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**SAN LUIS
JILOTEPEQUE
A
GUATEMALAN
PUEBLO**

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SAN LUIS JILOTEPEQUE: A GUATEMALAN PUEBLO

BY

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MICROFILM COLLECTION OF
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PREFACE

The materials which form the body of this microfilm manuscript are intended chiefly for the use of specialists in Middle America. But even the specialist will find it difficult to discover any genuinely systematic ordering of the materials. The more than eight hundred pages which comprise this manuscript consist of field notes and field summaries made while observations were still in progress, and a body of interwoven summaries which were written sometimes as late as a year after the field study had been completed. Since the materials are on three levels of distance from the observations, some guide as to the probable error of each level should be afforded.

The reader will find that the materials reported directly upon observation of incidents have the greatest reliability. The field summaries made in situ--since they consist largely of generalizations on meagre data--are less reliable. Some marginal notations have been made in the cases of obvious discrepancies which were discovered after checking the initial generalizations with later observations. The summaries made after the field study was finished have the least reliability. In many instances the generalizations are phrased in such a manner that their virtue, if any, lies in their literary style far more than in their factual accuracy.

The reader will be able to determine without too much difficulty where the writer is sticking close to the facts, where he extrapolates beyond the facts and where his own biases highly color the report. The following general types of biases may be indicated: (1) The writer tended to impute too much felt-conflict to the situation of social relations

between the Indians and whites. For this reason good many of the materials on social relations have been excluded from this microfilm and will not be published until such a time as the writer feels that they represent a competent and accurate assessment of the situation. (2) The writer further tended to overstress the differences in the culture patterns of the Indian and the Ladino and to understress the similarities. This is largely the result of an effort to analyze the community into its various component parts. The subsequent attempt to reintegrate the materials into a meaningful whole was less successful, as must be evident from any reading of the manuscript. (3) In addition to the first two types of bias, the writer is conscious of the fact that he tended to make these Indians "people of character" and to deprecate the character of the Ladinos. This bias is largely a function of the sympathetic identification of the writer with the Indians as "underdogs". It should be clear that such character evaluations are highly colored by the writer's own criteria of "character" and should be considered in that light.

Added to these various biases of commission there is one large bias of omission which must be mentioned. It is to the effect that the whole body of notes and generalizations is heavily weighted with materials about San Luis Indian life and gives only sparse treatment to the pueblo life of the Ladinos. If the reader should derive the impression from reading the manuscript that the Ladinos are relatively few and inconsequential in the life of the pueblo, the omission just referred to may be held accountable for that.

The materials contained in this microfilm nowhere near exhaust the body of materials collected while in residence in San Luis. A rather substantial amount of questionnaire and interview materials, which deal principally with social relations, has been omitted for the time being. In addition, there are many pages and notebooks of observations which are highly personalized but which must someday be abstracted and reported if the reader is to have a fair estimate of what life is like in San Luis. What the observer is feeling strikes this writer as being as much a part of the field observations and work as what his informants are feeling. When the materials have been properly organized they will be reported.

This preface would be incomplete without a number of acknowledgments to people whose services and encouragement so vitally assisted in giving this report whatever merit may be ascribed to it. For financial aid in the making of the study I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council of New York City, under whose good auspices, as a pre-doctoral field fellow, I was enabled to make this study. To my fellowship sponsors, and my constant critics and mentors, Drs. Robert Redfield, Sol Tax and John Gillin I am deeply indebted. For financial aid in the preparation of some parts of this manuscript I wish to acknowledge my debt to the Carnegie Institution of Washington. For continuing assistance with the manuscript and my training as a graduate student I am grateful to acknowledge a wholesome debt to the members of the Department of Sociology of Northwestern University, and to Dr. Melville Herskovits, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University. Likewise to my colleagues in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Wayne University I wish to express my gratitude for their encouragement. Finally, a very deep gratitude may be expressed for the inestimable role in the re-working of these materials and their presentation for publication which was performed by my wife, Eleanor R. Tumin.

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FOOD PREPARATION AND STORAGE

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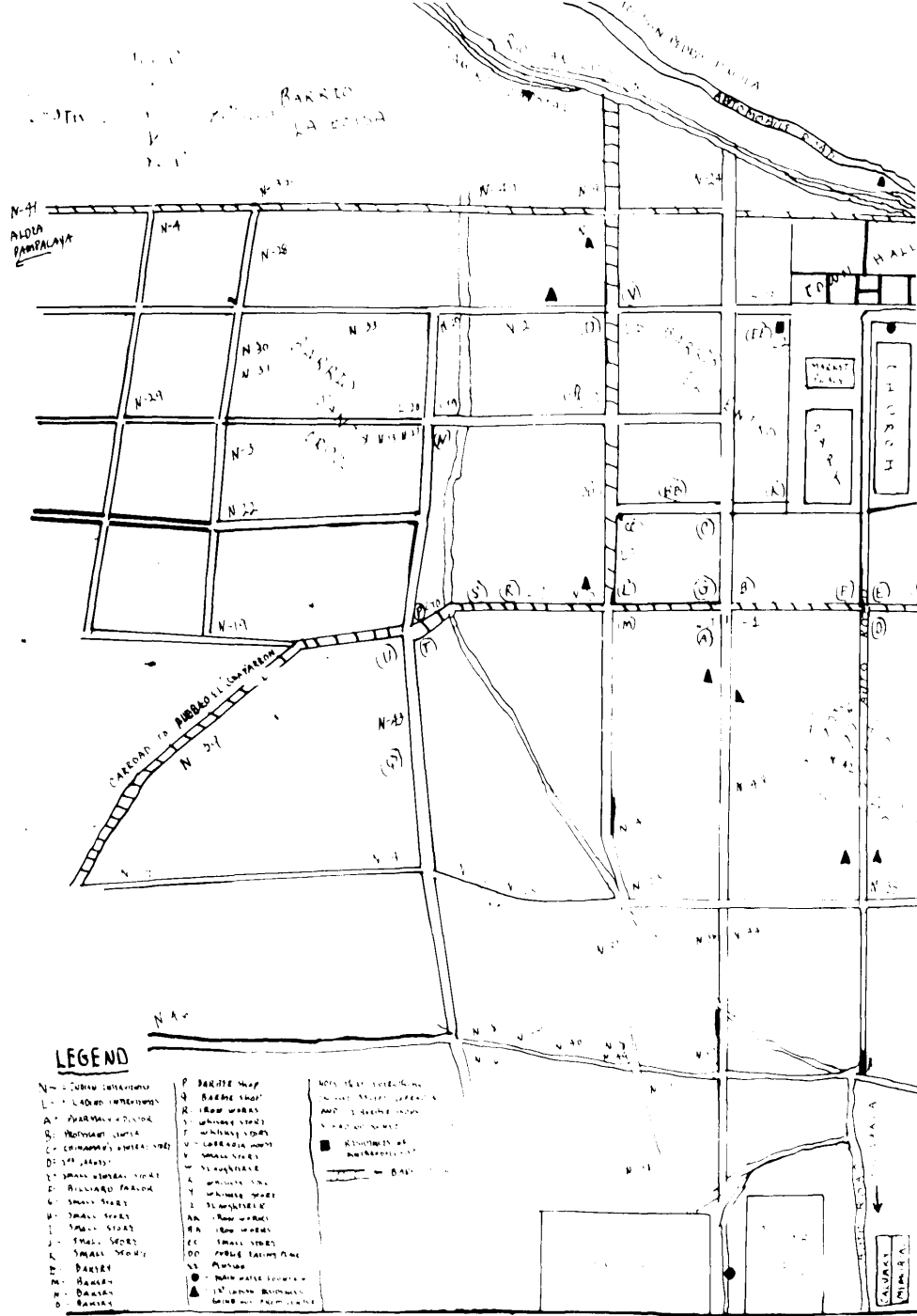
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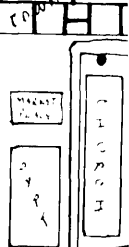
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BARRIO
LA CRUSA

N-41
ALDEA
PAMPALAYA

HALL



CARROZAS TO HERRADILL COMPARSON
N-37

LEGEND

- N- = NUMBER LOT/SECTION
- L- = LADDER INTERSECTION
- A- = PARALLEL COURSE
- B- = MOUNTAIN CURVE
- C- = CHIMNEY'S POSITION AND
- D- = 1st FLOOR
- E- = SMALL SQUARE STAIRS
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CALLE
MARRA



PUEBLO
OF
SAN LUIS
JILOTEPEC

ADULT WALL FREE
CHILD WALL 1/2 FREE

ADJACENT
FIELDS

Map made by
OFFICE OF THE
MEXICAN GOVERNMENT
BY J. H. HAWKINS

CHAPTER II

SAN LUIS JILOTEPEQUE

I. The People, the Pueblo, and
Their Origins

The pueblo of San Luis Jilotepeque is located in the Department of Jalapa,¹ Guatemala, C. A. It is the jurisdictional center and head of the municipio² bearing the same name. Lying at about 180 kilometers due east of Guatemala City, it is sufficiently far and isolated from the city to preserve many of its rural aspects, yet near enough and in sufficient contact with the city to show certain marked effects of that contact and nearness. The ways of life of the two groups of people who reside in San Luis,³ Indians and Ladinos, respectively exhibit the contrast between rural folkways and urban-secularization.

¹Jalapa is one of 22 departments comprising the Republic of Guatemala.

²Municipio is the collective term applied to a pueblo and its neighboring hamlets, considered together as a jurisdictional unit. The municipio is much more stable unit than the department. Sol Tax has attempted to show that the logical unit for study in Guatemala is the municipio, since it seems to be a political, religious, cultural and linguistic, self-conscious unit. In Jalapa this is more or less true, though there are marked exceptions to such a generalization. Depending upon the map one uses, and on the government official consulted, there are alternately six and seven municipios in the department of Jalapa, altogether comprising, at a peak, about 80,000 people.

³For convenience of reading and writing, the pueblo will hereafter be referred to as San Luis, rather than San Luis Jilotepeque.

The term Indian is used to refer to anyone known or suspected of having recent Indian ancestors, or who identifies himself as Indian, or who exhibits a preponderance of the so-called Indian characteristics.⁴ There are some 2,600 such people in the pueblo. With but very few exceptions⁵ all the Indians are bi-lingual. The first tongue most of them learn is a dialect of the Pocomma family of language, identified as belonging to a Maya-Quicheoid stock.⁶ Almost none of the

⁴There are certain exceptions here to be sure. The most startling of these is the case of the local telegraph officer, considered one of the leading Ladinos of the pueblo. He is "known" to have had an Indian grandfather. But he is fully accepted under all normal conditions by the "hute society" of the Ladino element in town. Only under crisis situations has this observer seen that acceptance vanish, and turn, instead, into antagonism against the man, with his behavior being described as follows: "well, what can you expect, he's really an Indian by blood." It seems true in certain cases that even if a person is suspected or known to have had an Indian ancestor, even a proximate one, so long as he has been raised in "Ladino fashion," and so long as he behaves as though he were a Ladino, he can be accepted by most Ladinos under ordinary circumstances. Questioning of Ladinos as to the extent of their acceptance of such a person reveals that they would not let their children marry the suspect because of the fact of his Indian blood. This will be gone into in greater detail in a later section of this thesis.

⁵The exceptions are of two kinds: (1) those who speak only Spanish; and (2) those who speak only the dialect. The former instances arise where the Indian has been living among Ladinos alone from early childhood, usually as a foster-child-houseboy (*hijo de la casa*); the latter instances arise usually in the case of women who have remained isolated almost totally from Ladino society, except for incidental and transient contacts. The total percentage of uni-lingual Indians is perhaps no more than 1-2%. To be sure, a good many Indians speak a very bad Spanish, but we are here considering as bi-lingual any Indian who uses the two languages sufficiently well to make himself understood when he has to.

⁶Of. note 4 in Chapter 1

Indians is able to speak Spanish without exhibiting marked influences of having first learned his Indian tongue.⁷

The term Ladino is applied to all other persons in the community. There are some 1,100 such people in the pueblo of San Luis. They are presumably more or less of Spanish origin, exhibit ways of life more or less European when contrasted with the presumably typical Indian way. With but one exception,⁸ Ladinos speak only Spanish. Their dress style is a version of European modes; their table customs likewise; and their general social proprieties fall within the range of expectations of behavior familiar to a person raised in Western civilization.

There is no written history of San Luis other than a few sparse official government records dating back to the 1870's. The church in the Central Plaza is generally conceded to be at least three hundred years old, indicating the minimum age of the pueblo. Thus, such official records as do remain shed no light upon the origins of the pueblo and its subsequent

⁷ Many Ladinos consider this one of the distinguishing characteristics by which almost all Indians can be identified, no matter what other similarities they bear to Ladinos.

⁸ This one exception is one of the local slaughterers who as a child played with Indian children and has lived near the outskirts of the pueblo most of his life, where most of the residents are Indian. He pretends to be a great friend of the Indians, but sophisticated Indians and Ladino alike aver that he uses his skill in the Indian dialect to swindle Indians as much as possible.

history until the 1870's.

To attempt to infer the probable early history of San Luis from the rather regular, well-known pattern of town formation in the west of Guatemala would be a hazardous procedure. The east now differs from the west so widely in so many important details that the only reasonable inference is that at some time in the past there were considerations now no longer operative which initiated these differences. It may be inferred from that, in turn, that factors of such an import as to initiate such lasting differences must certainly have had some influence as well upon the respective patterns of town formation. This would make it unreasonable at the outset to infer from the west to east.

The evidence from archaeology is likewise indecisive. There is no agreement as to whether the present Indian groups moved to eastern and northern Guatemala from the region around Copan, Honduras, where immense ruins of former Indian sites are to be found; or, on the other hand, whether Indians moved from the midwestern highlands and the regions to the north, especially around Peten (and even prior to that, from Yucatan) into the eastern high and lowlands and on to Honduras. The intermediate areas are insufficiently known archaeologically to make either of the alternatives more tenable than the other. San Luis lies in about the middle of the intermediate unknown area.

The evidence from distribution of culture "traits" and "complexes" is likewise indecisive. In general, there appears to be considerable similarity in certain features between Chiapas, Mexico, the Yucatan Peninsula, northern Guatemala and eastern Guatemala. But there is likewise a good deal of similarity among the midwestern highland of Guatemala, that section of the east studied by the present writer, and an eastern portion closer to Honduras.⁹

With specific reference to the problem of the relations of San Luis and its peoples with other areas and other peoples, not even the broadest outlines of an age-area can be delineated. There is no stable center of diffusion, and, concomitantly, no peripheries can be identified as such. San Luis lacks many things which are found in surrounding areas, but the inference that can be drawn from the absence of traits should probably be resorted to only as a last, extreme, and then only very provisional measure.

The evidence from language is perhaps more confusing than documentary. For, the people with whom the Indians of San Luis share most close language similarities are a group of Indians, called Western Pokomna, resident some five miles west

⁹ For a lengthier statement of the problems relevant to the connections between the areas and peoples of Guatemala and lower Mexico, cf. Neale, Redfield, East "Anthropological Research Problems with reference to the Contemporary Peoples of Mexico and Guatemala", pp. 12-14. (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLV, No. 1, January, March, 1943.)

of Guatemala City. So far as is known, the Western Pokoman, in all respects other than language, are far more similar to peoples of the west than they are to the Eastern Pokoman. And, similarly, the Eastern Pokoman are far more culturally similar to adjacent peoples, with whom they share essentially no language similarities, than they are to the Western Pokoman.

The evidence from physical similarities is perhaps least substantial of all. The intensive accuracy of studies which would be needed to establish presumptions of connections through physical similarities is nowhere to be found. Indeed, no studies on any large scale have been made of distribution of physical characteristics among the various Indian groups of Guatemala.

In sum, then, while not a little is known about various groups of peoples with whom the Eastern Pokoman of San Luis share certain general similarities, that which is known about such groups is not adequate for inferences about relationships between them and the Pokoman. And, since almost nothing is known about the early history of the Eastern Pokoman themselves, there is little if anything at all which can be said about their origins and early history.

What can be said with some certainty is that in many general features the people is similar to what it was an hundred years ago. The general life styles of both Indians and Ladinos are about the same. Both tend to eat the same things they were eating many years ago; to wear (in conformity with

the times, as far as Ladinos are concerned) the same type of clothing; to build the same kind of houses; to make their livings in about the same way; to worship the same gods and saints; to hold sacred the same general kinds of objects and places, and to follow the same religious rituals; to have superstitious and magical beliefs about the same objects and persons and to practice magic in about the same way; to approach disease and death as they did before; to be subjects of and masters of their natural environments to about the same degree as previously; to find their basic loyalties in primary groupings of intimate and semi-extended family circles.

There has been stability, moreover, in certain general physical features of the pueblo. There are about the same number of persons in the pueblo and the distribution between Indians and Ladinos is about the same as one hundred years ago. The physical structure of the pueblo itself and the plan of distribution of dwelling sites, public buildings and commercial establishments is approximately the same.

There have been, however, some changes of significance. These changes may be characterized as trends toward secularization. Among them may be mentioned an increase in the variety and frequency of contacts with the world outside the pueblo; regular transportation services, newspaper subscriptions, visits to centers of secularizing influences such as Guatemala City and other, nearer, comparatively large towns; increase in

schools and school attendance; regular military service in Guatemala City on the part of many of the youths. All these are new contacts, or old contacts whose frequency has been increased over the last century.

There has also been a great decrease in the number of land owners and the concomitant increase in tenants and share-croppers; an increase in commercial activities, dependent upon agriculture, yet incorporating certain aspects of the modern market; an increase in the number of commercial establishments in the pueblo itself; an increase in the use of money rather than barter; an introduction of semi-strictly enforced law and order in place of former semi-wildness and disorder; an increase in the number of "good" dwelling sites and of desires for them; a heightening of receptivity to new ideas and fashions.

In addition to those changes which have affected the community as a whole, there have been others affecting each of the two divisions of the population, the Indians and the Ladinos. Among such changes affecting the Indians are: an increasing Europeanization of dress style among Indian men; a diminution in the range and intensity of witchcraft; a rather radical shift in the criteria of prestige attribution, with money and its objects replacing wisdom and religious attributes; a shift from Indian solidarity to dispersed loyalties; an increasing trend toward development of a sense of individual

responsibility and welfare as opposed to a former felt responsibility to the group and considerations for its welfare; a contraction, horizontally and vertically within kinship lines of the extent to which family loyalties are expected and observed; a shift from reliance upon indigenous self government and uncodified, informal mechanisms of social control to reliance upon codified law and the delegated public authority; a diminution in the number of dates, objects, and places considered sacred, and the number of associated rituals; a commercialization of formerly sacred events, with market interests supplanting religious interests; an intrusion of a larger element of utilitarian interests in the travels with pottery; an increasing tendency to regard the cultivation of corn and beans as work without religious and honorific significance; general increase in recreational interests and pursuits. Prominent among these last now is the growing tendency of the Indian to participate in or be present as an observer (if only from the outside) at Ladino social events, such as weddings, dances, parties and other celebrations of a non-religious order.

The extent to which such changes have been initiated by the Indians themselves, or accepted by them under the guidance and example of the Ladinos, is a question whose answer cannot be formulated until the data on attitudes of Indians toward the Ladinos and their ways of life has been analyzed. Whatever may be the source of these changes, they have tended to

bring the Indian closer to a European style of life, and, thus, closer to the way of life of the Ladinos of the Pueblo. There appears to have been no significant change in the direction of making the Ladino more Indian, or of a reversion to former ways by the Indian himself.¹⁰

The Ladinos, in turn, reflect the changes which have occurred in Western European culture over the last hundred years, within the limits of a situation of rural-isolation. Dress styles have changed; housing fads have been adapted; the number of schools and attendance has increased; the universes of discourse have shifted; the range of alternative possibilities of lifeways has increased; there has been a trend away from primary group controls, welfare and loyalties, to participation in secondary groups, and to growing concern for individual welfare. Respect for age has diminished; the youth are far less severely controlled than they were in former years; sexual morality has both grown more severe in some

¹⁰ This is not to say that the Ladino has not borrowed considerably from the Indian. Significant items in diet and in the mode of dealing with natural resources were taken over by the Spaniards from the Indian. But such articulation of Indian practices into Ladino ways occurred long ago, and no such borrowing from the Indian is apparent now or even in the known recent history of the pueblo. To be sure, again, many of the items and practices borrowed are still employed by the Ladinos, but anything new which is now or has recently been introduced stems initially from the Ladinos, and does not operate in the other direction. The whole movement of the culture, if cultures may be seen as objects in motion, is toward a European way of life, in contrast to the possible alternative reversion to an ancient Indian way of life.

respects and more lax in others. The behavior of single, unchaperoned girls is less subject to public scrutiny and censure, and there is greater resistance to censure and scrutiny when it is exercised. On the other hand, there has been an increase of social amenities, niceties and formalities. This is especially true in the realm of marriage, where it is much more difficult now than formerly to achieve social recognition without being legally married, and the illegitimate child suffers less of prestige.

Other changes of more or less importance may be mentioned: a heightening of active interest in news of places and people outside of the pueblo; a semi-active concern with world events; an increasing cynicism about the formal government; a speed-up in commercial activities with places outside the pueblo; an increasing participation in extra-pueblo affairs; an increasing "sophistication" of manners and modes of behavior and talk, with a tendency to depreciate anyone who fulfills what were formerly the traditional expectations of pueblo-like behavior; a concomitant tendency toward identification of oneself with a community larger than the and different from the pueblo itself.

Thus, there are in San Luis two groups of people, with two cultural patterns, with one growing more similar to the other each year. Change thus characterizes San Luis and the lives of its people. But this change is slow, and at any

given time, the life of the pueblo may be seen as an essentially stable thing which is affected very little by any external influences or processes of internal differentiation.

II. Location

The stability of the life of the pueblo is in part a function of its location. San Luis is in a valley surrounded on all sides but the west by semi-mountainous areas. The nearest pueblo, Ipala, is fourteen kilometers away, a distance which, in areas where mules and horses are the only regular means of conveyance other than walking, is sufficiently formidable to make traveling back and forth between pueblos a relatively scarce thing. The pueblo of Ipala is upon the railroad line leading southeastward to the republic of San Salvador and Honduras, and northward to the central railroad terminus, Zacapa. San Luis is connected with Ipala by auto road which is serviceable most of the year, except for a brief period at the height of the rainy season when rivers which intersect the road at various points reach flood proportions and are impassable by auto.

