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A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF RURAL LIFE  
IN HAITI

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by  
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June, 1950

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the basic sociological aspects of rural life in the Republic of Haiti. In gathering the data for the study, the writer used for the most part the empirical method of a participant observer and investigator. He has gained information from (1) a study both in the United States and in Haiti of existing literature and other secondary data pertaining to the problem, (2) a period of field research and study in Haiti, and (3) his own experiences during three years of work in Haiti as a United States government official attached to the Government of Haiti.

The field research in Haiti, made possible by a research grant from the General Education Board of the John D. Rockefeller, Sr., endowments and conducted from September 1941 to February 1942, comprehended principally (1) a review of pertinent literature and other secondary data in Haiti's leading public and private libraries and in the archives of certain governmental agencies, (2) a study of the various aspects of living in a selected rural community by observing and participating in the round of living and by writing a socio-economic schedule on each household of the locality, (3) a study of selected rural families in seventy-four different communities of the country by writing a socio-economic schedule on each of four families in each of the communities, (4) a study of the locality-group structure of a selected arrondissement (territorial division) of the nation by writing a schedule on each of the most important population centers of the area, and (5) a study of attitudes and opinions by writing a schedule concerning considerations of culture and race during interviews

with individuals in various walks of life.

The study demonstrated that the basic social groups or forms of association in rural Haiti were those in connection with race and color, domestic institutions and family living, health and social participation, government and politics, education, religion, and economy and subsistence. Racially, Haiti was predominantly Negroid, and the then existing population was made up of a small number of pure whites; a larger number of mulattoes, a mixture principally of the Caucasian and Negro races; and a predominant number of pure Negroes. The pure Negro group was almost synonymous with a combination of the peasant folk, who made up the large rural masses, and the urban proletariat. The rural family group functioned as a unit in securing the group's subsistence, was the chief educational medium of most of the young, and was in general highly self-sufficient. Important among the observed characteristics of rural family life were the predominance of "placage" unions (a socially but not legally sanctioned conjugal union of man and woman), high fertility, poor health and inadequate health services, and a relatively low level of living with primitive housing and living facilities. Social groupings and forms of association in connection with making a living and religion were perhaps more important in the rural areas than those in connection with politics and government, education, and recreation. Although the Catholic religion predominated in rural Haiti, several Protestant sects existed, and a large part of the peasant folk also had voodoo affiliations, the beliefs and practices of which permeated many aspects of the rural culture. Politics and government were determined by the urban ruling "elite." Public schools and

private schools, principally of the parochial type, existed in rural Haiti, but these were scarce and inadequate. As regards recreational and leisure-time activities, the participation of the rural folk was limited and primarily of an informal and unorganized nature.

Generally speaking, social stratification was less existent in rural than in urban Haiti; and, although stratification existed in most aspects of the rural society, ordinarily social distances were relatively small between groups and among members making up the same social group. In Haiti's total native population three overall social classes were distinguished as follows: a small upper class called the "elite," a slightly larger middle class, and a lower or peasant class called "noirs," which made up the bulk of the population. Although great social distance prevailed among classes, the lives and destinies of all persons were highly interrelated, and integrative factors of both mechanistic and organistic types existed.

Social mobility of both the horizontal and vertical types, like social stratification, was not pronounced in rural Haiti. Generally speaking, there was perhaps greater social mobility in the urban areas and among the "elite" and the middle classes.

From the foregoing brief view of the scope of this study, it is obvious that the work is not a complete and exhaustive treatment of the subject. Rather, a comparatively new and extensive field of research in Haiti is surveyed with the hope that this undertaking will be supplemented with more intensive special investigations.

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Orientation

The varied and colorful history of Haiti--first as a land inhabited by Indians, then as a colonial possession, and finally as a free nation--has stimulated or furnished the background material for literature in many fields of interest. Its pre-Columbian culture has been of interest to archeologists and anthropologists. Then, after its discovery in 1492, its existence as an outpost for the French and Spanish buccaneers and privateers, and later as one of the richest colonial possessions of France, has furnished a wealth of material for historians and travel writers of both hemispheres. Finally, its turbulent history as an independent nation since 1803, which culminated in the American Occupation in 1915 and a second independence in 1934, has inspired literature of a checkered nature from writers with varied interests. In this historical evolution during the last five hundred years the society of Haiti has also undergone changes. The aboriginal Indians, the Spanish explorers and settlers, the French colonizers, the Negro slaves, the affranchised and free Negroes, the United States occupation groups, and the more recent business and commercial peoples from many nations have all contributed to the culture as it exists today in Haiti.

Haitian life has been interpreted to the world for the most part by an unscientific and superficial popular literature. Many of the descriptions and analyses of the Haitian nation and people have been sketchy and disconnected and in some cases based on casual observations or

hear-say. An elaboration of the unusual and occasionally the advancement of sheer imagination as fact have been characteristic of much of the writings about Haitian society, with the result that not only Haitian culture but also Negro culture generally has suffered. This condition has been properly expressed by John Lobb as follows:

From much of the popular literature on Haiti one is likely to receive a sensational conception of this Negro republic as a place the character of which is chiefly delineated by the "vodun" cult, black magic, and mystery. Such a conception may be an exciting, romantic interpretation, judged by the strangeness of many of its customs, but it is misleading. It disregards the important fact that Haiti is a nation of Negroes, similar in African origin to those of the United States, whose solutions of their national and social problems is of first-rate importance to Negroes and to students of their status and future.<sup>1</sup>

Some early works--for example, Moreau de Saint-Méry's Description Topographique, Physique, Civile, Politique, et Historique de la Partie Française de l'Isle Saint-Domingue...<sup>2</sup>--and a larger number of more recent works such as Herskovits's Life in a Haitian Valley;<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>John Lobb, "Caste and Class in Haiti," The American Journal of Sociology, XLVI (July, 1940), 23.

<sup>2</sup>M. L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry, Description Topographique, Physique, Civile, Politique, et Historique de la Partie Française de l'Isle Saint-Domingue, avec des Observations Générales sur la Population, le Caractère et les Moeurs des divers Habitants, son Climat, Culture, ses Productions avec des Détails les plus Propres à Faire Connaitre l'Etat de cette Colonie à l'Epoque du 18 Octobre 1789 (Philadelphia: chez l'auteur et Paris: Dupont, 1797 et 1798), 2 vols.

<sup>3</sup>Melville J. Herskovits, Life in a Haitian Valley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1937).

Montague's Haiti and the United States, 1914-1938; <sup>4</sup> Stoddard's The French Revolution in San Domingo; <sup>5</sup> Leyburn's The Haitian People; <sup>6</sup> and a variety of publications by Simpson, Price Mars, and Bellegarde <sup>7</sup> stand out as realistic and valuable portrayals of life in Haiti. By describing intelligently and interpreting accurately some of the major aspects of the social organization and social processes in the Republic of Haiti, these works have done much to correct misconceptions regarding Haitian culture and to establish the beginnings of a scientific literature concerning Haitian society. The authors also have contributed to sociological research by opening new and wider vistas to scientific studies of Haitian social life and of Negro culture generally.

In recent years Haiti, like many of the smaller nations, has assumed a new role in the world society. The First World War and the

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<sup>4</sup>Ludwell J. Montague, Haiti and the United States, 1914-1938 (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1940).

<sup>5</sup>P. Lothrop Stoddard, The French Revolution in San Domingo (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914).

<sup>6</sup>James G. Leyburn, The Haitian People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

<sup>7</sup>Of special interest to this study are (1) George E. Simpson, "Haiti's Social Structure," American Sociological Review, VI (October, 1941), 640-649; "Haitian Peasant Economy," Journal of Negro History, XIV (October, 1940), 498-519; (2) Dr. Price Mars, Ainsi Parla l'Oncle: Essais d'Ethnographie (Paris: Imprimerie de Compiègne, 1928); and (3) Dantès Bellegarde, Haiti and Her Problems, The University of Puerto Rico Bulletin, Series VII, No. 1 (September, 1936); La Nation Haitienne (Paris: J. de Gigord, Editeur, 1938); and Pour Une Haiti Heureuse (Port-au-Prince; Chéraquit, 1927 et 1929), 2 vols.



American Occupation separated Haiti from many of its European ties and influences of several hundreds of years; the events of the Second World War have caused Haiti to become more closely affiliated with its American neighbors than ever before and thus to assume a co-operating role as a national entity in a unity of nations. In this new order it is no longer possible to think of Haiti as an exotic island in the Caribbean; it is a national society in a society of nations with a culture closely related to other Negro cultures of the Western World. Students of Negro culture believe that a knowledge of the culture of Haiti, a Negro republic in which a century and a half of freedom has permitted the Negro to work out his patterns of social living in such terms as the logic of his backgrounds impelled and without the domination of the white man, would furnish valuable clues to a better comprehension of Negro culture generally in this hemisphere. This idea was well expressed by Herskovits as follows:

Much that is perplexing in that particular facet of the problem of race which in America is termed the "Negro Problem" has both analogy and contrast in Haitian life. It must not be forgotten that the slaves who were brought to continental America were of the same types and of the same background as those imported into other parts of the New World. Consequently, a knowledge of the strains which came to Haiti, of the manner in which they met the situation found there, and of how the cultural influences that played upon them have worked out in terms of patterns of behavior, should throw light on the way in which American Negroes have met, and are meeting, their own social situation.<sup>8</sup>

In fulfilling this new role leaders in Haiti and people in other countries who are interested in Haiti's future well-being have become

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<sup>8</sup>Herskovits, op. cit., pp. 298-299.

cognizant of the urgent need for more scientific information on all phases of life in Haiti. No person who has delved into the historical and present-day economic, political, and social aspects of Haitian life has failed to experience at the outset a handicap in research and action due to the dearth of realistic, scientific data. This dearth is especially marked in statistical data and scientific descriptions and analyses of the structure and processes of the rural society. These needs prompted the writer in the work which follows.

## 2. Problem, Procedures, Organization, and Limitations

Briefly stated, the problem of this study is to describe and analyze the basic sociological aspects of rural life in Haiti. In greater detail, the aims of this work are (1) to describe the major institutional and socio-economic phases of the rural society through discussions of family and household organization and characteristics; housing and living facilities; health and social participation; governmental, educational, and religious organization and activity; and economy and subsistence and (2) upon the basis of these discussions to present within a conceptual scheme of sociology a brief résumé of the fundamental aspects of the social organization and processes of rural life in the country through treatments of horizontal social differentiation, social stratification, and social mobility. In presenting the discussions outlined above references are made in most instances in the following order: first, to the total rural society of the nation; second, to one rural community in the country which was studied intensively; third, to supplemental data obtained from a study of selected farm families drawn from rural communities in various parts of the nation.

The information for this paper was derived from (1) a review both in the United States and in the Republic of Haiti of existing literature and other secondary data relating to the problem, (2) a period of specific field research and study in Haiti, and (3) the general experiences and knowledge of the writer gained during three years of work in Haiti as a United States Governmental official attached to the Government of the Republic of Haiti. The review of secondary literature in the United States and in Haiti and the specific field research in Haiti were made under the sponsorship of the Department of Sociology of Harvard University and Louisiana State University and with the financial assistance of the General Education Board of the John D. Rockefeller, Sr., endowments. The writer arrived in Haiti early in September of 1941 and engaged in the study of rural life in the country from September 1941 to February 1942. This specific period of research in Haiti included (1) a study of the existing literature and other secondary data pertinent to the problem in Haiti's leading public and private libraries and in the archives of certain government departments and agencies, (2) a detailed study of the various aspects of living in a selected rural community by observing and participating in the round of living in the community and by writing a socio-economic schedule on each household of the locality, (3) a study of selected rural families in seventy-four different rural communities of the country by writing a socio-economic schedule on each of the selected families, (4) a study of the locality-group structure of the country in general and one arrondissement of the nation in particular by writing a schedule on each of the cities, towns, and villages of the selected area, and (5) a

study of attitudes and opinions by writing a specially prepared schedule concerning considerations of culture and race in Haiti during interviews with individuals in various walks of life.

The community selected for the detailed study was Gressier,<sup>9</sup> the chief center of the Commune of Gressier,<sup>10</sup> located in the Arrondissement of Port-au-Prince, Department of the West.<sup>11</sup> The community of Gressier was chosen because it was considered to be characteristic in the most important respects of the small rural communities of the country. Besides the fact that it had all the basic governmental, economic, and social institutions of the rural society, its population was sufficiently small to permit a study of all families. The choice of Gressier was made only after visiting a number of communities in all the major regions of the country and discussing the matter with some of the best informed local people. It should be noted that limitations upon funds and other facilities available to the investigator at the time also influenced his decision to study the community of Gressier.

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<sup>9</sup>In the discussions which follow, the community of Gressier is often referred to as the population center or population grouping of Gressier, the village of Gressier, or simply as "the village" or as Gressier.

<sup>10</sup>At the time this study was made, Gressier was a commune, but by an "Arrêté" of the President of the Republic, dated September 7, 1942, the Commune of Gressier was suppressed as of October 1, 1942; and it became a quartier in the Commune of Port-au-Prince. See Bulletin des Lois et Actes, 15 Mai 1941 -- 15 Septembre 1942 (Edition Speciale; Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Imprimerie de l'Etat), p. 736.

<sup>11</sup>The major civil divisions of Haiti are the "départements" (departments); the departments are divided into arrondissements which are in turn divided into communes; and the communes are divided into "sections rurales" (rural sections), which are the smallest civil divisions. An inquiry in 1944 showed that the country had 5 departments, 27 arrondissements, 104 communes, and presumably over 500 rural sections.

The writer spent several months in the selected community, during which time all the political, military, civil, religious, health, and educational officials of the commune were conferred with; the government offices, schools, and churches were visited; and a detailed family-life schedule was written on each family in the course of a personal interview. The writer also participated in many of the institutional and social activities of the community for the purpose of obtaining first-hand knowledge of these phenomena. A total of 110 households were visited, and the schedules written during the visits included the following divisions: (1) personal history; (2) housing and living facilities; (3) subsistence and general farm economics; (4) health activity, family life, and relief; (5) family and household census and identification; (6) formal and informal social participation; (7) typical daily menu; (8) assets and liabilities; and (9) cultural and race relations. Exhibit I of Appendix A is a sample copy of the schedule used. The schedules were mechanically processed and the information obtained was employed as the basic statistical data for this paper. A diagrammatic map of the Republic of Haiti showing the major civil divisions with their capitals and the principal environs of the country is presented as Figure 1, and the location of the Commune of Gressier and the village of Gressier in the Republic of Haiti is given as Figure 2. Figure 3 is a diagrammatic plan of the village of Gressier showing the spacial location of the dwelling houses, special points of interest, and major physical features. Illustrations of the author and his helpers visiting families in rural Haiti are shown in Plate I.

With the assistance of the personnel of the National Agricultural and Rural Education Service of Haiti, a study of selected families in

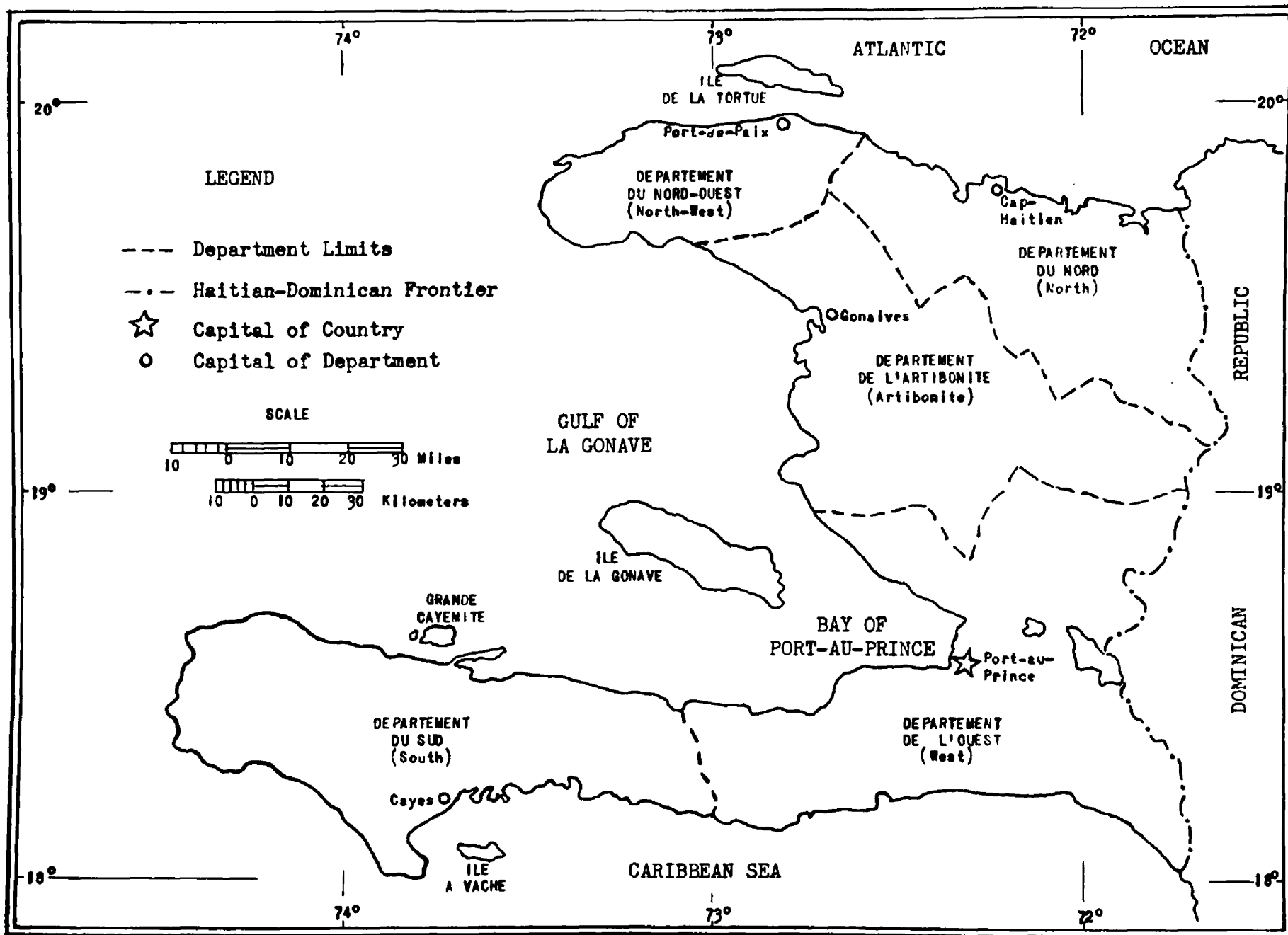


FIGURE 1. A DIAGRAMMATIC MAP OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI WITH THE MAJOR CIVIL DIVISIONS AND THEIR CAPITALS AND THE PRINCIPAL ENVIRONS OF THE COUNTRY.

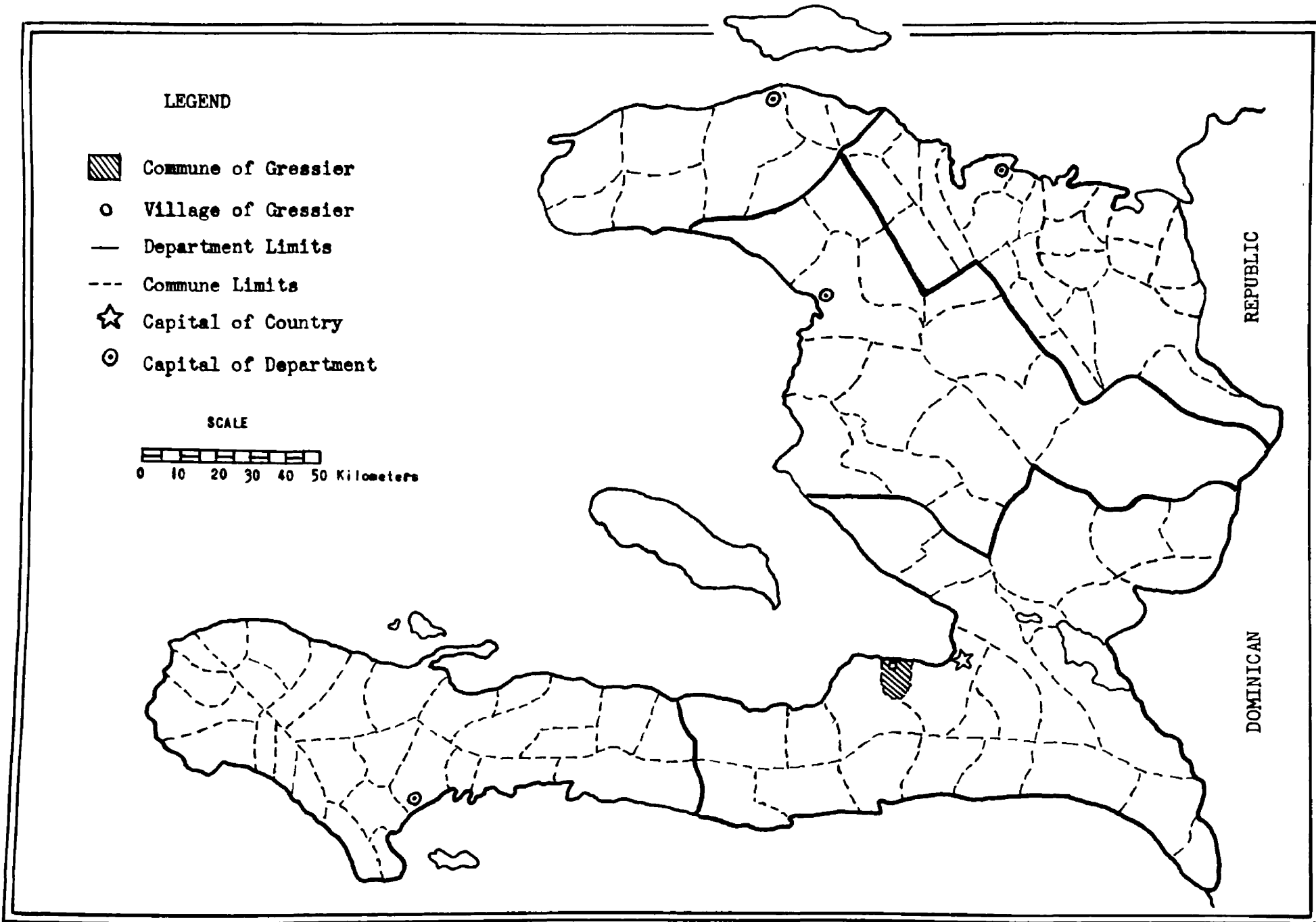
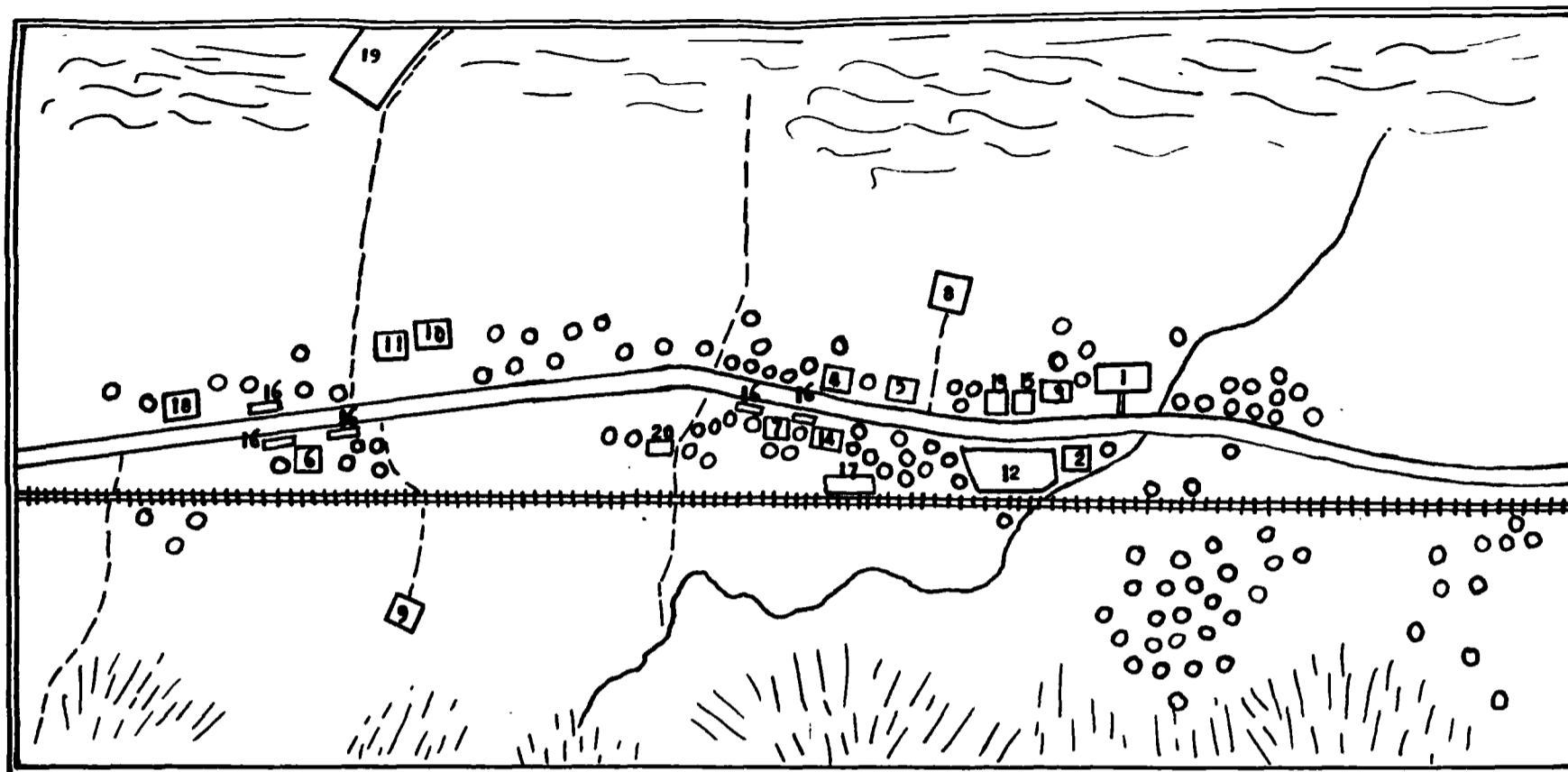


FIGURE 2. LOCATION OF THE COMMUNE OF GRESSIER AND THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER IN THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI.



L E G E N D

- |                             |               |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| ○ Dwelling House            | **** Railroad |
| □ Point of Interest         | ~ Stream      |
| == Improved Automobile Road | ≡ Littoral    |
| --- Trail                   | /// Foothills |

FIGURE 3. A DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND ITS IMMEDIATE ENVIRONS WITH THE SPACIAL LOCATION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES, SPECIAL POINTS OF INTEREST, AND MAJOR PHYSICAL FEATURES.

KEY TO POINTS OF INTEREST

Governmental

1. Police Station
2. City Hall
3. Courthouse
4. Civil Registration Office
5. Tax Collector's Office
6. Public Health Dispensary
7. Public Works Depot

Religious

8. Catholic Church
9. Priest's Residence

Educational

10. Boys' School
11. Girls' School

Economic

12. Village Market Place
13. General Store
14. General Store and Coffee Buyer
15. Drugstore
16. Roadside Market Booths

Miscellaneous

17. Railroad Station (Abandoned)
18. Cockfight Arena
19. Cemetery
20. Grave of Madame Gressier





**PLATE I. THE AUTHOR AND HIS HELPERS VISITING FAMILIES IN RURAL HAITI.**  
(Upper: the writer, his guide, baggage boy, and a local resident following a rocky river bed in the mountains. Lower: the writer's interpreter and baggage boy along a country road in the lowlands.)

seventy-four different communities was made. The communities chosen were those in which Farm Schools were located.<sup>12</sup> The wide geographic distribution of these communities over the country and the presence of a Farm-School Supervisor in each of the communities who could be delegated to select families in the community and write schedules on the families selected offered the most desirable means available to the investigator at the time for getting some specific soundings of farm living in rural Haiti generally. It should be noted that the Farm-School Supervisors were as a rule the best-educated and best-informed among the rural residents regarding local conditions. At the time the decision was made to select farm families from various parts of the country, it was recognized that there were "well-to-do" farmers, composing an upper socio-economic group in the farm population; farmers who made a relatively comfortable living and who formed a middle socio-economic group in the farm population, but who could not be classed as "well-to-do"; and poor farmers, making up a lower socio-economic group in the farm population. In view

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<sup>12</sup>There were 77 communities with Farm Schools at the time the investigation was conducted, but it was not possible for two of the school supervisors to take part in the study. Then, due to the fact that all families in Gressier were studied, no samples were taken from that community.

of this condition it was reasoned that a sampling of each of the socio-economic groups or classes<sup>13</sup> would give more useful data than a sampling taken with no regard for socio-economic stratification. Consequently, at the request of the writer the Chief of the Section of Supervision of the National Agricultural and Rural Education Service instructed each of the Farm-School Supervisors to select from his community four farm families--one characteristic of the upper socio-economic level of the community's farm population, two characteristic of the middle socio-economic level, and one characteristic of the lower socio-economic level--and write on each family selected a schedule that was furnished him. Exhibit II of Appendix A is a copy of the schedule used for the selected families. It can be observed that the schedule includes essentially the same items as the one used in the village of Gressier. When the samples were selected, it was not known to what extent the "well-to-do," "comfortable," and poor groups existed in the total farm population. It was thought that possibly the middle group was the largest and represented a considerable proportion of

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<sup>13</sup>These upper, middle, and lower socio-economic groups or classes in the farm population should not be confused with the overall upper, middle, and lower social classes or strata of the total population of the nation which are referred to in this thesis. To insure an understanding at the outset it is desirable to note here that the three overall social classes distinguished in the total population during the course of the study were as follows: a small upper class, called the "élite," made up mainly of a mulatto aristocracy living principally in the large population centers; a slightly larger middle class, made up for the most part of both mulattoes and pure Negroes living in both large and small population centers chiefly; and a very large lower class, called "noirs," made up principally of the black peasant masses of rural parts and the urban proletariat. It is pointed out in the discussions which follow that essentially the entire farm population--including the upper, middle, and lower socio-economic groups referred to above--were comprehended in the lower social class or stratum of the nation's total population.

the farmers and that the "well-to-do" and poor groups were comparatively smaller; and this belief entered into the decision to select one family from the upper group, two families from the middle group, and one family from the lower group in each community. The study of the data collected in the village of Gressier and in the scattered communities demonstrated, however, that among the peasant farm folk the upper socio-economic group represented only a small percentage of the total group, the middle socio-economic group represented possibly a slightly larger proportion, and the lower socio-economic group comprehended the bulk of the rural population. This condition rendered it impossible to treat the scattered sample data in summary form and necessitated the compilation and presentation of three separate samples corresponding to the upper, middle, and lower socio-economic groups or classes in the rural communities from which they were drawn. Two hundred and ninety-four family schedules were completed, including 75 upper-class families, 144 middle-class families, and 75 lower-class families; and the data of the schedules were statistically processed into three samples.<sup>14</sup> Figure 4 shows the geographical distribution of the households of the dispersed samples by departments and communes, and Tables I and II of Appendix B are tabular listings of the households of the dispersed samples by communes and departments.

In evaluating the data of the dispersed samples it should be recognized that, inasmuch as these samples were chosen by such a large number

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<sup>14</sup>For simplification of presentation in the tables and text which follow, the upper, middle, and lower classes or socio-economic group samples are referred to as the dispersed samples.

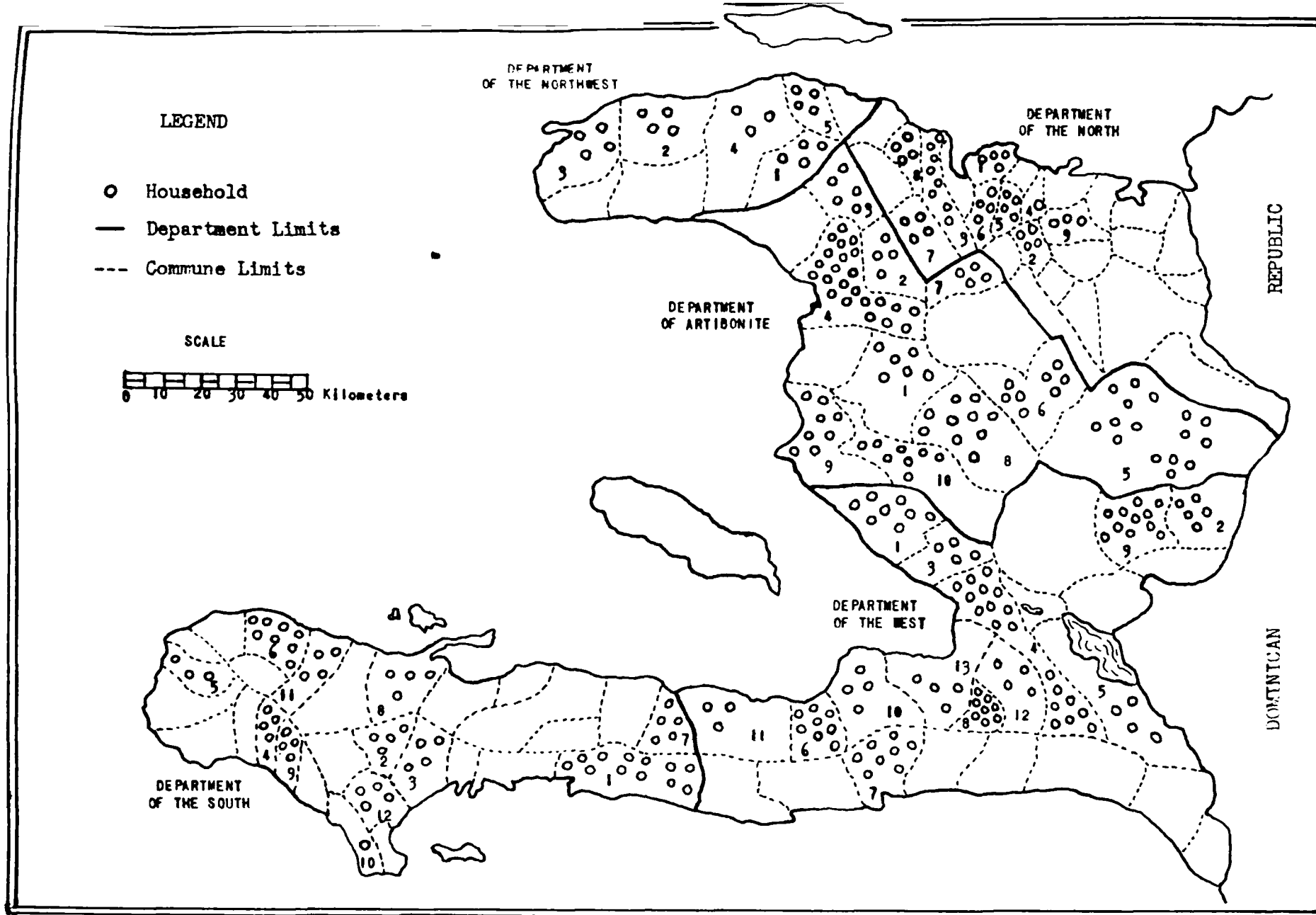


FIGURE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY DEPARTMENTS AND COMMUNES IN THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI.

KEY TO COMMUNES IN WHICH THE SELECTED HOUSEHOLDS WERE SITUATED

Department of Artibonite

1. Dessalines
2. Ennery
3. Gros Morne
4. Gonaïves
5. Hinche
6. Maïssade
7. Marmelade
8. Pte. Rivière d'Artibonite
9. St. Marc
10. Verrettes

Department of the North

1. Cap Haïtien
2. Grand Rivière
3. Limbé
4. Limonade
5. Milot
6. Plaine-du-Nord
7. Plaisance
8. Port Margot
9. Trou-du-Nord

Department of the Northwest

1. Bassin Bleu
2. Jean Rabel
3. Môle St. Nicolas
4. Port-de-Paix
5. St. Louis-du-Nord

Department of the South

1. Aquin
2. Camp Perrin
3. Cayes
4. Chardonnières
5. Dame Marie
6. Jérémie
7. Miragoâne
8. Pestel
9. Port-à-Piment
10. Port Salut
11. Roseaux
12. Torbeck

Department of the West

1. Arcahaie
2. Belladère
3. Cabaret
4. Croix-des-Bouquets
5. Ganthier
6. Grand Goâve
7. Jacmel
8. Kenscoff
9. Las Cahobas
10. Léogâne
11. Petit Goâve
12. Pétionville
13. Port-au-Prince

of individuals working independently and with limited direction and supervision, perhaps a certain amount of personal bias and inconsistency entered into the selection of the families. In addition, it is reasonable to suppose that, due to their natural human desire to make a good showing for their countrymen, the Farm-School Supervisors probably tended to select families representing the upper, middle, and lower socio-economic groups from the upper part of the respective groups. Granting these limitations of the dispersed samples, it is believed, nevertheless, that the data of these samples are useful in supplementing the data for the village studied intensively and in furnishing some concrete indication of the incidence in the rural parts of the country generally of the social phenomena studied. It is further believed that the information collected in the village of Gressier and in the scattered communities is for the most part reliable. One indication of this is the high degree of co-operation given the writer and the other investigators by the family heads interviewed. For example, in the village of Gressier, of the 109 family heads upon which full schedules were written, 106 were cooperative; whereas only 2 were indifferent and 1 was antagonistic. (See Table III of Appendix B for statistical details in this regard.)

The Arrondissement of Port-au-Prince in the Department of the West was the area intensively studied with regard to settlement patterns and locality-group structure and interaction; and people from different parts of the country and from a variety of economic, social, political, and occupational groups were interviewed in connection with cultural and racial attitudes and opinions. Neither the schedules written on

locality-groups nor the cultural and racial schedules were tabulated and statistically presented. Rather, these schedules were studied and the findings served as useful information generally in the presentation of the work. Exhibits III and IV of Appendix A are copies, respectively, of the schedules used in the study of locality groupings and the study of cultural and racial attitudes and opinions.

The work is presented in seven chapters following this introduction. In Chapter I brief information regarding the geography, history, and population of Haiti is given as general background material. Chapters II through VI deal, respectively, with family and household organization and characteristics; housing and living facilities; health and social participation; governmental, educational, and religious organization and activity; and economy and subsistence. In the concluding chapter a résumé of the fundamental aspects of the social organization and processes of rural life in Haiti is presented through treatments of horizontal social differentiation, social stratification, and social mobility.

In gathering the data for this study, the writer used for the most part the empirical method of a participant observer and investigator. In presenting the study he employed both descriptive and inductive, or generalizing, methods. The writer attempted to condense and summarize data on enumerable or measurable characteristics of a series of units, which processes afford a description of certain aspects of those units as well as give indications and sometimes estimates of the distribution of characteristics in the larger population

or universe from which the sample of units was drawn and studied. Phenomena of the rural society were selected and then studied by the use of (1) textual description and (2) the more simple of the statistical applications -- ratios, percentages, frequency distributions, measures of central tendency, measures of dispersion, etc. -- to reach a generalized comprehension of the basic sociological aspects of Haiti's rural society.<sup>15</sup>

The scope of the problem of this paper, viewed in light of the limitations of the research, makes it obvious that the work does not comprehend an all-comprehensive and exhaustive presentation and analysis of the problems in question. Rather, a comparatively new and extensive field of research in Haiti is laid open with the hope that this undertaking will be supplemented with more intensive special investigations. Many of the social, political, economic, and domestic situations and problems which are mentioned in this study suggest fertile fields for future sociological research and analysis.

#### Note

The following symbols are used in the statistical tables of this study:

- ... (Three dots) When quantity is zero in both frequency and percentage tables.
- 0.0 When percentage is more than zero but less than 0.05.
- (Leaders) When class or item is not applicable.

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<sup>15</sup>For discussions of methods and techniques in social research, see Margaret Jarman Hagood, Statistics of Sociologists. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1941), pp. 1-16.



## CHAPTER I

### GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING, HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS, AND POPULATION

Inasmuch as some knowledge of the geography, history, and population of an area is useful to a better understanding of the society of that area, and in view of the possibility that some readers may not be familiar with these phenomena for the Republic of Haiti, it is considered desirable to present at the outset, as general informative material, a brief summary of the major aspects of the geographical setting, historical backgrounds, and population of the country.

#### 1. Geographical Setting

##### Location of the area

The Republic of Haiti occupies approximately the western third of the Island of Haiti; whereas the Dominican Republic occupies the eastern two-thirds.<sup>1</sup> The Island of Haiti, the largest of the West Indian Islands with the exception of Cuba, is located between Cuba and Puerto Rico and lies between parallels 17° 39' and 20° north latitude and meridians 68° and 75° west of Greenwich. The Atlantic Ocean borders it on the North and the Caribbean Sea on the south. Port-au-Prince, the capital city of Haiti, is located 1,365 miles south of New York City. Figure 5 gives the location of Haiti with respect to neighboring countries.

##### Physical features

The Republic of Haiti is made up of the mainland, which is two prominent westward-extending peninsulas referred to as "the northwest peninsula"

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<sup>1</sup>The boundary which separates the Republic of Haiti from the Dominican Republic has been changed many times by treaty and conquest, but to the present date the complete frontier has not been definitely decided upon.

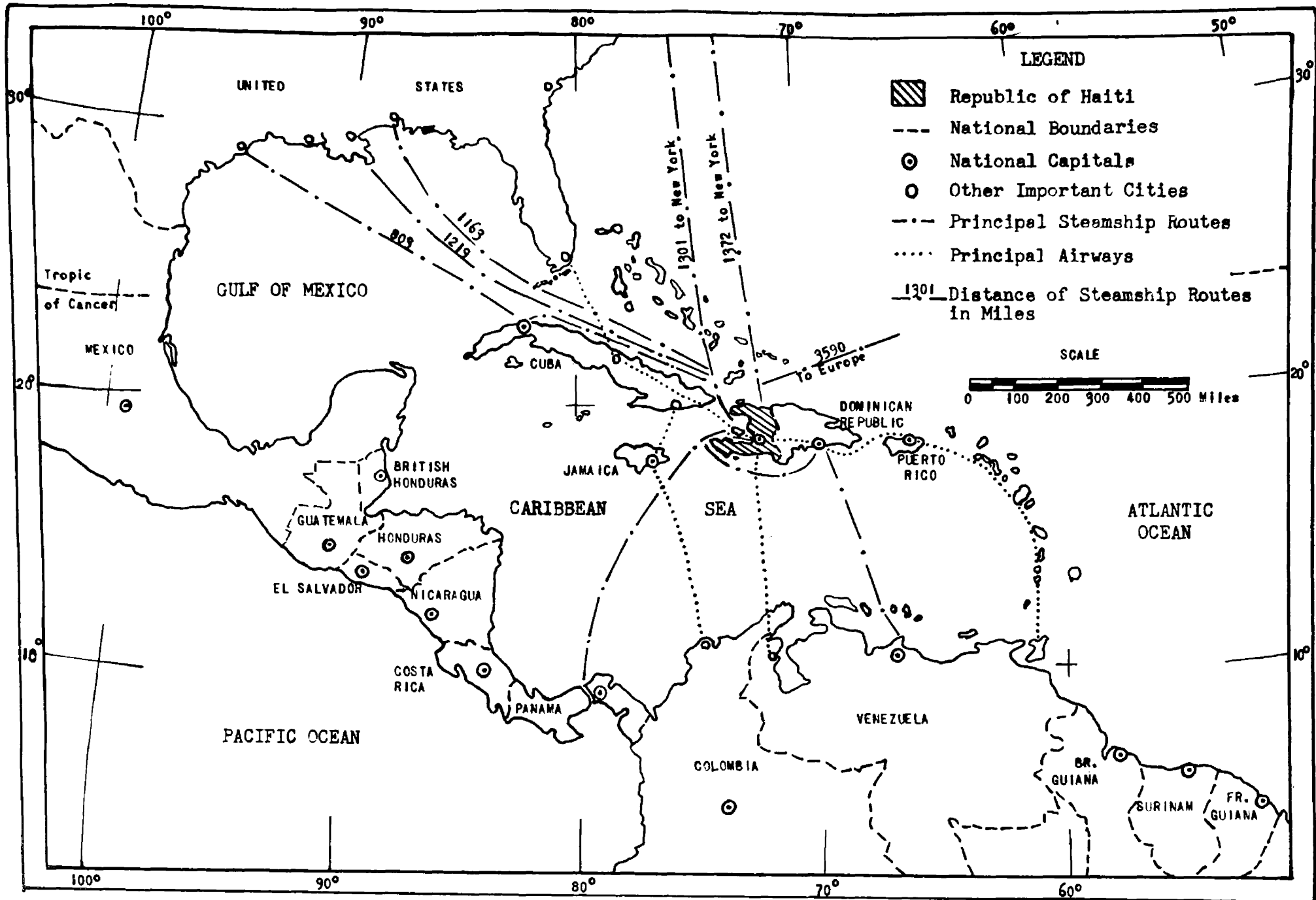


FIGURE 5. LOCATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI WITH RESPECT TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. (After Commercial Travelers Guide to Latin America, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign Trade and Domestic Commerce, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941, Part III, Figure 1.)

and "the southern peninsula"; and several adjacent islands, including Ile de la Tortue, Ile de la Gonâve, Grande Cayemite, la Navase, and Ile a Vache. Haiti is one of the smallest of the American Republics; its mainland and adjacent islands cover about 27,750 square kilometers, or about 10,700 square miles, according to planimeter measurements of official maps of the country. Since only small portions of the land surface have been surveyed, exact areas of the country are not known. The maximum length of the Republic of Haiti is about 295 kilometers, and its greatest width near the Dominican border is about 183 kilometers.

Haiti is very mountainous. It is estimated that about 8,000 square miles of its approximate area are mountains, and 2,700 square miles are plains. The country has a great number of small streams which for the most part have short courses and flow directly down the steep mountainsides and are therefore not navigable except for canoes or very small boats a short distance above their mouths. Haiti has a considerable number of small lakes, but they are of no special value or interest to this discussion.

### Climate

It is agreed that Haiti has a climate rarely excelled in the tropics, with all parts of the Republic having a warm and notably equable temperature. Records show that July, the hottest month in Port-au-Prince, has a mean temperature generally of around 84° Fahrenheit; whereas January, the coldest month, registers usually about 75° mean temperature. The daily range of temperature throughout the Republic is about 10° Centigrade.

In Haiti precipitation is lacking in the uniformity and equability that characterize its temperature. The amount of rainfall varies greatly both with the seasons and at different localities, and the controlling feature is the influence of the many mountain ranges on the moisture-bearing

trade winds. Within Haiti there are all gradations in rainfall, from very humid to semi-arid and even arid; and these gradations are characteristic, not of large and homogeneous regions, but of small and scattered districts. The one feature of the rainfall over all the Republic is its concentration into two well-defined wet and rainy seasons, one in the spring and the other in the fall. The effect of the differences in annual precipitation is most apparent on the vegetation and the agricultural development in different localities; this fact influences greatly the way of life in the various parts of the country.

#### Natural resources

Haiti is not rich in mineral resources. The best-informed opinion seems to be that the fertile soil rather than metallic deposits will be the source of wealth in the future. Haiti has a varied and abundant natural vegetation in most areas important for both food and building material, but relatively few animals of any kind are to be found in the country. Although Haiti is a tropical country, there are only a few small areas where vegetation presents the aspects of an impenetrable tropical rain forest. Differences in rainfall, soil, and altitude cause vegetation to change constantly within remarkably short distances.

#### Communication and transportation

The Republic of Haiti had at the time of the study radio and cable connections with all parts of the world, and several international air lines had landing fields in the country. Communication and facilities of transportation within the country were, however, extremely limited and undeveloped. Semi-improved automobile roads, airlines, and telephone lines connected most of the important population centers; and there was a network of trails,

"sentiers," extending over the entire country in both the mountains and plains. The trails were used for animal and human travel, but they were ordinarily not suitable for vehicles. Plate II illustrates the principal means of travel in rural Haiti.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Historical Backgrounds

### Before colonization

Before the discovery and colonization of America by the Europeans, Haiti, like most of the other areas of the Western Hemisphere, was peopled by Indians. Two principal tribes, the Arawaks and the Caribs, lived on the island. The aborigines of Haiti at the time of the discovery <sup>omit</sup> were not savages; they possessed political, social, and religious organizations. It is estimated that there were about one million Indians inhabiting the island at the discovery in 1492, and history records that many of their cultural patterns were continued in the colonial plantation system which followed.

### White domination in the New World

The Island of Haiti was discovered by the Spanish explorer, Christopher Columbus, on December 6, 1492, and he named it Hispaniola, meaning "Little Spain." This land was known to the Indian inhabitants as "Haiti," "Quisqueya," and "Bohio," meaning, respectively, "big land," "high land," and "mountainous land." After the discovery, Hispaniola passed slowly under the domination of the Spanish. Many of the colonists became

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<sup>2</sup>For further information regarding the geography of Haiti, see (1) Wendell P. Woodring, John S. Brown, and Wilbur S. Burbank, Geology of the Republic of Haiti (Port-au-Prince, Republic of Haiti: Department of Public Works, 1924), pp. 28-83; (2) Monograph of Haiti, United States Marine Corps (Division of Operations and Training, Intelligence Section, 1932), passim.; and (3) Henri Chauvet et Robert Gentil, Géographie de l'Isle d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Imprimerie la Presse, 1931), passim.



PLATE II. THE PRINCIPAL MEANS OF TRAVEL IN RURAL HAITI. (Upper left: by foot with the wares carried in a "panier" [straw basket] balanced on the head. Upper right: by "bourrique" [small donkey] with the wares in straw baskets. Lower left: by ox-drawn carts called "cabrouets." Lower right: by open-air motor buses called "camions.")

disillusioned at their failure to become rich quickly from the supposed mineral wealth of the island and returned to their homeland. Others, with more modest hopes, turned to agriculture and trade. The Indians could not survive the servile labor imposed by the white man, and many died of epidemics and slave labor. With the inefficiency of Indian slave labor and the growth of agriculture and commerce, the institution of Negro slavery began in Hispaniola. History records that as early as 1503 Negroes from Africa were brought to the Spanish colony as slaves.

During the latter part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, there were French and English colonial infiltrations in Hispaniola; and gradually the Spanish colonists became concentrated in the eastern part of the island. The French became firmly settled in the western part, which they called Saint Domingue; and in 1697, by the Treaty of Ryswick, Spain ceded this western section to France. A period of peace ensued, and the French colony developed rapidly. Sugar cane, cotton, indigo, and coffee became sources of great wealth; the aristocracy from France was attracted to the colony; and Negro slave importation reached startling proportions. During the colonization period different social and cultural groups developed among the inhabitants. As a result of sexual relations between masters and slaves, a hybrid race, the mulatto, appeared; and these mixed bloods, or "sang mêlés," as they are still called, formed the social class of the affranchised, "affranchis." By the end of the eighteenth century the population of Saint Domingue was divided into three major classes, as follows: the whites, "blancs"; the affranchised, "affranchis"; and slaves, "esclaves." These classes numbered, respectively, about 40,000; 23,000; and 452,000.

