

A TENTATIVE TYPOLOGY OF EIGHT HAITIAN MARKETPLACES¹

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Introduction

THE Republic of Haiti, which occupies the western third of the island of Hispaniola, shares with much of Latin America its rural character, its agrarian economic base, and its simple agricultural technology. Unlike many other Latin American countries, Haiti has very few large-scale agricultural enterprises; almost all of its agricultural land is held in small plots, worked by peasant freeholders, or by lease, share, tenancy or other arrangements. All of the conventional indices of underdevelopment apply to Haiti in the extreme; it is one of the two or three poorest countries of the Hemisphere by any measure. And because of its particular land occupation and use pattern, it is also the peasant country *par excellence* of the New World.

Though it may be said that the Haitian peasantry—perhaps ninety per cent of the people²—largely produce what they consume and consume what they produce, there is a remarkable amount of internal trade in their economic life. That is, Haitian countrymen do not use directly a large proportion of what they produce. The products of their labor flow into the pathways of trade and out again before being consumed. The central institution for these trading practices is the internal market system with its marketplaces. In addition, most of the commodities produced in the cities or abroad which are part of the peasantry's regular consumption reach the peasant through marketplace exchange.

The marketplaces themselves are widely distributed throughout the Republic. Every town has a marketplace, while larger towns and the cities each have several. All of the larger towns and even some of the smaller ones have daily markets. Furthermore, there are a number of

¹ The writer is grateful to the Guggenheim Foundation and to the Social Science Research Council for fellowships which made fieldwork in Haiti possible.

² Moral (p. 84) calculates that 85.9% of the population over 14 years of age is engaged in purely agricultural activity (no date given).

large special markets to be found scattered through the country, some in or adjoining small towns, others removed from population centers but on main roads, and still others almost like oases of trade in the rural hinterlands. Finally, there is the small cluster of traders who create "marketplace situations" at all social gatherings, at crossroads, and near places of employment.³ Thus the nearly 200 regular and recognized rural marketplaces, and the more than 100 urban marketplaces in Haiti⁴ give only a minimum accounting of the centers where trade of a marketplace kind occurs. The investment of wealth, intellect and energy involved in maintaining the marketplaces of the Republic is enormous.

Though Haitian marketplaces serve primarily as centers of exchange, they are not all alike. Taken together, the marketplaces form a system; that is they are related to each other, they are economically interdependent, and the changes which occur in any of them affect the others. It is possible to separate the marketplaces into categories according to a number of variables such as size, volume of business, principal commodities traded, and so on. Classifications of this kind serve not only to show better what the marketing system is like, but also to reveal to what extent the character of each marketplace type is based on its place in the whole system of trade. Some of the marketplaces, because of the economic purposes they serve, are central to the entire system; others are marginal, and their individual presence or absence, or changes in their character, would probably not significantly affect the system as a whole.

The market system and its marketplaces provide crucial linkages between producers and consumers. Since demand—or its lack—makes itself felt very directly through the marketplace, it is hardly surprising that the anatomy of the market system may reflect quite sensitively the character of demand, its intensity and variability. And since this is so, an overview of the marketplaces can serve as a useful introduction to the internal economy as a whole.

One may begin at a number of alternative points in plotting the differentiation of marketplaces. Imports such as cooking oil, cloth, soap, machetes, kerosene and minor spices reach the peasantry through series of intermediaries. The stocks of these commodities are largely or wholly imported; they are sold in small quantities or by the unit in country markets. Haitian agricultural produce fit for the tourist hotels and the richer homes of the city is carried outward from the country.

³ Cf., for instance, Underwood, F., in Mintz, S. (ed.), *Papers on Caribbean Anthropology*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 57 (in press).

⁴ Moral, p. 74.

side, again by chains of middlemen, until it reaches the ultimate consumer. In addition, there are enormous stocks of basic foods—particularly corn and cornmeal, millet, beans, green bananas and plantains, and the poorer grades of rice, but also some root crops and some seasonal fruits and vegetables—which move from one region to another, levelling out differences in geography, climate, soil type, season, agricultural technique, craft tradition, and taste.

Though Haiti is a characteristically sub-tropical country, and relatively small (ca. 10,700 sq. mi.), its ecology is remarkably varied. The rich alluvial northern plains, the sere and arid central Cul-de-Sac, and the wet and bracing temperate range of mountains just southwest of the capital, for instance, differ significantly in their agricultural potential and utilization. And these are but three crudely defined sectors in the total span of ecological variability. Not only natural circumstances but also many differences dependent on the hand of man condition the variable productivity of the Haitian landscape. Economic relationships among the populations of sub-regions, and between these sub-regions and the towns and cities, are affected by such factors as the state of transport, the amount of successful agricultural extension, the presence or absence of irrigation works, and the like.

On the one hand, the disposition of marketplaces and the varying functions they serve, are conditioned by these varying circumstances. On the other, the marketplaces are media for the communication of demand, and serve as such primarily through the price mechanism. To the extent that consumer needs are made known to producers through the market system, this system actively influences the nature of economic integration of particular regions with the rest of the economy.

From the above, several directives emerge to help in the formulation of a tentative marketplace typology: a) the nature of rural production in the region of which the marketplace is a part; b) the relationship of the marketplace to that production; c) the relationship of the marketplace to other marketplaces, far and near; and d) the relationship of the marketplace to the capital, Port-au-Prince.

Several marketplaces will be described to give substance to the preceding discussion. But these descriptions by no means exhaust the range of variability in Haitian marketplace types; their place here is almost entirely illustrative. If some of the type characteristics noted are functionally important, it will be useful eventually to see whether comparable typologies can be set up for other societies possessing market systems of an order similar to Haiti's.

A Southern Market Region: Fond-des-Nègres

One of the biggest rural marketplaces of the Republic, that of Fond-des-Nègres or Morne Brice,⁵ is located on the Plateau of Fond-des-Nègres. The Plateau itself is a narrow inland zone near the center of the southern peninsula, about 5,500 hectares in area. The surface of this plateau is rolling, with adequate rainfall for successful non-irrigation agriculture in most parts, and with fertile soils. At higher levels the lands of the plateau produce coffee and tree crops; further down they yield millet, corn, small quantities of rice, root crops of all kinds, and legumes.

The major cash crop for export in the region is coffee, which is harvested in the fall, over a period of some months extending into the new year. The coffee of the Fond-des-Nègres region is said to be Haiti's best. Other cash crops include sisal and vetiver root. The main cash crops for the internal market are millet, corn, legumes such as red, black and congo "peas," root crops such as sweet potatoes and yams, and bananas and plantains. Adequate rainfall and rolling land of varying elevation, together with generally good fertility and less erosion than is evidenced elsewhere, permit considerable diversification of crops. Though a careful study of occupance, land use, and tenure was not attempted, some general facts about these features of Fond-des-Nègres rural life bear noting. Most holdings are small, running from a quarter of a *karo* (one *karo* = 3.33 acres) to perhaps five *karo*. Holdings are usually dispersed such that a peasant landholder may have one, two, three or more holdings of varying size, and variously disposed. There is a folk classification of soils, with traditional choices of specific crops for particular soil types. Peasants in the region of Fond-des-Nègres estimate that perhaps 15 per cent of the local peasantry is landless; these landless persons work land by tenancy, share, and various forms of lease, and also work for wages during the main planting and harvesting periods.

Usually agricultural plots carry many different crops, and these are planted at different times and have different growing seasons. A single plot may have on it sweet potatoes, yams, plantains, peas, coconut palms, a living fence of sisal plants, and a latanier palm to supply fibers for basketmaking. Another will have coffee shrubs, a cover of fruit trees (such as mango, avocado, and guava), and fringes of the taro-like New World plant called "malanga" (*Xanthosoma* spp.). A

⁵ Local people refer to the marketplace as "Mòn Bris" or "Sèkyèm" ("the fifth," since the market is in fifth section of Miragoâne). Where Créole words are used in the text of this paper, the phonetic orthography followed is that commonly called "Lau-bach" in Haiti. See Hall, 1953.

third will have maize, millet, and quick-growing peas, with tobacco growing on the rocky margins.

These features of local agriculture constitute a pattern. Agricultural production in the region is marked by the use of small holdings, diversity of uses for any given plot, the use of several ecologically different plots to increase diversity, relatively continuous but highly variable production, and heavy emphasis upon the production of crops for subsistence and for sale elsewhere within Haiti. Such a pattern, it is true, holds in general for much of the country; but the adaptation in Fond-des-Nègres seems to be particularly successful. There are no very large holdings. There is little irrigation. The many different crops and highly varying ecological settings permit a relatively intensive use of available land resources. Coffee provides the best possible basis for cash income (even though its recent history as a cash crop in Haiti is altogether discouraging).

Because of the many different crops and their differing growing seasons, peasants usually have a little of something to sell, and to eat, at any time. Bean crops have growing seasons of only two and one-half months, and several harvests a year are possible; corn varieties with short growing seasons are also important in supplying food year round, and slow-growing corn is stored on the ear (inefficiently, to be sure) when harvested. Millet can also be stored unhusked for fairly long periods.

In the beginning of the new year, the millet crop provides both food and cash, following upon the coffee harvest. Late spring and summer bring some decline in cash, but this is not reflected immediately in subsistence. Then access to cash rises in the late fall, and a larger proportion of food is bought. The total effect of these general features of Fond-des-Nègres agriculture is to decrease the negative impact of seasonality; though not all months are equally rewarding, the peasantry of Fond-des-Nègres suffers less than that of many more arid, less fertile, regions and those having more abrupt harvest seasons, elsewhere in Haiti.

There is little important livestock raising in the Plateau, but nearly every peasant family has a cow, and all have chickens and a pig or two. Goats are uncommon, setting the region apart from the Central Plateau of the north, the northwest, and other dry, rocky, relatively infertile zones. In the late summer and early fall, livestock becomes more plentiful in the markets of the region, and most of it is butchered and consumed locally. Swine production, however, exceeds local needs or buying power, as will be seen.

The peasants of this region appear to be very fortunately situated,

in that they are able to combine cash export production (coffee, sisal, and vetiver root); local cash production (millet, maize, beans, root crops, and tobacco), and subsistence production (the same as local production for cash, plus many other items) in varying proportions, with some maneuverability. And all of these features of local economic life have their manifestations in and around the great regional market of Fond-des-Nègres.

Fond-des-Nègres. The market lies on the main southern highway—most of it unpaved—almost exactly midway between the capital and the biggest city of the southern peninsula, Les Cayes. East of the Plateau of Fond-des-Nègres, the highway passes through the fertile plains of Léogane, Petit-Goâve and Miragoâne, which produce sugar-cane, bananas and plantains, among other items. West of Fond-des-Nègres Plateau, the highway descends to the Plain of Aquin, and thence to Les Cayes, this region forming another complex of sub-regions with different agricultural products. The Fond-des-Nègres regional market taps all of the region around it, and is also a major commercial nexus for products moving out of, and into, the regions on all sides of the Plateau. Truck transport through Fond-des-Nègres is heavy, relative to its intensity in Haiti in general.