Some twenty kilometers due east of San Luis lies the pueblo of San Pedro Finca, lying directly on the auto road which leads eastward to Jalapa, the capital of the department to which San Luis belongs, and some 110 kilometers further eastward is Guatemala City itself. The trip to Finca is such

more difficult than that to Ipala, whether on foot, by animal or in automobile, but more people travel more often to Finula than they do to Ipala. The most apparent reason for this is the attraction of the markets of Finula and Jalapa, and the not too infrequent official business with Jalapa. A "voluntary" mail-man makes the trip to Jalapa each evening on foot, to return the following day with the mail brought to Jalapa from the capital. There is little in Jalapa, Finula or Ipala, however, which is capable of initiating change in the culture pattern of San Luis.

There is little likewise in the surrounding hamlets which would make for cultural change. These hamlets vary in size of population from 80 to 400 persons. Almost all contain Ladinos and Indians. The notable exception is the hamlet of El Camaron, furthest distant from San Luis of all its politically subordinate hamlets, and composed entirely of Indians. All of the hamlets are in some way dependent upon San Luis, most especially upon its twice-weekly markets. San Luis is scarcely at all dependent upon any of the hamlets, except for certain agricultural products grown in some of them which, being at higher altitudes, can raise things which do not grow in the area immediately adjacent to the pueblo. The hamlets are more rural and more isolated than San Luis. Such influences toward change as do occur in the contacts between San Luis and its hamlets flow from the former to the latter, but rarely if

over in the other direction. Indeed, the hamlets in some respects act as deterrents upon the people of the pueblo, for they are forced to adjust in part to the tempo set by the hamlets.¹¹

With Guatemala City itself, San Luis has only sporadic and very infrequent contact. Four subscribers receive the leading Guatemala daily paper two days after it is printed and these are read by no more than ten people.¹² There is also constant telegraphic, telephonic and mail communication with the city, but at least half of this is official government business, and

¹¹ The pueblo is responsible to the outside world for the behavior of the people of the hamlets. With a current emphasis upon "civilization," the negative value attaching, concomitantly, to "rural-life" behavior, the people of the pueblo (at least those who are "civilization-prestige-conscious") view the hamlets as a burden upon the pueblo in general. They represent areas of backwardness which need to be brought into the circle of change and change influences. Moreover, in a more tangible sense, the pueblo tends to become identified by the political-civic behavior of the people of the whole municipio. Thus, in former days, when the hamlets of the municipio were convenient hideouts for concealing criminals, political or otherwise, the whole municipio of San Luis acquired a reputation therefrom which has ~~lasted~~ until the present day. People in the city who are unacquainted with recent developments in the rural area still consider San Luis as a sort of frontier bad land.

¹² This number includes the pharmacist-doctor, the Chinese store-keeper, the two sisters who own the second largest store, and the mailman-telegraph operator. These four people and the others who read the paper regularly are, of all the people of the pueblo, the most urbanized.

the rest is largely commercial business communication.¹³

There is very little traveling to and from Guatemala City. The trip by train takes two days (because of the necessary wait-over for connections out of Zacapa) and is far too expensive for any but the richest of the Indians.¹⁴ And, even for them, the expense of the trip is prohibitive of more than one or two trips a year.¹⁵ Moreover, there is little of

¹³The records for the month of December, 1942, which we may assume as typical for the year (except for the possible distortion due to the Christmas holiday mail) are as follows:

| Kind | Telegrams | | Telephones | | Letters | |
|----------|-----------|----------|------------|----------|---------|----------|
| | Sent | Received | Sent | Received | Sent | Received |
| Official | 88 | 84 | 1 | 2 | 145 | 276 |
| Private | 70 | 67 | 0 | 1 | 128 | 265 |

¹⁴There is no regular transportation via auto or bus to the city except around Easter time, when arrangements can be made with chauffeurs traveling via San Luis to Huehuetenango, a national shrine, for a seat on the bus or tourist car on the trip back to the city. Regular bus service, in some parts daily, does connect most parts of Guatemala with the central points of the country. But San Luis lies some 20 kilometers (about a day's ride by mule) off the closest point touched by one of these routes.

¹⁵The trip by train, traveling second class, as do most rural Guatemalans, is about \$4 a round trip; but in order to get to the city one must stay over one night in Zacapa to make connections; this involves additional hotel and food expenses, and the stay in Guatemala City itself proves additional cost. All in all, the minimum of \$10 on which most people agree (for a one day stay) is, in terms of average income, far too much for any but the wealthiest to afford, and even they, only infrequently. This is not too surprising in view of the fact that \$20 a month is considered a very high income in rural Guatemala.

an ordinary nature other than a quest for entertainment or family matters which occasions a trip to the City.

A few Indians, however, make fairly frequent visits to Guatemala City on foot or by animal with hand-made straw hats and pottery. Some of them go as often as five and six times a year with goods to be sold, and other goods to be bought in the city and resold in San Luis. But their trips suggest little to them and even less to their brethren in the pueblo in the way of inspirations toward change. Perhaps this is because they confine their visits to fixed and ready markets for sale of their goods, get their business done as quickly as possible, and return without venturing into those portions of the city where their imaginations might be stimulated.

Still other Indians spend a year of their lives in the city in Military service, which is sometimes compulsory, sometimes voluntary. But out of this total year they have only a few days of leave, and, from their station, the major part is spent in houses of prostitution. Since their pay is very low,¹⁶ there is little occasion or opportunity for them to become exposed in any significant way to the city. Such exposure as they do experience seems to be more frightening and productive of anxiety than conducive to an interest in city ways.

¹⁶ Ranging from \$4 to \$8 a month depending on rank.

There are very few adults in San Luis who have not at some time or other in their lives been to the City. But there are likewise very few if any of them on whom the contact with the city has produced any marked desire to change their rustic ways of life.

The pueblo of San Luis, then, is cut off, geographically and mentally, from any strong influences from the outside world. The number of its contacts with the outside world is few, and, in virtue of a trained unreceptivity to change, even these few contacts exercise influences which are scarcely perceptible.

III. Climate and Geography

San Luis is essentially an agricultural community and consequently, fluctuations in the seasons play a determining role in the patterning of activities. The limits of variation in temperature and humidity and the times of occurrence of the various climatic conditions are known by almost all of the inhabitants. The amount of rainfall to be expected at any given time is common knowledge. The rainy season starts around the middle of May and terminates about the end of October. In accordance with these expectations, the farming activities are organized. Preparation of the corn and bean plots is begun in the months of February, March and April; the associated rituals are performed; the rest of the life of the people of the pueblo is adjusted to this necessity, and to the comparative leisure

which these months afford. The Indians make most of their pottery trips during these months; the farming Ladinos occupy these months with those cares of their lands and their animals and the associated commerce which have been made to wait for the leisure of these months.

In May, after the first heavy rainfall, the planting begins. This continues until the end of June; and from then till the September harvesting and planting of the second crop, almost all of the time of the farming population is occupied in guarding, weeding, caring for the growing crops, and arranging for their disposal.

In September begins the harvesting of the first crop. Toward the end of September, the second planting of corn and beans is begun, continuing through October. The same activities as those associated with the first crop are performed for the second, occupying most of the time until the harvesting of the second crop around the end of December. The month of January is occupied with winding up the affairs associated with the agricultural year just preceding, and preparing for that to commence in February.

Around this schedule of farm activities most of the other activities of the people of the pueblo are organized. School, social affairs, religious celebrations, fiestas both secular and sacred, with the gifts--all these aspects of culture and others are in large measure dependent upon the

schedule of farming and the success with the various crops which are grown in San Luis. Likewise, clothing, food and shelter are naturally adapted to the geography, climate and natural resources which the people and its environs have to offer to the people.

The climate prevailing in San Luis may perhaps best be classified as temperate to sub-tropical. There are no extremes of cold, the temperature rarely going below 40° F. But there are enduring periods of what would be considered an intense heat for a temperate zone, with the thermometer registering 100° F. Most of this hot spell, however, occurs during a portion of the rainy season, and the prevailing average temperature is thus considerably lowered. The cold months are December, January and February.

Aside from the regularly rainy months, the humidity is low. The heat, as a consequence, is dry and therefore more tolerable than at the coast, where the same temperatures cause considerably more discomfort because of the greater humidity.

During the rainy months, the daily expectation is rain, sometimes of a torrential nature, from early morning until the middle of the afternoon, at which time the weather clears.

The constant rains during the season add to the difficulties encountered by the people with the terrain available for farming. The people of San Luis have only rudimentary ideas about modes of preserving land. Consequently, the

ravages of weather and unwise cultivation have taken a severe toll, and most of the land to be found on the hills around San Luis is, at present, in a very blighted condition. The fertile topsoil which is still to be found on some of the plots of level land near the pueblo is gone from the hill-sides. Rocks and brush hinder and harass the farmer. In some instances, the tillable land is so scarce that some men are forced to farm land which slopes at an angle so severe as to make it necessary for the men to tie themselves to tree stumps in order to work the ground. In many instances, almost as much time is spent in getting to and from the land one owns or rents as is spent working the land itself. It is not rare that a farmer travels 8-12 kilometers in each direction to reach his land. This means anywhere from 4-6 hours a day are spent traveling. People are forced to travel this far because of the scarcity of tillable land nearer the pueblo, and because the range of alternative possible occupations is so limited, as will be shown later, that the average resident must farm in order to live. In this sense, then, the person of San Luis, is as much a servant of nature and her resources as he is master of them.

IV. Natural Resources

The range of available natural resources is comparatively wide, but strict landownership regulations and precautions limit the extent to which any one individual can benefit. There is

no free fertile land available for miles around. The wild fruit trees and vines likewise are all privately owned, and, for the most part, the best of such trees and vines and the best farm land is owned in large parcels by a relatively small number of people, mostly Ladins. Free lumber is practically unobtainable. Even pitch wood for fires and illumination, and decent fodder for animals is to be found free in but very limited areas and quantities. Over and above all this, there remains the additional fact already cited that there is very little land, public or private, that is not sorely depleted and worn. Residents of the more distant hamlets cite the greater abundance of natural resources and their greater accessibility as a benefit accruing to hamlet residents which the people of the pueblo cannot enjoy.

Despite the relative depletion of available natural resources, however, there is very little in the way of daily necessities which has to be bought. There is a wide variety of tropical fruits such as bananas, mangoes, avocados, apples, pears, berries and coffee; many kinds of herbs, edible grasses and vegetables; dairy animals sufficient to supply the limited demand for these products. There is stone available for the grinding stones; some lumber for whatever construction work is needed; the proper kind of mud and grasses for adobe, tiled and thatched dwelling places; pork and beef animals and poultry, and poultry products; corn and beans, the two main staples of

everyone's diet.

The list could be continued at length, but the items already cited give evidence that almost all of the average needs in the way of food and shelter are available in and derivable from the natural resources near the pueblo. It is mainly for clothing and the "frills" of living that outside sources need to be relied upon. Since there is no cloth industry in San Luis, all clothes, or the materials for them, must be bought from the local stores or from traveling merchants. This is true of all clothing except hide-seconds which are home manufactured. Likewise, such "frills" as special foods, flour products, whiskey, candles (and even some of these are home made), special furnishings for the household, medicinal products, and some riding and portage equipment, among other things, are bought in the stores, in other pueblos, or from traveling merchants, or the materials for their manufacture are bought and the articles completed by home handi-craft or by local artisans.

This dependence upon foreign markets, however, is not of recent origin; while the number of items of foreign importation has decreased, the proportion of foreign to local goods does not seem to have changed. This is due partly to the fact that there has been a concomitant increase in the exploitation of natural resources, consisting of both an elaboration of the uses of old resources and the introduction of new ones.

There has been, however, a very decided shift in the way in which natural resources are used by the people of the pueblo. This consists chiefly of an increase in purchases of such goods (either in the raw or completed state) from local merchants and handicraft workers rather than the former direct exploitation of nature by each individual. Such a shift has been in part due to the change over from barter economy to part-barter, part-money economy. This, in turn, had as an anterior condition the loss of land ownership by many of the people of the pueblo, and the assumption, in the place of ownership, of tenancy or sharecropping status.¹⁷ And, while it is yet true that farming is still mainly for subsistence, there is not an inconsiderable amount of cash farming, especially in "futures," a practice which has tended to impoverish the poorer tenant and sharecropper.¹⁸ There has also been an increased division of labor, with the addition of new

¹⁷ There is a lengthy discussion of some of the chief effects of this loss of land ownership in an unpublished manuscript by the present author.

¹⁸ Out of severe need, not a few Indians are induced to accept cash for their crops months before they are out of the ground. The prices offered at these times are considerably lower than those obtainable when the crop does come in. Thus it not infrequently happens that an Indian is forced to buy back a part of his own crop from a local dealer (usually Indian) sometimes at twice the price he was paid for it. The conditions this produces can easily be imagined when it is realized that the chief expenditure for people without land or crops is for the corn that forms such a basic part of everyone's diet.

specialties. As an outstanding example of this there is a tendency of many of the Indian men to release their wives from manufacturing pottery for sale, and to purchase the pottery from other handicraft workers in the pueblo. Formerly, almost all of the Indian men went on sales-travels exclusively with the products of their wives' own hands. It is impossible to say, in the absence of records, whether the creation of new specialties was in answer to an increasing demand for them and their products, or whether that creation in turn made available an increased number of products, which, once money was in hand, became more easily secured by purchase than by self manufacture.

V. The Physical Set-Up

The difficulties now encountered by the people of the pueblo in the exploitation of their natural resources are due, in part, to an enlargement of the size of the residential area in the pueblo, and the consequent pushing back of the farming lands. Inside the residence limits there is very little seized or sown except for what is cultivated in a few plots of land, much in the fashion of small gardens. But the products of these gardens are insignificant. Most available plots within the pueblo are used for storage space. In almost every back yard there can be found the elevated storage bin (*troja*) where corn, beans and vine products are kept during the year. In many instances, there is not even this limited amount of space

available for storage, for the houses of the pueblo now crowd upon each other from all sides as they perhaps have never done before.

The total area of the pueblo is about one square kilometer. It is organized around the central plaza, where are to be found the central water fountain, the market place, the church, the government buildings, the schools, the public park and recreation field, and a few of the largest Indian dwellings in the pueblo. The following map indicates the general plan of the pueblo.

The pueblo is divided up into districts (barrios) 20 each of which, at one time, special significance was attached. There are yet some vestiges of pride in having residence in certain of the districts but these are insignificant, except as clues to the past, in the face of the ignorance on the part of most people of any special meaning attached to their residence in any particular district. Likewise, there are certain vestiges of loyalty to one's district and his neighbors therein, but again these are an insignificant number of people who have such notions. In general, neighborhood in-group feeling is so limited as to constitute no effective guide to understanding and prediction of behavior.

The districts, however, now serve as guides to the government officials in the apportionment of quotas of men for compulsory service, either military or civil. Likewise, it is

sometimes suggested that there ought to be representation on a public committee from each of the seven districts. But this is more an idle fancy than a regular procedure.

Though the area of the pueblo is itself limited, the extent of any one individual's acquaintance with the life and people of the pueblo is usually limited to those things and persons to be found only in his "half" of the pueblo. The main ante road which runs east-west through the pueblo divides the pueblo into almost equal halves. Those living north of this road are known as "people from below," (gente de abajo), while those south of the line are known as "people from above," (gente de arriba). There are apparently no connotations, invidious or otherwise, attaching to residence in either half.

Close to the central plaza are the residences of the wealthiest Ladinos in the pueblo. These are the wealthy landowners, the storekeepers, the merchants, in many instances all three roles being combined in one person. A few blocks out from the plaza on all sides but the west (a river forms the western boundary of the plaza) begin to appear houses of Indians. The solid-black triangles on the map indicate the pattern of organization of dwelling sites in this regard. There are gradients of density of Indian dwelling sites, starting with the plaza, and ending with the outermost edges of the pueblo. The gradients of density of Ladino dwelling sites run in reverse of those of the Indians.

The commercial establishments are scattered all over the pueblo, but the three chief stores, consisting of the two general goods stores and the one pharmacy, are all to be found within three blocks of each other, and one is farther than two blocks from the square. These three establishments are indicated by the encircled letters A, C, and D on the map. The rest of the commercial establishments, including the smallest of stores, which consist of nothing more than a few shelves of items in the living room of a house, are noted on the map in encircled letters from E through EE. These include 4 bakeries, 3 barber shops, 1 billiard parlor, 3 blacksmiths, 2 slaughterhouses, 8 small general stores (selling usually only whiskey, tobacco and candles), 2 small whiskey dispensaries, and 2 public eating houses, in one of which lodging can be obtained.

The focus of both routine and special activity in the town is the central plaza. Among the events which take place in and around the plaza are: officially sponsored dances, all government business, continuous coming to and from the water fountain, fiestas, all activities connected with the church, the twice weekly markets and market concerts, billiards, basketball, and almost all other athletic and recreational pastimes. Moreover, stemming out from the plaza in all four directions are to be found the largest residence in the pueblo. Nightly illumination of the street corners adjacent to these

houses is compulsory; and around such illumination are to be found nightly street gatherings, the nuclei usually consisting of Ladinos, with Indians hanging around the fringes. In short, then, the plaza and its immediate environs, is the hub of the pueblo.

In the way in which the pueblo is physically organized, and in the constituent populations of that organization is to be found an adaptation of the general pattern of separation of Indian from Ladino which is reiterated in the total social structure of the pueblo.

San Luis Silotiqueque
Four "Social Facts"

CHAPTER I

Street scene San Luis Jilotepeque: 1943: a weekday:
11:30 A.M. :--it is hot in the plaza; the Indian women at the fountain are impatient to fill their water jars and get into the cool shade of their mud huts. The Indian attendants sitting on the benches up at the city hall directly above the fountain jig their feet, bite the palm of the hat brim into shape, continue sewing the braids in almost mechanical precision; drop their work and run flatfootedly as the jangle of a bell from the officials indoors summons one or all of them: for an arrest, a message, or more likely just a pack of cigarettes. Directly facing the city hall, below the fountain, stands the monstrous church: an anomalous dirtied, shambled, discolored, white-wash cement building: an almost savage reminder of the beginning of Indian-Ladino differences, yet, at the same time, one of the substantial sanctuaries of the Indian in San Luis in 1943: some 400 years after the Conquest. A park flanks the church on either side: a basket ball court; a market place: all four the works of the last mayor, jailed in recent months for going beyond the bounds of petty tyranny and stepping on toes of people up above: people whose boots are always shiny.

An Indian man, obviously from outside the pueblo, for the market bags slung over his shoulder, comes out of the city

hall, walks to the fountain, drinks deeply from the same water in which the waiting women wash their feet of the noon day dust, walks toward the church, doffs his hat reverentially as he passes the open front door, walks around to the side near the sacristy, gets close to the church wall, urinates, buttons, starts to walk through the south side park, and drops dead. Like magic, every Indian in sight disappears. Even the prisoners who were watering the shrubs in the park seem to have found urgent business other places at the moment. A small crowd of Ladinos appears: the vagrants from the pool parlor nearby; the semi-doctor with a useless bottle of spirits of ammonia; the new mayor trying to live up to the part a new mayor should perform in the face of his first "crisis"; the secretary, notebook in hand, taking down in long hand the dictated report of the mayor: "Name: Pablo Perez; Race: Indian; aldeas of El Barrial; cedula # 2446; age 55; illegitimate child of Fulana de Tal; possessions at time of death: one handkerchief, one bunch of garlic; cause of death as certified by doctor in attendance: heart failure". The military commander who had come up to "share" in the investigation closes the dead man's eyes, puts his straw hat over his face, blows his whistle to summon his guard from their quarters in the city hall; they come, barefooted, ragged, reluctant Indians, and bring the body up to the local prison where the corpse will pass the night with somewhat less dead prisoners. "What happened?", asks a newscomer of the mayor. "Oh, nothing, just another Indian dead". The park clears; the prisoners reappear--again as if

by magic--continue watering the shrubs; the vagrants return to the pool tables; senoras disappear into the dark interiors of their adobe houses, and the pat-pat-pat of tortilla making can be heard again, mingling with the sound of cue ball against billiard, the crowing of cocks from every near by house-site, the braying of hungry mules, the lonely sounds of an off-tune accordion helping its owner while away the time till the tortillas and beans are ready. Life is back at norm again. Life in San Luis is life in Little-Town; it flows, like ice. Force a wire through its very center and it opens for a moment, lets the wire pass, flows over and around it, reforms again, and is intact. San Luis is Little-Town with four Big things: a Big Church, Big Government, Big Talk and, above all: a Big social split between Indian and non-Indian.

These are four big "social facts". They are operative like the atmosphere; they are the heaviest immediate determinants of the social weather of San Luis as a whole.