### Independence

The wars and revolutions of France during the later part of the eighteenth century spread to Saint Domingue; and, after a series of revolts in which slavery was abolished, the plantation system was destroyed, and the white planters were either killed or forced to leave the country, the colony declared its independence on January 1, 1804. The official name of the French colony, Saint Domingue, was abolished, and the original Indian name, Haiti, restored. The history of Haiti's independence to the time of the American intervention in 1915 can best be described as turbulent and unprogressive. In these 111 years Haiti passed through a period of political rivalries and changes of government in which there were 2 emperors, 1 king, and 20 presidents. Of this number, 17 were driven from office by revolution, and 2 of the 17 were assassinated. Eleven of the total number served less than a year, and in the 4 years immediately preceding 1915 Haiti was ruled by 6 presidents. The underlying causes of discontent and revolution were, primarily, the frequent changing of the constitution to favor the person or group in power, action taken by presidents to extend their terms beyond the legal period, sectionalism between the northern and southern parts of the country, and color differences between the pure blacks and the mulattoes.

### The American Occupation

The United States, which for some time had been watching the political upheavals affecting Haiti, decided to interfere; and on



July 28, 1915, following the murder of the president, the United States forces occupied the country. During the Occupation order was restored, Haitian presidents were elected, and government departments were established and operated under the charge of American civil officials with American and Haitian assistants. The Occupation was terminated in August of 1934, but fiscal agents representing the United States Government were maintained in Haiti to supervise the collection of customs duties and internal revenue and to direct the national bank of the Republic.

#### Recent times

Although the nineteen years of American Occupation did much to stabilize internal affairs and finance in Haiti and left a lasting imprint on the country in many respects, it did not change fundamentally the complexion of Haiti's politics and the functioning of its government. In the twelve years since the Occupation the mulatto oligarchy, although strengthened by American support, has met opposition and defeat; and many of the characteristics of politics and government prevalent before the Occupation have again come into play. Nevertheless, because of the Occupation and its ensuing treaty agreements, the domestic and foreign policy of Haiti has come to be based largely upon the influence of the United States. Moreover, in denying other foreign governments intervention, a policy which was inevitable, the United States has tacitly assumed some responsibility for maintaining law and order and a certain amount of economic stability.

This policy has required, and will continue to require in the future, that the United States keep in close touch with the internal and external politics of Haiti.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. Population

#### Number and distribution

A complete and accurate census of Haiti's population has never been made; consequently, adequate data concerning the nation's population numbers and characteristics were not available. The best existing estimates at the time of the study placed the total population of the country at about 3,000,000. With an estimated area of 10,714 square

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<sup>3</sup> For more detailed information concerning historical and cultural backgrounds of Haiti, see (1) T. Lothrop Stoddard, The French Revolution in San Domingo (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914), passim.; (2) J. C. Dorsainville, Manuel d'Historire d'Haiti (1<sup>ere</sup> ed. et 2<sup>eme</sup> ed.; Port-au-Prince: Procure des Freres de l'Instruction Chrétienne, 1926-1934), passim.; (3) Histoire d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Procure des Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne, 1945), passim.; (4) François Dalencour, Histoire de la Nation Haitienne (Port-au-Prince: En vente Chez l'Auteur, 1930), passim.; (5) Rayford W. Logan, The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), passim.; (6) M. L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry, Description Topographique, Physique, Civile, Politique, et Historique de la Partie Française de l'Isle Saint Domingue, avec des Observations Générales sur la Population, le Caractère et les Mœurs des Divers Habitants, son Climat, Culture, ses Productions avec des Détails les plus Propres à faire connaître l'Etat de cette Colonie à l'Époque du 18 Octobre 1789 (Philadelphia: Chez l'Auteur et Paris: Dupont, 1797 et 1798), passim.; (7) Thomas Madiou, fils., Histoire d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de Jh. Courtois, 1847 and 1848), 3 vols., passim.; and (8) Ralph Korngold, Citizen Toussaint (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944), passim.

miles, which gives a population density of 280 people per square mile. Haiti could best be described as densely populated. In Table I the estimated population and area of the major civil divisions in 1942 and calculations of population density are presented.

Physical geography, arable land, rainfall, and means of communication have been the decisive factors in the distribution of the population of Haiti, and particularly of its rural inhabitants. The coastal plains offered the double advantage that they permitted the cultivation of foodstuffs and commodities of export and at the same time afforded fishing and coastal trade, which led to a heavy concentration of population in those areas. Many of the interior valleys, with fertile land, ample water, and opportunities for marketing agricultural products, contained a great number of population groupings such as villages and hamlets. In the central arid and semi-arid regions, where it has been difficult to lead anything but a meager existence, the population was much less dense than in the coastal plains and valleys. The same thing applied to the lofty mountains, too craggy to allow communication with market centers.

Haiti's population was predominately rural; it was estimated that only from 10 to 15 per cent of the population could be classified as urban. This was illustrated by a review of the estimated population of population centers which showed that there were only 14 cities of 5,000 inhabitants or over in the nation, including one of 125,000; three of 20,000; three of 12,000; three of 10,000; one of 6,000; and three of 5,000.

**ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS AND OF THE DEPARTMENT CAPITALS OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF HAITI, ESTIMATES OF THE AREA OF HAITI BY DEPARTMENTS,  
AND CALCULATIONS OF THE DENSITY OF THE POPULATION  
OF THE COUNTRY BY DEPARTMENTS, 1942**

Department	Estimated Population of <sub>1</sub> Departments		Estimated Population of Department Capitals <sup>1</sup>	Estimated Area of Departments			Density of the Population per Square Kilometer <sup>3</sup>	Density of the Population per Square Mile <sup>3</sup>
	Number	Per Cent		Number of Square Kilometers <sup>2</sup>	Number of Square Miles <sup>3</sup>	Per Cent		
Artibonite	490,000	16.3	12,000	6,800	2,625.5	24.5	72.1	186.6
North	660,000	22.0	20,000	4,100	1,583.0	14.8	161.0	416.9
Northwest	150,000	5.0	10,000	2,750	1,061.8	9.9	54.6	141.3
South	700,000	23.3	20,000	6,200	2,393.8	22.3	112.9	292.4
West	1,000,000	33.4	125,000	7,900	3,050.2	28.5	126.6	327.9
Total (Haiti)	3,000,000	100.0	187,000	27,750	10,714.3	100.0	108.1	280.0

<sup>1</sup>The estimated population numbers of the departments and capitals were supplied by the Département de l'Intérieur, Port-au-Prince, République d'Haiti.

<sup>2</sup>The estimated areas of the departments in square kilometers were furnished by the Département des Travaux Publics, Port-au-Prince, République d'Haiti.

<sup>3</sup>The areas in square miles and the population density figures were calculated for this table.

Race, color, and national heritage

The principal racial strains in the Haitian population were observed to be Negroid and Caucasian, with the former predominating. The population was made up of a very small number of Mongolians; a larger number of pure whites; a considerable number of mulattoes, a mixture of the white race and the Negro race principally; and a predominant number of pure Negroes. The aboriginal Indians were almost totally eliminated from Haiti by the early colonists, with the result that, contrary to the situation in most of Latin America, the Indians or their descendants formed no appreciable part of the population.

The national groups from which the Haitian people have descended are principally French and African. In early colonial days the Spaniards were driven from Haiti by the French before they had left much of an imprint upon the population, and their blood formed but a negligible factor in the national ancestry of the Haitian people. The affranchised mulatto, a mixture of the white French colonists and the black African slaves, and the pure Negro, the two major groups which existed in the country at the time of its independence, were the ancestors of most of Haiti's present-day native population. Haiti's existing small mulatto aristocracy is descended principally from the affranchised mulatto group; whereas the black peasant masses are descended primarily from the former Negro slave group. Due to this heritage, Haiti is distinctive among the American republics in being the only French-speaking and Negro republic of the Western Hemisphere.

Other national groups that have entered Haiti and have mixed with the Haitian natives in noticeable numbers have been Italians, Syrians, Chinese, and British subjects, and to a lesser extent Germans, Belgians, and Danes. In addition small groups of aliens have established residence in Haiti -- principally citizens of the United States of America, English subjects, Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians.

The Haitian natives were noted to range in skin color from black to very light, with many intermediate shades. The light-skinned people lived for the most part in the cities and towns; the black-skinned inhabitants made up the bulk of the rural peasant population and the proletariat of the population centers.<sup>4</sup> In Plate III illustrations of Haiti's rural peasant folk are presented.

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<sup>4</sup>For further information regarding Haiti's population, see (1) Dantès Bellegarde, Haiti and Her Problems, The University of Puerto Rico Bulletin, Series VII, No. 1 (September, 1936), passim.; and La Nation Haitienne (Paris: J. de Gigord, Editeur, 1938), passim.; (2) M. L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry, op. cit., passim.; (3) Monograph of Haiti, op. cit., passim.; (4) René Victor, Recensement et Démographie (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1944), passim.; (5) Chester W. Young, "Observations Relative a la Population de la République d'Haiti," Estadística, Journal of the Inter American Statistical Institute, I (September, 1943), 21-25; and "Statistiques Vitales en Médecine Rurale," Estadística, Journal of the Inter American Statistical Institute, II (March, 1944), 10-20; (6) Haiti: Summary of Biostatistics, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (Washington, 1945), passim.; (7) Bulletin Religieux: Organe du Clergé d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince, published from 1872 to 1924), passim.; (8) Dantès Fortunat, Nouvelle Géographie de l'Isle d'Haiti (Paris: Henri Noirot, Imprimeur-Editeur, 1888), passim.; and (9) Le Moniteur: Journal Officiel de la République d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 74<sup>e</sup> éme. Année, Samedi, 13 Septembre 1919, Numéro 63), pp. 470-471.



**PLATE III. RURAL PEASANT FOLK IN HAITI. (Upper: the mother. Lower left: the son. Lower right: the daughter. Note the typical homemade clothing of the rural peasant.)**

## CHAPTER II

### FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD ORGANIZATION AND CHARACTERISTICS

Sociological thought and research in both time and space have demonstrated that the family is a basic unit in the organization of society and that the institution of marriage is a central feature of all important human relationships.<sup>1</sup> In the study of rural life in Haiti the necessity for the study of the family as a significant element in the total social organization immediately became apparent. In this chapter the family of rural Haiti is discussed in terms of the nature of conjugal unions, family and household composition,<sup>2</sup> residential stability, sex life and birth control, legitimacy of children, kinship and names, color of family heads, and attitudes and opinions of family heads concerning race.

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<sup>1</sup>For sociological discussions of family and marriage, see (1) Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton, Family and Society (New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1935), passim; (2) T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), Chapter XVI; and (3) E. R. Groves and William F. Ogburn, American Marriage and Family Relationships (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1928), passim.

<sup>2</sup>The term "family" as used in this study includes in most instances the grouping of parents and children. However, a man and wife living together (by either legal marriage or "plaçage") with no children, either parent with one or more children, and two or more children living together without parents are also considered as family groupings. The term "household," as used in this study, is either synonymous with or more comprehensive than the family. The household includes all individuals living in the house--the immediate family as defined above and other persons, if any. Family and household heads are synonymous in this study and are used interchangeably.



## 1. Nature of Conjugal Unions

Families in Haiti were based upon two major types of man-and-woman unions: (1) a legal union sanctioned by either a civil or religious ceremony or a combination of both, and (2) a socially but not legally sanctioned relationship of man and woman, known locally as "plaçage." In "plaçage" a man and woman lived together as husband and wife by mutual agreement, and the woman was called a "placée." Marriages sanctioned by church or state or a combination of both were observed to be more frequent among the élite society and in the urban centers; whereas the system of "plaçage," which was perhaps numerically the most important form for the nation as a whole, predominated among the peasants and in the rural parts. While there were no figures showing the relative proportion and spacial distribution of the two types of man-and-woman unions in the nation, it was estimated that only about 25 per cent of the total conjugal unions were legally sanctioned. This percentage of legal marriages would have been considerably smaller for the peasants considered separately. Simpson, writing in 1942, estimated that only about 20 per cent of the peasant families were based on legal marriage.<sup>3</sup>

In the village of Gressier "plaçage" unions were found to be in the large majority. Of the 106 family heads reporting as regards type of conjugal union, 97, or almost 92 per cent, reported "plaçage" unions;

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<sup>3</sup>George Eaton Simpson, "Sexual and Familial Institutions in Northern Haiti," American Anthropologist, XLIV (October-December, 1942), 655.

whereas only 9, or over 8 per cent, reported legal marriage unions. As was indicated above, in Haiti either a religious or a civil marriage is regarded as legal, but generally when couples can afford them, they have both ceremonies. In Gressier all the family heads who reported legal marriages were married with both religious and civil ceremonies. A larger proportion of legal marriages than was found in Gressier was noted for each of the dispersed samples, with the middle class having a greater proportion than the lower class, and the upper class a larger proportion than the middle class. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that in the selection of the families of the dispersed samples, some preference was shown for legal unions. Sixty-four per cent of the upper-class families, 46 per cent of the middle-class families, and 16 per cent of the lower-class families were found to be based on legal man-and-wife unions. Marriages with both religious and civil ceremonies were observed to be more common among the upper- and middle-class legal marriages than among the lower-class legal marriages. The majority of the lower-class legal marriages were with a religious ceremony only. (See Table II for detailed statistics concerning types of conjugal unions upon which families were based.)

It was generally believed - - and government statistics seemed to support the belief - - that more legal marriages took place in March and December than in any other months. To cite one example, in 1943 the monthly percentages of marriages reported for the nation by the civil registration officials were as follows: January, 7.7; February, 9.0; March, 11.1; April, 7.9; May, 8.7; June, 7.7; July, 9.2; August, 5.2;

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TYPE OF CONJUGAL UNION UPON WHICH THE  
FAMILIES WERE BASED

Type of Conjugal Union	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Legal union. . . . .	9	8.5	47	64.4	66	46.2	12	16.4
Married with civil ceremony, only . . .	...	...	...	...	1	1.5	...	...
Married with religious ceremony, only . . .	...	...	18	38.3	25	37.9	8	66.7
Married with both civil and religious cere- monies . . . . .	9	100.0	29	61.7	40	60.6	4	33.3
"Plaçage" union. . . . .	97	91.5	26	35.6	77	53.8	61	83.6
Total. . . . .	106	100.0	73	100.0	143	100.0	73	100.0

September, 5.5; October, 8.6; November, 6.8; and December, 12.6.<sup>4</sup> March marriages may be explained by the fact that the nineteenth of March is Saint Joseph's Day, and Saint Joseph is the Patron Saint of Righteous Husbands and Wives. Peasants said that they married in December because they did not wish to begin a new year in sin. The Catholic Church teaches that living in "plaçage" is sinful, and the chief reason given by the peasant for his not being legally married was lack of money. It was noted that

<sup>4</sup> Rapport Annuel du Directeur Général, 1942-1943, Service National d'Hygiène et d'Assistance Publique (Port-au-Prince, République d'Haiti, Août 1944), p. 266.

many "plaçage" unions obtained a legal or religious sanction or both when the couple could save enough money to pay for the costs connected with the ceremony.<sup>5</sup>

In rural Haiti, as was the condition in Haiti generally, the male was not limited to one mate. A man frequently had, in addition to his legal wife, one or more women whom he supported and with whom he might or might not have had children. Then, too, the male who was not legally married frequently had two or more socially recognized "placées," depending upon his tastes and financial means. It is interesting to note that the several "placées" of a peasant male were usually not of equal standing; one, known as the "femme caille," was the favorite mate, and she ordinarily shared the principal house of the man and often later would become his legal wife. Some Haitian peasants explained the plurality of mates in terms of economic convenience or even economic necessity. Men owned land which for cultural and geographical reasons was distributed among several separate plots, and they said that it was to their advantage to have families on each plot so that their "wives" and children could cultivate the land and look after the houses, livestock, and vegetation and also harvest and market the farm produce. Sometimes, however,

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<sup>5</sup>The civil marriage official, "Officier d'Etat Civil," charged \$1.00 to publish the marriage bands, \$3.00 for a marriage ceremony performed in his office, \$10.00 for a marriage ceremony in a domicile of the city or town where the marriage office was located, and \$12.00 or more, depending on the distance, for a marriage outside the city or town. See Statut des Enfants Naturels et Etat Civil des Paysans..., Département de la Justice (Port-au-Prince, République d'Haiti: Imprimerie de l'Etat), p. 13. The civil marriage fee was exempted for peasants in certain of the underprivileged rural sections. See Ibid., p. 11. The Catholic Church charged \$3.00 for a marriage with high mass and \$2.20 for a marriage without a special mass.

the houses of the several "wives" and their families were situated close together in the same yard. Thus the economic explanation of plural mates may be considered only a partial explanation. Certainly the survival of the conjugal patterns of the colonial and African backgrounds are highly significant explanatory factors in the existence of the plurality of female mates as well as the practice of "plaçage." A leading Haitian scholar, Bellegarde, has the following to say in this regard:

One of the bitterest accusations made against the Haitian people, with the exception of that concerning the Voodoo Cult, is the practice of concubinage. Cyrille Paul (the Haitian Peasant) talks of his "enfants déhors," that is the children which were born outside the family home of one or several women, strangers to his legitimate wife or "femme-caille," as the peasants say. When one knows the history of Saint-Domingue, one cannot be surprised by the existence of such a custom and of its persistence in the lower classes of Haitian society. We have shown above that the Affranchised Class was wholly made up of illegitimate or adulterine children, fruits of the illegitimate unions of the white man with the negress and the mulatto woman.

Concubinage is doubtless the rule followed up to now among the rural class, but it is sort of a "matrimonium injustum" which in many cases has nothing of immorality--some "plaçages" having sometimes more solidarity than many regular marriages. With the progress made by religion marriages are tending to spread among the people and many peasant women accept to live with a man only if this one brings to them the gold or silver ring, symbol of legitimate union consecrated by the priest. But this progress of moral order is hindered by an economic consideration which has great importance for the peasant--the idea of having a large family from which they can secure obedient and free labor.<sup>6</sup>

No adequate statistics existed regarding the degree of plurality of mates in Haiti. Simpson has written that "perhaps three-fourths

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<sup>6</sup>Dantès Bellegarde, La Nation Haitienne (Paris: J. de Gigord, Editeur, 1938), pp. 165-166.

of the peasant men, and possibly more, have or have had at one time one or more mates in addition to a legal wife or 'femme caille.'<sup>7</sup> In the village of Gressier 69, or 73 per cent, of the 95 male family heads reporting stated that they had only 1 family at that time; whereas 26, or 27 per cent, stated that they had 2 or more families. Among the families of the dispersed samples a slightly larger percentage of the male heads reported more than 1 family, the percentage being 35 for the upper-class, 45 for the middle-class, and 30 for the lower-class male heads of families. (See Table IV of Appendix B.) It is probable that in the village as well as in the dispersed samples a large number of the male heads had "placées" with whom they had no children or rather loose family relations and whom they did not report. A good source of information regarding the evidence of the existence of plural female mates in Haiti was the Catholic Church records of the various parishes, which included ordinarily fairly complete and up-to-date registers of all Catholic families in the church parish. Entries in the registers were made by family groups with the name of the male parent first, followed by the name of the female parent, and then by the name of each of the children. For each entry there were notations of age; domicile; whether confession, communion, and confirmation obligations had been complied with; and whether the parents were married or were living in "plaçage." It is informative to cite examples of plural female mates from the Grand Livre of the Parish of Gressier.<sup>8</sup> On page 1 of the book

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<sup>7</sup> Simpson, "Sexual and Familial Institutions in Northern Haiti," p. 656.

<sup>8</sup> Grand Livre: Status Animarum, Archidiocèse de Port-au-Prince, Paroisse de Gressier (Années de 1938 à 39), pp. 1-3. (An unpublished record of the Catholic Church of the Parish of Gressier.)

the name of Adam Fouissaint, of 60 years of age, appeared as family head of 5 different families. "Wife" Virginia Denise, of 52 years, had 1 child, Alourde, of 13 years; "wife" Euphrosia Louis, of 55 years, had 6 children: Anais 14, Julie 11, Hortancia 9, Arnold 7, Renelia 5, and Neac 2; "wife" Cecile, of 42 years, had 3 children: Matilus 21, Verdine 14, and Isilia 12; "wife" Eraulie, age not given, had 1 child, Orphelin, aged 10; while "wife" Anelise, of 54 years, had 1 child, Adancilia, of 30 years of age. On pages 2 and 3 the name of Boivilon St. Felix, of 42 years of age, was listed as head of 3 families with 5 children in one family, 2 in the second, and 1 in the third; and the name of Odilon Celestin, of 48 years of age, was listed as head of 2 families, one with 7 children and the other with 9 children. All of the above families were based on "plaçage" unions rather than on legal marriages. Similar cases of plural female mates existed throughout the registers.

With the small number of legal marriages among the peasant people, it follows that divorce was not important in the rural society. In addition, the fact that divorce actions were expensive<sup>9</sup> and that a large proportion of the peasant marriages were effected after several years of "plaçage" union and hence were stable relationships before the legal ceremony took place made for a small incidence of divorce in rural Haiti. The wide influence of the Catholic religion was also a factor in preventing divorce. It should be noted, however, that divorce did exist in rural Haiti, but that it was probably more prominent in the urban centers. Where

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<sup>9</sup>The established charge for an act of divorce was \$20.00. See Statut des Enfants Naturels et Etat Civil des Paysans..., loc. cit.

marriages were dissolved, it was by separation in the majority of instances rather than by divorce. This was especially true for the rural folk. It was observed that "plaçage" was often as stable a relationship as a stable legal marriage, and that some such unions existed for the lifetime of the parties. However, if a man tired of his "placée," in most instances he could discard her with little legal difficulty. This was noted to be especially true for "placées" other than the important mate or "femme caille," in instances where a man had several "placées," and in cases where a man of the élite society had a peasant "placée." In "plaçage" unions which had had a long existence and had produced children, social pressures associated with moral obligation, superstitious beliefs of voodooism, and mores of the society tended to prevent separation. Disagreement and conflict between several "placées" of a man, infidelity on the part of a "placée," and the failure of a man to support a "placée" and her children were observed to be causal factors in dissolving "plaçage" unions.

The study in the village of Gressier showed no divorced people as living family heads. However, over 10 per cent of the families had as heads separated males or females. Of the 109 households studied, 78, or 72 per cent were headed by living "plaçage" couples, 8 by living married couples, 8 by separated females, 3 by separated males, 6 by widows, 4 by widowers, and 2 by single males. There were no divorced heads in the dispersed samples, and the data of the samples showed that there were fewer families headed by single, widowed, and separated heads in the upper and middle groups than in the lower groups. As has already been shown, the figures of the dispersed samples demonstrated a lower percentage of "plaçage" and a higher percentage of married for the upper and middle groups.



(See Table III for more details regarding marital status of living family heads.)

TABLE III

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY MARITAL STATUS  
OF THE LIVING HEADS**

Marital Status of Living Heads	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
"Plaçage". . . . .	78	71.6	25	33.4	75	52.1	53	70.6
Married. . . . .	8	7.3	45	60.0	64	44.4	10	13.3
Male single. . . . .	2	1.8	...	...	...	...	2	2.7
Female single. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Widower. . . . .	4	3.7	4	5.3	3	2.1	6	8.0
Widow . . . . .	6	5.5	1	1.3	1	0.7	2	2.7
Male divorced. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Female divorced. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Male separated . . . . .	3	2.8	...	...	1	0.7	2	2.7
Female separated . . . . .	8	7.3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total. . . . .	109	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0

## 2. Family and Household Composition

Very little data of a specific nature could be secured regarding the composition of the rural Haitian family and household. Below are presented the findings in the village of Gressier and in the dispersed samples in connection with the number and sex of living family heads, size of families, and number and composition of household members.

### Number and sex of heads of families

In the village of Gressier, of the 110 families studied, 87, or 79 per cent, had two-parent living heads; 14, or 13 per cent, had female heads only; and 9, or 8 per cent, had male heads only. In the dispersed samples two-parent heads were slightly more numerous than in Gressier, and this was especially true for the upper- and middle-class families. In addition, for each of the dispersed samples there was a considerably smaller proportion of the families with female heads only than in the village of Gressier. The difference between the village and the dispersed samples may be accounted for at least partially by a possible selection on the part of the schedule takers for complete families and against families with female heads only. (See Table V of Appendix B for statistical details.)

### Size of families

As regards size of families Table IV shows that the number of members in the families of the village of Gressier, including family heads and children living both in the household and away from the household, ranged from 1 to 13 members, with a mean number of members per family of 4.5. The most common sizes of families were noted to be the 2-, 3-, and 4-member families. In the dispersed samples the families were slightly larger than those of Gressier; whereas among the samples the middle class had larger families than the lower class, and the upper class had larger families than the middle class. The mean number of family members for the dispersed samples was 7.5 for the upper class, 6.7 for the middle class, and 5.2 for the lower class; and the range in number of members per family for the upper-, middle- and lower-class families was, respectively, from 1 to 18, from 1 to 14, and from 1 to 13.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF  
THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF MEMBERS (INCLUDING  
HEAD; HUSBAND OR WIFE OF HEAD, IF ANY; AND CHILDREN  
OF HEAD, IF ANY) LIVING BOTH IN THE HOUSEHOLD  
AND AWAY FROM THE HOUSEHOLD

Number of Members in Family	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower.	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 . . . . .	4	3.6	2	2.7	1	0.7	5	6.8
2 . . . . .	21	19.1	...	...	8	5.5	1	1.3
3 . . . . .	20	18.2	3	4.0	9	6.3	13	17.3
4 . . . . .	20	18.2	6	8.0	12	8.3	12	16.0
5 . . . . .	12	10.9	13	17.3	17	11.8	12	16.0
6 . . . . .	7	6.4	11	14.7	27	18.8	13	17.3
7 . . . . .	13	11.8	9	12.0	18	12.5	9	12.0
8 . . . . .	6	5.5	4	5.3	20	13.9	3	4.0
9 . . . . .	4	3.6	7	9.4	11	7.6	2	2.7
10 . . . . .	2	1.8	6	8.0	8	5.5	3	4.0
11 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.4	5	3.5	1	1.3
12 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	4	2.8	...	...
13 . . . . .	1	0.9	...	...	2	1.4	1	1.3
14 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	2	1.4	...	...
15 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
17 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
18 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
Total. . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
Mean size of families	4.5		7.5		6.7		5.2	

Table V gives the number of family members living in the household; and a comparison of it with table IV, discussed above, demonstrates that for the village of Gressier and for the dispersed samples there was an average of 1 or less than 1 member per family living away from the household.

Regarding the number of living children in the families, including those living in and away from the family group, there was found for the village of Gressier a range in number of children per family of from 0 to 11, with a mean number per family of 2.7. Seventeen, or nearly 16 per cent, of the 110 families had no living children. A larger proportion of the families of the dispersed samples had living children than was the case in Gressier, and the number of living children per family was generally slightly larger for the dispersed samples than for the village of Gressier.

In the village of Gressier the number of live births reported by the families studied exceeded greatly the number of living children, indicating a high mortality among children. There was a range of from 0 to 20 live births per family, with a mean number per family of 5.1. Only 9, or 9.2 per cent, of the 98 families reporting had no live births. Infant and child mortality is no doubt extremely high in Haiti generally and particularly in rural Haiti. The fact that of the 2,394 deaths occurring in the hospitals of the National Health Service of Haiti in 1944, 16.1 per cent were less than 1 year of age and 27 per cent were under 5 years of age was indicative of high mortality among children.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Rapport Annuel du Directeur Général, 1943-44, Service National d'Hygiène et d'Assistance Publique (Port-au-Prince, République d'Haiti), pp. 198-199.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF MEMBERS (INCLUDING HEAD;  
HUSBAND OR WIFE OF HEAD, IF ANY; AND CHILDREN OF  
HEAD, IF ANY) LIVING IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Number of Members in Family	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 . . . . .	7	6.4	2	2.7	1	0.7	5	6.7
2 . . . . .	26	23.6	4	5.3	10	6.9	3	4.0
3 . . . . .	22	20.0	7	9.3	8	5.5	13	17.3
4 . . . . .	21	19.1	6	8.0	17	11.8	15	20.0
5 . . . . .	10	9.1	12	16.0	23	16.0	13	17.3
6 . . . . .	5	4.6	14	18.7	30	20.8	10	13.4
7 . . . . .	10	9.1	8	10.7	16	11.1	9	12.0
8 . . . . .	5	4.5	4	5.3	17	11.8	3	4.0
9 . . . . .	2	1.8	5	6.7	9	6.3	1	1.3
10 . . . . .	1	0.9	5	6.7	9	6.3	2	2.7
11 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	1	1.3
12 . . . . .	1	0.9	3	4.0	1	0.7	...	...
13 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
14 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
15 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
17 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
Mean size of families.	4.0		6.5		6.1		4.8	

Further information regarding the number of children in families among the peasant folk may be obtained from noting the number of children in the families of which the male and female family heads of the village of Gressier were members. In the case of male heads, the number of children in their families -- including the male head, himself, and his brothers and sisters, both living and dead, if any -- ranged from 1 to 17, with a mean number of children per family of 6.9. In the case of female heads, the number of children in the families ranged from 2 to 23, with a mean number per family of 6.7. These figures are probably more descriptive of the number of children born in families among the peasant folk generally than are the figures cited above for the families residing in the village of Gressier. This is the case because the families of which the family heads were members were primarily completed families; whereas many of the families of Gressier were not yet completed. One indication of this is that the mean age of male family heads in the village of Gressier was 41.5 years, and the mean age of the female family heads was 36.1 years. The male heads ranged from 22 to 90 years of age; the female heads from 18 to 50. The male and female family heads in the dispersed samples were considerably older than those of the village of Gressier, a fact which perhaps accounts in part for the finding of a greater number of children per family for the dispersed samples than for the village of Gressier.

#### Number and composition of household members

The study demonstrated that some of the rural families had other individuals in addition to the immediate family members living in the

households. In Gressier the number of household members ranged from 1 to 12, and there was a mean number of members per household of 4.5. The dispersed samples showed slightly larger numbers of household members than were found in Gressier. In the dispersed samples the middle-class households were larger than the lower-class households, and the upper-class households were larger than the middle-class households. Detailed statistics regarding size of households are given in Table VI, and the relative distribution of total household members as compared with family members of the household can be gained from a comparative study of Tables V and VI.

In the village of Gressier over 29 per cent of the 110 households studied had members other than immediate family members. The mean number of other than family members per household for those with such members was 1.7; whereas the mean number of other than household members per household for all households studied in Gressier was 0.5. The households of the lower-class sample were similar to those of the village of Gressier with respect to members other than immediate family members, but the middle- and upper-class samples showed a considerably larger proportion of households with other than immediate family members as well as a larger number of other than family members per household for households with other than family members. For the upper-, middle-, and lower-class samples, the percentage of households with other than immediate family members was, respectively, 57 per cent, 54 per cent, and 32 per cent; the mean number of other than family members per household, for households with other than family members, was 2.5 for the upper-class households, 2.6 for the middle-class households, and 1.7 for the lower-class households. (See Table VII for detailed statistics.)

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Number of Members in Household	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 . . . . .	1	0.9	1	1.3	...	...	5	6.7
2 . . . . .	23	20.9	3	4.0	2	1.4	3	4.0
3 . . . . .	20	18.1	3	4.0	1	0.7	8	10.7
4 . . . . .	24	21.8	4	5.3	10	6.9	11	14.7
5 . . . . .	9	8.2	6	8.0	20	13.9	18	24.0
6 . . . . .	10	9.0	15	20.0	20	13.9	9	12.0
7 . . . . .	9	8.2	7	9.4	22	15.3	8	10.7
8 . . . . .	9	8.2	9	12.0	23	16.0	6	8.0
9 . . . . .	2	1.9	3	4.0	17	11.8	2	2.6
10 . . . . .	2	1.9	4	5.3	14	9.7	3	4.0
11 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	7	4.8	...	...
12 . . . . .	1	0.9	6	8.0	3	2.1	...	...
13 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	3	2.1	1	1.3
14 . . . . .	...	...	6	8.0	2	1.4	1	1.3
15 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
18 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Mean number of members in each household. .</b>	<b>4.5</b>		<b>8.1</b>		<b>7.5</b>		<b>5.4</b>	



TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS,  
IN ADDITION TO THE IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS,  
LIVING IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Number of Members in Household Other than Immediate Family	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	75	70.9	32	42.7	67	46.5	51	68.0
1 . . . . .	18	16.4	13	17.4	25	17.3	17	22.7
2 . . . . .	9	8.2	9	12.0	20	13.9	3	4.0
3 . . . . .	2	1.8	8	10.7	15	10.4	1	1.3
4 . . . . .	3	2.7	7	9.3	6	4.2	1	1.3
5 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	4	2.8	2	2.7
6 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	4	2.8	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of households with other than family members. . . . .</b>		<b>32</b>		<b>43</b>		<b>77</b>		<b>24</b>
<b>Of total household, per- centage with other than family members. . . . .</b>		<b>29.1</b>		<b>57.3</b>		<b>53.5</b>		<b>32.0</b>
<b>Mean number of other than family members per house- hold, for those with other than family members . .</b>		<b>1.7</b>		<b>2.8</b>		<b>2.6</b>		<b>1.7</b>
<b>Mean number of other than family members per house- hold, for all households</b>		<b>0.5</b>		<b>1.6</b>		<b>1.4</b>		<b>0.5</b>

The other than family members in the households of the village of Gressier included in order of importance the following, primarily: grandchildren, brothers and sisters, parents, nieces and nephews, god-children, and daughters- and sons-in-law of the household heads. The dispersed samples showed, in addition to the above-named relatives of family heads, a few upper- and middle-class households with servants. Then, a few of the households of the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples had other than family members who were neither relatives of the family heads nor servants, but the incidence of such members was not significant. (For statistical details in this regard, see Tables VI and VII of Appendix B, in which are presented, respectively, the percentage of households of the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples with specified relatives of family heads, servants, and other individuals living in the household and the mean number of specified relatives of family heads, servants, and other individuals per household -- for households with other than immediate family members -- for the village of Gressier and for the dispersed samples.)

### 3. Residential Stability

In general, the rural family of Haiti was relatively stable with regard to horizontal mobility, and the specific findings of the study bear out this belief. In the village of Gressier 79 per cent of the male family heads were born in the same commune in which they were living and even in the same vicinity of that commune. Nineteen per cent were born in a different commune of the same department. Only 2 of the 100 family heads studied were born outside the department of their residence. The

female family heads of the village of Gressier were found to be slightly less mobile than male heads. Both male and female family heads of the dispersed samples were slightly more mobile than the village family heads. The figures indicate that this greater mobility was of the intra-commune type, and that it was especially true of female heads. It was found that none of the family heads of the village of Gressier and dispersed samples were foreign-born. (See Table VIII for statistical details.)

Another example of the relative stability of the Gressier residents is the fact that, of the 110 families in the village, 93, or 84.5 per cent, had never changed their places of residence since the family had been established; and only 17, or 15.5 per cent, had changed places of residence one or more times.

In reply to the question whether they preferred city or country residence, 29 of the 104 household heads of Gressier had no preference; 38 expressed a desire for city residence; and 37 preferred to live in the country. In the dispersed samples smaller proportions of the family heads expressed no preference, and larger proportions favored country residence than was the case for the village. Among the dispersed samples the family heads of the middle- and upper-class groups preferred country residence to a considerably greater extent than did the family heads of the lower-class group. The reason given most frequently for preferring city residence was the better living conditions of the city; whereas the reason most frequently given for preferring country residence was that all land and other property were in the country. (See Tables VIII, IX, and X of Appendix B for more details regarding residence preferences and reasons for them.)

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY LOCATION IN RELATION TO  
THE BIRTHPLACES OF THE MALE AND FEMALE HEADS

Location of Households Studied in Relation to Birthplaces of Male and Female Family Heads	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
<b>Birthplace of Male Head:</b>								
Same vicinity . . . . .	78	78.0	54	72.0	105	73.4	49	65.4
Same commune, but different vicinity . . . . .	1	1.0	13	17.4	23	16.1	7	9.3
Same department, but different commune. . . . .	19	19.0	7	9.3	10	7.0	13	17.3
Same country, but different department . . . . .	2	2.0	1	1.3	5	3.5	6	8.0
Different country . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Birthplace of Female Head:</b>								
Same vicinity . . . . .	82	78.8	40	54.1	91	63.6	47	65.3
Same commune, but different vicinity . . . . .	2	1.9	22	29.7	35	24.5	10	13.9
Same department, but different commune. . . . .	19	18.3	11	14.9	10	7.0	11	15.3
Same country, but different department . . . . .	1	1.0	1	1.3	7	4.9	4	5.5
Different country . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100.0</b>

#### 4. Sex Life and Birth Control

George Eaton Simpson has well said that "...sexual pleasure, to the Haitian peasant, is the greatest pleasure..."<sup>11</sup> In the rural parts especially and among some groups in the urban centers sexual relations prior to marriage were not taboo, with the results that a large part of the peasant men and women had sexual experience before entering marriage or "plaçage." The Haitian man used all means in his power to conserve his virility, and when he became impotent it was with much regret. Although males exercised considerable freedom and latitude in sexual relations, promiscuity and irregularities on the part of wives or "placées" or even concubines were not permitted. With regard to sex life in Haiti Inman has said:

...men often have a plurality of wives -- a man of the higher classes having one real wife and other women of a lower class, whom he may quite publicly support with their children, who are not infrequently brought into the legitimate family as servants; the relationship being entirely understood by all concerned.<sup>12</sup>

Probably because of the freedom of socially sanctioned sexual relations prostitution as practiced in more modern countries has never been important in Haiti, and particularly in rural Haiti. There were indications, however, that in recent times prostitution has increased in the urban parts of Haiti. Houses of prostitution were located for the most

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<sup>11</sup> Simpson, "Sexual and Familial Institutions in Northern Haiti," p. 668.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Guy Inman, Through Santo Domingo and Haiti: A Cruise with the Marines (New York: Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, 1919), p. 59.

part in the cities and larger towns. Such irregular sex practices as homosexuality, sodomy, incest, and masturbation were noted to have no particular prominence in rural Haiti. In isolated cases of such irregularities the occurrences were highly condemned by the social group.

In the rural parts birth control and methods of contraception were almost unknown. A paramount desire of the Haitian country folk was to have as many children as possible. It was generally considered among the peasants that children were the work of God, and even to think of preventing conception was to go against His wish. Birth control, however, was doubtless practiced by many of the families in the larger towns and cities, but the spread of the practice among the rural population apparently has not been significant. In reply to the question as to whether they thought it possible to control birth, only 2 of the 110 family heads of the village of Gressier gave an affirmative reply. Among the families of the dispersed samples, a larger proportion of the family heads gave an affirmative answer; nevertheless, the large majority thought it impossible to control births. Among the dispersed samples no significant variation was noted. (See Table XI of Appendix B for statistics in this regard.)

##### 5. Legitimacy of Children

With the prevalence in rural Haiti of the system of "plaçage," a large percentage of the children born were illegitimate. However, in understanding the real nature of illegitimacy in the country it is necessary to distinguish between two types of illegitimate children: the

"naturel" children and children who were "non reconnu." "Natural" children were illegitimate offspring whose fathers recognized them as their children and treated them in most instances as if they were legitimate; "non reconnu" children were illegitimate children whose fathers did not recognize them. "Natural" children were usually products of socially sanctioned "plaçage" unions, but "non reconnu" children, often referred to as "enfants déhors," were for the most part offspring of promiscuous sexual relations -- for instance, relations between a married man and a woman other than his legal wife or socially recognized "placée." Although no accurate figures giving the proportion of legitimate and illegitimate births in Haiti existed, it was estimated that only about one-fourth of the births of the nation were legitimate. Of the illegitimate births, probably from 5 to 10 per cent were "non reconnu," and the balance were "naturel." The high proportion of illegitimacy was borne out by the facts regarding births which occurred in the hospitals of the National Health Service of the Nation during 1944. Of the 4,067 hospital births, 1,005, or 24.7 per cent, were legitimate; and 3,062, or 75.3 per cent, were illegitimate.<sup>13</sup>

## 6. Kinship and Names

In rural Haiti, as is the condition in most western societies, there was a bilateral system of designating kinship and descent; the

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<sup>13</sup>Rapport Annuel du Directeur Général, 1943-44, Service National d'Hygiène et d'Assistance Publique, op. cit., passim.

children were kin to the families of both parents. Among the large families which were intact and which had strong ties based on a stable legal marriage or an efficient "plaçage" union, the relation to the father's people was emphasized, and the families had something of a patrilineal leaning. In loose "plaçage" unions, or in cases of children who were not recognized by the father, the mother's kin was naturally emphasized; such families had a matrilineal nature.

Both the patronymic and matronymic systems of naming offspring existed in rural Haiti, with the patronymic system predominating. Offspring of legal marriages and those of "plaçage" unions who were recognized by the father ordinarily took the father's name and were patronymic; offspring of a "plaçage" union who were not recognized by their father and children of promiscuous sexual relations usually took the name of the mother and were matronymic.

Names in rural Haiti reflected in the great majority of cases the French cultural heritage and the predominant Catholic religion of the country. It is interesting to note this French-Catholic influence in the following male and female names taken at random from the 1923 Register of Births in the Commune of Gressier: Charles Paul Désir, Charité Marie Fatten, Dieujuste Pierre Bien-Aimé, André Paul Joseph, Odette Marie-Rose Chery, Telfis Pierre Germain, and Jacque Doucet.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Registre des Actes de Naissance, Bureau d'Etat Civil, Commune de Gressier (Année 1923), passim.



The rural Haitian family generally could be characterized as an extended family. It usually included the far-removed collateral kin as well as the ascending and descending relatives of all degrees. In some instances god-fathers, god-mothers, god-children, and even close friends were considered members of the family group and were treated accordingly. The eldest male member was ordinarily the leader of the extended family, and he was usually of the patriarchal type referred to as the "Grand Don." This type of extended family was more marked in the rural parts than among the urban population, but even among the country people it was beginning to disappear.

#### 7. Color of Family Heads

The usual color differentiations made in Haiti, excluding pure Caucasians and Mongolians, were as follows: (1) the "Nègre Congo," characterized by a black skin and kinky hair; (2) the "Griffe," with a brown skin and kinky hair; (3) the "Marabout," with brown skin and straight hair; (4) the "Grimaud," with tan skin and kinky hair; and (5) the "Mulatre," with tan skin and straight hair. Unfortunately no figures existed which gave the numerical importance and geographical distribution of these color types. It can be said with considerable certainty, however, that most of the rural population would be classified in the "Nègre Congo" and "Griffe" categories.

In the village and dispersed samples an attempt was made to gain some idea of skin-color differentiation; and the male and female heads interviewed were classified as having either black, brown, or tan skins.

In the village of Gressier all male heads and all female heads except one had either black or brown skins, and there were approximately twice as many with black skins as with brown skins. Except for a few tan skins, the heads of the families of the lower-class of the dispersed samples were similar to those of the village. The middle- and upper-class family heads of the dispersed samples had smaller proportions with black skins and larger proportions with brown and tan skins than did the lower-class sample. It is obvious that most of the family heads of the village and of the dispersed samples would be classified as "Negre Congo" and "Griffe," with the first-named type being more important numerically. (See Table IX for statistical details.)

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALE AND FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE  
VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED  
SAMPLES BY COLOR

Color	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num-ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent
<b>Male Heads:</b>								
Black . . . . .	63	66.3	43	58.1	83	58.5	51	69.9
Brown . . . . .	32	33.7	27	36.5	47	33.0	19	26.0
Tan . . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	12	8.5	3	4.1
Total . . . . .	95	100.0	74	100.0	142	100.0	73	100.0
<b>Female Heads:</b>								
Black . . . . .	62	62.0	35	49.3	81	58.3	45	69.3
Brown . . . . .	37	37.0	26	36.6	48	34.5	14	21.5
Tan . . . . .	1	1.0	10	14.1	10	7.2	6	9.2
Total . . . . .	100	100.0	71	100.0	139	100.0	65	100.0

### 5. Attitudes and Opinions of Family Heads Concerning Race

In the course of the study the heads of the families interviewed were asked to give their attitudes and opinions on certain race considerations. One of these considerations was regarding the advantages and disadvantages of foreigners of the white race in Haiti. In replying to this question, over 31 per cent of the 99 family heads in the village of Gressier had no opinion; almost 62 per cent expressed an advantage; and 7 said that white foreigners were neither an advantage nor a disadvantage. No family head expressed the opinion that the presence of white foreigners in Haiti was a disadvantage. In the dispersed samples a larger proportion of the heads reporting expressed an opinion, and about four-fifths of the families of each of the samples considered the presence of white foreigners in Haiti an advantage. There was no significant variation between the several dispersed samples with regard to this item. The replies in this connection indicate that the majority of the people interviewed favored the presence of white foreigners in the country. The reason given by over 96 per cent of the Gressier family heads was that white foreigners gave work to the Haitians; only two gave as reasons the bringing into the country of science and capital. The two advantages expressed by the village family heads were also the two most important reasons given by the family heads of the dispersed samples. Other important advantages mentioned by the family heads of the dispersed samples were the enlightening of the Negro by the white foreigner and the extension of commerce. The chief reason given by family heads for the disadvantage of white foreigners in Haiti was that

they exploited the Haitian masses. (See Tables XII, XIII, and XIV of Appendix B for statistical details concerning the above discussion.)

In the village of Gressier the family heads were asked to give opinions regarding the comparative status of the Negro race in Haiti and in other countries. It is interesting to note that, of the 104 people replying, almost one-half (46.2 per cent) said that they did not know the condition of the Negro race in other countries and therefore could not express an opinion. Over one-half of the family heads (52.9 per cent) thought that the Negro race had a better status in other countries. Only one person expressed the belief that the Negro in Haiti had a better status. The chief reasons given for the better status of the Negro in other countries were that Negroes were able to secure employment in other countries and that the governments were better organized in other countries.

Another question which was posed to the family heads during the study was to name the most important need for the improvement of the Haitian nation and people. Again a significant percentage (27.1 per cent) of the people in the village of Gressier had no opinion. Of those who had an opinion the large majority thought that the chief need was better employment opportunities. Only 7 out of 78 expressing an opinion mentioned the improvement of agriculture as the chief need. In the dispersed samples the needs expressed more frequently, in order of importance, were better employment opportunities, the improvement of agriculture, and the improvement of education and educational facilities. There were no significant differences between the several dispersed samples regarding needs expressed. (See Table X for additional details.)

TABLE X

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY STATEMENT OF CHIEF  
NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT OF HAITIAN  
NATION AND PEOPLE

	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num-ber	Per Cent	Upper Num-ber	Upper Per Cent	Middle Num-ber	Middle Per Cent	Lower Num-ber	Lower Per Cent
Does not know . . . . .	29	27.1	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
Better employment opportunities . . . . .	69	64.5	19	26.4	36	25.7	32	44.4
Improve agriculture . . . . .	7	6.6	17	23.6	31	22.1	13	18.1
Improve education and educational facilities . . . . .	...	...	13	18.0	25	17.9	13	18.1
Improve trade and marketing . . . . .	...	...	6	8.3	18	12.9	5	6.9
Improve health and sanitation . . . . .	...	...	6	8.3	10	7.1	3	4.2
Spread of the Christian Religion . . . . .	...	...	4	5.6	6	4.3	1	1.4
Increase of industries . . . . .	1	0.9	3	4.2	4	2.9	1	1.4
Other needs . . . . .	1	0.9	4	5.6	9	6.4	4	5.5
Total . . . . .	107	100.0	72	100.0	140	100.0	72	100.0

## CHAPTER III

### HOUSING AND LIVING FACILITIES

In Haiti dwelling houses ranged from fine villas, found mostly in the cities and their immediate environs, to the crudest hovels, existing both in the cities and in the rural parts. In rural Haiti the dwellings, known as "cailles," were of two types principally. The most common was a framework of wood interwoven with splints and plastered with mud and having a thatch roof and dirt floors. The less common but more substantial structures were frame buildings made of split palm boards and having sheet-iron roofs and wooden or concrete floors.<sup>1</sup> Variations in the two principal rural house types existed, and more detailed discussions regarding the country dwelling houses and living facilities are given below.

Maurice Dartigue, in his Conditions Rurales en Haiti, cited Louis Decatrel's description of a peasant house as follows:

...the peasant home has maintained its traditional simplicity. Generally it is a rectangle of three or four meters long and three or more wide. The side walls, "pans," are formed of vertical posts interlaced with slender strips placed horizontally. The interlaced walls receive on each side a coating several centimeters thick of plaster formed of kneaded clay with rice straw. These constructions are generally low, two and one-half meters or more not including the ceiling. The dirt floor is packed earth; the two-sloped roof is constructed generally of grass, rice straw, corn stalks or of millet. The peasant dwelling is

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<sup>1</sup>For a general description of housing in Haiti, see Monograph of Haiti, United States Marine Corps (Division of Operations and Training, Intelligence Section, 1932), Sections 206-100.

ordinarily without foundations and in the rooms of the house the light and air, those necessary agents of sanitation, cannot penetrate easily; the openings are constantly closed.<sup>2</sup>

In his study of 884 families, Dartigue found that 718 lived in the above type of native "cailles," called "maisons de chaume," and that about one-fifth of the houses were in poor condition.<sup>3</sup> Plates IV through VII are illustrations of several types and features of dwelling houses of the rural peasants.

In this study the housing and living facilities of the 404 families of the village of Gressier and the dispersed samples were studied in terms of (1) tenure of dwellings and other houses, (2) physical aspects of the dwellings, (3) house fixtures and furnishings, and (4) value of houses and furnishings.

#### 1. Tenure of Dwellings and Other Houses

It was generally considered that ownership of dwelling houses by occupants was high among the rural residents, and that this phenomenon could be explained mainly in terms of the strong desire on the part of the peasant folk to own their homestead and land, and of the relative simplicity of the rural dwellings, which made for facility and cheapness of construction. Although there were no statistics on the national level regarding home ownership, the findings of this study bore out the belief of a high degree of home ownership among the rural residents. Table XI

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<sup>2</sup>Maurice Dartigue, Conditions Rurales en Haiti: Quelques Données Basées en Partie sur l'Etude de 884 Familles, Service National de la Production Agricole et de l'Enseignement Rural, Bulletin No. 13 (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1938), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Loc. cit.



PLATE IV. BUILDING A NATIVE "CAILLE" (DWELLING HOUSE) IN RURAL HAITI.



PLATE V. A TWO-ROOM NATIVE "CAILLE" (DWELLING HOUSE) IN RURAL HAITI, CHARACTERISTIC OF THE MORE WELL-TO-DO AND MIDDLE-CLASS PEASANT HOMES. (The walls are of adobe, and the roof is partially of thatch and partially of sheet iron; sometimes the roofs of the better rural dwellings are constructed entirely of sheet iron.)





PLATE VI. A NATIVE "CAILLE" (DWELLING HOUSE) IN RURAL HAITI WITH ITS SEVEN OCCUPANTS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE POORER-CLASS PEASANT HOMES. (The walls are of adobe, and the roof is of thatch and palm leaves.)