The marketplace itself is in part distinctive since it is not an adjunct to a town. In this way it resembles Pont de l'Estère, another great Haitian rural market. Pont de l'Estère, however, has almost "created" a town around itself; Fond-des-Nègres has not (or not yet) succeeded in doing so. The marketplace lies on flatland which is dusty or muddy by turns. An enormous expanse of thatch-roofed stands stretches northward from the road to form the main selling area; on both sides of the road, east and west of the market, there stretch several score houses, and a few stores, artisans' shops, and export commodity buyers' posts. Since Fond-des-Nègres is classified as a rural market, it is subject to taxation by the offices of the Arrondissement—in this case, Miragoâne. On Tuesday, the main market day, an enormous number of buyers and sellers converges on Fond-des-Nègres; though no count was taken, an estimate of up to 4,000 persons in all would probably not be excessive for the big market days of the mid-winter. Hence this is an important center of tax revenue as well as of trade.

Fond-des-Nègres marketplace contains six large stands for the display of fresh pork for sale; butcher's huts for the sale of beef, goat, and other meats; a bakery; a distillery of local rum; a large number of sturdy covered counters for cloth and clothing sellers; and many open stands, with or without roofs, for sellers of small stocks. Behind the marketplace is a compound where beasts of burden may be tethered,

and where butchering is done. To the west of the marketplace, down a small slope, is a stream for washing produce, watering animals, drinking and so on.

Sellers incline to group themselves to some extent according to their wares. The fresh pork sellers must display their stock on special stands near the northwest corner of the marketplace, in front of the distillery. Cloth sellers spread their wares in roofed sheds with counters, aligned to form a large "T" near the center of the marketplace. A small dip in the land near the highway is occupied by tobacco retailers and wholesalers, and by cooking oil and kerosene venders. Sellers of miscellaneous minor hardware items and spices take their places for the most part in two east-west lines, running irregularly near the front of the market. Shoemakers and leatherworkers are grouped near the eastern end of the market, on the road, next to sellers of earthenware water jugs. (At this southeast corner of the market, some crumbling tombstones attest to the fact that the marketplace has grown, gradually engulfing an old graveyard.) Sellers of fresh fruits and vegetables, root crops, and minor stocks of grains are scattered widely; but large-scale sellers of food staples form two lines along the western edge of the marketplace. And sellers of soap, blueing, matches, cooking oil, kerosene, candles, candy, bonbons, bread, and a few craft items such as wooden bowls, locally made knives, wooden ladles and forks, winnowing trays, headstalls, croupiers, saddlepads and riding crops move through the crowds, calling out their wares.

But all trading activity does not take place within the market by any means. Along the road in both directions from the marketplace, both venders and buyers are busy. To some extent the nature of this associated trade does not differ from what is going on in the marketplace itself; but the differences are functionally significant.

One category of trading activity which occurs importantly along the road, often at quite some remove from the marketplace, and hardly at all within it, comprises the stock bulking activity of non-local intermediaries, who buy for resale (Créole: *révâdèz*). These women come to the Fond-des-Nègres market as early as Sunday night (though market day is not until Tuesday), to acquire stock for resale elsewhere. Between Monday morning and Tuesday, six of the special Haitian passenger-stock buses, each carrying over 40 passengers, and several regular trucks come to Fond-des-Nègres, leaving for other cities with their passengers when Tuesday market is over. Many of these women are sellers, who will be bringing in stocks of cloth and clothing, out-of-season legumes, and numerous other items from Port-au-Prince and elsewhere, to sell. Among these items are a number of minor but

essential goods such as spices, thread, needles, pipe bowls, buttons, students' notebooks, catechisms, etc., which are collectively labeled *kékay*. A large number of women specialize in these goods, and are called *machan kékay*. Still others come with no stock; but are prepared to buy crops in season, bananas and plantains, fowls, eggs, baskets and brooms, and pork, to carry outward from Fond-des-Nègres. These two kinds of *révâdèz* are not entirely separate since, while some only buy in the Fond-des-Nègres neighborhood and some only sell there, others carry on both activities. Yet there are distinctions in the settings and character of these activities. Those women carrying in stocks of dried beans, corn and cornmeal, and rice, for instance, mostly sit inside the marketplace and sell their stock. Their buyers include both consumers and local *révâdèz*, the latter buying in somewhat larger quantities in order to be able to resell at other markets nearby. The out-of-town market women coming in to resell stock they have purchased elsewhere pay market taxes on the stock they carry in. The local consumers and local *révâdèz* buying from them pay taxes only for their beasts of burden, if they have them; local *révâdèz* do not pay taxes on the stock they buy until some later time, when they are reselling it in some other market.

Those *révâdèz* who come to Fond-des-Nègres to buy rather than to sell may carry on their activity inside the market, but much more commonly they do their buying outside it. The best example of "inside buyers" is provided by those women who come from Port-au-Prince to buy pork. As noted, Fond-des-Nègres is an important center for butchering swine. Several women come there from the capital and buy up pork by the side. The sellers are mainly local peasants who have butchered swine at home or at the market, and who seek to sell the meat wholesale in order to finish their selling swiftly. The *révâdèz* who buy from them employ several elderly men and women to salt the pork heavily, cut it up in large strips, and pack it tightly into five-gallon tins or plaited latanier sacks for shipment by truck to the capital. There they will vend the pork in large quantities to others who retail it in the city streets and markets. These women pay no taxes when they buy the pork. The peasant sellers have paid for butchering unless they have done it themselves a butchering tax; a tax on the stand where they display the meat; and a tax on their beasts of burden as well. The *révâdèz* will pay their taxes when they wholesale their processed product in the capital. Clearly, their transactions at the Fond-des-Nègres terminus are "in-market" transactions, even though the processing and packing of the pork is done in the yard of a nearby resident. That this activity is important in Fond-des-Nègres suggests that it lies

just outside the "high-price meat area" around the capital; such processing does not occur frequently at intervening market centers.

But most buying up by non-local *révâdèz* is done outside the market, in the environs of Fond-des-Nègres. Buying *révâdèz* from Miragoâne, Les Cayes, Port-au-Prince and elsewhere post themselves within about a mile of the market, at the mouths of pathways leading to the main road from the hinterlands, and make their purchases as the peasantry moves toward Fond-des-Nègres. Some *révâdèz* have local people buying for them and reward their buyers with small presents of cash. Purchases may be made as early as Sunday night; they will continue until about Tuesday noon, when the market begins to break up. These buying *révâdèz* deserve special note for what they reveal about the marketplace. Although they carry on very considerable buying, and transport enormous quantities of goods, such goods are not bulked in the market, but nearby it. The marketplace does not function in this bulking, except to provide circumstances near which it can most efficiently occur.

Local *révâdèz* who will travel to Port-au-Prince or elsewhere with stock acquired locally have slightly different buying patterns. Since they are locally based, they know more of the availability of stock, and can deal directly with many neighbors. The best informed also will attend markets nearby, such as Aquin, l'Asile, and Saint-Michel-du-Sud, to acquire stock. In the neighborhoods nearest them, they buy in a different way from "foreign" *révâdèz*. When they go to other markets, however, their practices are much the same.

Peasants on their way to Tuesday market usually carry some stock which they expect to sell to consumers who are, so to speak, their neighbors. The carriers of such stock are usually not *révâdèz* but peasants' wives in search of cash in order to buy some necessity immediately. They may be women who buy up bitter manioc and make cassava cakes or starch for local resale in the big weekly market. They may dig in their husbands' land a sufficient quantity of yams or sweet potatoes or other items to carry directly to market, to give them buying power for kerosene, cooking oil, or some other such basic commodity. A peasant may butcher a pig locally and sell most of the meat to retailers of cooked food while his wife sells the innards by the piece to local consumers in the market. Men make wooden bowls or winnowing trays and sell them with a similar end in mind. Trade of this sort is very important and cannot be ignored; but it can be set apart rather easily from the other kinds of exchange mentioned. Such exchange is truly local, and it probably involves the largest number of people in the marketplace itself.

The other functions of the marketplace have been engrafted upon this basically local exchange because of special circumstances. The out-of-town *révâdèz* buying up particular staples in season such as grains and root crops, coconuts, mangoes and avocados, fowls (in the spring, when the peasants sell them to keep them out of newly planted fields), eggs (plentiful when grain crops are rich), baskets, brooms, etc., are not cutting into local trade, but carrying off that which will not be consumed locally. Some of those who sell to out-of-town *révâdèz* are themselves local *révâdèz*, who have bought up stock in remote rural neighborhoods and will now resell it. Most, however, are peasant producers themselves.

Though the stocks acquired locally for resale elsewhere are mostly bought up outside the market, those stocks brought into the Fond-des-Nègres region from afar for local resale move through the market itself. This distinction reveals a certain unilaterality about Haitian market trade, of which more will be said. A product such as red beans, which is in good supply in Fond-des-Nègres in March and April, is bought up in substantial quantities both by local *révâdèz* and by outsiders doing their business on the roadways, who carry the produce they bulk to other regions or to the capital. Such stock circumvents the Fond-des-Nègres market on its way out of the region. Almost at the same time, however, fully dried red beans which can serve as seed are being carried into the Fond-des-Nègres market from the outside, to be sold to local peasants for planting. On occasion, it is possible that the red beans sold for seed may even have originated in the self-same region at an earlier time.

Some selling, as well as buying, goes on outside the marketplace; the selling is taxed. *Révâdèz* from outside, bringing in staple stock, incline to do their selling within the marketplace; but not all do so. While walking down the road near Fond-des-Nègres marketplace one market day in February, 1959, the following buyers and sellers were enumerated: a Port-au-Prince *révâdèz* buying up soursop, oranges, congo peas, tomatoes, pumpkins, bananas, and native mushrooms and seeking to buy corn on the cob, green plantains, dry coconuts, chickens, and ginger; three other non-local *révâdèz* buying up chickens, eggs, baskets, brooms, and unhusked millet; yet another out-of-town *révâdèz* buying local squash, green bananas, and malanga; a *révâdèz* seller from the capital vending black peas, Jamaican pimento, and two varieties of rice; a Port-au-Prince seller of tin measures, and such greens as carrots, radishes, onions, and beets; two sellers of the same items, who were also buying up to carry to Port-au-Prince such things as yams and dry coconuts; and a fourth seller of bottles and measures, who is a local *révâ-*

dèz, and was buying nothing. Further along the road, near the front of the market, there were situated a local cloth merchant, a local shoemaker, a nail, hinge and hardware salesman from Port-au-Prince, and three hatmaker-salesmen from Saint-Louis-du-Sud, near Les Cayes. This enumeration totals 16 merchants.

Also outside the market, yet closely linked with it, are the licensed buyers of export commodities such as sisal, vetiver root, coffee, and the like. These buyers are surprisingly few in the environs of the Fond-des-Nègres market, yet they are plentiful enough when harvests, particularly of coffee, are in. Such buyers (Créole: *spékoulatè*) also benefit greatly from the existence of the market, since it brings peasant producers to their doors. But such buyers never operate in the markets, only near them. The environs of Fond-des-Nègres probably have a score of such buyers. The stock they draw off by purchase will neither remain nearby nor be consumed in the city; instead, it will flow through licensed intermediary chains to foreign markets. When one sees stocks of such products in the local and regional markets—in fact, in any marketplace—it is almost certain that the quality of the products falls below export standards, or that the quantities involved are so small that there was no point in carrying them to licensed middlemen. Such items include—coffee, cotton, sisal, vetiver root, orange peels, goatskins, castor beans, beeswax, and a few other things—remain in the local setting to be used in traditional ways (coffee, of course, as a beverage; cotton for candle wicks, saddle pads, and pillows; sisal for ropes, headstalls, and provision bags; goatskins for drumheads and sandals, castor beans for medicinal oil, and beeswax for candles).