Big Church

The Church is big in more than physical structure in San Luis. In some way or other it enters into the most important life-facets of the community as a whole and of all its separate parts. Of the 3500 inhabitants of San Luis, all but some 15 are Roman Catholics, orthodox, saint worshipping; the 15 who are not are anomalous "evangelists", a name generically applied to all non-Catholics. These fifteen are split into two factions: two families who don't talk with each

other, don't pray together, are enemies, have separate small prayer houses. Don Juan, a relative new-comer since he lives in San Luis only the last twenty-seven years, usurped the pastorate and the \$15 a month salary from Don Eduardo. Between the two of them, counting the members of their family, they have converted some fifteen people in the last thirty years. Their main technique of conversion consists of calling the saints "palitos", hulks of wood, insisting that there is only one God; that alcohol and cigarettes are ruinous vices, that adultery is a terrible sin in the eyes of the Lord. Their "success" over the last thirty years is understandable in the light of several basic considerations: (1) Without saints the Indian would feel desperately helpless in a world where he must believe in the efficacy of prayer since his own human powers avail him so little; (2) without alcohol and cigarettes the Indian has almost no effective release of psychic tensions; (3) without adultery and alcohol, the two major diversions of the Ladino population would disappear; (4) without the saints, the two major fiestas of the year: that of the patron, San Luis, on August 25th and that of the Conception on December 15th would be utter failures: secularly and sacredly; (5) without the saints, the Indian celebrations of the opening of the winter, the indispensable performance for the welfare of the indispensable milpa would be impossible; without milpa, perhaps 100 Indians would live through the year; (6) believing in only one God would reduce the saints from their accepted status as Gods or as attorneys for God or Gods to whom the Indians can present

their grievances and seek justice and rectification; (7) without infant baptism, the godparental system would effectively collapse for both Indian and Ladino; as between Indian and Ladino, the godparental relation is perhaps the most effective mediator of otherwise harsh social depreciation; among the Ladinos proper, the godparental relations serve to hold together a social fabric which, minus such an important thread, would perhaps rip wide apart under the stress and strain of petty jealousies, envies, hatreds, gossip, family "pride"; among the Indians proper, intervention of godparents and appeal to godparental relations sometimes mediates disputes which otherwise might be mediated through machetes; (8) without the saints, effective magical cures of magically inflicted diseases would be impossible for the Indian; in prayer and the lighting of candles to the saints, the efficacy of cures is vouchsafed; without this seemingly preposterous yet felt security, the psychic burden of the poor, disease-ravaged Indian population would perhaps be too great to be endured. For, next to poverty, disease is perhaps the facet of the Indian culture (and only slightly less so for the Ladino) most widely accepted as an "inescapable", and, objectively, most prominently present and enervating of all other facets of the life in San Luis. The social fabric needs the saints on the other side of the balances. (9) Without the saints, a queer but seemingly vital equilibrium between upper and lower class Ladino would disappear; the equilibrium is sustained somewhat as follows: (a) in religious processions, celebrations, prayers,

rosaries for the dead, wakes for the dead, funeral processions; the prostitute marches side by side with the most distinguished people in town; the poor rub shoulders with the rich; the vagrant with the worker; the doctor with the illiterate agricultural day laborer; (b) at the same time, the leadership in all these affairs, the guiding spirits, the presidents and members of arranging committees, the prayer leaders, the upper social strata are paid their "due deference"; they cannot refuse to mingle with the "dregs", the so-called populacho; yet in mingling they let it be known clearly that they are the guiding spirits, they are the upper crust; this the populacho is quite willing to admit as long as they can continue to mingle. The vicarious sense of self-esteem derived from mingling on occasion with the rich, and the consequent partial attenuation of antagonisms which, promoted by such things as exclusive dances, exclusive parties, weddings and baptisms; might otherwise cause tears in the social fabric of San Luis which no amount of patchwork from the outside could ever mend; this sense of self esteem, then, the social fabric, as now constituted, needs. (10) Without the saints, the last uniquely Indian institution, the cofradia,¹⁰ would disappear. The cofradiaz are at once the effective reason for and the effective guarantee of the continuance of the group of "wise, old men", the principals, the effective prestige--laden leaders of native Indian life, such as it is today; without prestige-laden principals many minor disputes which are brought to them would otherwise be brought to the local Ladino government,

where both parties to the dispute would suffer in some manner or other; without prestige-laden principals, the effective high-visibility of the basic notion of respect for age would become clouded over; without this unwritten rule of respect for age, the kinship system and the associated godparental system would be almost without props, without rhyme or reason; without the kinship system and the godparental system the very heart of positive social control among the Indians would no longer be present. Even now one notes the strong tendency toward attenuation of the effectiveness of kinship bonds and godparental bonds, founded on age-respect and personified visibly at the crest of Indian social organization in the principal; a common complaint among the Indians is that the number of "malcriados", badly raised ones, grows each year. The most common definition of a "badly raised one", a "malcriado" is "he who shows no respect to his parents, his godparents, his elders". Negative social control begins to encroach more and more upon positive affirmations of mutual understandings of old; collapsing partly under the impact of Ladino-oriented secularization of life-ways. Without the principals, further, the whole vital system of marriage arrangements between Indian man and woman would find itself hedged down; marriage for the Indian demands that a principal representing the boys family enter into elaborate formal conversation with a principal representing the girls family; without marriage, the brittleness of conjugal relations between Indian man and woman, the consequent breaking up of families, dislocation of children, increased

"foot-looseness" of the Indian man: all these would swell. One sees only too well the stabilizing influence of formal marriage for the Indian; "Yes, Mister", many Indians have said to me, "if I could get a little money together I would get out of here and go some place else as quickly as I could". "And would you leave your woman and your children?" I have asked. "Ah, si pues, since I'm a soltero (single-man), not married to Maria, just joined up with her, I don't have to stay with her". The number of Indian men and of Indian women, as well, who were "just living" with mates and who chose at some time or other to "just leave" their mates and begin "just living" with others is, according to informal calculations, of rather astounding proportions. The social fabric weakens under "just living"; marriage bond is no lace frill on that fabric. The principals are a vital prerequisite for the continuation of marriage as an Indian institution.

(11) Without the saints, and thus without the cofrades, and thus without specialized Indian participation in religious affairs to the exclusion of the Ladinos: there would vanish the psychic satisfaction of being "better Catholics than the Ladinos" which is so often verbalized by the Indian, and must, thus, have some relation to some kind of felt superiority to the Ladino. That the Indian needs this psychic satisfaction [in addition to the one other major felt superiority: i.e. "we are better workers than the Ladinos; they don't know how to make milpa"] is indubitable to the observer who, living

with the Indian and the Ladino in the pueblo, hears these two boasts, objectively verifiable, made over and over again by the Indian in confidential conversation. The despair-full "group inferiority complex" of the Indian on most other scores, needs some manner of balance in the form either of individual security system or group security system; the felt sense of superiority as to "better Catholics" and "better workers" provides this balance in part. In the present structure of the Indian group, the saints, though not sufficient agents, are necessary agents; for the maintenance of this group security system.

(12) Without the saints, the roadside crosses which are, for the Indian, the guardians of the pueblo from all directions would be meaningless. The cross as a religious symbol seems to derive its magical power from its association with the image of a saint, and more specifically from its direct association with Jesus. Without the symbol of the cross as a minor representative of the saints, certain other securities are removed which the Indian, if one may judge by the frequency and intensity of practice and belief, derives only from the use of the cross. On the first, fifteenth and last of each month a cross of green inguente is painted on the forehead of small children to prevent their being attacked by wizards who are reputed to be most active on those nights; without the cross, the local altars in most of the Indian houses would be mere crepe paper; the cross gives meaning to the crepe paper and derives, it seems, additional meaning from

that crepe paper; without these local alters the home prayers and the lighting of candles would not function; without these prayers and lighting of candles, the Indian tells you that any amount of bad luck may befall you; and, additional good luck is vouchsafed unto you if, in addition to a cross in your house, you have either a picture of a saint, or, more felicitously yet, an actual small representation of a saint in carved wood. Any saint will do; as long as it is a saint; any picture will do if there are no actual carved figures to be had; any cross will do if there are no pictures to be had. But at least the cross, says the Indian. Equally intensely the Ladino woman says the same and goes through the same practices; equally intensely says the Ladino man, though he has an almost absolute zero of participation in formal religious worship. The belief in the miraculous power of the saints is common to Indian and Ladino, whether he worships and prays hardly at all, as with the Ladino man, or whether he worships and prays every day as with the Ladino woman; without the saints or representatives bearing reasonably respectably heavy credentials, prayer loses its meaning for Indian and Ladino. Prayer is vital; without prayer the soul of the departed does not get godspeed on its nine day trip to heaven; without prayer, one gets sick: not coincidentally, but "because of"; with prayer, children recover from tetanus infections, boils, colds, paralytic strokes, malnutrition; without the prayers, they succumb to these afflictions; again, prayer is not the sufficient agent: for, parents with sick

children resort to such things as medicine and reasonable alimentation; but neither medicine nor foodstuffs avail without prayer; and, the written testimonials to be found in almost every church in Guatemala as to the miraculous cures effected through medium of prayerful supplication to various of the saints would lead one to believe that the part played by the doctor and the grocer were of sufficient inconsequence to remain unmentioned. The illiterate who cannot write testimonials never stop speaking them.

Thus, in San Luis, religion, magic, ceremonial, ritual, disease, health, social control, work, food, and, in total: general life-style of both Indian and Ladino interpenetrate, balance, preserve equilibria, make San Luis a somewhat static but nevertheless going social organization. Penetrate the social fabric to the core stitches and one finds the thread of religion weaving in and out in all directions, looping here, binding there, loosely woven there, and finally dropping its loose strand on the very outer edges of the fabric, where, he who chooses to weave a master fabric, may take up that loose edge and find that it will serve to bind the fabric of which it was a partial core with other fabrics cut from similar cloth.

II - Big Government

Government in Guatemalan pueblos, and specifically in San Luis, is at once bigger and smaller than it was some 15 or 20 years ago. It is bigger in the sense that, preserv-

ing for the moment the popularized though unpopular Guatemalan fiction that local government is representative, each pueblo is thereby, within the fiction of the moment, more functionally a part of a national government more potent than Guatemala has known in its entire history. Debunking the fiction, local government is far smaller than it was; for, elections have given way to plebiscites, party competition to a one-party system, local elections to appointments or (what amounts to the same) slates of candidates dictated by departmental bosses. There are two important departmental divisions: the comandancia de armas and the jefatura politica, both on a departmental scale representing the two strong arms of the national government; nationally, the chieftainship of both these offices is combined in one man: the president. Departmentally, it is combined in one man: the Jefe. In the pueblos, the power is split: there is the intendente, an appointee of the Jefe to the chief civil post; and the comandante, an appointee of the Jefe to the chief military post. Both are directly and immediately responsible to the Jefe, who, when ordering the intendente, functions as the Jefe Politics; when ordering the comandante, he functions as the comandante de armas.

Secular social control in the pueblos, excluding certain aspects of Gossip, is formally completely within the hands of the intendente and the comandante, guided, in general, by law; but since the law is subject to very free interpretations, temperament plays a considerable role in the local ad-

ministration of civil justice and military regulations. Family, writ small, plays a large part in secular social control in a queer way: one family in San Luis is known to be directly responsible for the removal of at least four intendentes who couldn't "get on" with that family; that family had "connections up above". Family, writ large, plays a formidable role in dispensation of offices. A little popularized and even less popular "black list" of "dangerous people" guides the selection of local officials from the available trained military men or prominent civilians. Military men and civilians find themselves utterly without employ and without chance of employ, or else buried neatly in some utterly isolated and politically insignificant pueblo, such as San Luis, because their family name brings them into near or remote relationship with some person on the "black list".

Since the intendente is so often a shifting function of petty squabbles and hence so often changed, at least in San Luis, the secretary has come to assume a formidable role in local government. This is a sore-spot in San Luis; the secretary is a political appointee from a different department, as is the intendente; the last "elections" in San Luis [of the first and second assistants to the intendente] consisted of some 118 men out of an available 3000 being coincidentally present at the polls on March 15th and being "asked" to "affirm" the slate of two men "nominated" by the pueblo. Since the

intendente was recently arrived on March 15th, it fell upon the shoulders of the secretary to divine the wishes of the pueblo in regard to the slate; two men, chosen, as it is said, for their utter inability to understand anything and therefore their consequent inability to protest anything, were picked by the secretary, after he had, in some mysterious fashion, divined the wishes of the pueblo; this slate was sent for "approval" to the departmental chief; returned with his approval indicated; and the men "elected" in due course. Since a pueblo secretary, by local calculations, usually lasts through three or four intendentes, he is of considerable importance by the time the third intendente arrives. It is he who orients the intendente as to previous policy, "family" of merit, good and bad people, trouble makers, dangerous people. It is also rumored locally that just about the time the intendente finally manages to re-orient himself, he finds the local equivalent of the "pink slip" waiting for him.

Of autonomous local government, such as one finds in cities and counties within the United States there is practically none, except if one wishes to call local variations upon a national theme by the name of autonomy. Local jurisdiction begins at the department level. Juridical review seems to be a function of family and temperament. The president of Guatemala in a recent series of interviews with a Mexican journalist professed his dislike for the federal system of government on the grounds of its allowing too many weak officials, too many incompetent officials to administer local

matters. During the course of the interviews the president slowly clenched his fist and clenched it tightly when asked how he thought government was best administrated; he presented the tightly clenched fist to the Mexican journalist and said "Emsly!". That tightly clenched fist of a single man prevails beyond any shadow of doubt as the government of Guatemala, nationally and locally.

Local government however does function on some scores: taxes are collected, men rounded up for work on the roads, prisoners employed to decorate the parks, violations of public health and safety ordinances are punished with imprisonment at labor; commutable at arbitrarily set rates; monthly sets of statistics are sent out to departmental and national census officials; petty malfeasances and nuisances eliminated; military drill every Sunday, with wooden guns, efficiently directed.

Anything over and above such things are functions either of the departmental officials or the national officials operating through their local representatives; the Hacienda Police, roughly equivalent to our Department of Treasury Investigators, pursues rigorously all violations of the liquor licensing law; the Rural Police, a branch of the National Police Directory, operates for robberies, shootings, and like crimes; the Juzg de Primaria Distanca tries such criminals as are not shot dead in the "act of escape", a procedure highly popular with officials and sanctioned by the unwritten ley de fuga, the law of flight. The departmental Jefes may in some

pay an ornate or decoration tax of fifty cents a year. Up until recent months (March) failure to pay this tax by the specified date meant four days at hard work in the pueblo, plus four days more for the double penalty imposed for failure to pay by the due date. A not inconsiderable number of people, chiefly, of course, the poor, choose to indicate beforehand that they prefer to work off the tax or taxes; and thus, those who so indicate, work sixteen days on the public works projects; national, or local. In March of 1943, for motives unknown, the ornate tax was put in the class of the road tax and now men who default on the ornate are subject to road work as well; road work is usually infinitely harder than decoration work in the pueblo. It is best, of course, if one is poor to indicate his desire to work off his taxes and thus work only sixteen days instead of twenty. A common practice at this time is for men to pay the ornate tax and the six months tax for the rainy season; and work off with six days at hard work the default in tax for the six months of the dry season. It is hard enough to work dry roads; muddy roads are much less pleasant, especially if one has to work them in a continuous downpour. Judging by frequency and intensity of complaints, the Indian and the poor Ladino find the road tax and the ornate tax an oppressive burden. A not inconsiderable number of Indians have a cash income ranging from \$10-\$20 a year, in good years. Two adult male members in the family mean \$5.00 worth of taxes to be paid out of that income.

Yet, without these taxes and the almost hoped-for defaults, Guatemala would not be able to have its roads in shape some eight months of the year; Guatemala would lose its proudest boast. Without the ornate tax, local pueblos would perhaps have to resort to paid labor of experienced gardeners, or simple paid manual labor to keep the flowers in the parks watered, the shrubs cut, the kiosk clean, the market place swept free of plum pits. Without the ornate tax, then, the seeming gentle appearance of rural pueblos would be gone. Guatemala lives on appearances.

When insufficient defaults of road taxes appear during any given year, the local authorities are either authorized or merely improvise or imagine authorization and arbitrarily designate, almost always from the ranks of the Indian soldiers at the military drills on Sunday mornings, 50, 100, 200, any number of men which the road master of the area feels necessary for "emergency repairs on the roads". This labor may last anywhere from half a day to a week, and is, of course, unpaid. Likewise, if the number of local prisoners is small or the number of defaults of ornate taxes not sufficient, local "voluntary commissions" are picked, almost always from the ranks of Indian men, for aid in decoration of "nuestro pueblo". Since these "voluntary commissions" are organized usually the night before a needed local task, male adult Indians are noticeably not publicly visible at the thrice-weekly concerts on Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday.

evenings, and all other nights of the week.

All male citizens are obliged to register with local officials when they reach the age of eighteen and to secure the so-called "libretas"--or work classification cards. Four major categories of work are recognized: professions (doctors, lawyers, school teachers, etc.); comerciantes (salesmen, storekeepers, etc.); agricultores (substantial land owners); and jornaleros (day laborers and small landowners). Most Indians, since they are neither professional people, comerciantes or substantial land owners, are classified as jornaleros. Within the classification of jornalero, several sub-categories are recognized, grading down from relatively large land owning and cultivation to minute land holdings and cultivations. Depending on the number of squares of land a man can claim for his own, he must present evidence of having worked 100 or 150 days for other people during the year. The purported object of this regulation is to eliminate vagrancy from the Guatemalan population. It is assumed that a man with small land holdings will be idle more days during the year than a man with large amounts of land to cultivate. In the east of Guatemala, where the plantation system is relatively non-existent as compared to the West, the vagrancy law seems to be more of an annoying threat over the heads of the poor than a law actually enforced. In the West, it is reported that it functions efficiently to supply plantations with needed manual labor dur-

ing the year. Most men, as far as I have determined, simply ignore the law in the East. The local officials employ the law in using the defaults on it as the basis for selection of "voluntary road work crews" during "emergency repair" times. Since a minute fraction of the Ladino and the overwhelming majority of Indians are classified as jornaleros, in various degrees, it is, of course, almost always the Indian who falls subject to the vagrancy law. Even Ladinos of "good family" in San Luis protest the injustice of the classificatory scheme, pointing to flagrant examples of 'vagrancy' among the Ladino youth who "through connections" secure classifications other than jornalero, even though their major profession or work consists in warming the benches in the pool parlor. It is further noteworthy in San Luis that Indians consider as best people those Ladinos who have work for them during the non-milpa months by which they may earn their ten cents a day and tortillas, or flat fifteen cents cash. It must be admitted that a certain tendency toward vagrancy is noticeable among some Indian youth who refuse to spend their hours after supper until bedtime braiding and sewing straw hats, a job lasting about fifteen hours and bringing anywhere from eight to fifteen cents depending on the distance from the pueblo of the market in which the hat is sold. One sees some of these Indian youth on the street corners at night or at the concerts, sometimes dancing together in the dark of the market place. They usually disappear earlier than the rest of the people

at the concerts; for, milpa work means getting up between 4:00 and 5:00 A.M.

Such tendencies toward vagrancy are to be deplored; for, if vagrancy were to re-appear Guatemala would not be able to boast that the president had eliminated vagrancy from the country.

All male citizens, further, between the ages of eighteen and sixty were until very recently subject to military drill at least once a month. A recent law put men of the fifty-sixty age group in the classification of home guard, and they are now exempt from active military drill; but are expected to be prepared to fight off enemy parachutists with which ever end of their wooden guns they find most appropriate to the occasion. The pikestuffs of the British home-guard have nothing over Guatemalan home-guard equipment. In addition to monthly military drill, all male citizens are subject to at least one year of military training in some military post in the country, usually in Guatemala City. Local quotas are sent down at set intervals by higher military officials and volunteers are asked for; any deficiency in the quota by reason of insufficient volunteers is handled by the local comandante through assignments he makes. The quota, volunteers and "assignees", has been, within the memories of the older men, almost invariably totally Indian. One suspects frank discrimination of a flagrant sort on this count. Yet, as long as the local quota is filled, the high command seems to care little about the manner in

which it is filled. Military service, in the infantry, pays \$7.00 a month plus room and uniform; \$4.00 is subtracted from this for food. The artillery pays slightly higher, rising to \$8.00 a month, with the \$4.00 food deduction leaving the artilleryman, whose period of service is two years, with a net \$4.00 a month.

Failure to report for military drill on Sunday mornings (usually one Sunday in each month, though sometimes three Sundays a month depending on your military classification) results in a punishment of ten days at hard work; in late months the defaults at military service were merely noted, and men not punished immediately; the names were sent to the department capital, Jalapa, where, it is suspected, an enormous list of men who "owe" ten days work is being compiled for the moment when some immense local project will demand a great deal of man-hours.

In addition to cash contributions to the pueblo and the national government, a system of "voluntary" municipal aid is in effect in all Guatemalan municipios. In San Luis it works somewhat as follows. Directly assisting the intendente, or mayor, is a group of six regidores, arranged numerically; the first three regidores are always Ladino, the last three always Indian. Assisting these six men is a group of six auxiliaries, again ranked numerically; the first being Ladino, the other five Indian. Assisting these auxiliaries is a group of twenty-five servants, unranked, all Indians, five of whom are on duty each week from sunup to sundown at the town hall, functioning under the direction of the

regidor and the auxiliary on duty for the week. Thus each week the mayor has a group of seven men at his call: who function for all services from making arrests to running errands to the general store to sweeping the town hall platform. The mayor passes his message to the regidor, who passes it to the auxiliary who passes it to a servant who does the work. In addition to these foot attendants, the mayor has a group of seven auxiliaries for the seven barrios or districts of the pueblo and a group of fifteen auxiliaries for each of the fifteen aldeas of the pueblo, whose duties consist of reporting and bringing to justice any violations of ordinances, transmitting messages, rounding up men for "voluntary road work and commissions". In addition to these auxiliaries, the mayor functions with a group of committees, whose members are called vocales, whose functions aside from rounding up men for road work seems to be quite a mystery even to the vocales. Periods of service of the regidores and the auxiliaries is usually two years. A man thus on duty gives some three months service, unpaid, each year to the pueblo. Indians called up three and four times to such unpaid duty do not take to it kindly.

The comandante has a similar system of unpaid aids at his disposal: his primary and immediate aids being two groups of six men on alternating day and night guard duty, serving a turn of one week at a time. Men are called to guard duty sometimes as often as once a month. They are most always Indian. The major actual services performed by the

guard consist in keeping the comandante's mule well groomed and fed, and bringing the comandante his 10:00 and 3:30 coffee and bread each day. But, of course, the guard has to be constantly on duty, "just in case" something essential should turn up which requires their services. In addition to the perpetual guard, the comandante has a series of seven military commissioners for each of the seven barrios of the pueblo, and fifteen commissioners for each of the fifteen aldeas, whose duties consist chiefly in advising men in their respective aldeas of times of military service, and rounding up men for the car road when crews are needed. All these services are, of course, unpaid.

The mail system is also a proud Guatemalan boast. It is well organized, managed, staffed: even to the point of effective internal censorship of mail. In San Luis, the mail officer, has at his disposal a series of thirty-one mail runners, twenty-nine Indians, two Ladinos, each of whom serves three days a month: one day walking the forty kilometers to Jalapa, to deliver the mail outgoing, sleeping the night in Jalapa, picking up the incoming mail the next day, walking the forty kilometers back to San Luis, and then one other day in the month dancing attendance at the post office in the pueblo as runner and boy of all errands. Since a man on mail duty is not bothered for anything else, and serves only thirty-six days a year, unpaid, many prefer to remain on perpetual mail duty. One Indian man has been a mail runner for the last fifteen years.