PLATE VII. A ONE-ROOM NATIVE "CAILLE" (DWELLING HOUSE) IN RURAL HAITI, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE POOREST TYPE OF PEASANT HOMES. (The walls are of plaited palm strips with no adobe, and the roof is of a poor grade of thatch.)

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TENURE OF DWELLING HOUSE<sup>1</sup>

Tenure of Dwelling House	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Owner. . . . .	96	87.3	74	98.7	131	91.0	50	66.7
Renter . . . . .	9	8.2	1	1.3	12	8.3	15	20.0
Gratis . . . . .	5	4.5	...	...	1	0.7	10	13.3
Total. . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0

<sup>1</sup>For the comparison of this table with the tables regarding house tenure which follow, it should be noted that 12 renters (1 of the upper group, 9 of the middle group, and 2 of the lower group) owned dwelling houses; that 1 gratis dweller of the lower group owned dwelling houses; and that 1 owner in the village of Gressier did not report the value of his dwelling.

shows that, of the 110 families studied in the village of Gressier, 96, or 87 per cent, owned the houses in which they were living. Only 9 families rented dwelling houses, and 5 lived gratis in houses belonging to someone else. Among the families of the dispersed samples, dwelling-house ownership was also high; and, as would be expected, the families of the middle-class sample owned the houses in which they were living to a greater extent than did the families of the lower-class sample. Similarly, the families of the upper-class sample owned the houses in which they were living to a greater extent than did the families of the middle-class sample. Almost 99 per cent of the upper-class families, 91 per cent of the middle-class families, and 67 per cent of the lower-class families were owners of the houses in which they were living; whereas

only 1 of the 75 upper-class families, 12 of the the 144 middle-class families, and 15 of the 75 lower-class families rented the houses in which they were living. It should be noted, as was pointed out in the footnote of Table XI, that 12 of the renters of the dispersed samples (1 of the upper group, 9 of the middle group, and 2 of the lower group) and 1 gratis dweller of the lower group owned dwelling houses, giving a dwelling-house ownership of 100 per cent for the upper-class families, 97.2 per cent for the middle-class families, and 70.7 per cent for the lower-class families. Living in dwelling houses of other people without paying rent was significant only among the lower-class families of the dispersed samples, where 10, or 13 per cent, of the 75 families were gratis dwellers. (See Table XI for more statistical details concerning tenure of dwelling houses.)

The houses rented by the families studied belonged either to private individuals or to the state, and the study showed that the majority (71.4 per cent) of the rented houses in the village of Gressier were privately owned. A similar situation existed for the dispersed samples, with a slightly larger proportion of the houses being state-owned. (See Table XII for statistical details.)

The study demonstrated that the rural folk who rented houses paid a relatively small amount for house rent. In the village of Gressier the annual house rent ranged from 5 to 20 "gourdes,"<sup>4</sup> with a median rent per

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<sup>4</sup>One "gourde" in Haitian currency equals \$0.20 in United States of America currency, and the "gourde" is by law exchangeable on demand and without expense at the fixed rate of 5 "gourdes" for 1 U.S.A. dollar. There are 100 centimes in 1 "gourde"; consequently 5 centimes equals \$0.01 in U.S.A. currency. The term "gourde" is used frequently in the following discussion and for simplification the quotation marks shall be omitted in the future.

TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE RENTED AND GRATIS DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE  
OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TYPE OF OWNERSHIP

Type of Ownership	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
State ownership. . . .	4	28.6	1	100.0	6	50.0	7	33.3
Private individual ownership. . . . .	10	71.4	...	...	6	50.0	14	66.7
Total. . . . .	14	100.0	1	100.0	12	100.0	21	100.0

family of 8.75 gourdes. The annual rent paid for houses by families of the dispersed samples was slightly higher generally. (See Table XIII for some statistical details.)

In the village of Gressier none of the families owning dwellings owned more than one; whereas in the dispersed samples most of the upper-class families and a few of the middle- and lower-class families owned two or more dwelling houses. The median number of dwelling houses owned for the dispersed samples was 2 for the upper-class families and 1 for the middle- and lower-class families. (See Table XIV.)

Ownership of houses other than dwellings was not important in the village of Gressier. Only 18, or 17 per cent, of the families studied owned houses other than dwellings; and among those owning such houses the median number per family was 1. For the dispersed samples ownership of houses other than dwelling houses was greater than for the village and this was particularly evident for the upper-class families. About 18 per cent of the lower-class families, 35 per cent of the middle-class families, and

TABLE XIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSE RENTERS OF THE VILLAGE OF  
GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY AMOUNT  
IN GOURDES OF TOTAL YEARLY HOUSE RENT PAID

Total Yearly House Rent in Gourdes Paid by House Renters	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 to 4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	9.1	2	18.2
5 to 9 . . . . .	6	66.7	1	100.0	4	36.4	3	27.3
10 to 14 . . . . .	1	11.1	...	...	6	54.5	3	27.3
15 to 19 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	18.2
20 to 24 . . . . .	2	22.2	...	...	...	...	...	...
25 and over. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9.0
Total. . . . .	9	100.0	1	100.0	11	100.0	11	100.0
Average yearly house rent per family, in gourdes:								
Mean. . . . .	9.56		5.00		8.55		12.64	
Median. . . . .	8.75		5.00		10.42		10.83	
Range in yearly house rent per family, in gourdes . . . . .								
	5-20		---		2-12		2-55	

TABLE XIV

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF  
THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF DWELLING HOUSES OWNED**

Number of Dwelling Houses Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	14	12.7	...	...	4	2.8	22	29.3
1 . . . . .	96	87.3	19	25.4	73	50.7	37	49.4
2 . . . . .	...	...	20	26.7	39	27.1	9	12.0
3 . . . . .	...	...	15	20.0	16	11.1	5	6.7
4 . . . . .	...	...	13	17.3	8	5.5	1	1.3
5 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	3	2.1	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	1	1.3
7 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 and over . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning dwellings .</b>	<b>96</b>		<b>75</b>		<b>140</b>		<b>53</b>	
<b>Of total families, percentage owning dwellings. . . . .</b>	<b>87.3</b>		<b>100.0</b>		<b>97.2</b>		<b>70.7</b>	
<b>Average number of dwellings per family, for those owning dwellings:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	1.0		2.9		1.8		1.5	
Median . . . . .	1.0		2.0		1.0		1.0	
<b>Range in number of dwellings owned per family . . . . .</b>	<b>0-1</b>		<b>0-13</b>		<b>0-6</b>		<b>0-6</b>	

63 per cent of the upper-class families owned houses other than dwellings; and among those owning such houses the median number per family was 2 for the upper class and 1 for the middle and lower classes. (See Table XV.)

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGES OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF HOUSES OTHER THAN DWELLINGS OWNED

Number of Houses Other than Dwellings Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	91	83.5	28	37.4	93	64.6	61	81.4
1 . . . . .	13	11.9	14	18.7	28	19.4	10	13.3
2 . . . . .	3	2.8	12	16.0	12	8.3	2	2.7
3 . . . . .	2	1.8	7	9.3	6	4.2	1	1.3
4 . . . . .	...	...	9	12.0	...	...	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	1	0.7	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1.3
8 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 and over . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	3	2.1	...	...
Total . . . . .	109	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
Number of families own- ing houses other than dwellings . . . . .								
	18		47		51		14	
Of total families, per- centage owning houses other than dwellings								
	16.5		62.7		35.4		18.7	
Average number of houses other than dwellings per family, for those owning other houses:								
Mean . . . . .	1.4		2.8		2.2		1.7	
Median . . . . .	1.0		2.0		1.0		1.0	
Range in number of houses other than dwellings owned per family . . . . .								
	0-3		0-14		0-12		0-7	

## 2. Physical Aspects of the Dwellings

The rural dwellings of Haiti were as a rule simply constructed and in general conformed in physical appearance to the description of the native "cailles" given above. The study demonstrated that for the village of Gressier and for the dispersed samples the majority of the rural dwellings were characterized by plaited wood walls with clay plastering, thatch roofs, earth floors, a small number of rooms and outside windows, and primitive housekeeping facilities.

Some statistical information regarding physical construction of the rural dwellings can be gained from Table XVI, which gives data concerning the material of the walls, roofs, and floors of the dwellings studied. With regard to types of wall material, of the 110 dwellings in the village of Gressier, over 93 per cent had walls of plaited wood with clay plastering; 6 had weatherboard walls; and 2 had thatch walls. There were no concrete walls on any of the houses of the village. Almost 95 per cent of the houses had thatch roofs; only 6 had roofs of sheet iron. Over 88 per cent of the houses had earth floors, 8 had rock or cement floors, 4 had brick floors, and 1 had a wood floor. With regard to the dispersed samples, the lower-class dwellings followed generally the same construction as the dwellings in the village of Gressier; but among the middle- and upper-class dwellings, and particularly the upper-class, there was a greater incidence of concrete walls; sheet iron roofs; and rock, cement, brick, and wood floors than in the lower-class sample and the village of Gressier. (See Table XVI for detailed statistics.)

With regard to number of rooms in the dwellings, the investigation showed that in the village of Gressier the majority of houses had 2 rooms.



TABLE XVI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TYPE OF MATERIAL FROM WHICH WALLS, ROOFS, AND FLOORS WERE CONSTRUCTED

Type of Wall, Roof, and Floor Material of Dwellings	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
<b>Types of Wall Material:</b>								
Plaited wood with clay plastering. . . . .	102	92.7	62	83.8	128	89.5	66	88.0
Weatherboard. . . . .	6	5.5	8	10.8	14	9.8	7	9.3
Thatch. . . . .	2	1.8	...	...	1	0.7	2	2.7
Concrete. . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	...	...	...	...
Others . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Types of Roof Material:</b>								
Thatch. . . . .	104	94.5	29	38.7	115	79.9	73	97.3
Sheet iron. . . . .	6	5.5	46	61.3	29	20.1	2	2.7
Others. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Types of Floor Material:</b>								
Earth . . . . .	97	88.2	26	35.1	97	67.4	70	93.4
Rock or cement. . . . .	8	7.3	33	44.6	39	27.1	4	5.3
Brick . . . . .	4	3.6	11	14.9	6	4.1	...	...
Wood . . . . .	1	0.9	4	5.4	2	1.4	1	1.3
Others. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Of the 110 houses, 1 had 1 room, 86 had 2 rooms, 14 had 3 rooms, and 1 had 5 rooms, giving a median number of rooms per dwelling of 2. The dwelling houses of the dispersed samples were comparable to those of Gressier as regards number of rooms. The median number of rooms per dwelling for the dispersed samples was 3 for the upper class and 2 for the middle and lower classes. (See Table XVII for some statistical details.)

The study showed a marked inadequacy as regards the number of windows in the dwellings. In the village of Gressier almost 45 per cent of the houses had no windows. For those having windows the median number of windows per dwelling was 2. Among the dwellings of the dispersed samples a similar situation existed with somewhat better conditions for the middle- and upper-class samples. The percentage of houses with no windows in the upper-, middle-, and lower-class samples was 10 per cent, 16 per cent, and 43 per cent, respectively; and the median number of windows per house for houses having windows was 3 for the upper-class, 2 for the middle-class, and 1 for the lower-class. (See Table XVIII for more statistical details.)

In the village of Gressier, of the 110 dwelling houses studied, almost three-fourths had porches and a little less than one-half were painted. A similar condition existed among the dwellings of the dispersed samples; and, as would be expected, the incidence of porches on houses as well as painted houses was greater among the upper-class dwellings than among the middle-class dwellings, and greater among the middle-class dwellings than among the lower-class dwellings.

The kitchens of the rural families of Haiti were for the most part located in the yard near the dwelling house. The characteristic kitchen

TABLE XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF ROOMS  
IN DWELLING

Number of Rooms in Dwelling	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 . . . . .	9	8.2	...	...	4	2.8	6	8.1
2 . . . . .	86	78.2	23	30.6	70	49.0	59	79.7
3 . . . . .	14	12.7	19	25.3	49	34.2	9	12.2
4 . . . . .	...	...	14	18.7	14	9.8	...	...
5 . . . . .	1	0.9	11	14.7	3	2.1	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	2	1.4	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	1	0.7	...	...
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	143	100.0	74	100.0
Average number of rooms per dwell- ing:								
Mean . . . . .	2.1		3.5		2.7		2.0	
Median . . . . .	2.0		3.0		2.0		2.0	
Range in number of rooms per dwelling								
	1-5		1-7		1-7		1-3	

TABLE XVIII

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF WINDOWS IN DWELLING**

Number of Windows in Dwelling	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	49	44.5	7	9.5	22	15.5	32	42.7
1 . . . . .	20	18.2	4	5.4	36	25.4	22	29.3
2 . . . . .	18	16.4	26	35.1	35	24.6	11	14.7
3 . . . . .	12	10.9	12	16.2	26	18.3	9	12.0
4 . . . . .	7	6.4	15	20.3	18	12.7	...	...
5 . . . . .	3	2.7	4	5.4	3	2.1	1	1.3
6 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	1	0.7	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
8 . . . . .	1	0.9	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of houses with windows. . . . .</b>	<b>61</b>		<b>67</b>		<b>120</b>		<b>43</b>	
<b>Of total houses, per- centage with windows . . . . .</b>	<b>55.5</b>		<b>90.5</b>		<b>84.5</b>		<b>57.3</b>	
<b>Average number of windows per house, for those with windows:</b>								
Mean. . . . .	2.3		3.1		2.4		1.8	
Median . . . .	2.0		3.0		2.0		1.0	
<b>Average number of windows per house, for all houses:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	1.3		2.8		2.0		1.0	
Median . . . .	1.0		2.0		2.0		1.0	
<b>Range in the number of windows per house.</b>	<b>0-8</b>		<b>0-7</b>		<b>0-8</b>		<b>0-5</b>	

had four upright posts in the yard, covered by a thatch roof and less frequently by a tin roof. In frequent cases there was no covering over the spot in the yard which was chosen for cooking the food. In the village of Gressier 108 of the 110 families studied had kitchens outside the house; and only 2 families had kitchens inside the dwellings. Slightly over one-half of the outside kitchens were thatch-covered, and the rest of the families had no covering over the spot in the yard which was used for cooking. With reference to the dispersed samples, all of the families except one had outside kitchens. As compared with the village of Gressier, more of the outside kitchens were covered, and, though most of the kitchens were thatch-covered, a few were covered with tin. The kitchens of the middle- and upper-class families were generally superior to those of the lower-class families. (See Table XIX for statistical details.) As regards cooking facilities, the study showed that all of the families of the village of Gressier used rocks to hold the cooking vessels steady. Among the families of the dispersed samples the majority used rock props, but some of the families used iron stands and masonry furnaces for holding the cooking vessels. The use of iron stands was more common than the use of masonry furnaces; this was especially the case among the upper- and middle-class families. (See Table XV of Appendix B for some statistical details.) Illustrations of kitchens and cooking facilities in rural Haiti are given in Plate VIII.

For lighting, kerosene lamps, pine knots, and candles were used by the rural families studied, with kerosene lamps being by far the most important type of lighting. In the village of Gressier 108 families used kerosene lamps, 2 families used pine knots, and no families used candles

TABLE XIX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TYPE OF KITCHEN

Type of Kitchen	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Kitchen inside dwelling. . . . .	2	1.8	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
Kitchen outside dwelling. . . . .	108	98.2	66	100.0	139	99.3	73	100.0
Thatch covered. . . . .	57	52.8	57	86.4	122	87.8	53	72.6
Tin covered . . . . .	...	...	6	9.1	2	1.4	...	...
No covering . . . . .	51	47.2	3	4.5	15	10.8	20	27.4
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	66	100.0	140	100.0	73	100.0

as the regular form of lighting. Likewise, among the dispersed samples most of the families used kerosene lamps. Pine knots were not used by any of the upper-class families, and they were more common among the lower-class than among the middle-class families. (See Table XVI of Appendix B for statistical details.)

The rural families studied secured their drinking water from springs, rivers and canals, wells, and cisterns, the first two sources being by far the most important. In the village of Gressier 103 of the 110 families secured water from springs; only 6 used water from streams; and 1 used water from a well for drinking. Among the families of the dispersed samples water from rivers and canals was most commonly used for drinking. In the rural parts it was observed that whenever springs were available, they were used in preference to streams to supply drinking



**PLATE VIII. KITCHENS IN RURAL HAITI.** (Usually the food is cooked on the ground under a "Tonnelle" [shed] made of banana or palm leaves as shown in the upper picture. Sometimes there is no shed covering the cooking place, as is the case shown in the lower picture. Note that stones are used as props for the cooking utensils.)

water. The greater use of water from streams among the families of the dispersed samples was probably due to the absence or scarcity of springs in the areas from which the families were chosen. For washing water, rivers and canals were used by the large majority of the families both of the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples. (See Table XX for statistical details regarding sources of drinking and washing water.) Plate IX illustrates that streams were used by the peasant folk for bathing as well as for drinking and washing clothes.

It was generally believed that the peasant families kept their modest dwellings clean and in a good state of repair. The study of the dwellings in the village of Gressier bore out this belief. Almost three-fourths of the houses were classed as clean at the time of the interview, and almost 85 per cent of the houses were considered to be in good physical condition. Among the dispersed samples, although the investigators expressed the opinion that the large majority of the upper- and middle-class dwelling houses were clean and in good physical condition, they reported that for the lower class sample only 39 per cent of the houses were clean and 25 per cent were in good repair. The subjective nature of the items considered may account in part for the wide variation between the findings in the village and those in the lower-class sample as regards cleanliness and physical condition of dwellings. (See Tables XVII and XVIII of Appendix B for some statistical details.)



TABLE XX

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY SOURCE OF WATER FOR DRINKING  
AND FOR WASHING**

Source of Water for Drinking and for Washing	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
<b>Drinking:</b>								
Spring. . . . .	103	93.6	27	36.0	44	30.6	18	24.3
River or canal. . .	6	5.5	39	52.0	85	59.0	43	58.1
Well. . . . .	1	0.9	9	12.0	14	9.7	10	13.5
Cistern . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	3	4.1
Other . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Washing:</b>								
River or canal . .	110	100.0	67	89.3	124	86.7	63	85.1
Spring. . . . .	...	...	6	8.0	9	6.3	6	8.1
Well. . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	9	6.3	4	5.4
Cistern . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	1	1.4
Other . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### 3. House Furnishings and Fixtures

It is generally stated by people who have investigated rural living conditions in Haiti that the rural dwellings are seriously lacking in furnishings and fixtures. In describing the furnishings of a typical native "caille," Edna Taft said:



**PLATE IX. STREAMS IN HAITI ARE USED BY THE PEASANT FOLK FOR WASHING CLOTHES AND FOR BATHING. (Note how the clothes are spread on the ground for drying.)**

The furniture consisted of a couple of crude native chairs, a table and a bed made by the man of the family. The furniture was not worth more than fifty cents. For dishes and pans the members of the household picked calabashes from the trees. Or there were several crude clay vessels from the "marché," but these cost only a few pennies.<sup>5</sup>

Maurice Dartigue, in his study of 584 rural families, was probably more accurate and realistic regarding house furnishings and fixtures when he wrote:

Almost half of the families studied know, more or less, the use of beds. However, it was observed that more often this practice does not apply to all the family members since there was but one bed per family. Also, in the majority of cases a bed exists in name only as the so called "bed" is made of boxes placed against each other or short stakes driven into the earth and joined together by boards. Only about 25 per cent of the families have pieces of furniture other than a bed, chairs and a table. This shows that 75 per cent of the families had only one table and a few chairs, while nearly 50 per cent had a bed in addition. The movable property of 75 per cent of these families represented a cash value of from 2 to 15 dollars. Certain peasants do not have a single table, nor any kitchen utensils, with the exception of a wooden spoon, one knife, large shell boilers and calabashes.<sup>6</sup>

The findings of this study in the matter of house furnishings and fixtures agree in essence with those of Dartigue. It may be stated that in general the rural dwellings had only the barest necessities in house furnishings and living facilities, and that those furnishings and facilities which did exist were usually of a crude and undeveloped character.

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<sup>5</sup>Edna Taft, A Puritan in Voodoo-Land (Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Co., 1938), p. 186.

<sup>6</sup>Dartigue, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

Tables XIX through XXV of Appendix B give the incidence of furniture, including beds, sleeping mats, chairs, tables, sideboards, presses, and other furniture, among the families of the village of Gressier and the dispersed samples. In Gressier the percentage of families owning one or more pieces of the various kinds of furniture was as follows: beds, 31.2; mats, 72.5; chairs, 93.6; tables, 83.5; sideboards, 13.8; presses, 1.8; and all other kinds, 13.8. The median number of pieces of furniture per family, for families owning that type of furniture, was as follows: beds, 1; mats, 2; chairs, 4; tables, 1; sideboards, 1; presses, 1; and all other kinds, 1. With regard to the dispersed samples, the ownership of furniture by the lower-class families was comparable to furniture ownership in the village of Gressier, with a slightly smaller percentage of families owning the various types of furniture. As compared with the lower-class families, the statistics show that a larger proportion of the upper- and middle-class families owned each type of furniture, and for each of the types of furniture the number of pieces owned was generally greater. The kinds of furniture most generally found in the peasant households were chairs, sleeping mats, and tables. (See Tables XIX through XXV of Appendix B for statistical details.)

With regard to selected living facilities and house furnishings not as necessary, perhaps, as those discussed above, it was found that the families of the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples were again seriously lacking. Of the 110 families of Gressier, 25 had flowers in their yards; 1 had window curtains; 9 had sewing machines; 1 received a newspaper; 1 had books in the home; 1 had a Bible; and no families had a mosquito bar, a radio, or a car. A similar scarcity of the above-named

items was noted for the lower-class families of the dispersed samples; but all the items, with the exception of mosquito bars, radios, and automobiles, existed to a considerably greater extent in the upper- and middle-class families. This was especially true of flowers in the yard and window curtains and books in the home. (See Table XXVI of Appendix B for detailed statistics.)

#### 4. Value of Houses and Furnishings

Upon consideration of the type and number of dwellings and other houses owned by the peasant folk, as well as the amount and type of furnishings in their houses, it becomes obvious that the houses and house furnishings of the rural family were of very little value compared to those of the more well-to-do urban dweller. The findings of the study on the value of houses and house furnishings owned by the families of Gressier and of the dispersed samples support the observation, but at the same time point out notable exceptions among the families studied.

The distribution by value in gourdes of the dwelling houses occupied by owners of the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples is given in Table XXI, where it can be observed that for Gressier the range in value per dwellings was from 70 to 250 gourdes, with a mean value per dwelling of 135.81 gourdes. In the case of the dispersed samples, the study showed, in connection with value per family of dwelling houses occupied, a considerable variation of median values between samples as well as a wide range of values in each sample. The upper-class families had dwellings ranging from 30 to 4,500 gourdes in value, with a median value per dwelling of 311.11 gourdes; the middle-class

TABLE XXI

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OCCUPIED BY OWNERS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES**

Value in Gourdes	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 49 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.8	15	11.4	17	34.0
50 - 99 . . . . .	21	22.1	4	5.4	21	16.1	9	18.0
100 - 149 . . . . .	37	39.0	8	10.8	15	11.4	10	20.0
150 - 199 . . . . .	27	28.4	3	4.1	11	8.4	3	6.0
200 - 249 . . . . .	9	9.5	14	18.9	33	25.2	8	16.0
250 - 299 . . . . .	1	1.0	1	1.4	4	3.0	1	2.0
300 - 349 . . . . .	...	...	9	12.2	6	4.5	1	2.0
350 - 399 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	4	3.0	...	...
400 - 449 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.1	6	4.6	1	2.0
450 - 499 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.8	...	...
500 - 599 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.8	...	...
600 - 699 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	3	2.3	...	...
700 - 799 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4	3	2.3	...	...
800 - 899 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3 <sup>1/2</sup>	4	3.0	...	...
900 - 999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3 <sup>1/2</sup>	...	...	...	...
1,000 - 1,999 . . . . .	...	...	10	13.5	3	2.4	...	...
2,000 - 2,999 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	1	0.8	...	...
3,000 - 3,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3 <sup>1/2</sup>	...	...	...	...
4,000 - 4,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3 <sup>1/2</sup>	...	...	...	...
5,000 and over . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Average value per dwelling, in gourdes:**

Mean . . . . .	140.21	592.50	248.60	101.18
Median . . . . .	135.81	311.11	205.30	94.44

**Range in value per dwelling, in gourdes. . .**

70-250	30-4,500	12-1,667	5-300
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<sup>1/2</sup> In adjusting the percentage figures to total 100 per cent, 1.35 in these instances were rounded to equal 1.3.

families had dwellings ranging from 12 to 1,667 gourdes, with a median value per dwelling of 205.30 gourdes; and the lower-class dwellings ranged in value from 5 to 300 gourdes, with a median value per dwelling of 94.44 gourdes. (See Table XXI for statistical details.)

Table XXII gives the distribution of the families studied according to the value of all the dwelling houses they owned. In Gressier, inasmuch as no family owned more than one dwelling house, there was no difference between the value of all dwellings owned and the value of dwellings occupied by owners as presented above. It can be observed that among the families of the dispersed samples who owned dwellings there was considerable variation between the samples with regard to median value per family of all dwellings owned, and a wide range within each sample in connection with the actual value per family of all dwellings owned. The range in value per family of all dwellings owned for the upper-, lower-, and middle-class families was, respectively, from 100 to 8,000 gourdes, from 20 to 5,000 gourdes, and from 5 to 500 gourdes. The median value per family of all dwellings owned was 678.57 gourdes for the upper-class families, 291.67 gourdes for the middle-class families, and 115.91 gourdes for the lower-class families. (See Table XXII.)

As regards value of houses other than dwellings, Table XXIII shows that for the village of Gressier there was a range per family of from 40 to 495 gourdes, with a median value per family of 112.50 gourdes. Considering the dispersed samples, the value per family of houses other than dwellings, ranged from 18 to 10,000 gourdes for the upper-class families, from 12 to 2,000 gourdes for the middle-class families, and from 10 to 240 gourdes for the lower-class families, giving a median value per family of

TABLE XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OWNING DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF ALL DWELLING HOUSES OWNED

Value in Gourdes	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 49 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	10	7.1	13	24.5
50 - 99 . . . . .	21	22.1	...	...	16	11.4	10	18.9
100 - 149 . . . . .	37	39.0	5	6.7	14	10.0	11	20.7
150 - 199 . . . . .	27	28.4	4	5.3	7	5.0	2	3.8
200 - 249 . . . . .	9	9.5	5	6.7	18	12.8	6	11.3
250 - 299 . . . . .	1	1.0	2	2.7	6	4.3	1	1.9
300 - 349 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	11	7.9	4	7.5
350 - 399 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	4	2.9	...	...
400 - 449 . . . . .	...	...	8	10.6	15	10.7	3	5.7
450 - 499 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	2	1.4	1	1.9
500 - 599 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	5	3.6	1	1.9
600 - 699 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.3	5	3.6	1	1.9
700 - 799 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	4	2.9	...	...
800 - 899 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	8	5.7	...	...
900 - 999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
1,000 - 1,999 . . . . .	...	...	12	16.0	9	6.4	...	...
2,000 - 2,999 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	4	2.9	...	...
3,000 - 3,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
4,000 - 4,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
5,000 - 5,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
6,000 - 6,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
7,000 - 7,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
8,000 - 8,999 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
9,000 - 9,999 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10,000 and over . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Total number of dwell- ings owned . . . . .</b>	<b>95</b>		<b>215</b>		<b>252</b>		<b>80</b>	
<b>Average value in gourdes of dwellings per family, for families owning dwellings:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	140.21		1,480.00		430.09		148.36	
Median . . . . .	135.81		678.57		291.67		115.91	
<b>Range of value in gourdes of all dwellings owned per family . . . . .</b>	<b>70-250</b>		<b>100-8,000</b>		<b>20-5,000</b>		<b>5-500</b>	



TABLE XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OWNING HOUSES OTHER THAN DWELLINGS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF THE HOUSES OTHER THAN DWELLINGS OWNED

Value in Gourdes	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 49 . . . . .	2	11.1	6	12.8	9	17.6	10	71.3
50 - 99 . . . . .	6	33.3	4	8.5	13	25.4	2	14.3
100 - 149 . . . . .	4	22.2	6	12.8	13	25.4	1	7.2
150 - 199 . . . . .	1	5.6	6	12.8	4	7.8	...	...
200 - 249 . . . . .	3	16.6	6	12.8	3	5.9	1	7.2
250 - 299 . . . . .	1	5.6	...	...	1	2.0	...	...
300 - 349 . . . . .	...	...	5	10.7	2	3.9	...	...
350 - 399 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	2.0	...	...
400 - 449 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	2.0	...	...
450 - 499 . . . . .	1	5.6	...	...	...	...	...	...
500 - 599 . . . . .	...	...	2	4.3	1	2.0	...	...
600 - 699 . . . . .	...	...	3	6.3	1	2.0	...	...
700 - 799 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
800 - 899 . . . . .	...	...	1	2.1	...	...	...	...
900 - 999 . . . . .	...	...	1	2.1	...	...	...	...
1,000 - 1,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	2.1	1	2.0	...	...
2,000 - 2,999 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	2.0	...	...
3,000 - 3,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	2.1	...	...	...	...
4,000 - 4,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	2.1	...	...	...	...
5,000 - 5,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	2.1	...	...	...	...
6,000 - 6,999 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7,000 - 7,999 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8,000 - 8,999 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9,000 - 9,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	4.3	...	...	...	...
10,000 and over . . . . .	...	...	1	2.1	...	...	...	...
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Total number of houses  
other than dwellings  
owned. . . . .

25

130

111

24

Average value in gourdes  
of houses other than  
dwellings per family, for  
those owning houses other  
than dwellings:

Mean. . . . . 150.73

1,089.95

193.86

52.29

Median. . . . . 112.50

212.50

113.46

35.00

Range of value in gourdes of  
all houses other than dwell-  
ing houses owned per  
family . . . . .

40-498

18-10,000

12-2,000

10-240

212.50 gourdes for the upper class, 113.46 gourdes for the middle class, and 35.00 gourdes for the lower class.

In the village of Gressier the value of furniture owned per family ranged from 1 to 160 gourdes, with a median value of furniture per family of 22.12 gourdes. Considering the dispersed samples, the range in value of furniture per family for the upper-, middle-, and lower-class families was, respectively, from 15 to 3,555 gourdes, from 1 to 901 gourdes, and from 1 to 132 gourdes. The median value of furniture per family was 172.92 gourdes for the upper class, 58.57 gourdes for the middle class, and 9.40 gourdes for the lower class. (See Table XXIV for statistical details.)

TABLE XXIV

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF  
THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF FURNITURE OWNED**

Value in Gourdes	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 4 . . . . .	8	7.3	...	...	3	2.1	18	24.7
5 - 9 . . . . .	11	10.1	...	...	10	6.9	21	28.8
10 - 14 . . . . .	11	10.1	...	...	9	6.2	14	19.2
15 - 19 . . . . .	19	17.5	1	1.3	12	8.3	8	10.9
20 - 24 . . . . .	13	11.9	...	...	4	2.8	2	2.7
25 - 29 . . . . .	17	15.6	...	...	2	1.4	3	4.1
30 - 39 . . . . .	14	12.9	1	1.3	15	10.4	...	...
40 - 49 . . . . .	7	6.4	2	2.7	11	7.6	2	2.7
50 - 59 . . . . .	3	2.8	3	4.0	7	4.9	1	1.4
60 - 69 . . . . .	1	0.9	3	4.0	8	5.6	...	...
70 - 79 . . . . .	1	0.9	1	1.3	9	6.2	...	...
80 - 89 . . . . .	1	0.9	5	6.7	1	0.7	1	1.4
90 - 99 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	6	4.2	1	1.4
100 - 149 . . . . .	1	0.9	13	17.4	15	10.4	2	2.7
150 - 199 . . . . .	2	1.8	12	16.0	9	6.2	...	...
200 - 249 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	4	2.8	...	...
250 - 299 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	2	1.4	...	...
300 - 349 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	6	4.2	...	...
350 - 399 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	3	2.1	...	...
400 - 449 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	3	2.1	...	...
450 - 499 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	2	1.4	...	...
500 - 999 . . . . .	...	...	6	8.0	3	2.1	...	...
1,000 and over. . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Average value in gourdes  
of furniture per  
family:**

Mean. . . . .	26.67	316.28	109.85	16.63
Median. . . . .	22.12	172.92	58.57	9.40

**Range of value in gourdes  
of furniture per  
family . . . . .**

1-160	15-3,555	1-901	1-132
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## CHAPTER IV

### HEALTH AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

The significance of a comprehension of the health and social participation factors to a complete study of the social organization of a people should not be minimized. It is well known that the health conditions of the members of a social group affect materially the group structure and processes, and that considerations of health are closely interrelated with the social participation and leisure-time activities of the group members.

The discussions of health and social participation in this chapter are developed through brief comments regarding the extent and nature of these phenomena on the national level, followed by more intensive treatments for the rural society generally and for the selected rural village and dispersed rural families which were studied in detail.

#### 1. Health

Prior to the American Occupation of Haiti, health administration was under the direction of a body of practicing physicians known as the "Jury Médical," which was first legally established in 1847.<sup>1</sup> This service did not take care of the health of the country in anything approaching an adequate manner, and at the time of the Marine Occupation

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<sup>1</sup> La Législation de l'Hygiène de l'Assistance Publique, 1840-1862, Bibliothèque du Service National d'Hygiène et d'Assistance Publique, Fascicule II, pp. 102-107.

it was estimated that some 70 to 80 per cent of the people were diseased with malaria, intestinal disorders, syphilis, and yaws.<sup>2</sup>

In 1919 a national public-health service was organized by the American Occupation group, and that organization exists with minor changes to the present day as the Département de la Santé Publique, headed by a Minister of State for Health.<sup>3</sup> For administrative purposes of the Department of Health, the country was divided into 10 districts. In each district there was a general hospital, a hospital dispensary, and rural dispensaries and clinics, making a total of 10 hospitals, 10 hospital dispensaries, and 134 rural dispensaries and clinics for the nation.<sup>4</sup> The hospitals were located in the chief towns of the districts, the hospital dispensaries functioned as a part of the hospitals, and the rural dispensaries were located in various rural population centers. The labors of these institutions consisted primarily of treatment of disease cases, public-health work, and sanitation, with the remedial work being most emphasized.

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<sup>2</sup> Monograph of Haiti, United States Marine Corps (Division of Operations and Training, Intelligence Section, 1932), Sections 105-100.

<sup>3</sup> Prior to 1945 the health service of Haiti was known officially as the "Service National d'Hygiène et d'Assistance Publique." It was then a service in the Department of Interior and was headed by a Director General.

<sup>4</sup> See Chester W. Young, "Section de Biostatistiques," Rapport Annuel du Directeur Général, 1942-1943, Service National d'Hygiène et d'Assistance Publique, Port-au-Prince, République d'Haiti (Août 1944), pp. 163-170 for a discussion of the organization of the National Health Service of Haiti.

In addition to the institutions of the National Department of Health, there were several other government and private hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries, most of them located in the capital city. In consideration of the estimated 3,000,000 population of Haiti and its many health and sanitation needs, it can be stated with certainty that the organized medical, public-health, and sanitation services and facilities were not sufficient. This was especially true for the rural population, since most of the physicians and medical institutions and services which did exist were found in the large towns and cities, and poor means of transportation, poverty, and illiteracy prevented the bulk of the rural masses from taking full advantage of existing facilities. The result was that many of the rural folk had little or no contact with modern health and sanitation practices. They depended on midwives, who in the majority of instances were not licensed, for attendance at childbirths and frequently upon "leaf doctors," known locally as "docteurs feuilles,"<sup>5</sup> or voodoo doctors, called "boccor,"<sup>6</sup> in times of illnesses. In Haiti, and especially among the peasants, home remedies in which herbs, barks, native fruits, and sometimes magic and superstition were utilized were very common.

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<sup>5</sup>A "docteur feuille" in Haiti was a person who prescribed and used certain herbs in the preparation of teas, lotions, ointments, or poultices employed in the treating of illnesses. In some instances magic was used in connection with the herbs.

<sup>6</sup>A "boccor" was a voodoo doctor who utilized magic in the treatment of diseases. The "boccor" was consulted also in matters other than illnesses. The "boccor," like the "docteur feuille," sometimes made use of herbs in the treatment of illnesses.

Although public-health statistics on a national scope are limited and inadequate, the citing of certain data regarding activities of the medical and public health institutions and services of the Department of Public Health, which comprehend the bulk of all medical services of the nation, furnishes some idea of the medical and public-health services of the country. During 1944 there were 22,851 admissions in the 10 hospitals, with a daily average of 1,132 patients interned. In the same year there were 7,287 operations in the hospitals, comprehending 2,537, or 34.8 per cent, major operations and 4,750, or 65.2 per cent, minor operations; 102,733 laboratory examinations of blood, urine, feces, and sputum; 1,937 x-ray examinations; and 142 autopsies. In the hospitals during 1944 there were 4,340 births, of which 4,067, or 93.7 per cent, were live births and 273, or 6.3 per cent, were stillbirths. In the dispensaries of the health service there were 405,811 consultations given during 1944, of which 259,380 were in the hospital dispensaries and 146,431 were in rural dispensaries. Other activities of importance in the dispensaries during the same year included 304,357 dressings; 106,906 anti-venereal and anti-yaw treatments; and 33,719 injections other than anti-venereal and anti-yaw injections.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> For further statistics regarding the medical statistics of the National Health Service of Haiti, see Chester W. Young, "Section de Biostatistiques." Rapport Annuel du Directeur Général, 1943-1944, Service National d'Hygiène et d'Assistance Publique, Port-au-Prince, République d'Haiti (1945), passim.

An examination of existing medical statistics and literature revealed that, among the diseases most current in rural Haiti, were syphilis and yaws, malaria, and intestinal diseases. In this regard Maurice Dartigue has quoted from the 1926-27 Annual Report of the Director General of the National Health Service as follows:

There are three great maladies which affect the rural masses, the number of those which have not been attacked by one or the other is very small. These diseases, diseases due to spirochetes (yaws and syphilis), malaria, and intestinal parasites, fortunately are diagnosed easily and are treated without great difficulty. Spirochete diseases (yaws and syphilis) are the worst Haitian sicknesses, causing more suffering, infirmities and economic loss than all the diseases existing in Haiti put together.<sup>8</sup>

It has been estimated that from 75 to 85 per cent of the rural people of Haiti have yaws,<sup>9</sup> and that the disease was more prominent among children than among adults. Concerning this matter Dr. Camille Lherisson has written:

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<sup>8</sup> Maurice Dartigue, Conditions Rurales en Haiti: Quelques Données Basées en Partie sur l'Etude de 884 Familles, Service National de la Production Agricole et de l'Enseignement Rural, Bulletin No. 13 (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1938), p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Yaws is an infectious disease caused by *Treponema pertenue*, an organism which is morphologically identical with the spirochete of syphilis. Yaws resembles syphilis in some respects but shows enough difference for it to be regarded as a separate, though closely allied, disease. For further discussion of yaws in general and yaws in Haiti, see Howard Fox, M. D., "Yaws," Journal of the American Medical Association (October 23, 1943), passim; and C. S. Butler, "Yaws and Syphilis. Two Diseases or One?" American Journal of Clinical Pathology, IV (March, 1943), 239-241.



The most common disease in our country districts is yaws. Among 2,564 persons examined in the different districts in the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince the Rockefeller Mission found 78 per cent affected with yaws. The disease is common among the young. Among 3,289 cases examined by Dr. Wilson, Dr. Mathis and the writer...in 1929 61.1 per cent were children under 10.<sup>10</sup>

Malaria has been known in Haiti since the discovery of the Island, and it is generally stated that the majority of the inhabitants of Haiti suffer from malaria one or more times or all time during their lifetime. Dr. Wilson<sup>11</sup> reported in 1928 that, of 2,007 children examined in various parts of the country, an average percentage of 50.52 were affected by malaria; and Dr. Lhérisson<sup>12</sup> stated in 1935 that, among 4,439 persons examined in different places during the surveys of the Rockefeller Mission, 67 per cent showed malarial parasites in the blood.

As regards syphilis, yaws, and malaria treated in the hospitals and dispensaries of the National Department of Health, records show that there were 44,371 cases of yaws in 1944 as compared with 48,759 in 1943; 32,474 cases of syphilis in 1944 as compared with 30,406 in 1943; and 10,984 cases of malaria in 1944 as compared with 9,303 in 1943. Recent missions such as those of the Rockefeller Foundation,

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<sup>10</sup> Camille Lhérisson, M. D., "Diseases of the Peasants of Haiti," American Journal of Public Health, XXV (August, 1935), 927-928.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. P. W. Wilson, "Contribution à l'Etude de la Malaria et de la Microfilaire par l'Examen de 11,000 Travailleurs et de 2,007 Enfants," Bulletin de la Société de Médecine d'Haiti, No. 7, 2e. année (Juillet, 1928), passim.

<sup>12</sup> Lhérisson, op. cit., p. 927.

the Health and Sanitation Section of the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the United States Army Medical Service have made efforts to combat yaws, syphilis, malaria, and other infectious diseases in Haiti; but not much of a permanent nature has been accomplished.

In rural districts intestinal infections were common, especially among children, and for the most part took the form of dysenteries or enteritis. Dr. Lhérisson,<sup>13</sup> writing in 1935, estimated that intestinal infections caused by bacilli (Flexner, Shiga) affected yearly about 25 per cent of the rural population, and that the type caused by *Eudameba Hystolitica* affected from 10 to 20 per cent of the country population.

Other diseases common among the people of Haiti were chronic nephritis, hookworm, gusarola, and tuberculosis. The five major types of illnesses following the International Nomenclature of Causes of Death<sup>14</sup> treated in the hospitals and dispensaries of the Department of Health of Haiti in 1944 were in order of importance: (1) infectious and parasitic diseases, with 193,052 cases, or 56.0 per cent of the total disease cases; (2) diseases of the skin and cellular tissue, with 44,534 cases, or 12.9 per cent of the total cases; (3) diseases due to injuries or poisonings, with 22,701 cases, or 6.6 per cent of the total cases; (4) diseases of the nervous system and sense organs, with 21,030

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 925.

<sup>14</sup>Nomenclature Internationales des Causes de Décès 1938 (Publiée avec le concours du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de la République Française, par l'Institut International de Statistique, la Haye, 1940), pp. 54-70. The morbidity figures were taken from Chester W. Young, "Section de Biostatistique," Rapport Annuel du Directeur Général, 1943-1944, passim.

cases, or 6.1 per cent of the total cases; and (5) diseases of the digestive system, with 15,503 cases, or 4.5 per cent of the total cases.

In the matter of dental hygiene, recent investigations of Dr. Jules Thébaud, cited by Maurice Dartigue,<sup>15</sup> indicated, contrary to popular belief, that Haitians were very much in need of dental care. Among 10,574 school children examined from 1932 to 1937 by the "Service Dentaire Scolaire Rural," in rural or semi-rural localities, there were found 39,930 cases of decay and only 636 school children using a tooth brush or a "bois dent," a piece of wood used in cleaning the teeth. Of 74,825 school children examined in all parts of the Republic from 1931 to October 1937, only 9,933 had healthy gums and teeth and only 4,568 had their whole set of teeth. It is significant to note that, among the 108 families studied in the village of Gressier, 100, or 92.6 per cent, reported that no member of their families had ever had dental work of any kind.

In the village of Gressier organized health activity was centered about a dispensary of the National Health Service which served the village as well as the entire commune.<sup>16</sup> The dispensary was under the supervision of a resident sanitary inspector who had one assistant. (See Plate X for an illustration of the dispensary of Gressier.) The sanitary

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<sup>15</sup> Dartigue, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

<sup>16</sup> Since the study in Gressier was completed a yaws clinic was established in the village by the American Sanitary Mission in Haiti. People came to the clinic from all parts of the Commune as well as from adjoining communes. It was reported that several hundred people were given treatment for yaws on each clinic day, which was several times each week.



**PLATE I. THE DISPENSARY OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER.**

inspector reported that his duties included visiting the homes to check on general cleanliness; inspecting privies; assisting with drainage to control the breeding of mosquitoes; inspecting the food sold at the market to insure cleanliness; inspecting animals before they were killed for meat; and insuring the cleanliness of the river and spring, the chief sources of water supply for the village. The sanitary officer received a salary of 60 gourdes per month.

Every fifteen days two doctors from Port-au-Prince held a clinic at the dispensary in Gressier. People came to the clinic from all parts of the commune for treatment of any and all types of diseases and conditions. The doctors reported that yaws, syphilis, malaria, and intestinal parasites were probably the most common diseases treated in the clinic, and that an average of about 75 persons were treated on clinic days. There was no resident physician in Gressier, and in cases of serious illness requiring medical attention patients would go to the hospital or see a physician in Port-au-Prince.

In the village of Gressier over three-fourths of the families reported fever as the major illness experienced by the family during the year previous to the survey. Among the other illnesses reported by some families were yaws, headaches, rheumatism, stomach trouble, colds, and eye trouble. A similar incidence of disease conditions was reported by the families of the dispersed samples, with little variation between the upper-, middle-, and lower-class groups. (See Table XXV for statistical details concerning illnesses among the families studied.)

TABLE XXV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY MAJOR ILLNESSES EXPERIENCED DURING  
THE PRECEDING YEAR

Major Illnesses Experienced During the Preceding Year	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No illness . . . . .	...	...	4	5.5	9	6.3	...	...
Fever . . . . .	82	75.2	45	61.6	83	58.5	44	59.5
Typh . . . . .	7	6.4	3	4.1	12	8.5	7	9.5
Rheumatism . . . . .	5	4.6	3	4.1	7	4.9	3	4.0
Stomach trouble . . . . .	4	3.7	4	5.5	5	3.5	5	6.8
Headache . . . . .	7	6.4	2	2.7	6	4.2	1	1.3
Toothache . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	7	4.9	6	8.1
Colds . . . . .	1	0.9	5	6.9	...	...	...	...
Eye trouble . . . . .	1	0.9	...	...	...	...	1	1.3
Other illnesses . . . . .	2	1.9	5	6.9	13	9.2	7	9.5
Total . . . . .	109	100.0	73	100.0	142	100.0	74	100.0

As regards amount and nature of medical services received from the National Health Department, the study showed that, for the 109 families considered in the village of Gressier, 17 per cent received no services; the remainder received, in order of importance, internal medicine (52 per cent), injections (24 per cent), external medicine (4 per cent), and unspecified services (3 per cent). Among the families of the dispersed samples, as compared with Gressier, there was a greater percentage for each of the samples who did not receive any type of medical service from the National Department of Health. With regard to medical services received, the type and degree for the dispersed samples were similar to

these found in the village of Gressier, and there were no significant differences between the several socio-economic groups. (See Table XXVI for some statistical details.)

TABLE XXVI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY CHIEF TYPE  
OF MEDICAL SERVICE RECEIVED FROM THE  
NATIONAL HEALTH DEPARTMENT

Chief Types of Medical Services Received	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No services received. . .	19	17.4	20	27.4	41	28.5	26	35.1
Received services, but not specified . . . . .	3	2.8	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
Internal medicine . . .	57	52.3	40	54.8	85	59.0	37	50.0
External medicine . . .	4	3.7	1	1.4	3	2.1	3	4.1
Injections . . . . .	26	23.8	10	13.7	15	10.4	8	10.8
Other services . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total . . . . .	109	100.0	73	100.0	144	100.0	74	100.0

The residents of Gressier and of the dispersed samples, in addition to taking advantage of the scientific medical services available, also used the services of the so-called "docteurs feuilles" and "boccos." It was reported that there were approximately 10 "docteurs feuilles" and 25 "boccos" active in the Commune of Gressier, and that they lived principally

in the mountains outside the village. The officials of Gressier looked upon the "docteurs feuilles" as beneficial, but they considered the "boccor" harmful. With regard to the type of attendance in the last serious illness in the family prior to the time the study was made, it was found that in the village of Gressier only 30 per cent of the families were attended by medical doctors only; 29 per cent were attended by "docteurs feuilles" only; 1 per cent by "boccor" only; and 37 per cent by a medical doctor and a "docteur feuille" or a "boccor." A similar type of attendance was noted for the dispersed samples, with less frequent use of medical doctors and more frequent use of "boccor" and "docteurs feuilles" in the lower-class families, and more frequent use of medical doctors and less frequent use of "boccor" and "docteurs feuilles" in the upper-class families. The middle-class families had generally an intermediate position between the upper-class and lower-class families. (See Table XXVII for statistical details.)

As regards type of attendance at childbirth, the study demonstrated that the large majority of the families in the village of Gressier and the dispersed samples had midwives. In Gressier, for the last childbirth in the family previous to the making of the study, over three-fourths of the families had a midwife; 21 per cent of the families had hospital deliveries; and 2 per cent had a medical doctor at the home. A similar situation existed for the dispersed samples, with a slightly higher frequency of midwife attendance and fewer hospital deliveries. The greater percentage of hospital deliveries in the village of Gressier may be



TABLE XXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TYPE OF ATTENDANCE AT THE LAST  
SERIOUS ILLNESS IN THE FAMILY

Type of Attendance at Last Serious Illness	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No attendance. . . . .	3	2.7	2	2.6	3	2.1	2	2.7
Attendance of a medi- cal doctor only. . .	33	30.3	39	52.0	47	33.1	13	17.6
Attendance of a "Docteur Feuille" only . . . . .	32	29.4	20	26.7	61	43.0	37	50.0
Attendance of a "Boccor" only. . . .	1	0.9	6	8.0	18	12.7	18	24.3
Attendance of a medical doctor and a "Docteur Feuille" or a "Boccor"	40	36.7	8	10.7	13	9.1	4	5.4
Total. . . . .	109	100.0	75	100.0	142	100.0	74	100.0

attributed principally to its nearness to Port-au-Prince, the capital city, where more hospital facilities were available than in any other section of the country. (See Table XXVIII for statistical details.)

In reply to an inquiry regarding the immediate medical needs, of 107 families in the village of Gressier, 46, or 43 per cent, expressed no need. The rest of the families expressed, in order of importance, need of treatment for the following conditions: rheumatism, stomach trouble, bad eyes, chronic headaches, sores and ulcers, and general weakness.

TABLE XXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TYPE OF ATTENDANCE AT THE  
LAST CHILDBIRTH IN THE FAMILY

Type of Attendance at Last Childbirth	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No help. . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	5	3.7	7	9.9
Went to hospital . .	22	21.4	5	6.7	3	2.2	1	1.4
Had a medical doctor	2	1.9	2	2.7	1	0.8	...	...
Had a midwife. . . .	79	76.7	64	85.3	126	93.3	63	88.7
Total. . . . .	103	100.0	75	100.0	135	100.0	71	100.0

## 2. Social Participation

In Haiti social participation and leisure-time activity ranged all the way from highly formalized activity and participation to the most informal types of association. Formal social interaction was found for the most part in the cities and especially in the capital city; whereas leisure-time activities of an informal type characterized the rural parts. In the several large population centers of the country the social life of the elite consisted of such urban diversions as cocktail parties, formal and informal dinners both official and private, theater attendance, formal and informal dances, frequenting of night clubs, week-ends at country places, and participation in the activities of social clubs and special-interest societies and organizations. The urban residents

who did not belong to the "société" had in comparison a smaller number of less formal leisure-time activities.

