet they have clearly not been eradicated due to her fixation on René's existence as a mulatto man. Her racialization of René persisted until her untimely death.

Angélie never made René complete tasks that were plebeian such as sweeping or cooking, as they were directly associated with black Haitians. Despite being one herself, Angélie evidently did not want her son to wind up with a fate that was similar to hers in detriment: the daughter of two black peasants who exchanged her as a house slave, a *restez-avec-monsieur,* for a landowner who would end up raping her and impregnating her with René. However well-intentioned Angélie was in her efforts though, she ultimately contributed to stimulating the lack of racial identity that René currently possesses. When recalling his mother's life, he complains, "This irresolute color with which I have trouble identifying makes whites lump me with blacks and blacks reject me as white."[103] The treatment that he receives from his neighbors regarding his extreme poverty and his race discourages him. He is ridiculed by children, neighbors speak ill of René and his deceased mother, and he is prohibited from socializing with the love of his life, Cécile, by her maid Marcia who refers to René as a "crazy mulatto".[104] His insecurities regarding being a minority in a majority-black country and his fear of the "devils" marching outside of his shack left to him by his mother, force him to stay within the confines of comfortability with other poets.

While living in this shack with barely any food to eat, mostly surviving on *clairin,* and very limited chances to experience fresh air, René finds that the issue of race that he has attempted to escape from is alive and well in his home. His friend, the Frenchman Simon, struggles to sympathize with not only René's racial identity crisis, but the racial politics of Haiti

[103] Vieux-Chauvet, *Love,* Book One, pg. 6.
[104] Ibid., Book One, pg. 4.

in general. Although René respects Simon's poetic nature, he finds Simon to be naïve about the country he currently resides in. While terror fills the streets, Simon continues to look at Haiti as a tropical paradise where he can be free from the wars plaguing France, "I'll never set foot in France again and if they have another rotten war, I won't wear the uniform… Me, I'm just a poet! ... I want to drink, I want to write, and I want to make love to the women of Haiti."[105] This angers René, who feels that Simon is capitalizing on the fractured state of his country for his frivolous desires. He relays his profound feelings to Simon by stating, "It's just that I thought of you as a brother but instead discover you're a white man living in a black country".[106]

Simon and the character Jean Luze in *Love* show obvious parallels in their naivety towards racial politics in Haitian society. They both tend to look at these issues on a surface level which indirectly undermines the complexity and richness of Haitian history. Their conclusions of race relations constitute an underlying sense of superiority and in the case of Simon specifically, a limited desire to thwart injustice. René's developing relationship with Simon provides him a more intricate look of a part of his racial identity. The fact that he defends the virtuosity of a black Haiti in the face of white opposition, entails that although he may struggle with understanding his racial identity in a social context, internally he identifies with the blackness of the country. While this does not prevent him from getting arrested for subversive activities and still being viewed as a "mulatto bastard" by patrol officers at the end of the novel, it resolves, to a certain degree, the long-standing internal battle that René has suffered.[107]

This last novella in the triptych exemplifies the fear that Marie Vieux-Chauvet was experiencing while writing. Chauvet drew inspiration for these characters based on her own

[105] Ibid., Book One, pg. 53.
[106] Ibid., Book One, pg. 54.
[107] Ibid., Book Two, pg. 5.

relationship with the poets of *Les Araignées du Soir*: Villard Denis, Anthony Phelps, Roland Morisseau and Serge Legagneur.[108] [109] One of the members of the literary group, Auguste Thénor was arrested, taken to Fort Dimanche and killed sometime around 1974.[110] This example of violence is preceded by a long history of violent repression against writers.

The most notable event occurred in 1961, when the famous Haitian author Jacques Stephen Alexis traveled to Môle Saint-Nicholas, a commune in Haiti, with four others and attempted to overthrow the Duvalier regime. They were subsequently beaten by peasants and thrown into prison. Later, they were stoned to death by "the peasants they had come to save."[111] Many writers were forced to leave their country in exile, due the drastic authoritarian measures taken by François Duvalier such as the Tonton Macoutes' bombing of the office of a local newspaper, *Le Patriote,* and arresting the owner, Antoine G. Petit presumably for his paper's support of 1957 presidential candidate Clement Jumelle, although the exact reason is unknown.[112] René Dépestre, a Communist poet, left Haiti for Cuba in 1960 after being harassed by police.[113] Members of Les Araignées du soir left the country for places like Canada or France. During this period of the 1960s, there were more Haitian intellectuals in the diaspora than in the country itself.[114] The terror and violent propagation of race and class structures ostracized the best representatives of Haitian ingenuity. If the talents of those like René in *Madness* had been cultivated without the negative influences of outside forces, he most likely would have been a

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[108] Thomas C. Spear, "Marie Chauvet: The Fortress Still Stands." *Yale French Studies*, no. 128 (2015): 11.