These then are the major service contributions, "Voluntary", "unpaid", which almost every male Indian at some time or other in his life finds himself obliged to render to the government. It is perhaps not exactly correct to call these services unpaid. For, men rendering such duty are absolved from payment of the \$2.00 road tax and the \$.50 ornato tax. It is perhaps less correct however to call them paid services: for, taking the case of a servant of the mayor who gives some three months a year, or some ninety days of service: working for himself these ninety days at the lowest prevailing rate of fifteen cents a day, he would earn \$13.50. Working for the government he "earns" \$2.50. The disparity is of course not so great in the case of the mailmen who lose only thirty-six days a year. But the servants on the other hand don't walk eighty kilometers to perform their duties. The writer wishes he could indicate, without sarcasm, some facets of the culture and society of San Luis which the road taxes, the ornato tax and the system of public services help to keep functioning better than might a much more simplified system of paid services, and a more fair system of taxation. If the writer were to list "withouts", i.e. "without such services, taxes, etc." in accord with the actual situation as he encountered it, he would be forced to head the list of "there would not be": with (1) cigarettes for the intendente; (2) fodder for the comandante's mule; (3) whipping-boys for the malhumor of minor officials; and (4) semi-well-preserved ear roads for the president's

annual visit to the local pueblos.

III - Big Talk

A. Gossip:

San Luis has a strange ruling house: a king who can do no wrong; and Gossip is his Queen. She rules with peering eyes, cocked ears and a long, ever-wagging tongue. She is arbitrary, distorting, exaggerative, ready to believe anything and to pass on that belief as "known fact". In Little-Town she is the very life of parties, the main dish at meals, the last word in conversation style, the ever present companion for dull, dead afternoons. No one is free of her influence, everyone helps aggrandize it. At times, she is delightful, witty, charming; at others, cruel, vicious, without conscience: a fickle dame with a fickle tongue, never daring to hold the mirror up to her own face. Yet she, like any ruler who wishes to remain for long, must obey certain rules; not go beyond bounds; whisper only in the dark to unseen listeners; pretend to be friends with all; cover her evil ways with fawning bows and elaborate phrases of non-meaning; send her spies on false missions whose only real purpose was to fan more flames; be the talk of the town but not town-talk.

Gossip is Queen in San Luis. Conversations almost invariably begin: "I heard this morning...."; "Maria Louisa told me that she had heard...."; "When Paco went for two cents of dry cheese at Dona Rosario's he saw...."; "I passed them

in the park and heard...."; "They say it is certain that....". On and on it goes; like this: Pao goes to a neighbor's house to buy cheese; he sees Julio sitting and talking with the senorita; he tells Momma; Momma has a visitor ten minutes later; the visitor goes away with the choice morsel that Julio and the senorita are "promised"; the visitor tells her husband; her husband goes to the pool parlor that night, makes sure Julio is not present, announces to his buddies in certain terms that Julio is trying to get the senorita into bed with him; one of the buddies tells his older sister; the older sister has a grievance against the senorita, distorts the story, tells her friends that the senorita is no longer a senorita, and she can prove it with her brother who heard...."; one of the friends is also a friend of Julio's sister; Julio's sister "learns" that Julio is courting a prostitute; Julio's mother, informed, takes her son aside, advises him of the town talk, pleads with him not to disgrace the family name by marrying a prostitute; Julio's protests, that he hasn't the slightest idea what his mother might be talking about, go unheard and unbelieved; Julio's mother enlists her relatives to aid her in convincing Julio, who perhaps had exchanged five words with the senorita for the second time in his life; the girl finds herself branded, bewildered, engaged, a prostitute, a ruined woman. Julio's real sweetheart drops him; for he has, by popular opinion, obviously been unfaithful; the sweetheart's family is now enemies with the family of the senorita who is not a senorita,

according to popular opinion; other family connections begin to adhere, groups of families get to be enemies; a feud begins and lasts for many years. Lies and slanders are dug up from ancient memories; it is recalled that Julio's grandmother was famous for entertaining visiting merchants; that Julio's aunt left her pueblo of birth to "continue the race" elsewhere; that the senorita's uncle was an assassin in the days of "cuadrillas"; Julio's family's choices for the new teaching posts are fought hotly by the families of his former real sweetheart and that of the senorita with whom he had exchanged ten words in all his life. New hatreds and enmities spring up; slowly and surely the circle widens, spreads, includes new areas, new circles, new lies, new slanders, new controversies. Gossip is at work: at her worst. At her kindest, she perhaps might have contented herself with touching to the quick some innocent, sensitive soul in town. But the Queen is a morbid creature, self-stimulating, feeding on her own spittle, growing stronger with each new person touched by her poison. Tongues wag and Little-Town moves along.¹⁵

Gossip and rumor feed on the general low level of literacy; false notions of canons of proof, naive psychology; a general disposition toward belief: and, above all, that ephemeral yet real composite: the small-town soul. It is not without reason that the adjective "hablador" is a harsh one in San Luis. Projection, displacement; all the techniques, witting and unwitting, of the psyche far more verbal than

actional are handmaidens to our Queen. People sit and spin stories to you by the hour, quiet quickly when someone passes, indicating, behind the passerby's back, by putting finger to tongue, that he is an "hablador". That no one seems aware of the cruel, self-condemnatory character of his describing of others in terms of adjective of which he, the informant, at the moment of description, is himself guilty, points perhaps to the conclusion that Gossip is so firm a mutual understanding in San Luis that no one can gain perspective on her or on himself.

Ladino society is literally founded upon and fed by Gossip. It determines who is persona grata. Indeed, it also functions as an index of social position, among the Ladinos, at least. Ladino upper-class families gossip viciously only about other families socially within their restricted circle, but geographically situated in other pueblos, especially in the City. Sometimes, just to harden the crust of the social pudding, upper-class people rake old gossip about the middle-class families in town into the fire again. The wider circle of middle-class families gossips viciously about the smaller circle of upper-class people, thereby, in its own eye, achieving equality with or superiority to it; also gossips actively but impersonally about lower-class families, thereby creating social distinctions between itself and the "populacho", a distinction which the populacho refuses to admit. Lower-class Ladinos, the "populacho", the "plebe", shunning the pretenses of "middle-class

families", gossip only about the upper-class families, implicitly demonstrating their refusal to admit of the existence of any social group between themselves and the few "upper-class people" whose differences are too highly visible to be ignored. Lower class gossip about upper-class almost always ends with: "At least, though I'm not rich nor of the sociedad I and my family are honorable". Respectable poverty is pleaded, the "respectability" being of the "blood", the poverty being directly due to bad luck. With age, gossip and rumor¹⁴ ripen, grow moldy, are surrounded by and en-crustured within the guardian-like principle of "respect for the tried"; grow increasingly certain in their imputed factuality in direct proportion to the growing dimness of the memory of the gossiper and his distance from the original source of the item on the tongue.

If Gossip is a Little Fox, an agente provocateuse, a social director, she is also a police-woman. And, in this last regard, perhaps she plays her most severe role. As police-woman, she is not in evidence: but everyone is aware that she is ever ready to appear and to more-than-arbitrate any attempts at getting out of line, breaking through barriers or trying to cut the crust off the society's cake.

If then, Ladino gossip about Indians is employed lightly for diversion or for augmentation of felt superiority, she is employed seriously and deliberately whenever it is felt that the apparent rightness of Ladino depreciation of Indians is being called into question. In this last instance, gossip

does not enter at the outset when abstracted character appraisals, rich in provincial idiom, are being given; but she lends the weight of her club-like "concrete examples" to fortify the claims to rightness of the appraisals, and then, having truculently served her purpose, retires discreetly as fresh idioms appear.

Like the true social chameleon that she is, she also aids the Indian in his each fresh appraisal of the Ladino, as he, the Indian, backs away from the blows which that very same four-faced Lady has only the moment before wielded in behalf of the Ladino. Within the Indian group alone, she plays a strange sort of role. Unwritten rules in Indian society say you may appear neither too well off nor too poorly. Extreme shabbiness produces enough adverse talk for you to determine to save forty-five cents to buy a used shirt which at least is not yet in tatters. On the other side, the Lady will really wag her tongue if, once you are in position economically, you think you might like to see what it is like to put on shoes. "The people talk, senor, they make fun of one if he wears shoes; yes, I have shoes, but I dare not wear them; they would never stop making fun of me; they would say I was trying to be Ladino and that I had no right to do so".

Indian men are great gossipers; they seem to take near-delight in informing friends what they have heard or seen or almost-seen during the friend's recent trip to Santa Anna; who was supposed to have been visiting with the friend's

wife at regular intervals during the friend's absence; where the daughter of the house spent the night when the father was gone on a trip with the Saints to a nearby pueblo; and, in this way, Gossip fortifies social cohesion in her production of fear of talk-consequences about any moving toward the margin; but, at the same time, creates disunity, disharmony, discord in talking of things which might best have been left unsaid. Families brittle and crumble under the influence of talk; friendships disappear; wives are beaten; children banished; children flee; men quit the cofradias because their wives are talked about by other women aiding the wife of the mayor domo; engagements broken off because a sweetheart was seen talking with a Ladino; old disputes invoked to show the righteousness of fresh ones; men hail each other before the intendente for infractions which they might never have mentioned had they not found themselves the object of ridicule on a different count; ambitions dulled, visions blunted, children taken out of school:--for, if you aspire too high, talk starts to beat you on the top of the head; if you profess to visions of "acculturating" yourself, talk brings you sharply to count with derision and falling away of friends; if you try to improve your lot, the Indians pull from below, the Ladinos beat down from above; your father in his manta and bare feet tugs at you from before-time; your children in their white ducks and their store-bought shirts and city-sandals, pull you into time-to-come-; if you don't make

milpa, the Indians make fun of you because you're trying to be Ladino; if you do make milpa, the Ladinos say you're typically Indian, a work beast. If you devote yourself to milpa, your child hasn't a chance of a snowball in the tropics of getting past third grade school, for you'll never have enough money to send him to colegio; if you don't make milpa, the chances are that you won't be able even to buy him a pair of pants so that he can go to school and get as far as third grade. Without money, and thus without clothes, your child is made fun of, doesn't like to go to school to be ridiculed; without money and without education, your child remains "typically Indian", "stupid", "illiterate", deserving of nothing better than the milpa he learns to make and will teach his children to make. Money or lack of money makes Gossip work; she runs from one side of your head to the other causing symmetrical bumps to appear on either side as she beats you from both directions. It is the brave Indian who braves talk, in his homesite. Some have pulled up stakes and gone to lands where anonymity shields them. One staunch Indian in San Luis is trying to do it at home. One almost wonders if someday the razor he wields at Ladino beards in his barber shop won't slip.

B. Pretensions

People in Little-Town do not live by tortillas alone; they also have their pretenses. For, pettiness is a dialectic force; start with the given of "smallness" and its verbal contrary, "Bigness", seems to arise almost automatically.

In Little-Town only the mules don't pretend; they don't need to; a mule's service is worth twenty cents a day; and food; a man's service is evaluated, generally, at ten cents a day and food. Why should the mule pretend?

Pretense is an unassailable security; it is self-cumulative; start small, weakly, and in short time you believe your mounting fictions. People in Little-Town are not masters of the syllogism; but they are past masters in the art of converting day dreams into "maybes", "maybes" into probabilities, and probabilities into certainties. They have the technique of invidious comparisons simply pat. But they know better than to compare themselves with lions; they prefer mice. For the Lion is obviously bigger and the mouse obviously smaller than: the rat.

All manner of dextrous explanations of personal fortunes are stock in trade of men and women of Little-Town, Indian and Ladino alike. You are poor--because you had bad luck with your milpa or your business. You are rich: because your intelligence guided you to the streets of gold. You are able to read and write only very poorly: because your teachers were very bad. You read and write well:--because your intelligence founded in your blood, enabled you to learn better than others. You don't wear sandals because you say it's too hot; when you are seen on cold days without sandals, it's because you have come out only for a moment and didn't want to bother to put them on. All condemnations of others are merited by the others; they deserve

even more; any condemnation of you is no doubt due to jealousy and bad character on the part of others. Compliments you hear about others are due to overweening pride or family connections; you merit compliments so justly however that, in all due modesty, you need to place yourself among the five most distinguished people in town. Your son is without doubt chief "vago" in town, and, therefore, "by grace of God, I can spare him the need to work terribly hard as others have to do".

Ignorance and faulty reasoning combine with prejudice and pretense to produce novel variations on the theme that "the pig is rightly called; he's such a dirty beast". Thus, the Ladino is rich, because only the rich have money. The Indian's blood is bad because that's his inheritance; the sun rises in the east today because it has always been so; the saints are miraculous because they have produced miracles. In short, genesis, function and description fuse into a combined "explanatory scheme", on the basis of which all unpleasant things may be discounted, all pleasant things accounted for: and, pretenses maintained.

Ladino and Indian alike at heart are Churchmen; faith and preference begin and end all chains of reasoning; and, since the relations of means to ends, outside of purely material artifacts of the culture, are understandable only by intellectual feats far above the training-less level of the majority of Little-Town men and women, all manner of superatitions, beliefs in wizards and witches, unorthodox religious notions, beliefs in divination and magical curing

enter into the thoughtways of Little-Town. Confronted with a simple, persistent yet heretical "why"? Little-Town falls back first onto superior authority, then on to the weight of general opinion, then onto explanations in terms of the nature of things, then backwards finally into name-calling. Thus, an unwary Catholic who falls into the hands of one of the few Evangelistas, when asked why he believes in saints, starts by saying that they are miraculous. Why? because they produce miracles. How does he know? Because the priest said so, and besides, that's "what the people say". And why believe the people? Because that's the custom, that's the way it has always been. Press him further and you find yourself loudly denounced as an animal, a non-Christian, without faith; "la fe vale, senor; sin fe, no hay nada!"

Scratch an Indian gently but persistently and you find a child afraid of the dark. The Indian sees real creatures throwing lassos across the streets at night to trip unwary enemies, changing themselves into frogs and snakes to creep into his stomach, hypnotizing his wife out of her bed and making her walk in her sleep, changing into a cat and sneaking in to smother his child to death. Why believe in such things? Because they're true. How do you know? Because the people say so. Why believe the people? That's the custom. How did the custom start? It's always been that way, because from the most ancient of times there have been people who threw lassos across streets, slipped on

to roof gables at night, threw frogs and snakes into your stomach, smothered your children to death. The arteries of the system of beliefs harden with age; ultimately, only death of the organism which shows its inner disease in jutting, bulging veins on the surface, can bring a stop to the maturation and ever widening effects of the disease. Social arterial sclerosis is vicious; it passes from father to son. There are few individuals in any culture who escape the diseases coursing malignantly through the very life blood of the culture.

And so the Indian pretends that there are no wizards; and paints green inguente on his child's forehead; laughs at the notion of curing, and hires his parchero to come at 11:00 P.M.; scoffs at lassos in the street; but doesn't go out at night; ridicules the suggested influence of sorcerers; but makes sure not to insult anyone; for, insult means that sorcerers will be hired and will go to work on you; lights candles and has his body rubbed with eggs at the site of a former fright, yet five hours before was laughing heartily at the ignorance of those who believe in such silly things. The Ladino is little better; insists that divination is nonsense, slyly sends the housegirl with two cents to the diviner to find out if the sick child is to get well; scoffs at the Indian's holy water, saying that it is impossible for water to be holy just because the priest blessed it for \$10; yet, gets down on her knees in front of the saints who are holy

because the same priest blessed them for a slightly higher fee; goes to church regularly to pray for good fortune in business; gives God a helping hand with a little bit of swindling if it can be gotten away with.

Little-Town people are , all the time, like Heywood Broun was on his death bed. Maybe there aren't any such things as witches, diviners, and curers, but it isn't well to take a chance, and it's so easy not to take a chance. A little bit of extra soul-insurance never hurt anyone. And besides, how would the insurance agents live if they couldn't sell policies? So they give God a helping hand. Thus, in Little-Town, sorcerers are also curers; healers are harmers; and they spend their spare time making candles to sell to the patients. Little-Town people lie like troopers, as well. Mostly lies of prestige, sometimes lies of malice. Sometimes you lie as to your wealth, sometimes as to your poverty; when someone comes to borrow money, you are poor; when you are asked to make social evaluations on the basis of wealth, you are wealthy. You lie about being a near relative to some "big shot" in the City, until that "big shot" is denounced as an enemy of the government; and then you insist that your family, though having the same name, came of good stock, not from pirarog. If you are an Indian, you lie to the Ladino government officials as often and as heartily as you can get away with it; if you are a government official you lie about your malfeasances and blame

it on others. Sometimes the lies are necessary for business purposes. The Indians and Ladinos believe in the efficaciousness of an oil compounded of four other oils; so the druggist divides one big bottle of oils into four small bottles and prepares a carefully measured mixture when asked for the composite. Sometimes lying is called bargaining; and no one resents it then. You ask three times the price you expect to receive in the end; the customer offers one-third the price he intends to pay ultimately. If you are of Little-Town you also lie to yourself considerably; you are sweethearts with a girl in town; a prettier girl makes you tingle; you dream how nice it would be to drop the old, take up the new; watch for your first opportunity, note your "girl" talking innocently to some passerby, send her a note denouncing her as an unfaithful sweetheart and the next concert night you are walking arm in arm with the new girl, whom, undoubtedly, you will drop if still another pleases you more later on.

You surround your lies with the name of God and invoke his wrathful eye to witness your righteousness; God gets somewhat puzzled, certainly, in the face of equally fervent invocation of his name on the part of your denouncer. You fall back on a cult of politeness when it is not yet safe to come out in the open; everyone, from your real friend to the man whom you hate, gets a hearty handshake and a "very glad to see you" when you meet in public: till it is safe to make a break. Then you drop the lying involved in the politeness and begin the trend of imagination and secondary

elaboration which leads to your denouncing your enemy in fantastically unreal terms. If you are a Ladino with a dark skin, you lie about the Indian somewhere in the family woodpile; if you are an Indian with a very light skin, you try to lie about the same thing: sometimes. Everyone agrees with your lie heartily, until you are gone: and then: "What a liar that scoundrel is!"

The very language of Little-Town, or at least the Spanish spoken there, calls for lies of politeness:--you introduce yourself as so and so: "at your orders, senor"; let your acquaintance ask you a favor, and he is a man without shame in your eyes. You sign your letters "your certain and attentive servant"; let your "master" invoke his designated rights, and he never knows the end of your wrath.

You lie for your group as well as for yourself. Ladinos are great ones for "demonstrating beyond any shadow of doubt" what miserable creatures the Indians are. Indians are no less facile at demonstrating the contrary and its complement. You lie about your group's behavior, calling forth "custom" as the explanation; thus the Indian doesn't mix with the Ladino, and vice versa, because "that's the custom". Or, you project your own prejudices on to the other group: thus, says the Indian, our children don't marry Ladinos because the Ladinos won't give their children in marriage.

Thus, Little-Town man pleads "community welfare" as the motive for his private ventures and contrivances. And

so community life goes on and on, like a tireless cyclist, on a treadmill.

Thus, Little-Town: little men and women with a Big Church, a Big Government, and Big Talk: lies, pretenses, self-deceit; twentieth century Lilliputians pretending to themselves and others to be Gullivers.

Now, through caricature and distortion, let us try to throw into relief Little-Town Indian and Ladino growing up.

San Luis, Silobiquel
Some Bare Facts

The Bare Facts

The following pages of bare data on San Luis are not calculated by any means to exhaust the total bare data reportable on San Luis. A selection is involved, most certainly; the principle employed in the selection is that of desiring to give to the reader a series of selected data concerning San Luis which seem to the writer to be perhaps the slimmest amount of bare facts needed to point San Luis off in the reader's mind as "such and such kind of town", where so many cattle are raised, prices are at such and such a level, so many letters and telegrams per month are handled, where the town income and expenditures are such and such, the pueblo's location by map readings is such and such, etc. A good deal is left out that might well have been included; a good deal is included that the reader may never find occasion to consider. The writer was guided in the selection of these bare facts by certain considerations flowing during the course of writing the text of the thesis, where, a point would rise which would urge upon the writer the necessity of indicating the factual or statistical basis for a generalization made --over and above or different from that factual and/or statistical basis provided by the charts attached to almost all sections of the text. The further felt-need for some kind of bare-outline orientation into the bare life ways of the pueblo was still another consideration in the selection of the bare facts which are reported here.

We start the bare facts with an almost totally literal reproduction of those facts which the pueblo government itself sends out to the national bureau of statistics each month; thus, giving the reader here the same set of data which any reader in Guatemala City who were anxious to apprise himself of something of the life of the pueblo would be able to find out were he to go to the statistics on the pueblo as officially reported.

Electricity: none during the month.

Reports of Commissions: everything in order

Change of intendentes reported to officials.

Municipal sessions: 4

Health and hygiene: no epidemics; everyone obeying orders about health measures.

Dogs killed: none

Demography: 12 male children, 12 female children born.

11 male deaths, 10 female deaths.

Augmentation of population:

Causes of death: malaria, 8; whooping cough, 3; intestinal worms, 3; inanition, 1; wounds in chest, 1; enteritis, 1; intestinal fever, 1; epilepsy, 1; heart failure, 1; pneumonia, 1.

Cedulas of vecindad issued: 1 male, 1 female, no strangers.

Weddings: Ladinos, none; Indians, 3; Ladinos with Indians, none.

Order and Tranquility: Maintained inalterable. No reports of bloodshedding.

Police: 5 people captured for failures of duty. No crimes.

Administration of Justice: everything in order; 3 investigations;

one into injury of horse of Rodrigo Vides; one into death of Emilio Yaque and one into death by heart failure of Lucas Agustin.

Vagrancy: nothing.

Economic sentences: against public order: 1 male; against persons: 1 male, three females.

Prisons: in good condition

Cemeteries: Urban and rural cemeteries in good condition; no exhumations.

Movement of Correspondence: 10 notes, 7 circulars, 30 telegrams, 5 dispatches, 4 seizures.

Mail sent out: 12 notes, no circulars, 30 telegrams, 10 dispatches, 50 collections.

Education: 85 boy students; 70 girl students; 1 rural school in La Encarnacion.

Change of employees: none.

Visits of the Committee on Education: one to each school.

Fines: none.

Examinations: none.