The rural leisure-time pursuits included primarily conversation and informal visiting; singing, dancing, and storytelling;<sup>17</sup> the playing of simple games such as cards and dominoes; and the attending of cock-fights, church services, and religious and national feast day celebrations. Of no less importance to the rural folk as social diversions were their activities in connection with rural marketing, such as the going to and from the market place in the company of friends and the bargaining which always accompanied the buying and selling of merchandise; their attendance at marriages and funerals and participation in the ceremonies and rituals connected therewith; and their performance of work through informal cooperative group efforts, known as the "coumbite." The expressions and implications of these activities as means of recreation and diversion, as well as economic and institutional culture patterns of the rural people, are phenomena which warrant detailed sociological study and analysis. (See Chapter VI for brief discussions of the rural market and the "coumbite" in Haiti.)

In addition to the above forms of leisure-time activities, sex and the consumption of intoxicating liquors were important among the peasant folk of Haiti as diversions. The peasant people drank mostly "taffia" and "clairin," which are unrefined grades of rum.

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<sup>17</sup>For a discussion of storytelling in Haiti and for samples of Haitian folk tales, see (1) Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain, "Creole Tales from Haiti," The Journal of American Folklore, Edited by Ruth Benedict, Vol. I (July-September, 1937), passim; and Creole Tales from Haiti, Part II, Reprinted from The Journal of American Folklore, Vol. LI (1938), passim; and (2) George E. Simpson and J. B. Cinéas, "Folktales of Haitian Heroes," The Journal of American Folklore, LIV (July-December, 1941), 176-185.

The significance of singing and dancing to the rural folk in Haiti was well expressed by George Eaton Simpson as follows:

From birth until death singing is an activity of no small importance in the lives of Haitian peasants. Men and women sing while they are at work in the fields. They sing at Catholic masses, "Vodoun" ceremonies, funeral wakes, and "bals." Songs are alternated with tales during an evening of story telling, and children often sing as they play games in the moonlight. There are songs of love, war, work, injustice, suffering, adventure, scandal, and miraculous events. Some of the songs are satirical, some are philosophical, and others are a mixture of these and other elements. Most of the songs, like peasants songs in general, have a melancholic, plaintive quality.<sup>18</sup>

Dancing, like singing, has always been one of the most important diversions in Haiti. It afforded pleasure of an informal and convenient nature and in many instances relief from suffering. Since the beginning of Haitian history it has been an indispensable part of the life of all social classes, from the most rural peasant to the urban élite.<sup>19</sup>

In Gressier social participation was neither varied nor highly organized. Eleven per cent of the families studied reported no leisure-time activity of adult members; 70 per cent named attendance at church festivals and 13 per cent gave dancing as their chief adult leisure-time pursuits. A small proportion of the families mentioned the attendance at cockfights, the playing of cards and dominoes, and storytelling and singing as their chief leisure-time activities. Those activities observed in Gressier, and in addition the visiting of friends, were

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<sup>18</sup>George Eaton Simpson, "Peasant Songs and Dances of Northern Haiti," The Journal of Negro History, XXV (April, 1940), 203.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 209-210.

named as the chief types of leisure-time activities of the adult members of the families of the dispersed samples. (See Table XXIX for statistical details.) With regard to the leisure-time activities of children, of the 80 families with children studied in Gressier, 14, or 18 per cent, reported no leisure-time activity; 60, or 75 per cent, named unorganized games; and 6 named dancing as the chief leisure-time pursuits. Although a greater variety of leisure-time pursuits was given by the families of the dispersed samples, the playing of unorganized games was by far the most frequently named leisure-time activity. Other forms of leisure-time activity were soccer, storytelling and singing, marbles, and card playing. (See Table XXX.)

It was observed in the village of Gressier that a large proportion of the families of the village went to neighboring communities to visit relatives and to take part in the amusements and special diversional activities of those communities. Almost 82 per cent of the families studied in Gressier stated that they participated in amusements of neighboring villages; and 71 per cent stated that they went to neighboring villages for the purpose of visiting relatives. A similar type of visitation was reported by the families of the dispersed samples, and it is interesting to note that visitation was greater for the upper-class families than for the middle-class families, and greater for the middle-class families than for the lower-class families. (See Tables XXVII and XXVIII of Appendix B for statistical details.)

The study showed that the use and ownership of musical instruments was not important in the village of Gressier. Only one family reported owning a phonograph; the others reported having no type of musical

TABLE XXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY THE CHIEF TYPE OF LEISURE-TIME  
ACTIVITY ENGAGED IN BY THE ADULTS OF THE FAMILY

Leisure-Time Activity Engaged in by the Adults	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No leisure-time activity. . . . .	11	10.5	9	12.3	22	15.5	12	16.9
Boxfights. . . . .	3	2.9	18	24.7	44	31.0	29	40.8
Church festivals. . .	73	69.5	2	2.7	2	1.4	...	...
Cards and dominoes. .	3	2.9	20	27.4	29	20.4	13	18.3
Dancing . . . . .	14	13.3	10	13.7	13	9.2	6	8.5
Visiting friends. . .	...	...	11	15.1	26	18.3	6	8.5
Storytelling and singing . . . . .	1	0.9	3	4.1	3	2.1	3	4.2
Other activities. . .	...	...	...	...	3	2.1	2	2.8
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>

instrument in the home. The statistics for the dispersed samples demonstrated a slightly greater ownership of musical instruments than that which existed in Gressier, and this was especially noticeable for the upper- and middle-class families. (See Table XXIX of Appendix B.)

There were no special organizations or societies existing in Gressier at the time the study was made, and only one family of the village had affiliations with specialized activity groupings. This family was affiliated with three special organizations in neighboring communities. The families

TABLE XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF  
THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY THE CHIEF TYPE OF LEISURE-TIME  
ACTIVITY ENGAGED IN BY THE CHILDREN OF THE FAMILY

Leisure-Time Activity Engaged in by the Children	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No leisure-time activity. . . . .	14	17.5	11	16.7	23	17.3	12	20.3
Unorganized games . .	60	75.0	22	33.3	61	45.8	25	42.4
Soccer. . . . .	...	...	10	15.2	19	14.3	5	8.5
Dancing . . . . .	6	7.5	6	9.1	5	3.8	3	5.1
Storytelling and singing . . . . .	...	...	3	4.5	10	7.5	6	10.1
Marbles . . . . .	...	...	7	10.6	6	4.5	5	8.5
Card playing. . . . .	...	...	3	4.5	5	3.8	2	3.4
Other activities. . .	...	...	4	6.1	4	3.0	1	1.7
Total . . . . .	80	100.0	66	100.0	133	100.0	59	100.0

of the dispersed samples reported a greater affiliation with special organizations than that which existed in the village, and it was noted that the upper- and middle-class families had considerably more affiliations than did the lower-class families. (See Table XXX of Appendix B for some statistical details.) Plates XI through XV are illustrations of several types of recreational activities and other diversions in rural Haiti.



PLATE XI. ATTENDING A "BAMBOCHE" (PEASANT DANCE) IN RURAL HAITI.  
 (Upper: the author and the country folk on their way to the dance.  
 Note the musician with his guitar. Lower: the dance in progress under  
 a "tonnelle" [a shed covered with palm leaves]. The peasant folk are  
 dancing the "meringue," the national dance of Haiti.)





PLATE XII. "GAGUEBE" (COCKFIGHTING) IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER, ONE OF THE MOST POPULAR SPORTS IN RURAL HAITI. (Upper: a peasant man on his way to the cockfight with his fighting bird. Lower: the rest period between rounds in the cockfighting arena. Note the seconds attending the fighting cocks.)



**PLATE XIII. THE CATHOLIC PRIEST OF THE PARISH OF GRESSIER BLESSING THE NEWLY LAUNCHED SAILBOAT OF A LOCAL RESIDENT. (The Catholic Priest is white and from France, as are most of the Catholic Clergy of Haiti.)**



**PLATE XIV. THE EPISCOPAL BISHOP AND NATIVE CHURCH DIGNITARIES FROM THE CAPITAL CITY ATTENDING A CHURCH FESTIVAL IN THE COMMUNE OF GRESSIER. (The Bishop is from the United States and is of the white race.)**



**PLATE XV. SCENES OF A FUNERAL IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER. (Upper left: friends at the home of the deceased. Upper right: a relative of the deceased wearing a black mourning band and his "Sunday best." Lower left: leaving the home of the deceased with the corpse. Lower right: the funeral procession reaching the cemetery.)**

## CHAPTER V

### GOVERNMENTAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY

Among the fundamental institutions of all societies, those of government, education, and religion rank high. In Haiti the roles of these phenomena in the social organization and processes were observed to be interesting and significant.

It has been found useful in the treatments of government, education, and religion in this chapter to give in each instance a brief general description of the organization on the national level, with special reference to the rural society, and to follow the general description by a more detailed treatment of the organization and expressions at the local level, with particular emphasis on the rural families studied intensively.

#### 1. Government

Article 14 of the Constitution of the Republic of Haiti,<sup>1</sup> the constitution in effect at the time this study was made, stated that the government of Haiti was republican and democratic. The constitution further provided that the Republic of Haiti was governed by three powers: the executive power, the legislative power, and the judicial power.

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<sup>1</sup>Constitution de la République d'Haiti, Ratifiée par le plébiscite de Juin 1935, révisée par le référendum populaire du 23 Juillet 1939, et amendée par l'Assemblée Nationale le 19 Avril 1944.

The executive power was exercised by a citizen who took the title of President of the Republic. The president was elected for a term of seven years by the National Assembly, a joint meeting of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies; and his mandate could be renewed. The president resided in the National Palace in the capital city, and he received a salary of \$2,000.00 monthly. The president appointed and revoked secretaries of state; he appointed, without reference to the legislative power, all civil, judicial, and military officers; and he could revoke all, except judges of the Court of Cassation and civil courts. All the president's acts, except those appointing the secretaries of state, had to be signed by him and countersigned by the secretary of state charged with the execution of the matter.

The legislative power was exercised by two assemblies--a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. A union of the two bodies constituted a National Assembly. The Senate was composed of 21 members, 10 of whom were named by the president; the other 11 were elected by the Chamber of Deputies from 2 lists of 3 candidates for each seat. One of these lists was furnished by the president, and the other was supplied by electoral colleges. The Chamber of Deputies was composed of 37 members chosen by popular vote. The senators held office for 6 years and the deputies for 4, and they received a monthly salary of \$250.00. The legislative body met in regular session for 3 months each year, beginning on January 15. The members of the legislative body were drawn from all parts of the country.

The judicial power was exercised by a supreme court, called a "Tribunal de Cassation," and two lower courts, called "Tribunaux Civils"

and "Tribunaux de Paix," and in special cases by military courts, called "Tribunaux Militaires." Supreme-court judges were appointed for 10 years, civil-court judges for 7 years; and their tenure could not be revoked except at the expiration of their terms. The "Tribunal de Cassation," which sat in the capital city, was composed of a president, a vice-president, and 9 judges. The court passed on the procedure of cases already judged by the inferior courts. The "Tribunaux Civils" had jurisdiction over civil, commercial, criminal, and correctional cases; and there was one each in the chief centers of the 12 jurisdictions of the Department of Justice. Each court was presided over by a chief judge called a "doyen," and there was attached to each court a "Commissaire du Gouvernement," government attorney, and a number of assistants. In each commune or important quartier there was a "Tribunal de Paix," presided over by a "Juge de Paix," justice of the peace, who was assisted by a "Juge-Suppleant," assistant judge. The "Tribunaux de Paix" heard all cases involving amounts not exceeding 600 gourdes.

For government administration, Haiti had government departments of Education, Commerce, Agriculture, Finance, Interior, Justice, Public Works, Religion, Labor, Foreign Affairs, and Public Health; and the control of the several departments was allotted to 6 secretaries of state. Several of the ministries of state had assistant secretaries of state. The secretaries of state formed a Council of State, presided over by the president of the Republic or by one of their members delegated by the president. This Council was held at the National Palace, and any decision or executive act or projected law which was originated by the president or a secretary of state was, before being presented to the Chamber of Deputies

and Senate, approved by the Council of the Secretaries of State.

The president appointed six delegates called "Délégués du Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif," who were representatives of the executive power in the six largest population centers outside the capital city. These delegates were the chief civil officials of their respective areas and were accountable directly to the president.

Haiti had an armed force, known as the "Garde d'Haiti," which was established for internal and external security. The "Garde d'Haiti" performed both military and police duties, for it was the only constituted and recognized armed force of the Republic. In 1942 it was composed of approximately 200 officers; 3,000 enlisted men; 25 warrant officers; 550 members of the rural police; and 1,100 aides to the rural police. The army was commanded by a colonel, and the military ranks were similar to those of the United States Army. Haiti also had a small Coast Guard service.

The local administration of each of the 104 communes of the Republic was administered by three citizens chosen by a special assembly composed of certain classes of taxpayers. One of the three citizens thus chosen was appointed mayor of the commune, called "Magistrat Communal," by the president of the Republic for a period of four years.

Government and politics in Haiti were dominated by the president, who could, and did in many instances, exercise almost dictatorial power. In actuality, history has shown that Haiti has been a democracy in name only. Any form of opposition to the government in power in the past was promptly crushed, or, if not, the government was overthrown and a new government formed. At the time this study was made there were no political parties

of any importance in Haiti, and political parties which sprang up from time to time were of a temporary nature. The only opposition which ordinarily could be of any danger to the administration in power was an opposing faction developed in the army. The president in power, however, usually took care of this possible opposition by sending potential opposition army men to foreign countries on long-time official assignments. Newspaper articles, printed pamphlets, and propagators comprised the three chief means of spreading propaganda in Haiti, and usually all of these were effectively controlled by the administration in power.

The ambition of Haitians, especially those with some schooling, was to obtain a government position. No merit system existed, and the chief means of securing a position was through gaining favor of the president or his most powerful representatives. George Eaton Simpson has properly described the condition thus:

A man may have no special training for a post, but the important thing is for him to make himself indisputably respectable by obtaining a political appointment. Flattery of those in power at the moment has been the surest, and almost the only, way to succeed in politics. Congratulatory letters to the President, laudatory articles in the newspapers, articles on the opponents of the government, and spending much time at the National Palace or at the Palaces of the ministers have paid political dividends. This type of campaign has replaced the old electoral campaign in which the candidate promised everything to the people. Candidates go through the motions of conducting a campaign, but the sole voter is the President.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>George Eaton Simpson, "Haitian Politics," Social Forces, XX (May, 1942), 459.



The seat of local government in Haiti was the commune, and the commune government was the only type of government which the rural peasant had any appreciable knowledge of or contact with. The government activities of the Commune of Gressier were centered for the most part in the village of Gressier, the chief center of the commune. The civil and military officials of importance in the village of Gressier, in addition to the sanitary inspector discussed in the preceding chapter, were the members of the "Conseil Communal," Commune Council; the members of the "Garde d'Haiti," army and police; the "Juge de Paix," justice of the peace; the "Préposé des Contributions," tax collector; and the "Officier d'Etat Civil," civil registrar.

The leading civil official in Gressier was the mayor, "Magistrat Communal." The mayor was president of the Commune Council, which included two other members. All were native to the local community and were appointed by the president of the Republic for a period of four years but were subject to removal at the pleasure of the president. The mayor received a salary of 75 gourdes monthly; the other two Council members received a monthly salary of 35 gourdes each. The mayor employed a secretary to the Council. The office of the Commune Council was the city hall, "Hotel de Ville." The city hall of Gressier, a three-room modest structure of native construction, was in the center of the village next to the open market place. (See Plate XVI for a picture of the "Hotel de Ville" in the village of Gressier.) The furnishings of the building consisted of a small table and three chairs in the center room, several crude Haitian flags, and a picture of the president of the Republic. The mayor listed the duties of the Commune Council as follows: look after the interest of the commune;



PLATE XVI. THE "HOTEL DE VILLE" (CITY HALL) IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER.



PLATE XVII. THE "BUREAU DES CONTRIBUTIONS" (TAX COLLECTOR'S OFFICE)  
IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER.

receive certain government taxes; assist in public health and sanitation; repair public buildings; and maintain the cemetery, public parks, and roads. It was reported that each month the members of the Council met to discuss the welfare of the commune. Decisions taken by the Council on matters falling within its jurisdiction were published under the form of "Arrêtes" and had to be approved by the Secretary of State for Interior before being put into action. The mayor stated further that the Council had little power and few functions since the collection of taxes had been taken over for the most part by the special tax collectors. The mayor became acquainted with the conditions of the village by making inspections of public places and visiting with the residents, and he made periodic horseback trips into the outlying parts of the commune for inspection purposes. In the Commune of Gressier, as was the condition in most communes, the mayor was one of the leading citizens of the community as well as the most important civil official of the local area.<sup>3</sup>

The Garde d'Haiti personnel in the Commune of Gressier consisted of a sergeant, the chief officer; a corporal; and two soldiers who were stationed in the Garde Post of the village; and of two rural police, known as "Chef de Section," who were stationed in the rural sections of the commune. The Garde Post was an attractive, well constructed masonry

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<sup>3</sup>The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Sauveur Vericain, Mayor of Gressier, and to the two other members of the Commune Council, Diubone LaBorde and Retaüs Augustin, for their co-operation and assistance in making the study of the village of Gressier.

structure of three rooms. The center room was used for administration; one of the side rooms was used for sleeping quarters of the sergeant, corporal, and soldiers; and the other side room was used as a jail. The Garde Post had the only telephone in the village of Gressier. A table, several chairs, and a small cabinet made up the furniture of the administration room, and on the walls of the room was a map of the commune, a picture of the president of the Republic, five guns, and several clubs. A national flag was raised over the building at 8:00 o'clock each morning and taken down at sunset. The members of the police reported that their duties were to maintain peace and social order in the commune for the good of society and the government. They reported that only occasionally trouble occurred in the commune center, but that stealing and fighting were frequent in the near-by mountains. No trouble of a political nature had occurred in the commune to the knowledge of the police. People guilty of offenses such as stealing and public scandal, which included principally arguments and fighting, were arrested by the members of the police and were taken to the justice of the peace for trial. If they were found guilty, they were fined from 5 to 10 gourdes or imprisoned for one month. At the time the writer visited the Garde Post there were six prisoners, all of whom had been found guilty of stealing. The prisoners were required to clean and perform needed repairs to the police station and premises. The sergeant, corporal, and soldiers were not natives of the commune, having been stationed in the village only several months previously. They reported that members of the "Garde d'Haiti" were transferred from one station to another

every six months to a year to prevent their making close friends and establishing strong ties in any one community. The Chiefs of the rural sections were natives of the commune, and they lived permanently in the rural sections in which they served. These rural police went into the village every Saturday to report to the sergeant. The sergeant received a salary of 100 gourdes; and the corporal, soldiers, and rural police each received 50 gourdes per month. In addition to the salary, the regular army men received a certain subsistence allowance, and it was noted that the Chiefs of the rural sections had private sources of income, chiefly from agricultural activities. The rural police were individuals of the highest socio-economic position in their respective rural sections. (See Plate XVIII for views of the "Garde d'Haïti" in the village of Gressier.)

The "Tribunal de Paix" in Gressier was staffed by a judge, "Juge de Paix;" one assistant, "Juge-Suppléant;" and a secretary. The judge and his assistant were appointed by the president, and the secretary was named by the judge. They were all subject to dismissal at any time. The "Juge de Paix," who had been serving in Gressier for two years, received a monthly salary of 86 gourdes; his assistant and secretary each received 43 gourdes per month. The "Tribunal de Paix," courthouse, was a one-room native masonry building in poor repair. (See Plate XIX for illustrations of the "Tribunal de Paix" and its staff in the village of Gressier.) The furnishings of the courthouse included a small table covered with a cloth of red velvet, several chairs, two crude benches, and a wooden cabinet. The judge reported



**PLATE XVIII. THE "GARDE D'HAITI" (CONSTABULARY) IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER. (Upper: the constabulary post. Lower left: the sergeant and the corporal, constabulary officers. Lower right: prisoners.)**



**PLATE XIX. THE "TRIBUNAL DE PAIX" (COMMUNE COURTHOUSE) AND ITS STAFF IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER. (Shown in the lower picture is the "Juge de Paix" [Justice of the peace] with the assistant judge at his left and the secretary at his right.)**

that the purpose of the court was to assure justice to all residents of the commune. The court convened each day on Mondays through Thursdays for cases involving public scandals, including arguments and fights, and on Fridays for cases in which money and property were involved. The defendants were defended by either a lawyer or a "fondé de pouvoir," a person claiming some law and public-speaking ability but who was not a licensed lawyer, depending on the defendant's ability to pay for such services. Cases involving bloodshed or death, and civil cases in which more than 600 gourdes were involved, were taken to Port-au-Prince for trial. Records showed that there was an average of about 25 cases per month in the "Tribunal de Paix" in Gressier. It is interesting to note that the commune judge ranked high in the social hierarchy of the community.

Taxes were collected in the Commune of Gressier by a "Préposé des Contributions," tax collector, who had his office in the "Bureau des Contributions," tax office. The "Préposé des Contributions" was assisted by three collectors in the village and three in the rural parts of the commune outside of the village. The tax office was a crude but solidly constructed one-room masonry building equipped with a wooden cabinet, a small table, and several chairs. Plate XVII is an illustration of the "Bureau des Contributions" in the village of Gressier. Four types of taxes were collected in the commune as follows: (1) taxes on merchandise sold either in the open market or in retail stores, (2) rent on state-owned lands, (3) taxes on the manufacture of alcohol and syrup, and (4) personal taxes for an identity card. At the open market all



sellers were taxed 10 centimes of a gourde per day. Those who sold cooked food were taxed 10 centimes daily in addition, and the sellers of such manufactured merchandise as cloth and oils had to possess in addition to the daily tax a selling license which cost 2 gourdes yearly. A charge of 2 gourdes was made on an animal killed for sale outside the market. A retail merchant with a permanent establishment had to pay a minimum tax of 15 gourdes yearly and 5 gourdes in addition for the sale of tobacco or alcohol. The average yearly rent collected on state-owned land in Gressier was about 6 per cent of the value of the land, and the tax collector stated that the yearly rent ranged from about 3 or 4 gourdes per acre for poor land to around 20 gourdes per acre for good land. For the "guildive," the plant for the manufacture of alcohol and syrup, the tax, beginning at 100 gourdes, was assessed in accordance with size. Each adult person in the village was required to purchase an identity card each year. The charge for an identity card was 1 gourde for the unemployed and those employed at 100 gourdes or less per month, 2 gourdes for those making from 100 to 200 gourdes per month, and 5 gourdes for those making from 200 to 500 gourdes per month. Most of the residents of Gressier were in the 1-gourde category.

The "Officier d'Etat Civil" in the village of Gressier had the duty of recording births, deaths, marriages, divorces, and legitimizations in the legal register; making declarations of divorces; delivering marriage licenses; and performing civil marriages for the entire Commune of Gressier. Established fees were charged for the recording

of acts and the performance of marriage ceremonies. The registrar received as payment for his services 40 per cent of the amount of all fees collected, and his share averaged about 50 gourdes monthly. Deaths that occurred in the rural parts were reported to the registrar by the rural police. The "Bureau de l'Etat Civil," registration office, in Gressier was a crude one-room masonry building in bad repair. The furnishings included a table, several chairs, and a wooden cabinet for storing the registers. (See Plate XX for illustrations of the "Officier d'Etat Civil" and the "Bureau de l'Etat Civil" of Gressier.)

Gressier did not have a resident "notaire," public notary, but the notary from the near-by town of Léogâne went to Gressier on market days, three days each week. The duties of the notary public in Gressier were concerned primarily with the sale and purchase of land and the writing of mortgages and contracts. Notary charges were about 20 per cent of the value of the property or amount of money involved.

## 2. Education

In the educational system of Haiti, which was patterned after the French system, there existed various categories of schools. Classified according to type and degree of training, there were (1) schools for primary education, "Enseignement Primaire," including the first 6 to 8 years of schooling; (2) schools for secondary education, "Enseignement Secondaire," including 2 to 4 years of schooling following primary education; (3) schools for higher education, "Enseignement Supérieur," including 2 to 4 years of schooling following secondary education;



**PLATE XX. THE "OFFICIER D'ETAT CIVIL" (CIVIL REGISTRAR) AND THE "BUREAU D'ETAT CIVIL" (CIVIL REGISTRATION OFFICE) IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER.**

(4) schools for professional education, "Enseignement Professionnel," including law, medicine, engineering, and agricultural and industrial training; and (5) normal schools, "Ecoles Normales," for the training of teachers.

From the standpoint of control and subsidy the schools were either public or private. Public schools were administered and financed by the state; whereas the private schools were operated by either private individuals or religious sects. The national educational authorities exercised certain pedagogical supervision over the private schools, and in some instances subsidized them. Public schools were government-supported and were free to the students; the private schools charged students certain fees. The great majority of the private schools was controlled by the Catholic clergy, and they were proportionately more numerous in the cities and towns than in the rural parts.

In the matter of government administration there were two educational services: (1) urban education, officially designated as the "Direction Générale de l'Enseignement Urbain," in the Department of Public Instruction, and (2) rural education, the "Service National de l'Enseignement Rural," in the Department of Agriculture and Labor. The School of Medicine and Pharmacy and the Dental School were administered by the National Health Service in the Department of Interior; the Law School was administered by the Department of Justice; and the School of Applied Science and Engineering was administered by the Department of Public Works.

Haitian law provided for compulsory school attendance of all children of both sexes between the ages of 10 and 14 years. This law, however, was but laxly enforced in both the urban and rural areas, and particularly in the rural parts. The scarcity of schools, difficulties of transportation and travel, and the extreme poverty of the greater part of the population were important among the factors that rendered enforcement of the law impossible.

Educational activity in Haiti was limited by a budget which was small in comparison to the educational needs. For the fiscal year 1943-1944, the budget for urban education was 2,739,591.11 gourdes; and the budget for rural education and agricultural extension service was 2,384,961.97 gourdes, amounting together to 12.2 per cent of the total government budget for that year.<sup>4</sup> Since a large part of the educational appropriation was utilized for administration and for salaries of teaching personnel, little remained for the improvement and expansion of school facilities and equipment. Specific detriments to improvement of education in Haiti which merit mention were the low salaries of teachers; the poor transportation facilities of the country; the scarcity of schools, especially in rural regions; the limited equipment and teaching facilities in the schools which did exist; the wide use of "Créole," an unwritten French patois, instead of French, the

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<sup>4</sup> Annual Report of the Fiscal Department, Fiscal Year 1943-44, Banque Nationale de la République d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince), p. 9.

national language;<sup>5</sup> and the extreme poverty of a large part of the population. It should be noted also that an adherence to the French system of education, which emphasized the classical and theoretical phases of learning rather than the practical arts, has done much to retard the Haitian educational system. Fortunately, the present-day educational leaders were making strong effort to emphasize the practical in educational endeavors.

Statistics for the rural<sup>6</sup> and urban<sup>7</sup> educational services of the Republic of Haiti for the school year 1942-1943 showed that there were 506 schools with 778 teachers in the rural educational service and 335 schools with 1,676 teachers in the urban education service. There were 43,811 pupils, including 30,445 boys and 13,265 girls, enrolled in the rural schools; and 49,493 enrolled in the urban schools. Among the rural schools 402 were public and 86 private;

<sup>5</sup>For comprehensive analyses of Haitian "Créole," see (1) Jules Faine, Le Créole dans l'Univers: Etudes Comparatives des Parlers Créoles (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1939), 2 vols. passim.; and Philologie Créole: Etudes Historiques et Etymologiques sur la Langue Créole d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1936) passim.; (2) Melville J. Herskovits, Life in a Haitian Valley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1937), pp. 22-24; and (3) John Lobb, "Caste and Class in Haiti," The American Journal of Sociology, XLVI (July, 1940), 27.

<sup>6</sup>Rapport Annuel, Exercice 1942-43. Service National de la Production Agricole et de l'Enseignement Rural, Département de l'Agriculture et du Travail, Bulletin No. 33 (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Imprimerie de l'Etat), pp. 112-122.

<sup>7</sup>Tables et Graphiques Statistiques de l'Enseignement Urbain, 1942-1943, Direction Générale de l'Enseignement Urbain, Département de l'Instruction Publique (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Imprimerie de l'Etat), pp. 8-12.

among the urban schools 191 were public and 144 private. Of the 506 rural schools, 278 were for boys, 105 for girls, and 123 for both boys and girls. Of the 191 public urban schools, 84 were for girls, 82 for boys, and 25 for both boys and girls. For all of the public rural schools in 1942-1943 there was a percentage-pupil-attendance, (total pupil-enrollment-days compared with total pupil-present-days), of 70.9; and for the public urban schools the yearly percentage-pupil-attendance was 83.6.

From the foregoing statistics it can readily be seen that the number of schools in Haiti was not adequate for its 3,000,000 population, and that the inadequacy was more marked in the rural parts than in the urban areas. It can be stated with certainty that the total school enrollment represented only a fraction of the entire population of school-age children in the nation. A review of the statistics demonstrates that this observation was especially true for the rural population and was more pronounced for girls than for boys.

No accurate statistics existed regarding the educational status of Haiti's population, but it was generally estimated that approximately 85 per cent of the total population was illiterate.<sup>8</sup> A small portion of the population, however, was extremely well educated, having received advanced education in Europe and in the United States.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The Monograph of Haiti, United States Marine Corps (Division of Operations and Training, Intelligence Section, 1932), Sections 205-100 states that "it is estimated that 90 per cent of the population of the Republic of Haiti are illiterate."

<sup>9</sup> For further discussions of the educational system in Haiti, see (1) Dantes Bellegarde, La Nation Haitienne (Paris: J. de Gigord, Editeur, 1936), pp. 223-307; and (2) Monograph of Haiti, op. cit., Sections 205-100.

In the village of Gressier there were two one-room public schools of the "Ferme Ecole," farm school, type--one for boys and the other for girls. The schools, which were situated in the same yard, were sturdy buildings in good repair. The grounds were well kept, and the school site was one of the most attractive in the community. Each of the schools was of the primary type and was divided into three grades--beginners, intermediates, and advanced. Each of the three grades had two divisions, making a total of six grades in each school. The two male teachers of the boys' school and the one female teacher of the girls' school in Gressier received their training in Port-au-Prince. The teachers were residents of Port-au-Prince, but they lived in the village during the week and returned to their residences on week-ends. Illustrations of the schools and their instructors are given in Plate XXI.

For the 1940-1941 school year there were 105 students registered in the boys' school and 70 registered in the girls' school of Gressier. The enrollment was distributed among the various classes as follows:

<u>Name of Class</u>	<u>Boys' School</u>	<u>Girls' School</u>
Beginners-1	70	57
2	11	4
Intermediates-1	10	4
2	4	3
Advanced-1	7	2
2	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	105	70

The pupils came from the village of Gressier and the surrounding community, but the number enrolled represented only a small part of all





**PLATE XXI. THE NATIONAL "FERME ECOLES" (FARM SCHOOLS) OF GRESSIER AND THE SCHOOL TEACHERS. (Upper: the farm school for boys. Lower: the school teachers and the author in front of the farm school for girls.)**

the children of school age in the area. It should be noted that there were in the Commune of Gressier outside of the village of Gressier three small Catholic church schools and two Protestant church schools. Of the 105 enrolled in the boys' school of Gressier, 33, or 31.4 per cent, were from the village of Gressier, and the rest were from the surrounding area. In the girls' school, of the 70 enrolled, 44, or 62.9 per cent, were from the village of Gressier, and the rest from the surrounding area.

It is interesting to note that the average ages of students for their respective grades in school in Gressier were extremely high. In the boys' school the average age for the first-year beginners was 11.6 years; for the second-year beginners, 13.4 years; for the first-year intermediates, 13.5 years; for the second-year intermediates, 14.5 years; for the first-year advanced, 16.0 years; and for the second-year advanced, 18.7 years. In the girls' school the average age for the first-year beginners was 9.4 years; for second-year beginners, 13.5 years; for first-year intermediates, 14.0 years; for second-year intermediates, 14.7 years; and for first-year advanced, 16.5 years.

Classroom records showed that attendance at school in Gressier was irregular and poor. For the school year 1940-1941 the percentage-pupil-attendance was 55.5 for the boys' school and 74.7 for the girls' school. Out of an average daily enrollment of 99.8 pupils in the boys' school during the 1940-1941 school year, the average daily attendance was only 54.4 pupils. In the girls' school, with an average daily enrollment of 49.7 pupils for the school year of 1940-1941, the average

daily attendance was 37.2 pupils. Plate XXII gives illustrations of the boys and girls enrolled in the schools of the village of Gressier.

The schools in Gressier were used only occasionally as the meeting place for community gatherings, and it should be noted that community meetings were not highly developed activities either in the village of Gressier or in the surrounding rural parts. Special organizations of a literary and social nature were lacking completely in the schools of the village.

The study of families in the village of Gressier and in the dispersed communities revealed limited school contacts for both male and female family heads and for the children of school age. With regard to male family heads, in the village of Gressier it was found that, of the 95 heads, almost 72 per cent had no schooling; and that, for the 27 heads who had school experience, there was a range in number of years of schooling of from 1 to 16 years. The median number of years of schooling per head for those with school experience was 3 years; and the median number of years of schooling per head considering all heads reporting was 1 year. With regard to the dispersed samples, the male heads of families of the lower-class sample had slightly less school experiences than the male heads of the village of Gressier; whereas the male heads of the middle- and upper-class families had considerably more school experience than the male heads of Gressier and the lower-class families. It was found that 78 per cent of the lower-class male family heads, 53 per cent of the middle-class male family heads, and 38 per cent of the upper-class male family heads had had no



**PLATE XIII. PEASANT BOYS AND GIRLS OF THE "FERME ECOLES" (FARM SCHOOLS) IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER. (Upper: the boys of the school posing for a picture with their teachers. Lower: some girls of the school demonstrating basket-weaving under the supervision of their teacher.)**

schooling, and that the median number of years of schooling for those with school experience was 2 years for the lower class and 5 years for the middle and upper classes. (See Table XXXI for statistical details concerning years of schooling of male heads of families studied.)

The study demonstrated that school experience was considerably less common among the female heads of families than among the male heads of families for the village of Gressier and for the dispersed samples. Only 19 per cent of the female heads of Gressier had had school training. For the dispersed samples, only 24 per cent of the female family heads of the upper and middle classes and 3 per cent of the female family heads of the lower class had schooling. The median number of years of schooling per female head for those with schooling was 2 for the village of Gressier, 4 for the upper- and middle-class samples, and 1.5 for the lower-class sample. The median number of years of schooling per female head for all female heads reporting was zero for Gressier and zero for each of the dispersed samples. (See Table XXII.) Additional statistical data concerning literacy status of the heads of the families studied are given in Table XXXI of Appendix B.

Regarding school contacts of children 6 years of age and over, the study showed that over one-third of the children of the village of Gressier had no school contacts. The situation was similar for the children of the lower-class families of the dispersed samples, but there was a considerably larger proportion of the children in the

TABLE XXXI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING

Number of Years of Schooling of Male Heads of Households	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	68	71.5	28	38.4	75	53.2	57	78.1
1 . . . . .	7	7.3	2	2.7	7	5.0	7	9.6
2 . . . . .	4	4.2	6	8.2	13	9.2	4	5.5
3 . . . . .	6	6.3	7	9.6	4	2.8	2	2.7
4 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	6	4.3	3	4.1
5 . . . . .	3	3.1	6	8.2	10	7.1	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	9	12.3	8	5.7	...	...
7 . . . . .	1	1.1	1	1.5	1	0.7	...	...
8 . . . . .	1	1.1	6	8.2	6	4.3	...	...
9 . . . . .	1	1.1	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 . . . . .	1	1.1	4	5.5	4	2.8	...	...
11 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
12 . . . . .	2	2.1	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
13 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
15 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
16 . . . . .	1	1.1	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of male heads with schooling . . .</b>	<b>27</b>		<b>45</b>		<b>66</b>		<b>16</b>	
<b>Of total male heads, percentage with schooling . . . . .</b>	<b>28.4</b>		<b>61.6</b>		<b>46.8</b>		<b>21.9</b>	

(Continued on next page)

TABLE XXXI (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING

Number of Years of Schooling of Male Heads of Households	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Average number of years of schooling per male head, for those with schooling:								
Mean . . . . .	4.5		5.6		5.3		2.1	
Median . . . . .	3.0		5.0		5.0		2.0	
Average number of years of schooling per male head, for all male heads reporting:								
Mean . . . . .	1.3		3.5		2.5		0.5	
Median . . . . .	1.0		3.0		0.0		0.0	
Range in number of years of schooling per male head . . . .								
	0-16		0-15		0-15		0-4	

families of the middle- and upper-class samples with school contacts.

(See Table XXXIII for statistical details.)

### 3. Religion

When studying religion and religious institutions in Haiti one must consider primarily the Catholic religion, several Protestant religious sects, and voodooism. The study of religions in Haiti showed that

TABLE XXXII

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING**

Number of Years of Schooling of Female Heads of Households	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	81	81.0	53	75.7	105	76.1	63	97.0
1 . . . . .	7	7.0	1	1.4	2	1.5	1	1.5
2 . . . . .	3	3.0	...	...	5	3.6	1	1.5
3 . . . . .	4	4.0	5	7.2	6	4.4	...	...
4 . . . . .	1	1.0	3	4.3	4	2.9	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.3	5	3.6	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	4	2.9	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
8 . . . . .	2	2.0	4	5.7	2	1.5	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
10 . . . . .	1	1.0	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
11 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
12 . . . . .	1	1.0	1	1.4	1	0.7	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of female heads with schooling . . . . .</b>	<b>19</b>		<b>17</b>		<b>33</b>		<b>2</b>	
<b>Of total female heads, percentage with schooling . . .</b>	<b>19.0</b>		<b>24.3</b>		<b>23.9</b>		<b>3.1</b>	
<b>Average number of years of schooling per female head, for those with schooling:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	<b>3.5</b>		<b>5.1</b>		<b>4.8</b>		<b>1.5</b>	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	<b>2.0</b>		<b>4.0</b>		<b>4.0</b>		<b>1.5</b>	

(continued on next page)



TABLE XXXII (continued)

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING

Number of Years of Schooling of Female Heads of Households	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Average number of years of schooling per female head, for all female heads reporting:								
Mean . . . . .	0.7		1.2		1.2		0.1	
Median . . . . .	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	
Range in number of years of schooling per female head . . . . .								
	0-12		0-12		0-12		0-2	

TABLE XXXIII

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NATURE OF SCHOOL CONTACTS OF CHILDREN SIX YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

Nature of School Contacts	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Never have been to school . . . . .	25	35.7	5	7.2	16	12.2	21	33.9
Have been to school . . . . .	45	64.3	64	92.8	115	87.8	41	66.1
Total . . . . .	70	100.0	69	100.0	131	100.0	62	100.0

freedom of worship and religion was provided by the constitution and that the nation had a government Department of Cultes, headed by a minister of state. The national budget for the fiscal year 1943-1944 allotted 395,030.07 gourdes, or 0.9 per cent of the total budget, for the Department of Cultes.<sup>10</sup> Most of this appropriation was allocated to the Catholic Church.

Roman Catholicism, which began in Haiti with the coming of the Catholic colonists from Spain and France, predominated in the nation. Montavon has said that "on the island of Haiti, Mass was first celebrated in America."<sup>11</sup> At the time of the Independence, the French clergy was expelled with the French masters, and Haiti was a half-century without religious or educational leadership. In spite of this interruption of Catholic religious dominance, Haiti remains today overwhelmingly Catholic.<sup>12</sup> In 1860 the government of Haiti made a religious treaty, called a Concordat, with the Holy See which made possible the firm entrenchment of the Catholic religion in the country; and this treaty, which has been strengthened and expanded by subsequent agreements, exists to the present.<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that in Haiti there

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<sup>10</sup> Annual Report of the Fiscal Department, Fiscal Year 1943-44, Banque Nationale de la République d'Haiti, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> William F. Montavon, "Haiti, Past and Present" (An address given before the 1930 meeting of the Catholic Association for International Peace held in Washington, D. C.) (Washington: Legal Department, 1930), p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 4-5.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of this treaty, see Bellegarde, La Nation Haitienne, pp. 315-319.

was no confusion of civil with ecclesiastical authority, or union of church and state, as the term is generally understood. Rather, the government of Haiti, believing that the Catholic Church and religion were essential to the well-being of the Haitian people, agreed to co-operate with the clergy and make provisions to subsidize the church. The Catholic Church, in turn, undertook to establish orders and institutions throughout Haiti, including churches, chapels, schools, hospitals, asylums, orphanages, and other similar institutions. In actuality it has worked out that the Catholic Church has exercised a large influence in many phases of Haitian governmental and political life, at both national and local levels. During the past several decades, however, this influence has declined considerably.

The ecclesiastical province of Haiti was divided into dioceses, one of which was designated an archdiocese, and the dioceses were in turn subdivided into parishes for Catholic Church administration. The Bulletin de la Quinzaine<sup>14</sup> for January of 1941 listed 5 dioceses and 115 parishes, with an estimated total Catholic population of 2,663,000. The extent of the archdiocese and the four dioceses corresponded to the 5 departments of the nation, and the extent of the 115 church parishes coincided roughly with the 104 communes or divisions of communes. The chief church official of the country was an archbishop. Each diocese was under the control of a bishop, and each parish had one or more parish

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<sup>14</sup> La Bulletin de la Quinzaine: Statistique Générale du Clergé et des Congrégations Religieuses de la Province Ecclésiastique d'Haiti, 17<sup>e</sup> ème. Année (Dimanche, 26 Janvier 1941), Nos. 18-19, Port-au-Prince, 1941.

priests. Throughout the nation Sisters and Brothers were engaged in the teaching activities of the various church schools. All government hospitals and several private hospitals had Catholic Sisters in charge of nursing. Statistics compiled for 1936 showed that Haiti had 208 priests engaged in ministerial and teaching activities, 105 Brothers, and 366 Sisters; and that there were one or more parish churches in each church parish, 465 mission chapels, 153 rural schools, 17 Brothers' schools, 36 Sisters' schools, one girls' industrial school, and four colleges.<sup>15</sup>

The large majority of the priests, Brothers, and Sisters were of the white race and were foreign-born. Most of these Catholic leaders were French, but a small number were Belgian, Canadian, and American. There was a seminary in Port-au-Prince for training of Haitians for the clergy, and the Haitian government subsidized a seminary in France for the special training of missionaries for Haiti. It is interesting to note that, in spite of the long history and dominance of Catholicism in Haiti, only very few natives have become priests, Brothers, and Sisters.

The larger population centers of Haiti had several churches and church schools, and each of the rural commune centers had at least one parish church. In most church parishes there were, in addition to the parish church, several chapels in the outlying parts that depended on the parish church.

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<sup>15</sup>Monograph of Haiti, op. cit., Section 207-100.

Protestantism was introduced into Haiti in the early years of the nineteenth century by King Christophe, who entrusted the direction of the schools of Cap-Haitien to Anglican pastors. The first Wesleyan missionaries arrived in 1816 and were cordially received in the western part of the country by President Pétion.<sup>16</sup> In spite of its early introduction into Haiti, it was not until relatively recent that Protestantism, in comparison with Catholicism, has made progress in number of adherents. The chief Protestant sects in Haiti, with approximate number of adherents, as of 1942 were Episcopal, 25,000; Baptist, 16,000; Adventist, 8,774; Wesleyan Methodist, 3,900; and African Methodist Episcopal, 2,800.<sup>17</sup> The total estimated Protestant population of 54,774 is small compared to the estimated Catholic population of 2,663,000 in 1941. Several other Protestant sects are to be found in Haiti, but they are unimportant numerically.

Since most of the Protestant activity was missionary work; the lot of the Protestant religions has been different from that of the Catholic Church, which was government subsidized. Several of the Protestant denominations received a very small subsidy from the Haitian government. As far as their limited resources permitted, Protestants have established church missions and schools in most of the larger cities, towns, and villages of the country and in many of the more isolated rural

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<sup>16</sup> Dantès Bellegarde, Haiti and Her Problems, The University of Puerto Rico Bulletin, Series VII, No. 1 (September, 1936), p. 13

<sup>17</sup> These estimates were given to the writer by the heads of the several Protestant sects established in Haiti.

parts. The clergy was composed for the most part of missionaries from Europe, especially England, and the United States. The Episcopal Church was headed by an American bishop residing in the capital city. Considering their limited resources, the Protestant religions have accomplished much in Haiti by the introduction and teaching of Christianity through education, better health practices, and general social improvement.

Besides the Christian religions in Haiti, voodooism was practiced. Voodooism in Haiti may rightly be referred to as a type of religious expression. Students of Haitian religion agree that the voodoo creed is of African origin and was introduced into Haiti when the black slaves were brought over by the Spanish and the French. Melville J. Herskovits holds that "voodoo" is a word from the Dahomean region of Africa in the geographical center of the slavery region and that, whatever, its meaning in Haiti is at the present time, its derivation is clear. He says:

It is the "vodun" of the Fon-speaking people,-- a word which is best translated as "god." Names of gods and social and economic institutions suggest their origin to this same Dahomean source.<sup>18</sup> Institutions suggest their origin to

Dr. Dorsainvil, a Haitian student of voodooism, wrote the following about the early origins of the cult:

Voodoo, a Dahomean cult of the Fons tribe, is one of the religions that was born of fear. It is, above all, a divinization of the natural forces. In the obscure conscience of the 'Fon,' by the revealing intuition of the religious instinct, he felt a need of finding the solutions to the problems of origin, of maintenance, of the destiny of the world, which, in the history of our species, have so greatly worried the leading thinkers of all races.

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<sup>18</sup> Herskovits, op. cit., p. 25.

Being unable to solve them otherwise than by the fatalistic perceiving of an objective reality which is infinitely varied, he divinized the forces of nature, attaching the efforts ascertained to causes that are purely subjective. The ideas, eminently metaphysical, that one finds more or less at the bottom of all religions, of two forces fighting each other for the good or harm of humanity, led, here also, to the building of the Pantheon. From then on, everything is animated in that work of personifying the forces of nature.... And at last, as there is no religion, as elementary as it may be, that can live without a priesthood, a select group developed with the responsibility of interpreting the will of the gods to the other members of the tribe.<sup>19</sup>

After being brought to Haiti, voodooism underwent certain changes as a result of its contact with Christianity. Kuser says that "to these original beliefs they have slowly accumulated a few Indian superstitions and very many of the ceremonies and attributes of Christianity, so that voodooism as it exists in Haiti today is a unique religion."<sup>20</sup>

Voodooism in Haiti was observed to have its gods, priests, and priestesses; temples for ceremony and worship; various cults; ceremonial articles; and superstitious practices.<sup>21</sup> In spite of the basic similarity throughout the country there were regional variations, but in all

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<sup>19</sup>Quoted by Carl Edward Peters, Lumière sur le Humfort (Port-au-Prince: Chéraquit, Imprimeur-Editeur, 1941), pp. 6-7.

<sup>20</sup>John Druden Kuser, Haiti: Its Dawn of Progress after Years in a Night of Revolution (Boston: R. Badger, 1921), pp. 53-54.

<sup>21</sup>For some of the best treatments of various aspects of voodooism in Haiti, see: (1) Peters, op. cit., pp. 5-55; (2) Herskovits, op. cit., Part III; (3) Edna Taft, A Puritan in Voodoo-Land (Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Co., 1938), passim.; (4) George Eaton Simpson, "The Vodun Service in Northern Haiti," American Anthropologist, XLII (April-June, 1940), 236-254; "Haitian Magic," Social Forces, XIX (October, 1940), 95-100; "Loup Garou and Loa Tales from Northern Haiti," The Journal of American Folklore, LV (October-December, 1942), 219-227; and (5) W. B. Seabrook, The Magic Island (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), passim. For discussions of voodooism in colonial Louisiana, which was similar to the practice in Haiti, see Herbert Asbury, The French Quarter (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1936), pp. 254-257, 260, and 282-283.

parts of Haiti voodooism in one form or another existed. It was more existent in the rural parts than in the urban centers. Many of the rural inhabitants who professed the Christian faith and attended Mass, at the same time practiced voodooism. Voodooism found expression in the peasant's dress, his daily living, his thinking, and in his amusements.

Both the Catholic and Protestant churches waged a constant campaign against what they called the superstitions and evils of voodooism. In the more accessible regions the Christian churches have been fairly successful in some suppression of voodooism, but in most of the rural parts their successes have been slight. Plates XXIII, XXIV, and XXV are illustrations of expressions of voodooism in Haiti.

As regards the Christian religions, the village of Gressier was predominantly Catholic in faith. The only church in the village was a Catholic church, founded in 1921 as the Parish of St. John the Baptist of Gressier and headed by a parish priest who resided in the village. Pictures of the parish priest and the principal Catholic church in the parish of Gressier are given in Plates XXVI and XXVII. In the outlying rural parts of the commune about the village there were seven Catholic chapels, which were attended by the parish priest. Although there were no Protestant churches in the village, there were five Protestant missions in the Commune of Gressier attended by the Haitian Episcopal pastor who had his headquarters in the near-by Commune of Léogâne.





PLATE XXIII. THE DWELLING HOUSES AND "HOUMFORT" (CEREMONIAL TEMPLE) OF A "BOCCOR" (VODOO PRIEST) IN RURAL HAITI. (Upper: the dwellings in which the "boccor" and his several "wives" lived. Note the tomb which he had constructed for himself. Lower: the "Houmfort" across the road from the dwellings. Note the "guildive" [rum distillery] in the background. Cheap grades of rum, called "clairin" and "tafia," are made in the small distilleries.)



PLATE XXIV. CEREMONIAL ARTICLES TAKEN FROM VODOO "HOUMFORTS" (CEREMONIAL TEMPLES) BY THE CATHOLIC PRIEST IN A RURAL COMMUNITY IN HAITI. (Upper: the author examining a collection of "tambours" [voodoo drums]. Lower: a collection of ceremonial articles, including a large variety of objects used to decorate the voodoo altars and in the various rituals.)



**PLATE XXV. EXPRESSIONS OF VODOOISM IN RURAL HAITI. (Upper: a tomb in which offerings of food to voodoo "gods" are placed. Lower left: a sacred tree under which offerings to voodoo "gods" were placed. The Catholic Church ordered the tree destroyed. Lower right: an "arrête" placed in the yard of a dwelling to keep the evil spirits away.)**



**PLATE XXVI. THE CATHOLIC PRIEST OF THE PARISH OF GRESSIER. (He is boarding a "camion" [native auto-bus] to go into the capital city.)**



**PLATE XXVII. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER. (The parish Catholic churches are ordinarily more impressive-looking than the one in Gressier.)**

The Catholic church of the village of Gressier was a very unimpressive, crude building in bad repair and poorly equipped with a modest altar and rough wooden benches. This condition is an exception to the rule in Haiti, for in most church parishes, the parish church is usually the most impressive building of the town or village. The priest's residence, "presbytere," was the most impressive dwelling in the community, a two-story concrete house on the mountainside, costing, according to local information, \$3,000.00 to build.<sup>22</sup> The priest received a \$14.00 per month salary for his services. This amount was supplemented by free-will offerings from his congregations and fees charged for funerals, special masses, marriage ceremonies, christenings, and other special services.<sup>23</sup>

The parish priest estimated that there were 11,500 Catholics in the parish of Gressier, and that there was a yearly average of 400 communions, 400 conversions, and 400 baptisms. He further stated that, of the 400 baptisms a year, only about 10 are legitimate births. Mass was conducted in the parish church every first Sunday of each month and on national and religious feast days. There were from 300 to 400 people

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<sup>22</sup> The story was told in the community that the priest used the money which was supposed to be used for a new church to build a new residence.