Inside the Fond-des-Nègres market, on the same day, the following venders of major items were enumerated: 41 sellers of cloth; 59 sellers of shirts, trousers, handkerchiefs, etc.; 68 sitting sellers of tobacco, and perhaps 25 scattered ambulant sellers; at least 50 sellers of *kèkay*, varying greatly in the scale of their stock and the magnitude of their sales (some selling in fair bulk to local *révâdèz* who resell in smaller markets); 5 sellers of hats, all of them hatmakers; 80 sellers of small pork cuts; 31 sellers of pork grease; 19 sellers of cane syrup; 64 sellers of soap; 29 sellers of cassava cakes; 26 sellers of cooking oil; 3 sellers of mortars; 11 sellers of winnowing trays, all people who made the trays themselves; 41 sellers of pork wholesale; 11 sellers of basic grains and foodstuffs; and 8 sellers of flour and sugar bags (used for clothing and for transport). This enumeration of identifiable buyers and sellers inside and near the market totals 546; if the number of *spékoulatè* be put at 20, the total rises to 566. The number of sellers of local produce—that is, “sellers” rather than “resellers”—

was impossible to estimate with accuracy, but surely did not fall below 400 *at any one time* from seven in the morning until noon. The total rendering hence approaches 1000. This listing is by no means complete, however, if one is seeking a count of the total number of persons engaged in marketing activity. There is no simple way to calculate buyers, since many buyers are also sellers. Moreover, the above count omits some important non-local buyers who operate in store fronts, behind houses, and sometimes—in order to sell without paying taxes—hidden from view. Nor can a count at any point in time (and such counts are themselves very time-consuming) give any accurate idea of a total rendering for the whole of a market day.

It is possible to divide those sellers enumerated into local and non-local groups with fair accuracy, once a particular market and its region are known. In the list above, for instance, hatmakers and cloth sellers, some sellers of cassava cakes, the buying *révâdèz* on the road, and more than half of the sellers of basic grains are non-local. The combination trucks which carry sellers and buyers to and from the market of Fondes-Nègres hold nearly 250 passengers; most of them are regularly non-local. Yet though the number of non-local buyers and sellers is large and the value of the goods they deal in considerable, all of this non-local trading hinges on the basic "horizontal exchange among neighbors" which animates each marketplace.

Certain features of the array of buyers and sellers stand out clearly. The basic current of trade is local, that is, numerous local primary producers selling very small quantities of their stock to others like themselves. Then there are the non-local *révâdèz* buying up local stock and bulking it for sale elsewhere, and doing their business outside the market confines. There are, further, meat-buying *révâdèz* who do similar buying, inside the market, and processing of the meat outside it. There are besides the non-local *révâdèz* who bring in large staple stocks and sell in and outside the market. There are very large numbers of local women with small stocks of both locally produced and non-locally produced non-food items or edible accessories (such as *kèkay*, bottles, tin measures, spices, greens, matches, candles, soap, cooking oil, kerosene, locally processed castor oil, cigarettes, blueing, etc.). There are local and non-local artisans; there are two large-scale and a score of small-scale storekeepers and a restaurant owner, who do most of their business on market day. And there are the licensed intermediaries who buy up export commodities, again mostly on market day.

Because of these manifold categories, the basic local trade in locally produced goods can be viewed as a substratum upon which the other currents of trade appear to rest. It cannot be said that the local trade

determines the other currents, or even that they could not exist now were it not for local trade. But it is a fair assumption that these other transactions could come into being because the local market is an occasion for the sudden and efficient grouping of large crowds of buyers and sellers, and the sudden appearance of both large stocks and ample demand and buying power. The flow of cash through the market setting, however, is seen to be complicated and devious, often indirect. The flow of produce in and out of the market setting is likewise complicated.

The Fond-des-Nègres market has relationships with the smaller markets around it, but these relations are not so simple as might be supposed. This can be illustrated by describing two small nearby markets, which can then be compared to each other and to Fond-des-Nègres.

Virgile. The market of Virgile (also called Condacque) is only three miles away from Fond-des-Nègres, south toward Aquin, on the same principal highway, and in a rural section of Aquin. The Virgile market is held on Friday, when Fond-des-Nègres has a secondary market day of its own. The Virgile marketplace is a modest collection of rickety stands, only several of them covered, lying in a glade on the north side of the highway. There is a small stream to the east of the marketplace; the Catholic church of Virgile stands on a hill above, and a number of paths lead to the road from rural districts nearby. Virgile is a small market indeed when compared to Fond-des-Nègres. During the winter of 1958-1959, counts of sellers and customers indicated that they never exceeded between 300 and 350, of whom less than half were sellers alone. Yet it fills some of the same non-local economic objectives as Fond-des-Nègres. Basically, it is a local market; most of those products sold in it are locally produced and are being bought for local consumption. The sellers, too, are entirely local people, coming from no farther than a few miles away to do their selling. A count of sellers on a market day in February, 1959, indicated the following: 12 sellers of *kèkay*; 5 sellers of husked millet, each with about ten pounds of stock; 3 sellers of black beans, each with about five pounds of stock; 14 sellers of dried unroasted coffee, each with about ten pounds of stock (an unusually large quantity); 5 sellers of brown sugar; 14 sellers of sugar-cane syrup; 7 sellers of fresh fish; 18 sellers of salted meat; 10 sellers of tobacco; and 10 sellers of fresh pork. In addition to these 98 sellers, one woman was selling cabbage and another nine women were selling small quantities of dried beans, manioc roots, cassava cakes, malanga, sweet potatoes, etc. An additional estimated ten women and children were selling soap, cooking oil,

matches, kerosene, buns and candy. Out of these 118 sellers, nearly one-third were carrying stock that originated, almost certainly, on their own lands (included here are millet, black beans, coffee, tobacco, fresh pork, miscellaneous agricultural products). Those selling miscellaneous minor hardware and spices, brown sugar, cane syrup, fish and salted meat—slightly more than half the total of sellers—were *révâdèz*. Their stocks were exceedingly small, and except for the minor hardware items, all of the goods in this category were produced in Haiti itself. The minor hardware items were probably acquired for resale from larger-scale *révâdèz* dealing in the same goods. Red sugar and cane syrup came from the region around Les Cayes, fish from Aquin by way of the Fond-des-Nègres market and salted meat from the Fond-des-Nègres market. In sum, nearly half of the products being sold in the market were produced locally (unless one counts each item carried by a dealer in miscellaneous minor hardware as a separate import); all of the sellers came from nearby; all of the unprocessed agricultural products were locally produced; and most of the stock which was not from the immediate locality came from nearby regions.

The relationship between this market and Fond-des-Nègres is revealed in part by the fact that dealers in hardware miscellany, salted meat and fish acquired all or part of their stock through that market. Often, off-season agricultural items brought into the Fond-des-Nègres market in large quantities, such as corn and cornmeal, beans and rice, will be bought up in much smaller quantities by local *révâdèz* to re-market in the little local markets nearby.

At the same time, Virgile market is not a purely local marketing institution by any means. On the same day that the above counts were made, there were four wholesaler *révâdèz* buying in the neighborhood of Virgile market. Two of these women were local, two others were from Port-au-Prince. All were acquiring stock—millet, grapefruit, squash, tomatoes and dried beans, but especially millet—for resale in the capital. As in the case of Fond-des-Nègres, such women do not buy in the market, but near it. Market day means that the peasantry will be coming to the road with stock; these women come to buy it up to carry elsewhere. It will be seen from this that produce for local consumption moves into this market partly from local farms, carried by peasant wives who are not *révâdèz*; partly from the regional market of Fond-des-Nègres; partly through wholesale dealers in or outside of the Fond-des-Nègres market (as in the case of miscellaneous minor hardware and spices). Produce moving out of the immediate environs moves through the hands of professional *révâdèz*, both local and non-local. It is important to notice that the Virgile market, though it at-

tracts wholesale buyers, does not itself operate as a bulking mechanism.

Bouzi. The market of Bouzi, another small trade center near Fond-des-Nègres, may now be considered. This marketplace lies near Virgile, about four miles north, off the main road and into the hinterland, in a rural section of Miragoâne. Unlike Virgile, Bouzi is a relatively new market, having been in existence only several years; it is not yet an administered marketplace, and no taxes are collected there. This market is held on privately owned land. The landowner (as well as tax officials from Miragoâne) are watching the growth of Bouzi with real interest. If it succeeds in establishing itself as a regular marketplace, the landowner will turn the house he has built nearby into a small store, and the state will begin to collect marketing taxes. A count of sellers in Bouzi in February, 1959 (the day before the Virgile market count), revealed the following: 12 sellers of *kêkay*; 11 sellers of husked millet, each seller with about five pounds; 4 sellers of black beans, each with about five pounds; 20 sellers of dried coffee, each with about 20 pounds; 5 sellers of brown sugar; 13 sellers of cane syrup; 8 sellers of fish; 19 sellers of salted meat; 1 seller of fresh beef; and 18 sellers of tobacco. In addition to these 111 sellers, there were approximately 30 sellers of additional local agricultural products; 1 tinker; and 1 seller of socks, shirts and handkerchiefs. An additional estimated 12 women and children were selling soap, cooking oil, kerosene, local rum and matches. The Bouzi market, with never more than 200-250 buyers and sellers, thus had about a hundred fewer than the Virgile market. The figures on sellers and their stocks indicate little significant difference between Bouzi and Virgile. One seller of shirts, etc., in the case of Bouzi indicates little; the woman is local and sells in Virgile and Fond-des-Nègres as well. The products available do not differ much otherwise —Bouzi had fresh beef available, Virgile a large stock of fresh pork.

But there is one significant difference —no *révâdèz* buy stock near Bouzi. Two facts help to explain this difference: 1) Virgile is on a principal highway, Bouzi "in the bush"; 2) Virgile "gears in" with the Saturday markets in Port-au-Prince, Bouzi does not. As far as stock moving into these markets is concerned, they do not appear to differ. As far as stock moving out of their districts is concerned, they appear to differ importantly.

How, then, do Bouzi and Virgile compare to the great regional market of Fond-des-Nègres? Fond-des-Nègres is of course much larger than its neighbors. A brisk market day at Fond-des-Nègres will bring in 2,000 persons: on occasion it probably draws twice that. The local market function played by Virgile and Bouzi is played as well by Fond-

des-Nègres, but on a significantly different scale. Many hundreds of sellers of small quantities of local produce assemble there, and the going price for particular products emerges more firmly and swiftly. But we have seen that the truly local exchange which occurs is reinforced and accompanied by many other economic activities. On the fringes of the market the local and non-local *révâdèz* acquire remarkable quantities of produce for resale elsewhere. Artisans and special stores—shoemaker, tailor, distillery, bakery, tanner, general store owner, etc.—dealing with the sudden influx of buying power do more than three-quarters of their gross for the week on market day. Though produce does not flow from the little markets nearby to Fond-des-Nègres, goods from outside, particularly agricultural staples and minor hard goods, flow outward from Fond-des-Nègres market to the lesser markets near it.