School census: made when due

Buildings: all in good condition.

Public Works: none this month.

Repairs: none.

Drinking Water Service: 4 fountains working.

Electric Light Service: one house (non-official). (note: stopped about six months before December for lack of gasoline).

Aviation fields: one in good condition. No landings this month.

Office of Communications: in good condition.

Radio Receiving sets: one with license. (non-official)

(note: stopped about 6 months before December for lack of gasoline).

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| Telegrams sent: | 70 private: | 299 words | value \$10.28 |
| | 1 service: | 16 words | " .48 |
| | 86 official: | 2094 words | " 62.82 |

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| Telegrams rec'd: | 87 private: | 245 words | value \$ 9.22 |
| | 1 service: | 328 words | " 9.84 |
| | 84 official: | 2825 words | " 84.75 |

| | | |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Telephone calls: | 1 private received: | value \$1.50 |
| | 1 official sent: | " .50 |
| | 5 official rec'd: | " 2.50 |

Correspondence:

Official letters received: 75 sent 85

Private letters received: 255 " 255

Private packages sent: 2 " 21

Private pamphlets rec'd: 123 " 11

Private packages rec'd: 3 " 3

Official letters Certif: rec'd, 50; value \$203.18.

sent, 19; value \$87.61

23 official letters certified; without value rec'd. 29 without value sent.

Private letters Certified; 23; value; \$143. sent; 12; value \$99.25

Private letters certif: without value; received; 2; sent; 2

Private letters: air mail, sent, 36; to foreign lands, non-air mail, 8; (note: all the air mail letters were of the anthropologist in residence).

Mines: some gypsum pits not being exploited.

Industries: elaboration of clay; palm hats and grinding stones.

Agriculture: planted:

35,325 cuerdas of maize; production calculated at 1 quintal per cu.

4,666 cuerdas of frijol; same production calculated cuerdas.

150 cuerdas of rice; calculated production: 75 quintales
 944 cuerdas maicillo; calculated production: 944 quintales
 Animal stock: 1,073 cows and bulls; 92 mules; 290 horses;
 4 asses; 717 pigs. Milk production reported to be very
 small due to consumption by owners of cows.
 Forestry production: Sawmills of pinewood; during the month
 10 feet consumed; no export.
 Apiaries: 5 with 520 hives, giving 109 quintales of honey,
 and 2000 lbs. of wax in year.

Fires: 3 reported

Workmen's work books issued: none.

Disputes between Masters and Servants: none

No plagues reported.

Slaughter of animals: 4 heads of stock; 1940 lbs. worth
 \$155.20. 200 lbs. of fat derived; worth \$20. 32 pigs
 slaughtered; weight 850 lbs. value \$38.
 Grease from them: 576 lbs; worth \$57.60.

Prevailing prices in the market place; and account of goods
 sold:

150 lbs. of imported flour at 8 cents lb.
 525 lbs. homemade cooking fat: at 10 cents lb.
 1000 lbs. domestic salt; at 2 cents lb.
 724 lbs. domestic coffee at 5 cents lb.
 512 lbs. domestic sugar; at 5 cents lb.
 1000 lbs. domestic unrefined sugar; at 2½ cents lb.

Treasury report:

Incoming:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Balance Carried Over: | \$60.28 |
| Various Products: | 91.82 |
| Decoration Tax: | 1.00 |
| Fines for Dec. Tax: | 1.00 |
| Public Benefit: | .18 |
| Bail, Bonds | 1.02 |
| Forfeited Bond | .53 |

Outgoing:

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| Salaries: | \$75.38 |
| General Expenses: | 10.95 |
| Bonds & Securities: | .55 |
| Securities returned: | .53 |
| Subsidy of Prices | 10.00 |
| Public Benefit | .18 |

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| Balance on deposit in Central Bank | \$22.00 |
| Contraband and Defraud | none |

Fruit trees: Oranges, 75; Cashews, 233; Plums, 106; Mangoes, 77;
 Cocoa, 15; Bananas, 772;

Dairy produce: 75 liters of milk; 221 lbs. of butter; 50 lbs.
 of cheese.

Trees planted: 2 cedar; 3999 pine.

Thus, San Luis as officially reported. A little research in local quarters, within the pueblo, with the local officials and with the local leaders bares more facts for the person interested in pointing off San Luis on certain objective scales, seeing it in charts and graphs, understanding some of its limiting conditions. Here, then, some more bare facts: San Luis Jilotepeque, capital of municipio by same name, one of seven municipios of department of Jalapa. Population of municipio estimated at about 7400; of pueblo 3500. Of the 7400 some estimated 5000 Indians, 2400 Ladinos; of the 3500, some 2500 Indians, some 1000 Ladinos. Altitude of pueblo: 676 meters. Distance from Jalapa; 41 kilometers; from Guatemala City: 156 kilometers; from nearest railroad station: 17 kilometers. Location in degrees and minutes: 14° 40' Lat: 89° 45' Long: Climate: semi-tropical: hot months are April, May, June: cold months: November, December, January; Rainy season in May, June, July, August, September, October. Scarcely any rain between middle of October and middle of April. Type of agriculture possible: mostly lowland, without irrigation: some mountain agriculture, some irrigable lands; but very limited. Natural resources most used: fish, baking clay, stone for instruments, maguey and other plants for fibers; corn, beans, rice, chile; all manner of semi-tropical fruits and vegetables; fowl and livestock meat and dairy products; wild herbs and shrubs; wild animals; skins and meat; limestone; for cooking, and disinfection, painting and defecation of cooked products; some coffee; cane sugar and cane

sugar products; pitchwood for illumination; shrub wood for fires. Almost anything and everything else San Luis people buy or use is brought from the outside by traveling merchants or bought in the stores which deal with wholesale houses in Guatemala City, or else brought by the people themselves on their trips to other places.

The municipio itself is about 400 kilometers square; the pueble occupying about 2 square kilometers; the largest aldea has 560 people, the smallest has 80; the average computed for the 15 aldeas is 261 people. There is only one all-Indian aldea; no all-Ladino aldeas.

Of 1535 people, i.e. able bodied males between the ages of eighteen and sixty, who must secure work books and certifications, 1341 were listed in 1942 as jornaleros, or day workers, wage-hands, subject to the vagrancy law; 194 were listed as non-jornaleros, among them 63 land-owners devoted to agriculture, 37 landowners devoted to commerce, and 94 obreros or workers; among them 9 masons, 19 wood-workers, 15 carpenters, 3 tailors, 12 iron workers, 4 barbers, 1 monthly contractor, 12 stone workers, 6 roofers, 3 slaughterers, 1 shoemaker, 1 marimba player. Of these 194 non-jornaleros, some 15 or some 8% were Indians; 179 or 92% were Ladinos.

Of the calculated 690 males between ages of eighteen and sixty in the pueble proper, some 150 were calculated as non-jornaleros, 540 as jornaleros. Of the 150 non-jornaleros, some 14 or 9% were Indians; some 136 or 91% were Ladinos.

Beside the specializations above listed, a number of others are practiced part-time; among them: dressmakers, musicians, tile and adobe makers, saddle makers, horse trainers, bee raisers, midwives, curers, bonesetters, masseurs, bakers, candlemakers, rope and lasso makers, pension and dining room keepers, dairy product manufacturers, diviners, storekeepers, writers of documents, pharmacist, practical doctors, school teachers, telegraph officers, military and civil officials, soap makers, water supply tenders, policemen, veterinarians, religious leaders, lime workers, hat makers, pottery workers, wizardry, animal castrators. The Indian specialists, part-time, among those specialties listed include: 3 soap makers, 7 tile and adobe workers, 3 rope makers, 1 saddle maker, 12 wizards and curers, 15 musicians, 6 religious specialists, 5 candlemakers, 2 midwives, 4 curers, 2 animal trainers, 2 castrators. Almost every Indian man makes hats, almost every Indian woman works pottery objects. Of all the Indian specialists above listed, only the 2 midwives and 1 curer are women; the rest male.

The Ladino specialists, part-time, include: 4 bakers, 7 bee-keepers, 5 horse trainers, 7 midwives, 3 bone setters, 4 diviners, 1 water adjustor, 4 rope and lasso and rein makers, 3 hotel and restaurant keepers, 1 telegraph officer, 3 roofers, 3 tile and adobe workers, 2 fish-net makers, 1 tinsmith, 3 dressmakers, 1 shoemaker, 4 lime-workers, 15 storekeepers, 10 musicians, 3 castrators. The 4 bakers the 7 midwives, the 4 diviners, 2 of the bonesetters, the 3 hotel and restaurant keepers, the 3 dressmakers and 7 of the

storekeepers are women. Stores in San Luis are classified as of first class or second class. First class stores of which there are eleven are those which have gross trade of more than \$15 a month; second class stores of which there are two are those which have gross trade of between \$10 and \$15 a month; San Luis and its environs are dotted with little stores which do not do \$10 a month trade and so are not officially listed in treasury reports and do not pay matriculating taxes. First class stores pay 25 cents a month tax to the government. Second class stores pay 15 cents a month tax. In addition, any store where scales are employed pays a tax of 50 cents a year to the pueblo.

The two largest stores in town are those (a) of the three Chinamen in town and (b) of a pair of elderly, maiden sisters, former directors of secondary schools in various parts of the country. The treasurer estimated for me that the sisters do a business of between \$700 to \$800 every six months; and the Chinamen, a business of between \$1500 to \$2000 every six months. These two stores pay a tax of \$1.50 on every \$1000 gross trade. No other stores in town, except the pharmacy, approximates the gross trade of either of these two stores. They are general goods stores, selling everything from one cent worth of salt to suits made to order. The main stock in the other stores listed and those not listed consists of whiskey, candles and tobacco.

Land-holdings in San Luis and its environs are at best a matter of guess-work and rough calculation. They range from

land-indebtedness to holding of twenty caballerias, or about 14 kilometers square. A man holding one square kilometer of land is considered as a wealthy land owner. A rough guess puts 48 cuerdas or 1/15 part of a square kilometer as the average landholding. A sampling inquiry reveals that most Indians do not own land; most Ladinos do own land. The pueblo has title yet to about 2 square kilometers of land, the rest having been deeded over to various individuals during the course of the history of the pueblo. Land ownership was originally all-Indian; and has by various ways and means shifted over predominantly into Ladino hands. The largest individual Indian landholding at this time is estimated at 12 caballerias, or eight square kilometers; two Ladinos are said to hold 20 caballerias each. The next largest Indian landholding is five caballerias; a considerable number of Ladinos have landholdings of 15, 12, 10, 9 and 8 caballerias each. A caballeria is evaluated at between \$200 and \$1000 depending on the location and quality of the land. Land that is situated where it can be irrigated, and where cane and coffee can be raised is considered as most valuable. Guatemalan land owners pay a land tax of \$5 per every \$1000 evaluation. Evaluation nominally is the task of a local committee; this committee submits its "suggestions" to department officials who are said to raise the evaluation by half, the raised suggested evaluation then being submitted to national officials who are said to double the suggested evaluation and assess taxes on that basis. The most valuable

land in the municipio lies very near to and to the east of the pueblo and is owned by two Ladinos.

Average income in San Luis is again a matter of guess work and rough sampling. Wealth sometimes is estimated in fantastic proportions. The two sisters who operate the large store are variously reported as having anywhere from \$50,000 cash and four houses in Guatemala, to \$4,000,000 cash and twenty houses. The poorest man owes several hundred dollars. San Luis is notorious for not paying its debts. Credit is extended by the storekeepers to very few people. One storekeeper out of business the last seven years reported she had to close shop because she had 400 unpaid accounts on her books totalling several thousand dollars. But, directly as income during the year is concerned, the range extends from net deficits at the end of the year to net income of about \$1000. By rough sample, I calculate average Ladino income to be about \$150 a year, inclusive of the estimated value of food products raised, and average Indian income about \$75 a year inclusive of estimated value of food products. This is family income, and, with a calculated five members per family, it reduces itself to \$30 per capita Ladino and \$15 per capita Indian during the year. The wealthiest Indian earns about \$600 a year; the next wealthiest Indian about \$300. The Indian reported as wealthiest earns no more than \$100 a year, inclusive of value of food products. A considerable number of Ladinos earn between \$300 to \$500 a year. Very few Indians earn over the calculated average of \$75.

Aside from the stores, the most depended upon markets are the open-air all-day markets held in the plaza every Thursday and Sunday, to which merchants from all over the municipio and occasional merchants from other departments bring their goods, consisting mainly of food stuffs. Conversations with the merchants reveal that they are well satisfied to earn ten cents during the day. Most of these merchants are Indian women, for whom market days are almost holidays as well. Market starts about 8 A.M.--ends about 4 P. M. Anywhere from 60 to 300 merchants may be in attendance, depending on the goods available and the promise of attendance. Sunday is far and away the larger of the two days, inasmuch as Sunday is also day of military drill in the plaza, to which from 300 to 1500 men come in accordance with their military classification.

Prices vary considerably from season to season, but means can be struck. Coffee is 4 cents a pound unground, 8 cents a pound ground; sugar is four cents a pound for the refined sugar; two cents a pound for the unrefined; corn varies from \$1.50 to \$3.00 hundred pounds in grain; beans vary from \$3.50 to \$7.00 a hundred pounds, shelled. Cotton cloth (manta) varies from twenty to thirty cents a vara, a measure slightly under a yard; other cotton cloths run up to 45 cents a vara; a pair of store-bought pants costs from \$1.00 to \$2.50; a store bought shirt from \$.85 to \$1.50; a pair of store bought shoes from \$1.50 to \$2.50; a jacket made to order costs from \$1.50 to \$3.00; a store

bought jacket costs \$1.50 to \$2.00. A store bought cotton dress costs \$1.00 to \$5.00; a pair of woman's stockings costs from 20 to 40 cents; a woman's slip material runs 2 to 3 varas of material costing from 20 to 50 cents a vara; a shawl costs from \$.75 to \$8.00; a black suit of wool or part wool runs from \$15 to \$30; a necktie from 20 cents to \$1.00; handkerchiefs from 8 to 15 cents; store bought straw hats from 25 to 40 cents; men's socks from 20 to 50 cents; a machete from 50 cents to \$2.00; a hoe, slightly more; a long knife from 50 cents to \$1.00; medicines range from penny aspirins to \$2.00 liver extract; a doctor's visit costs usually 25 cents; a tooth extraction costs 15 cents; a quinine injection costs 50 cents; an alimentation injection costs 50 cents; alcohol for drinking costs 8 cents a half pint; cigars run from 5 for 2 cents to 1 cent a piece; cigarettes run from 12 for 2 cents to 20 for 15 cents; to hire a marimba costs 40 cents an hour for the 4 man crew, \$1.00 an hour for the large, 8 man marimba; a mule costs from 15 to 25 cents a day for hire; a man's labor is worth from 8 to 15 cents a day plus tortillas, unskilled; 25 cents a day and food (valued at 25 cents) for skilled labor; a pound of cow meat costs 8 to 15 cents a pound; a pound of pork 4 to 10 cents; oranges run from three for a cent to eight for a cent; bananas from three for a penny; avocado pears from four for a cent to a penny apiece; potatoes from 4 to 10 cents; huiscuiles from two for a penny to 8 cents a piece; garlic from three heads for a penny to a penny a head; white onions

4 to 8 cents a pound; green onions 1 to 3 cents a bunch; tomatoes from 1 to 5 for a penny; a bowlful of chile from 3 to 5 cents; little cakes from two for a penny to one for 2 cents; a square egg-cake of about 1 pound weight sells for 25 cents; soda pop 7 cents a bottle; beer 18 to 20 cents a bottle, noticed; soap 5 to 10 cents a bar; combs 10 to 20 cents a piece; earrings 8 to 25 cents a pair; silver and gold plated rings from 25 to 75 cents each; lipstick 15 cents to 25 cents a stick; a tiny tube of toothpaste 15 cents; blankets 1 to 5 dollars each; tablecloths \$.75 to \$3.00; 8 cents a pound for cocoa; crepe paper, 20 cents a roll; baptism fee is 60 cents; godparental obligations in baptisms run about \$3.00; wedding fee is \$3.00; godparental obligations in wedding run from \$4 to \$10.

Figures on head of cattle and of swine are: pigs sell from \$2 to \$15 depending on size; cows sell from about \$5 to \$25 depending on size; mules sell from \$15 to \$35; horses sell from \$15 to \$75.

Other incidental items as well include pitchwood which sells for 20 to 40 cents a cargo; firewood which sells from 2 to 5 cents an armful; gasoline selling at 20 to 25 cents for $\frac{4}{5}$ of a liter; tiles for roofing and flooring which sell for $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a piece; telegrams at 3 cents a word; internal mail at 4 cents a letter; phone calls anywhere at 50 cents a piece; for five minutes; sour cream, 30 cents a quart; cheese at 20 cents a pound; tortillas from 6 to 15 for a penny; eggs from 8 to 15 cents a dozen; chickens from

15 to 25 cents a piece; candles from one for a penny to 5 cents a piece and sometimes 10 cents a piece; school uniforms for children from 75 cents to \$2; a sheet of paper and an envelope costs a cent and a half; candy is sold in kind and quantity from 1/2 cent to 5 cents; cedulas de vecindad cost 2 cents; official documents cost 10 cents a piece of official paper and 20 cents for the services of the secretary.

Thus, the prices in San Luis. Essentially nothing else figures in importantly in the buying and selling life of San Luis.

Some of the bare facts about education of children in San Luis, as derived from the resumes for the year which are also officially reported, are as follows:

| | <u>Registered</u> | <u>Examined</u> | <u>Passed</u> | <u>Failed</u> | <u>Absent</u> |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1st grade: | 49 | 41 | 29 | 12 | 8 |
| 2nd grade: | 25 | 20 | 15 | 5 | 5 |
| 3rd grade: | 18 | 16 | 14 | 2 | 2 |

Note that for the first grade, for all those registered, some forty per cent failed or were absent from their exams, which latter also means that the year has to be repeated. In the second grade, some forty per cent also failed or were absent; in the third grade, some 22.2% failed or were absent. No figures were available on the breakdown in terms of Ladino and Indian for these data, at least as far as official reports go. But the school director who is also teacher of the first grade calculated for me that in the first grade, there were some thirty-five Indian registrants and of these eleven failed and eight were absent from their exams; there were 14 Ladino registrants and only one of these failed or was absent. In the second grade, two Ladinos and three Indians failed; four Ladinos and one Indian were absent; of the four Ladinos absent, three were brothers. In the third grade, two Ladinos failed, no Indians failed. Who the two absentees were is not remembered by the teacher. Figures on Indian--Ladino registrants in second and third grade were not available.

Age distributions in the first grade (male students) were as follows:

| <u>Ladinos</u> | | <u>Indians</u> | |
|----------------|---|----------------|---|
| 7 years old | 7 | 7 years old | 9 |
| 8 | 3 | 8 | 8 |
| 9 | 1 | 9 | 4 |
| 10 | 0 | 10 | 8 |
| 11 | 3 | 11 | 3 |
| | | 12 | 3 |

Figures on absences for the first grade (male) are as follows;

Month of June, 1942: 110 Indian absences out of total possible 540. Figures which distort the average are: 3 people with 16 absences each, 1 with 14. In that same month, there were 41 Ladino absences out of a possible 224. Figures that distort an average are: 1 absentee with 11 absences.

In December of 1942, there were 148 Indian absences out of total possible 525. Distorting figures are: 1 at 8, 1 at 11, 2 at 12 and 1 at 15. In that same month there were 75 Ladino absences out of total possible 210. Distorting figures are 1 at 8, 1 at 10, 1 at 13, 2 at 15.

Some bare facts of vital statistics as derived from the town record books are as follows:

Year-1941

| Month | <u>Deaths</u> | | | | <u>Births</u> | | | |
|--------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | <u>Ladino</u> | | <u>Indian</u> | | <u>Ladino</u> | | <u>Indian</u> | |
| | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> | <u>Male</u> | <u>Female</u> |
| Jan. | 2 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 16 | 15 |
| Feb. | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 12 |
| Mar. | 0 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 9 |
| Apr. | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 7 |
| May | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 21 |
| June | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 10 | 10 |
| July | 1 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 15 | 11 |
| Aug. | 0 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 15 |
| Sept. | 0 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 24 | 15 |
| Oct. | 1 | 0 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 20 |
| Nov. | 1 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 14 |
| Dec. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 12 | 7 |
| Totals | 7 | 7 | 41 | 45 | 28 | 29 | 157 | 155 |

Summary of House-types: Source: Personal Survey

| <u>Type</u> | <u>Indian</u> | <u>% of Indian Sample</u> | <u>% of Total House Sample Ladino & Indian</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Baharek | 191 | 64.3 | 46.4 |
| Frame | 81 | 27.3 | 19.75 |
| Adobe | 22 | 7.4 | 5.3 |
| Adobe & Plaster | 3 | 1. | .75 |
| Totals | 297 | 100 | 72.2 |

| <u>Type</u> | <u>Ladino</u> | <u>% of Ladino</u> | <u>% of Total</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Baharek | 39 | 34.2 | 9.56 |
| Frame | 1 | .9 | .24 |
| Adobe | 32 | 28 | 7.8 |
| Adobe & Plaster | 42 | 36.9 | 10.2 |
| Totals | 114 | 100 | 27.8 |

Note: Where house was part baharek and part adobe it was listed as adobe. Where part baharek and part frame, listed as baharek. Where part adobe and part adobe and plaster, listed as adobe and plaster.

deaths--san luis jilotepeque--from books in intendencia

1938-- male: 97 female 103; total 200
 1939 male: 105 " 87; " 192
 1940 " ? " ?--total--28
 1941 267.

(note that in this year there were
 252 deaths from jan. to sept--and only
 25 from sept. to jan. of 1942. there was
 a gripe epidemic that year).

The following is a table of deaths for the months of Dec. 1941 thru Sept. 1942--with
 race of deceased (Natural or Ladino), name of aldea of pablo in which he lived, age,
 and cause of death as given by the empirico medice--Don Victor.

