



The Haitian Arts of *Fè koupé* and Stone Sculpting

By *Marjorie Charlot

Craftsmanship in the country of Haiti is a fusion of various styles and innovations. This is true of every art form produced in this island nation. One sees the influences of European Christianity and African heritage. Regarding the blending of heritages, the website *River Cities' Reader* states that the diverse sources of Haitian art—African, French, Spanish, and native Arawak cultures and Haiti's history and spirituality—has created a singular tradition in this Caribbean country: “a unique and startling blend of folklore, strong emotions, profound beliefs, and love of storytelling.”¹ Haitian art has three major themes: “genre and history,” “*vodou* and the sacred,” and “fantasy and the imagination”²

Although Haiti has world-renowned painters such as Philomé Obin, Levoy Exil, Hector Hyppolite, and Dieudonné Cédor, Haitians are also master carvers, not only in wood but also in iron and stone. These three areas tend to be overshadowed by Haitian paintings, but one can find wood, metal, and stone works by Haitian artisans in exhibitions, private collections, and museum collections around the world. Two popular genres in Haiti are *fè koupé* (metal) and river stone carvings.

Fè koupé

Working with metal is an African tradition that stretches to antiquity. African historian C.R Gibbs³ explains,

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“West Africa is home to great deposit[s] of iron ore. Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea have extensive supplies. Ironsmiths were first drawn to the area around what was to become the city of Kano in Nigeria 2500 years ago because of the rich ore deposit found in the surrounding hills. In other parts of Africa as well, ironsmithing had become a highly refined art by the time the Portuguese arrived four hundred years ago.”

The Africans who were forcibly enslaved and brought to the New World were not uneducated or unskilled laborers. Many were highly skilled in the arts and well educated. An example is maroon Haitian freedom fighter Mekandal, who, according to anthropologist Mark Davis, was not only “fluent in Arabic but [also] accomplished in music and art, including painting and sculpture, and his dedication to learning continued throughout his life.”⁴ Most of the skilled African craftsmen enslaved by the French were from well-organized African states. The ethnic groups from which they hailed were the Fon, Ewe, Yoruba, Igbo, Bakongo, and Akan; in Africa, these various peoples were town dwellers, textile and metal artisans, and agricultural workers.⁵

The skills of Haiti’s African blacksmiths were further developed during slavery by the French who, after amassing fortunes in the colony, became homesick and desired items from Paris and “imported splendors from the *Ancient Regime*.” Haitian slaves were sent to France to study music and painting at ateliers (studios or workrooms). So educated, these slaves returned to play at concerts and balls and to paint religiously themed works in churches. This forced education allowed various French traditions in the arts and artisanal crafts to flourish. The fine linens used on church altars were embroidered by French nuns and Haitian girls in convent schools. Slaves who were blacksmiths copied imported French iron works.⁶ Slaves, though, were not encouraged to develop their own styles. When encountering the art of slaves, the French criticized it as barbaric, and “sometime[s] they [the French] would recognize its power and outlaw it.”⁷ During the Haitian Revolution, Haitian artisans forged numerous multipronged

weapons for African soldiers.⁸ Later, instead of working with metal to make weapons, artisans used their skills to produce great works of art.

If one wishes to see the ironworking skills of Haitian blacksmiths in America, one need only look at the wrought-iron balconies and doors in the French Quarter of New Orleans. There, artisans among Haitians came to America's southern ports of Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans during the Haitian Revolution. These free, mixed-race Haitian refugees sometimes were "better trained and educated than the inhabitants of Louisiana territory. They left such a mark on New Orleans that 'their influence insured that the state would have a Creole flair for years to come'"⁹

Today, the iron sculptors of Haiti are known for their steel drum artwork called *fer découpé* (cut iron sheet metal), also spelled *fer coupe*, *fè koupé*, and *fer de coupe*. Within this paper the spelling of *fè koupé* will be the term used to refer to all metal sculptures. The small village of Noailles, located in the market town of Croix-des-Bouquets northeast of Port-au-Prince, is the birthplace of the Haitian art form of *fè koupé*.¹⁰ Noailles is also the center of Haitian, religious practices (Vodou ginen), magic (Vodou makanda) and secret societies such as the sandwel, zobop, bizango and, vlingblingding. Today, the town of Croix-des-Bouquets is still renowned for the art form of *fè koupé* (Gordon).¹¹ In 2009, Croix-des-Bouquets had nearly two hundred metal artisans.