Fond-des-Nègres daily market. The final market to be discussed relative to the Fond-des-Nègres region is the daily market of the same name. Weekly markets such as that held in Fond-des-Nègres each Tuesday are occasions of strong economic pulsations in a whole agricultural region. The data on Fond-des-Nègres illustrate this clearly. But in many small towns, and in rural population centers from which the name "town" is withheld (largely for political and administrative reasons), one finds small markets, held daily or semi-weekly, to fill some of the basic but small-scale consumption needs of local people. Bouzi and Virgile are weekly markets which illustrate this pattern, even though they are held weekly rather than daily. The engrafting of some other commercial activity upon the Virgile market does not obscure the fundamentally local character of trade there. The so-called "daily market" of Fond-des-Nègres is of this type. It is a daily market in the sense that, on any day, one will find from half a dozen to perhaps 40 sellers there. The biggest day is Friday, when a market is also being held at Virgile, only several miles away. The Virgile market is always bigger, and these markets are not competitive on Friday. Buyers of stock coming from other centers are found near Virgile on Fridays where they can tap the produce of market-bound peasants, not at Fond-des-Nègres. The Fond-des-Nègres daily market, in its array of sellers and goods, is a highly localized phenomenon, resembling the marketplace of Bouzi in most regards, though the quantities of stock available are in fact smaller. It is held in the regular marketplace of the great Tuesday market, but its sellers never occupy more than a tiny roadside corner, sitting together under one or two shaded huts.

Inter-Marketplace Relationships in the Fond-des-Nègres Region

The Fond-des-Nègres market exercises its domination over the smaller markets within its orbit both by drawing directly to itself a major portion of local produce, and by engrossing a major part of the resulting buying power its customers represent. It serves to some extent to supply the smaller markets, but part of their stock is goods which move directly from producer to consumer on a more local level. The smaller marketplaces and the central regional market are in an equilibrium and are mutually influential, but in differing degree. The elimination of a small market such as Bouzi would swell the trade into and out of Fond-des-Nègres but would also increase the burdensomeness of marketing for the peasant producer and consumer, by forcing them to travel greater distances, and by decreasing the number of days when they might conveniently seek buyers. In the case of Bouzi, we see a market which has appeared and maintained itself because it fills a local need. When this ceases to be so, Bouzi will not continue successfully.

The unilateral processes of trade which unite small markets and large ones should not obscure the interdependence of the markets themselves. By the best count that could be made, at least ten per cent of the sellers in Virgile were also selling in Bouzi; and these same women rarely miss the big market day at Fond-des-Nègres. (It was not possible to check other small markets in the region to see which sellers in them also attend Fond-des-Nègres.) This is especially true of the sellers of hard goods: *kèkay*, soap, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, etc.; it is also true of those who sell bread and buns, candy, sweet cakes, cassava cakes, and similar products of local manufacture, except handicrafts. Furthermore, women who have stocks of their own agricultural produce and who need cash will sell at any market where they can obtain a sale. A crop such as sweet potatoes, yams or malanga can be dug day by day, and marketed day by day. When the great harvest of a special and favorite variety of malanga called *mazòbèl* occurs early in the new year, women who have a large supply will be seen repeatedly at all of the local markets during the week, and also selling them along the road on days when there are no markets.

The diagnostic of this thread of connection, however—the same marketers in a series of neighboring markets, the same products, market by market—is price. Were such markets unconnected, or parts of different commercial systems, one could fairly expect prices for the same commodity to vary widely, perhaps even whimsically, from market to neighboring market. It is true that the price of a given commodity can

vary remarkably in a single market from season to season, from week to week, and even more rapidly. But to trace a particular commodity from market to market in the course of a one-week cycle establishes that the markets in a small sub-region do indeed form pathways of trade, and that produce flows through them in sensitive accord with demand, as reflected by price. Though I lack adequate data to establish it, there seems little question that a rise in the prices offered by buying *révâdèz* near the central markets such as Fond-des-Nègres affects the supply of particular staples in the more local markets. *Ré-vâdèz* carrying millet to Port-au-Prince and caught in a glut situation there were swift to communicate this news to peasants in the Fond-des-Nègres region, both verbally and by their buying behavior. The result, visible by the day of the next local market, would be an increase in the supply of millet available locally, and a drop in its price. Unfortunately, it was not possible to see whether this effect occurred in the Fond-des-Nègres region within 24 hours of a decline in Port-au-Prince prices; but there is certainly good reason to suppose that it would.

In much the same way, when the wholesale price or the tax on such necessities as soap or oil or cloth rises in Port-au-Prince, the effects are felt in local markets almost immediately. Naturally, marketing intelligence of an informal kind is never wholly accurate; transportation and communication in Haiti are ill-developed; and the seasonality and irregularity of Haitian agricultural production create corresponding eccentricities in supply and price. But in spite of these things, price behavior shows clearly that the marketplaces form a kind of web of economic activity, much more integrated than might be supposed without study.

Obviously, as a particular marketplace grows in importance and in size, the influence it can exercise over commercial activity elsewhere becomes wider. The course of prices for basic agricultural commodities is watched carefully by market women and truckers at major market centers, and the economic reverberations of sudden price changes at these centers are felt throughout whole regions and in the capital as well. Major regional marketplaces such as Fond-des-Nègres dominate trading activity in their respective regions. Commodity prices at smaller markets around them respond to the course of their market days; buyers and sellers will travel farther and carry more stock to attend them than to attend smaller markets; and the lesser markets nearby are always limited in their growth by the extent and intensity of marketing activity at these centers.

A Northern Market Region: Saint Raphaël and Its Environs

While Fond-des-Nègres has no town to which to attach itself or to contain its trade, some of the major regional markets of the Fond-des-Nègres type are to be found in or immediately adjoining large towns. Such a market is Saint Raphaël, which lies just south of the northwestern scarp of the Central Plateau, 38 miles due south of Cap Haïtien. This market rivals Fond-des-Nègres in size; but while Fond-des-Nègres is classified as a "rural" market, Saint Raphaël is considered an "urban" market. The distinction, in the administrative sense in which it is used, is irrelevant and in fact confusing, as Moral has pointed out.⁶ It is not the formal administrative classification of such markets as rural or urban which matters here, so much as the real extent to which the town commercial and political apparatus has "captured" the trade of the marketplace. It is necessary to turn to Saint Raphaël and its environs to make the distinction clear.

Unlike Fond-des-Nègres, which lies on the Republic's main southern highway, the town of Saint Raphaël is situated on a road of very inferior quality stretching from Cap Haïtien on the north coast to Saint-Michel de l'Atalaye, 22 miles south of Saint Raphaël, and thence westward to Ennery and the main highway of the north. While Fond-des-Nègres lies midway between two major cities, Saint Raphaël lies between two other towns, neither large: Dondon to the north and Saint-Michel de l'Atalaye to the south. While Fond-des-Nègres is at the center of its plateau region, Saint Raphaël lies near a northern "funnel" of the Plateau Central, with access to the Plaine du Nord to its north, and to large parts of the Plateau to the south and east.

The immediate environs of Saint Raphaël are in general less productive than those of Fond-des-Nègres. Irregular rainfall, deforestation more serious than on the Fond-des-Nègres Plateau, soils of variable but generally poor quality, and poor transport and communication are among the relevant factors. Until about 25 years ago, the economic pattern of occupation was based heavily on cattle herding with dry soil crops such as millet, corn and cotton as other sources of subsistence and income. Around 1930, tobacco and the plow were introduced to Saint Raphaël under quite unusual circumstances.⁷ Some attempts were made to use a limited local water supply for small-scale irrigation as well. Tobacco did relatively well as a cash crop for some time. About ten years ago, a development campaign by international and United States agencies, working in conjunction with the Government of Haiti,

⁶ Moral, pp. 73-74.

⁷ Erasmus, pp. 24-26.

brought about substantial changes in Saint Raphaël life. One of these changes was the construction of a modest but efficient irrigation system, tapping the Bouyaha River, and providing adequate water to nearly 1,500 hectares. This land has been put mainly to the cultivation of rice, with some green vegetables, particularly onions and tomatoes, also being grown. These changes brought the Saint Raphaël region into more direct contact with the capital, particularly as supplies of rice and vegetables began to be moved by *révâdèz*, both local and non-local, to the city. The increase of activity and of buying power in the environs of the town of Saint Raphaël brought about some growth of the town population, and probably some enlargement in the size and scope of marketing activity there.

Stock raising in the region and the cattle trade in Saint Raphaël market predate the changes of the past quarter of a century. The market also served and serves as an entrepot for produce of the Central Plateau moving northward to Cap Haïtien, and from Port-au-Prince and Cap Haïtien to towns and rural backlands in the interior of the Plateau. Stock raising and cattle trade continue to be important to local economic life. The dry-soil crops of the past also continue to play some role economically. Though millet and corn are not much grown on irrigated soils because of the greater cash income to be had from onions and rice, they are still cultivated on dry slopes. Tobacco is cultivated on hand-irrigated soils. In addition to the rice grown on irrigated land, local peasants use malanga and taro for the paddy borders, grow plantains and bananas on the margins of the watered fields, maintain patches of malanga along small watercourses, and have some fruit trees, particularly mangoes. Catch crops of beans and green vegetables are grown on irrigated land, along with rice, and beans are grown near the irrigated land as fell. In the past three years, very serious droughts have destroyed considerable parts of yearly harvests and caused real hardship except for those fortunate few wealthy peasants who have irrigated land.

Those practices which typify Fond-des-Nègres agriculture, such as crop diversification, staggered plantings, and mixed fields, are rare around the town of Saint Raphaël. Drought has reduced cultivation on dry soils. Drops in tobacco prices have cut seriously into tobacco cultivation, and may be expected to cut yet more deeply. Sugar cane, once important, is now rarely seen, and the primitive sugar mills of the region are almost all in disuse. A local agronomist has taught peasants the scientific cultivation of hybrid corn and green vegetables, but limitations of water, soil and capital inhibit the spread of good agricultural practices. The total agricultural cycle at Saint Raphaël gives the aspect

of greater abruptness and unevenness than is true for Fond-des-Nègres. Further, the gap between the richer and poorer peasants is wider. Peasants of Fond-des-Nègres estimate that only 15 per cent of the local peasantry owns no land. In the Saint Raphaël region, while perhaps as large a percentage of the peasantry has land, the lack of rainfall makes most such land of dubious value, while irrigated land is held mainly in large plots by a numerically small percentage of the region's peasantry. Whereas Fond-des-Nègres peasants talk of the spring and fall seasons as high points of commercial activity, they regard only the last sixty days of summer as difficult. In Saint Raphaël, spring and fall are both busy seasons, but the troughs of commercial activity are deeper and more discontinuous.

Saint Raphaël. The Saint Raphaël marketplace lies outside the town, perhaps a fifteen-minute walk from the center, on the Saint Raphaël-Saint Michel de l'Atalaye road leading south into the Central Plateau. The marketplace is about the same size as that of Fond-des-Nègres, but stretches out on both sides of the road. Whereas the Fond-des-Nègres marketplace is flanked by numerous houses, with a few stores, some artisans' shops and *spékoulatè* nearby, Saint Raphaël marketplace has no fixed commercial concentration of any kind. The town of Saint Raphaël as well has a noticeable lack of commercial enterprises, except for a few very small stores selling miscellaneous minor hard goods. Several attempts have been made by the few local merchants to have the market moved into the center of the town, but government officials were not sympathetic.

The distillery, restaurant, general stores, leatherworker's shop, shoemaker, bakery, etc., in the marketplace and lining the road near Fond-des-Nègres are all missing at the Saint Raphaël market. There is a tethering ground for beasts of burden, a large area reserved for cattle selling and trading, and a nearby irrigation ditch which provides a water supply. The stalls of the market are more scattered, less firmly built, and fewer in number than in Fond-des-Nègres.