Dec. 1941

| | | | |
|---|----------|-----------|--------------------|
| N | 3 yrs. | Jilot. | Pulmonia |
| N | 5 months | Jilot. | Ulcers en "spalada |
| L | 3 days | " | Influenza |
| N | 2 months | " | Bronchitis |
| N | 60 yrs. | " | Ileo |
| N | 5 yrs. | Agunilla | Lombrices |
| N | 45 " | Pansiguil | Reumatismo |

January 1942

| | | | |
|---|---------|-------------|--------------------|
| N | 63 | palo blanco | hidropesia |
| N | 85 | jilot. | plaudismo |
| L | 75 | jilot. | neumonia |
| L | 74 | jilot. | pericarditis |
| N | 72 | Encarnacion | tumor higado |
| L | 64 | Lagunilla | dispepsia |
| L | 40 | jilot. | ascitis |
| N | 40 | " | pulmonia |
| N | 56 | trapichitos | hidropesia |
| N | 1 month | Cushapa | Neumonia |
| L | 45 | Encarnacion | Enagenacion Mental |

Feb. 1942

| | | | |
|---|----------|-------------|-----------|
| N | 39 | jilot. | plaudismo |
| N | 8 months | los angeles | entiritis |
| N | 18 days | cushapa | inanicion |
| N | 19 days | jilot. | " |
| N | 12 days | " | " |

March 1942

| | | | |
|---|----------|-------------|------------|
| N | 37 | barrial | entiritis |
| N | 48 | peres mojon | paludismo |
| L | 37 | cushapa | " |
| N | 2 months | camaron | bronchitis |
| N | 44 | jilot. | pulmonia |
| L | 80 | encarnacion | influenza |
| N | 23 days | jilot. | asfixia |
| N | 33 | " | paludismo |
| N | 40 | pampacaya | hemorragia |
| L | 29 | jilot. | pulmonia |

April 1942

| | | | |
|---|-----------|-------------|------------------|
| N | 42 | jilot. | plaudismo |
| N | 14 months | camaron | entiritis |
| L | 14 years | palo blanco | fiebra puerperal |
| N | 30 | " | disenteria |
| N | 62 | jilot. | gun shot |
| L | 19 | san jose | pulmonia |
| N | 40 | jilot. | hidropesia |
| N | 53 | barrial | " |

April 1942 conti

| | | | |
|---|-----------|------------------|------------|
| N | 1 month | jilot | bronchitis |
| N | 65 | " | hidropesia |
| N | 1 yr. | montaños-ferina | " |
| L | 50 | angeles tubercu. | pulmonar |
| L | 2 days | jilot. | bronchitis |
| N | 25 | san jose | pulmonia |
| N | 20 days | jilot. | bronchitis |
| N | 10 months | peres puente | enteritis |

May 1942

| | | | |
|---|----------|---------|------------------|
| N | 2 months | cushapa | tos-ferina |
| N | 1 yr. | jilot | entiritis |
| N | 3 months | jilot | influenza |
| N | 4 months | jilot | pulmonia |
| N | 1 yr. | barrial | tos-ferina |
| L | 84 | jilot | nefritis |
| N | 22 | " | pulmonia |
| N | 30 | " | entiritis |
| N | 6 days | " | inanicion |
| L | 6 yrs. | " | fiebre lombrices |

June 1942

| | | | |
|---|------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| N | 1 yr | jilot | purpura |
| N | 65 | camaron | paludismo |
| L | aborte | jilot | fuera de tiempo |
| E | 1 month | encarnacion | tos ferina |
| N | 1 1/2 yrs. | jilot | entiritis |
| L | 38 | lagunilla | pulmonia |
| N | 39 | jilot | tuberculosis pulmonar |
| N | 60 | shaguiton | ericipala |
| N | 19 | jilot | typhoid fever |
| L | 15 months | san jose | disenteria |
| L | 6 months | chaguitos-ferina | " |

July 1942

| | | | |
|---|-----------|------------|------------------|
| N | 2 days | jilot | inanicion |
| N | 3 months | pansiguil | entiritis |
| L | 2 months | chaguiton | tos ferina |
| N | 10 months | camaron | tos ferina |
| N | 82 | cushapa | hidropesia |
| N | 11 months | jilot | entiritis |
| N | 53 | palo blanc | arteriosclerosis |
| N | 38 | jilot | fiebre puerperal |

gillin 8
August 1942

94

| | | | |
|---|---------|--------------|---------------------|
| N | 37 | jilot | zapulcania |
| L | 85 | lagunilla | pulmonia |
| N | 12 | los angeles | pulmonia |
| N | 62 | jilot | cancer stomach |
| N | 1 month | encarnacion | tos ferina |
| N | 1 yr. | peres puente | tos ferina |
| N | 63 | jilot | hidropesia |
| N | 31 | " | tubercul. pulmon. |
| N | 8 days | " | bronquitis |
| N | 1 yr | " | tos ferina |
| N | 1 yr | " | " |
| L | 1 yr | " | " |
| N | 2 yrs. | " | " |
| L | 14 | palo blanco | paludismo pernicio. |
| L | 2 | jilot | paludismo |
| N | 45 | " | " |
| N | 66 | pamapeaya | entiritis |
| L | 45 | jilot | ulcer stomach |
| N | 18 | jilot | erisipela |

sept. 1942

| | | | |
|---|----------|-------------|---------------|
| N | 35 | peres mojon | pulmonia |
| N | 5 months | jilot | tos ferina |
| N | 9 | encarnacion | tos ferina |
| N | 1 day | jilot | asfixia |
| N | 53 | " | paludismo |
| N | 1 month | " | tos ferina |
| N | 53 | trapichitos | hidropesia |
| N | 1 yr. | jilot | crup dipteria |
| N | 32 | " | paludismo |
| L | 2 | " | entiritis |
| L | 81 | " | colitis |
| L | 3 months | " | bronquitis |
| L | 7 months | " | tos ferina |
| N | 5 | " | " |
| N | 2 | " | hidropesia |
| N | 61 | " | reumatismo |

The following are the aldeas and their 1940 census populations: Jilot. 2505; Montana 107; Pnasinguis 255; Los Amates 202; Camaron 443; Chaguiton 80; La encarnacion 394; Barrial 213; Cushapa 267; Palo Blanco 403; Los Peres (Mojon and Puente) 560; Trapichitos 292; San Jose 173; Pamapeaya 132; Lagunilla 147.

the question of the census and number of inhabitants of the town and the municipio has been a perplexing one those past weeks. gillin insists that the figures of the official census reports are correct. everyone else in town--especially those who participated in compiling the census reports the official figures as being way off the mark. i am inclined to agree with the latter and want to present several reasons why i agree with the census takers and the people here rather than with the official report.

1. the official record reports there are 7422 people in the pueblo and 14840 people in the municipio of which 3082 are male white and mestizo, 4549 male indians, 2 male 'amarillos' (i know of 3 myself) 2408 female white and mestizo, and 4799 female indians.

2. there is in the office of the intendente a chart--derived from the same census cards from which were compiled the official records listing some 3505 people (no subdivisions) in jilotepeque proper and 7422 in the total municipio divided into the aldeas as follows: la montana: 107; pansajuis: 255; los azules: 202; el camaron: 443; chaguiton: 80; la encarnacion: 394; el barrial: 215; chshapa: 267; palo blanco: 403; los perez: 560; los angelas: 251; trapichito: 290; san jose: 170; pampacaya: 32; lagunilla: 145. the aldeas with the pueblo total 7422; now, isn't it a remarkable coincidence that the official census figure for jilotepeque proper and the intendencia figure for the municipio as a whole should total exactly the same? (2) in our house to house coverage of the town we report (gillin and i) that there were some 411 houses in the south side of the town. a rough doubling of this gives some 825 houses all in all. now, if in jilotepeque alone there are 7422 people this would give an even 9 persons per each household which seems manifestly absurd. if there were 3505 as the office reports then this would give a figure of roughly 4.2 people per household which seems slightly smaller than expectations but is nowhere near as wide of calculations as the figure of 9 p r hous. hold. (3) the official birth and death records in the intendencia report 369 births and 100 deaths in 1941. now, if there were 7422 people in the pueblo this would give a birth rate of about $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% and a death rate of $\frac{1}{6}$ of 1%. If there were 3505 people in the pueblo this would give a birth rate of about 10% and a death rate of about 3%. To me the latter figures seem far more probable from what we know of expected birth and death rates--taking into account, especially the tendency toward high death and birth rates in a backwoods place like jilotepeque. but i have just found out from the secretary that the birth and death records are for the municipio as a whole assuming there is equal reportage from all parts of the municipio (which seems unlikely) this would about halve the death and birth rates if there were 7422 people in the municipio and about fifth the rates if there were 14800 people in the municipio. that would bring the rates to 5% births and 1.7% deaths for the lower figure of population and about 2% and .6% deaths for the higher figure. i still am inclined to give credence to the lower population figures. how a mistake of some 7400 in a counting is possible i don't know.

.....

consultation of the records of the local comandancia reveal some interesting figures about the number of men who have spent at least one year in service in guatemala. when we realize that this is an experience which seems long remembered by many of them, we have one avenue of 'acculturating' influences accounted for. the figures follow on p. 4 of this report.

the law provides that every man of 18-30, able bodied, shall serve at least one year in military service in a military post in guatemala city. 30-50 are not obliged to serve. those from 50 up are not considered. but, as of two weeks ago, there has been formed a local home guard composed of some 90 men between the ages of 50-60. they reported here to the comandante and were divided into local defence guards for the various aldeas.

18-30--already served : 110

30-50--already served : 478

18-30--not yet served : 477

30-50--not yet served : 266

(these figures do not include officers above the rank of 2nd lieutenant)

thus, of all the able bodied men above 18 and below fifty in the municipio some 588 out of 1331 or--44.14 percent have already had a year in guatemala. this should account for a tremendous amount of the "knowledge of ladino ways" or "acculturation mindedness". interviews will bring this out or refute it. incidentally, this figure on able bodied men serves, i think, further to refute the official report of 14,840 people of whom some 7633 are supposedly male. a very conservative estimate would place the 1331 as being one half of the total male population: double that and we have 2662 as the total male population of the municipio--add 5000 women (tho the census reports less women than men--but i want to give every shadow of doubt to the official report) and we have a total figure of some 5662--which is manifestly closer to 7422 than it is to 14,840.--when i say that the figure of 44.14% should account for a large amount of 'acculturation mindedness' the reference is obviously to indians--and, at the same time, to knowledge on the part of the rural ladinos of the city ways of their blood brethren but, the reference is mainly to indians for i feel sure that the larger part of this figure comprises indians since, up until very recently, and, even now according to some, the major part of ladinos are excused from the service, tho the law insists that there shall be no discrimination again, sample interviews should tell the story.

San Luis Silotepique
Introductory Remarks
and
Agriculture

and perhaps (?) of
santa catalina
mita

The area of the Eastern-Pokoman speaking Indian of Guatemala spreads on a general south east to north west cut of some 30 kilometers, comprising the Indians of the municipio of San Pedro Pinula and those of the municipio of San Luis Jilotepeque. The Pinula pueblo proper contains slightly over 4000 inhabitants, of whom some ? are estimated as Ladino and some ? Indian. The aldeas surrounding Pinula contain some 8000 inhabitants, of whom some ? are Ladino and ? Indian. The Jilotepeque pueblo proper contains slightly over 3500 inhabitants of whom some 1100 are Ladino and 2400 Indian. There are approximately 4000 inhabitants comprising the aldea population surrounding the pueblo. Of these some 1000 are Ladino, and some 3000 Indian.

Pinula lies between Jilotepeque and Jalapa, the department of the capital by the same name. For this reason, among others, there is much traveling of Jilot. Indians to and thru Pinula. The reverse does not seem to be the case, in general. There is one exception, however, and this is important. The Jilot. municipio officially ends some six kilometers distance on the car road between Pinula pueblo and Jilot. pueblo. There is however a more natural division between the areas which occurs some 1 1/2 kilometers outside of Jilot. pueblo. At a point called Bella Vista the mountain range over which one must travel between the two pueblos comes to a peak. One descends from that point to Pinula on the south west and to Jilot. on the North East. A considerable number of the Indians on the near side of Bella Vista travel to Jilot. markets every Thursday and Sunday. Whether they also travel to Pinula markets I do not know. But I do know that few if any Jilot. Indians proper travel to Pinula markets. This is important in that products of the mountain are brought into Jilot. markets. As we shall see later, it is also important in constituting a natural agricultural area comprised of Pinulan as well as Jilot. Indians and at the same time provides one of the bases for an important distinction between mountain agriculture and sabana agriculture, as the two are called here.

This seems right
at this date.
Jan. 5, 1943

The altitude in Jilot. pueblo is some 676 meters. The pueblo constitutes a valley from which it is necessary to climb rather sharply to the outlying aldeas in all cases except those which lie on the car road going toward Jalapa, due east of the pueblo, the nearest railroad connection of Jilot. with the outside world, a distance of some 14 kilometers. The altitude at Bella Vista is some _____ meters. Thus going toward Pinula from Jilot. one climbs some _____ meters in 12 kilometers. In turn the altitude at Pinula is _____ meters. Thus from Bella Vista one descends some _____ meters in 9-10 kilometers. Pinula pueblo and Jilot. pueblo are about 21 kilometers apart, measured from center of pueblo to center of pueblo. As will be noted later in discussion of harvesting and planting the difference in altitude between the 'mountain' and the 'sabana' result in different products available for market at different times of the year; and, different kinds of products which can be raised in the different altitudes. Whether the differences in kind are real or merely imputed, I do not know. That is, whether goods which are raised in the mountain can actually not be raised here, and vice versa, is a question for a soil-meteorology expert. I have no way of knowing.

testimony from aldea
everyone accepts this
difference 1/5/43

The general topography might be classified as ~~hilly~~ rather than mountainous. While rather high mountain ranges wind thru the area, any particular planter does not ascend a mountain in order to plant and harvest. If his land is situated high up on a mountain slope, so too is his house. The water supply for the Jilot. area is limited on the south west to one large winding stream, flowing almost at a level throughout the length of the course in and near Jilotepeque. On due east there are some 3 rivers which water the lands of the aldeas lying in that direction as well as some aldeas of the municipio of Ipala. There is as well a small river, rather dry most of the year, called Pamacaya which traverses the aldea of Pamacaya at a low altitude running west to south east and thereby watering some of the land of Trapichitos, an aldea to the south east of Jilot. pueblo. Each aldea, of course, has some water supply--but the main bodies of water are those above mentioned. There may be irrigation of land and thus, irrigation farming, in the aldeas. I do not know. I do know that there is no irrigation farming done by anyone in the pueblo. Cane sugar which needs irrigation, for instance, since it is a year round crop, is raised by only three men in the pueblo, and these have their lands at some distance from the pueblo. It is reported that in all the aldeas there is only one other man who raises cane sugar. (it should be noted that even these no longer raise cane sugar. there has recently been imposed a prohibitive tax on the raising of the crop). I do not know official rainfall figures for the area. The rainy season starts somewhere at the end of April and continues usually thru October 15th, diminishing in the first weeks of October. This year there has been practically no rain the whole month of October with the consequence that there is much moaning about the destruction of the bean crop and part of the corn crop. In the last three weeks we have had one ten minute shower of no import, and nothing else. In the absence of irrigation, this has proven or may prove serious to the farmers of this area. It is reported, however, that there is no dearth of water fall on the mountain. Again, the difference in natural environment has consequences for the food supply and general agricultural routine of this area. As will be seen later this area is semi-tropical. The list of goods raised bear evidence to this. It would seem at this point that the gamut of possible goods has by no means been exhausted. Of that we shall talk later. Average temperature I do not know. I do know that the sun is extremely hot whenever it shines.

Hot water
spring at
Los Amates -
Riva los Amates

This is the - a
considerable amount of a
small scale goes on in most
aldeas. 11/5/43

To understand the agricultural situation of the Jilotepequan it is necessary first to understand that Jilotepeque depends almost entirely upon agriculture as the base of life. There are only three men in the whole municipio of whom it is said they do not have milpas. True, there are not a few who gain their major portion of their living in other trades, in tending store, in traveling. But even these, with the three exceptions noted, either own and work the milpas themselves in addition to their other occupations, or own milpa and rent it out to others and take rent in food stuff or hire laborers to work their milpa for them. One can see this more clearly if we put it as follows: take away the milpa lands from all but a dozen or so of the richest families in the municipio and the rest of the population would starve to death in short order. In brief, then, there is almost total dependence upon agriculture.

Abundant
to some

the agricultural situation here must further be understood against a background of land ownership and land renting which is practiced rather widely here. when one says that if the milpa were to be taken away, the majority of the population would die of hunger this applies, indeed with but one exception that i know of, to all the indians. those who are only partially dependent are, as far as i know, all ladinos. the one indian exception is one of the two barbers in town; this barber also is one of the leading commercial travelers among Indians and Ladinos alike; he goes to san salvador very often and brings back rather costly items for sale: contraband cigarette lighters and equipment, cloths from san salvador, raincoats sometimes. but even he works his milpa lands when he is in town, and his visits are arranged so that his milpa gets proper attention---and not the reverse: i.e. his travels are adjusted to the agricultural cycle, rather than his agricultural labors being adjusted to his travels. turning now then to landownership and land renting we may note that the average indian holding is some 25 cuerdas of land in total. a large holding is 50 cuerdas. don jose yaque, reputedly the largest indian landholder in the pueblo works some 50 cuerdas himself--but owns 150 others, which he has given in equal parts to his two sons and one daughter. fifty cuerdas of land requires a great deal of day labor help to manage. (see pp.3-4 of interview of oct.24 with don jose for exact number of man hours and days of ad he employs). most indians of course cannot afford to pay for help. in this manner, out of sheer necessity it seems, mutual aid is resorted to --especially during planting when it is desired to plant all of one crop within one day. (see same interview with jose for more on this). now, as far as i know, most indians do not own their land on which they work. they say that they own the milpa but that they rent the land. ("boy el dueño de la milpa, pero tengo que alquilar el terreno del fuñano tal") rent is usually paid in cargoes of maize or beans. what the average rent per cuerda of land is i do not know. from those with whom i have talked it seems that they pay 2 cargoes of maize for 25 cuerdas of land. jose, who is probably the best farmer among the indians, gets 40 cargoes of maize from 50 cuerdas of land. thus, if 2 cargoes is the rent paid for 25 cuerdas we see that rent totals to 1/10 of the total maize crop. when i say that jose owns 200 cuerdas of milpa, i mean that he only has 200 under cultivation. he is the owner of some 60 manzanas of land--or some 760 cuerdas in addition to the 200 under cultivation. he says he paid about \$265 in all for this land. he bought it in two separate lots. the last purchase was in 1934. since then the price of land has gone up considerably. if the indian here could manage a cash reserve at the end of each year he might acquire more land. but there are few if any indians who have any reasonably large amount of cash on hand at the end of the year. jose, for instance, who is one of the richest if not the richest indian, had a cash reserve of some sixty doll ars in his best year. but he says this was very exceptional--and that in effect it was not really a reserve--but merely the remainder over and above expenditures on absolute necessities. landholdings of any proportion are for the most part in the control of ladinos. there is little communal land left for distribution. it is almost totally occupied. since labor for work on milpa can be secured at 10 cents a day plus maintenance. the ladino finds it profitable to buy up land, rent some of it out, and have mozos work the rest for him. indeed, this seems to form the basis for one of the class-caste distinctions here. it is said that very few if any ladinos--except the poorest--actually do manual labor upon their milpas. they will supervise and

See El Comercio
on news.

D. V. visits needs 40 milpa
lands as the people wants;

1 cargo in year Domingo

If the person works his
man 15 cuerdas, he has

to pay 2 cargo anyway
V. visit needs 40 people

8 days
of work.

Let us for a moment then consider what actually does exist. There are no government paid employees who are indian. (the telegraph officer is said to be 'mixto' or 'mescado' but he functions as full ladino.) there is no known case of an indian having moved to guatemala city and taken up work there. there are cases of indian lads going to zacapa and other near by cities or pueblos--but they secure only meager work there which they might as easily have secured here---. their reasons for moving out of the pueblo are said to be due to a wish to get away from family restrictions. indians have in the past in considerable numbers gone to puerto barrios and other coastal regions to work on fruit fincas. it is said that in good years some 300 indians leave the community for this kind of labor. that they earn more there than here is unquestionable. that they lead 'better lives' is doubted by those who stay here. those who have gone--at least some of them--have told me that they work hard but get much better pay but have to spend as much proportionately. they can come back after a few months with a small cash reserve but that is spent here in buying food stuffs for the rest of the year when there is no work on the fincas at the coast. what the exact economic position of the coast workers is compared to those who stay here i do not know. but i would venture at this point to say there is a slight economic improvement in coast work. however, the war has changed that situation. there is little or no work to be had on the coast now. shipment of fruit has utterly stopped. in talking with one coast worker about a week ago he lamented the situation--and told me that if his parents did not have milpa he would be going hungry. in a discussion with ladinos some weeks ago about this situation they deplored the fact that there would be some 200 men in the community here (and in all parts of the east from which men go to the coast, yethers as well)--who would have no lands to work at all--and no resources for years to come. milpa land is scarce now--and there seems to be none or little available for those who have returned from the coast. but we must keep in mind that the coast work offers one out to the indian. that some 300 avail themselves of this in good years is an indication that the indian is aware of 'outs' and avails himself of them, when they present themselves. that they are however risky propositions to undertake is also borne witness to at this time by the current effects of the war. could indians buy a store and tend store? theoretically it is possible. actually, in terms of money, it seems almost impossible for all but a very few of the indians. there is one indian pulperia owner. her pulperia however is very small. without her milpa she would not survive. this is as true of ladino pulperia dealers and owners as of the one indian. a man like jose yaque could set up a pulperia--but he has no inclinations in that direction. his milpa work brings him his income. he preferred to buy a marimba with his cash reserve this last year. with no work on his part he gains \$20 a year from the marimba. in three years it will be fully totally amortized and every thing above the original sixty and repairs will be clear profit. the sixty dollars could have been used to set up a pulperia. why he did not i do not know. i think there is a feeling that tiendas and pulperias are for ladinos. indians keep saying that ladinos have better 'memoria'--which seems to be equivalent to 'business sense'/. indians further keep saying that they are basically agricultural workers and that they can do nothing else for they know nothing else. this attitude reinforces the barrier set up by economic difficulties.

when we come to discuss the industries in the pueblo and the aldeas we will have a more concretely described picture of what actually exists. let us for a moment consider what are the barriers and aids toward changing what we have already described as existing. primarily in this trend must be considered the barrier of illiteracy. this is almost self-perpetuating, and, with the economic conditions and dependence on milpa work, forms a vicious circle which operates somewhat as follows. milpa work requires familial cooperation directly on the part of younger members of the family, male-- and auxiliarily on the part of the females. whether parents want their children to go to school or not almost does not enter into the situation. it seems that they cannot. a boy of 8-9-10 is considered a full helper and is needed in the fields. if he goes to the fields he does not go to school. when he does not go to school he learns nothing but milpa work and straw hat braiding and sewing. he grows up and the same cycle is repeated for his children. of course there are indians who have gone to school. there are even some who have gone on to colegio. but these are so rare as almost not to count--except as a theoretical aperture in an otherwise closed field of life movement for the indian. only one indian in town of whom i know has been to colegio. he is considered very vivo and alert and wise. but he is, as far as i can tell, out of ordinary indian life. i have never seen him at a cofradia, have never seen him with the principales in church, even tho his age and 'wisdom' would merit him rank with them. true, he has been sick a good deal of the time but he is up and working now. it may prove later that he is in the stream of things. but aside from him and aside from jose yaque who spent 8 months in colegio and no more there are no others that i know of. jose says that indian women don't want their children to go away from the pueblo. further, indian men need their children in the milpa fields and around the house. a boy of fourteen is a full time worker with his father. he is an economic loss, doubly, if he is sent away. on the one hand, his work is lost. then, secondly, it costs money to maintain him in a pension in the city where the colegio may be located. this double expense seems to be far too much for any indian family to bear. thus the indian does not go to colegio and only slightly more frequently goes to the first two or three years of school here. the same is true but even more so of indian girls. some of them go to the grammar school. i know of no indian women who ever went to colegio. a girl of 14 is a full fledged woman here--and can do anything a fullgrown woman can do--including bearing children, which not a few do. she is an indispensable aid around the house--helping her mother in all things--taking care of smaller children. when one realizes that the care of little children is handed down from mother to older daughter to younger daughter, etc--it can be seen that again the indian girl, like the indian boy forms an indispensable part of the household and field economy of the indian family group here in this area. this vicious cycle intrudes its influences then into the area of mobility of the indian. it lowers his mental horizon and thus lowers as well his ability to extend that horizon--it offers him no opportunity at the same time that it takes away any meaningful recognition of opportunity in other fields. perhaps the latter is the more disastrous of the two. for, here is where custom reinforces itself incubus like.