<sup>23</sup> Some of the charges were as follows: a funeral of an adult ranged from 12.00 to 37.50 gourdes, a funeral of a child from 7.50 to 27.50 gourdes, special masses from 17.50 to 37.50 gourdes, and a marriage ceremony from 11.00 to 15.00 gourdes. In all the services candles were furnished by the family or an extra charge of 5 gourdes was made. Two gourdes was charged for a baptism, one-half gourde for an adult communion card, and one-fourth gourde for a child's communion card.

who attended the regular services of the church, and on feast days the attendance was very much augmented. The priest attended the other chapels at intervals for regular mass and for special feast day services. In three of the chapels he conducted services once every month; in two, once every two months; in one, three times a year; and in another, twice a year. The attendance at church services in the chapels ranged from less than a hundred to several hundred. On special feast days people from all parts of the parish attended the parish church; and, likewise, when special church festivals were held in near-by church parishes, people from the parish of Gressier attended.<sup>24</sup>

Three of the Protestant missions in the Commune of Gressier had a church building, but the services of the other two missions were held in sheds covered with thatch, called "tonnelles." The groups attending the Protestant missions were smaller than those of the Catholic missions. The number for the various Protestant missions ranged from about 10 or 12 families to 200 people. Church services were held at regular intervals and on national and church feast days. Only a very few people from the village of Gressier attended the Protestant churches in the outlying parts of the commune.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Père H. Nicolas, Curé of the Paroisse St. Jean Baptiste de Gressier, furnished the information concerning the activities of the Catholic Church in the Commune of Gressier and to him the writer wishes to express his deep appreciation. Père Nicolas had been parish priest in Gressier for five years at the time the study was made.

<sup>25</sup> Pasteur Ledoux Paraison, of the Episcopal Mission of Léogâne, furnished information regarding the activities of the Protestant churches in the Commune of Gressier and in Haiti generally. To him the writer wishes to express his appreciation for assistance.

Both the Catholic and Protestant ministers of the Gressier community were of the opinion that most of the residents in the Commune of Gressier took part in some sort of voodoo practices. At the same time that they professed faith in the Christian religion, many of them were known to practice voodooism. This dual belief was, perhaps, less common proportionately among the Protestants than among the Catholics.

The larger proportion of the families in the village of Gressier, as well as in the dispersed samples, were Catholic in religious affiliation. As is shown in Table XXXIV, of the 109 families in Gressier, 101 were Catholic and only 8 were Protestant. Similarly, in the dispersed samples 95 per cent of the upper-class families, 89 per cent of the middle-class families, and 92 per cent of the lower-class families were Catholic; the other families were Protestant, with the exception of 2 families in the lower-class sample who expressed no religious affiliation. The writer thought it advisable not to question the families with regard to voodoo affiliations; therefore, no statistics were obtained in this regard. It was believed that most of the families would have expressed no voodoo affiliations whether they had affiliations or not.

No statistics were obtained regarding church attendance in the village of Gressier, but statistics in this regard for the dispersed samples demonstrated that church attendance was better among the upper-class families than among the middle-class families, and that attendance was poorest for the lower-class families. (See Table XXXV for statistics in connection with church attendance.)

TABLE XXXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Religious Affiliation of Families	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No religious affiliation ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2.7
Catholic religion. . . .	101	92.7	71	94.7	128	88.9	67	91.8
Protestant religion. . .	8	7.3	4	5.3	16	11.1	4	5.5
Total . . . . .	109	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	73	100.0

TABLE XXXV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES  
BY DEGREE OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Degree of Church Attendance	Dispersed Samples					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No church attendance. . . . .	...	...	...	...	12	16.9
Every Sunday. . . . .	53	70.7	82	57.7	21	29.6
Every other Sunday. . . . .	6	8.0	16	11.3	3	4.2
Once a month. . . . .	11	14.7	29	20.4	12	16.9
Only on church festivals. . . . .	5	6.6	15	10.6	23	32.4
Other . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total . . . . .	75	100.0	142	100.0	71	100.0



## CHAPTER VI

### ECONOMY AND SUBSISTENCE

An understanding of the economy and means of making a living in a society is vital to a thorough-going comprehension of the total social organization and processes. Even in a simple society like that of rural Haiti, considerations of economics and subsistence loom large in the total structure and interaction of the social group.

The matter of economy and subsistence treated in this chapter is developed through discussions of national economy, occupation and industry, the relation of people to the land, agriculture, and financial status.

#### 1. National Economy

##### General considerations

The essential basis of the economy of the Republic of Haiti was observed to be agriculture. The economic system of the entire nation was built about the production of farm commodities for domestic consumption and for export; the collection, distribution, and exportation of farm products produced; and the importation and distribution of supplies, mostly manufactured articles, needed by the population. Thus agriculture and its associated activities supplied the population with foodstuff, commerce with commodities for export, and, through export and import revenues, the government with its chief source of income.

The industrial enterprises of Haiti were limited, were for the most part concerned with farm processing, were controlled by foreign capital,

and were centered in or near urban centers. Among the important industrial activities were the making of sugar, molasses, and rum from sugar cane; the fabricating of cigarettes and cigars; the preparation of the sisal fiber for export; the ginning of cotton and the processing of coffee; the tanning of leather and the fabricating of a cheap grade of shoes; and the manufacture of such articles as furniture, tinware, mahogany ware, and small articles from sisal and palm, such as handbags, hats, and belts. Recent discoveries of bauxite, explorations for petroleum, and the possible establishment of cotton textile mills were projects which promised to expand the industrial activities of the country.<sup>1</sup>

#### Exports and imports

Tables XXXVI and XXXVII give, respectively, Haiti's exports and imports for the 1943-1944 fiscal year, ending September 30, 1944.<sup>2</sup> It can be observed that coffee, sugar, bananas, sisal, and cotton were the 5 leading commodities of export, making up almost 86 per cent of the total exports. Coffee and sugar were by far the most important, together amounting to over 59 per cent of the total. Of the imports, textiles and clothing, foodstuffs, soap, iron and steel products, and gasoline and other oils were the 5 leading groups, making up almost 69 per cent of the total imports. Textiles and clothing, amounting to over 42 per cent of the total, was by far the most important import group.

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the growing importance of industry in Haiti, see Annual Report of the Fiscal Department, Fiscal Year 1943-1944, Banque Nationale de la République d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince), pp. 27, 34-35.

<sup>2</sup>The export and import data which follow are drawn from the Annual Report of the Fiscal Department of the Banque Nationale de la République d'Haiti for the years concerned.

TABLE XXXVI

VALUE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LEADING EXPORT COMMODITIES OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1943-1944<sup>1</sup>

Export Commodities	Value in Gourdes	Per Cent
Coffee. . . . .	25,983,822	32.3
Sugar . . . . .	21,669,193	26.9
Bananas . . . . .	7,981,771	9.9
Sisal . . . . .	7,725,820	9.6
Cotton. . . . .	5,478,829	6.8
Molasses. . . . .	2,437,245	3.0
Sisal handbags. . . . .	1,304,745	1.6
Cacao . . . . .	1,094,546	1.4
Mahogany ware . . . . .	1,014,945	1.3
Essential oils . . . . .	894,491	1.1
Cottenseed cake . . . . .	637,741	0.8
Goatskins . . . . .	590,676	0.7
Palm-leaf braid . . . . .	358,841	0.4
All others. . . . .	3,368,967	4.1
Total . . . . .	80,541,632	100.0

<sup>1</sup>The data for this table were obtained from the Annual Report of the Fiscal Department, Fiscal Year 1943-1944, Banque Nationale de la Republique d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince), p. 26.

TABLE XXXVII

VALUE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LEADING IMPORT GROUPS OF THE  
REPUBLIC OF HAITI FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1943-1944<sup>1</sup>

Import Groups	Value in Gourdes	Per cent
Textiles and clothing. . . . .	33,977,630	42.4
Foodstuffs . . . . .	10,953,970	13.7
Gasoline, kerosene, and mineral oils . . . . .	2,560,477	3.2
Iron and steel products. . . . .	3,511,657	4.4
Soap . . . . .	4,077,370	5.1
Automobiles and trucks . . . . .	773,222	1.0
Rubber products. . . . .	892,720	1.1
Chemical and pharmaceutical products . . . . .	2,024,978	2.5
Household utensils . . . . .	904,042	1.1
Agricultural implements, etc..	1,708,319	2.1
Jute bags, etc.. . . . .	2,340,698	2.9
Tobacco products . . . . .	1,113,657	1.4
Paper and paper products . . . . .	1,074,315	1.3
All other imports. . . . .	14,242,284	17.8
Total. . . . .	80,155,339	100.0

<sup>1</sup>The data for this table were obtained from the Annual Report of the Fiscal Department, Fiscal Year 1943-1944, Banque Nationale de la République d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince), p. 24.

Total exports of 80,541,632 gourdes and imports of 80,155,339 gourdes for the fiscal year 1943-1944 showed a marked increase over the gradual augmentations during the several years preceding. This was due primarily to the establishment of certain wartime projects in Haiti. Below is a listing of the yearly exports and imports for the 5 years from 1939-1940 through 1943-1944:

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Exports (Gourdes)</u>	<u>Imports (Gourdes)</u>
1939-40	26,995,200	39,700,574
1940-41	33,286,537	37,155,548
1941-42	42,886,390	42,285,166
1942-43	53,072,781	49,202,511
1943-44	80,541,632	80,155,339

The United States bought the bulk of Haiti's exports (65.3 per cent) and supplied the greater part of her imports (69.4 per cent) for the fiscal year 1943-1944. The percentage of Haiti's exports taken by the various countries (including colonies, dependencies, and dominions) for the fiscal year 1943-1944 were as follows: United States, 65.3; British Commonwealth, 24.2; Colombia, 6.0; and all others, 4.5. Prior to April 1936, when the French government denounced its commercial convention with Haiti, nearly half of Haiti's exports went to France. During that time imports from France also figured high in the total imports. For the fiscal year 1943-1944 the percentage of Haiti's imports from the principal countries of origin (including colonies, dependencies, and dominions) were as follows: United States, 69.4; Mexico, 15.8; British Commonwealth, 5.7; Netherlands, 2.7; Argentina, 3.5; and all others, 2.9.

Government finance<sup>3</sup>

Export and import revenues with internal revenues made up the bulk of Haiti's total government revenue. Government revenues in the fiscal year 1943-1944, classified by source, were as follows:

<u>Source</u>	<u>Amount in Gourdes</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
<b>Customs:</b>		
Imports	24,504,201.39	57.8
Exports	6,423,125.74	15.2
Miscellaneous	51,555.66	0.1
<b>Internal Revenue</b>	10,488,722.10	24.8
<b>Miscellaneous government receipts</b>	458,139.57	1.1
<b>Receipts from Communes</b>	444,620.29	1.0
<b>Total Revenues</b>	<u>42,370,364.75</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Revenues from cotton goods and flour imported amounted to almost 56 per cent of the total import revenues; and revenues from coffee exported amounted to over 75 per cent of the total export revenues. Both import and export revenues for 1943-1944 showed marked increase over like revenues for preceding years.

Income tax was by far the most important source of internal revenue in 1943-1944, amounting to 3,703,464.45 gourdes, or almost 36 per cent of the total. Excise taxes on alcohol, tobacco products, vegetable oils, lard

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<sup>3</sup>The data relating to government finance are drawn from the Annual Report of the Fiscal Department of the Banque Nationale de la République d'Haiti for the years concerned.

substances, and soap, amounting altogether to 1,640,260.83 gourdes, or nearly 16 per cent of all internal revenues, was the second most important type. Other significant sources of internal revenue were recording fees; identity card fees; postage stamps; documentary stamps; receipts from telephone, telegraph, and water services; and public land rentals.

The government of the Republic of Haiti during 1943-1944 spent 42,021,013.10 gourdes. The following shows the expenditures during 1943-1944 by Departments and Services.

<u>Departments and Services</u>	<u>Expenditures in Gourdes</u>
Public debt	13,297,071.77
Garde d'Haiti	7,738,301.06
Department of Public Works	3,562,919.73
Public Health Service	2,754,042.05
Department of Public Instruction	2,739,591.11
Agriculture and Rural Education Service	2,384,961.97
Department of Interior	2,276,040.40
Internal Revenue Service	1,651,661.41
Department of Justice	1,425,155.18
Department of Finance	1,101,681.38
Fiscal Department	977,978.40
Department of Foreign Affairs	872,927.78
Department of Commerce and National Economy	721,923.59
Department of Religion	395,030.07
International Institutions	83,019.40
Department of Agriculture and Labor	38,707.80
<b>Total</b>	<b>42,021,013.10</b>

Government expenditures for 1943-1944 showed an increase of 33.2 per cent over expenditures for 1942-1943, which represented a considerably greater yearly increase than was noted during the several preceding years. The exceptional increase was due principally to the large payment made on the public debt during 1943-1944 as compared to smaller payments made during the several preceding years.

The gross public debt of the Republic of Haiti on September 30, 1944, the end of the 1943-1944 fiscal year, amounted to 60,459,610.55 gourdes. It is significant that total payments on account of the public debt in 1943-1944 represented 31.6 per cent of the total government expenditures for that year.

### Rural economy

It has been aptly written:

The integral phases of Haitian peasant economics, the heart of all economic life in the Republic, are small-scale farming, current land laws and practices, the individualism of the peasant, the inefficient cultivation of the soil, the almost complete absence of industrial enterprises, the lack of a high division of labor, and the spacial immobility of the population.<sup>4</sup>

We may add to the above list the movement and exchange of products as one of the most important phases of the economic life of the country parts. This buying and selling of farm produce and the purchase of goods needed by the rural population took place primarily in open markets, known as "marchés." Markets were held in all cities, towns, and villages of the nation and at important crossroads or junctions in the open country.

Dantès Bellegarde, in discussing the development of population centers, said that the "market, becoming permanent, gives rise to the village, and this, when favored in developing by trade routes, becomes a 'town'..."<sup>5</sup>

In the larger population centers, markets were held every day of the week, and in some places on Sundays also; but in the smaller centers,

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<sup>4</sup>George Eaton Simpson, "Haitian Peasant Economy," Journal of Negro History, XXV (October, 1940), 499.

<sup>5</sup>Dantès Bellegarde, Haiti and Her Problems, The University of Puerto Rico Bulletin, Series VII, No. 1 (September, 1936), p. 22.



markets were held two or three times a week, and the market days were alternated among the centers of a trading area. This rotation of market days enabled the sellers and buyers to be at several different markets during a week. The sellers at the market places were for the most part women, called "marchands," who sometimes walked as far as 20 or 30 miles to market, carrying their wares on their heads and driving an ass, called a "bourrique," heavily laden with merchandise. The larger number of the sellers, however, came from near-by areas, often not over 10 or 12 miles away. At the market there were also found agents or middlemen, called "spéculateurs," who bought from the producer to resell to the exporter.

In the larger centers, markets were usually covered with a roof and had counters for displaying the produce; but in the more rural centers, markets were ordinarily held in the open. Sometimes crude sheds, called "tonnelles," constructed by placing four stakes in the ground and covering the frame with palm leaves or thatch, were used as shelters. In the markets the women sat in squatting positions and displayed their wares about them. In a market one could find hundreds of different items, including foods of many varieties, clothing, some of the more necessary hardware and manufactured articles, and notions of all kinds. There was very little buying and selling on the way to and from the market, barter and credit sales were very rare, and an endless bargaining over price occurred with almost every sale. The peasant woman generally averaged from about 50 centimes to a gourde of profit for a day of selling in the market.<sup>6</sup> (See Plate XXVIII for scenes of the open market in rural Haiti.)

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<sup>6</sup>For further descriptions of Haitian markets, see Edna Taft, A Puritan in Voodoo-Land (Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Co., 1938), pp. 71-72; and Melville J. Herskovits, Life in a Haitian Valley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1937), pp. 81-84.



**PLATE XXVIII. SCENES OF AN OPEN MARKET IN RURAL HAITI. (Upper: a view of the market showing the many booths and the buyers and sellers milling about. Middle: a close-up of a single booth in the market place; note the usual "marchandes" [market woman] and her array of merchandise. Lower: a section of the market where homemade clothes and a few manufactured articles such as towels and tablecloths are on sale.)**

In addition to the regular markets, there were small shops set up along the highways and trails which sold to the passers-by -- and, of course, retail stores in the cities, towns, and villages.

In Gressier the market place was in the center of the village next to the city hall, occupying a clearing between the highway and a stream which ran through the village. On market days, which were on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, there were usually several hundred people buying and selling in the market place. People came to the market from all of the outlying parts of the Commune and from other near-by towns and villages. In addition to the large market there were in Gressier several of the small roadside shops of a more or less permanent nature and three small retail stores. (See Figure 3 for the location of the retail business establishments in the village of Gressier.)

## 2. Occupation and Industry

No statistics existed giving the number or proportion of Haiti's population which was gainfully employed or idle. Likewise, it was impossible to obtain exact data on the number engaged in the various occupations and industries. It could be determined from general observation, however, that the bulk of the working population of the nation was divided among the following occupations: agriculture, industry and manual trades, commerce and transportation, the liberal professions and public administration, and domestic services. The rural population was devoted almost exclusively to agriculture; whereas the urban population was engaged primarily in the other occupations listed above. As the population centers became smaller, a larger proportion of the residents were engaged in agricultural pursuits.

In the village of Gressier, of the 110 families studied, 104 of the family heads gave farming as their chief means of subsistence. Only 6 mentioned the following occupations as their chief source of livelihood: dressmaking, government employment, road working, merchandizing, coffee buying, and shoemaking. The study demonstrated that the heads of the majority of the families had never engaged in any important occupation other than farming. Of the heads of the 103 families of the village of Gressier reporting, 65, or over 63 per cent, had always followed farming as their chief means of subsistence; 15, or almost 15 per cent, had worked as day laborers in industry; 7 had been engaged in commerce; 4, each, had worked as tailors, carpenters, and merchants; and 2, each, had been cobblers and fishermen.

The study demonstrated further that, among the families studied, engaging in handicraft either as a chief means of subsistence or as a sideline to agriculture was not important. Of the 110 families considered in Gressier, 96, or over 87 per cent, had no handicraft. Six named the making of certain articles of clothing, such as hats and belts, as their chief handicraft; 4 made baskets; 3 made rope; and 1 built furniture. Although a slightly larger percentage of the families of the dispersed samples engaged in some form of handicraft, the large majority of the families of each of the samples had no handicraft. It is interesting to note that the upper socio-economic families had less handicraft than the middle-class families, and that the middle-class families had less than the lower-class families. (See Table XXXVIII.) It should be mentioned in passing that on a commercial basis handicraft in Haiti has shown a marked increase during recent years. This activity, has, however,

TABLE XXXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF  
THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY THE CHIEF TYPE OF HANDICRAFT  
PERFORMED

Chief Types of Handicraft Performed	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No handicraft. . . . .	96	87.3	55	78.6	99	71.2	47	63.5
Clothing making. . . . .	6	5.5	6	8.6	12	8.6	9	12.2
Basket weaving . . . . .	4	3.6	5	7.1	9	6.5	5	6.8
Rope making . . . . .	3	2.7	1	1.4	7	5.1	8	10.8
Furniture building . . . . .	1	0.9	1	1.4	3	2.2	1	1.3
Construction of tin articles . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	1	1.3
Construction of musical instruments. . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
Other handicraft . . . . .	...	...	2	2.9	5	3.6	3	4.1
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	70	100.0	139	100.0	74	100.0

been concentrated in the larger population centers, particularly the capital city.

Table XXXIX, which gives the portion of adult life spent in farming by the household heads engaged in agriculture in the village of Gressier and in the dispersed samples, demonstrates the consistency of farming as an adult occupation. In Gressier 103 of the 104 farm family heads had spent their entire adult lives in farming; the other farm family head had spent three-fourths of his adult life in farming. Although the proportion

TABLE XXXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY PORTION OF ADULT LIFE SPENT IN FARMING

Portion of Adult Life Spent in Farming	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
One-fourth. . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	6	4.2	7	10.1
One-half . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	8	5.6	4	5.8
Three-fourths . . . . .	1	1.0	13	17.3	16	11.2	4	5.8
All . . . . .	103	99.0	57	76.0	113	79.0	54	78.3
Total . . . . .	104	100.0	75	100.0	143	100.0	69	100.0

of household heads of the dispersed samples who spent all their adult life in farming was not as great as that existing in the village, the large majority of the household heads of each of the samples had spent, if not their entire adult lives, most of their adult lives in farming. There were no significant differences noted between the upper, middle, and lower socio-economic groups in this regard. (See Table XXXIX for statistical details.) The study showed further that most of the male and female family heads of the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples were sons and daughters of farmers. In Gressier 93 per cent of the male family heads and 96 per cent of the female family heads had fathers who were farmers. A similar situation existed among the family heads of the dispersed samples, with a slightly larger percentage of parents who were farmers among the lower-class families than among the upper-class families.

Among the other occupations of the fathers of the family heads were work as tailors, carpenters, trading merchants, masons, hair-dressers, store clerks, and schoolteachers. (See Tables XL and XLI.)

TABLE XL

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF  
THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY THE OCCUPATION OF THE FATHER  
OF THE MALE HEAD**

Occupation of Father of Male Head	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Farmer. . . . .	93	93.0	58	84.1	117	84.2	66	93.0
Sailor. . . . .	1	1.0	...	...	7	5.0	1	1.4
Carpenter . . . . .	1	1.0	3	4.3	3	2.2	...	...
Trading merchant. . .	...	...	3	4.3	1	0.7	1	1.4
Mason . . . . .	...	...	...	...	3	2.2	1	1.4
Hair-dresser. . . . .	...	...	1	1.5	1	0.7	...	...
Store clerk . . . . .	1	1.0	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
Others. . . . .	4	4.0	4	5.8	6	4.3	2	2.8
Total . . . . .	100	100.0	69	100.0	139	100.0	71	100.0

TABLE XLI

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF  
THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY THE OCCUPATION OF THE FATHER  
OF THE FEMALE HEAD**

Occupation of Father of Female Head	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Farmer. . . . .	99	96.1	60	89.5	128	92.8	62	91.2
Tailor. . . . .	1	1.0	2	3.0	2	1.5	...	...
Carpenter . . . . .	1	1.0	1	1.5	1	0.7	1	1.5
Trading merchant. . . . .	...	...	1	1.5	1	0.7	...	...
Hair-dresser. . . . .	...	...	1	1.5	...	...	...	...
Schoolteacher . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
Others. . . . .		1.9	2	3.0	5	3.6	5	7.3
Total . . . . .	103	100.0	67	100.0	138	100.0	68	100.0

The study demonstrated that the majority of the household heads of the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples preferred other occupations to farming; and this was particularly true for the village of Gressier and the lower-class families of the dispersed samples. A little less than one-fifth of the heads of households in Gressier were satisfied with farming as an occupation; but of the dispersed samples almost one-half of the upper-class family heads, one-third of the middle-class family heads, and one-fourth of the lower-class family heads were satisfied with farming as an occupation. Among the other occupations preferred were manual trades, merchandizing, government work, tailoring, masonry, and



fishing. A large number of the household heads in Gressier and a few of the family heads of the dispersed samples who preferred another occupation to farming said they would like any other occupation instead of farming but did not have a specific choice. This vagueness of the peasant with regard to personal desires and ambitions has been pointed out as a significant trait of the rural folk in studies by George E. Simpson<sup>7</sup> and Maurice Dartigue.<sup>8</sup> (See Table XLII for statistical details.)

As for attitude of family heads on the question of their children becoming farmers, almost 81 per cent of the family heads in Gressier did not want their children to be farmers. A different situation existed among the families of the dispersed samples, where almost 71 per cent of the upper-class farmers, 77 per cent of the middle-class farmers, and 73 per cent of the lower-class farmers wanted their children to be farmers. (See Table XLIII.) The large variation between Gressier and the dispersed samples as concerns occupational preferences of household heads for themselves and their children may be accounted for in part by the fact that farming, due to several seasons of unusual drought, had been rather unprofitable in the vicinity of Gressier, with the result that many farmers had become disgusted with farming as a means of subsistence. Probably the conditions noted for the dispersed samples, and especially the lower-class sample, were nearer to the true situation of the Haitian peasant generally.

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<sup>7</sup>Simpson, "Haitian Peasant Economy," pp. 513-514.

<sup>8</sup>Maurice Dartigue, Conditions Rurales en Haiti: Quelques Données Basées sur l'Etude de 884 Familles, Service National de la Production Agricole et de l'Enseignement Rurale, Bulletin No. 13 (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1938), p. 11.

TABLE XLII

**DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF  
THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE OTHER  
THAN FARMING**

Occupational Preference Other than Farming	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No preference. . . . .	5	4.9	1	1.4	2	1.5	1	1.4
No other occupation. .	20	19.6	34	48.6	41	31.3	17	24.3
Any other occupation .	66	64.8	5	7.2	11	8.4	5	7.1
Manual trade . . . . .	5	4.9	6	8.6	29	22.2	17	24.3
Merchant . . . . .	1	1.0	10	14.3	14	10.7	6	8.6
Government employee. .	...	...	8	11.4	8	6.1	6	8.6
Tailor . . . . .	2	1.9	1	1.4	14	10.7	4	5.7
Mason . . . . .	1	1.0	1	1.4	5	3.8	7	10.0
Fisherman. . . . .	2	1.9	...	...	2	1.5	2	2.9
Other designated occupations. . . . .	...	...	4	5.7	5	3.8	5	7.1
Total . . . . .	102	100.0	70	100.0	131	100.0	70	100.0

TABLE XLIII

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY ATTITUDE WITH REGARD TO  
CHILDREN BEING FARMERS

Attitude With Regard to Children Being Farmers	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Wants children to be farmers. . . . .	6	6.4	51	70.8	107	77.0	51	72.9
Does not want children to be farmers. . .	76	80.9	21	29.2	31	22.3	19	27.1
Makes no difference.	12	12.7	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
Total. . . . .	94	100.0	72	100.0	139	100.0	70	100.0

### 3. The Relations of the People to the Land

The significant relations of the people to the land--land tenure, land division, size of holdings, and settlement patterns-- are matters of paramount importance in Haiti's past, present, and future economy. Unfortunately there was found to be a great dearth of empirical data and scientific analysis regarding these significant man-land relationships in the Republic of Haiti. Some discussion of these matters, however, is given below.

#### Land tenure and land division

In Haiti land titles were in a confused state, a condition which dated from colonial times. At the time of the study no land surveys existed for the greater part of the nation, and there was no adequate

land registry. Prior to the Independence in 1804, practically all privately owned land belonged to French colonists, and the land titles were taken with them upon their return to France, or the titles were destroyed during the revolutions. Following the Independence War, the Haitian state became the owner of most of the land, but it had no formal titles to the holdings. Then, with the indemnification of the colonial proprietors, much of the property acquired by the state was in various ways passed to private ownership. Records show that the military chiefs laid claim to large tracts amounting to thousands of acres, and lesser military leaders and soldiers obtained smaller holdings ranging from tracts of several hundred acres down to small plots of a few acres.<sup>9</sup> Most of these lands were distributed in the form of land grants without clear definitions of boundaries or titles. Historians point out that, following the handing out of land to the military people in the early years of the independence, approximately one-half of the land in the country still belonged to the government, but that little effort was made to ascertain what and where it was or to encourage its settlement and cultivation.<sup>10</sup>

In the century and a half from the Independence to the present, there has been no efficient or constant system for the determination and

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<sup>9</sup> For a detailed discussion of the size and titles of early land holdings, see Raymond Renaud, Le Régime Foncier en Haïti (Paris: Les Editions Domat-Montchrestien, F. Loiton et Cie., 1934), pp. 1-462.

<sup>10</sup> Arthur C. Millepaugh, Haiti Under American Control (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1931), p. 17.

registration of land titles, and land was claimed and secured in a variety of ways. Some owners abandoned their properties, and the land was appropriated by others. Then, with the insecurity of landholdings and the government's lax administration of its properties, a considerable portion of the peasants became squatters. In addition, titles to private land were secured through prescription or adverse possession, homesteading, purchase, and inheritance. The officials of the American Occupation forces early recognized the necessity of adequate land-title legislation, but their many attempts to improve conditions in this regard met with few lasting results.

As concerns type of land division, historical records and ruins testify to the fact that the French planters used the rectangular pattern. But with the parceling out of lands following Independence and the subsequent division, the rectangular pattern had almost entirely disappeared in most areas. The division of land existing at the time of the study could be best described as haphazard. In this regard Preston James has written:

The old rectangular field patterns, dear to the hearts of the Frenchmen, have also disappeared under the haphazard and irregular trails and fields of the carefree Negroes. But the old rectangular French patterns have not been entirely lost; from the ground they are no longer visible, but from the air one can still observe the faint traces of straight lines crossing at right angles. One result of the overlap of patterns is the utter confusion of land titles.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Preston E. James, Latin America (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1942), p. 770.

Delineation of rural properties rarely existed in terms of meets and bounds. Rather, mere general location of the property was given as in a certain rural section or habitation and near another property which was equally poorly delineated.

As regards present-day ownership of land in the rural parts, a considerable portion was claimed by the state, although probably the majority was privately owned. Some of the privately owned land was the property of city residents who cultivated it in absentia or rented it out, but probably most of the privately owned land was the property of the farmers who lived on the land. No statistics existed which gave the amount or proportion of the land which was privately or state-owned or was owned in absentia. The people who worked the land were noted to be owners, renters, day laborers, squatters, or gratis residents on the land.

Of the 104 farm families of the village of Gressier, 21 per cent were owners of the land they cultivated, 20 per cent were cultivating land of which a part was owned and a part was rented, and 59 per cent rented the land they cultivated. There were no day laborers, squatters, or farmers living gratis on the land among the farm families in the village. The tenure status of the families of the lower-class sample was similar to that of the village of Gressier, the middle-class sample had more owning families and less renting families than did the lower-class sample, and all the families of the upper-class sample were owners of at least part of the land they worked. Among the lower-class families there were several day laborers and squatters, and 2 of the middle-class farmers lived gratis on the land they cultivated. (See Table XLIV.) It

TABLE XLIV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY LAND TENURE WITH REGARD TO LAND BEING  
CULTIVATED

Land Tenure of Families Regarding Land Cultivated	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Owner. . . . .	22	21.1	71	94.7	102	70.8	20	26.7
Renter . . . . .	61	58.7	...	...	22 <sup>1/</sup>	15.3	43 <sup>1/</sup>	57.3
Both owner and renter.	21	20.2	4	5.3	18	12.5	5	6.7
Day laborer. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5.3
Squatter . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	4.0
Gratis . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
Total . . . . .	104	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0

<sup>1/</sup> Six of the middle group families and 7 of the lower group families of the dispersed samples who were renting the land they worked were also owners of land.

should be noted that 6 of the middle-class families and 7 of the lower-class families who rented the land they cultivated also owned land which they did not work. Thus, we may observe that, of the farm families studied, 42 per cent of those of Gressier, 100 per cent of the upper-class families, 88 per cent of the middle-class families, and 43 per cent of the lower-class families owned land.

In the matter of land ownership, the study showed that 79 per cent of the 43 land-owning families of the village of Gressier secured their land by inheritance only, 8 by purchase only, and 1 by both inheritance and purchase. Among the families of the dispersed samples, a small

proportion of the land-owners obtained their land through inheritance only; whereas a large proportion secured their land by purchase only and by both inheritance and purchase. This was especially the condition for the upper-class families. Only 2 of the lower-class land-owning families secured their land through squatters' rights. (See Table XLV.)

TABLE XLV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND-OWNING FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY MEANS OF SECURING OWNERSHIP  
OF LAND

Means of Securing Ownership of Land	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
By inheritance only. .	34	79.1	14	20.3	46	39.3	10	33.3
By purchase only . . .	8	18.6	33	47.8	51	43.6	10	33.3
By both inheritance and purchase . . . .	1	2.3	22	31.9	20	17.1	8	26.7
By squatters rights. .	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	6.7
Total . . . . .	43	100.0	69	100.0	117	100.0	30	100.0

Table XLVI shows that, of the 82 farmers renting land in the village of Gressier, 38 per cent rented from the state, 61 per cent rented from private individuals, and 1 farmer rented from both the state and a private individual. Among the renters of the dispersed samples, a larger percentage rented from private individuals than was the case in the village of Gressier. The large proportion of state renters in Gressier as compared to the dispersed samples can be explained by the fact that an exceptionally



TABLE XLVI

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND-RENTING FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY LANDLORD OF THE LAND RENTED**

Landlord of Land Rented	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
State. . . . .	31	37.8	...	...	8	20.5	7	15.6
Private individual . .	50	61.0	3	75.0	31	79.5	38	84.4
Both state and private individual . . . . .	1	1.2	1	25.0	...	...	...	...
Total . . . . .	82	100.0	4	100.0	39	100.0	45	100.0

large proportion of the land in the vicinity of Gressier was state-owned. Consequently, the findings for the dispersed samples are probably nearer to the condition which existed in the country generally.

Either the farmers who rented land were on a money-rent basis, or they paid rent in kind. In Gressier, of the 81 renters, 36 paid money rent, and 45 paid rent in kind. Money rent was more common than rent in kind among the land-renting families of the dispersed samples, and this was especially true of the upper- and middle-class land-renting families. (See Table XLVII.) It is demonstrated in Table XLVIII that for the village of Gressier the total annual cash rent paid per family for land rented ranged from 5 to 240 gourdes, with a median rent per family of 23.33 gourdes. Land rent paid by the renting families of the middle- and lower-class samples was similar to that of the village of Gressier, but the rent paid by the renting families of the upper-class families was considerably higher. The median annual rent per family for the land-renting

TABLE XLVII

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND-RENTING FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TYPE OF RENTAL CONTRACT MADE  
FOR THE LAND RENTED**

Type of Rental Contract	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Money rent. . . . .	36	44.5	4	100.0	34	87.2	25	55.6
Rent in kind. . . . .	45	55.5	...	...	5	12.8	20	44.4
Total . . . . .	81	100.0	4	100.0	39	100.0	45	100.0

families of the upper-, middle-, and lower-class samples was, respectively, 187.50 gourdes, 23.33 gourdes, and 16.82 gourdes. Statistics on annual rent per "carreau"<sup>12</sup> of land are given in Table XLIX, where it can be seen that for the village of Gressier there was a range in annual rent per carreau of from 5 to 92 gourdes, with a median annual rent per carreau of 28.75 gourdes. For the dispersed samples the median annual rent per carreau of land was 14.99 gourdes for the upper class, 9.57 gourdes for the middle class, and 21.79 gourdes for the lower class. With regard to rent in kind, the study showed that all except 1 of the 70 renters of the village of Gressier and the dispersed samples, who paid land rent with a share of the crop produced, gave one-half of the crop as rent. The one exception gave one-fourth of the crop produced as rent.

<sup>12</sup>A "carreau" of land in Haiti is equal to approximately 3.2 acres. The term "carreau" is used frequently in the following discussion and for simplification the quotation marks shall be omitted in the future.

TABLE XLVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND-RENTING FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TOTAL ANNUAL LAND RENT  
IN GOURDES PAID

Total Annual Land Rent in Gourdes Paid	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 9 . . . . .	11	29.8	...	...	8	23.5	5	20.0
10 - 19 . . . . .	5	13.5	...	...	7	20.5	11	44.0
20 - 29 . . . . .	9	24.3	...	...	6	17.6	4	16.0
30 - 39 . . . . .	4	10.8	...	...	3	8.8	1	4.0
40 - 49 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	5.9	1	4.0
50 - 59 . . . . .	1	2.7	1	25.0	3	8.8	2	8.0
60 - 69 . . . . .	4	10.8	...	...	1	3.0	1	4.0
70 - 79 . . . . .	...	...	1	25.0	1	3.0	...	...
80 - 89 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
90 - 99 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
100 - 199 . . . . .	2	5.4	...	...	2	5.9	...	...
200 and over . . . . .	1	2.7	2	50.0	1	3.0	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Average annual land  
rent per family, for  
land-renting families,  
in gourdes:

Mean . . . . .	33.41	197.50	40.26	19.72
Median . . . . .	23.33	187.50 <sup>1/</sup>	23.33	16.82

Range in annual land  
rent in gourdes per  
family . . . . .

5-240	55-360	4-350	2-60
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<sup>1/</sup> Inasmuch as it was not possible to calculate the median from the class interval data in the case indicated, the median was obtained from an array of the original figures.

TABLE XLIX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND-RENTING FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY AMOUNT OF ANNUAL LAND RENT  
IN GOURDES PAID PER CARREAU OF LAND

Amount of Annual Rent in Gourdes per Carreau of Land	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	11	33.3	4	16.0
5 - 9 . . . . .	3	8.1	1	25.0	6	18.2	2	8.0
10 - 14 . . . . .	5	13.6	1	25.0	3	9.1	3	12.0
15 - 19 . . . . .	4	10.8	1	25.0	...	...	1	4.0
20 - 24 . . . . .	5	13.5	...	...	5	15.2	7	28.0
25 - 29 . . . . .	2	5.4	...	...	1	3.0	2	8.0
30 - 34 . . . . .	3	8.1	1	25.0	...	...	1	4.0
35 - 39 . . . . .	3	8.1	...	...	...	...	...	...
40 - 44 . . . . .	2	5.4	...	...	2	6.1	2	8.0
45 - 49 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50 - 54 . . . . .	2	5.4	...	...	1	3.0	1	4.0
55 - 59 . . . . .	2	5.4	...	...	...	...	...	...
60 - 64 . . . . .	4	10.8	...	...	1	3.0	2	8.0
65 - 69 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
70 - 74 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	3.0	...	...
75 and over . . . . .	2	5.4	...	...	2	6.1	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Average annual rent in gourdes per carreau of land:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	32.49		15.00		25.67		21.92	
Median . . . . .	28.75		14.99		9.58		21.79	
<b>Range in annual rent in gourdes per carreau of land . . . . .</b>								
	5-92		5-30		1-240		2-60	

Size and value of land holdings

No data on the national level could be obtained which gave the size of land holdings for Haiti. It is probable, however, that among land holdings the small holdings ranging from less than a carreau to several carreaux predominated, and that these small holdings made up the bulk of the land in cultivation. In the village of Gressier the size of land holdings per family ranged from one-fourth carreau to 20 carreaux, with a median number per family of 1 carreau. Of the 43 land-owning families, almost 21 per cent owned one-fourth of a carreau or less, almost 35 per cent owned one-half carreau or less, and almost 61 per cent owned 1 carreau or less. As would be expected, the study demonstrated that among the dispersed samples the upper-class families owned more land per family than did the middle-class land-owning families; and, similarly, the middle-class land-owning families owned more land per family than did the lower-class land-owning families. The range in number of carreaux of land owned per family was from one-fourth to 225 for the upper-class families, from one-fourth to 35 for the middle-class families, and from one-fourth to 7 for the lower-class families. The median number of carreaux of land per family was 10 for the upper group, 3 for the middle group, and 1.4 for the lower group. (See Table L for statistical details.) These findings agree generally with those of M. Dartigue when he said that "in the region of Kenscoff, a well-to-do peasant may possess 20 to 30 carreaux, an average peasant 2 to 10 carreaux and a poor peasant less than a carreau and a maximum of two carreaux."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Dartigue, op. cit., p. 37.

TABLE L

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND-OWNING FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY AMOUNT OF LAND IN CARREAUX OWNED

Amount of Land in Carreaux Owned <sup>1</sup>	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1/4 . . . . .	9	20.9	1	1.4 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>7</sub>	7	5.5	5	15.6
1/2 . . . . .	6	14.0	...	...	4	3.2	5	15.6
3/4 . . . . .	2	4.7	...	...	3	2.4	1	3.1
1 . . . . .	9	20.9	1	1.4 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>7</sub>	3	2.4	4	12.5
1 1/4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3.1
1 1/2 . . . . .	4	9.3	1	1.4 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>7</sub>	7	5.5	3	9.4
1 3/4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.8	2	6.3
2 . . . . .	3	7.0	1	1.4 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>7</sub>	14	11.1	4	12.5
2 1/4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 1/2 . . . . .	2	4.7	...	...	4	3.2	...	...
2 3/4 . . . . .	1	2.3	...	...	...	...	1	3.1
3 . . . . .	4	9.3	3	4.0	23	18.2	3	9.4
4 . . . . .	1	2.3	5	6.7	17	13.5	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	8	10.7	11	8.7	1	3.1
6 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	5	4.0	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	8	10.7	9	7.1	2	6.3
8 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	2	1.6	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.8	...	...
10 . . . . .	1	2.3	6	8.0	5	4.0	...	...
11 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	2	1.6	...	...
12 . . . . .	...	...	8	10.7	2	1.6	...	...
13 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
14 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	1	0.8	...	...
16 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.8	...	...
20 . . . . .	1	2.3	1	1.3	1	0.8	...	...
22 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
25 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	1	0.8	...	...

(continued on next page)

TABLE L (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND-OWNING FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY AMOUNT OF LAND IN CARREAUX OWNED

Amount of Land, in Carreaux, Owned <sup>1</sup>	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
30 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.8	...	...
33 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
35 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.8	...	...
37 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
40 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
52 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
60 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
105 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
108 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
200 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
225 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
Total . . . . .	43	100.0	75	100.0	126	100.0	32	100.0

Percentage of total  
families which  
owned land . . . .

39.4

100.0

87.5

42.7

Average number of  
carreaux of land  
per family, for  
land-owning  
families:

Mean . . . .

1.9

20.9

4.8

1.8

Median . . . .

1.0

10.0

3.0

1.4

Range in number of  
carreaux of land per  
family, for land-  
owning families . .

1/4-20

1/4-225

1/4-35

1/4-7

<sup>1/</sup> Because of the desirability to show complete detail in this table, actual numbers which are not consecutive are employed instead of the usual consistent class intervals.

<sup>2/</sup> In adjusting the percentage columns so that they would total 100 per cent, 1.33 was rounded to 1.4 in the instances indicated above.

Statistics regarding value in gourdes of land owned by the families studied are presented in Table LI. It can be seen that for the village of Gressier the range in value of land per family was from 50 to 2,000 gourdes, and the median value of land owned per family was 261.11 gourdes. With regard to the dispersed samples, range in value of land per family was from 80 to 32,400 gourdes for the upper-class families, from 30 to 3,500 gourdes for the middle-class families, and from 30 to 2,500 gourdes for the lower-class families. The median value of land per land-owning family of the upper-, middle-, and lower-class families was 2,419.09 gourdes, 680.00 gourdes, and 190.00 gourdes, respectively. The mean value of land per carreau varied only slightly between the village of Gressier and the upper-, middle-, and lower-class dispersed samples, the values being 202.45 gourdes, 241.41 gourdes, 190.39 gourdes, and 213.63 gourdes, respectively. (See Table LI.)

### Settlement patterns

In rural Haiti the patterns of settlement of people on the land were observed to range from the single isolated homestead to the rather large population agglomeration. The following types of rural settlement patterns were distinguished: (1) the single farmsteads, called "jardins isolés"; (2) the family groupings, known as "cours" or "communautés familiales"; (3) neighborhoods, referred to as "habitations" or "hameaux"; and (4) villages, designated as "villages" or bourgades." The urban locality groupings were, of course, the towns and cities; and it was observed that some families engaged in farming as their chief source of subsistence lived in the urban centers.



TABLE LI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND-OWNING FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN COURDES OF LAND OWNED

Value in Courdes of Land Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 49 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.8	1	3.1
50 - 99 . . . . .	9	20.9	2	2.7	2	1.6	5	15.7
100 - 149 . . . . .	6	14.0	...	...	5	4.0	6	18.8
150 - 199 . . . . .	1	2.3	1	1.3	4	3.2	5	15.6
200 - 299 . . . . .	9	20.9	2	2.7	12	9.5	3	9.4
300 - 399 . . . . .	5	11.7	1	1.3	13	10.3	1	3.1
400 - 499 . . . . .	3	7.0	3	4.0	10	7.9	5	15.6
500 - 599 . . . . .	3	7.0	1	1.3	4	3.2	1	3.1
600 - 699 . . . . .	4	9.3	2	2.7	15	11.9	1	3.1
700 - 799 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	11	8.7	...	...
800 - 899 . . . . .	1	2.3	1	1.3	5	4.0	1	3.1
900 - 999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	3	2.4	...	...
1,000 - 1,999 . . . . .	...	...	15	20.0	23	18.2	2	6.3
2,000 - 2,999 . . . . .	1	2.3	11	14.7	13	10.3	1	3.1
3,000 - 3,999 . . . . .	...	...	9	12.0	4	3.2	...	...
4,000 - 4,999 . . . . .	1	2.3	4	5.3	...	...	...	...
5,000 - 5,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
6,000 - 6,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.8	...	...
7,000 - 7,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
8,000 - 8,999 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9,000 - 9,999 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
10,000 - 14,999 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
15,000 - 19,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
20,000 and over . . . . .	...	...	6	8.0	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(continued on next page)

TABLE LI (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND-OWNING FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF LAND OWNED

Value in Gourdes of Land Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Average value of land per family, for land- owning families:								
Mean . . . . .	383.72		5,039.87		916.07		377.19	
Median . . . . .	261.11		2,419.09		680.00		190.00	
Mean value of land per carreau . . . . .	202.45		241.41		190.39		213.63	
Range in value of land per family, for land- owning families . . .	50-2,000		80-32,400		30-3,500		30-2,500	

<sup>1/</sup> In adjusting the figures of the percentage columns so that they would total 100 per cent, 15.62 was rounded to equal 15.7 and 5.33 was rounded to equal 5.4 in the instances indicated above.

The single farmsteads, or "jardin isolé," were found in all parts of rural Haiti. Although the single units were seen to a certain extent in plains, the pattern became more noticeable in the mountainous areas. The isolated dwellings were usually situated on the side of a road, a trail, or a stream. Sometimes the "jardin isolé" had only a single dwelling or "caille"; but often there was an outhouse near the "caille," or more frequently a shed or "tonnelle," consisting of four upright posts with a thatch covering. Most of the needs of living were ordinarily made from the cultivation of the land, referred to as the "jardin," surrounding the house.

The "cour," or "communauté familiale," was usually made up of several households of relatives living in close proximity, generally in the same yard. These family groupings, like the isolated farmsteads, were situated along roads, trails, or streams, both in the mountains and in the plains. The "cours" appeared to be more prevalent in small plateaus in the mountains, at the foot of mountains, in the mountain valleys, and at the intersections of roads and trails. Sometimes the family groupings were made up of several generations of the same family living in close proximity. Around the dwelling of the patriarch, referred to usually as the "don" or "notable," were found houses of children and grandchildren who had established their own households. The family head, intimately addressed as "grand-père," usually exercised a strong control over the family groups, and the primary group bonds were those of kinship. The gardens about the "cour" were cultivated by the family groups to obtain most of the necessities of living.

The "habitations," or "hameaux," as they were sometimes called, represented larger groupings of people than those of the "communautés familiales." Several family groupings were included, and the primary group bond in this instance was not so much family relationship as territorial proximity. The farm families were grouped in one locality on a tract of land which was cultivated or considered as a unit, or there were several near-by resident groupings. The "habitation" was often a former colonial plantation which in the course of time had been divided into small plots and had thus become the property of the cultivators by inheritance or acquisition. Sometimes, however, the "habitation" was a single estate cultivated by the owner through share croppers, called "de-moitié," or by renters.

The village in Haiti was observed to be characterized by a rather large group of people, possibly several hundred to a thousand, living together in close proximity. This grouping was generally more sufficient than the "cour" or the "habitation," but it was not as sufficient as the town or city. The majority of the village residents made their living from farming near-by gardens, which were either owned or rented.

Village life centered about the open market and other retail business establishments, the churches, the schools, and the government offices, if the village happened to be a commune center, as many were.

It was found that cultivable land, available water, and facility of communication have been the most significant factors in determining settlement patterns even as they exist at the present time. As regards names of the locality groupings, it is interesting to note that they were derived occasionally from certain geographic peculiarities of the region, sometimes from a historical incident that occurred in the region, but more often from the former French owner, whose name had been maintained.<sup>14</sup> This was particularly true of the "habitations." A Haitian writer has aptly said that

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<sup>14</sup>An example of this was Gressier, the community studied intensively in this work. During the French colonial period a white Frenchman by the name of Monsieur Gressier owned most of the land in the region. When he died, he left his land to his mistress, a Haitian negress called Mademoiselle Rosette, who at one time had been his slave. Mademoiselle Rosette had no children for Monsieur Gressier, and when she died in 1830, she left her land to the government. This local history was given verbally by an old resident of the community. The ownership of the land where the community of Gressier is now located by a French planter, Monsieur Gressier, is substantiated by recorded history. The tomb of Rosette Gressier was seen in the village of Gressier, and on the tomb was inscribed the following in French: "Here lies the body of Rosette Gressier, died April 11, 1830, 110 years of age."

"when one travels in certain parts of the Haitian Republic, one thinks really he is traveling in France because of the numerous instances where names of places remind him of the mother country."<sup>15</sup>

The villages and the small towns were noted to be the chief service centers in the rural areas, and this was especially true where these population agglomerations were commune centers. The villages and small towns were found to be highly self-sufficient for the limited wants of their residents as well as for the residents of the surrounding "habitations," "cours," and open country. Although the isolated farmsteads, "cours," and "habitations" were found to be remarkably sufficient as regards most of the basic necessities of the simple living of the Haitian peasant, residents of these areas went into near-by villages and small towns for the few necessary manufactured goods; for selling their farm produce; and for some personal services, governmental obligations, commercial amusements, and church and school benefits.<sup>16</sup>

#### 4. Agriculture

The Republic of Haiti at the time the study was made could best be described as a nation of small-scale farming. The first feature of small-scale farming in Haiti was that it looked toward the maintenance

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<sup>15</sup>Bellegarde, La Nation Haitienne, p. 160.