[109] Île en île. "Anthony Phelps, Haïti Littéraire: Rupture et nouvel espace poétique." February 17, 2020. http://ile-en-ile.org/anthony-phelps-haiti-litteraire/ See Appendix: Image 3, pg. 61.

[110] Île en île. "Haïti Littéraire."

[111] Robert Debs Heinl, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492-1995* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), 619.

[112] Al Burt and Bernard Diederich, *Papa Doc and the Tonton Macoutes* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner Publishers, 2005), 114.

[113] Burt and Diederich, *Tonton Macoutes*, 335.

[114] Robert Debs Heinl, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492-1995* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), 612-613.

celebrated poet. As Erma Saint-Gregoire states, “Who will ever know what the generations of 1957 through 1967, still in exile, would have turned out to be had they been able to stay in their country, under a more tolerant and progressive government?”[115] *Madness,* puts readers in a state of empathy in the realization that René is suffering mentally, physically and emotionally under a dictatorial oppressor. Furthermore, with his torturous death, the audience is compelled to question how the young poet’s life could have taken a different course.

[115] Mohamed B. Taleb-Khyar, "Erma Saint-Gregoire." *Callaloo* 15, no. 2 (1992): 463.

Conclusion

The form and writing in Marie Vieux-Chauvet's *Love, Anger, Madness* is on par with what some would describe as eschatological. Describing the Haiti in which she resides as a prophetic, dystopian, eschatological society, Chauvet uses the past misgivings of Haiti, the American occupation, the history of colonization, the instability of the state, and more, to find parallels with Duvalierist Haiti. Furthermore, she uses the past and the present to warn of the future. This dystopian society that she lays out in *Love, Anger, Madness* is not limited to the confines of fictional literature, but to "Haiti's repeating and (literally) re-presenting past that anticipates and determines future abuses of and on the Haitian body politic."[116] Chauvet's criticism of Haitian society, politics, and subsequent political ideologies in the triptych contain a certain level of power that she, in the real world does not have. This idea of her as a prophet does not only apply to her ability to make the connections among the past, present, and future of Haiti, but in the process of speaking itself.[117] In a manner similar to the prophet Miriam in Christian biblical scripture who, when her little brother Moses was fetched from the Nile River, spoke to Pharaoh's daughter to ensure the future of her brother, Marie Vieux-Chauvet speaks in concern directly to the people of Haiti.

Writers during the François Duvalier regime suffered in having their voices heard, especially if they were against the president. As a woman in a male-dominated profession, Marie Vieux-Chauvet experienced a sense of double jeopardy. Artistic creativity was stifled with the "Papa Doc" regime and that creativity was further undermined by the fact that she was a woman. So few women at this time were able to engage in the arts, due to patriarchal and neo-colonialist

[116] Melissa Sande, "Cultural Memory for the Political Present: Examining Marie Chauvet's Love in the Aftermath of Haiti's Earthquake." *Otherness: Essays and Studies 2.1* (August 2011).

[117] Martin Munro, "Chauvet the Prophet: Writing the Future and the Future of Writing." *Yale French Studies*, no. 128 (2015): 44.

standards.[118] Her subsequent exile in 1968 succeeded in the silencing a prophetic voice that would not be heard, on a large scale, until the 1990s, with the efforts of Caribbean writers and relatives of Chauvet.[119] This silencing of Marie Vieux-Chauvet was somewhat of an ironical act. Undoubtedly, she prophesized this happening to Haitians in most social sectors. In her own life however, while she recognized the risk of writing this dystopian critique of the Duvalier government, she proceeded in her act of writing, disregarding the warnings of her friends and relatives until she was felt absolutely compelled to stop. Her death on June 19, 1973, due to brain cancer, occurred long before the worldwide popularization of *Love, Anger, Madness* and is representative of the very future that she warns Haiti of. A Haiti that is restrictive, disallows for advancement unless occupying a certain class and job position, and has faltered in its understanding of unification. Chauvet's words are not merely a prophetic criticism of the Haitian country, but a sad, prophetic realization of the course of her own life. Chauvet possesses a sense of self-actualization of her condition that behooves her to make predictions for herself based on the same points of the negativity of politics, neocolonialism, racial, and gender issues.