I have since found out he used to be "very much" in Indian life but because of his illness is completely out of it now.

this is probably the greatest hindrance of all--i.e this lack of education and almost total illiteracy. one can't seek many diverse types of employment--other than manual day labor--in the absence of literacy. and at least 99% of the indians here are illiterate. i would venture to say that illiteracy here is more pure than lux toilet soap. what other barriers exist and help perpetuate the dependence on agriculture? certainly 'custom' per se is an influence. the indian has known his father and his grandfather and thus knows himself as an agricultural worker. i do not know how heavy a deterrent the condemnation of "he's trying to become ladino" is in this area. that the phrase is used i do know. (it was said, for instance, of my informant luis when he joined up with a ladino woman--and now that luis has been 'brought to justice(?)' by the woman everyone is saying "i told you so"). i think however that there is some barrier reinforcement in fear of this condemnation. but ultimately it 'boils down' to a question of the influence of custom per se. "Mah father, suh, and his father before him, and ah, suh, have been sothensers all owah lahves and we shall die so, suh"----this is a little bit off the mississippi delta but the analogy creeps on all fours. now, briefly, then, what aids are there to breaking thru the barriers? Certainly the fact that the indian travels is one aid. he broadens his horizon. he becomes aware of other worlds, he meets other people who talk differently, behave differently. his curiosity is aroused. i think however the arousal stops at the level of curiosity--almost indifferent of pursuing the satisfaction of that curiosity. Secondly, the indian for the most part spends a year in the capital---in service in the cuartels. most of them have that year as their best memory. yet i know of none who have stayed there after the year to seek employment there or even to continue in service. the reason: "isn't jilotepeque my pueblo where my family is? and aren't my lands there?" some would ~~care~~ go back to service willingly "if called". i know of none who have volunteered. volunteering is accepted. Thirdly, the indian has in front of him all the time the example of the ladino. the ladino gets educated and thus gets employment, (not only for his education, of course--the ladino gets educated and thus can make money. the ladino learns other trades. the ladino moves around, has money, can hire mozos. the reason that indians give for being able to do this "The ladino has money, senor and we don't" doesn't explain anything--it merely describes. Perhaps in a sense it explains any given advance of any given individual. but as a systematic answer there is here a confusion of function and genesis. Associated with this is another series of barriers, of which perhaps the two most important components are (1) the indian is 'accustomed' to being poor---(2) the indian is scornful--perhaps resentfully so--of the ladinos position. he calls the ladino an inept individual because the ladino does not "know how to work milpa". i doubt that the ladino does not know how. i think it is that he has found ways and means to have others work for him. i think the indian is aware of this too. because, ultimately, when pressed in an interview situation the indian responds that the major difference between ladino and indian is the bilingualism

of the indian. this is always given as the immediate response to the question as to what is or are the major differences between ladino and indian. if we had a written record of such 'reasons' fro the past hundred years we would have an interesting picture of the acculturation of the indian. each time that the indian moves more into the ladino life space and the ladino moves more into the indian life space (for the process is bi-swing) another 'difference' is lopped off. now there remains as the only 'substantial' difference (i.e. in the consciousness of the indian--as far as indian and ladino social and economic participations are concerned)--the bilingualism of the indian. there are a host of other differences mentioned to be sure--but these disagree from informant to informant. the one on which there is universal agreement is the bilingualism--and even that gets threatened at several points. (viz: the "gringo" anthropologist and one or two other ladinos in town).

this then gives us the local cultural setting in which the role of agriculture is played and within which it is limited and preserved. there is a larger cultural setting--namely the departmental and the national--- but here one can only dwell briefly to mention the fact that guatemala is yet somewhat of a 'colony' and backward at that. its industries are much undeveloped. its natural resources remain substantially untapped. its human resources then fall in line with these absences. could industries be built up? yes. they could i suppose. that would mean the indian agricultural peon might turn into a factory proletariat. the history of the world being somewhat in precarious balance at the moment makes the resolution of this problem more than moot. suffice to say that the absence of industries in the country sets a limiting condition for the life movements of its inhabitants. this is reinforced on a lesser but more direct scale within each individual pueblo itself by the barriers i have mentioned. there is a further finger of the national situation which reaches in and has effects. this consists in the situation of most occupations being government controlled--not only locally but nationally. i think a count of the number of indians in government employ compared with the number of ladinos, and then these figures turned into percentages in terms of the percentage of the total population constituted by indian and ladino would reveal a situation far more severe than that of the negro in the states. the indian is, like the negro, highly visible--especially in stereotype. the caste line on marriage--reinforces the stereotype all the more. (i do not know how widespread this caste line on marriage is--but i do know that it operates in and around this area. there is a great deal of "passing" to be sure--when the skin color is acceptably light enough. and there may be passing in other parts of the country despite skin color. but here there is no such thing. not only does the ladino lose caste--but indeed the indian loses caste as well with his fellow men. viz. the case of luis. ---Add then all these factors together and we have a first approximation at the natural and social setting in which the agricultural question must be discussed. let us in light of this-- proceed to an actual description of agriculture here.

*but not
in St. Luis*

Note: In the following pages I am working mainly in comparison and contrast with Wisdom's chapter on agriculture in his book on the Chorti. I went thru every sentence in his chapter with my informant, Jose Yaque--and found that much of the material I had already gotten from my informant Luis Najera. There is thus a double check on almost everything to follow. I speak now for agriculture in so far as men of the pueblo are concerned. What the situation in the aldeas further removed may be, I do not know, but will have a chance to check next month when I live in distant aldea. The information also comes from two *saxana* farmers. Jose has his milpa and lands in an aldea nearby called pampacaya. Luis has his lands in a place called San Marcos, about 4 kilometers from here. Note however that on my major item I asked whether there were differences between the mountain and the *saxana* and the aldeas in respect to the item, where no difference is mentioned it is to be taken provisionally that there are no differences. All differences will be explicitly noted as we go along. Note further that Luis and Jose both are among the best farmers in town. They both have a reputation for this with other Indians. Note also that I have a comparable pokoman text of agricultural terms but am compiling them into separate form as I see no value in including them within the text of this summary. With this as an introduction we may proceed.

The Indians here cultivate food products and industrial plants mainly in milpas. Gardens are scarce and are mainly ladino. Orchards would be too grandiloquent a term to apply to the scattered cultivation of a few trees that some men practice. I know of no courtyards of houses in the pueblo here or in the mountain or in the aldeas where any cultivation is carried on. There are to be sure fruit trees in almost every courtyard, and, not a few Indians and ladinos alike have small milpas in their sitios. But the major use that courtyards see is for keeping of chickens and small beasts--pigs and sheep--and for the growing of glowers, semi cultivated. The method of cultivation here too is that of tillage. The implements used are the machete, both straight and curved; the hoe; the axe; the corbo; the digging or planting stick. Only one working animal is used. That is the buy or ox. A two ox team is hitched to a crude wooden plough where level milpa permits the use of the plow. This is not infrequent as a good deal of the land around here is level land, found plateau like, between ridges and hills. Horses and mules are used for carting purposes. Thus they may be said to be used as work animals. Dogs are also used to guard the milpa, but only in the presence of the master of the milpa. It is more frequent that just a man will come to spend a few nights in his milpa especially when the ears of corn first appear. As has been noted before essentially the same agricultural methods are used in highland and lowland or mountain and *saxana*, although, as Wisdom notes, the types of plants grown are different due to differences in rainfall and temperature.

BIRD TRAPS ARE
ALSO USED
NO OTHER TRAPPING

- 3 kinds
1. WISUKTE (Milpa)
2. VACA - for bananas
3. psachs - for smaller holes to be dug.

as with the chorti, wherever possible the ~~garrin~~ milpa is made square or rectangular. i can find no trace of the use of the cardinal points as directions. questioning of my informant reveals that no connection is considered as ~~between~~ the milpa and the altar. indeed my informant says that the altar and the milpa are never the same shape. this refers to the church altar as well as to the small ones in each ~~house~~. there is no knowledge of the cucaracho or the sinquihues. thus their use to enrichen the soil or the planting of milpa near them is not practiced here. most of the cultivable land here is rocky and stony, but not extremely hilly. there are a good deal of level milpas to be found. In laying out a new milpa no markers are ~~used~~. my informant says that one looks for level land, where the earth is black, where there are the fewest stones and where many trees have been growing before; and where animals have been let to pasture before, because their manure droppings are said to fertilize the land and thus enrichen it. As with the chorti the pinuela is used as a fence for the milpa in some instances. it is deliberately planted that way. milpas for the most part are all fence enclosed, either with barbed wire fences, stone fences, or rail fences. the stone are most common. milpas are said to have fairly standard size--usually in multiples of 5 cuerdas--or in multiples of manzanas, which contain 16 cuerdas. a lot is said to have 29 manzanas. a caballeria is said to have 64 manzanas. a milpa of 25 cuerdas is considered ordinary. a man with 50 is said to have a lot of land. anything over fifty puts the owner in the class of "rico". landholdings are not all occupied with milpa. indeed it seems that less than half a man's land is occupied with milpa. he needs land for pasturage for his animals. thus only the best land is used for milpa, the rest remaining for pasturage of animals. this is more true of ladinos than of indians, the latter having little land that is not used for milpa--since they have little land in total. milpas are planted on steep hillsides where that is the only land available, and planted up to the very top of the summit in most instances sometimes these slopes are so steep as to require a man to tie himself to a tree stump in his land in order to work it. this is however a rarity. Level land is also preferred because it is said that in 3-4 years hilly land gets washed away--in the heavy rains--and a man must go search for new milpa land. Level land can be used a lifetime, it is reported. Land where trees have been is preferred for the trees may be cut down one by one or in groups, the branches used for firing and drying of the milpa and the ashes left as fertilizer. in addition the trees provide other firewood purposes. and it is said that where trees can grow so can milpa. The major milpa crops are maize, vine and shrub beans, pumpkins and other vine vegetables. maize here too is grown in many varieties. again certain types are grown only in the mountain, other types only in the savana. the main distinction in this respect is between six months corn (mountain) and 3-4 months corn, (savana). Thus corn planted in the mountain yields in december, that in the savana yielding in august. The varieties of corn are as follows: ~~white planto mountain~~ (savana) (with the time of ripening difference already noted) maize amarillo (same time difference) mountain and savana. ~~white planto~~ ripens in three months savana only; this is a very soft corn, white in color; maize from this the best

This is also known
as pushagua

①

Everyone

*This is also called →
Maize of 40 days. Uto
that some had 40 " + 2 months
interchangeably*

⑧ Also - Maize oreana
*white, many plantings,
3 months to ripen, savana*

⑨ also - Maize up cuts -
*but only where there is
water for irrigation*

⑩ Maize de sangre de cristo -
*savana - but this is very
rare yet said to be very
delicious*

*This is given
name for summer
maize, tall
classes - giving
lots in April or
May.*

flour or meal for corn flour or corn meal bread can be made it is white in color and ripens in three months;

- (2) maize arriquin--this is of two types, both grow only in savana--(a) chiquito or chiquimultec--white in color --very small ears; (b) grande or miteco, white in color, slightly larger ears; both ripen in two months;
- (3) maize redondo--white in color, 3 months ripening, savana only.
- (4) maize amarillo--yellow in color--3 months ripening; savana
- (5) maize negrito, --black in color--3 months ripening--savana
- (6) maize colorado--red in color--3 months ripening, --savana-- it is said the best chilate and duco is made from this.
- (7) maize ubero, also called maize raisero---also called maize de quarenta dias--it ripens in forty days, is pale yellow in color, the ears are very small. savana.

The varieties of mountain maize 2 major one, with 3 minor divisions under each. (1) maize de savana or maize de cuatro meses. this maize grows only in the lowest parts of the highlands--thus is called maize de savana. it ripens in 4 months. there are three types (a) barrozo, (b) blanco, (c) morado. (2) Maize de seis meses : (a) blanco, (b) negrito, (c) amarillo.

all corn products may be made from all the types of maize listed, with the special exceptions already noted. corn products are chilate, atol, pan de maize, chuco, tortillas. tortillas, of course, are the principal maize food. the presence of different color grains on the same ear of corn is accounted for in terms of it being "manchada"--which of course explains nothing. pollination seems unknown here as well.

The agricultural cycle officially begins on March 15th with the fiesta celebrating the coming of winter. It is a limited fiesta--just as the fiesta on the 20th of october which is held for purposes of thanking the 'senor' for the winter just passed. There is a large cofradia celebration however. And at this time the principales set out for "squipulas--accompanied by their aids--to bring holy water from squipulas and to have it blessed there by the priest at the church. for the financing of this trip there is a public collection made among all the indians--pennies solicited until enough is had for expense for the trip. in addition to the blessing of the holy water some 15-20 men accompany the principales carrying a load of maize seed for planting. this they have blessed as well, but they insist that it is only for them and not for anyone else. the holy water however is distributed to anyone else who wants it. this distribution i think takes place on the third of May at the celebration of the day of the Crosses .(description of this will come under "fiestas, Cofradias, etc"). As soon as the principales come back from squipulas there is general cleaning of the fields. "eeding is done and the lands are made ready for hoeing and planting. This takes until usually the end of april. Men use branch brooms to clean the lighter dirt, digging sticks and hoes for the stones, machetes for cutting out stumps or hard roots and weeds. The rubbish is all piled together and burned and the ashes left, after being spread.

of maize

then two rains are waited for. ~~after the first rain the land is ploughed~~ after the first rain the land is ploughed with the ox plough if the land is not hilly, and rocky. if it is then no ploughing is done prior to planting. after the second rain the planting is done, where the land is level-- and hilly and rocky as well but in the latter case large holes have to be dug with the wisukte. where the ground is ploughed only a small hole is made. the men carry tecamate shells or juacal sheels as their seed containers. these are strung over their shoulder and hung around the front on a string the digging stick is employed for the holes, and 4 or 5 grains of maize put in each hole. It is said that more than that in any one hole will not produce elote. Less than that will give good elote but "no abunda el maiz". Some 12 pounds of seed are used for every ten cuerdas. Maize is planted six hand spans apart (vara y media). Each line of holes is six hands from the next. On the mountain they plant in two vara squares instead of vara and a half because there the maize grows taller and the shadowing is proportionately greater. 4 lines of frijoles are planted between each two lines of ~~maize~~ maize. 1 span and a half is left between each line of frijol bush. white frijoles are planted in separate part of the milpa from that where black frijole is planted. this is to facilitate the separate harvesting later on. it is said that if frijoles are planted too close together they will not grow. for frijoles a small hole is also made with the digging stick and 3-4 grains put in each hole. 3-4 shrubs grow up out of each of the holes. my informant could not estimate how many beans on each bush. if more than 3-4 grains are put in it is said you get nothing. with less than 3 you get good shrubs but not in such abundance. after the milpa is planted, if it doesn't rain for twenty days San Miguel and San Luis and The Virgin are taken out of the church and a procession of the principales and the women of the village--ladino and indian alike--proceeds to each of the four cardinal point crosses on the outskirts of the pueblo--candles are lit and the principales say short prayers in language, but is believed that the really efficient prayers are those said by ladino women --and known only by them" because they only have the books from which to read the prayers". The prayers are asking god for rain. They wait five days and if rain doesn't come the procession is repeated. Then if rain still doesn't come after 5 more days they repeat the process for a last time. After this if no rain comes they give up saying "now we shall die of hunger". Last July there was such an extended period of drought. A procession was formed and the prayers made, the candles lit, and "god answered our prayers and we had rain on the sixth day"

In addition to the planting of maize and the shrub bean there is also planting of the vine bean in May. This with the september planting of beans constitutes the total bean crop. Jose does not plant a may crop because he does not have time. he says that the second crop is a better one, in any event, since it gives more beans. for vine planting, only one grain is put slightly below the surface of the earth at scattered points in the milpa, close to the maize holes, so that the vine can entangle itself around the maize stalks later on and thus support itself. the may vine bean dries in 45 months and is ready for harvest about a month after the milpa is doubled.

jose says the shrub is better than the vine because it is easier to harvest and takes a shorter time to ripen than the vine bean. all classes of beans grown in the savana are also grown on the mountain. the varieties of beans are as follows:--frijoles colorados---planted both in may and september--this is a shrub. yields in six months. (2) frijoles furuncos--a green bean--vine--planted in may--ripens in six months;(3) frijoles furuncos amarillos; vine--may planting--ripens in six months; (4) frijol del suelo--september planting--shrub--also called frijol chapin; (5) frijol de arroz--may planting--vine--six months ripen; (6) frijol furuno blanco--shrub--sept. planting--3 months to ripen--(7) frijol furuno negro--shrub--~~may planting~~ may planting; (8) frijol vainillo or perona--vine--may planting--3 months ripen;(9) frijol vaillito--may planting--shrub--3 months to ripen.

my informants insist that no specific medicinal uses are made of either frijoles or maize preparations.

Summing up the cycles of planting ,harvesting, etc for the mountain and the savana, for beans and maize:
savana maize--planted in may, weeding in june and july, elote appears in august, milpa doubled at end of august and 1st week in september--then continued weeding thru september and final harvesting in december;
mountain maize:--planted in may, weeding until october, elote appears in october and november and december--milpa doubled at end of november harvested in january;
savana frijol: planted in september, weeded twenty days after, dries at end of november, harvested, threshed and stored in december.

mountain frijol: planted in september, weeded twenty days after, drying at end of december, harvesting, threshing, etc. around the first of january.

for may planting of frijoles the cycle should be adjusted proportionately--depending on whether it is a six months or a three months bean.

note that there is very little doubling of the milpa on the mountain. this is mostly a savana farming practice; after the milpa is doubled one can either plant frijoles or a second milpa of maize, putting one line of maize in between every two lines of doubled maize; this dries at beginning of ~~september~~ december and there is elote on the 15th of december. it is then cut with a machete and harvested and the zacate is gathered up for the animals to eat. the zacate from the first milpa is left lying on the ground for later pasturage of the animals. the second zacate is gathered because it is thought to be richer and because it is urgently needed as animal food at the time.

*also frijol rinda,
white colored, vine,
sept. planting,
3 months ripen.*

Note: all this material has been rechecked with my landlord --and the materials on the kind of beans and corn and the kind of vegetables has been rechecked with my landlady - ladino as is my landlord--and with our cook--a ladino old woman--and with a young indian girl, cook next door, who was visiting my cook here. additions in the margin heretofore and heretofore are due to these recheckings. in addition all

or most of the material in the interviews with don jose yaque of oct.24,1942 are pertinent to this discussion of agriculture. see that interview especially for a more detailed description of the day and year agricultural cycles and for added data on the 'cultural' and 'social' aspects of the agricultural situation. also see notes at end of this discussion concerning more exact comparisons with chorti material.

Rice:--This is planted in may, in lines two spans square. It is planted outside the regular milpa, and only in lowland ~~xxx~~ since it reputedly will not grow in highland. The land is ploughed, either with oxen, or by hand, holes are made, and 8-10 grains put in each hole. Fifteen days after planting there is weeding. In october the rice is dry and ready to harvest. The stalks are cut with a knife, and threshed in the same manner as beans. The same day that it is cut it is brogght to one's house and spread out to dry on the patio/ Then,once can either strip it from the pod byhand,if it is to be used only in the house;but, if it is being prepared for sale one has to bring it to Ipala where there is a stripping machine; there it is stripped at a price of \$1 a cargo, or 2 quintales. For sale purposes, rice is worth \$8 a cargo. It is reported that there is little sale; usually rice is grown only in small quantities and then for house consumption; ~~nos~~ do not grow rice at all.

Ayote: This is a vine which grows along the ground. It is planted in may with the regular milpa,inside of the milpa lines. little holes aremade and 2 or 3 seeds put into each. It is ready for harvest at the end of october,Nov.Dec--and is gradually taken up from the earth during these months. It is servedas food for human and for the animlasas well. Ayote is generally elliptical or round in shape.