As in Fond-des-Nègres, sellers organize themselves on market day into more or less distinct groups. Cloth sellers use stalls away from the road. Cattle dealers are grouped under several trees on the west side of the road. While mules, burros and horses for sale are intermixed, there are separate areas for swine and goats. Fowl *révâdèz* form a small cluster on the roadside, near the southern end of the market. Next to them are the tobacco sellers, and most of the rice *révâdèz*. Basket dealers form a small line on the road near the northern end of the market. Corn, cornmeal and legumes are sold by numerous women who line the road's eastern side, forming the first line of

marketers on that side. Small quantities of fresh meat are displayed rather carelessly at the eastern end of the market, next to the tethering ground. Almost all other sellers are scattered throughout the market. This marketplace was studied during June-September of 1959, not an active period for Saint Raphaël commerce, so that the materials gathered are not the best ones for comparison to Fond-des-Nègres data. But several points of comparison may be revealing.

In August, 1959, a count was made of sellers in the Saint Raphaël marketplace and along the road near it, and 1,572 sellers were enumerated. Of these, 100 were cloth merchants with widely varying quantities of stock (this enumeration includes sellers of readymade clothing, unlike the Fond-des-Nègres tabulation); 20 sellers of *kèkay*; 9 sellers of rice; and 5 sellers of corn. Perhaps significantly, there were no sellers of millet. Approximately 12 women were reselling fowls—chickens, guinea hens and turkeys, in particular—to *révâdèz* who carry birds to Cap Haïtien or to other large towns for resale. About 10 women were selling salt; an estimated 30 women were selling cornmeal; and about 50 women and children were selling cooking oil, kerosene, matches, soap, and blueing. These enumerations add up to 236 sellers, but the count is much less complete than that given for Fond-des-Nègres. It is certain that the proportion of large-scale buyers and sellers, and of non-local dealers, was much smaller than was true at Fond-des-Nègres. Granted that this may be partly a seasonal matter, it remains clear that the number of transactions representing "horizontal exchange" bulks much larger in Saint Raphaël than in Fond-des-Nègres. Furthermore, the non-local sellers and buyers in the case of Saint-Raphaël can be differentiated to some extent from such dealers in the Fond-des-Nègres market.

To begin with, there is much less trucking in and out of Saint Raphaël than in and out of Fond-des-Nègres. Only one truck ever operated out of Saint Raphaël, and since it broke down last season none has taken its place. The trucks that come to Saint Raphaël on market day now come from other towns nearby, such as Dondon and Saint-Michel de l'Atalaye, as well as one from Cap Haïtien, rather than from more remote centers.

When rice and onions and other green vegetables are in season, the trucking of these items to Cap Haïtien, Port-au-Prince and other centers increases. Many local *révâdèz* put their capital into trucking these few products, and the flow of wealth into the region is reflected in the Saint Raphaël market itself. But because of the greater seasonality of Saint Raphaël production, the much poorer transport, and the character of the items produced, a smaller proportion of the trade

involves professional *révâdèz*, especially from the outside, than is the case for Fond-des-Nègres. In Fond-des-Nègres, produce buying and selling in gross is carried on by *révâdèz* who come from many neighboring towns, and from the capital. Market day at Fond-des-Nègres has its effects in little towns nearby such as Saint-Michel-du-Sud, l'Asile and Aquin. But it is also felt, at particular seasons and because of particular products, as far away as Les Cayes and Port-au-Prince. Impressionistically, at least, the market day of Saint-Raphaël is somewhat less important for neighboring towns.

Another aspect of the difference between non-local buyers and sellers in Saint Raphaël and Fond-des-Nègres also reflects transport. Though merchants come great distances to attend the Fond-des-Nègres market, they prevailingly travel by truck. The 106 miles from Port-au-Prince to Fond-des-Nègres, though over prevailingly bad roads, is not a particularly difficult trip. Travel from Les Cayes, or Aquin, or other similar points is likewise wearing but not too difficult. But the roads in and out of Saint Raphaël are bad in every direction. Sellers in particular who come to Saint Raphaël travel long distances on foot or by beast of burden much more commonly than is true for Fond-des-Nègres. Sellers of latanier cords, headstalls, plaited baskets of various kinds, and brooms come startling distances to do business; several come from Thomassique, about 63 miles away, walking to the market, and riding back on the burros that carried their products. Rice sellers from the Valley of the Artibonite also travel by pack animal, crossing a substantial part of the Department of the Artibonite, overland, on trails. Saint Raphaël, then, embraces in its trade a much greater area than Fond-des-Nègres, but embraces it less firmly and intensively. For stock that will be bulked for resale in "horizontal exchange"⁸—latanier products, for instance—more peasants come to market, carrying less stock, and traveling greater distances.

Finally, in this connection, it is worthy of note that the principal products moving out of Saint Raphaël are destined for middle-class consumption, particularly in the cities. But the millet, corn and cornmeal, beans, etc., of the Fond-des-Nègres region will be consumed for the most part by peasantries elsewhere and by the city proletariat. This difference is reflected to some extent in the mode of transmission of products, and in the patterns of buying and sale in and around Saint Raphaël marketplace.

Something needs to be said about poultry and cattle in connection with Saint Raphaël. The pattern of buying and resale in these items

⁸ The term refers to the consumption, after sale, of products by consumers of the same level as the producers. Cf. Mintz, 1959.

is very different from that which holds for Fond-des-Nègres. Chickens, guinea hens and turkeys, as well as eggs, are important items of middle-class consumption in Haiti. Such foods are rarely eaten by the peasantry, since their sale brings in cash to buy relatively larger quantities of basic grains and starches, as well as condiments and other necessities. Hence the flow of poultry and eggs to the larger towns and to Port-au-Prince is significant. These items are rather difficult to handle in transport, and eggs are of course a high-risk product. Large quantities move from Fond-des-Nègres to the capital, but they are usually carried by *révâdèz* bulking other products, and carrying these special ones as speculative and supplementary items for sale.

At Saint Raphaël, the poultry and egg trade is brisk, but these products go mainly to Cap Haïtien rather than to Port-au-Prince, because of the distances involved. By the shortest (and worst) route, it is 137 miles to the capital. The next best route—and parts of it are normally impassable—is 222 miles. The longest and best route—which would promptly be declared “impassable” for much of its length in the United States—is approximately 274 miles. These are long distances in a country where the roads are so poor, the terrain so rugged, and the costs of trucks, gasoline and mechanical maintenance extremely high. The difficulties in transporting produce out of Saint Raphaël are reflected in the trade itself. Costs of transport from Saint Raphaël to the capital are higher than from Fond-des-Nègres not just because the distance is greater, but also because the roads themselves are poorer, and accordingly, the volume of outgoing trade both smaller and more discontinuous. The agricultural pattern combines with the state of transport and the distance from the major bulking and demand center, Port-au-Prince, to keep Saint Raphaël less well integrated into the national economy than is true of Fond-des-Nègres.

Because local and outside demand are less firmly expressed in and around the Saint Raphaël market than in and around the Fond-des-Nègres market, for such products as poultry and eggs, and because these things are produced in sizeable quantities and at little cost around Saint Raphaël, it is natural that local prices for them should be lower than is true in Fond-des-Nègres. Comparative figures for the 1958 fall-winter period at Fond-des-Nègres and the 1959 summer-fall season at Saint Raphaël indicate that the prices paid the peasant producer for chickens, guinea hens, turkeys and eggs were running up to 100 per cent higher in the Fond-des-Nègres region. This was especially true in the case of small fowls. When such products are trucked from Saint Raphaël to the capital, the difference between buying price and selling price is greater than that for Fond-des-Nègres poultry products. Part

of the apparent extra profit margin is absorbed, however, by higher transport costs, and greater losses. The number of birds and eggs which move from Saint Raphaël to the capital is much less, it seems, than that carried from Fond-des-Nègres. But when work was being done in Saint Raphaël in the late summer of 1959, several poultry *révâdèz* around the market and from Saint-Michel de l'Atalaye were planning to undertake trips to the capital in the coming winter.

Cattle bulk importantly in the economic life of Saint Raphaël peasants, and are an important item of sale in the market there. Saint Raphaël, moreover, is an outlet to the northern plain from the Central Plateau. Cattle move to Saint Raphaël from large sections of the Plateau and are funneled from there, on the hoof, to the Pleine du Nord, to Cap Haïtien, and southward along the principal highway to the capital. Even in the dead season of the late summer, it is not unusual to see several score cows, as many as 50 goats, and large numbers of horses, mules and donkeys, as well as pigs, being bought and sold at Saint Raphaël. On an August market day in Saint Raphaël, the following animals were up for sale in the market, late in the day: 40 cows; 20 horses and mules; 14 donkeys; 25 goats; and 58 pigs. This trade is especially striking when it is remembered that the amount of meat butchered in Saint Raphaël is insignificant. During the late summer and early fall of 1959, there were many weeks when not a single cow was butchered in Saint Raphaël. The amount of pork and goat's meat available was also scanty. (It would appear that the practice of butchering small livestock, particularly goats, in secret, in order to avoid tax payments, may have been more common around Saint Raphaël than in Fond-des-Nègres. This could be explained partly by the less continuous occupation and greater residential dispersion in the environs of Saint Raphaël.)

It will be remembered that Fond-des-Nègres market was an important center for swine butchering and pork wholesaling. But Fond-des-Nègres has no cattle market. Up to ten cows may be butchered in Fond-des-Nègres on market day, particularly in the fall harvest season, around Christmas and New Year's, and immediately after Easter; this beef is wholly for local consumption. Though many cattle move on the hoof through Fond-des-Nègres, coming from the far south to the capital, Fond-des-Nègres plays no part in this traffic. In contrast, Saint Raphaël does hardly any butchering, but is an important center for the livestock trade. The relationship between the livestock production of each region and the main market which services it is intimate, but these relationships differ from each other importantly.

The main commodities carried out of the Saint Raphaël region

move in paths which are, as noted, adjuncts to market activity itself. The rice, onions, tomatoes, fowls, etc., of Saint Raphaël are carried by local and non-local *révâdèz* (as is true of the millet, corn and cornmeal, root crops, plantains, and fowls of Fond-des-Nègres). Saint Raphaël's main export commodities, orange peels, goatskins, and castor beans, move through the *spékoulatè* (as in the case of Fond-des-Nègres coffee, sisal and vetiver root). Insofar as the market's direct role in moving products to the capital and elsewhere is concerned, cattle emerges as particularly important for Saint Raphaël (as does pork for Fond-des-Nègres); most other products going to Port-au-Prince or large towns flow through the *révâdèz*. Non-local *révâdèz* are less important in Saint Raphaël than in Fond-des-Nègres, partly because of the less effective transport facilities, partly because of the greater distance from the capital, and largely, it seems, because seasonal variability is sharper in Saint Raphaël.