While *Love, Anger, Madness* is predominately known for its attack on François "Papa Doc" Duvalier and the Haitian state, it can also be argued that the triptych was a letter to a long-lost love. Similarly to a romantic relationship, there are moments in which the relationship reaches a point of no return. The two parties involved are at phases in their lives in which they cannot reconcile or move beyond a certain roadblock. Therefore, they separate and subsequently move on with their lives. However, they never truly forget the other, nor the impact that person had on their lives. The separation between Haiti and Marie Vieux-Chauvet was formed with the

[118] Régine Latorture, "Haitian Women Underground: Revising Literary Traditions And Societies." *Journal of Haitian Studies* 5/6 (1999): 81.

[119] Thomas C. Spear, "Marie Chauvet: The Fortress Still Stands." *Yale French Studies*, no. 128 (2015): 10.

election of François Duvalier in 1957 and solidified with the burning of the copies of *Love, Anger, Madness* in 1967, and her exile in 1968. Chauvet went on to live in New York, United States, where she remarried and continued writing but as her daughter states, she remained loyal to Haiti and "loved her country as much as she loved her children."[120] Counterintuitively, despite the disinhibition of Chauvet's literature, her existence as one of Haiti's few women writers helped to pave the way for future female writers in the country. Female Haitian writers like Edwidge Danticat and Myriam Chauncy describe Chauvet as "one of the three 'giants in Haitian literature'" and as a writer who "presents in [her] work the possibilities for resistance [for women]."[121] Disappointment with her country propelled Chauvet to take a bold risk in writing of the experiences of the unheard, which in turn caused her to be lauded by the female sector of that demographic especially.

Chauvet gave a voice to women facing discrimination and violence and used her position as a member of the mulatto elite to combat attack the racial and class structures of Haiti. She examined the legacy of colonialism through a lens that critiqued both extremes: *noirisme* and the black petty bourgeoise of which Duvalier emerged as well as the *milat* sense of superiority and domination of Haitian politics, economics, and virtually every aspect of Haitian life, despite only making up five percent of the population. Her impartiality in the political, ideological, and social arenas of Haiti makes her understanding of the Duvalier regime considerably unique as it helps to give the reader an unbiased scope of 1960s Haiti. This scope is untainted by a racialized paternalistic concern of the country nor is it a means of propaganda to justify the acts of François Duvalier. Chauvet's writing is based on truth and is specific to her experience as well as the

[120] Mohamed B. Taleb-Khyar, "Erma Saint-Gregoire." *Callaloo* 15, no. 2 (1992): 462-67.

[121] Carolle Charles, "A Sociological Counter-reading of Marie Chauvet as an "Outsider-Within": Paradoxes in the Construction of Haitian Women in "Love, Anger, Madness"." *Journal of Haitian Studies* 20, no. 2 (2014): 66-89.

experiences of those she encountered. Her silencing was an attempt to hide the "violent and shameful histories" of Chauvet and the demoralized, with "the buried ghosts of the past [coming] to haunt language from within, always threatening to destroy its communicative function."[122] Instead of submitting to the past and the shameful histories that Duvalier and the Tonton Macoutes were creating, Chauvet was motivated by these circumstances to produce a piece of literature that spoke to the true existence of Haiti, in hopes that it would change course.

The love that Chauvet had for Haiti, her anger with Duvalier and the Tonton Macoutes' violent repression of citizens, and the madness that resulted due to the growing restriction on her creative outlet, all serve as the drive for one of the best pieces of Haitian literature ever written. Her legacy as a woman dedicated to her country despite its many failings towards her is exemplified in her writing. The words of the prophetic writer, Marie Vieux-Chauvet will continue to live on due to the extreme lengths that she took to deliver them and the vast impact that they have on so many demographics within Haiti. Today and throughout the years to come, audiences will continue to revere *Love, Anger, Madness* as not merely a scandalous literary portrayal of the Duvalier regime, but a true, historical source that will attest to the bravery of Marie Vieux-Chauvet.

[122] Johanna X. K. Garvey, *Madness in Black Women's Diasporic Fictions: Aesthetics of Resistance.* "Fissured Memories and Bad Tongues" (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing: 2017), 107.