Fè koupé, like all other art forms in Haiti, has its roots in spiritual belief and fantasy. The works are representations of mermaids, snakes, dragons, angels, devils, and other beasts. To the artist, each piece is significant and tells a story.¹² To produce *fè koupé* is not easy; it requires a great deal of skill and creativity. The artist has to undertake many steps before even beginning a creation. The material used is old *dwoums* (oil drums) that once transported oil and other

petrochemical products. Artists purchase these drums near the docks in the capital for a small fee. Then the artisan begins the long, dangerous process of preparing the metal.

1. The ends of the drum are removed to be used later for small pieces, as needed. The drum is cut open lengthwise.
2. Stuffed with straw and paper, the drum is set afire to remove chemicals and residue.
3. When cool, the drum is hammered flat. The flattened drum becomes a rectangular sheet, approximately 4 x 6 feet wide, or into any other shape of which the artist conceives¹³
4. To make the drum pliable, it is hammered continuously. Once soft, it can be cut. All oil, paint and rust are painstakingly removed by hand.

Only after completing this process can the artist use the material of his craft. The artist uses chalk or other media to sketch a design onto the metal sheet and then cuts it out with a hammer and chisel. Finally, the artist coats the creation with varnish but not before signing the work, created out of a personal vision and unrelenting will to harness metal for this creative purpose. To see images of this process, visit http://www.haitimetalart.com/About_Haitian_Metal_Art.html.

First Generation of Artists

Today's sculptors owe a debt to Georges Liautaud (January 31, 1899–August 8, 1991). Liautaud is credited with the development of *fè koupé* (Congdon and Bucuvalas 254). Liautaud was born in Croix-des-Bouquets in 1899 and, for a period, lived in the Dominican Republic, where he worked as a railway mechanic. He resettled in his hometown and opened a blacksmith shop. He was mostly known for making and repairing tools, branding irons, and metal crosses for the local cemetery.¹⁴ The genre of sculpture Liautaud “developed, out of traditional ironwork was created for grave markers, fences, and windows, [and] later itself became a Haitian traditional art over subsequent decades”¹⁵

Liautaud's work was discovered by DeWitt Peters, an American artist and co-founder of the Centre d'Art in Port-au-Prince. Peters, while visiting Croix-des-Bouquets, noticed the amazing iron works in the town's cemetery, particularly the iron crosses resembling *vèvès* (intricate symbols of Haitian *vodou* spirits, or *Iwas*).¹⁶ Peters persuaded Liautaud to attempt free-standing crosses with figures bound to them. Once Liautaud unlocked his imagination from its restrictive creative boundaries, his work began to flourish, and in the 1950s, he produced decorative metal sculptures. *Vodou* mythology came alive in his work.¹⁷ Liautaud began producing iron sculptures for the Centre d'Art. These works mixed reality and fantasy themes and earned him worldwide acclaim as an artist.¹⁸

By changing his technique from forged iron to *fè koupé*, Liautaud laid the foundation for future work in this new style focused on the *Iwas* and legendary creatures.¹⁹ He and other local masters taught their craft to other men in their town.²⁰ Liautaud's work inspired many of his neighbors, especially the Louis-Juste brothers who, too, went on to teach this art to others in Croix-des-Bouquets.²¹ To honor Liautaud on the 110th anniversary of his birth, his hometown opened a museum named in his honor.

Artist Murat Brière (1938–1988) was the first student of *fè koupé* master Liautaud and, like his teacher, made work mixing reality and fantasy.²² Although he studied painting and drawing at age 18 with Peters at the Centre d'Art, Brière is better known for his *fè koupé* and paintings. Brière, like Liautaud, was a blacksmith.²³ He became involved with the Centre d'Art in 1966 thanks to fellow printer Rigaud Benoit. Brière supported himself by working as a carpenter, tile setter, and blacksmith.

According to *FIGGE Art Museum*, "Brière quickly displayed his range of subject matter and the sophisticated nature of his design, often linking groups of figures together to tell a story.