<sup>16</sup>For discussion of locality groupings in Haiti, see (1) Sémexan Reuzier, Dictionnaire Géographique et Administratif d'Haiti ou Guide Général d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince: Imprimerie Aug. A. Héroux, 1891), 4 vols., passim; (2) Haiti et sa Capitale, La Direction Générale des Travaux Publiques (Port-au-Prince, République d'Haiti, Juillet 1935), passim; (3) Eugène Aubin, En Haiti (Paris: A. Colin, 1910), passim.

of the farmer and his family, who in general had no other resources than what they obtained from the soil. The cultivation did not ordinarily require the assistance of outside labor, and the produce was consumed primarily by the family itself. In addition to the growing of foodstuff, which was consumed at home principally, whenever possible the farmer added crops which had a commercial value, such as coffee, cotton, and cocoa. From the returns of such cash crops the farmer purchased the limited number of manufactured goods and foods not produced locally which the family needed for living. The peasant farmer of Haiti was considered to be highly self-sufficient, and his dependence on imports for subsistence was very slight. Dependence on imports was more marked for the upper- and middle-class urban residents, who together made up only about 10 per cent of Haiti's total population. Haiti's entire imports in the normal peacetime year of 1937-1938 amounted to only \$2.92 per capita per year. Food imported came to only \$0.50 per capita per year, in quantities as follows: wheat flour, 6.3 pounds; preserved fish, 2.3 pounds; rice, 0.9 pounds; fats and oils, 0.4 pounds; meat, 0.2 pounds; preserved milk, 0.1 pound; and all other foods, 0.7 pound.<sup>17</sup> It should be noted that, although these figures indicate a quantitative food self-sufficiency, the wide incidence of deficiency conditions and diseases among the peasantry revealed a qualitative inadequacy.

Choosing from the list of nonfood import items obviously destined for individual consumption, we find the following per-capita figures for

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<sup>17</sup>Harry M. Stark, "War Bolsters Haiti's Economy," Foreign Commerce Weekly, Department of Commerce, IX (December 12, 1942), 4.

the year 1938-1939: textiles and clothing, \$1.01; soap, \$0.14; gasoline, kerosene, etc., \$0.13; chemicals and pharmaceuticals, \$0.08; liquors and beverages, \$0.06; household utensils, \$0.05; and tobacco products, \$0.05.<sup>18</sup> Realizing that a disproportionate share of the food and nonfood imports were consumed by the urban residents, it is easy to understand that the rural residents were not dependent on imports to a large extent. In addition to raising most of their food, a large part of the peasant folk supplied many other needs of living through their own industry. They sewed their own clothes; they constructed their own furniture, implements, and tools; they wove baskets and hats and baked coarse earthenware; and they built their own houses.

#### Nature of the farm

The amount of land worked by the average peasant family was not extensive. There were variations between the various parts of the country, but the best sources indicated that the size of the average peasant farm ranged from less than a carreau to several carreaux. Maurice Bartigue,<sup>19</sup> in his study of 884 farm families, found that 40 per cent of the families occupied less than a carreau to 2 carreaux of land, that almost 60 per cent occupied from less than a carreau to 3 carreaux, and that about 22 per cent occupied 5 carreaux or more. Dartigue stated further that, in the regions where the plantations of the Standard Fruit Company were found, the majority of the peasants had less than a carreau

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>19</sup>Dartigue, op. cit., p. 36.

of land,<sup>20</sup> and that, of 11,086 farmers occupying land of the state registered in the "Cadastre de l'Administration Générale des Contributions," 8,134, or 74 per cent, occupied 1 to 2 carreaux of land; and 9,131, or 82 per cent, occupied from 1 to 3 carreaux.<sup>21</sup>

In the village of Gressier the amount of land cultivated per family ranged from one-fourth carreau to 20 carreaux, and there was a mean number of 1.5 carreaux and a median number of 0.6 carreaux cultivated per family. One-fourth of the families cultivated one-fourth carreau or less, one-half of the families cultivated one-half carreau or less, almost two-thirds of the families cultivated 1 carreau or less, and only 5 of the 104 farm families owned 5 carreaux or more. Among the dispersed samples, the upper-class families cultivated more land proportionately than did the middle-class families; and, similarly, the middle-class families cultivated more land than did the lower-class families. However, except for a few of the upper-class families, all the families studied cultivated small plots. The range in number of carreaux cultivated for the upper-, middle-, and lower-class families was, respectively, from one-fourth to 43, from one-fourth to 17, and from one-fourth to 6; and the mean number of carreaux of land cultivated per family was 10.7 for the upper-class families, 3.0 for the middle-class families, and 1.3 for the lower-class families. The median number of carreaux of land cultivated per family for the upper-, middle-, and lower-class families was 8, 3, and 1, respectively. (See Table LII.)

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 37-39.



TABLE LII

DISTRIBUTION OF FARM FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY AMOUNT OF LAND IN CARREAUX CULTIVATED

Amount of Land in Carreaux Cultivated	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1/4 . . . . .	28	26.9	1	1.3	8	5.6	10	14.1
1/2 . . . . .	24	23.1	...	...	3	2.1	15	21.1
3/4 . . . . .	6	5.8	...	...	3	2.1	2	2.8
1 . . . . .	9	8.6	1	1.3	14	9.8	20	28.2
1 1/4 . . . . .	3	2.8	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
1 1/2 . . . . .	8	7.7	1	1.3	8	5.6	4	5.6
1 3/4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 . . . . .	8	7.7	1	1.3	20	14.0	10	14.1
2 1/4 . . . . .	1	1.0	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
2 1/2 . . . . .	4	3.8	...	...	9	6.3	3	4.2
2 3/4 . . . . .	1	1.0	1	1.3	...	...	1	1.4
3 . . . . .	2	1.9	5	6.7	30	21.0	5	7.1
4 . . . . .	5	4.8	8	10.7	20	14.0	...	...
5 . . . . .	1	1.0	6	8.0	9	6.3	...	...
6 . . . . .	2	1.9	4	5.3	2	1.4	1	1.4
7 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.4	6	4.2	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.4	2	1.4	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
10 - 14 . . . . .	1	1.0	17	22.7	5	3.4	...	...
15 - 19 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	2	1.4	...	...
20 and over . . . . .	1	1.0	12	16.0	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Average number of carreaux of land cultivated per family:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	1.5		10.7		3.3		1.3	
Median . . . . .	0.6		8.0		3.0		1.0	
<b>Range in number of carreaux of land cultivated per family . .</b>								
	1/4-20		1/4-43		1/4-17		1/4-6	

A significant characteristic of agriculture in Haiti was that the land cultivated by a single family comprehended, ordinarily, 2 or more separate plots or gardens which did not join each other. In Gressier, of the 56 families studied with regard to number of separate gardens in land cultivated, only 5 families had 1 garden, over 29 per cent of the families had 2 gardens, almost 21 per cent had 3 gardens, over 17 per cent had 4 gardens, and almost 14 per cent had five gardens. The range in number of gardens per family was from 1 to 10, and the median number of gardens per family was 3. Similarly, a large proportion of the families of the dispersed samples had more than a single garden, with the middle-class families having more gardens per family than the lower-class families, and the upper-class families having more gardens per family than the middle-class families. The range in number of gardens per family for the upper-, middle-, and lower-class families was, respectively, from 1 to 30, from 1 to 17, and from 1 to 9; and the median number of gardens per family was 5, 3, and 2, respectively. (See Table LIII.)

With the existence of the village type of settlement in the rural parts and the ownership of several separate gardens by a single farmer, frequently the cultivator did not live on the land he worked. The nature and extent of this condition was studied in connection with the families of the dispersed samples. It was found that the lower-class families lived to a greater extent on the land which they worked than did the middle- and upper-class families, and that the upper- and middle-class families traveled greater distances to reach the most distant gardens than did the lower-class families. Table LIV shows that 95 per cent of the upper-class families, 92 per cent of the middle-class families, and 76 per

TABLE LIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FARM FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF SEPARATE GARDENS IN THE LAND CULTIVATED

Number of Separate Gardens	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 . . . . .	5	8.6	3	4.1	14	9.9	22	31.0
2 . . . . .	17	29.3	4	5.5	27	19.2	24	33.8
3 . . . . .	12	20.7	11	15.1	35	24.8	13	18.3
4 . . . . .	10	17.3	6	8.2	26	18.4	4	5.6
5 . . . . .	8	13.8	21	28.8	15	10.6	4	5.6
6 . . . . .	3	5.2	7	9.6	6	4.3	2	2.9
7 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	3	2.1	1	1.4
8 . . . . .	2	3.4	1	1.4	5	3.6	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.1	3	2.1	1	1.4
10 . . . . .	1	1.7	5	6.8	4	2.9	...	...
11 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.1	2	1.4	...	...
13 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.1	...	...	...	...
14 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4	...	...	...	...
16 and over . . . . .	...	...	3	4.1	1	0.7	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Average number of gardens per cultivator:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	3.4		6.6		4.0		2.4	
Median . . . . .	3.0		5.0		3.0		2.0	
<b>Range in number of gardens per cultivator .</b>								
	1-10		1-30		1-17		1-9	

TABLE LIV

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FARM FAMILIES OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY DISTANCE  
IN KILOMETERS FROM THE DWELLING TO THE MOST DISTANT GARDEN**

Distance in Kilometers from Dwelling to most Distant Garden	Dispersed Samples					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Adjoining . . . . .	4	5.4	12	8.5	17	24.3
1/4 . . . . .	...	...	5	3.5	7	10.0
1/2 . . . . .	4	5.4	6	4.2	10	14.3
3/4 . . . . .	1	1.3	1	0.7	2	2.8
1 . . . . .	7	9.3	35	24.7	7	10.0
2 . . . . .	14	18.7	17	12.0	9	12.9
3 . . . . .	12	16.0	14	9.9	9	12.9
4 . . . . .	4	5.4	13	9.2	3	4.3
5 . . . . .	8	10.7	10	7.0	3	4.3
6 . . . . .	5	6.7	5	3.5	...	...
7 . . . . .	1	1.3	4	2.8	...	...
8 . . . . .	1	1.3	6	4.2	2	2.8
9 . . . . .	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
10 . . . . .	3	4.0	4	2.8	...	...
11 . . . . .	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
12 . . . . .	1	1.3	2	1.4	...	...
13 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
14 . . . . .	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
15 . . . . .	1	1.3	2	1.4	...	...
16 . . . . .	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
17 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
18 . . . . .	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
19 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 . . . . .	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
21 and over . . . . .	2	2.7	3	2.1	1	1.4
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of cultivators who must go some distance to gardens. . . . .</b>	<b>71</b>		<b>130</b>		<b>53</b>	

(continued on next page)

TABLE LIV (continued)

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FARM FAMILIES OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY DISTANCE  
IN KILOMETERS FROM THE DWELLING TO THE MOST DISTANT GARDEN**

Distance in Kilometers from Dwelling to most Distant Garden	Dispersed Samples					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Of total cultivators, percentage who must go some distance to gardens. . . . .		94.7		91.5		75.7
Average distance to farthest garden (excluding adjoining gardens):						
Mean. . . . .		5.3		4.2		2.4
Median. . . . .		3.0		3.0		2.0
Range in distance to farthest garden . . . . .		0-25		0-30		0-25

cent of the lower-class families cultivated gardens that did not join their places of residence, and that the median distance traveled to reach the most distant gardens was 3 kilometers for the upper- and middle-class families and 2 kilometers for the lower-class families.

**Subsistence and farm activities**

As was pointed out in the foregoing discussions, probably the greater part of the peasant farmers of Haiti raised most of the food they consumed, a small number of the farmers specialized in crops that they could sell for cash and in turn bought most of the foodstuff needed for family consumption, and a few farm families worked for cash wages and consequently had to purchase all their food. The study showed a somewhat different condition in the village of Gressier, due perhaps to several years of poor crops

caused by droughts. Of the 104 farm families in the village, almost 64 per cent obtained only one-fourth of the food consumed by the family from their farms, 20 per cent obtained one-half of their food from their farms, 16 per cent obtained three-fourths of their food from their farms, while there were no families who obtained all food consumed from their farms. Considering the dispersed samples, a greater number of families received a larger proportion of food from their farms than was the case in the village of Gressier, and this was particularly true for the upper- and middle-class families. (See Table LV for statistical details.)

TABLE LV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FARM FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY PORTION OF FOOD OBTAINED FROM  
THEIR FARMS

Portion of Food Obtained from Farm	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
None. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2.9
One-fourth. . . . .	66	63.5	11	15.1	18	13.0	26	38.3
One-half . . . . .	21	20.2	12	16.4	37	26.6	18	26.5
Three-fourths . . . . .	17	16.3	48	65.8	84	60.4	20	29.4
All . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	2	2.9
Total . . . . .	104	100.0	73	100.0	139	100.0	68	100.0

Tables XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV of Appendix B give the statistics for the families of the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples regarding, respectively, the chief food crops produced in the gardens, the food crops of natural growth obtained from their farms, the chief foods purchased from the markets, and the chief crops produced for sale. A study of the tables shows that the chief food crops raised were plantains, potatoes, rice, millet, corn, peas, manioc, and yams; that the chief food crops of natural growth obtained from the farms were mangoes, avocados, sour sop, coconuts, oranges, coffee, and breadfruit; that the chief foods purchased from the markets were rice, peas, corn, plantains, potatoes, coffee, yams, and green vegetables; and that the chief crops sold were millet, potatoes, plantains, coffee, peas, corn, manioc, and sugar cane. (See Tables XXXII through XXXV of Appendix B for statistical details.)

Preservation of food was found to be an unimportant activity of farm living in Haiti. The study of the families in the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples showed that the chief method of food preservation was the curing of meat, of fish, and of vegetables. Meat and fish were either dried or salted, while vegetables were dried. Very little canning of foods was practiced. In the village of Gressier one-half of the 110 families had no type of food preservation; 16 per cent reported the curing of meat, 32 per cent the curing of vegetables, and 2 per cent the curing of fish as their chief type of food preservation. A larger proportion of the families of the dispersed samples preserved food than was the case in Gressier, and among the dispersed samples the upper-class families practiced food preservation to a greater extent than did the

middle- and lower-class families. (See Table LVI.) The small amount of curing of foods and especially vegetables in Haiti may be accounted for partially by the fact that ordinarily only a small amount of a certain kind of food crop is planted and harvested at any one time, a quantity sufficient only for home consumption and local marketing. In addition the year-round growing season makes it possible to have several crops of the same type each year, thus eliminating to some extent the necessity for preservation of food. At least one crop is being planted, weeded, or harvested during each month of the year.

TABLE LVI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY CHIEF METHODS OF FOOD PRESERVATION  
EXERCISED IN THE HOME

Chief Method of Food Preservation	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No food preservation. . .	55	50.0	12	16.0	35	24.5	19	25.3
Cured meats . . . . .	18	16.4	61	81.3	101	70.6	53	70.7
Cured vegetables. . . .	35	31.8	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
Cured fish . . . . .	2	1.8	2	2.7	6	4.2	2	2.7
Other preservation, but not specified . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1.3
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>



In the peasant type of agriculture it was noted that each family as a rule performed all the work necessary on the farm. The men of the family did the heavy work of preparing the gardens for planting, while the women did most of the weeding of the crops. Both men and women worked at planting and harvesting and the boys and girls of the families were taken to the fields to assist with the work at an early age.

At certain times and for certain types of activities of farm living, the farmers performed the job as a group. This kind of co-operative work was called a "coumbite" in Haiti. In such co-operative activity a farmer invited his neighbors, friends, and relatives to help him prepare, plant, or weed his fields, harvest a crop, build or repair a house, clean an irrigation ditch, or perform some other job. The farmer who was host provided food, drink, and sometimes music for the participants and obligated himself to reciprocate with his presence when one of those present gave a "coumbite." It was mutually understood that when one could not participate in the "coumbite" of a neighbor to whom he was under obligation, he would send a worker in his place or make a contribution as food, liquor, or money. Sometimes the work was performed in unison to the rhythm of singing and music. The drum and the "lambi," a large conch shell, were used for summoning people to the "coumbite" and for music during the work. The "coumbite" was observed to be an important co-operative institution in Haitian rural life, and it merits intensive socio-economic study. In this regard George E. Simpson has said:

...the "coumbite" is of incalculable economic value to the peasant because it enables him to accomplish tasks quickly, cheaply, and at the most opportune moments. The "coumbite" has been and still is one of the most popular, most beneficial, and most durable of Haitian institutions.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Simpson, "Haitian Peasant Economy," p. 502. For further descriptions of "coumbites" in Haiti, see Herskovits, op. cit., pp. 70-73.

Although the "coumbite" was probably the most important form of rural co-operative activity, some co-operative enterprises of a less institutionalized or formal nature were found among the peasants.

Among the families of the dispersed samples studied, the following types of co-operative activity were reported as the most important: farm work, road work, cleaning irrigation ditches, house building and repair, and animal breeding. There was noted very little variation between the several dispersed samples with regard to the extent and nature of co-operative enterprises engaged in. Almost 23 per cent of the upper-class families, 15 per cent of the middle-class families, and 21 per cent of the lower-class families did not engage in co-operative enterprise. Among the types of co-operative enterprises engaged in, co-operative farm work was by far the most important, with 60 per cent of the upper-class families, 74 per cent of the middle-class families, and 64 per cent of the lower-class families designating it as their chief co-operative activity. (See Table LVII for more statistical details.)

Through its agricultural agents and farm schools, the Department of Agriculture of the Haitian government has initiated programs designed to assist the peasant farmer. The programs as they existed when the study was made comprehended essentially the giving of vocational agricultural training in the farm schools; the counseling of farmers and supervision of their agricultural activities; the making of seeds, plants, and certain farm implements available to needy farmers; and the initiation of special projects such as drainage and fertilization of land and vaccination of farm animals. Because of the limited budget, personnel, and working facilities in the service compared to the great need, only a small portion

TABLE LVII

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY CHIEF  
CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISE ENGAGED IN**

Chief Co-operative Enterprises Engaged In	Dispersed Samples					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No co-operative enterprises. . . . .	17	22.7	21	15.4	15	20.5
Farm work. . . . .	45	60.0	101	74.2	47	64.4
Road work. . . . .	2	2.7	5	3.7	3	4.1
Cleaning irrigation ditches. . . . .	1	1.3	3	2.2	1	1.4
House building and repair. . . . .	1	1.3	2	1.5	1	1.4
Animal breeding. . . . .	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
Other enterprises, but not specified	8	10.7	4	3.0	6	8.2
Total. . . . .	75	100.0	136	100.0	73	100.0

of the peasant farmers realized a benefit from the agriculture service, and in many cases the benefits were more nominal than real. In the village of Gressier, of the 108 families studied, 65 per cent reported that they received no benefit from the government agricultural service. Of the 38 families reporting services received, 35 mentioned the receiving of plants, 1 the receiving of farm counsel, 1 the education of the children, and 1 the receiving of seeds. A smaller proportion of the families of the dispersed samples stated that they received no benefits from the government agricultural service than was the case in Gressier, and this difference was particularly observable for the upper- and middle-class families. In addition to the benefits mentioned above by the families of Gressier, the families of the dispersed samples mentioned the loaning of farm implements and

the vaccinating of livestock by the government agricultural service. (See Table LVIII.) Plates XXIX through XXXIII are illustrations of agricultural activities and farm living in rural Haiti.

TABLE LVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY CHIEF BENEFIT RECEIVED FROM THE GOVERNMENT  
AGRICULTURAL SERVICE

Chief Benefits Received from the Government Agricultural Service	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No benefits received. . . . .	70	64.9	26	35.6	39	28.5	38	52.8
Received plants . . . . .	35	32.4	25	34.3	39	28.5	11	15.3
Received farm counsel . . . . .	1	0.9	11	15.1	24	17.5	9	12.5
Borrowed farm imple- ments . . . . .	...	...	7	9.6	19	13.9	10	13.9
Education to children . . . . .	1	0.9	...	...	8	5.8	2	2.7
Received seeds. . . . .	1	0.9	2	2.7	6	4.4	1	1.4
Livestock was vaccin- ated . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
Other services . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	1	1.4
Total . . . . .	108	100.0	73	100.0	137	100.0	72	100.0



**PLATE XXIX. GATHERING COCONUTS IN RURAL HAITI.** (The palm tree is valuable for supplying many needs of living in Haiti.)



**PLATE XXX. FARMING ON A ROCKY MOUNTAIN SLOPE IN HAITI.** (Haiti is very mountainous, and a large part of its population must gain a living from cultivating the mountain lands.)



**PLATE XXXI. GRINDING CORN AT HOME IN RURAL HAITI.** (The crude hand-made mortar and pestle is used for all kinds of crushing and grinding at the peasant home. Observe the shedlike kitchen in the background.)



**PLATE XXXII. CORN IN STORAGE IN RURAL HAITI.** (Ears of corn in the husk are bound together and hanged from poles for drying and protection from destructive animals, particularly the mongoose and rats.)



**PLATE XXXIII. PRIMITIVE SUGAR-CANE MILLS IN RURAL HAITI. (Upper: a hand press of the most primitive type. Lower: a more modern press which is operated by ox power. This type is most popular in rural Haiti.)**

### Farm implements

Compared to agricultural methods in the more modern countries, peasant farming in Haiti was found to be of a primitive type. The plow and commercial agriculture were unknown to Haiti except for certain phases of the agricultural processes on the several large plantations of the country. Most of the peasant farming was done by crude hand methods. The machete and the hoe were the two most common implements on the Haitian peasant farm, and among the other implements of lesser importance were picks, sickles, and the so-called "couteau d'igo," a type of knife with a curved blade. Tables XXXVI through XL of Appendix B give the incidence of the several types of farm implements among the families studied in the village of Gressier and in the dispersed samples. A study of the tables demonstrates that the large majority of all families studied owned one or more machetes and hoes. Picks, sickles, and "couteaus digos," being more specialized tools, were not so generally owned. It was also found that for the dispersed samples a larger proportion of the middle-class families owned the several types of farm implements than did the lower-class families; and, similarly, a larger proportion of the upper-class families owned implements than did the middle-class families. In the village of Gressier machetes were owned by 86 per cent of the families, and in the dispersed samples 99 per cent of the upper- and middle-class families and 88 per cent of the lower-class families owned machetes; and the median number of machetes per family for all families studied as well as for families owning machetes was 1 for the families of Gressier, 3 for the upper-class families, 2 for the middle-class families, and 1 for the lower-class families. Hoes were owned by 86 per cent of the families of



Gressier and by 93 per cent of the upper-class families, 92 per cent of the middle-class families, and 77 per cent of the lower-class families of the dispersed samples. The median number of hoes per family for all families reporting as well as for families owning hoes was 1 for the Gressier families and 3, 2, and 1, respectively, for the upper-, middle-, and lower-class families of the dispersed samples. (See Tables XXXVI through XL of Appendix B for statistical details.)

Upon consideration of the type and number of farm implements owned by the rural families, it can be understood readily that their value would not figure significantly in the total family assets. In the village of Gressier the value of farm implements per family ranged from 3 to 14 gourdes, with a median value of farm implements per family for families owning farm implements of 9.43 gourdes. Of the 98 families owning farm implements in Gressier, the value of implements of 2 of the families was from 1 to 4 gourdes, the value of implements of 53 of the families was from 5 to 9 gourdes, and the value of implements of 43 of the families was from 10 to 14 gourdes. A similarly low average value per family of farm implements was found for the families of the dispersed samples, with the middle-class families having a higher average value of farm implements per family than the lower-class families, and the upper-class families having a higher average value of farm implements per family than the middle-class families. The range in value of farm implements per owning families of the upper-, middle-, and lower-class families was, respectively, from 2 to 152 gourdes, from 2 to 64 gourdes, and from 2 to 25 gourdes; and the median value of farm implements per owning families was, respectively, 20.77 gourdes, 12.65 gourdes, and 7.58 gourdes. (See Table LIX for statistical details.)

TABLE LIX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF FARM IMPLEMENTS OWNED

Value in Gourdes of Farm Implements Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 4 . . . . .	2	2.0	2	2.7	13	9.0	19	26.8
5 - 9 . . . . .	53	54.1	5	6.7	41	28.5	32	45.1
10 - 14 . . . . .	43	43.9	16	21.6	34	23.6	14	19.7
15 - 19 . . . . .	...	...	12	16.2	27	18.7	5	7.0
20 - 24 . . . . .	...	...	13	17.6	15	10.4	...	...
25 - 29 . . . . .	...	...	10	13.5	6	4.2	1	1.4
30 - 34 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	2	1.4	...	...
35 - 39 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	2	1.4	...	...
40 - 44 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4 <sup>1/2</sup>	2	1.4	...	...
45 - 49 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4 <sup>1/2</sup>	...	...	...	...
50 - 54 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4 <sup>1/2</sup>	1	0.7	...	...
55 - 59 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
60 - 64 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
65 - 69 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
70 - 74 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
75 - 79 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4 <sup>1/2</sup>	...	...	...	...
80 - 84 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4 <sup>1/2</sup>	...	...	...	...
85 - 89 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
90 - 94 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
95 - 99 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
100 - 199 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
200 - 299 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
300 - 399 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
400 and over . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(continued on next page)

TABLE LIX (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF FARM IMPLEMENTS OWNED

Value in Gourdes of Farm Implements Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Of total families, per- centage owning farm implements. . . . .	89.9		98.7		100.0		94.7	
Average value of farm implements per family, for families owning farm implements:								
Mean . . . . .	8.37		26.89		13.93		7.66	
Median . . . . .	9.43		20.77		12.65		7.58	
Average value of farm implements per family, for all families report- ing:								
Mean . . . . .	7.52		26.53		13.93		7.25	
Median . . . . .	8.92		20.58		12.65		7.27	
Range in value of farm implements per owning families. . . . .	3-14		2-152		2-64		2-25	

<sup>1/</sup> In adjusting the percentage columns so that they would total 100 per cent, 1.35 was rounded to 1.4 only in the cases indicated above; whereas 1.35 was rounded to 1.3 in all other cases.

Livestock

The Haitian peasant farmer used the donkey, the horse, the mule, and oxen as beasts of burden. The donkey, the horse, and the mule were used primarily for riding and as pack animals. Oxen were used principally for drawing carts. Cattle, hogs, goats, chickens, and other fowl were the primary sources of meat in Haiti, and the peasant ordinarily

utilized some of the meat animals for his own family needs and sold some for cash.

Tables XLI through XLIX of Appendix B give statistics of the ownership of donkeys, horses, mules, cows, goats, hogs, chickens, ducks, and all other animals by the families of the village of Gressier and of the dispersed samples. A review of the data shows that in the village of Gressier 18 per cent of the families owned donkeys, 25 per cent owned horses, 1 per cent owned mules, 21 per cent owned cattle, 13 per cent owned goats, 50 per cent owned hogs, 51 per cent owned chickens, 1 per cent owned ducks, and 5 per cent owned other animals. The median number of the various kinds of livestock per family, for families owning that type of livestock, was donkeys, 1; horses, 1; mules, 1; cattle, 1; goats, 2; hogs, 1; chickens, 3; ducks, 6; and other livestock, 2. When considering all families studied in the village of Gressier, the median number of the several kinds of livestock per family was 1 for chickens and zero for all the other types of livestock listed above. The study of the families of the dispersed samples demonstrated that the middle-class families owned more livestock than did the lower-class families; and, similarly, the upper-class families owned more livestock than did the middle-class families. For example, 79 per cent of the upper-class families, 60 per cent of the middle-class families, and 35 per cent of the lower-class families owned 1 or more donkeys; and the median number of donkeys owned per family for families owning donkeys was 2 for the upper-, 1.5 for the middle-, and 1 for the lower-class families. The median number of donkeys per family for all families studied was 2 for the upper-class families, 1 for the middle-class families, and zero for the lower-class families. A similar

variation between the upper-, middle-, and lower-class families existed with regard to ownership of the other types of livestock. It should be noted that all of the families of the upper- and middle-class samples and 95 per cent of the lower-class samples owned livestock. (See Tables XLI through XLIX of Appendix B for more statistical details.)

The study demonstrated that the value of the livestock of the families considered figured more significantly in the value of total assets of the families than did the value of house furnishings and farm implements. Table LX, which gives the statistics on the value of livestock owned by the families studied, shows that for the village of Gressier the range in value of livestock owned per family was from 2 to 502 gourdes, and that the median value of livestock per family for families owning livestock was 80.71 gourdes; whereas the median value of livestock per family for all families reporting was 35.50 gourdes. The per-family value of livestock was less than 20 gourdes for 9 per cent of the families, less than 40 gourdes for 35 per cent of the families, and less than 100 gourdes for 58 per cent of the families. Considering the dispersed samples, the study showed that the value of livestock was greater for the middle-class families than for the lower-class families, and greater for the upper-class families than for the middle-class families. The range in value of livestock per family for the upper-, middle-, and lower-class samples was, respectively, from 71 to 9,905 gourdes; from 10 to 4,114 gourdes; and from 1 to 523 gourdes. The median value of livestock per family for families owning livestock was 875 gourdes for the upper-class families, 266.67 gourdes for the middle-class families, and 59.23 gourdes for the lower-class families. (See Table LX.)

TABLE LX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF LIVESTOCK OWNED

Value in Gourdes of Livestock Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 19 . . . . .	7	9.1	...	...	2	1.4	13	18.3
20 - 39 . . . . .	20	25.9	...	...	9	6.2	10	14.1
40 - 59 . . . . .	5	6.5	...	...	5	3.5	13	18.3
60 - 79 . . . . .	6	7.8	1	1.3	7	4.9	6	8.5
80 - 99 . . . . .	7	9.1	...	...	7	4.9	6	8.5
100 - 149 . . . . .	11	14.3	2	2.7	10	6.9	9	12.6
150 - 199 . . . . .	9	11.7	2	2.7	17	11.8	6	8.5
200 - 249 . . . . .	4	5.2	3	4.0	12	8.3	1	1.4
250 - 299 . . . . .	4	5.2	2	2.7	9	6.2	2	2.8
300 - 349 . . . . .	2	2.6	1	1.3	6	4.2	...	...
350 - 399 . . . . .	1	1.3	...	...	8	5.5	1	1.4
400 - 449 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	8	5.5	1	1.4
450 - 499 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	5	3.5	2	2.8
500 - 549 . . . . .	1	1.3	6	8.0	3	2.1	1	1.4
550 - 599 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	4	2.8	...	...
600 - 649 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	3	2.1	...	...
650 - 699 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
700 - 749 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	4	2.8	...	...
750 - 799 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	1	0.7	...	...
800 - 849 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	3	2.1	...	...
850 - 899 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	5	3.5	...	...
900 - 949 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
950 - 999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
1,000 - 1,499 . . . . .	...	...	13	17.3	9	6.2	...	...
1,500 - 1,999 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.3	2	1.4	...	...
2,000 - 2,499 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
2,500 - 2,999 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
3,000 - 3,499 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	...	...	...	...
3,500 - 3,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
4,000 - 4,499 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
4,500 - 4,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...

(continued on next page)

TABLE LX (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF LIVESTOCK OWNED

Value in Gourdes of Livestock Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
5,000 - 5,999 . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6,000 - 6,999 . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7,000 - 7,999 . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8,000 - 8,999 . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9,000 - 9,999 . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
10,000 and over . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Of total families, percentage owning livestock . . . . .</b>	<b>70.6</b>		<b>100.0</b>		<b>100.0</b>		<b>94.7</b>	
<b>Average value of live- stock per family, for families owning live- stock:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	106.17		1,308.95		442.40		100.96	
Median . . . . .	80.71		875.00		266.67		59.23	
<b>Average value of live- stock per family, for all families reporting:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	75.00		1,308.95		442.40		95.57	
Median . . . . .	35.50		875.00		266.67		56.15	
<b>Range in value of live- stock owned per family . . . . .</b>	<b>2-502</b>		<b>71-9,905</b>		<b>10-4,114</b>		<b>1-523</b>	

## 5. Financial Status

In the matter of the financial status of the families considered intensively in this study, it is convenient to discuss here the value of total material assets owned, cash savings, and debts.

### Value of material assets

As was noted in the foregoing discussions, although there were notable exceptions and considerable variations, the total material assets--including houses, land, house furnishings, farm implements, and livestock--of the majority of the families studied were relatively small. The study showed that for the village of Gressier there was a range in value of total material assets per family of from 15 to 4,671 gourdes, giving a median value of material assets per family of 263.04 gourdes and a mean value of material assets per family of 407.66 gourdes. In consideration of the skewed distribution of the value of total material assets of the Gressier families, the median value perhaps is more descriptive of the average family of the village than the mean value. It is significant to note that in Gressier almost 15 per cent of the families had material assets valued at less than 100 gourdes, almost 37 per cent at less than 200 gourdes, almost 58 per cent at less than 300 gourdes, over 77 per cent at less than 500 gourdes; whereas only 30 per cent had material assets per family valued at 500 gourdes or more. In the dispersed samples there was considerable range in total material assets among the families of each sample as well as notable variations between the several samples. The range in total material assets per family for the upper-, middle-, and lower-class samples was, respectively, from 438 to 58,933 gourdes; from



52 to 11,719 gourdes; and from 6 to 3,185 gourdes; and the median value of material assets per family was 4,852.94 gourdes for the upper class; 1,422.22 gourdes for the middle class; and 215.38 gourdes for the lower class. Because of the skewed distribution of each of the samples the median values are probably more descriptive averages than the mean values, which were 8,854.61 gourdes for the upper-class families; 1,854.53 gourdes for the middle-class families; and 394.53 gourdes for the lower-class families. (See Table LXI for statistical details.)

#### Cash savings

The study demonstrated that the general rural economy of Haiti, and especially the subsistence type of agriculture engaged in by the Haitian peasant, did not make for cash savings; and that the cash savings which did exist among the rural folk usually represented very small amounts. In the village of Gressier only 1 family reported cash savings, and the savings in that family amounted to 2,000 gourdes, which is considerable for a Haitian farm family. A number of other families in Gressier stated that they had had small savings in the past, but that during the preceding several years the savings had been used up as a result of poor crops caused by droughts. Considering the dispersed samples, it was found that 47 per cent of the upper-class families, 30 per cent of the middle-class families, and 10 per cent of the lower-class families had savings. There was a large range in the amount of savings per family among the families of each sample, as well as considerable variation between the samples. The range in amount of cash savings per family for families with savings for the upper, middle, and lower classes was, respectively, from 4 to 40,219 gourdes; from 2 to

TABLE LXI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF  
TOTAL MATERIAL ASSETS

Value in Gourdes of Total Material Assets	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
1 - 99 . . . . .	16	14.7	...	...	4	2.8	19	25.7
100 - 199 . . . . .	24	22.0	...	...	5	3.5	16	21.6
200 - 299 . . . . .	23	21.1	...	...	1	0.7	13	17.5
300 - 399 . . . . .	11	10.1	...	...	10	6.9	4	5.4
400 - 499 . . . . .	10	9.2	1	1.3	9	6.2	4	5.4
500 - 599 . . . . .	6	5.5	1	1.3	4	2.8	2	2.7
600 - 699 . . . . .	3	2.8	...	...	3	2.1	3	4.0
700 - 799 . . . . .	5	4.6	1	1.3	8	5.5	2	2.7
800 - 899 . . . . .	3	2.8	...	...	5	3.5	1	1.4
900 - 999 . . . . .	2	1.8	...	...	4	2.8	1	1.4
1,000 - 1,999 . . . . .	4	3.6	6	8.0	45	31.2	8	10.8
2,000 - 2,999 . . . . .	1	0.9	11	14.6	18	12.5	...	...
3,000 - 3,999 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	16	11.1	1	1.4
4,000 - 4,999 . . . . .	1	0.9	17	22.7	6	4.2	...	...
5,000 - 5,999 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	2	1.4	...	...
6,000 - 6,999 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	1	0.7	...	...
7,000 - 7,999 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	1	0.7	...	...
8,000 - 8,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
9,000 - 9,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
10,000 - 10,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
11,000 - 11,999 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
12,000 - 12,999 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	...	...	...	...
13,000 - 13,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
14,000 - 14,999 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
15,000 - 19,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
20,000 - 29,999 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
30,000 - 39,999 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
40,000 - 49,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
50,000 - 59,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(continued on next page)

TABLE LXI (continued)

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY VALUE IN GOURDES OF  
TOTAL MATERIAL ASSETS**

Value in Gourdes of Total Material Assets	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
<b>Average value of material assets per family:</b>								
Mean. . . . .	407.66		8,854.61		1,854.53		394.53	
Median. . . . .	263.04		4,852.94		1,422.22		215.38	
<b>Range in value of material assets per family . . . . .</b>								
	15-4,671		438-58,933		82-11,719		6-3,185	

9,720 gourdes; and from 2 to 389 gourdes. The median amount of cash savings per family, for families having cash savings, was 350 gourdes for the upper class, 141.67 gourdes for the middle class, and 116.67 gourdes for the lower class; and the median amount of cash savings per family for all families studied was zero for each of the samples. Because of the skewed distribution of each of the samples, and particularly the upper- and middle-class samples, the medians as given above are perhaps more realistic averages than the mean amounts of cash savings per family for families with savings, which were found to be 2,691.77 gourdes for the upper-class families, 734.10 gourdes for the middle-class families, and 120.00 gourdes for the lower-class families. (See Table LXII for more statistical details.)

TABLE LXII

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY AMOUNT IN GOURDES OF CASH SAVINGS**

Amount in Gourdes of Cash Savings	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No savings. . . . .	108	99.1	39	52.7	96	70.1	66	90.4
1 - 49. . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	11	8.1	3	4.1
50 - 99. . . . .	...	...	6	8.1	7	5.1	...	...
100 - 299 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	6	4.4	3	4.1
200 - 299 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	1	0.7	...	...
300 - 399 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.1	5	3.7	1	1.4
400 - 499 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	3	2.2	...	...
500 - 599 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.8	1	0.7	...	...
600 - 699 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4	...	...	...	...
700 - 799 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
800 - 899 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
900 - 999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
1,000 - 1,999 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
2,000 - 2,999 . . . . .	1	0.9	1	1.4	...	...	...	...
3,000 - 3,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1	0.7	...	...
4,000 - 4,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2	1.5	...	...
5,000 - 9,999 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1	0.7	...	...
10,000 and over . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Number of families  
having cash  
savings . . . . .

1

35

41

7

(continued on next page)

TABLE LXII (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY AMOUNT IN GOURDES OF CASH SAVINGS

Amount in Gourdes of Cash Savings	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Of total families, per- centage having cash savings. . . . .	0.9		47.3		29.9		9.6	
Average amount of cash savings per family, for families having cash savings:								
Mean . . . . .	2,000.00		2,691.77		734.10		120.00	
Median . . . . .	2,000.00		350.00		141.67		116.67	
Average amount of cash savings per family, for all families reporting:								
Mean . . . . .	18.35		1,273.14		219.69		11.50	
Median . . . . .	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
Range in amount of cash savings per family, for families with savings.	----		4-40,219		2-9,720		2-389	

<sup>1/</sup> In adjusting the percentage columns to total 100 per cent, 1.35 was rounded to equal 1.3 in the instances indicated above.

Debts

The study showed that 82 per cent of the 109 families studied in the village of Gressier had debts. There was a range in the amount of debts per family for families with debts of from 1 to 400 gourdes, and the median amount of debts per family for families with debts was 36.11 gourdes. Considering all families studied in the village, the median amount of debts per family was found to be 26.55 gourdes. Because of the skewed distribution

of the Gressier families as regards debts, the median values as given above are probably better measures of central tendency than the mean values, which were found to be 64.36 gourdes for families with debts and 52.55 gourdes for all families studied. With regard to the dispersed samples, the study demonstrated that a larger proportion of the middle-class families were in debt than were the upper-class families; and, similarly, that a larger proportion of the lower-class families were in debt than were the middle-class families. It was also noted that the debts per family were larger for the upper-class families than for the middle-class families, and larger for the middle-class families than for the lower-class families. Twenty per cent of the upper-class families, 39 per cent of the middle-class families, and 60 per cent of the lower-class families were in debt; and the range in the amount of debts for the upper-, middle-, and lower-class families was, respectively, from 75 to 1,900 gourdes; from 5 to 1,000 gourdes; and from 2 to 200 gourdes. The median amount of debts per family for families with debts was found to be 575 gourdes for the upper-class families, 95 gourdes for the middle-class families, and 21.67 gourdes for the lower-class families. The median amount of debts per family for all families studied was found to be zero for the upper- and middle-class families and 5.83 gourdes for the lower-class families. (See Table LXIII for statistical details.)

TABLE LXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY AMOUNT IN COURDES OF DEBTS

Amount in Courdes of Debts	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No debts . . . . .	20	18.4	59	79.7	84	61.3	30	41.1
1 - 4 . . . . .	8	7.3	...	...	...	...	6	8.2
5 - 9 . . . . .	6	5.5	...	...	2	1.5	3	4.1
10 - 19 . . . . .	12	11.0	...	...	9	6.5	11	15.1
20 - 29 . . . . .	13	11.9	...	...	1	0.7	9	12.3
30 - 39 . . . . .	9	8.3	...	...	2	1.5	3	4.1
40 - 49 . . . . .	4	3.7	...	...	...	...	3	4.1
50 - 59 . . . . .	9	8.3	...	...	6	4.4	1	1.4
60 - 69 . . . . .	2	1.8	...	...	3	2.2	2	2.7
70 - 79 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4	2	1.5	1	1.4
80 - 89 . . . . .	1	0.9	1	1.4	...	...	2	2.7
90 - 99 . . . . .	1	0.9	...	...	3	2.2	...	...
100 - 199 . . . . .	14	12.9	1	1.4	16	11.7	1	1.4
200 - 299 . . . . .	8	7.3	...	...	3	2.2	1	1.4
300 - 399 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	1	0.7	...	...
400 - 499 . . . . .	2	1.8	...	...	...	...	...	...
500 - 599 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
600 - 699 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	1	0.7	...	...
700 - 799 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.4	1	0.7	...	...
800 - 899 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
900 - 999 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1,000 and over . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	3	2.2	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(continued on next page)

TABLE LXIII (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY AMOUNT IN GOURDES OF DEBTS

Amount in Gourdes of Debts	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Number of families having debts . . . . .	89		15		53		43	
Of total families, percentage having debts . . . . .	81.7		20.3		38.7		58.9	
Average amount of debts per family, for families having debts:								
Mean . . . . .	64.36		610.73		162.77		31.37	
Median . . . . .	36.11		575.00		95.00		21.67	
Average amount of debts per family, for all families reporting:								
Mean . . . . .	52.55		123.80		62.97		18.48	
Median . . . . .	26.55		0.00		0.00		5.83	
Range in amount of debts per family, for families with debts . . . . .	1-400		75-1,900		5-1,000		2-200	



## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION:

#### A RESUME OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND PROCESSES OF RURAL LIFE IN HAITI

In conclusion, and upon the basis of the foregoing discussions, it is desirable to present within the framework of a conceptual scheme of sociology a brief resume of the fundamental aspects of the social organization and processes of rural life in Haiti. In accomplishing this end it is useful to employ as a point of reference the morphological scheme for the study of social organization and processes as advanced by Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin in their A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociol-

ogy.<sup>1</sup> The authors gave the scheme in outline as follows:

A morphological study of the social organization of a population is an analysis of the fundamental forms of social differentiation, stratification, and mobility. An analysis of the forms of social differentiation within the rural population gives an idea of the horizontal aspects of the rural social organization while an analysis of the forms of social stratification gives an idea of its vertical aspects. Finally, a study of the mobility of the rural population furnishes an idea of the elasticity of the group's structure.

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<sup>1</sup> P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1930), 3 vols.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., I. 305.

The use of a conceptual scheme in which horizontal social differentiation, social stratification, and social mobility are treated not only furnishes means for a brief systematic presentation of the basic sociological aspects of rural life in the country, but also provides at the same time convenient axes for presenting in summary form the empirical findings of the study.

### 1. Horizontal Social Differentiation

Sorokin says that the social universe or human population is a space of many dimensions, but that for simplification the plurality of dimensions can be reduced to two principal classes, which may be styled the vertical and the horizontal dimensions of the universe.<sup>3</sup> Thus the social differentiation of a society can be presented in terms of the horizontal dimensions of the social universe, whereas the social stratification of a society can be analyzed in terms of vertical dimensions.

For the purpose of this conclusion, social differentiation in rural Haiti can be presented through outlining in summary form the types and nature of social groupings or forms of association<sup>4</sup> on the horizontal

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<sup>3</sup>Pitrim A. Sorokin, Social Mobility (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>The importance of social groupings or forms of associations in a study of social organization was well expressed by Professor T. Lynn Smith when he said that the "social groups, or forms of association, are the units or cells out of which society is constructed; and the study of social differentiation, or the nature and development of social groups, is of primary importance in the study of society." The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), p. 310. The concept "social group" has been analyzed by Smith to involve at least three elements: (1) plurality of social beings or persons; (2) social interaction between these individuals; and (3) social solidarity among the members, a unity which may be achieved as the results of bonds of similarity, or as a result of the dependence arising from specialization and division of labor in all the social spheres, from the biological to the economic. Ibid., p. 314.

plane. Important among the social groupings or forms of association in rural Haiti were those in connection with race and color, domestic institutions and family living, health and social participation, government and politics, education, religion, and economy and subsistence.

Racially, Haiti was observed to be predominately Negroid. The total population as it existed at the time of the study was made up in the main of a small number of pure whites; a larger number of mulattoes, a mixture principally of the white and the Negro races; and a predominant number of pure Negroes or almost pure Negroes. There was in addition to the Caucasian and Negro strains a sprinkling of the Mongolian race, chiefly Chinese, who in some instances were mixed with the Negro. The pure Negro group, which formed the lower class in the total population, was almost synonymous with a combination of the peasant folk who made up the bulk of the rural population and of the proletariat who resided in the towns and cities. Most of the mulattoes belonged to the upper and middle classes of the total population, and they lived principally in the cities and towns and were consequently not numerically important in the rural population. The white and yellow race groups, like the mulattoes, were almost totally urban. Among the white people of Haiti the chief national groups were Americans, English, French, Germans, Italians, and Syrians--and probably there were more Italians and Syrians living in the rural areas than was the case for any of the other white groups. Haiti's two most important racial and color groups--pure Negroes and mulattoes--have their origins in the colonial plantation culture of the country; and it was noted that factors of color, social

position, occupation, economic status, and various culture traits distinguished each of the groups and thereby rendered them significant units or cells in the total social organization. Differentiations made in Haiti's pure Negro and mulatto population, based principally on skin color and hair texture, were observed to be the "Nègre Congo," the "Griffe," the "Marabout," the "Grimaud," and the "Mulatre." The rural folk were chiefly of the "Nègre Congo" type, characterized by black skin and kinky hair, and the "Griffe" type, distinguished by brown skin and kinky hair. Among the families studied intensively in Gressier and in the dispersed communities the large majority of the family heads were of the "Nègre Congo" and "Griffe" types.

Early in the study the family was recognized as an important unit in Haiti's society, especially in rural Haiti, where, due to the scarcity of formalized training institutions such as churches, schools, and specialized organizations, the family was the arena in which the major part of the individual's personality was formed. It was observed that the family in Haiti was based upon two principal types of man-and-woman unions: a legal union sanctioned by either a civil or a religious ceremony or both, and a socially but not legally sanctioned union of man and woman known as "plaçage." Although no statistics existed which gave the numerical importance or territorial distribution of the two types of conjugal unions on the national level, it was noted that probably the large majority of the families in Haiti were based upon "plaçage" unions, and that this condition was more prevalent in

the rural areas than in the urban parts. In the rural village of Gressier less than one-tenth of the families were based on legal marriages of the family heads, and the rest were based on "plaçage" unions. Among the dispersed samples of the rural population a similar condition existed for the families of the lower economic group, but the families of the upper and middle economic groups had a greater percentage of legal marriage unions and a smaller percentage of "plaçage" unions.

The study demonstrated that in rural Haiti, as was the condition in Haiti generally, the male was not limited to one mate. Some men had, in addition to their legal wives, one or more women whom they supported and with whom they exercised familial relationships. Then among those not legally married, some had several socially recognized "placées," depending on their tastes and financial means. No adequate statistics existed regarding the degree of plurality of mates in Haiti, but it has been estimated that perhaps three-fourths of the peasant men have or have had at one time one or more mates in addition to a legal wife or "femme-caille." Although in Gressier only slightly over one-fourth of the male family heads reported having two or more families, and although a similar condition existed for the dispersed samples, with the male heads of the families of the upper and middle groups reporting a slightly higher proportion of plural families than the families of the lower group, it is probable that the plurality of mates existed among the families studied to a greater extent than was reported.

"Plaçage" and the plurality of female mates, perhaps the two most significant characteristics of marriage and the family in rural

Haiti, are doubtless causally interrelated and strongly rooted in the African and colonial plantation cultures from which present-day Haitian culture has developed. Too little is known regarding these family phenomena in Haiti, and intensive studies in this regard might contribute greatly to a better understanding of Haitian culture as well as Negro culture generally. In spite of "plaçage" and plural mates, factors generally considered in Western societies as disintegrative, the rural family in Haiti was noted to be characterized by a considerable degree of stability and solidarity. Furthermore, the rural family group, which functioned as a unit in securing the group's subsistence, which was the chief educational medium of most of the young, and which was in general highly self-sufficient in respect of most of the basic human needs, was a fundamental, efficient unit in the total social organization.

Other significant characteristics of the Haitian rural family, as indicated by general observation and the specific findings for the families studied intensively, were a low divorce occurrence; a considerable portion of families with separated or widowed heads; a high fertility; a high mortality and consequently smaller families than might have been expected; the presence of members other than immediate family members in many of the households; a high degree of residential stability; the attaching of great importance to sex in familial relationships; a low incidence of birth-control practices; a high percentage of illegitimate children; a bilateral system of designating kinship and descent

with probably a patrilineal emphasis; and the presence of both patronymic and matronymic systems for naming offspring, with the first-named system being perhaps the most important.

In the important material facilities and aspects of living, the rural family of Haiti was found to be severely lacking. Observations for the country generally and the specific findings in connection with the families studied intensively revealed that, although the majority of the rural families owned the dwelling houses in which they lived and kept them clean and in a good state of repair, housing and house furnishings and fixtures were primitive and undeveloped for the bulk of the peasant folk. The study demonstrated that the rural dwellings generally were characterized by plaited wood walls with clay plastering; thatch roofs; earth floors; a small number of rooms in comparison with family size; and inadequate ventilation, lighting, and cooking facilities. It may be generally stated that the rural dwellings had only the barest necessities in house furnishings and living facilities, and that those furnishings and facilities which did exist were usually of a primitive type.

Even with the scarcity and inadequacy of national public-health and medical statistics it became obvious early in the study that health conditions were poor in Haiti generally and in rural Haiti especially. The study showed that the existing government and private public-health and medical services were extremely limited, and that the services which did exist were only partially available to the rural folk. It was noted that a large part of the rural people depended upon midwives;

"leaf doctors," known as "docteurs feuilles"; and voodoo doctors, known as "beccors," for medical services, with the result that the use of home remedies, magic, and superstition was widespread in the treatment of disease among the country folk. It was generally considered that the three major maladies which affected the rural masses--diseases due to spirochetes (yaws and syphilis), malaria, and intestinal diseases--caused more suffering, infirmities, and economic loss than all other diseases in Haiti put together.

The study showed that recreational and leisure-time activities of a formal and organized type in Haiti were almost completely relegated to the urban areas; among the rural folk social participation was generally of an informal and unorganized nature. Observation in the country generally and the specific studies of rural families demonstrated that the rural leisure-time pursuits included principally conversation; visiting; singing; dancing; storytelling; the playing of such simple games as cards and dominoes; cockfights; and diversions in connection with marketing, work, and church attendance. Very little organization or group activity was noted in connection with these rural diversions. Probably the most organized types of rural social participation and diversions were those associated with national and church festivals, voodoo practices, dances, cockfights, and the co-operative enterprises called "coubites."