Appendix: Images

Image 1: Duke University Libraries. Bernard Diederich Collection. “Election Campaigns Are on Again.” *Haiti Sun*. September 8, 1957. https://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00015023/00412.

From left to right: François Duvalier, Louis Déjoie, and Clement Jumelle. Daniel Fignolé is not pictured.

Haiti Sun

VOL. VII — Port-au-Prince, Haïti — Sunday September 8th 1957 No. 47

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS ARE ON AGAIN

WITH the announcement over last weekend that polling is on Sunday September 22 in Haiti's third attempt to elect a President and Congress, the political campaigns of the three principal candidates to the presidency a gain swung into high gear.

The Council of Military Government, in or der to keep political passions at as low a point as possible, and permit as little dislocation as possible in the daily life of the nation, restricted the periods of political broadcasts du ring the week to after official working hours and not later than nine o'clock at nights.

Outlining their respective platforms, ex-Se nator Dejoie, Dr. Francois Duvalier, and Mr. Clement Jumelle made opening addresses over the radio. Highlights of these addresses are published below.

Dr. Francois Duvalier — Agronomist Louis Déjoie — Me. Clement Jumelle

Spring Time Or Feudalism

Speaking over Radio Commerce, DR. FRANCOIS DUVALIER defined the meaning of the present electoral battle.

Within a few weeks, the end of battle, he said, there will burst forth upon the country either a springtime of life and of liberty or the shame of feudalism will continue.

«I ask that you maintain your ardor enriching it and interpreting the necessity of your victory as the triumph of a change in method and of a philosophy composed of the real Haitian man, thoughtful of his dimensions,» Dr. Duvalier told his listeners, pointing out the necessity for a policy of national reconstruction.

He then outlined his program which includes urban improvement reinvigoration of the provinces, extension of public health, revivify agriculture, increase of commerce, rationalized transportation, diversified industry, fair remuneration for work, economic and social guarantees, civic liberty, the revitalising of democracy and the transformation of the Haitian man.

«The freedom of the Haitian man is the purpose which embraces and directs his life from his birth to his passing», the Doctor declared.

He concluded by asking his partisans to continue with him «the irresistible march towards the final victory and the triumph of democracy under its triple form : political, economical and social.

'The Good Earth»

CANDIDATE LOUIS DEJOIE spoke over Radio Caraibes.

Mr. Dejoie opened by sketching the struggle over the past 18 months saying that the confusion had only increased and in order to avoid having recourse to extreme means, he had had to accept as his only weapons of combat those offered spontaneously by the favour of 70% of the Haitian electorate : civism, patriotism, devotion, honesty

Continued on page 16)

The Victory of 1946

Over Radio Jean-Jacques Dessalines, candidate CLEMENT JUMELLE told his listeners that the people who since 1946 had attained the age of reason and of discernment, desired to consolidate its conquests.

«They intend to chase away the last phantoms of the colonial night, and claim with an irresistable force a leader endowed with experience, the technique of energy required to inte-

Continued on page 16)

SHOTS IN THE NIGHT KILL Mr. FRITZ HARRIS

Mr. Fritz Harris, 23, was shot dead in the yard of his Rue Capois residence on Friday night at about 11:00 o'clock when he went out to investigate the falling of stones on his house.

Mr. Harris' home backs that of Presidential Candidate Dr. Duvalier, on the Ruelle Roy.

Indications are that the stones which fell on the Harris house were «over shots» originally intended for the candidate's house.

According to relatives, Mr. Harris' mother is suffering from high blood pressure and he became alarmed at the effect the stoning was having on her condition.

He took a flashlight and went out into the night calling out that he know from which direction the stones were coming.

He had been gone less than a minute two shots rang out and relatives who rushed to the spot found him already dead with two bullet wounds in the head.

It will be recalled that Mr. Harris' brother, 20-year-old Fredérick who was shot in the leg during the May 25th disorders, was realeased from hospital only a few days ago.

The Police are investigating Friday night's shooting but up to late Saturday had no formal statement to make on their findings.

KENSCOFF STUDY THROWS NEW LIGHT ON HISTORY OF HAITI'S FIRST FAMILIES

New light on methods which may be used in Community Development in Haiti has been thrown by the Anthropological Survey lasting thirteen months, carried out by Dr. and Mrs. Jean Comhaire-Sylvain, in the Kenscoff area.

This Survey climaxed twenty years of intermittent work by the two scientists and besides collecting valuable family structure information on the community, made relevant observations on such economic problems as marketing, and the routes used by the peasants in their journeyings to the market-places. These routes would form a basis of future communications developments.