Like Liautaud, Brière's basic tool is the forge, where he cuts and works old oil drums or whatever metal is available"²⁴ Most of his works are based on *vodou* themes and the idea of metamorphosis.²⁵ Poet and folk art advocate Selden Rodman declared that Brière was "Liautaud's first disciple, and one with a mind of his own, Murat Brière. Many collectors, in fact, were at first persuaded that Brière was a better sculptor because his range was so great and the complexity of his sophisticated designs so daring"²⁶ Brière's later pieces were often so large that they took up the entire length of a flattened oil drum. He was the first to create iron work of sunbursts with facial expressions. His art also shows pregnant women with children visible in their bellies and groups of figures linked together to tell a story or enhance a symbol.²⁷

Second Generation of Artists

The Louis-Juste brothers Serisier and Janvier were neighbors of Liautaud. Candice Russell remarks of Serisier and Janvier:

Shearing their way to fortune in the 1970s, both these artists were ambitious enough to go beyond the small cutout circles and squares the tourists loved to tie to their handbags. Sometimes they would incise drawings in their figures. In very large pieces, cut from [sic] industrial drums, they integrated birds, bats, mermaids, drummers, horsemen, and weird combinations of all five with astonishing ingenuity.

Rodman notes that even the brothers' astonishing work was overshadowed in that decade by that of Serge Jolimeau, a rising star of in-des-Bouquets.²⁸ Jolimeau's art would come to full maturation later, and he is featured later in this text in the section entitled "Third Generation of Artists."

Damien Paul was born in Drouillard in la Plaine Du-Cul-de-Sac, Haiti, in 1941. Before taking up *fè koupé*, Paul worked on his family farm until 1968. He studied metal art with Janvier Louis-Juste, near Croix-Des-Bouquets. By 1969, when Paul joined the Centre d'Art as a

sculptor, his favorite subject in both painting and sculptures was *vodou*. While working with metal, he became fascinated with color, a fascination that led him to begin painting.²⁹

Third Generation of Artists

Metalwork master Serge C. Jolimeau was born in Croix des Bouquets in 1952 and started sculpting at twelve years old. In 1972, Jolimeau started selling his own work. His designs are inspired by *vodou* beliefs, such as mermaids. Jolimeau, who designs also feature birds perched on the heads of strange figures, claims he is an avid birdwatcher. His metal works have been exhibited in galleries in Mexico, Germany, and the United States.³⁰

In 2009, former U.S. President Bill Clinton, a noted collector and fan of folk art, commissioned Jolimeau, along with Haitian Michée Ramil Rémy and Nigerian Toyin Folorunso, all of whom work with recycled metal, to create a commemorative artwork to be presented to the winner of the Clinton Global Citizen Award. This award is given annually to individuals whose activities have made a positive and lasting global impact. The three artists were chosen from a pool of hundreds of submissions by experts with the Santa Fe International Folk Art Market.³¹ All three embody the ideals of the Global Citizen Award itself, as Robert S. Harrison, chief executive officer of the Global Citizen Initiative, stated:

Each of these artists exemplifies the ideals of the Global Citizen Awards honorees, in that they focus their shared knowledge and skills to find economically sustainable solutions to global challenges. These men are not only talented artists, but they have become leading social entrepreneurs – creating jobs, invigorating the art community and training new generations of artists to pass along their traditions.³²

Their works were exhibited at the Museum of International Folk Art on July 10, 2009.³³

Jolimeau's contemporary, Gabriel Bien-Aimé, is a master metalworker who was born in 1951 and spent his youth working as a car mechanic. At age 20, he discovered his true calling

and began an apprenticeship with the Louis-Juste brothers. Unlike other artists, Bien-Aimé does not use a template and does all his own drawing. Developing his own style, he has expanded his work to include three-dimensional works, giving a layered depth to his imagery. His development of this technique has taken *fè koupé* to a new level. Bien-Aimé raised the bar even higher in the 1990s when he incorporated car parts, such as axles and wheels, into his sculptures. At the time, the embargo put in place by the United Nations against the military leaders of Haiti had made oil drums hard to come by. Bien-Aimé moved a few kilometers away from Croix-des-Bouquets to the hamlet of Despinas, where he opened a bakery in an attempt to make a “regular little salary” and pursue his other passion—renovating classic cars.³⁴ Bien-Aimé’s art can be found in the major Haitian art collections of museums around the world, including the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris.³⁵