Government and politics were the sources of significant forms of associations on the national level in Haiti, but in the rural parts of the country they were found to be of very little importance. The



constitution of the nation states that the government is republican and democratic and provides that the country shall be governed by three powers--the executive, legislative, and judicial powers. In actuality politics and government were observed to be determined by a small ruling elite group of the cities and were handed down ready-made to the masses of rural peasants and urban proletariat through minor local officials. Local government, which had its seat in the commune centers, was the only type of governmental activity with which the rural masses ordinarily had any direct contact. The local official group in the commune centers was found to include principally the members of the Commune Council, consisting of the mayor and his assistants; the members of the army and police; the justice of the peace; the tax collector; and the civil registrar. The small official group in the commune exercised matters of local government and politics without any voice or opinion from the rural folk and in accordance with instructions from the central controls. The study revealed that no political parties of a permanent nature existed in Haiti. With a change of government, however, numerous political groups came into existence, but once a government was established the numerous political groupings disintegrated, and the bulk of the population fell into line with the established administration. The few anti-administrationalists who might have existed during the regime of a president were ordinarily dormant.

Educational activities and associations of an institutionalized type existed primarily in rural Haiti in connection with the schools and the churches. The study revealed that both government public schools

and private schools administered by the churches or by private individuals existed in rural Haiti, but in comparison to the rural educational needs the existing school facilities were highly inadequate. The majority of the limited schools of the nation were located in the urban centers, and the rural schools which did exist were situated to a considerable extent in the rural commune centers; with the result that the bulk of the rural population did not have school contacts. The general observations and specific findings of the study indicated that the large majority of the adult rural population was illiterate and could not speak and understand French, the national language, and that a considerable proportion of the children of school age had never been to school. Detriments to rural education were found to be primarily: the scarcity of schools generally; an unfavorable rural distribution of the schools which did exist; poor transportation facilities; limited equipment and teaching facilities in existing schools; low salaries and a poor grade of teachers; the wide use of "Créole," an unwritten language, instead of French, the official national language; the general lack of interest in education on the part of the peasant folk; and the extreme poverty of the bulk of the rural inhabitants. It was observed that special organizations for children and parents and extra-curricular activities for the pupils were not highly developed in connection with the Haitian schools, and this was particularly true of the rural schools. Generally speaking, educational groupings of an institutionalized type were not of major importance in rural Haiti, especially in areas removed from the rural population centers.

With regard to religious groupings and associations in rural Haiti, the study demonstrated that the Catholic religion, several Protestant religious sects, and voodooism must be considered. The large majority of the rural population, as was the condition for Haiti generally, were affiliated with the Catholic Church, and the rural folk as a group were noted to be faithful churchgoers. Although Protestant sects have had a relatively short history in Haiti as compared to the Catholic Church, they were observed to be growing in importance in the rural areas. Among the Protestant sects found to be of some consequence in the rural society were the Episcopal, Baptist, Adventist, Wesleyan Methodist, and African Methodist denominations. It was noted that in rural Haiti a large part of the peasant folk who professed Catholic or Protestant affiliations also practiced voodooism; and this was probably more widespread among the Catholics than among the Protestants. The churches, and especially the Catholic Church, through their clergy and religious teachers, parish churches, rural chapels, and schools, have been throughout the country's history and were at the time of the study, though perhaps to a lesser extent than formerly, significant institutions in the rural culture. At the same time, however, the beliefs and practices of voodooism permeated the rural culture and found expression in many of the aspects of living of the rural folk. Intensive sociological studies of voodooism in Haiti would no doubt contribute much to a more thorough understanding of the Haitian society and culture and also of Negro society and culture generally in the countries of the Western World.

It was pointed out in the study that the essential basis of the economy of the Republic of Haiti was agriculture. The economic system of the entire nation was noted to be built about the production of farm commodities for domestic consumption and for export; the collection, distribution, and exportation of farm products produced; and the importation and distribution of supplies, mostly manufactured articles, needed by the population. Thus agriculture and its associated activities supplied the population with foodstuff, commerce with commodities for export, and, through export and import revenues, the government with its chief source of income. Since commercial agriculture was not important in Haiti, and since the bulk of agricultural activity was of the small-scale subsistence type by the peasant folk, Haitian peasant economy was the heart of all economic life in the Republic.

Although no adequate statistics existed concerning occupation and industry in Haiti, the study showed that the nation's working population belonged mainly to one of the following occupational groups: agriculture, industry and manual trades, commerce and transportation, the liberal professions and public administration, and domestic service. The rural population was observed to be devoted almost exclusively to agriculture, and the Haitian peasant who followed such trades as carpentry, masonry, and tailoring was usually essentially an agriculturist, his other occupation having only a secondary importance.

With regard to the important relationships of people to the land, the study showed that the government land policy in Haiti was inadequate and inefficient in many ways, with the result that land division was

indiscriminate, and land titles were in a confused state; that the people who work the land were either owners, renters, day laborers, squatters, or gratis residents on the land, with the owners and renters perhaps in the large majority; that small land holdings ranging from less than a carreau to several carreaux predominated and that these small holdings made up the bulk of the land in cultivation; and that the important types of rural settlement patterns were the single farmsteads, called "jardins isolés"; the family groupings known as "cours" or "communautés familiales"; neighborhoods referred to as "habitations" or "hameaux"; and villages, designated as "villages" or "bourgades." To gain a thorough knowledge of social organization and processes in rural Haiti, detailed studies should be made of land tenure, land division, size of holdings, and settlement patterns, the significant man-land relationships of the rural world. Almost nothing is known about these important aspects of the rural society.

Other significant aspects of agriculture and farming activities in Haiti, as brought out by general observation and the specific studies of farm families, were that the amount of land worked by the average peasant was not very extensive, ranging generally from less than a carreau to several carreaux; that land cultivated by a single family comprehended ordinarily two or more separate gardens which did not join each other; that probably the greater part of the farmers of Haiti raised most of the food they consumed; that each family as a rule performed all the work necessary on the farm; that the peasant farmer generally received very little benefit from the governmental agricultural

services; that peasant farming was of a primitive type by crude hand methods, with a limited number and simple types of farm implements; and that probably the majority of peasant families did not own livestock, and among those who did own livestock the number and variety of animals were generally not great.

Although no statistics were available on the national level regarding the component parts and value of material assets of the Haitian agricultural family, the findings of the study indicated that making up the material assets of the Haitian farmer, in order of importance, were, land, houses, livestock, house furnishings, and farm implements; that the total value of material assets of the peasant families generally was not large; that the majority of the farm families had no cash savings; and that debts, though generally small in amount, probably existed among a considerable part of the peasant families.

## 2. Social Stratification

Social stratification, which, like horizontal social differentiation and social mobility, is a phase of the morphological study of the social organization of a population, is defined to mean the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superimposed classes, which is manifested in the existence of upper and lower social layers.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Sorokin, Social Mobility, p. 11.

Whereas the nature and degree of social stratification may vary in time and in space, it is generally recognized that "some degree of class differences or social stratification seems to be an inseparable concomitant of social living."<sup>6</sup>

Not only was the population of rural Haiti differentiated horizontally into social groupings or types of association as was outlined above, but there was also vertical differentiation expressed in various social, economic, occupational, and political strata or groups superimposed one upon the other.<sup>7</sup> Generally speaking, social stratification was less existent in rural Haiti than in the urban areas of the country; and, although stratification existed in most aspects of the rural society, social distances generally were relatively small between groups and among members making up the same social group.

In Haiti's native population taken as a whole, three overall social strata or classes were distinguished, as follows: the upper class, called the "élite," which made up probably from 2 to 4 per cent of the population; the middle class, which made up perhaps from 6 to 8 per cent of the population; and the lower or peasant class, called "noirs," which made up the remainder of the population. There was a great social distance between the small upper élite stratum and the large peasant masses, and this gap was not bridged by the diminutive middle class. At the same time, however, the lives and destinies of

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<sup>6</sup> Smith, op. cit., p. 328.

<sup>7</sup> See Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin, op. cit., p. 362 for a sociological statement of this concept for rural societies generally.

the members of the three overall social classes were highly interrelated in the formation of the total social organization and relationships of the nation as they existed at the time the study was conducted.

The élite class, which was made up primarily of mulattoes living for the most part in the urban centers, was observed to be divided into subgroups upon the basis of economic position, political affiliations, and family cliques. Although most of the élite maintained a prosperous economic status, exercised control and influence politically and in government administration, and belonged to "old-established" families, some members were only moderately prosperous or even impoverished, others had no political influence, and still others had no special family heritage. In general, however, the élite were noted to be characterized by economic well-being, high education, authority and control, distinctive family tradition, light skin color, and urban residence. Only in rare cases did the élite reside in the open country or in small rural population centers.

The middle class of the total population also lived for the most part in the urban centers and was made up principally of "small-commerce" people, lesser government employees, and artisans. In this social stratum were found both mulattoes and pure blacks, as well as a few white foreigners who had become Haitian citizens. Perhaps a larger proportion of this social stratum resided in the rural population centers and open country than was the case for the élite stratum.

The lower stratum in Haiti's total population was made up of the rural masses and the urban proletariat, with the latter group being



numerically insignificant as compared to the former. Almost the entire rural population was engaged in farming, and within the farm population three socio-economic groups were distinguished, as follows: the upper group, made up of "well-to-do" peasant farmers; the middle group, made up of "comfortable" farmers; and the lower group, made up of poor farmers. It is not known to what extent each of these groups or socio-economic classes were represented in the total rural population, but the observations and specific findings of the study indicated that probably the "well-to-do" group comprehended only a very small portion of the total; that the "comfortable" group comprehended perhaps a slightly larger proportion than the "well-to-do" group; and that the poor group comprehended the bulk of the total rural population. The different socio-economic strata or groups in the rural masses, however, were not always easily discernible and were not ordinarily noted by the casual outside observer.

In general, the study demonstrated that the lower stratum in Haiti's total population was characterized by rural residence, the use of the "Créole" patois instead of the French language, black skin color, families based on "plaçage" unions principally, highly cohesive and self-sufficient family groupings, a relatively low level of living with primitive housing and living facilities, poor health and inadequate health services, limited and informal social participation, almost no participation or voice in local government and politics, a lack of formal education, and a primitive and small-scale agriculture as the chief source of a livelihood.

In the matter of institutionalized social groupings or types of association in rural Haiti, the existence of both inter- and intra-group stratification was noted. It was observed that perhaps groupings or associations in connection with the family, occupation, and religion were more important among the rural folk and in the rural culture than those in connection with politics and government, education, and recreation.

It was noted that in the peasant family of a stable type, whether it was based on "plaçage" or legal marriage, the male head exercised almost absolute authority. However, in some family groups where there was no male head living in the household, or in instances where the family had developed from loose "plaçage" unions or promiscuous sexual relations, the mother was the family head, and she exercised strong control over the children. The type of family in which the male head exercised authority over one or more mates and their children was, however, the rule in rural Haiti. A characteristic expression of this pattern of family hierarchy was in the so-called "extended family" common in Haiti, in which a "gran don," the eldest male member, exercised authority over his own family or families, families of his children which existed, and even families of relatives who lived on the family plot or in the same "cour" or "habitation."

As regards government and politics, the absence or short duration of political parties rendered intra-group stratification unimportant in rural Haiti. However, regardless of the number or nature of parties which might have existed at any one time, ordinarily the party of the established administration was the most favored by the bulk of the population, and this was particularly true for the rural masses, since they generally accepted the government of "le Président" with very little

question. In the rural areas government officials enjoyed a high social position in their respective communities. However, some variation was observed among the several officials in this regard. Considering the most usual officials in the rural communes, the mayor generally ranked highest; the justice of the peace, the military officials, the tax collector, and the civil registration officer had perhaps slightly lower social ranks. In the rural sections the Chiefs of the sections were observed to rank as the most important and influential individuals in their sections. The high relative position of mayors and Chiefs of sections may be explained not solely by the fact that their positions were the most important in their respective areas, but also by the fact that they were generally old-established residents of the area and had, prior to their government appointments, high socio-economic positions. Most of the other officials were generally from near-by urban or semi-urban areas and were residents of the rural areas only during the duration of their government service in the area. When the chief officials of the several government services had assistants, these assistants had a considerably lower social position than their superiors.

In religious groupings and association there existed both intra- and inter-group stratification. The Catholic religion, due primarily to its long history in the country; to its indirect, if not direct, influence in government and politics; and to its special support by the government, was generally held in higher regard than the several Protestant religions that were established in Haiti. Among the Protestant sects the Episcopal denomination was more highly regarded, perhaps.

than the Baptists, Adventists, Wesleyan Methodists, and African Methodists. The Protestant rural peasants were observed to show some hesitancy in expressing their religious affiliations. Then, due to the strong campaign against voodooism conducted in recent times by both Catholic and Protestant forces, supported by the government, the rural people, although they were in many cases voodoo believers, were reluctant to express such belief, at least to any one other than fellow rural folk. Within the several religious groups, the clergy and religious teachers enjoyed high social positions in their communities. Even the voodoo priests and priestesses had high social positions in the communities in which they lived. The clergy probably ranked above the religious teachers, and the Catholic clergy was perhaps more highly regarded than the Protestant clergy in rural Haiti.

Concerning educational groupings and associations, it was noted that private schools generally were more highly regarded than public schools. This, however, was less the case in the rural areas than in the urban parts. It was observed that in the nation generally public education was gaining in prestige. School teachers had a high position in the social pyramid of the rural society, but probably not as high as the more important government officials and clergy. Stratification was not noticeable among the types of teachers, except that possibly the teachers of religious schools, and particularly the Catholic schools, ranked higher socially than the public-school teachers.

Among all the major occupations or means of making a living in Haiti, agriculture was regarded as one of the least desirable. Since

the bulk of the rural population was engaged in agriculture, very little intra-occupational stratification was noted in the rural parts. Farmers generally regarded most other occupations, and especially government service, as more desirable occupations than tilling the soil. Among the farmers inter-group stratification appeared in matters of control and ownership of farm property. As is the case in most societies, the entrepreneur enjoyed a higher social position than did the renters and hired employees. In Haiti's farming population it was observed that the landowner enjoyed a higher social position than the renter, and the renter ordinarily ranked above the day laborer socially. It should be emphasized that such strata in the farm population were not great or easily distinguished.

### 3. Social Mobility

Social mobility means any transition of an individual or social group or value—anything which has been created or modified by human activity—from one social position to another. There are two principal types of social mobility, as follows: (1) horizontal mobility, which is movement from group to group without respect to vertical or class differences, and (2) vertical mobility, which is the shifting of traits or persons up or down the social scale.<sup>8</sup>

The findings of the study showed that social mobility of the horizontal type was not pronounced in rural Haiti. Generally speaking,

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<sup>8</sup>See Sorokin, Social Mobility, passim, for a detailed treatment of the theory and expressions of social mobility.

horizontal mobility was probably more pronounced in the urban areas than in the rural parts, and in the total population of the nation the élite and middle classes were perhaps more mobile than the rural masses. Instances of territorial shifting, occupational change, movement from one institutional grouping or type of association to another, and national heritage and racial mixing were, however, observed among the rural folk. There was some shifting of farm families from one rural area to another and from the rural parts to the towns and cities, but this type of movement was not great. Farm-to-farm and farm-to-town migration which did exist was noted to be of a short-distance type, and among the lower socio-economic farmers to a greater extent than among the farmers of the upper and middle socio-economic groups. It was observed that migration from urban areas to the rural parts was almost negligible. Scattered instances of occupational change in rural Haiti existed in connection with the growth of farm-processing enterprises in the rural parts, where people stopped cultivating the land to take jobs in the farm-processing units. As regards institutional groups and associations in rural Haiti, perhaps a slight net movement from Catholic to Protestant affiliations and from public to private school attendance was in evidence. Then, voodoo affiliations and practices were perhaps being discontinued for sole adherence to one of the Christian religions to a greater extent at the time of the study than formerly. The few instances of race mixing in the rural parts were observed to be principally between the peasant Negroes and the rural-dwelling Syrians, Italians, and Chinese. Factors which made for the relative immobility of the rural population on the horizontal plane were the high degree of illiteracy

and poverty of the peasant class, the lack of a variety of occupations available to the country people, limited and undeveloped facilities of transportation, and the general backwardness of the total national society.

Social mobility of the vertical type, like horizontal mobility, was not pronounced in Haiti, and it was probably less existent in the rural areas than in the urban parts. The rigid class lines and great social distance between the elite and the peasant groups which were expressed in differences in language, family living, educational experiences, diversions, economic status, health conditions, and religious and political ideas and practices, and the fact that the diminutive middle class did not bridge the gap made for little social circulation. With the strong class lines, great social distances, and few and inefficient channels of circulation, the chances for the rural peasant and urban proletariat to enter the elite group or even the middle class of the total population were slight. Then, in addition to these conditions, the peasant folk had a kind of fatalistic attitude toward their station in life that tended to hinder social circulation, due probably to generations of rigid class demarcations dating from the colonial period. It has been properly stated as follows:

A realistic examination of Haitian peasant life reveals that the American Occupation, the recent work of rural school teachers, public health physicians, agricultural agents, and army officers have not as yet modified appreciably either the objective aspects of the Haitian social structure of the nineteenth century nor the attitudes associated with it.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>George E. Simpson, "Haiti's Social Structure," American Sociological Review, VI (October, 1941), 649.

The churches and schools of rural Haiti have not been in the past and were not at the time of the study significant channels of social circulation. However, with the spread of public-school education and Protestant religious affiliations in the rural parts and the increase of regard for public education and Protestantism as compared to private education and Catholicism, trends presently under way, it is reasonable to expect that the churches and schools will become more important in the future as testers and channels of vertical social mobility in rural Haiti. Political and military affiliations and changes of government have been in the past, and were at the time the study was made, the chief occasions for and channels of social circulation. Positions gained by these means, however, have been relatively unstable and, consequently there were fluctuations from time to time and circulation in both directions. It is significant to note that in recent years, perhaps more than formerly, the amassing of wealth has come to be a noticeable, if not important, means by which social position is gained. It was found that the peasant, however, very seldom made the rise from the masses to the élite in a lifetime, but by accumulating wealth he sometimes was able to enter the middle commercial class, and then by educating his children and imitating and assimilating the ways of high society, his children or grandchildren were able to scale the social pyramid. Recruits from the rural masses to the middle and upper strata of the total population were usually from the upper socio-economic groups of the rural population. Social positions gained by amassing wealth and gradually working into the middle and upper classes



have been more stable, perhaps, than positions obtained through political and military affiliations.

In the farm population of the peasant masses, vertical social mobility was noted to be slight between the lower, middle, and upper socio-economic groups or classes of this segment of the population. The very nature of the small-scale subsistence agriculture of the large majority of the peasant farmers, the almost complete absence of government aid for the improvement of farming and farm living, the scarcity of educational facilities, and the strong influence of the Catholic religion are probably the most important factors hindering social circulation between the socio-economic groups of the farm population.

Open conflict growing out of the social organization and resulting conditions in Haiti was noted to have occurred from time to time, but in the interim periods a social structure essentially the same as the previous one became established. Social bonds and integrative factors of both mechanistic and organistic types were observed to exist between and within the major social classes. Patterns of dominance and deference inherited from the colonial era functioned also as integrative factors. In addition, the division of labor, where the rural peasant and urban proletariat produced the food and did the manual labor while the members of the elite group administered affairs of the nation and made available to the total population personal services and commercial needs, was found to be an important factor of accommodation in the social order. Other integrative factors of perhaps lesser importance were the Catholic Church, a strong feeling of national pride, and a common Negroid ancestry of almost the entire population.

Finally, in bringing this work to a close, it should be stated again, as has been pointed out from time to time in the course of this paper, that, because of the broad scope of the study and because of the limitations of the research, the foregoing treatment of the various aspects of the social organization and processes of rural life in Haiti is by no means all-comprehensive and exhaustive. It is hoped that the comparatively new and extensive field of study in Haiti which has been laid open in this thesis, as well as the findings and analyses which have been presented, may serve as suggestions and stimuli for more intensive study in the future. Certainly many of the aspects of Haitian culture that were brought to the fore in this study merit thorough empirical investigation and analysis. It is believed that, inasmuch as the Negro of Haiti is of the same type and of the same African background as those imported into other parts of the New World, further scientific study of the organization and processes of Haitian society and culture will furnish knowledge and information which may serve not only to benefit the Haitian people, but to point the way toward a more realistic and fundamental approach to the broader problems of race as they exist in this Western Hemisphere today, and thus at the same time further the ends of scientific knowledge and make for a more satisfactory social order.

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**APPENDIX A**

**SCHEDULES USED IN THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF RURAL  
LIFE IN THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI**

## EXHIBIT I

SCHEDULE USED IN THE STUDY OF HOUSEHOLDS  
IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER, HAITI

## STUDY OF RURAL LIFE

## A. INTRODUCTION:

1. Schedule No. \_\_\_\_\_, Enumerator \_\_\_\_\_, Date of interview \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Name \_\_\_\_\_, P. O. Address \_\_\_\_\_.  
Farm or village \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_.  
Rural Section \_\_\_\_\_, Community \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Birthplace and family history:
  - (a) Husband: Department \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_.  
Farm, Village, Town or Country \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (b) Wife: Department \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_.  
Farm, Village, Town or Country \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (c) Husband's father: Department \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_.  
Farm, Village, Town or Country \_\_\_\_\_, Occupation \_\_\_\_\_.
  - Family size: Born-Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_ Alive-Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (d) Wife's father: Department \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_.  
Farm, Village, Town or Country \_\_\_\_\_, Occupation \_\_\_\_\_.
  - Family size: Born-Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_ Alive-Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_.

## B. HOUSING AND LIVING FACILITIES:

1. Dwelling: (a) style \_\_\_\_\_; (b) building material of walls \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_, roof \_\_\_\_\_, floor \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Appearance (impression): (a) good, fair or poor \_\_\_\_\_;  
(b) clean, medium or dirty \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Living facilities: (a) number of rooms \_\_\_\_\_, (b) type of kitchen \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_, (c) type of cooking facilities \_\_\_\_\_.  
(d) source of drinking water \_\_\_\_\_, (e) source of washing water \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_, (f) kind of lighting \_\_\_\_\_.  
(g) distance to vehicle road \_\_\_\_\_, (h) distance to footpath \_\_\_\_\_.  
(i) distance to telephone \_\_\_\_\_, (j) distance to market \_\_\_\_\_.  
(k) no. of windows \_\_\_\_\_, (l) no. of doors \_\_\_\_\_, (m) kind of toilet \_\_\_\_\_.  
(n) kind of bathing facilities \_\_\_\_\_.  
(o) type and number of pets \_\_\_\_\_.  
(p) type and number of musical instruments \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Miscellaneous: (Check if present.)
 

(a) car or truck _____	(j) family bible _____	(r) hunting dogs _____
(b) electricity _____	(k) home altar _____	(s) homemade quilts _____
(c) porch _____	(l) house painted _____	(t) curtains _____
(d) radio _____	(m) sewing machine _____	(u) yard fence _____
(e) out-houses _____	(n) ice box _____	(v) mosquito bar _____
(f) daily paper _____	(o) mail order _____	(w) _____
(g) weekly paper _____	catalogue _____	(x) _____
(h) magazines _____	(p) vegetable garden _____	(y) _____
(i) books _____	(q) flowers _____	(z) _____

## EXHIBIT I (continued)

## C. SUBSISTENCE AND GENERAL FARM ECONOMICS:

1. About what part of the family's food comes from vegetation of natural growth (a) \_\_\_\_\_, from planted crops (b) \_\_\_\_\_, bought from outside (c) \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Size of vegetable garden (a) \_\_\_\_\_. If you have no garden, why (b) \_\_\_\_\_.
3. List 5 chief foods of natural growth in order of consumption: (a) \_\_\_\_\_, (b) \_\_\_\_\_, (c) \_\_\_\_\_, (d) \_\_\_\_\_, (e) \_\_\_\_\_.
4. List 5 chief planted foods in order of consumption: (a) \_\_\_\_\_, (b) \_\_\_\_\_, (c) \_\_\_\_\_, (d) \_\_\_\_\_, (e) \_\_\_\_\_.
5. List 5 chief foods bought in order of consumption: (a) \_\_\_\_\_, (b) \_\_\_\_\_, (c) \_\_\_\_\_, (d) \_\_\_\_\_, (e) \_\_\_\_\_.
6. How many months per year do you get vegetables from your garden? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, fruits and vegetables of natural growth? (b) \_\_\_\_\_.
7. List the kind of fruit trees which you have that bear: (a) \_\_\_\_\_, (b) \_\_\_\_\_, (c) \_\_\_\_\_, (d) \_\_\_\_\_, (e) \_\_\_\_\_.
8. What kind of food preservation do you practice? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, (b) \_\_\_\_\_, (c) \_\_\_\_\_, (d) \_\_\_\_\_, (e) \_\_\_\_\_.
9. What are the 3 chief articles of handicraft you make for sale? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, (b) \_\_\_\_\_, (c) \_\_\_\_\_.
10. What are your 4 chief cash crops, giving carreaux of each planted? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_; (b) \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_; (c) \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_; (d) \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_.
11. Total carreaux in farm (a) \_\_\_\_\_, in crop cultivation (b) \_\_\_\_\_, in crops of natural growth (c) \_\_\_\_\_, in woodland (d) \_\_\_\_\_, in wasteland (e) \_\_\_\_\_, in pasture (f) \_\_\_\_\_.
12. Are you a farm owner, renter or hired laborer? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, Describe (b) \_\_\_\_\_.
13. What was your tenure status in 1940 \_\_\_\_\_, 39 \_\_\_\_\_, 38 \_\_\_\_\_, 37 \_\_\_\_\_, 36 \_\_\_\_\_, 35 \_\_\_\_\_, 34 \_\_\_\_\_, 33 \_\_\_\_\_, 32 \_\_\_\_\_, 31 \_\_\_\_\_, 30 \_\_\_\_\_.
14. What other occupations have you been engaged in besides farming? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, (b) \_\_\_\_\_, (c) \_\_\_\_\_, (d) \_\_\_\_\_.
15. What occupation would you prefer instead of farming? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, Why? (b) \_\_\_\_\_.
16. What other community you lived in before this one? \_\_\_\_\_.
17. What were the reasons for your last move? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, (b) \_\_\_\_\_, (c) \_\_\_\_\_.

## EXHIBIT I (continued)

18. Would you prefer living in a city? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, Why? (b) \_\_\_\_\_
19. What are the chief advantages and disadvantages of living on a farm?  
 (a) Advantages: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (b) Disadvantages: \_\_\_\_\_
20. If you are a farm owner, how did you obtain your farm? \_\_\_\_\_
21. What occupation do you wish your children to follow? (a) Sons \_\_\_\_\_  
 (b) Daughters \_\_\_\_\_
22. If you were given 5,000 gourdes what use would you make of the money? \_\_\_\_\_

## D. HEALTH ACTIVITY, FAMILY LIFE AND RELIEF:

1. What were the 3 major illnesses in your family last year? (a) \_\_\_\_\_,  
 (b) \_\_\_\_\_, (c) \_\_\_\_\_
2. In your last sickness did you call a doctor, visit a doctor, call a boccor or visit a boccor? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Did you use during your last sickness medicine following a prescription, patent medicine without a prescription, or home remedies? \_\_\_\_\_
4. At the last childbirth in your family did you go to a hospital, have a doctor at your home, have a midwife at your home, or have other assistance? \_\_\_\_\_
5. What has been your dealings with the health dispensary? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Have you ever had any dental work done? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, Explain (b) \_\_\_\_\_
7. Do you have need of medical service now? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, What is the nature of the need? (b) \_\_\_\_\_
8. Is this family union sanctioned by the church, the State, or placage? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Do you believe in birth control practices: (a) \_\_\_\_\_, Discuss (b) \_\_\_\_\_
10. How many other families does the father of this family have? \_\_\_\_\_
11. Has your family ever received assistance from the government? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, Explain (b) \_\_\_\_\_
12. Has your family ever received assistance from private sources: (a) \_\_\_\_\_, Explain (b) \_\_\_\_\_
13. Are you at present in need of relief and not receiving it? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, What kind of aid do you need? (b) \_\_\_\_\_
14. Have you ever had contacts with the rural agricultural service? (a) \_\_\_\_\_, Explain (b) \_\_\_\_\_
15. What languages other than French do you speak or read? \_\_\_\_\_

**B. FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD CENSUS AND IDENTIFICATION:**

1. List father first, then mother, then all other living family members in order of age. Mark X after members if residing away. Then list all other household members.

Living members of family and household	Sex	Age	Relation to head	Grade (E-if still enrolled)	Pupil attend-ance (Reg-see-none)	Marital status (S-M-W-Flagage)	Age when married	Age when left home	Occupation (A-if away)	Church den. attended (M-if member)	Color (Black-brown-light)	Most popular leisure time activity	Health (Healthy-medium-poor)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
(1)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(2)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(3)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(4)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(5)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(6)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(7)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(8)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(9)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(10)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(11)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(12)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(13)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(14)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:

2. How many children of the present marriage union have died? \_\_\_\_\_.

3. List date of death and age of death of these children, if possible. \_\_\_\_\_.

EXHIBIT I (continued)

F. FORMAL AND INFORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION:

1. Give the name and frequency of participation in organizations of the following types:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Attendance</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Attendance</u>
(a) Church:		(c) Fraternal and social:	
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
(b) School:		(d) Informal:	
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

2. Do you ever go out of this village for entertainment? (a) \_\_\_\_\_  
Explain (b) \_\_\_\_\_
3. Is most of your visiting in this village, outside the village in the open country, in another village or town? (a) \_\_\_\_\_  
Explain (b) \_\_\_\_\_
4. Are the families you visit most, relatives or non-relatives? \_\_\_\_\_
5. What is the kinship of the relative you visit most? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Do you engage in any sort of co-operative activity with your neighbors or relatives? (a) \_\_\_\_\_ Describe (b) \_\_\_\_\_
7. How many kilometers do you live from your school? (a) \_\_\_\_\_  
from your church? (b) \_\_\_\_\_
8. What means of conveyance do you use to go to church? (a) \_\_\_\_\_  
to school (b) \_\_\_\_\_ to market (c) \_\_\_\_\_

G. TYPICAL DAILY MENU: (List foods and amounts consumed, if convenient.)

<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Supper</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

H. ASSETS AND LIABILITIES--INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES:

1. Assets:					
<u>Article</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Value</u> (Gourdes)	<u>Article</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Value</u> (Gourdes)
(a) Real estate:			(c) Farm implements:		
1) Crop-land	_____	_____	1) _____	_____	_____
2) Other land	_____	_____	2) _____	_____	_____
3) Dwelling	_____	_____	3) _____	_____	_____
4) Barn	_____	_____	4) _____	_____	_____
5) Other houses	_____	_____	(d) Furniture:		
(b) Livestock:			1) Beds	_____	_____
1) Donkeys	_____	_____	2) Chairs	_____	_____
2) Horses-mules	_____	_____	3) Tables	_____	_____
3) Milk cows	_____	_____	4) _____	_____	_____
4) Other cattle	_____	_____	5) _____	_____	_____
5) Goats	_____	_____	(e) Cash assets:		
6) Poultry	_____	_____	1) Cash on hand	_____	_____
7) _____	_____	_____	2) Other savings	_____	_____
8) _____	_____	_____	3) _____	_____	_____

## EXHIBIT I (continued)

2. Is there any mortgage on your property? (a) \_\_\_\_\_. If so, what do you owe on your real estate? (b) \_\_\_\_\_. On other property? (c) \_\_\_\_\_
3. What other debts do you have? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What is your family's cash income per year from crop sales? (a) \_\_\_\_\_  
 from livestock sales? (b) \_\_\_\_\_  
 from work for cash wages? (c) \_\_\_\_\_  
 from other sources? (d) \_\_\_\_\_
5. About what do you spend per year for food? (a) \_\_\_\_\_  
 for clothing? (b) \_\_\_\_\_  
 for home and farm repair? (c) \_\_\_\_\_  
 for church? (d) \_\_\_\_\_  
 for education? (e) \_\_\_\_\_  
 for doctors services and health? (f) \_\_\_\_\_  
 for other needs? (g) \_\_\_\_\_

## I. CULTURAL AND RACE RELATIONS:

1. Do you think that the Negro race is better off in the Republic of Haiti than in other countries of the world? (a) \_\_\_\_\_. Explain (b) \_\_\_\_\_
2. What are the three main things that the rural people of Haiti need for more progress and better livelihood? (a) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (b) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (c) \_\_\_\_\_
3. Would you prefer to live in any other country besides Haiti? (a) \_\_\_\_\_  
 If so, which country? (b) \_\_\_\_\_. Why? (c) \_\_\_\_\_
4. In case of trouble, to whom would you go for help? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Is the white man an asset or a liability in Haiti at present? (a) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Explain (b) \_\_\_\_\_

(Impression of interviewer: The following are to be recorded without questioning the person interviewed.)

6. Person interviewed was co-operative, indifferent or antagonistic toward the interview? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Person interviewed is member of "Elite" group or "Noirs"? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Within its group this family maintains an upper position, middle position or lower position? \_\_\_\_\_



## EXHIBIT II

SCHEDULE USED IN THE STUDY OF HOUSEHOLDS OF THE DISPERSED  
SAMPLE IN SEVENTY-FOUR RURAL AREAS IN HAITI

## ETUDE DE VIE RURALE

## A. INTRODUCTION:

1. Nom de la Ferme-Ecole \_\_\_\_\_ . 2. Directeur \_\_\_\_\_ .
3. Nom du cultivateur \_\_\_\_\_ . 4. Adresse \_\_\_\_\_ .
5. Département \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_, Village \_\_\_\_\_ .
6. Lieu de naissance du:
  - (a) Mari: Département \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_, Village \_\_\_\_\_ ;
  - (b) Femme: Département \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_, Village \_\_\_\_\_ ;
  - (c) Père du mari: Département \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_ ;
  - (d) Père de la femme: Département \_\_\_\_\_, Commune \_\_\_\_\_ .
7. Profession du père du mari \_\_\_\_\_, du père de la femme \_\_\_\_\_ .
8. Combien de soeurs \_\_\_\_\_ et de frères \_\_\_\_\_ avait le mari?
9. Combien de soeurs \_\_\_\_\_ et de frères \_\_\_\_\_ avait la femme?

## B. LOGEMENT ET CONDITIONS DE VIE:

1. Matériaux de construction de la maison: Murs \_\_\_\_\_,  
Toit \_\_\_\_\_, Plancher \_\_\_\_\_ .
2. La maison est-elle propre ou sale \_\_\_\_\_ en bonne ou mauvaise condition? \_\_\_\_\_ .
3. Quantité de pièces dans la maison? \_\_\_\_\_, Quantité de fenêtres? \_\_\_\_\_,  
Quantité de portes? \_\_\_\_\_ .
4. Ou prend-on l'eau potable? \_\_\_\_\_,  
Et l'eau pour la lessive? \_\_\_\_\_ .
5. Donnez les détails suivants: Genre de lumière? \_\_\_\_\_,  
Genre de cuisine? \_\_\_\_\_, Fourneaux pour cuire ou réchauds ou  
autre chose? \_\_\_\_\_ .
6. Y a-t-il des instruments de musique dans la maison? \_\_\_\_\_ . Lesquels? \_\_\_\_\_ .
7. La maison est-elle dans le village ou en dehors du village? \_\_\_\_\_ .
8. Mettez le signe "X" s'il y a une des choses suivantes:
 

(a) automobile _____	(e) livres _____	(i) la maison est-elle
(b) galerie _____	(f) bible _____	peinte _____
(c) radio _____	(g) fleurs dan jardin _____	(j) machine a coudre _____
(d) journaux _____	(h) rideaux dans la maison _____	(k) moustiquaire _____

## C. MOYENS D'EXISTENCE ET ECONOMIE DE LA FERME:

1. Avez-vous affermé ou êtes-vous propriétaire de la terre? \_\_\_\_\_ .
2. Avez-vous affermé ou êtes-vous propriétaire de la maison? \_\_\_\_\_ .
3. De qui avez-vous affermé votre terre? \_\_\_\_\_, Votre maison? \_\_\_\_\_ .
4. Combien payez-vous par an pour l'affermage de la terre? \_\_\_\_\_,  
Et pour l'affermage de la maison? \_\_\_\_\_ .
5. Combien de carreaux de terre cultivez-vous? \_\_\_\_\_ .
6. Combien de jardins cultivez-vous? \_\_\_\_\_ .
7. Quelle est la distance de votre maison au jardin le plus éloigné? \_\_\_\_\_ .
8. Quelle pourcentage de la nourriture familiale provient du jardin? \_\_\_\_\_,  
Et quel pourcentage doit être acheté au marché? \_\_\_\_\_ .
9. Citez trois principales denrées que vous récoltez pour l'usage de votre  
famille? \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ .
10. Citez trois principales denrées que vous récoltez des grands ou petits  
arbres que vous n'avez pas plantés. \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ .

EXHIBIT II (continued)

11. Citez les trois principales denrées que vous achetez au marché. \_\_\_\_\_.
12. Citez les trois principales denrées que vous vendez. \_\_\_\_\_.
13. Est-ce que vous savez saler ou sécher de la viande ou des légumes pour les conserver? \_\_\_\_\_, Lesquels? \_\_\_\_\_.
14. Est-ce que vous savez fabriquer à la main des petits objets pour les vendre? \_\_\_\_\_, Lesquels? \_\_\_\_\_.
15. Depuis combien de temps travaillez-vous la terre? \_\_\_\_\_.
16. Au lieu de travailler la terre, quel, autre travail auriez-vous préféré faire? \_\_\_\_\_.
17. Auriez-vous préféré vivre dans une ville ou à la campagne? \_\_\_\_\_.  
Pourquoi? \_\_\_\_\_.
18. Si la terre vous appartient, en avez-vous hérité ou l'avez-vous achetée? \_\_\_\_\_.

D. VIE FAMILIALE:

1. Donnez le nom du père d'abord, ensuite la mère, ensuite les enfants vivants, et enfin les noms de toutes les autres personnes qui vivent dans la maison. Remplissez tous les espaces vides pour chaque personne désignée. Mettez "X" devant le nom des enfants qui vivent ailleurs.

Mettez le prénom et le nom des membres vivants de la famille et de la maison	Age	Sexe	Nombre d'années passées à l'école	Lettré	Parenté avec le mari (Est-ce marié, veuf, etc.)	Célibataire	Couleur (Noir ou Brun-griffe ou clair)
(1)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(2)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(3)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(4)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(5)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(6)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(7)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(8)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(9)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(10)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(11)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(12)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(13)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
(14)	:	:	:	:	:	:	:

2. Combien d'enfant sont morts dans cette famille? Garçons \_\_\_\_\_ filles \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Le mari et la femme sont-ils mariés par l'Etat, par l'église ou placés? \_\_\_\_\_.

## EXHIBIT II (continued)

4. Est-ce que le mari a d'autres femmes et d'autres enfants ailleurs? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Est-ce que vous croyez possible de limiter à volonté le nombre des enfants (contrôle des naissances)? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Lors de l'accouchement de votre femme, a-t-elle été à l'hôpital, ou avez-vous appelé un Médecin ou une sage-femme? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Citez les trois principales maladies dont votre famille a souffert l'année passée. \_\_\_\_\_
8. Quand il y a une maladie sérieuse dans votre famille, appelez-vous un Médecin, un "docteur-feuilles," ou un boccor? \_\_\_\_\_
9. Est-ce que vous avez déjà reçu assistance du dispensaire de votre village? \_\_\_\_\_  
Qu'est-ce qu'on vous a donné? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Quelle aide vous a jamais donnée le Service National de la Production Agricole? \_\_\_\_\_

## E. PARTICIPATION SOCIALE:

1. En dehors des heures et jours de travail, à quelles distractions se livrent les adultes de la famille? \_\_\_\_\_  
Et les enfants? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Est-ce que vous allez quelquefois dans d'autres villages pour vous amuser? \_\_\_\_\_  
Lesquels? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Est-ce que vous allez quelquefois visiter vos parents dans le village? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Est-ce que vous prenez part aux entreprises coopératives avec vos voisins et vos amis? \_\_\_\_\_, Expliquez \_\_\_\_\_
5. Quelle est la religion de votre famille? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Combien de fois votre famille va-t-elle à l'église? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Citez les noms des associations scolaires, religieuses ou sociales dont font partie un ou des membres de votre famille. \_\_\_\_\_

## F. STATUT FINANCIER:

1. Donnez la quantité et valeur approximative des objets suivants possédés par votre famille:

Articles:	Quantité:	Prix:	Articles:	Quantité:	Prix:
		(Gourdes)			(Gourdes)
(a) Biens:			(c) Outils pour la culture:		
1) Terrains- (Carreaux) _____	_____	_____	1) Houes _____	_____	_____
2) Maisonnets _____	_____	_____	2) Machettes _____	_____	_____
3) Autres maisons _____	_____	_____	3) Couteaux digo _____	_____	_____
(b) Animaux:			4) Piquois _____	_____	_____
1) Bourriques _____	_____	_____	5) Serpette _____	_____	_____
2) Chevaux _____	_____	_____	(d) Meubles:		
3) Mules _____	_____	_____	1) Lits _____	_____	_____
4) Vaches _____	_____	_____	2) Nattes _____	_____	_____
5) Cabris _____	_____	_____	3) Chaises _____	_____	_____
6) Cochons _____	_____	_____	4) Tables _____	_____	_____
7) Poules _____	_____	_____	5) Garde-manger _____	_____	_____
8) Canards _____	_____	_____	6) Armoires _____	_____	_____
9) _____	_____	_____	7) _____	_____	_____

2. Quel est le montant des économies de la famille? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Quel est le montant des dettes de la famille? \_\_\_\_\_

## EXHIBIT II (continued)

## G. COMMENTAIRES CULTURELS ET SUR LA RACE:

1. Quelles sont les trois choses dont le peuple haïtien a le plus besoin, pour avancer davantage dans la voie du progrès et obtenir une meilleure existence? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Est-ce que la présence des étrangers de race blanche actuellement en Haïti constitue un avantage ou un désavantage pour le peuple haïtien? \_\_\_\_\_, Expliquez \_\_\_\_\_

(Impressions de celui qui questionne: Le questionnaire suivant doit être rempli sans la participation de la famille qui a été interviewée.)

3. Est-ce que vous pensez que la race noire dans la République d'Haïti est plus heureuse que la race noire qui vit dans les autres pays du monde? \_\_\_\_\_ Expliquez \_\_\_\_\_

4. La personne que vous d'interroger s'est-elle montrée, affable, indifférente ou hostile? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Dans ce village, cette famille jouit-elle d'une situation élevée, moyenne ou elle très pauvre? \_\_\_\_\_

## EXHIBIT III

SCHEDULE USED IN THE STUDY OF THE LOCALITY GROUPINGS IN THE  
ARRONDISSEMENT OF PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

STUDY OF LOCALITY GROUPINGS

## I. LOCATION AND COMMUNICATION:

- a) Name of locality \_\_\_\_\_ b) Commune \_\_\_\_\_ c) Rural Section \_\_\_\_\_  
 d) Automobile road \_\_\_\_\_ e) Footpaths (No. and direction) \_\_\_\_\_  
 f) Telephone service \_\_\_\_\_, No. of telephones \_\_\_\_\_ g) Taxi service \_\_\_\_\_  
 h) Camion service \_\_\_\_\_, Describe \_\_\_\_\_  
 i) Radios \_\_\_\_\_ j) Private automobile \_\_\_\_\_ k) Post office \_\_\_\_\_  
 l) Mail service \_\_\_\_\_  
 m) Daily paper \_\_\_\_\_ n) Weekly paper \_\_\_\_\_  
 o) River or ocean communication \_\_\_\_\_  
 p) Extent of this community: North \_\_\_\_\_ South \_\_\_\_\_  
 East \_\_\_\_\_ West \_\_\_\_\_

## II. POPULATION AND FAMILY LIFE:

- a) No. of families (households) in this settlement \_\_\_\_\_, in surrounding rural  
 area \_\_\_\_\_ b) Population of village \_\_\_\_\_ c) Size of largest family  
 \_\_\_\_\_, average no. of children in family \_\_\_\_\_ d) Comments on Church  
 marriages \_\_\_\_\_  
 Civil marriages \_\_\_\_\_  
 "Plaçage" \_\_\_\_\_  
 Polygyny \_\_\_\_\_  
 Infant mortality \_\_\_\_\_  
 Illegitimate children \_\_\_\_\_  
 e) Is the population stable or mobile \_\_\_\_\_ Explain \_\_\_\_\_

## III. FARMING:

- a) Chief planted crops for sale \_\_\_\_\_  
 For home use \_\_\_\_\_  
 b) Chief natural crops sold \_\_\_\_\_  
 Used at home \_\_\_\_\_  
 c) No. of families not farming \_\_\_\_\_ d) Average size of farms \_\_\_\_\_  
 e) Approximate no. or percentage of farm-owner families \_\_\_\_\_  
 farm-renter families \_\_\_\_\_ f) Usual menu of farm family: Breakfast \_\_\_\_\_  
 dinner \_\_\_\_\_  
 supper \_\_\_\_\_ g) Other industries of rural people \_\_\_\_\_  
 h) Livestock grown in area \_\_\_\_\_  
 i) Explain any kind of cooperative existing in the community \_\_\_\_\_

EXHIBIT III (continued)

IV. BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS:

- a) Type and no. of business units \_\_\_\_\_
- b) Type and no. of manufacturing units \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Type and no. of farm processing units \_\_\_\_\_
- d) Approximate average wage of farm laborer \_\_\_\_\_  
 business employee \_\_\_\_\_ professional employee \_\_\_\_\_

V. HEALTH AND PERSONAL SERVICE:

- a) Chief diseases of the locality \_\_\_\_\_
- b) Local doctor \_\_\_\_\_, If not, from where called \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Midwife service \_\_\_\_\_ d) "Boccor" service \_\_\_\_\_
- e) Describe the service of the health clinic \_\_\_\_\_
- f) Kind and number of personal service units in village \_\_\_\_\_

VI. TRADING:

- a) Market exists \_\_\_\_\_ b) Market days \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Areas served by local market: Distance; North \_\_\_\_\_ South \_\_\_\_\_  
 East \_\_\_\_\_ West \_\_\_\_\_ d) Other villages from which people come  
 to this market \_\_\_\_\_
- e) Other villages to which people from this village go to market \_\_\_\_\_
- f) Where do local people go to buy ready-made  
 clothes and manufactured articles \_\_\_\_\_

VII. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY:

- a) Kind and no. of churches \_\_\_\_\_
- b) Church services, frequency and kind \_\_\_\_\_
- c) Organizations in church, number and kind \_\_\_\_\_
- d) Describe any voodoo expressions \_\_\_\_\_
- e) Other villages from which people come to this church \_\_\_\_\_
- f) Other villages to which people from this  
 village go to church \_\_\_\_\_

VIII. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY:

- a) Kind of school: b) Enrollment: c) Organizations in school:

	Boys	Girls	Name	Description
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

- d) Comments on school benefits and needs \_\_\_\_\_
- e) Other villages from which people come to this school \_\_\_\_\_
- f) Other villages to which people from this village go to school \_\_\_\_\_

EXHIBIT III (continued)

IX. MISCELLANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND SERVICES:

a) Name and type: (Social and fraternal)	Membership number	Meetings per month	Age of organization
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

b) Civil and military organization and services of the village, describe \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

X. RECREATIONAL AND LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITY:

a) Adults, describe \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

b) Children, describe \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## EXHIBIT IV

SCHEDULE USED IN THE STUDY OF CULTURAL AND RACIAL ATTITUDES  
AND OPINIONS IN HAITI

## STUDY OF CULTURAL AND RACE ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

## I. IDENTIFICATION:

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Address \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Nationality \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. Race \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
 6. Other identity \_\_\_\_\_

## II. ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRY:

1. What have been the 3 major factors responsible for the progress of Haiti during recent times? a) \_\_\_\_\_  
 b) \_\_\_\_\_  
 c) \_\_\_\_\_
2. What have been the 3 major drawbacks to the progress of Haiti during recent times? a) \_\_\_\_\_  
 b) \_\_\_\_\_  
 c) \_\_\_\_\_
3. What do you consider are the chief economic needs of Haiti at present? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
4. How can these needs best be obtained? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
5. What are the possibilities for the extension of manufacturing enterprises in Haiti? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
6. What will be Haiti's role in the future in world trade and commerce? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

## III. AGRICULTURE AND RURAL LIFE:

1. What in your opinion are the major needs of the rural people today? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
2. How can these needs best be realized? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
3. Has poverty of the farm people been increasing or decreasing during the last several decades? Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
4. What are the factors responsible for this change? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_
5. What should be the future agricultural policy of the Haitian Nation? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_



## EXHIBIT IV (continued)

## IV. EDUCATION AND RELIGION:

1. Is the present educational system suited to Haitian needs? Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Do you think that rural education is making for substantial betterment of the rural people? \_\_\_\_\_ In what way? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ What are the limitations of the system? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do you think that widespread illiteracy is basically responsible for peasant poverty? Explain \_\_\_\_\_
4. How widespread is Voodooism in Haiti today? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. What has been the outstanding effects of the spread of the Christian religions on the Haitian peasant? a) Catholic \_\_\_\_\_  
b) Protestant \_\_\_\_\_

## V. DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS:

1. What is the present status and future of the following family considerations:
  - a) Marriage sanctioned by the church \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - b) Marriage sanctioned by the state \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - c) The "Plaçage" system \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - d) Illegitimate children \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - e) Infant mortality \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - f) Polygyny \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  - g) Birth control \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. What are the chief needs for the improvement of health conditions in Haiti? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## EXHIBIT IV (continued)

## VI. GOVERNMENT:

1. What is the governmental policy, generally, with regard to the well-being of the Haitian peasant? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. How is the government administering public assistance? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. What is the government doing with regard to unemployment? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you believe that Haiti has need of a general census enumeration? Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. How would you suggest instituting such a census program? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

## VII. RACE AND CULTURAL RELATIONS:

1. What in your opinion are the major factors which distinguish the upper class Haitians from the peasant group? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Among Haitians is color a factor in association? a) Informal association, explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
b) Formal association, explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. The culture of Haiti is most closely related to which European culture? Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. The culture of Haiti is most closely related to which American culture? Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Is the white man in Haiti an asset or a liability to the Haitian people at present? Explain \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**APPENDIX B**

**STATISTICAL TABLES REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT BUT NOT  
INCLUDED IN THE BODY OF THE PAPER**