In neither instance has the market been "captured" by a town, even though the Saint Raphaël market is classified as urban and lies very near the town of the same name. When a marketplace is situated within a town itself the local merchant class is provided automatically with great advantages in its commercial dealings with the peasantry. As Moral has revealed with precision and skill, the history of economic life in Haiti has consisted in large part of struggles for power: between the coastal cities and the hinterland, between the towns of the hinterland and their rural environs, and between the coastal cities and rural towns and the capital.⁹ The struggle of the commercial stratum of the inland towns to dominate and encapsulate the trade of the peasantry is an important aspect of these struggles. Moral and Métraux as well indicate that campaigns are sometimes started by townsmen to destroy rural marketplaces or have them moved to the towns, and at one time large numbers of rural markets were actually suppressed.¹⁰

The meaning of this struggle is not at all mysterious. The stake of the vast majority of trading intermediaries in Haiti rests in their ability and willingness to sell at very low prices certain needed services: transport, bulking, breaking bulk, storage, minor processing, credit, and a few special dispensations. Many of these services are salable only because the peasantry and the commercial classes of the towns and the

⁹ Cf. Moral, *passim*.

¹⁰ Métraux, pp. 118, 113; Moral, pp. 73-74. Moral writes: "...l'important débat entre les intérêts du 'bord de mer' défendant le monopole des gros marchés urbains et les intérêts ruraux tendant à multiplier les petits centres commerciaux à l'intérieur du pays. La politique de 'ségrégation commerciale' de l'aristocratie citadine, en favorisant, ainsi qu'on l'a vu, la dissémination de l'habitat, a maintenu la distinction entre marchés urbains et marchés ruraux, reglementant étroitement l'activité de ces derniers, jusqu'à les supprimer même, à diverses reprises. La discrimination existe aujourd'hui."

capital are not in immediate contact. Even though the suppression of rural markets or their forced removal to centers of population could prove economically disastrous in the end, pressure groups interested in supplanting the intermediaries' services seek to confine and encapsulate the markets—which are truly and functionally rural—within the towns. Such a movement would decrease, rather than increase, the economic integration of remote regions with the nation; it would probably add to the peasantry's difficulties in carrying on trading activities; and eventually it could disemploy an important segment of the peasant population presently engaged in intermediation. However, changes of this sort would put the peasantry still more under the control of the townsmen.

Dondon. The containment of a market within town confines can be illustrated by reference to the market of Dondon, which is between Saint Raphaël and the Pleine du Nord, about 13 miles from Saint Raphaël, and at the northern edge of the Central Plateau. Dondon market is related to the market of Saint Raphaël in interesting ways; a contrast between their environments, and between the markets themselves, is revealing. Dondon is in the center of a small but rich and productive coffee region. The town stands at a sort of bottleneck formed by mountain spurs, one trending northwest, the other northeast. Saint Raphaël, south of Dondon, stands farther away from the "mouth," gathering in produce from the Central Plateau which passes through Dondon northward. Unlike Dondon Saint Raphaël lies on flatland; further, it is not in a coffee-producing region as is Dondon. The excellence of Dondon coffee and the quality of its soils has led to the growth of a prosperous middle-class community, vertebrated by the coffee *spékoulatè* (who also buy orange peels, goatskins, castor beans and a few other products), and surrounded by small merchants who make their livings out of selling both to the coffee-producing peasantry and to the coffee-buying licensed intermediaries. A visitor to Dondon and to Saint Raphaël will be struck immediately by the differences in environment—altitude, topography, precipitation and floral cover—accompanied by noticeable variation in occupance and land use, and attached differences in community character and form. A comparison of the Dondon and Saint Raphaël weekly markets is likewise striking.

The Dondon market, unlike the weekly market at Saint Raphaël, is a genuine town market, and the marketplace itself is perhaps one-sixth or less of the size of the Saint Raphaël marketplace. Whereas Saint Raphaël's weekly market is south of the town of Saint Raphaël, the Dondon market is enclosed firmly within the town streets. These streets are lined with cloth merchants, general stores, clothing stores,

coffee *spékoulatè*, bakeries and the like. At the same time that many such stores service the middle-class population of the town, they also are able to tap the considerable buying power of the coffee-producing peasantry. In this same connection, it is interesting to notice that there is a very brisk butchering business in the Dondon market. Most of the animals killed there and whose meat is sold there come from the Saint Raphaël cattle market. There is, however, no livestock market in Dondon. It is possible for butchers to flourish in Dondon because local buying power for meat is considerable, particularly (but by no means exclusively), on the part of the middle-class inhabitants.

Whereas the buying population for the Saint Raphaël market comes from considerable distances to make small purchases, the buying population at Dondon is relatively more confined, the buying power more concentrated. Whereas Dondon merchants can benefit enormously from the encapsulation of the marketplace within the town, there is no numerous middle class in Saint Raphaël to do so. Consumers' goods such as soap, flour, cloth, cooking oil, kerosene and the like are vended by retailers in the weekly Saint Raphaël market who come from other towns to carry on their trade. In Dondon, such items are dispensed prevailingly by local merchants, in front of their stores, each market day.

The major commodities produced around Dondon move out of the local orbit through *spékoulatè*; this is especially important in the case of coffee. The major commodities produced around Saint Raphaël, such as rice, onions and vegetables, are carried to other centers by *révâdèz*. Livestock and fowls, as noted, do move outward through the Saint Raphaël market. The Dondon market services a fairly compact peasantry and a relatively numerous middle class, and this middle class earns its way by servicing the peasantry and buying from it. The Saint Raphaël market services a widely dispersed peasantry, and hardly any middle-class representatives at all, since the major products of the sub-region do not move through *spékoulatè*.

The data collected do not cover any market in the Fond-des-Nègres region which can be adequately compared to Dondon. Probably the best comparison would be with the marketplace of the town of l'Asile. This southern town, of relatively recent origin, lies in a valley surrounded by rich coffee-producing highlands. The road to l'Asile is of poor quality; it runs west and north of Fond-des-Nègres, connecting the town of Anse-à-Veau on the north coast of the southern peninsula, with the main highway, just east of the town of Aquin. *Révâdèz* from the rural sections around Fond-des-Nègres often travel by beast to l'Asile, an overland trip of perhaps 12-15 miles, to buy up stocks of

millet, corn, beans and especially peanuts, the latter being an important l'Asile product. At this point in the research, it remains to be seen whether l'Asile market corresponds functionally to that of Dondon in the north; it is the most likely candidate among the towns near the Fond-des-Nègres marketplace. Moral speaks of l'Asile as a recently formed market town, somewhat "anarchic and unfinished" in appearance, which is draining the commercial strength of Anse-à-Veau;¹¹ the proposed comparison may or may not be a justified one.

Lalina. Two smaller markets, both in the Saint Raphaël region, may now be considered, before closing the descriptive portion of this paper. The first is the market called Lalina, which lies on the Saint Raphaël-Dondon road, a few miles north of Saint Raphaël. Very little need be said of this market, since it differs little from the southern market of Bouzi, described earlier. Though it is on the road, it fails, just as does Bouzi, to attract any buying *révâdèz*. *Révâdèz* acquiring stock in this region do so at the great Thursday market in Saint Raphaël. Lalina is held on Saturdays—just as Dondon—and never draws more than 100-150 buyers; there are never more than 75 sellers operating there. The stock, except for small quantities of such outside necessities as needles, cloves, kerosene and cooking oil, consists entirely of locally produced items, or items being vended by local resellers who acquired their stock from larger-scale *révâdèz* based in Saint Raphaël or trading into that town on market day. Hence Lalina has a unilateral relationship with the regional market of Saint Raphaël, and stands in much the same relationship to Saint Raphaël market as does the market of Bouzi to the market of Fond-des-Nègres.

Saint Raphaël daily market. The daily town market of Saint Raphaël more closely resembles the markets of Lalina and Bouzi than it does any of the others discussed here. The daily market of Saint Raphaël is a very small market indeed. One never sees more than 75 sellers, and the stock is sparse and held in very small quantities. The population serviced by this market, though largely stabilized within the town of Saint Raphaël, is small. The products, mainly corn and cornmeal, millet, red and black beans, green bananas, mangoes and avocados in season, and small quantities of salted pork, are produced locally, or sold by small-scale retailers who buy their stock at the weekly market in Saint Raphaël or from larger-scale *révâdèz*, as in the case of Lalina.

It would be misleading to speak of this market as "captured," since there is in effect no local commercial class to exploit the potential buying power of its clients, and the scale of that buying power is

¹¹ Moral, p. 31.

exceedingly modest. The similarity between this market and the so-called daily market of Fond-des-Nègres is considerable. In both cases, consumers who can wait until the main market day (Tuesday at Fond-des-Nègres, Thursday at Saint Raphaël) will avoid dealing in the daily market. The Fond-des-Nègres daily market is in fact smaller than the Saint Raphaël daily market, partly because the small stores clustered around the Fond-des-Nègres market fill a role not filled by Saint Raphaël's small stores, and partly because the immediate buying population is larger in the case of the Saint Raphaël market, since it is in a town, while Fond-des-Nègres is not. Both of these markets continue to exist because in each case there is a minimal residue of buying power during the week, and because the women selling in each marketplace have no more profitable means for employing themselves in any case. At the same time, it is probably worth noting that in both these markets, sellers and buyers are not peasants in the same sense as the *moun mòn*—the "hill people." Sellers in the Fond-des-Nègres market are mainly women who live near the marketplace. Most of them, it is true, own and work some land; and to describe them as "townsmen" would be inaccurate. But they do not live at a great distance from the road, they are in daily contact with people from a town environment, and their view of rural life differs from that of the peasants who are more remotely situated. This aspect of the Fond-des-Nègres and Saint Raphaël markets sets them apart to some slight extent—probably not significantly—from the other local markets discussed.

Relationships between the market regions and Port-au-Prince

Haiti's markets are important sources of revenue to the State and to local governments. The taxes on marketing operations, on trade and on connected activities are ubiquitous, continuous and severe. Licenses are required for such trading operations as the buying of export commodities; for dealing in local rum; and for certain crafts such as tanning. Taxes are imposed on peasants coming to market for tethering their beasts of burden. *Révâdèz* are taxed for the stock they bring into a market, or near it, to sell. There are taxes on butchering, some of them inordinately steep (sometimes totaling nearly ten per cent of the value of the beast). Sellers pay rentals for the stalls within which they sell, for the stands on which they display meat, for permits to take livestock from their rural residence to the marketplace. These endless taxing operations and the numberless petty bureaucrats who collect taxes (and are supported by them) are the clearest manifestation of outside control over the market and its activities. Higher officials,

such as the communal magistrate and the local commandant of police, fill supervisory, administrative and judiciary roles on market day.

In the case of such markets as Saint Raphaël, the taxing operations are carried out by local tax officials. In the case of Fond-des-Nègres, tax officials come to the market from Miragoâne, center for the Arrondissement. The local (*arrondissement*) governments retain 85 per cent of the marketing taxes collected, and these funds are their major revenues. (It may be added that the benefits deriving from such funds are rarely, if ever, felt in the marketplace or by its customers.) The 15 per cent remaining of such revenues go to the State, and constitute about one per cent of its total income. From this it will be seen that the sums collected on marketing operations, though they start as very small change indeed, eventuate in considerable totals.

Beyond the political control emanating from outside, the relationships of trade between market regions and the capital require some attention. In the case of Fond-des-Nègres, many of the local and non-local *révâdèz* who attend the Fond-des-Nègres and Virgile markets have Port-au-Prince as the other terminus of their trading activity. City demand absorbs large quantities of the basic food staples such as corn and millet, which are produced around Fond-des-Nègres. In addition, large quantities of these and similar products move through the capital on their way to other demand areas. One of the ways the city asserts its dominion over the countryside is by the disposition of major passable roads. Except in cases where two contiguous regions lie along the main route to the capital, the movement of produce from hinterland to hinterland is seriously limited by shockingly poor roads. Motor transport over long distances must usually pass through the capital, and this fact has important economic implications.