Before setting out on his own in 1975, John Sylvestre (b. September 22, 1957) apprenticed first with Janvier Louis-Juste and then with Serge Jolimeau. Sylvestre, a Catholic and a *vodouist*, has been inspired by rural Haitian folklore. He uses characters that appear in Haitian children’s stories. There are winged *zobop* (ghouls with both animal and human features), *baka* (demons and devils), and *loupgaru* (werewolves). Sylvestre is also the only *fè koupé* artist to honor *Ogou Feray*, who symbolizes the “strength of metal, with pieces depicting a warrior driving a sword into a beast”³⁶

Almann Ulysse has brought the Haitian art of *fè koupé* to America, carrying on the tradition of making *fè koupé* in Florida. Starting in 2000, he served three years as a master artist in the Florida Arts Apprenticeship Program.³⁷ Ulysse was born in Croix-des-Bouquets in 1945 as the son of a farmer, who taught his sons basic metalworking skills.³⁸ Later, Ulysse and his two brothers were mentored by the master craftsmen of their town. Ulysse’s technique is simple, and

he uses a small number of hand tools: ball-peen hammers, a few chisels, and two or three punches. His work is inspired by nature, the Bible, and Haitian folklore and includes images of animals, biblical themes such as Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, maritime themes, and mermaids. He sells his work to local collectors, restaurants, and galleries specializing in Haitian art.³⁹ In 1995, he immigrated to Miami in search of better economic opportunities⁴⁰

In addition to *fè koupé*, Ulysses makes *rechaud*, or small iron grills, similar to barbecue grills, on which Haitians cook dishes outdoors. In Haiti, homes might be equipped with several *rechaud* for simultaneously cooking a variety of dishes outside. *Rechauds* are associated with the *Iwa Ogun* (the God of iron. God of blacksmiths, goldsmiths and butchers.⁴¹) Ulysses sells them to Haitian *botanicas* (stores which sell products used as ritual objects)⁴² Ulysses's work is considered amongst the finest examples of *fè koupé*.

Fourth and Fifth Generations of Artists

The stepson of Bien-Aimé, Michée Rémy started his apprenticeship at the age of 8. His art is motivated by his recurring dreams of birds, fishes, angels, and gods. When he awakens, he starts working on the piece he saw in his dreams⁴³ He is known for depicting female figures with flowing dreadlocks, small birds perched on human heads, and tall birds walking at the base of trees. Rémy represented his country of Haiti at the Smithsonian Institution's 1994 American Folklife Festival in Washington, D.C.⁴⁴

Another star of *fè koupé* is Gary Darius, whose work was exhibited alongside that of masters Bien-Aimé and Jolimeau at the French Institute in Port-au-Prince in 1995. Darius is also studying architecture.⁴⁵ As well, Jose Delpé has come up with his own unique style, in which he welds metal pieces together to make three-dimensional sculptures that are full of movement and menace. Delpé's works are done on a grand scale.⁴⁶

The Balan brothers—Jonas, Julio, Joel, and Romel—and their sister Mirtha study under Sylvestre, with whom they share a *lakou* (backyard or compound). The siblings work together and produce art depicting *vodou* spirits, such as Agwe, master of the sea, and the Marasa, twins associated with children and procreation. The siblings produce works made from the circular tops and bottoms of drums.⁴⁷ Julio Balan favors the scene of the creation of Adam and Eve. He is known for his innovative manipulation of a basic flat surface and for “the sweet innocent sensuality of his figures. In one of his erotic pieces, Adam and Eve are depicted as teenagers discovering their sexuality for the first time. He made the figure of Adam convex and Eve concave”⁴⁸