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY  
COMMUNE OF RESIDENCE

Commune of Residence	Dispersed Samples		
	Upper	Middle	Lower
Aquin . . . . .	2	7	3
Arcabaie . . . . .	3	3	2
Bassin Bleu . . . . .	1	2	1
Belladère . . . . .	2	2	1
Cabaret . . . . .	1	2	1
Camp Perrin . . . . .	1	2	1
Cap Haitien . . . . .	1	2	1
Cayes . . . . .	1	2	1
Croix des Bouquets . . . . .	5	11	3
Chardonnières . . . . .	1	2	1
Dame Marie . . . . .	1	2	..
Dessalines . . . . .	2	3	1
Ennery . . . . .	1	2	1
Gauthier . . . . .	1	2	1
Grand Goâve . . . . .	2	4	2
Grande Rivière . . . . .	2	1	1
Gros Morne . . . . .	1	2	2
Gonaïves . . . . .	6	11	6
Hinche . . . . .	4	7	5
Jacmel . . . . .	2	4	2
Jean Rabel . . . . .	1	2	1
Jérémie . . . . .	2	4	2
Kenscoff . . . . .	3	4	1
Las Cahobas . . . . .	2	6	3
Léogâne . . . . .	1	2	1
Limbé . . . . .	2	4	2
Limonade . . . . .	..	1	..
Maïssade . . . . .	2	4	2
Marmelade . . . . .	1	2	1
Milot . . . . .	1	2	1
Miragoâne . . . . .	1	3	1
Môle St. Nicolas . . . . .	1	2	1
Pestel . . . . .	..	1	3
Petit Goave . . . . .	1	1	1
Pétionville . . . . .	1	2	1

(continued)

TABLE I (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY  
COMMUNE OF RESIDENCE

Commune of Residence	Dispersed Samples		
	Upper	Middle	Lower
Plaine-du-Nord . . . . .	1	2	1
Plaisance . . . . .	1	2	1
Fort-à-Piment . . . . .	1	2	1
Fort-au-Prince . . . . .	2	...	2
Port Salut . . . . .	...	...	1
Port Margot . . . . .	1	2	1
Port-de-Paix . . . . .	1	2	...
Pte. Riv. d'Artibonite . . . . .	1	6	3
Roseaux . . . . .	1	2	1
St. Marc . . . . .	1	4	3
St. Louis-du-Nord . . . . .	1	2	1
Torbeck . . . . .	1	3	...
Trou-du-Nord . . . . .	1	1	1
Verrettes . . . . .	3	3	2
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>75</b>

**TABLE II**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY**  
**DEPARTMENT OF RESIDENCE**

Department of Residence	Dispersed Samples					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Département de l'Artibonite (Department of Artibonite) . . . . .	22	29.3	44	30.6	26	34.7
Département du Nord (Department of the North) . . . . .	10	13.3	17	11.8	9	12.0
Département du Nord'Ouest (Department of the Northwest) . . . . .	5	6.7	10	6.9	4	5.3
Département du Sud (Department of the South) . . . . .	12	16.0	30	20.8	15	20.0
Département de l'Ouest (Department of the West) . . . . .	26	34.7	43	29.9	21	28.0
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Per Cent of Total . . . . .</b>	<b>25.5</b>		<b>49.0</b>		<b>25.5</b>	

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PERSONS INTERVIEWED IN THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND IN THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY THE IMPRESSION OF THE INTERVIEWER AS REGARDS THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INTERVIEWER

Impression of Inter- viewer Regarding Attitude of Person Interviewed	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Cooperative. . . . .	106	97.3	54	80.6	111	79.3	57	79.2
Indifferent. . . . .	2	1.8	12	17.9	24	17.1	10	13.9
Antagonistic . . . . .	1	0.9	1	1.5	5	3.6	5	6.9
Total. . . . .	109	100.0	67	100.0	140	100.0	72	100.0

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALE HEADS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF FAMILIES OF WHICH THEY WERE HEAD

Number of Families of Male Head	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
One family only. . . . .	69	72.6	46	64.8	71	54.6	47	70.1
Two or more families .	26	27.4	25	35.2	59	45.4	20	29.9
Total. . . . .	95	100.0	71	100.0	130	100.0	67	100.0

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER  
AND SEX OF LIVING HEADS

Number and Sex of Family Heads	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Two-parent heads. . .	87	79.1	69	92.0	138	95.8	63	84.0
Male head only. . . .	9	8.2	4	5.3	4	2.8	10	13.3
Female head only. . .	14	12.7	2	2.7	2	1.4	2	2.7
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES WITH SPECIFIED RELATIVES OF  
FAMILY HEADS, SERVANTS, AND OTHER  
INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN HOUSEHOLD

Specified Relatives, Ser- vants, and other Individuals	Village of Gressier	Dispersed samples		
		Upper	Middle	Lower
Parents. . . . .	5.5	2.7	9.7	5.3
Brothers and sisters . . .	6.4	12.0	12.5	6.7
Daughters- and sons-in-law.	1.8	6.7	4.1	8.0
Nieces and nephews . . . .	5.5	22.7	16.7	5.3
Grandchildren. . . . .	8.2	10.7	6.3	4.0
God-children . . . . .	3.7	6.7	6.3	2.7
Servants . . . . .	...	18.7	9.7	2.7
All others . . . . .	7.3	8.0	15.3	6.7



TABLE VII

MEAN NUMBER OF SPECIFIED RELATIVES OF FAMILY HEADS, SERVANTS,  
AND OTHER INDIVIDUALS PER HOUSEHOLD (FOR HOUSEHOLDS WITH  
OTHER THAN IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS) FOR THE VILLAGE  
OF GRESSIER AND FOR THE DISPERSED SAMPLES

Specified Relatives, Servants, and other Individuals	Village of Gressier	Dispersed Samples		
		Upper	Middle	Lower
Parents. . . . .	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.0
Brothers and sisters . . . . .	1.0	1.9	2.7	1.6
Daughters- and sons-in-law. . .	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.7
Nieces and nephews . . . . .	2.2	1.9	1.9	1.0
Grandchildren. . . . .	1.3	2.5	1.9	1.7
God-children . . . . .	1.0	1.4	1.3	1.0
Servants . . . . .	...	2.2	1.4	1.0
All others . . . . .	1.3	1.0	1.6	1.2

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY STATEMENT OF PREFERENCE  
AS REGARDS CITY OR COUNTRY RESIDENCE

Preference with regard to City or Country Residence	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No preference. . . . .	29	27.9	...	...	2	1.4	1	1.3
City preference. . . . .	38	36.5	16	21.3	41	28.9	29	38.7
Country preference . . . . .	37	35.6	59	78.7	99	69.7	45	60.0
Total. . . . .	104	100.0	75	100.0	142	100.0	75	100.0

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY REASON FOR CITY  
RESIDENCE PREFERENCE

Reasons for City Residence Preference	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Better living conditions. . . . .	22	64.7	7	43.8	20	51.3	19	65.5
Greater returns realized from work. .	3	8.8	4	25.0	9	23.0	5	17.3
Better opportunity for educating children. .	4	11.8	5	31.2	4	10.3	1	3.4
More opportunities for social activities . .	...	...	...	...	4	10.3	3	10.4
Better protection by authorities and law .	3	8.8	...	...	...	...	1	3.4
Better opportunities for following a profession. . . . .	2	5.9	...	...	2	5.1	...	...
Other reasons . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total . . . . .	34	100.0	16	100.0	39	100.0	29	100.0

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY REASON FOR COUNTRY  
RESIDENCE PREFERENCE

Reason for Country Residence Preference	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
All land and other property are in country. . . . .	20	60.6	32	56.1	39	39.8	12	27.3
Life is more pleasant, easy, and quiet. . .	1	3.0	12	21.1	26	26.5	15	34.1
Only place where living can be made with facilities owned . .	2	6.1	9	15.8	21	21.4	11	25.0
Doubtful, but settled in country and do not like to move . . . .	10	30.3	3	5.3	6	6.1	4	9.1
In city poor people are not respected. .	...	...	...	...	3	3.1	2	4.5
Other reasons. . . .	...	...	1	1.7	3	3.1	...	...
Total. . . . .	33	100.0	57	100.0	98	100.0	44	100.0

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY OPINION REGARDING  
BIRTH CONTROL

Birth Control Opinion	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
It is not possible to control births. . .	108	98.2	53	74.6	100	75.8	49	71.0
It is possible to control births . . . .	2	1.8	12	16.9	27	20.4	13	18.9
Do not know if it is, or is not, possible to control births . . . .	...	...	6	8.5	5	3.8	7	10.1
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE XII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY OPINION REGARDING ADVANTAGE  
OR DISADVANTAGE OF WHITE FOREIGNERS IN HAITI

Opinion	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No opinion. . . . .	31	31.3	3	4.1	7	5.0	2	2.8
Advantage . . . . .	61	61.6	59	81.9	110	79.7	60	84.5
Disadvantage. . . . .	...	...	2	2.8	11	8.0	2	2.8
Neither advantage nor disadvantage. . . . .	7	7.1	4	5.6	3	2.2	4	5.7
Both advantage and disadvantage. . . . .	...	...	4	5.6	7	5.1	3	4.2
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE XIII

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY REASON FOR ADVANTAGE  
OF PRESENCE OF WHITE FOREIGNERS IN HAITI**

Reasons for Advantage of Presence of White Foreigners	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Give work to Haitians.	51	96.2	18	32.2	38	34.5	19	32.2
Brought in science and capital. . . . .	2	3.8	21	37.5	41	37.3	22	37.3
Whites have enlightened Negroes . . . . .	...	...	12	21.4	14	12.7	10	16.9
Extended commerce. . .	...	...	5	8.9	17	15.5	7	11.9
White merchants sell cheaper . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1.7
Other reasons. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE XIV

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY REASON FOR DISADVANTAGE  
OF PRESENCE OF WHITE FOREIGNERS IN HAITI**

Reasons for Dis- advantage of Presence of White Foreigners	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Exploit the masses. . .	...	...	...	...	7	70.0	1	50.0
Exploit natural resources . . . . .	...	...	1	50.0	1	10.0	1	50.0
Get higher wages for comparable positions held by Haitians. . . .	...	...	1	50.0	1	10.0	...	...
Take the country's wealth away . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	10.0	...	...
Other reasons . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	...	...	2	100.0	10	100.0	2	100.0

TABLE XV

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TYPE OF COOKING FACILITIES**

Type of Cooking Facilities	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Rock props. . . . .	110	100.0	24	34.8	81	59.6	59	84.3
Iron stand. . . . .	...	...	42	60.9	43	31.6	5	7.1
Masonry furnace . . .	...	...	3	4.3	12	8.8	6	8.6
Others. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	110	100.0	69	100.0	136	100.0	70	100.0

TABLE XVI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY TYPE OF LIGHTING FACILITIES

Type of Lighting Facilities	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Kerosene lamp. . . . .	108	98.2	73	100.0	136	96.5	66	88.0
Pine knot. . . . .	2	1.8	...	...	4	2.8	9	12.0
Candle . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
Others . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND  
OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY IMPRESSION OF INTERVIEWER AS  
REGARDS THEIR STATE OF CLEANLINESS

Impression Regarding Cleanliness of Dwelling	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Clean. . . . .	81	73.6	70	97.2	115	82.1	28	37.8
Dirty. . . . .	29	26.4	2	2.8	25	17.9	46	62.2
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE XVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DWELLING HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER  
AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY IMPRESSION OF INTERVIEWER  
AS REGARDS THEIR PHYSICAL CONDITION

Impression Regarding Physical Condition of Dwelling	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Good physical condition. . . . .	93	84.5	71	97.3	103	73.0	19	25.3
Poor physical condition. . . . .	17	15.5	2	2.7	38	27.0	56	74.7
Total. . . . .	110	100.0	73	100.0	141	100.0	75	100.0



TABLE XIX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF BEDS OWNED

Number of Beds Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	75	68.8	1	1.3	34	23.6	57	76.0
1 . . . . .	33	30.3	35	46.7	82	56.9	12	16.0
2 . . . . .	1	0.9	22	29.3	21	14.6	2	2.7
3 . . . . .	...	...	10	13.3	2	1.4	2	2.7
4 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	3	2.1	1	1.3
5 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	1	1.3
6 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
7 and over . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning beds . . . . .</b>	<b>34</b>		<b>74</b>		<b>110</b>		<b>18</b>	
<b>Of total families, percentage owning beds . . . . .</b>	<b>31.2</b>		<b>98.7</b>		<b>76.4</b>		<b>24.0</b>	
<b>Average number of beds per family, for those owning beds:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	1.0		1.9		1.4		1.7	
Median . . . . .	1.0		2.0		1.0		1.0	
<b>Average number of beds per family, for all families reporting:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	0.3		1.9		1.1		0.4	
Median . . . . .	0.0		2.0		1.0		0.0	
<b>Range in number of beds per family . . .</b>	<b>0-2</b>		<b>0-6</b>		<b>0-6</b>		<b>0-5</b>	

TABLE XX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF MATS OWNED

Number of Mats Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	30	27.5	8	10.7	7	4.8	5	6.6
1 . . . . .	39	35.8	2	2.7	2	1.4	8	10.7
2 . . . . .	29	26.6	10	13.3	27	18.7	24	32.0
3 . . . . .	8	7.4	8	10.7	30	20.8	21	28.0
4 . . . . .	2	1.8	9	12.0	23	16.0	7	9.3
5 . . . . .	1	0.9	9	12.0	16	11.1	3	4.0
6 . . . . .	...	...	11	14.7	15	10.4	3	4.0
7 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	5	3.5	2	2.7
8 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.3	5	3.5	2	2.7
9 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	3	2.1	...	...
10 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.6	5	3.5	...	...
11 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	5	3.5	...	...
13 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
14 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
15 and over . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning mats . . . . .</b>	<b>79</b>		<b>67</b>		<b>137</b>		<b>70</b>	
<b>Of total families, percentage owning mats . . . . .</b>	<b>72.5</b>		<b>89.3</b>		<b>95.1</b>		<b>93.3</b>	

(continued)

TABLE XX (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF MATS OWNED

Number of Mats Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Average number of mats per family, for those owning mats:								
Mean . . . . .	1.7		5.2		4.6		3.0	
Median . . . . .	2.0		5.0		4.0		3.0	
Average number of mats per family, for all families reporting:								
Mean . . . . .	1.2		4.7		4.4		2.8	
Median . . . . .	1.0		5.0		4.0		3.0	
Range in number of mats per family . . . . .								
	0-5		0-20		0-13		0-8	

TABLE XXI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF CHAIRS OWNED

Number of Chairs Owned	Village of		Dispersed Samples					
	Gressier		Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	4	3.8	...	...	2	1.4	6	8.0
1 . . . . .	10	9.2	...	...	3	2.1	11	14.7
2 . . . . .	14	12.8	...	...	6	4.2	19	25.4
3 . . . . .	23	21.1	1	1.3	11	7.6	10	13.3
4 . . . . .	22	20.2	1	1.3	17	11.8	14	18.7
5 . . . . .	15	13.8	5	6.7	13	9.0	1	1.3
6 . . . . .	11	10.1	13	17.3	20	13.9	6	8.0
7 . . . . .	2	1.8	5	6.7	12	8.3	3	4.0
8 . . . . .	3	2.7	3	4.0	18	12.5	2	2.7
9 . . . . .	1	0.9	5	6.7	6	4.2	...	...
10 . . . . .	1	0.9	4	5.4	9	6.2	1	1.3
11 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
12 . . . . .	3	2.7	22	29.4	15	10.4	1	1.3
13 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	1	1.3
14 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
15 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
16 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
18 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	4	2.8	...	...
19 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
20 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
21 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
22 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
24 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.4	...	...	...	...
25 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
26 and over . . .	...	...	5	6.7	...	...	...	...
Total . . . . .	109	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0

(continued)

TABLE XXI (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF CHAIRS OWNED

Number of Chairs Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Number of families owning chairs . . . . .	105		75		142		69	
Of total families, percentage owning chairs . . . . .	93.6		100.0		98.6		92.0	
Average number of chairs per family, for those owning chairs:								
Mean . . . . .	4.1		12.6		7.4		3.6	
Median . . . . .	4.0		11.0		7.0		3.0	
Average number of chairs per family, for all families reporting:								
Mean . . . . .	3.9		12.6		7.3		3.3	
Median . . . . .	4.0		11.0		6.5		3.0	
Range in number of chairs per family . .	0-12		0-52		0-23		0-13	

TABLE XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF TABLES OWNED

Number of Tables Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	18	16.5	...	...	11	7.6	26	34.7
1 . . . . .	67	61.5	10	13.3	44	30.6	36	48.0
2 . . . . .	22	20.2	20	26.7	56	38.9	11	14.7
3 . . . . .	1	0.9	28	37.4	20	13.9	2	2.6
4 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.3	9	6.2	...	...
5 . . . . .	1	0.9	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	2	1.4	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	1	0.7	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 and over . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning tables . . . .</b>	<b>91</b>		<b>75</b>		<b>133</b>		<b>49</b>	
<b>Of total families, percentage owning tables . . . . .</b>	<b>83.5</b>		<b>100.0</b>		<b>92.4</b>		<b>65.3</b>	
<b>Average number of tables per family, for those owning tables:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	1.3		3.2		2.1		1.3	
Median . . . . .	1.0		3.0		2.0		1.0	
<b>Average number of tables per family, for all families reporting:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	1.1		3.2		1.9		0.9	
Median . . . . .	1.0		3.0		2.0		1.0	
<b>Range in number of tables per family .</b>	<b>0-5</b>		<b>0-24</b>		<b>0-7</b>		<b>0-3</b>	

TABLE XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF SIDEBOARDS OWNED

Number of Sideboards Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	94	86.2	30	40.0	110	76.4	73	97.4
1 . . . . .	12	11.0	39	52.0	31	21.5	1	1.3
2 . . . . .	3	2.8	5	6.7	3	2.1	...	...
3 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1.3
4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
7 and over. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<hr/>								
Number of families owning sideboards . .	15		45		34		2	
Of total families, per- centage owning sideboards	13.8		60.0		23.6		2.7	
Average number of sideboards per family, for those owning sideboards:								
Mean . . . . .	1.2		1.2		1.1		2.0	
Median . . . . .	1.0		1.0		1.0		2.0	
Average number of sideboards per family, for all families reporting:								
Mean . . . . .	0.2		0.7		0.3		0.1	
Median . . . . .	0.0		1.0		0.0		0.0	
Range in number of sideboards per family. . . . .	0-2		0-6		0-2		0-3	

TABLE XXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF PRESSES OWNED

Number of Presses Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	107	98.2	48	64.0	124	86.1	75	100.0
1 . . . . .	2	1.8	25	33.4	19	13.2	...	...
2 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
3 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
8 and over . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Number of families owning presses . . . . .	2	27	20	...
Of total families, per- centage owning presses	1.8	36.0	13.9	...
Average number of presses per family, for those owning presses:				
Mean . . . . .	1.0	1.3	1.1	...
Median . . . . .	1.0	1.0	1.0	
Average number of presses per family, for all families reporting:				
Mean . . . . .	0.0	0.5	0.2	...
Median . . . . .	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Range in number of presses per family . . . . .	0-1	0-7	0-2	...



TABLE XXV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF OTHER PIECES OF FURNITURE OWNED

Number of Other Pieces of Furniture Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	94	86.3	45	60.0	103	71.5	64	85.4
1 . . . . .	13	11.9	7	9.3	13	9.0	9	12.0
2 . . . . .	1	0.9	14	18.7	13	9.0	1	1.3
3 . . . . .	1	0.9	3	4.0	8	5.6	1	1.3
4 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	5	3.5	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
10 and over . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning other furniture . . . . .</b>	<b>15</b>		<b>30</b>		<b>41</b>		<b>11</b>	
<b>Of total families, percentage owning other furniture . . .</b>	<b>13.8</b>		<b>40.0</b>		<b>28.5</b>		<b>14.7</b>	
<b>Average number of pieces of other furniture per family, for those owning other furniture:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	<b>1.2</b>		<b>2.6</b>		<b>2.4</b>		<b>1.3</b>	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	<b>1.0</b>		<b>2.0</b>		<b>2.0</b>		<b>1.0</b>	
<b>Average number of pieces of other furniture per family, for all families reporting:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	<b>0.2</b>		<b>1.0</b>		<b>0.7</b>		<b>0.2</b>	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	<b>0.0</b>		<b>0.0</b>		<b>0.0</b>		<b>0.0</b>	
<b>Range in number of other pieces of furni- ture per family . . .</b>	<b>0-3</b>		<b>0-9</b>		<b>0-9</b>		<b>0-3</b>	

TABLE XXVI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF SELECTED  
LIVING FACILITIES AND FURNISHINGS

Presence or Absence of Selected Living Facilities and Furnishings	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
<b>Flowers in Yard:</b>								
Flowers present . . . . .	25	22.7	48	64.9	73	50.7	12	16.0
No flowers . . . . .	85	77.3	26	35.1	71	49.3	63	84.0
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	74	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
<b>Window Curtains:</b>								
Present . . . . .	1	0.9	46	62.2	51	35.7	9	12.0
Not present . . . . .	109	99.1	28	37.8	92	64.3	66	88.0
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	74	100.0	143	100.0	75	100.0
<b>Sewing Machine:</b>								
Present . . . . .	9	8.2	26	34.7	31	21.5	1	1.3
Not present . . . . .	101	91.8	49	65.3	113	78.5	74	98.7
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
<b>Radio:</b>								
Present . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
Not present . . . . .	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
<b>Newspapers:</b>								
Present . . . . .	1	0.9	12	16.0	7	4.9	1	1.3
Not present . . . . .	109	99.1	63	84.0	137	95.1	74	98.7
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0

(continued)

TABLE XXVI (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF SELECTED  
LIVING FACILITIES AND FURNISHINGS

Presence or Absence of Selected Living Facilities and Furnishings	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
<b>Books:</b>								
Present . . . . .	1	0.9	54	72.0	82	56.9	15	20.0
Not present . . . . .	109	99.1	21	28.0	62	43.1	60	80.0
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
<b>Bible:</b>								
Present . . . . .	1	0.9	16	21.3	20	13.9	3	4.0
Not present . . . . .	109	99.1	59	78.7	124	86.1	72	96.0
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
<b>Mosquito Bars:</b>								
Present . . . . .	...	...	9	12.0	4	2.8	...	...
Not present . . . . .	110	100.0	66	88.0	140	97.2	75	100.0
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
<b>Automobile:</b>								
Present . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
Not present . . . . .	110	100.0	74	98.7	144	100.0	75	100.0
Total . . . . .	110	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0

TABLE XXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY STATEMENT OF PARTICIPATION OR  
NON-PARTICIPATION IN AMUSEMENTS OF THE  
NEIGHBORING COMMUNITIES

Statement of Participa- tion or Non-Participa- tion in Amusements of Neighboring Communities	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No participation. . . . .	20	18.3	22	29.3	43	30.1	34	47.2
Participation . . . . .	89	81.7	53	70.7	100	69.9	38	52.8
Total . . . . .	109	100.0	75	100.0	143	100.0	72	100.0

TABLE XXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY STATEMENT OF VISITATION OR NON-VISITATION  
OF RELATIVES IN OTHER COMMUNITIES

Statement of Visitation or Non-visitation of Relatives in Other Communities	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No visitation. . . . .	31	28.7	...	...	10	7.1	15	22.4
Visitation . . . . .	77	71.3	73	100.0	130	92.9	52	77.6
Total. . . . .	108	100.0	73	100.0	140	100.0	67	100.0

TABLE XXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY CHIEF TYPE OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENT OWNED

Chief Type of Musical Instrument Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No musical instrument. . .	109	99.1	57	82.6	125	92.7	67	93.0
Phonograph . . . . .	1	0.9	10	14.4	5	3.7	...	...
Drum . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	3	4.2
Accordion. . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
Banjo. . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
Bamboo flute . . . . .	...	...	1	1.5	...	...	...	...
Others, but not named. . .	...	...	1	1.5	2	1.5	2	2.8
Total. . . . .	110	100.0	69	100.0	135	100.0	72	100.0

TABLE XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF SPECIAL ORGANIZATION AND  
SOCIETY AFFILIATIONS OF THE FAMILY

Number of Organi- zation and Society Affiliations	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
No affiliation. . . .	108	99.1	34	53.1	62	54.9	46	74.2
1 . . . . .	...	...	21	32.8	35	31.0	14	22.6
2 . . . . .	...	...	9	14.1	13	11.5	2	3.2
3 . . . . .	1	0.9	...	...	3	2.6	...	...
4 and over. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE XXXI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY LITERACY STATUS OF THE FAMILY HEADS

Literacy Status of Family Heads	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Both male and female heads literate. . . . .	4	3.7	12	16.4	19	13.4	...	...
Both male and female heads illiterate. . . . .	72	66.1	34	46.6	92	64.8	60	80.0
Male head literate and female head illiterate.	9	8.3	20	27.4	22	15.5	3	4.0
Female head literate and male head illiterate. . .	1	0.9	3	4.1	4	2.8	...	...
Male head only, literate. . . . .	2	1.8	1	1.4	2	1.4	...	...
Male head only, illiterate . . . . .	7	6.4	2	2.7	2	1.4	10	13.3
Female head only, literate. . . . .	2	1.8	1	1.4	...	...	...	...
Female head only, illiterate. . . . .	12	11.0	...	...	1	0.7	2	2.7
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE XXXII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FARM FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY CHIEF FOOD CROP RAISED ON THEIR FARM

Chief Food Crop Raised on Farm	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
None . . . . .	3	2.9	...	...	...	...	2	2.9
Plantains . . . . .	28	26.6	22	29.3	39	27.4	8	11.4
Potatoes . . . . .	41	39.0	5	6.7	14	9.9	8	11.4
Rice . . . . .	11	10.5	14	18.7	17	12.0	6	8.6
Millet . . . . .	15	14.3	5	6.7	17	12.0	11	15.7
Corn . . . . .	...	...	8	10.7	16	11.3	8	11.4
Peas . . . . .	3	2.9	7	9.3	13	9.1	6	8.6
Manioc . . . . .	4	3.8	4	5.3	4	2.8	8	11.4
Yams . . . . .	...	...	2	2.6	4	2.8	3	4.3
Other crops . . . . .	...	...	8	10.7	18	12.7	10	14.3
Total . . . . .	105	100.0	75	100.0	142	100.0	70	100.0



TABLE XXXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FARM FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY CHIEF FOOD OF NATURAL GROWTH OBTAINED FROM THEIR FARM

Chief Food of Natural Growth Obtained From Farm	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
None . . . . .	29	27.9	4	5.3	13	9.0	15	21.2
Mangoes . . . . .	17	16.4	22	29.4	50	34.7	25	35.2
Avocados . . . . .	12	11.5	19	25.3	27	18.8	8	11.3
Sour sop . . . . .	20	19.2	2	2.7	8	5.6	1	1.4
Coconuts . . . . .	14	13.5	6	8.0	10	6.9	1	1.4
Oranges . . . . .	2	1.9	3	4.0	10	6.9	2	2.8
Coffee . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	4	2.8	3	4.2
Breadfruit . . . . .	1	1.0	1	1.3	3	2.1	3	4.2
Other foods . . . . .	9	8.6	13	17.3	19	13.2	13	18.3
Total . . . . .	104	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	71	100.0

TABLE XXXIV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FARM FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF  
THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY CHIEF FOOD PURCHASED FROM THE MARKETS

Chief Food Purchased From the Markets	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
None . . . . .	...	...	2	2.9	...	...	2	2.8
Rice . . . . .	5	4.7	22	31.4	32	23.2	14	20.0
Peas . . . . .	5	4.7	19	27.1	35	25.4	11	15.7
Corn . . . . .	30	28.0	4	5.7	14	10.1	11	15.7
Plantains . . . . .	29	27.1	1	1.4	12	8.7	6	8.6
Potatoes . . . . .	21	19.6	1	1.4	6	4.3	7	10.0
Coffee . . . . .	...	...	6	8.6	11	8.0	6	8.6
Yams . . . . .	9	8.4	2	2.9	4	2.9	4	5.8
Green vegetables . . . . .	...	...	3	4.3	4	2.9	2	2.8
Other foods . . . . .	8	7.5	10	14.3	20	14.5	7	10.0
Total . . . . .	107	100.0	70	100.0	138	100.0	70	100.0

TABLE XXXV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FARM FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE DISPERSED SAMPLES BY CHIEF FOOD CROP RAISED FOR SALE

Chief Food Crop Raised for Sale	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
None . . . . .	3	2.9	...	...	1	0.7	3	4.3
Millet . . . . .	25	24.0	3	4.0	17	11.8	9	12.9
Potatoes . . . . .	40	38.5	...	...	6	4.2	5	7.1
Plantains . . . . .	14	13.5	11	14.7	14	9.7	7	10.0
Coffee . . . . .	1	1.0	17	22.7	24	16.7	3	4.3
Peas . . . . .	4	3.9	6	8.0	13	9.0	8	11.4
Corn . . . . .	6	5.7	6	8.0	11	7.6	6	8.6
Manioc . . . . .	4	3.8	4	5.3	8	5.5	8	11.4
Sugar cane . . . . .	...	...	10	13.3	6	4.2	2	2.9
Other crops . . . . .	7	6.7	18	24.0	44	30.6	19	27.1
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE XXXVI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF MACHETES OWNED

Number of Machetes Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	15	13.8	1	1.3	1	0.7	9	12.0
1 . . . . .	94	86.2	15	20.0	70	48.6	52	69.4
2 . . . . .	...	...	19	25.4	46	31.9	10	13.3
3 . . . . .	...	...	18	24.0	12	8.3	2	2.7
4 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	8	5.6	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	1	0.7	1	1.3
6 . . . . .	...	...	6	8.0	3	2.1	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	1	1.3
8 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	2	1.4	...	...
9 and over. . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	1	0.7	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning machetes . . . .</b>	<b>94</b>		<b>74</b>		<b>143</b>		<b>66</b>	
<b>Of total families, per- centage owning machetes</b>	<b>86.2</b>		<b>98.7</b>		<b>99.3</b>		<b>88.0</b>	
<b>Average number of machetes per family, for families owning machetes:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	1.0		3.8		1.9		1.4	
Median . . . . .	1.0		3.0		2.0		1.0	
<b>Average number of machetes per family, for all fami- lies reporting:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	0.9		3.7		1.9		1.2	
Median . . . . .	1.0		3.0		2.0		1.0	
<b>Range in number of machetes owned per family . . . . .</b>	<b>0-1</b>		<b>0-30</b>		<b>0-9</b>		<b>0-7</b>	

TABLE XXXVII

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF HOES OWNED**

Number of Hoes Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	15	13.8	5	6.7	12	8.3	17	22.7
1 . . . . .	94	86.2	7	9.3	36	25.0	34	45.3
2 . . . . .	...	...	18	24.0	39	27.1	15	20.0
3 . . . . .	...	...	16	21.3	23	16.0	5	6.7
4 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.3	20	13.9	1	1.3
5 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.3	7	4.8	2	2.7
6 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	4	2.8	1	1.3
7 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	2	1.4	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
11 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
13 and over. . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Number of families owning hoes . . . . .</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>Of total families, per- centage owning hoes . .</b>	<b>86.2</b>	<b>93.3</b>	<b>91.7</b>	<b>77.3</b>
<b>Average number of hoes per family, for families owning hoes:</b>				
Mean . . . . .	1.0	4.3	2.6	1.7
Median . . . . .	1.0	3.0	2.0	1.0
<b>Average number of hoes per family, for all families reporting:</b>				
Mean . . . . .	0.9	4.0	2.4	1.3
Median . . . . .	1.0	3.0	2.0	1.0
<b>Range in number of hoes owned per family. . . .</b>	<b>0-1</b>	<b>0-20</b>	<b>0-8</b>	<b>0-6</b>

TABLE XXXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF PICKS OWNED

Number of Picks Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	50	45.9	37	49.3	106	73.6	69	92.0
1 . . . . .	59	54.1	21	28.0	34	23.6	6	8.0
2 . . . . .	...	...	12	16.0	2	1.4	...	...
3 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	1	0.7	...	...
4 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
5 and over . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning picks . . . . .</b>	<b>59</b>		<b>38</b>		<b>38</b>		<b>6</b>	
<b>Of total families, percentage owning picks . . . . .</b>	<b>54.1</b>		<b>50.7</b>		<b>26.4</b>		<b>8.0</b>	
<b>Average number of picks per family, for families owning picks:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	<b>1.0</b>		<b>1.6</b>		<b>1.2</b>		<b>1.0</b>	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	<b>1.0</b>		<b>1.0</b>		<b>1.0</b>		<b>1.0</b>	
<b>Average number of picks per family, for all families report- ing:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	<b>0.5</b>		<b>0.8</b>		<b>0.3</b>		<b>0.1</b>	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	<b>1.0</b>		<b>1.0</b>		<b>0.0</b>		<b>0.0</b>	
<b>Range in number of picks owned per family . . . . .</b>	<b>0-1</b>		<b>0-4</b>		<b>0-4</b>		<b>0-1</b>	

TABLE XXXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF SICKLES OWNED

Number of Sickles Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	41	37.6	57	76.0	122	84.7	67	89.3
1 . . . . .	68	62.4	8	10.7	14	9.7	8	10.7
2 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.3	3	2.1	...	...
3 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	5	3.5	...	...
4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
6 and over . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning sickles . . . . .</b>	<b>68</b>		<b>18</b>		<b>22</b>		<b>8</b>	
<b>Of total families, percentage owning sickles . . . . .</b>	<b>62.4</b>		<b>24.0</b>		<b>15.3</b>		<b>10.7</b>	
<b>Average number of sickles per family, for families owning sickles:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	1.0		2.1		1.6		1.0	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	1.0		2.0		1.0		1.0	
<b>Average number of sickles per family, for all families reporting:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	0.6		0.5		0.2		0.1	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	1.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	
<b>Range in number of sickles owned per family . . . . .</b>	<b>0-1</b>		<b>0-5</b>		<b>0-3</b>		<b>0-1</b>	

TABLE XL

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF "COUTEAUX DIGOS" OWNED

Number of "Couteaux Digos" Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	108	99.1	52	69.3	109	75.7	68	90.7
1 . . . . .	1	0.9	15	20.0	25	17.3	4	5.3
2 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	5	3.5	3	4.0
3 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	3	2.1	...	...
4 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 and over. . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
Total . . . . .	109	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0

Number of families owning "couteaux digos"	1	23	35	7
Of total families, per- centage owning "couteaux digos" . . . . .	0.9	30.7	24.3	9.3
Average number of "couteaux digos" per family, for fami- lies owning "couteaux digos":				
Mean. . . . .	1.0	2.4	1.5	1.4
Median. . . . .	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Average number of "cou- teaux digos" per family, for all families report- ing:				
Mean. . . . .	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.1
Median. . . . .	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Range in number of "cou- teaux digos" owned per family. . . . .	0-1	0-10	0-5	0-2



TABLE XLI

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF DONKEYS OWNED

Number of Donkeys Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	89	81.7	16	21.3	58	40.3	49	65.4
1 . . . . .	17	15.6	16	21.3	43	29.9	16	21.3
2 . . . . .	1	0.9	19	25.4	25	17.3	6	8.0
3 . . . . .	...	...	15	20.0	11	7.6	4	5.3
4 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	2	1.4	...	...
5 . . . . .	2	1.8	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
9 and over. . . . .	...	...	...	...	3	2.1	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning donkeys . . . . .</b>	<b>20</b>		<b>59</b>		<b>86</b>		<b>26</b>	
<b>Of total families, per- centage owning donkeys.</b>	<b>18.3</b>		<b>78.7</b>		<b>59.7</b>		<b>34.7</b>	
<b>Average number of donkeys per family, for families owning donkeys:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	1.5		2.4		2.1		1.5	
Median . . . . .	1.0		2.0		1.5		1.0	
<b>Average number of donkeys per family, for all fami- lies reporting:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	0.3		2.0		1.3		0.5	
Median . . . . .	0.0		2.0		1.0		0.0	
<b>Range in number of donkeys owned per family. . . .</b>	<b>0-5</b>		<b>0-6</b>		<b>0-12</b>		<b>0-3</b>	

TABLE XLII

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF HORSES OWNED**

Number of Horses Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	81	74.3	7	9.3	39	27.1	61	81.3
1 . . . . .	18	16.5	10	13.3	37	25.7	8	10.7
2 . . . . .	7	6.4	16	21.4	36	25.0	4	5.3
3 . . . . .	2	1.9	10	13.3	10	6.9	2	2.7
4 . . . . .	...	...	9	12.0	12	8.3	...	...
5 . . . . .	1	0.9	7	9.3	4	2.8	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	1	0.7	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	3	2.1	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	1	0.7	...	...
9 and over . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	1	0.7	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning horses . . . . .</b>	<b>28</b>		<b>68</b>		<b>105</b>		<b>14</b>	
<b>Of total families, percentage owning horses . . . . .</b>	<b>25.7</b>		<b>90.7</b>		<b>72.9</b>		<b>18.7</b>	
<b>Average number of horses per family, for families owning horses:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	<b>1.5</b>		<b>4.1</b>		<b>2.4</b>		<b>1.6</b>	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	<b>1.0</b>		<b>3.0</b>		<b>2.0</b>		<b>1.0</b>	
<b>Average number of horses per family, for all families reporting:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	<b>0.4</b>		<b>3.7</b>		<b>1.8</b>		<b>0.3</b>	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	<b>0.0</b>		<b>3.0</b>		<b>1.0</b>		<b>0.0</b>	
<b>Range in number of horses owned per family . . . . .</b>	<b>0-5</b>		<b>0-20</b>		<b>0-10</b>		<b>0-3</b>	

TABLE XLIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF MULES OWNED

Number of Mules Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	108	99.1	27	36.0	105	72.9	74	98.7
1 . . . . .	1	0.9	16	21.3	28	19.4	1	1.3
2 . . . . .	...	...	11	14.7	3	2.1	...	...
3 . . . . .	...	...	9	12.0	4	2.8	...	...
4 . . . . .	...	...	6	8.0	1	0.7	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	5	6.7	3	2.1	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 and over. . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<hr/>								
Number of families owning mules . . . . .	1		48		39		1	
Of total families, per- centage owning mules .	0.9		64.0		27.1		0.1	
Average number of mules per family, for families owning mules:								
Mean . . . . .	1.0		2.5		1.7		1.0	
Median . . . . .	1.0		2.0		1.0		1.0	
Average number of mules per family, for all families reporting:								
Mean . . . . .	0.1		1.6		0.4		0.1	
Median . . . . .	0.0		1.0		0.0		0.0	
Range in number of mules owned per family . . .	0-1		0-7		0-5		0-1	

TABLE XLIV

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF CATTLE OWNED**

Number of Cattle Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	86	78.9	6	8.0	43	29.9	50	66.7
1 . . . . .	15	13.8	5	6.7	33	22.9	12	16.0
2 . . . . .	5	4.6	13	17.3	21	14.6	8	10.7
3 . . . . .	2	1.8	9	12.0	17	11.8	3	4.0
4 . . . . .	1	0.9	11	14.7	10	6.9	2	2.6
5 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	7	4.8	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	4	2.8	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	2	1.4	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	1	0.7	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
10 . . . . .	...	...	8	10.7	3	2.1	...	...
11 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	...	...
13 and over. . . . .	...	...	6	8.0	2	1.4	...	...
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Number of families owning cattle . . . . .</b>	23	69	101	25
<b>Of total families, per- centage owning cattle.</b>	21.1	92.0	70.1	33.3
<b>Average number of cattle per family, for families owning cattle:</b>				
Mean . . . . .	1.5	7.6	3.6	1.8
Median . . . . .	1.0	4.0	2.0	2.0
<b>Average number of cattle per family, for all fami- lies reporting:</b>				
Mean . . . . .	0.3	7.0	2.5	0.6
Median . . . . .	0.0	4.0	1.0	0.0
<b>Range in number of cattle owned per family . . . . .</b>	0-4	0-60	0-50	0-4

TABLE XLV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF GOATS OWNED

Number of Goats Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper Num- ber	Upper Per Cent	Middle Num- ber	Lower Num- ber	Per Cent	
0	95	87.2	28	37.4	70	48.6	49	65.3
1	5	4.6	3	4.0	10	6.9	9	12.0
2	6	5.5	3	4.0	9	6.2	4	5.4
3	1	0.9	3	4.0	9	6.2	5	6.7
4	...	...	3	4.0	7	4.9	...	...
5	...	...	4	5.4	9	6.2	4	5.4
6	1	0.9	8	10.7	7	4.9	1	1.3
7	...	...	1	1.3	2	1.4	...	...
8	...	...	1	1.3	4	2.8	1	1.3
9	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
10	...	...	3	4.0	7	4.9	1	1.3
11	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
12	...	...	2	2.7	2	1.4	1	1.3
13	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15	...	...	3	4.0	2	1.4	...	...
16 and over	1	0.9	10	13.3	6	4.2	...	...
Total	109	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0
Number of families owning goats . . . . .	14		47		74		26	
Of total families, percentage owning goats . . . . .	12.8		62.7		51.4		34.7	

(continued)

TABLE XLV (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF GOATS OWNED

Number of Goats Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
			Upper		Middle		Lower	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
<b>Average number of goats per family, for families owning goats:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	3.0		14.8		7.8		3.4	
Median . . . . .	2.0		6.0		5.0		2.5	
<b>Average number of goats per family, for all families reporting:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	0.4		9.3		4.0		1.2	
Median . . . . .	0.0		4.0		1.0		0.0	
<b>Range in number of goats owned per family . . . . .</b>								
	0-16		0-100		0-127		0-12	

TABLE XLVI

**DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF HOGS OWNED**

Number of Hogs Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	55	50.5	9	12.0	25	17.3	23	30.7
1 . . . . .	33	30.3	3	4.0	14	9.7	15	20.0
2 . . . . .	12	11.0	4	5.4 <sup>1/2</sup>	23	16.0	18	24.0
3 . . . . .	6	5.5	8	10.7	15	10.4	8	10.7
4 . . . . .	1	0.9	3	4.0	11	7.6	5	6.7
5 . . . . .	...	...	6	8.0	8	5.6	3	4.0
6 . . . . .	1	0.9	2	2.7	10	6.9	2	2.7
7 . . . . .	1	0.9	3	4.0	8	5.6	1	1.2
8 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	4	2.8	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	3	2.1	...	...
10 . . . . .	...	...	6	8.0	10	6.9	...	...
11 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	1	0.7	...	...
12 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	2	1.4	...	...
13 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	2	1.4	...	...
14 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	2	1.4	...	...
16 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
18 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
19 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.3	5	3.5	...	...
21 and over. . .	...	...	8	10.7	1	0.7	...	...
<b>Total. . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning hogs. . . . .</b>	<b>54</b>		<b>66</b>		<b>119</b>		<b>52</b>	

(continued)

TABLE XLVI (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF HOGS OWNED

Number of Hogs Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Of total families, per- centage owning hogs. . .	49.5		88.0		82.6		69.3	
<b>Average number of hogs per family, for fami- lies owning hogs:</b>								
Mean. . . . .	1.7		12.9		5.7		2.5	
Median. . . . .	1.0		9.0		4.0		2.0	
<b>Average number of hogs per family, for all families reporting:</b>								
Mean . . . . .	0.8		11.4		4.7		1.7	
Median. . . . .	0.0		7.0		3.0		1.0	
Range in number of hogs owned per family . . . .	0-7		0-80		0-25		0-7	

<sup>1</sup>In adjusting the percentage columns so that they would total 100 per cent, 5.33 was rounded to 5.4 in the case indicated above.



TABLE XLVII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF CHICKENS OWNED

Number of Chickens Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	53	48.6	6	8.0	11	7.6	14	18.7
1 . . . . .	2	1.8	...	...	2	1.4	4	5.3
2 . . . . .	13	11.9	...	...	5	3.5	7	9.3
3 . . . . .	14	12.9	1	1.3	2	1.4	5	6.7
4 . . . . .	5	4.6	...	...	6	4.1	2	2.7
5 . . . . .	3	2.8	2	2.7	12	8.3	7	9.3
6 . . . . .	4	3.7	3	4.0	6	4.1	8	10.7
7 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	5	3.5	3	4.0
8 . . . . .	2	1.8	2	2.7	5	3.5	3	4.0
9 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
10 . . . . .	5	4.6	6	8.0	13	9.0	5	6.7
11 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	2	2.7
12 . . . . .	5	4.6	4	5.3	11	7.6	1	1.3
13 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	4	5.3
14 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	1	0.7	...	...
15 . . . . .	2	1.8	5	6.7	12	8.3	3	4.0
16 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	2	1.4	1	1.3
17 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
18 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	4	2.8	2	2.7
19 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20 - 29 . . . . .	1	0.9	10	13.3	14	9.8	3	4.0
30 - 39 . . . . .	...	...	9	12.0	11	7.6	1	1.3
40 - 49 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	7	4.9	...	...
50 - 59 . . . . .	...	...	7	9.3	5	3.5	...	...
60 - 69 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	3	2.1	...	...

(continued)

TABLE XLVII (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF CHICKENS OWNED

Number of Chickens Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
70 - 79 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	2	1.4	...	...
80 - 89 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
90 - 99 . . . . .	...	...	2	2.7	...	...	...	...
100 and over . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Number of families owning chickens . . . .</b>	<b>56</b>		<b>69</b>		<b>133</b>		<b>61</b>	
<b>Of total families, percentage owning chickens . . . . .</b>	<b>51.4</b>		<b>92.0</b>		<b>92.4</b>		<b>81.3</b>	
<b>Average number of chickens per family, for families owning chickens:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	<b>5.5</b>		<b>28.9</b>		<b>17.9</b>		<b>8.2</b>	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	<b>3.0</b>		<b>23.5</b>		<b>12.0</b>		<b>6.0</b>	
<b>Average number of chickens per family, for all families reporting:</b>								
<b>Mean . . . . .</b>	<b>2.8</b>		<b>26.6</b>		<b>16.5</b>		<b>6.6</b>	
<b>Median . . . . .</b>	<b>1.0</b>		<b>20.5</b>		<b>12.0</b>		<b>5.0</b>	
<b>Range in number of chickens owned per family . . . . .</b>	<b>0-25</b>		<b>0-100</b>		<b>0-77</b>		<b>0-30</b>	

TABLE XLVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF DUCKS OWNED

Number of Ducks Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	108	99.1	70	93.4	141	97.9	72	96.0
1 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1.4 <sup>1/</sup>
2 . . . . .	...	...	4	5.3	...	...	1	1.3
3 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
4 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
5 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	1	0.7	...	...
6 . . . . .	1	0.9	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
9 and over. . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1.3
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<hr/>								
Number of families owning ducks. . . . .	1		5		3		3	
Of total families, per- centage owning ducks .	0.9		6.7		2.1		4.0	
Average number of ducks per family, for families owning ducks:								
Mean. . . . .	6.0		3.2		4.0		2.3	
Median. . . . .	6.0		2.0		4.0		2.0	
Average number of ducks per family, for all fami- lies reporting:								
Mean. . . . .	0.1		0.2		0.1		0.1	
Median. . . . .	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	
Range in number of ducks owned per family . . .	0-6		0-8		0-5		0-14	

<sup>1</sup>In adjusting the percentage columns so that they would total 100 per cent, 1.33 was rounded to equal 1.4 in the instance indicated above.

TABLE XLIX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILIES OF THE VILLAGE OF GRESSIER AND OF THE  
DISPERSED SAMPLES BY NUMBER OF OTHER LIVESTOCK OWNED

Number of Other Livestock Owned	Village of Gressier		Dispersed Samples					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Upper		Middle		Lower	
			Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
0 . . . . .	104	95.4	62	82.7	133	92.3	69	92.0
1 . . . . .	...	...	...	...	4	2.8	2	2.7 <sup>1</sup>
2 . . . . .	3	2.8	2	2.7	...	...	1	1.4 <sup>1</sup>
3 . . . . .	1	0.9	1	1.4 <sup>1</sup>	2	1.4	...	...
4 . . . . .	1	0.9	...	...	3	2.1	1	1.3
5 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
6 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	2	1.4	...	...
7 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
8 . . . . .	...	...	1	1.3	...	...	...	...
9 . . . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	1	1.3
10 and over . . .	...	...	3	4.0	...	...	1	1.3
Total . . . . .	109	100.0	75	100.0	144	100.0	75	100.0

Number of families  
owning other  
livestock . . . . .

5 13 11 6

Of total families,  
percentage owning  
other livestock . .

4.6 17.3 7.6 8.0

Average number of  
other livestock per  
family, for families  
owning other  
livestock:

Mean . . . . . 2.6 7.7 3.1 6.0  
Median . . . . . 2.0 8.0 3.0 3.0

Average number of other  
livestock per family, for  
all families reporting:

Mean . . . . . 0.1 1.3 0.2 0.5  
Median . . . . . 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0

Range in number of other  
livestock owned per family.

0-4 0-15 0-6 0-19

<sup>1</sup>In adjusting the percentage columns so that they would total 100 per cent, 1.33 was rounded to 1.4 in the instances indicated above.

## BIOGRAPHY

The author was born October 25, 1914, in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana. His elementary training was received in the Lawtell school, and he was graduated from the Opelousas High School in 1931. In September, 1933, he entered the Louisiana State Normal College at Natchitoches, receiving after two years of study a teacher's certificate. After attending the summer sessions of 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938, he was awarded the A.B. degree by the Louisiana State Normal College in July, 1938.

Before beginning graduate study, the author taught two and one-half years in the Sicily Island High School, Catahoula Parish, and two years in the Lawtell High School, St. Landry Parish.

In June, 1939, he registered in the Department of Sociology of the Louisiana State University, where he pursued advanced study in rural sociology and cultural geography. At the termination of the summer session of 1940, he was awarded the degree of Master of Arts.

As a recipient of a graduate study and research grant from the General Education Board, the writer continued his graduate study at Harvard University in the academic year 1940-1941 and, as a result of this work, received the Master of Arts degree from Harvard. Upon the extension of the General Education Board Grant in the summer of 1941, he began a sociological research program of several months duration in the Republic of Haiti, which yielded a major portion of the basic data for his doctoral dissertation.

From 1942 until the fall of 1948, the candidate was employed by the National Office of Vital Statistics, United States Public Health

Service, as an International Consultant in Biostatistics. In September, 1948, he accepted a position on the faculty of the Northwestern State College at Natchitoches, Louisiana, where he taught courses in sociology and geography during the academic year 1948-1949.

In the fall of 1949, the candidate accepted a part-time instructorship at Louisiana State University in order to complete requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree. After passing his general examination, completing all coursework, and finishing his dissertation, but before taking his final oral examination, the candidate died unexpectedly on January 26, 1950. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Blanche Desha Young, formerly of Extension, Louisiana, whom he married in May, 1944.

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

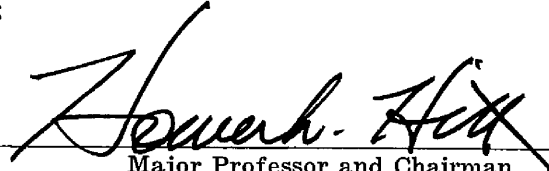
Candidate: Chester Winfield Young


Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: A Sociological Study of Rural Life in Haiti


Approved:

Degree to be awarded posthumously.

  
Major Professor and Chairman

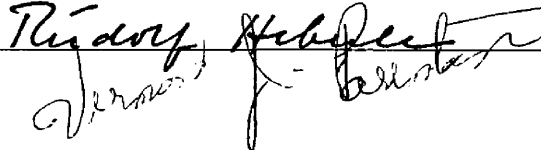

  
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:









Date of Examination:

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