Stock moving into Port-au-Prince from a region such as Fond-des-Nègres is distributed in various ways in the capital. Basic staples such as millet, corn and cornmeal, are usually stored in depots in the capital until wholesaled, and the *révâdèz* often must pay taxes on their unsold stock, day by day. From the depots these staples move into several different pathways of trade. A significant portion is bought up by city *révâdèz*, retailers who resell in or near the enormous lower-class market of Croix-des-Bossals and along the streets near the depots. Much of the stock goes to tiny informal markets in various sections of the city, for local sale and consumption. Other stocks are bought up by *révâdèz* going to regions distant from Fond-des-Nègres and are carried out of the capital by truck. Since the market system partly plays a storage function, it is likely that some staples originating in Fond-des-Nègres are occasionally carried back there to be sold at a higher price.

Stock moving to the capital from the Saint Raphaël market and its environs moves in slightly different ways. Most of this stock is destined for consumption by buyers of a higher class than the peasantry. While the salted pork of Fond-des-Nègres ends up in the lower-class markets and neighborhoods of the capital, the beeves of Saint Raphaël, if they are herded to the capital, provide meat for middle-class consumers as well as for members of the lower class. Steers are taken to the neighborhood of the city slaughterhouse, and their owners come to the city by bus. They meet the men who have led the beasts overland, pay them off, and sell their stock to city butchers and meat wholesalers. Some of the livestock of Saint Raphaël is taken overland and down to the great market of Croix-des-Bouquets, a few miles north of the capital, where it passes through a series of intermediaries before being butchered.

The onions and high-quality rice of Saint Raphaël are transported differently. The local and non-local *révâdèz* who truck these items to Port-au-Prince resell in smaller quantities to retailers in the city, some of them women who will sell door to door, others retailers in the middle-class markets of Salomon and Vallières. Onions are a speculative item often yielding a high profit margin. Sometimes Saint Raphaël onions reach the city when the supply there is short, and some *révâdèz* are able to sell out their stocks at a high profit in a short time. One of the more interesting problems in this connection, on which information is scanty, is the extent to which there may be an accumulation of stock by city-based *révâdèz* in anticipation of a noticeable rise in prices due to unsatisfied demand. City consumers charge *révâdèz* with such practices, and there may be a basis for the charge. There is insufficient information to indicate whether this is economically harmful, if, indeed, it is true; in any case, there is too little information to judge the character and extent of such practices.

The commercial complex which exists in Port-au-Prince to service and to profit from the market trade of the interior is large and powerful. Not only the mechanisms of transmission, transport and storage, but those of bulking, breaking bulk, processing, intra-city distribution and taxation are centered there. Again, the capital dominates the movement of imports from the wharves to the rural consumers, and various commercial enterprises exist to carry on this distribution and bulk-breaking. *Révâdèz* based in provincial towns, in the hinterlands and in the capital itself provide the commercial links between these importing mechanisms and the countryside. Adequate description of this part of the internal marketing system is not practical here; but it should be clear that the capital wields great influence over rural trading arrangements. This influence is exercised more firmly and pervasively

in the case of Fond-des-Nègres than in the case of Saint Raphaël, however. Saint Raphaël is farther from the capital, less integrated with it economically, and partly under the quasi-urban influence of Cap Haïtien, the main town of the north. Yet even in the case of Saint Raphaël, the weight of the city is clear in commercial activity. Were it not for city demand, the quality products of Saint Raphaël would lack a major market. As it is, Cap Haïtien is unable to absorb more than a little of the finer Saint Raphaël products (such as tomatoes), and improved roadways between Saint Raphaël and the capital could improve the economic position of the Saint Raphaël peasant. It is perhaps important to notice that this would be true to a large extent if the general economic situation of the Republic remained as it is, and even if the productivity of the Saint Raphaël peasant were not significantly increased. Some of the implications of the relationships between particular market regions and the capital will be treated in the final portion of this paper.

Conclusions

The peasantries of the world are usually defined in terms of their partial incorporation into national political and economic systems, and often, into world channels of economic activity. Because they are involved in political and economic systems larger than the local village or multi-village region, peasantries are defined as human groups which have given up some measure of selfsufficiency; they have become to some extent dependent on the world outside, and subject to events proceeding in that outside world which are beyond their control. Haitian peasantry demonstrate this dependence in many ways. The rural people of Haiti would be in desperate straits if they were denied access to certain products and services emanating from the outside which they now regard as essential to their way of life. This dependence predates the Haitian Revolution and the creation of a free peasant nation. The loss of numerous skills under slavery, and the partial satisfaction of needs through the activities of the planter-slave owner, created a scheme of dependence which the Revolution modified but essentially did not change.

In the course of 150 years, this dependence on the outside has grown stronger. The Haitian peasant, to live as he feels he should, must have cloth, cooking oil, soap, needles, iron tools, medicinals, bottles, condiments, matches. These things have long been viewed as necessities, not luxuries. To some extent, the particular character of this dependence varies as the Republic increases its local production

of these essentials, and as the peasant's view of what it is right for him to own and use changes. But even so, the peasant's dependence on the outside—which, for him, includes Port-au-Prince and the provincial towns as well as the industrial nations of the world—has increased with time. His market trade rests importantly on the availability of certain cloth bags, bottles and tin containers. He no longer makes do with flint-and-steel firemaking sets. Bone buttons and horn tobacco boxes have disappeared. Every peasant home has at least one tiny lamp which burns kerosene. The peasant's passion to educate his children, however poorly, has not diminished, and he knows well that he needs "the outside" to provide this service. His machete comes from abroad. Even his sandals are soled with automobile tires, and strapped with strips of tire tube. Not only does the peasant depend on the outside but what is more, as the late Robert Redfield so eloquently put it, he knows it.¹²

The Haitian peasantry gets what it feels it needs and cannot produce itself by trade—by exchange through the sale of the products of its labor. This trade takes many forms, and can be seen to flow on different levels. The most elementary level is exchange among neighbors. Unless every household or local kin group over a large area is economically identical, there will be some variability in production. To the extent that this variability leads to new-felt needs, exchange is likely to occur. Variability of production rests in many considerations usually subsumed under the rubric "division of labor". But this heading is not adequate to handle those circumstances where individual economic units, working with an identical tool repertory and identical techniques, produce different crops because of variations in soil, season, precipitation, etc. Beyond such local ecological variation, the concomitant variable resources in ores, craft materials, etc., according to local natural conditions, there is the division of labor by craft, by traditional skill, by individual inclination, and so on. These factors combine, in the case of Haiti, to create highly differentiated cultural and economic landscapes. Local trade, that is, trade among neighbors, can provide a wide dispersion of certain kinds of agricultural stocks and locally produced handicrafts without any reference to dependence on outside institutions or mechanisms. And the local market is an admirable device for insuring such dispersion in mutually beneficial ways.

But a market of the sort this conjecture brings to mind does not exist, so far as is known, anywhere in Haiti. It is doubtful, in fact, if a market of this sort ever existed in Haiti, even before the Revolution.¹³

¹² Redfield, pp. 31-32.

¹³ In what is without doubt the most gracious description ever written of a Caribbean marketplace, Moreau de Saint-Méry indicates that cloth merchants were forbidden

What is possible to perceive is the way internal Haitian trade of this kind, and the products involved in such trade, may be separated out from more complex channels of exchange in contemporary marketplaces.

Many of the products needed by the Haitian peasantry are produced by other peasants, and without any direct dependence on outside forces. A satisfactory example would be such *latanier* craft items as baskets and brooms. But *latanier* is not to be found in every region of the country, nor are all peasants equally skilled in the manufacture of such products. Hence beyond the highly localized pattern of trade there is a kind of horizontal exchange between regions, which is nonetheless local in spite of the fact that great distances may be covered in consummating exchanges. The essential simplicity of this kind of exchange is hidden by the fact that modern roads and transport, specialized intermediaries, a complicated taxing system, and the practice of bulking and breaking bulk enter into the picture. But at its base, this sort of exchange resembles in character the simplest sort, carried on in local markets among neighbors.

A third, different, level or order of exchange has to do with the production for exchange by sale of particular craft items, the raw materials for which are the by-products of more complex channels of trade. Underdeveloped economies are well known for their prodigal usage of labor and their careful conservation of the cast-off materials of more developed societies; Haiti is no exception. Tin cans, flour sacks, bottles, broken parts of machines, scrap paper and all else which is tossed aside as trash by wealthier economies become profitably absorbed by an economy like Haiti's. The crafts making use of such materials, such as blacksmithy, tinkering, sandal-making and the like, produce goods to be consumed on the local level alone, and most such craftsmen reside and work in the countryside. What sets this level apart, then, is the source of the raw materials for the craftsmen, even though they produce for local peasantry with local craft techniques.

With the preceding case, the argument turns to those channels of trade in which dependence on the outside is clearly revealed. For those products consumed by the peasant and produced both of materials and by methods which lie completely beyond his grasp, a conceptually distinguishable level of trade obtains. On this level we deal with the metal objects, the cloth, the basic food imports, the

to sell within the marketplace or its surroundings in pre-Revolutionary Haiti. But such products as soap, salt herring and oil were sold in the market, and dry goods venders frankly sought to win the custom of the slaves. Cf. Moreau de Saint-Méry, Vol. I, pp. 440-444.

soaps, matches, kerosene, etc., which the peasantry must have and cannot produce or secure by local exchange. Obviously, these products are handled through the local market. But the trade channel they represent must nevertheless be distinguished. Large import stocks, brought into the capital and, to a much lesser extent, into smaller port towns, are distributed outward and "downward" to the peasantry through intermediary categories until the individual peasant consumer buys what he needs in his home region. But the distribution of such stocks on the local level is differentiated in what appear to be significant ways. Thus, for instance, the smallest local market will be found to contain at least one seller of cloves, star anise, cinnamon, asefoetida, incense, buttons and thread. It is a poor local market indeed where no one sells wheat flour, cooking oil, soap, matches and kerosene. But cloth, machetes, bush knives, clothing, shoes and sandals, rat traps, nails and hinges, and kerosene lamp chimneys are never found in a local market of the simplest type. In fact, the presence or absence of an array of such objects can be used as a diagnostic of simple market types. These distinctions have to do, of course, with the volume of trade, and the location of the market.

Since cash exchange is the basis for Haitian market trade, it is obvious that the peasantry must have some means for obtaining cash. The peasantry's buying power hinges on its ability to produce stock for sale. This production includes a number of different threads of trade which may be picked up, so to speak, at this point. There is, of course, the movement of goods by sale between peasant neighbors, through the local market. There is, further, the movement of products over great distances, those products being again locally produce items not directly involving the outside. Finally, there is the production of craft items out of the cast-off industrial products of the outside. But beyond these matters already described, there are two particular kinds of production for sale to be distinguished.