Mirtha Balan is known as the first lady of *fè koupé*. She is the lone female in a craft dominated by men. She was born June 20, 1967 into a family of eleven children. She learned her craft by watching and learning, alongside her brothers in the village of Noailles. For Mirtha Balan, a mother of three boys and two girls, *fè koupé* is her livelihood. She practices her craft to support herself and her family. She states, “It is in this art that I make money. Thanks to cut metal, my husband was able to travel, go abroad, and I can buy a plot of land and to educate my children”⁴⁹ Mirtha Balan is scorned by the women of her village for her unladylike profession, and even she admits that

“The ironwork is cut is a man’s job, when I work I’m always dirty, sometimes I am ashamed. My sisters do for me sanding metal, they can also work the metal, but they do not like it, plus they do not shop. Other women do not want to. Other women do not learn this job, I teach mostly men. My two daughters do not like it too but they can do. They prepare the metal for me, but they do not like it.”⁵⁰

This master sculptor owns her own business, the Myrtha Balan Shop, which employs eight people.⁵¹ Mirtha Balan is a woman who takes pride in her skills and accomplishments, justifiably so: “When I die, we must put a hammer and a pinch inside of my coffin, so I can go”⁵²

With the clanging and banging of the hammers of many artists, Croix-des-Bouquets is guaranteed not only a noisy future but also a very bright one due to the fifth generation of artisans who are being trained by the older generation. These up-and-coming artists, who numbered 62 in 2009, work alongside their teachers. It will be interesting to see how they will carry on the legacy of their town and that of their teachers.⁵³

Painted Fè koupé

Painted *fè koupé* is relatively new.⁵⁴ Some artists paint their works; however, those trained in the traditional style often do not. For example, Ulysse does not paint his work but occasionally has let his friend, Renold Marcelin, paint some pieces.⁵⁵ Painted *fè koupé* can be classified in four categories:

Printed in bright colors—The metal, once finished, is painted in bright Caribbean colors. In this technique, though it is beautiful, the design tends to get lost in all the color; it is just too much visually.

Sponge painting—Pieces are painted using warm, muted, earth-tone colors. This coloring process enriches the design without sacrificing the pattern.

Metal used as a canvas—This technique shows how Haitians, when feeling the need to create, will not let a little thing like traditional surfaces stand in their way. A painter takes a piece a metal and paint a work of art on it.

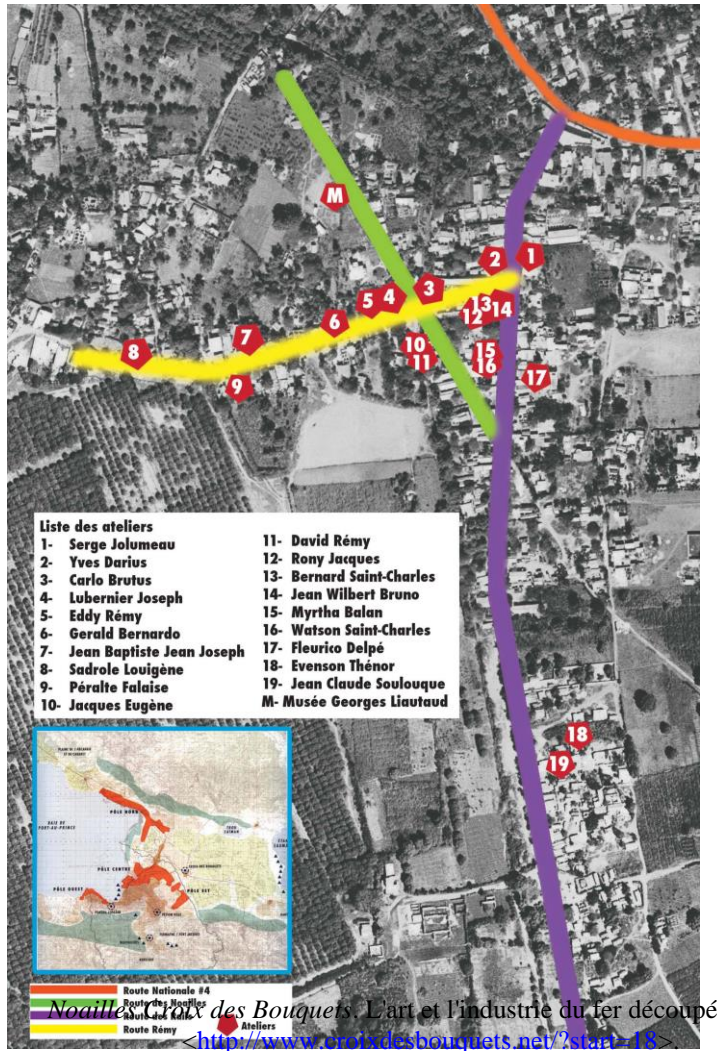
Painted with a pattern design—This technique of metal painting is usually done on smaller metal pieces cut into the shapes of animals. The color tone used is usually bright, and the pattern used ranges from circles to zigzags to dots.