In this respect, Dr. and Mrs. Comhaire-Sylvain have produced a map of the Kenscoff area which not only shows the more important roads and tracks, but fixes the localities of the more important settlements, market centers and also the chapels which are the centers of Sunday gatherings.

Investigations into the family

(Continued on page 5)

Dr. and Mrs Jean Comhaire-Sylvain

Asian Flu In Puerto Rico

Asian Flu has assumed epidemic proportions in nearby Puerto Rico, according to reports from that island.

More than 28.000 cases and at least three deaths from the scourge had been reported up to Wednesday last.

So far there have been no reports of cases in Haiti, although Dr. Bellerive, Director of Public Health, could not be reached by telephone when the «Sun» sought to obtain information on what precautions if any, were being taken in Haiti against a possible outbreak.

Citadelle Road Gets Face-Lift

Repairs to the road leading to King Henry Christophe's Citadelle and the ruins of Palais de Sans-Souci at Cap-Haitien have just been completed, much to the delight and comfort of visitors who come to see the «Eighth Wonder of the World».

The Curator of Historic Monuments in the Department of the North gets the credit for this great boost to the touristic movement.

With the aid of the Cap-Haitien Cooperative, the old Colonial road Milot-Dondon is being cut and levelled.

Haiti Sends Aid To Jamaica Train Wreck Victims

HAITI'S sympathy with Jamaica in the railway disaster which claimed 200 lives with 700 injured, was given tangible form on Thursday when the Coast Guard ship «Vertieres» left for Kingston with doctors and medical supplies to help the hard pressed Jamaican medical service.

Drs. Leveque, Parisien, Denize, and Jerome, with two young internes with them carried a large supply of medical supplies including plasma for blood transfusions.

With them went, too, an express sion of the condolences of the Council of Military Government.

It will be recalled that when Hurricane Hazel struck Haiti the British frigate H.M.S. «Vidal» which was at Kingston at once proceeded to Jeremie with medical and other aid and, indeed, arrived before the Government relief party.

Ex-President Magloire Returns To France

Ex-President Magloire who arrived in Jamaica last week from New York, has left again for France, according to reports from Kingston.

The reports said that the ex-President left by steamship.

PIONEER NOUSTAS OUTLINES TOURIST PLAN FOR HAITI

Mr. Elias Noustas, owner of the La Belle Creole stores, and the Le Perchoir Restaurant, was the guest speaker on Wednesday at the Club International de Commerce's weekly luncheon. The luncheon took place at Hotel Ibo Lele.

Mr. Noustas, one of the outstanding pioneers of the tourism movement in Haiti, is a scion of private entreprise, and his contribution to the development of tourism here makes him a leading authority.

In addressing the businessmen and their guests which included the U.S. Commercial Attache, a representative of the International Bank of Reconstruction, the International Monetary Fund, and members of the Association of Tourist Shops and Hotel Proprietors, Mr. Noustas summed up the position of Haiti vis-à-vis its competitives countries in the Caribbean.

Below, we reproduce the vibrant message in which Mr. Noustas asked that efforts be conjoined by the State, the Tourist interests and the people to draw the greatest possible profit from tourism.

Dear Colleagues and Friends :

The Caribbean Islands are more and more becoming Touristic Centers. Haiti, for its part, has — in this domain — been mounting like an arrow and the moment has come for us to study our position, as well as that of our competitors and to see what we can do to improve our situation and to profit to the utmost degree from the advantages of which we possess.

It is also time to plan our tourist development programme, to establish the foundations for the future; for it is evident that the Basin of the Caribbean is more and more becoming the Riviera of the Americas.

«If last year we had 60,000 tourists, this figure more or less

Image 2: Bell, Madison Smart. “Permanent Exile: On Marie Vieux-Chauvet” *The Nation.* January 14, 2010. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/permanent-exile-marie-vieux-chauvet/

Marie Vieux-Chauvet

Image 3: Île en île. “Anthony Phelps, Haïti Littéraire: Rupture et nouvel espace poétique.” February 17, 2020. http://ile-en-ile.org/anthony-phelps-haiti-litteraire/

Marie Vieux-Chauvet and *Les Araignées du Soir*. From left to right: Réginald Crosley, Villard Denis, Anthony Phelps, René Philoctète, Marie Vieux-Chauvet, Roland Morisseau et Serge Legagneur. Note drawing of a spider web in the middle of the image.

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