The first, and by far the most important, is production for export. The total number of items exported by Haiti is impressive, but the major products are few; coffee and sisal are predominant. Coffee underwrites the national economy and is the leading peasant crop, and Haiti's commercial relationships with the outside world would diminish to triviality were it not for this crop. At various times in recent decades, other products such as sisal, cotton, bananas, etc., have made great gains. But all have lost ground in recent years while coffee, bad harvest or good, still holds first place. Since Haiti is by no means an industrial nation, since coffee is a peasant crop, and since alternate products are of limited importance, all Haitians inevitably

find themselves economically dependent on the coffee crop. But the peasantry itself is dominated by the State and its representatives, who administer all public affairs, including the disposition of the coffee crop, and much of the rewards from its production. This is true as well of other agricultural products destined for export.

The second kind of production to be noted here is that of agricultural commodities not destined for export, but for consumers who are not themselves peasants: the population of the towns and capital, merchants, army officers, bureaucrats, professionals and tourists. Local products for their consumption move through the market system; export products do not.

Earlier detail has revealed how special licensed intermediaries handle the movement of export crops; how specialized internal market intermediaries—*révâdèz*—handle the bulking, processing, transport, bulk-breaking and retailing of products for the higher classes; and how *révâdèz* also move bulk staples into and through the capital, and from market region to market region, as well as breaking the bulk of imports and moving them down the ladder of trade to the peasant consumer. It should be clear that the various levels of trade are interwoven in complex ways, and that the various categories of trader share some characteristics but are also distinguishable in others. Viewed this way, the marketplaces and their accompanying panoply of processing, bulking, servicing, buying and selling agents are nodes for the circuits of trade.

A preliminary attempt may now be made to classify the eight marketplaces described in the preceding pages. These marketplaces were examined in the context of the regions in which they are found, their relationships to each other, and their relationship to the capital. But the dominant criterion of classification is the differentiation of local trade from trade of other kinds. Four categories can be formulated:

Strategic Marketplaces

Fond-des-Nègres

Saint Raphaël

"Captured" Town Marketplaces

Dondon

Local Marketplaces

Bouzi

Lalina

Fond-des-Nègres daily market

Saint Raphaël daily market

Mixed Marketplaces
Virgile

With reference to numbers of buyers and sellers, volume of trade and value of stock handled, yield of taxes to the State, and any other criterion of magnitude, the most important markets in this array would be Fond-des-Nègres and Saint Raphaël. Though Saint Raphaël is considered "urban" and Fond-des-Nègres "rural" by the administrative authorities, in some respects (e.g., transportation facilities and relationship to the capital) Saint Raphaël is more rural than Fond-des-Nègres. These markets are dubbed "strategic" since they play a central role with reference to the entire marketing system, and this role is not dependent solely on the absolute scale of market activity. The existence of markets such as Saint Raphaël and Fond-des-Nègres occasions the bulking of export produce, the movement of staple stock to other regions and to the capital, the breaking of such staple stocks from elsewhere in Haiti and of import stocks for peasant consumption. The sudden disappearance of a strategic market would have reverberations through the entire region in which it is found, and in the capital and other regions as well. Strategic markets condition economic activity within their respective regions, and affect the rates of commercial activity in smaller centers nearby.

The next category, that of "captured" marketplaces, is exemplified by the marketplace of Dondon alone; l'Asile in the south might be a comparable instance. The "captured" marketplace is important because it provisions a local population of middle-class merchants, and provides both imported necessities and staples from other areas to the local peasantry. But it does not occasion considerable bulking for other regions or for the city, and it serves in part to limit the commercial opportunities of the *révâdèz*, who is confined in her market operations by the presence of well-stocked stores. Dondon plays an important role in Haitian economic life as a bulking and transmission center for coffee; but its marketplace has a very different role from that of the strategic marketplace described above. In Dondon, the stores dominate the marketplace; in Saint Raphaël and Fond-des-Nègres, the marketplace dominates other commercial enterprises.

An examination of the category "local marketplace" gives the impression of greater differentiation than is in fact the case. That the small Saint Raphaël market is formally held daily and in a town, does not distinguish it significantly from the Fond-des-Nègres informal daily market, which is not in a town. Nor can either of these markets, one located on a principal highway and the other on a

secondary road, be significantly distinguished in any way relevant to the present analysis from Bouzi, an off-the-road rural weekly market, and Lalina, an on-the-road rural weekly market. The point was made that the daily markets of Saint Raphaël and Fond-des-Nègres partake less of the truly rural character of the other local markets in this list; but this distinction does not seem to have much relevance in terms of the present argument. What sets these markets apart as a single category is the fact that no subsidiary trading is occasioned by their existence; they are outlets for consumer goods via local exchange, and termini for broken-bulk imports and necessities originating in other regions. They demonstrate the unilateral relationships which genuine local markets have with the strategic markets near them. In contrast, the strategic markets of Fond-des-Nègres and Saint Raphaël occasion tremendous commercial activity, some within the marketplaces themselves, and more in their immediate environs, while the circuits of trade involved are far-flung and complex.

Finally, the market of Virgile stands out because it is primarily a local market similar to those above, but it also attracts some subsidiary trading activity, such that its economic relationship to the outside is not so unilateral in character. This final case does not serve to create a catch-all category. There are undoubtedly many Haitian marketplaces like Virgile, which are accessory to strategic markets, have a more marked local character than these, and yet attract some outside buying *révâdèz*. Such markets could conceivably become strategic under certain circumstances, and it seems likely that a market such as Fond-des-Nègres may at one time have been "mixed" rather than strategic. In such instances, historical research could probably establish the processes at work. At the same time that strategic markets influence and even limit the commercial development of smaller markets within their range, it is easy to imagine how external forces, not mediated through the market system, could change the balance between a strategic marketplace and its neighbors. An intensive development effort in a hitherto unintegrated region; the construction of a new road, supplanting an older route; the introduction of a new commercial crop in an isolated area; the creation of a large commercial plantation or the opening of a mine; these and many other events, launched by external forces and imposed from without, could alter the balance between a central market and the lesser markets around it. In fact, the gradual diminution in importance of the sea-coast towns, and the growth of interior motor transportation (even though it is still largely limited to the coast and to connections with

the capital), doubtless contributed to the growth of some markets at the expense of others.¹⁴

The fourfold classification suggested here does not by any means suffice for the variety of Haitian market places. No attention has been paid to the important and special city markets, such as Croix-des-Bossals; or to those far-off country markets such as Mont Organisé and Beaumont, which are even more truly regional in character than the strategic marketplaces mentioned here; or to the markets which provision the sisal plantation area of the north; and so on.

The first real attempt to classify the Haitian markets meaningfully has recently been made by Moral, who speaks of four categories: the local market; the town market; the regional market; and the seacoast market.¹⁵

Moral's "local market" category is for those marketplaces which are the locus of exchange between neighboring rural populations, that is, for local interchange and for small-scale itinerant resellers lacking stalls, stores or speculation posts. These are the markets of the open countryside, deserted except for their market days, usually once a week. In general, they are backland markets where there are no roads and a thorough dispersion of households and farm plots. Their stocks consist essentially of basic foods, handled by *révâdèz*; they partake of the day-to-day harvests of local crops, and solve some of the discomforts of dispersion. Moral goes on to say that it is in these markets that the bulking of small harvests occurs. As examples of regions where such markets are commonly found, Moral mentions the interior of the Black Mountains (Montagnes Noires) and Cahos; the Matheux Chain; and above all, the Massif de la Selle.

This usage of the term "local market" suggests that there is a market type corresponding to the first level of exchange as described earlier in this section. Markets like this would presumably be even more remote and simple in character than, for example, Bouzi. Yet it is hard to imagine even the simplest local market lacking staple stock of certain kinds, such as wheat flour, brown sugar and cooking oil; and these three products are, respectively, an import, a processed product of particular regions, and a product manufactured in Haitian factories or imported. It has not been possible, of course, to examine even a fraction of the total number of small rural Haitian markets; but it seems unlikely that very many are of so elementary a character

¹⁴ Thus, for instance, Moral (p. 78) writes of the Fond-des-Nègres market that "...midway between Port-au-Prince and Cayes, it bulks the greater part of the rural trade of the Miragoâne—Aquain 'sphere'; it is one of the liveliest markets of the country, steadily strengthened by the growth of trucking."

¹⁵ Moral, pp. 74-78.

as Moral suggests. His description of the type, to the extent that it corresponds to the details concerning Bouzi, Lalina, etc., does not differ significantly from that suggested here in using the same term. Issue might be taken only with the statement that the bulking of small harvests occurs in such markets. In fact, no such bulking does seem to occur in these markets; one of the precise features of their locality with relation to the outside is that they are no bulking mechanisms.

Moral's "town market," he says, is simultaneously rural and urban, and in intimate association with four kinds of transaction:

- a) primary (presumably like "local" market exchange);
- b) regrouping of foods for the city by the wholesaler *révâdèz* and truckers;
- c) speculation posts;
- d) stores and artisans.

Many "town markets" are located on the margins of two different zones (plain and mountain, or at the intersection of two ranges). Also many serve as "stage" markets between important commercial centers. Moral's discussion of this category of market is valuable for what it says of channels of trade. He does not contrast the "town market" fully with his next category, the "regional market," except perhaps on the basis of size and importance. The "captured" town market type formulated in the present paper shares all of the characteristics of Moral's "town market" type, but it is distinguished from the "strategic" market in terms of trade relationship, rather than in terms of size.

The "regional market" in Moral's classification is not fully described; 20 great Haitian country markets are enumerated by him under this heading, and the list includes Fond-des-Nègres. This category probably corresponds to the "strategic" market category of the present formulation, though Saint Raphaël is omitted from the list of regional markets. In discussing the market at the town of Grand-Rivière-du-Nord, Moral refers to the "neighboring markets" (*marchés voisins*) of Saint Raphaël and Dondon, which he sees as competing successfully with Grand-Rivière-du-Nord as *débouchements* of the Central Plateau. It should be clear, however, that Dondon and Saint Raphaël themselves differ greatly; that Saint Raphaël is a major regional market by any reckoning; and that the type characteristics of the regional market need to be spelled out more precisely. In spite of this, Moral is quite correct in viewing the market towns near the margin of plain and plateau as competing for channels of trade.

Moral's final category, the "seacoast market," is described as channeling transactions between the city and its hinterland. This type

is not otherwise described, though there is a graphic representation of the commercial importance of given seacoast towns to their hinterlands. There are no cases of such town markets in the present paper, so the category may be ignored for present purposes, though it is surely of diagnostic importance in other connections.

The Moral classification represents an informed and very insightful first attempt to bring order out of pure description. Working as he did with the limited data available, Moral made the most of what is known to set up useful typology. In the case of the present formulation, the markets examined are too few in number to make more than a start in the same direction as Moral.

Such treatments are the first step in creating functional and diagnostic taxonomies which will permit cross-cultural comparisons of whole market systems, and facilitate comparisons of economic systems and societies. Eventually, it should be possible to compare fruitfully such systems as those of Nigeria, Mexico, Jamaica and Haiti, and to reveal similarities and differences not readily perceived otherwise.

A definitive study of Haitian marketplaces, chosen so as to give the full possible range of types, remains to be done. Such studies are a means, in part, for delineating the "commercial anatomy" of a region or nation. As such, they afford a way of examining the nature of extra-community and national relationships. In distinguishing the various pathways of trade, some insight into the structure of the society as whole is afforded, and particularly into the relationships between members of rural groups and representatives of outside forces. In the case of a peasant society, these relationships are themselves basic to an understanding of the national social and economic structure.

The present paper is an attempt to suggest how such understandings might be approached through the ethnographic method applied to the institutional apparatus of which the marketplaces themselves are the clearest physical manifestation.

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