Whether done in a raw primitive cutout or a more elaborate design, *fè koupé* has an appeal and draws in individuals; it stands out and demands attention. *Fè koupé* shows off the

brute force of iron, which, in the hands of a master, can look delicate and sometimes downright lacy.

Image 1

Chart of Noailles showing the principal workshops of the members of L'Association des Artistes et Artisans de Croix des Bouquets



River Rocks

Stone carving was a tradition in Haiti long before Africans arrived. Pre-Columbian artifacts show that the Arawak/Taino had a stone-carving tradition, mostly tools and religious artifacts to the idols that they called *zemi*.⁵⁶ Haitian sculptors from colonial period to today favored wood as a working material and started carving with stone in the 1950s.⁵⁷ However, Haitians might have a longer history with stone; their skills in stonework can be seen in the monumental stone fortress Citadelle Laferrière, built in 1820 by Henri Christophe after the War of Independence. This stone-and-mortar structure is the largest fortress ever built in the Western hemisphere. It stands on top of a 3,000-foot mountain and can be reached only by mule. Citadelle Laferrière is considered by the United Nations to be one of the world's cultural treasures and by some to be the eighth wonder of the world.⁵⁸ Today Haitians not only practiced their crafts in their native land but in their adoptive ones as well—is exemplified by the artistry and dedication of Makingson Delivrance Mespoulous. Mespoulous is a Haitian stone carver living in France who has spent “eleven years restoring the stained black arches and nose-less gargoyles of France’s favorite crumbling monuments.”⁵⁹

In Haiti, two regions are known for their craftsmanship in stone, Léogâne and Grezie.⁶⁰ The town of Léogâne has a very long and interesting history. Its original name was Yaguana, and it was the birthplace of the great Arawak/Taino Queen Anacaona and the flourishing capital of Xaragua, one of the great kingdoms of Haiti.⁶¹ In Léogâne, one finds a family of stone carvers by the name of Laratte. This dynasty started with Georges Laratte, born on April 23, 1933 in Cap-Haïtien. At age 18, he moved to Port-au-Prince to train in ceramics and woodcarving. Six years later, he switched to working with stone. To obtain the rocks he desired, he relocated to Rivière Froide in Carrefour, where white stones are abundant. From Rivière Froide, he relocated once more to the town of Léogâne in search of gray stone, and there, he started a family. His son

Ronald Laratte was born in Léogâne and still lives there.⁶² Georges Laratte started to train his son in the art of stone carving at age 12. Ronald Laratte developed his own style, more influenced by his African heritage. He works with masks and depicts women, while his father focused on openwork figures.⁶³ Georges Laratte's two other sons, Frantz and Jean-Robert Laratte, are both carvers and, along with Ronald, have trained many of the two hundred stone carvers in Léogâne.⁶⁴ Another artist, Edmond Lucien, was one of the first to introduce the art of stone carving to Aid to Artisans' Pétion-Ville office in 1999. He is celebrated for his stone carvings of garden animals. Lucien learned his skills studying under such renowned master sculptors as Raphael Chéry, Jean-Brunel Roclour, and the Laratte brothers.⁶⁵

To create a sculpture using river rocks not only requires skilled hands but also is a long process. Artists get their stones from mountains and riverbeds. River stone is soft, which makes it easy to carve and shape. The stones come in four natural colors: white, gray, pink, and green. However, the stone coloring varies in quality and by region. For example, Léogâne has gray stones, Jacmel white, and Froide'oues black.⁶⁶ Artists use *pierres de rivier* (river rocks) to produce a variety of items, such as sculptures, litter boxes, and paperweights. The tools of the carver are simple hand tools: a hammer, files, sandpaper, and chisels of various sizes.⁶⁷

Although river stone carving is the youngest of the four genres of art practiced in Haiti, practitioners of this art form have proven themselves. Through their remarkable works of art, they have earned the right to be called master carvers. The stone carvers of Haiti turn once cold and lifeless pieces of rock into works expressing fragility and true beauty. Some of these artworks even convey a sense of movement and grace.

