

Our Lady of Mercy Strategies: The Role of the Virgin Mary in Haiti. Eric Rieu. (The Annals and American Review Series. World Press, Inc., 1992. x + 362 pp., Paper US\$21.95)

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Religious symbols are viewed as the means by which a people define the culture, their social classes, and their national identity. More recently, the iconic image of the Virgin Mary in predominantly Roman Catholic countries express the social realities of the people whom they serve. Haiti is not an exception to this rule. For the Virgin has long been the country's patroness, serving as both a unifying force and a prophetic agent for social change.

The Catholic cult of the Virgin Mary occupies a central place in Haitian religious life. As his book's title suggests, *Our Lady of Mercy Strategies* highlights the imagination of a relationship to the Virgin Mary by reference to fundamental differences between the poor and the elite. He also explores the various ways in which the Marian symbols have been interpreted in light of Haitian history, indicating how the "evangelizing" selling systems, representing the dominant and dominated social classes, have used the Marian tradition to justify themselves. On the one hand, the Catholic hierarchy has consistently attempted Marian myths and symbols to legitimize the dominance of the upper classes; on the other, the dominated have ascribed Vodou meanings to these same myths and symbols, and used them as a source of inspiration to resist the social domination of the ruling classes.

Rieu notes at the outset that a class-based analysis of Haitian religion is important because one of the most striking aspects of Haitian society is its rigid class system, a phenomenon that has prompted Michel Ruffin Toussaint to describe Haitian society as "undeniably a split-invention" society, groups that constitute two opposing social forces (p. 7). Rieu's study examines the conflict between these social forces that have marked Haitian history, finding in Marianism a potent presence of class struggle.

For Rieu, the hegemony of the upper classes, and legitimization of their dominance by the church's clergy, correspond to what anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu calls a "symbolic violence" — that is, the ways in which social groups impose their systems of symbols and meanings on us to define the dominance of one class over another. More important to these classes of their respective statuses — socially dominant versus dominated,

accounted part of the collective representation, or "collective habitus," of each group (pp. 20-21). In the case of the history of religion in Haiti, this dominant/dominated class distinction was especially obvious with Spanish colonial rule in Hispaniola (1492-1697), became more pronounced during French colonial rule of Saint-Domingue, the western third of Hispaniola (1697-1804), and crystallized in independent Haiti after 1804. The clergy transformed Catholic Marian tradition in different historical periods, responding to essential needs of the elite of the culture and the nation. During the Spanish colonial period, the virgin of the Navigators (or *Virgen Maria*, the name of Columbus's flag) reflected the Marian legitimization of Spain's colonial enterprise. She contained a transplanted version of the Mexican Virgin, the goddess of Spanish conquistadors and missionaries throughout the sixteenth century. Subsequent French clergy's rule in Saint-Domingue was marked by the missionalist work of the Jesuits who promoted Marian devotion. *Notre-Dame de l'Assommoir* replaced the Spanish Virgin, and served not only to sanction the French clergy's authority, but also to legitimize the administrators' lucrative colonial enterprises based on slavery.

Once adopted by the oppressed slaves, the Virgin became syncretized with the African goddess Erzulie, the *Velou* (a spirit) who essentially became an emblem of resistance against slavery throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century. But Rieu notes that Vodou did not emerge in the Haitian Revolution. Rather, it derived from what Bourdieu called "the structure of relations," or the "conflicting interests" between the ruled and the ruled, and help can be seen examining religious systems in Haitian society (p. 147). Vodou's effectiveness in the Revolution contributed an "Eldian" (the Marian) doctrine of revenge and compensation for the rebel, and the Haitian charismatic revolutionary leaders, such as Boukman, Roumaine-Lafourcade and others, became charismatic symbols of this doctrine.

Throughout the nineteenth century, *Notre-Dame de l'Assommoir* continued to harness the socio-political struggles of Haitian governments, the ruling classes, Houliou, the nineteenth century saw the outbreak of a malaria epidemic in Haiti, and the symbolic presence of the Virgin changed again, this time to the Virgin of Perpetual Help. In this form, she would save the poor from the spread of disease. Her new symbolic message would also be used to reaffirm the culting authority of the largely Catholic elite and the church's predominantly European clergy. By the 1920s, the Virgin had become the patron saint of all those who struggled to maintain a "pious" Catholic vocation in the culture, and worked by means of the exorcism of the "hepseguan" (evil spirits) and demons on Earth (p. 151).

In Vodou belief today, *Erzulie* for *Mary* is identified

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