To see samples of *Fè Koupé and Stone Sculpture* click on the following links:

It's Cactus

http://www.itscactus.com/catalog/Haitian_Metal_Art-1-1.html

Haiti Gallery Art & Home Décor

<http://www.haitigallery.com/index.html>

Haiti Metal Art

http://www.haitimetalart.com/Haitian_Metal_Art.html

Notes

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⁷ Benson, LeGrace, 1997. "The Art of Haiti in Haiti, In Diaspora and in the International art Market," *Art of Haiti Research Project*, (This paper was prepared for delivery at the 1997 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association Continental Plaza Hotel, Guadalajara, Mexico April 17–19, 1997), 2 – 3.

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¹¹ Gordon, 1995.

¹² Arthur, Charles. "Haiti's Vodou Blacksmiths." *Raw Vision Magazine* Oct. 1995 Web. 24 Nov. 2009. Path: http://haitisupport.gn.apc.org/res_culture_main.html.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Arthur, 2009.

¹⁵ Congdon, Kristin G., and Tina Bucuvalas. *Just Above the Water: Florida Folk Art*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2006, p. 254.

¹⁶ Ibid., 254.

¹⁷ Gordon, 1995.

– Arthur, 2009

¹⁸ Congdon and Bucuvalas, 254

– NgCheong-Lum, Roseline, and Leslie Jermyn. 2006. *Haiti*. Cultures of the world. New York: Marshall Cavendish Benchmark, 103.

¹⁹ Congdon and Bucuvalas, 254.

²⁰ Bucuvalas, 2006.

²¹ Arthur, 2009.

²² NgCheong-Lum and Jermyn, 103

– "Haitian Collection" *Figge Art Museum* Web. 17 Nov. 2009. Path: <http://figgeart.org/Art/Collections/Haitian.aspx?Page=6>.

²³ "Haitian Collection" *Figge Art Museum*.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ “Haitian Crafts – Metal.” *Candice Russell’s Haitianna*.

²⁷ “Haitian Collection” *Figge Art Museum*.

– “Haitian Crafts – Metal.” *Candice Russell’s Haitianna*.

²⁸ Russell, Candice. “Haitian Crafts – Metal.” *Candice Russell’s Haitianna* Web. 18 Nov. 2009. Path: http://www.haitianna.com/metal_crafts2.html.

²⁹ ‘Damien Paul,’ Haitian Painting Masters Our Artist - HaitianMasters.com, 2007 Web 02 Dec. 2009. Path: <http://www.haitianmasters.com/paintings/DamienPaul/>.

³⁰ Arthur, 2009.

³¹ “Serge Jolimeau.” *The Haitian Spirit Indigo Arts Gallery*. Web. 29 Nov. 2009. Path: http://www.indigoarts.com/gallery_haiti_jolimeau.html.

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³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Arthur, 2009.

³⁵ “Gabrieal Bien-Aimé” – *Ridge Art* Web. 02 Dec. 2009 Path: <http://www.ridgeart.com/Bien-AimeInfo.html>.

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³⁹ Bucuvalas, 2006.

⁴⁰ Bucuvalas, 2006.

⁴¹ Coulter, Charles R, and Patricia Turner. *Encyclopedia of Ancient Deities*. Jefferson, N.C: McFarland, 2000, p.360.

⁴² Congdon and Bucuvalas, 256.

⁴³ Arthur, 2009.

⁴⁴ Constable, Anne. Clinton Global Initiative: “Folk Artists Design Annual Awards.” *The New Mexican*. Sunday 07 June. 2009. Web. 29 Nov. 2009. Path:
<http://www.santafenewmexican.com/Local%20News/Clinton-Global-Initiative--Folk-artists-design-annual-awards>.

⁴⁵ Arthur, 2009.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 2009.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 2009.

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