Tecomate:---This is a ground vine, planted in May along with the regular ,ilpa and inside of the milpa. It is ready for harvest at the end of october. It's most important usgge here is for water gourds. The tecomate comes somewhat bottle shaped, and ,when scraped out, form excellent water carriers, with the mouth being plugged up with a whittled corn cob.

barco:---this is also a ground vine, planted in may along with the regular milpa, and harvesteed at the end of November or in early december. This is a very large product, and its chief usage is for water containers within the house, or for storing of almost any product, maize, beans, etc. It too is hollowed out, but the top is not usually stoppped up. ~~xx~~

juacal---(also called morro). this is a tree, whose fruit is unedible but whose shell, halved, forms a excellent market ing basket or food carrier. This sees the widest usage here and indeed is an article much bought by travelers from other sections where the fruit does not grow. Sometimes the shell is not halved but merely cleaned out, and, a little drinking hole made at the top --in which case they then serve as drinking cups, are decorated, and used for ceremonial service of chilate at reuninons and gatherings.

jacaro---this is a tree whose fruit is unedible. the fruit is scraped out and the shells allowed to dry. they are elliptical in shape and serve as spoon shaped kitchen instrument used for taking coals out of a fire, for pouring from one container to another, etc.

guicoy---this is a ground vine, planted in may, inside the milpa, harvested in ~~may~~ november. it is edible. it is mainly a product of the mountain.

pepitoria----this is also a ground vine, planted in may, inside the milpa, harvested in november. grown only in the mountain. its main use is as a supplementary condiment in soups and meat dishes. it also has medicinal uses.

chile cayote-----a ground vine, planted in may in the milpa, mountain only, harvested in december and made into conserves for eating purposes.

sandia---a ground vine, savana only, planted in may, harvest in august, edible.

melon de olor----a ground vine, savana only, planted in may, harvested in august. it is reputed as being good eating because it is 'muy fresco'.

The following are ~~the~~ the fruits which are cultivated or grow wild in the area here. Of all these to be listed only two are uncultivated;--cherries and the acid type of jocote. all other fruit trees and shrubs or vines must be cultivated.

*Joco to
sobo aks.*

oranges, limes, lemons, jocote san jacinto, jocote corona, jocote agrio (this is the uncultivated); jocotillo, jocote colorado; gineo majoncho, gineo negro, platano, gineo manzana, gineo morado, gineo zapito, gineo habanero. all the gineos are year round fruit, and are found in the mountain and savana. all the jocotes with the exception of the corona are found only in the savana or lower mountain. all the savana jocotes harvest in sept and october. the corona is best eating in november. other fruits are:

granddilla---mountain(vine)---
durazno---mountain--tree--july
avocate--mountain--tree--july(savana also).(mountain avocate is best eating in dec. and jan.)
chucte--tree--june in savana--sept. in mountain
zapote -tree--savana--april
nispero--tree--savana--april
nanzas--tree--sabana--august
anono blanco---tree--sabana--august
anono verde--sabana--april
anono san cullo--sabana--july--august
mango--mountain and sabana--may and june
mango habanero--sabana--may, and june
mamey--sabana--august
cacao---sabana --december(only used medicinally--not eaten)
cocoa--sabana--rarely found here
vegetable huiscuil--mountain--oct. and nov.
pinuela--for fending purposes and for eating of fruit--mountain and sabana--march and april
izote--sabana and mountain--march and april

also:
190 - Dec - Sabana
June & Nov.

papaya--sabana--march and april
 Matasano--mountain and sabana--april
 membrillo--mountain and sabana -sept and oct.
 zunsa--sabana--august
 maranon--sabana--may
 achiote--sabana--march, april--for coloring of food
 vanilla---sabana--oct. nov--eating and medicinal purposes
 hierba tinta--sabana and mountain--bluing for laundry
 cafe--sbana--nov dec; mountain--jan, feb--

To the list of uncultivated trees or shrubs should also be added pinuela--the spiny plant used for planting as fence arounda milpa and also for eating of the fruit. called 'muta'.

Cane products are the following:

cana colorada--this is used for making sugar and for panuela dulce. it is grown in the mountain and sabana, planted in march, but only on land that can be irrigated. for this, there are maybe five men in the whole municipio who do such can planting, a further factor militating against the raising of cane is the need for a cane press and much labor to operate it if one is to convert his cane successfully. there is no renting of the press and those who do have them report that they dislike to let others use them because they can get out of repair so quickly. a crop of cane can last 10 years with one planting if it is taken care of properly. Men are the sugar workers here. They make the panuela dulce also. The cane is ground in large presses, operated by oxen. all the juice is squeezed out, then stirred and beaten while cooking in large vats, until the fluid hardens. it is then poured into smaller pots and let cool in those. it is then stored or brought for sale.

cana blanca--sugar and panuela dulce are made from this also in the same way as cana colorada. it is planted at the same time and harvested at the same time.

cana criolla---this is raised only for drinking of its juice. panuela dulce and sugar cannot be made from this.

it is reported that no tobacco is raised here except in isolated little patches in the distant aldeas. all private tobacco raising is now strictly prohibited by the government. an enormous tax on the making of dulce has also recently been imposed which makes it utterly unprofitable to raise a cane crop.

Vegetables:--

yuca--a little shrub--mountain and sabana--planted in may --takes a year to be ready for cropping--needs to be planted in a separate patch. it is boiled for eating purposes and starch is also made from yuca--but no starch is made here.

camote-- sabana only--planted in may, harvested in nov, dec. a vine--planted in the milpa.

repollos--all year--mountain and sabana--but grown very little here--most consumed here comes from Jutiapa and Jalapa

lechuga--all year--mountain and sabana--but very little grown here--most comes from Jalapa--very little consumed

coliflor---all year--mountain and sabana--but very little grown here--most comes from Jalapa--but very little is consumed at all

pepinos--all year--mountain and sabana--but very little grown and very little consumed--most consumed come from Chiquimula

rabanos--all year--mountain and sabana --but very little grown and very little consumed--most comes from Jalapa

papas chicitas--all year--mountain and sabana--but very little grown--quite a deal consumed and most of it comes from Jalapa and Jutiapa

papas barquenas--it is said they can grow here but they are not grown--the supply comes from Jalapa and Jutiapa

papas redondos--it is said they cannot grow here--supply comes from Jalapa and Jutiapa--

Note--three women with whom i talked insist that almost every vegetable in guatemala can grow here but that the are not planted "for the laziness of one". Thus, I have seen radishes but once on the table here --where they have the best opportunity of appearing. I have never yet had cauliflower, or cucumbers, or lettuce. On the other hand, during a two day stay in Pinula, not 25 kilo. from here I had all these within the course of two days--because the owner of the house at which I was staying had these growing in his garden!)

perijil--mountain and sabana --all year--a bush--little grown here--most comes from Jalapa and Jutiapa

culantro--mountain and sabana--all year--but very little grown--most comes from Jalapa and Jutiapa

alberjas--a vine--mountain and sabana--may harvest

sanaorilla--a shrub--all year--mountain and sabana

remolache--a shrub--all year--mountain and sabana

aselgas--a shrub--all year--mountain and sabana

berrenjenas--a little tree--all year--sabana only

tomatoes -large--all year--mountain and sabana

tomatoes small--november harvest--mountain and sabana

This ends the list of fruits and vegetables grown in this area.

There are however, of course, additional sources of food supply---. Two of the formerly chief sources, namely fishing and hunting, have been eliminated for the most part as the result of the imposition of a license fee on hunting and a fee on fishing with a net. Men report that fishing with a line has no commercial value--too tedious. However, those living near rivers where fish are to be had, do fish often for food for their tables. This is not true in the pueblo since there are no fish in the main stream here. Most fish eaten here is bought in the marketplace, or, if one happens to pass a day near a stream he may bring home a string of fish as a present from a friend. Hunting was formerly of deer, rabbits and other animals. It continues in some measure but it is strictly forbidden and therefore rather dangerous. Venison keeps appearing on tables, however, and the answer as to the why of its presence is always that someone shot the deer secretly and gave the meat as a present. I do not know of any sale of venison. Both deer and rabbit are usually hunted at night, in hunting parties. If all have rifles then all also have head lamps--with which to seek out the animal and to blind him so that he cannot see the hunter. One must hunt only when there is no moonlight.

The deer come down off the mountain at night time and this can be hunted in approximately the same spots as rabbits, who roam thru cornfields at night. There is no trapping reported except of birds in the milpa.

Other animal trapping seems not to be known. There are some 18 classes of meat eaten in the area. They are beef (bull, cow, lamb), pork, chumpe, gallina, pollo, gallo, chivo, venado, cabra, paloma (blanca, chaha, castillo, tortolito), pato, conejo, armado, garobo, tepalcuintla and iguana.

Dairy products consumed are milk, mantequilla fresco, mantequilla costal, mantequilla lavada, queso fresco, queso seco, queso requeson, creme. eggs form a large part of the diet here as well.

When fishing was legal--i.e. fishing with nets--there was much consumption of fish. This has diminished considerably but it is reported that not a little fish still finds its way to the table. The classes of fish available in the area are: filin, machaka, chamurito, bute, pepenechine, bagre, camaron, cangrejo, guavina, mojara, guapote, pepesce, boto.

no snakes or frogs are eaten, though they both abound. I should imagine that for the Indian this is mainly due to the fact that both the snake and the frog constitute the forms into which brujos are reputed to change themselves at night when they go on their evil missions. Honey of bees is cultivated by a few here. On finding a tree stump in which there is a hive the stump is cut brought back to one's house, the ends plastered up with mud, and the bees allowed to breed and live there. The

The stumps are propped up several feet off the ground on yoked branches and supported in that fashion. When the honey is wanted the mud filler at one end of the stump is removed and the honey in the comb taken out. Honey is of two types--called miel grande or miel blanca, and (2) miel extranjero. Despite the "extranjero" both honey types are indigenous. Honey is used much for medicinal purposes, and constitutes one of the few panaceas on the health route. Honey and lemon with water also is a favorite drink with ladinos and indians, when available, tho more so with the former than with the latter.

San Luis de Obispo

- I Housing
- II location in Pueblo
- III clothing
- IV Comparison with Windsor
Text on the cloth

There is a range of alternative possibilities of house type in San Luis, the ends of which range are professedly limited most importantly by amount of wealth; secondarily by such professedly important things as safety in times of earthquakes, protection against storms, and, thirdly, by custom. The fact, as we shall see, that the "wealthiest" type of house is the preferred type and the actually adopted type in cases of economic strength for both Ladino and Indian, and the further fact that such "wealthiest" type is considered second best protection in times of earthquakes and storm, make of secondary and tertiary importance any considerations other than the economic in the "why" of the current types and the preferences expressed. To be sure, the fact that adobe and unblocked mud are used rather than lumber is partly a function of the natural resources of the area initially. But the fact that we were able to establish that where money was available, then, lumber and/or cement would be used in place of adobe and/or mud lessens the weightiness of the factor of natural environment as a determinant in the setting of the limits of the range of alternative possibilities. Strange as it may seem, the factor of mental immobility, of lack of imagination, with a probable genesis in the long accepted belief of some of the Indians in the

adjectival phrases referring to personal character, and, lastly, notions about crossing from Ladino to Indian or Indian to Ladino.

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I. House Type

There is a range of alternative possibilities of house type in San Luis, the ends of which range are professedly limited most importantly by amount of wealth; secondarily by such professedly important things as safety in times of earthquakes, protection against storms, and, thirdly, by custom. The fact, as we shall see, that the "wealthiest" type of house is the preferred type and the actually adopted type in cases of economic strength for both Ladino and Indian, and the further fact that such "wealthiest" type is considered second best protection in times of earthquakes and storm, make of secondary and tertiary importance any considerations other than the economic in the "why" of the current types and the preferences expressed. To be sure, the fact that adobe and unblocked mud are used rather than lumber is partly a function of the natural resources of the area initially. But the fact that we were able to establish that where money was available, then, lumber and/or cement would be used in place of adobe and/or mud lessens the weightiness of the factor of natural environment as a determinant in the setting of the limits of the range of alternative possibilities. Strange as it may seem, the factor of mental immobility, of lack of imagination, with a probable genesis in the long accepted belief of some of the Indians in the

futility of imagining anything more or different than that already existing or immediately available is, next to economic limitations, probably of greatest importance in the determination of house types, current and preferred, for the Indian, and, in part, for the poor Ladino for whom the same factor of lack of imagination, arising genetically similarly, is operative. Thus, it is not in terms of "custom", i.e. "We have always built houses this way," or "My ancestors always did it this way," that the poor Indian expresses a preference only for an enlargement of his house rather than any basic change in house type; but it is rather in terms of, "But, señor, it is impossible for me to say what kind of house I would build if I had money; I shall never have money; I am poor and will always be poor," that the Indian in some cases rejects any preferences other than those which involve no more than a simple enlargement of his already existing house type, or at best a change toward adobe from unblocked mud or to unblocked mud from corn stalks.

Now, the range of actual houses in San Luis may be indicated somewhat as follows: there are three basic roof types; (1) dried straw on a raw wood support, hereinafter called thatched; (2) fired clay on a raw wood support, hereinafter called tile 1; and fired clay on a sawn lumber support, hereinafter called tile 2. There is but one exception in all the structures of San Luis to these three basic types, and that consists of the roof of the religious shrine called Galvario, which has a sheet tin roof covering

part of the structure. This, however, is the only exception and thus for all purposes, we may consider the above 3 types as exhausting the actual basic types. They may be graded in order of amount of money needed for the construction of each with the tile 2 being the most costly, tile 1 next most costly and thatched being least costly. It sometimes, though not often, happens that an Indian or Ladino of fair economic ranking will be living in a house which we, by the criteria indicated above, would tend to expect only among the poorest of Indians and Ladinos. This is partly to be explained, where it is found, in terms of demands upon expenditures available more pressing and urgent than house construction, such possible other exigencies being medicine, clothing, or commercial investment in live stock or agricultural products for resale, among other things. But it was noted that where fair economic status continued over any period of time, the house type construction manifested itself as an index of the improved status. And, further evidence for our contention is to be found in the accepted understanding of both Ladino and Indian that a man's economic status is to be judged by the type of house he lives in. Thus, taking a case which is critical in that it is contrary, one of the Indians, among the poorest as far as actual economic holdings was concerned, yet, living in the Ladino area and in a house whose type is to be correlated with upper economic status, was judged, by both Ladino and Indian, to be among the richest men in town, despite the fact that my records, more accurate than the

unofficial and impressionistic town estimates, show this not to be the case. The fact is that at one time this Indian was of fairly high economic holdings and at that time purchased the land and erected the house where he now lives. The further fact to be noted is that this Indian, sensing the disproportion between the appearance and the reality, felt it incumbent on him to mention to me on more than one occasion, and with obvious sincerity, that he was about to sell his house and move into a poorer type house in the Indian area, though it was costing him no more to maintain the higher type house than it would cost him to maintain the poorer house, and even though there were no pressures whatsoever on him to move out of the Ladino area, other than those arising from the sense of disproportion which seemed to effect him.

There is then, as far we can see, a recognized sense of rightness about the house type and its correlation with economic status which in some cases gives rise to a new house type situation, in other cases reinforces the actual situation, while in other cases, as in that of the Indian just mentioned, gives rise to a reverse in the expected process of house type change. Thus we may say that the economic factor is the factor which makes possible the fulfillment of certain house type preferences which have genesis in the accepted understanding about the kind of house type which is "rightfully" to be used in cases of differing economic status. Having the money does not necessarily provide the compulsion but merely makes possible the rise of

and the fulfillment of the compulsion toward or the preference for the possession and display of certain correlates of economic status which the cultures, Ladino and Indian and Ladino-Indian, have come to accept.

The three basic roof types mentioned are correlated with basic types of flooring, walls, windows and doors, and wall covering, inner and outer. A correlation coefficient could be calculated for these various items in their relation with roof types, but the coefficient would be less revealing than separate statements of the frequencies. The most that one can say of the estimated correlations as they seem currently to obtain in San Luis is that while there seems to be a generalized trend toward a cluster of given items, nevertheless, each of the various parts of a house may be found and are found in association with each of the others, with the factors determining the associations residing partly in the economic status of the householder, but being determined in large part as well by amount of time available, stylistic tastes, energy, availability of materials, amount of aid obtainable from neighbors, size of family, proximity to houses of similar or different types, work skills, acculturation horizon and like factors. Thus, for instance, we have found such cases as a house with a corn wood support for a fired mud roof, in association with corn stalk door, no window, dirt floor and unblocked mud walls. It is the roof with which the Indian is most concerned, in matters of housing, and it is to the roof that the Indian first turns his attention when considering major alterations in his house.

Change of door type, though largely again a matter dependent on economic status, involves no basic change¹⁷ nor any severe exertion of energy. It does involve the surmounting of the inertia which affects the Indian and Ladino alike when it comes to matters of such things as changes in living conditions which would be more esthetically gratifying than pragmatically useful. Thus, for instance, the corn stalk door serves house door purposes for the Indian and the Ladino as well as would a raw wood door or a sawn lumber door. Of course, thieving is known in San Luis, but the corn stalk door is almost a guarantee against being robbed in one's absence, by reason of the fact that the thieves would scarcely consider it profitable to run the large risk of being caught when the possible gain, as indicated by the corn stalk door, would be so little. Of course, if everyone reasoned along these lines and everyone kept corn stalk doors, the reasoning which we have just attributed to the thieves in question would not obtain. But the fact remains that people do change from corn stalk to raw wood to sawn lumber doors as they mount the economic ladder, even if, as in a good many cases, that mounting is but a temporary matter and the expenditures, let us say, involved in the making of a sawn wood door, reduce the person once again to a lesser economic ranking. Thus, for instance, we find sawn wood doors in association with dried straw roofs and all the other correlates of the poorest house type. This is to be assigned to the common practice among the Indian and the poor Ladino

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alike, to spend money on such things as a new door for one's house if the small amount of extra money necessarily involved is not needed urgently for medicines or clothes at the time. Prestige which is imputedly associated with the sawn wood door, for instance, is purchasable and obtainable in that fashion. The quest and capturing of this imputed prestige surrounding the sawn wood door is comparable to that supposedly acquired by the wearing of a used white shirt in preference to a new colored shirt.

In matters then of doors, windows and interior and exterior decoration of the house walls we are confronted with too many diverse factors, not mensurable by the data we have in hand, to be able to use them as satisfactory representations or adequate indices of the gradations on the range of alternate basic house types. We must confine ourselves in our discussion of house types (inasmuch as our interest is in expressing basic differences, without investigating, for the moment, the associated but non-central factors) to roof type, floor type and wall type.

Now, in our discussion to follow we shall not eliminate references to other facets of the houses in our sample, but we shall not render them analytically important until we come to discuss preferences for new house types, given an economic betterment. And, insofar as it may be shown that there is a correlation between economic status and "being Ladino" in the sense that most of the wealthy people are Ladino whereas most of Indians are poor (the two correlations

here indicated being admittedly not comparable); and insofar as we may demonstrate that house type is correlated with economic status, we may that far surmise that the better house type represents the Ladino end of the scale of alternative possibilities where as the poorer type represents the Indian end of the scale. We may hold this as an hypothesis and proceed to examine the actual data on the house types, immediately after presenting the expected correlations along the scale.

The expected correlations are as follows: (1) the wealthiest type should have sawn wood supports for a tile roof, a brick floor and adobe walls. It may also have a sawn wood door, a window, either grilled or ungrilled, white-wash upon the exterior and/or the interior of the walls. It may not have a thatched roof nor dirt floor nor unblocked mud walls. It may have one or more rooms. (2) The "middle class" type house should have a tile roof on raw wood supports; walls of either adobe or unblocked baked-in-construction mud walls (which will hereinafter be designated as baharek) with the latter predominant, and should have floors of brick, or dirt, with the former predominant. In the middle class type houses we must assert that the other correlates such as doors, windows, etc. are too fluctuating and dependent on too many extra economic factors to be differentiating. (3) The lowest class basic type should have thatched roofs on raw wood supports, baharek walls and a dirt floor. Again, in the lowest class, the structure

above urged against use of other correlates must be observed here as well.

The chart on housing summarizes differences obtaining between Indian and Ladino in actual house type and additionally in preferred house type. Discussion of the analytical significance of differences in types of preferences is reserved for the discussion to follow on the structuralization of Ladino-Indian differences.

It is in order here to discuss some of the conditions operative in the determination of the range of alternative possibilities for the Ladino in matters of house-building. Again, as with the Indian, it is the factor of extent of economic strength which determines, in large part, the kind of house which a Ladino, rich or poor, will have or will be building when house building comes on his agenda. Other factors enter in. Perhaps chief among the factors which are not centrally economic or derived directly from economic considerations is the factor of the felt need for maintaining a difference on an order of high visibility between oneself, as a Ladino, and the Indian. Certain stereotypical Ladino notions prevail concerning the "typical Indian". In the realm of house types, "typical Indian" consists of thatched roof; corn stalk or tree branch walls, plastered with mud, or unplastered, dirt floor; no windows; corn stalk door; one room; no beds or chairs. For reasons which we have adumbrated before, the Ladino, and especially the poor Ladino, feels a strong compulsion to keep himself

visibly clear and distinct from the Indian, no matter even if the Indian is richer, cleaner, more educated than himself. One of the most obvious manners of so doing, and one of the most accepted manners of so doing is living in what is considered a typical Ladino house and having that house in the Ladino sections of town. The stereotypical Ladino house consists of anything different from the typical Indian house, with decided preference for the closest possible approximation to the type of house one finds in the larger pueblos and in Guatemala City; cement, lumber, patios, windows, sawn wood doors, flower gardens, etc. In my records made during a house-to-house survey of one half of the whole pueblo I found not one Ladino living in a house with a thatched roof or unplastered corn stalk or tree branch walls, though some Ladinos did have dirt floors. That the factor of "stereotypes" is weighty here is documentable in part by reason of the fact that at least some of the Ladinos in the over all survey were as poor as at least some of the Indians in the survey who were living in thatched roof and unplastered walled houses. But it is simply "not right" for a Ladino to live so ostensibly close to the Indian type. There would remain, then, nothing ostensible by which he could indicate differences to the eyes of the outside Ladino world and indeed to himself as well as to the Indians.

There enter in certain other factors ~~aside~~ from the factors of felt need for highly visible differentiation and the factors centrally economic. More important among them,

we may indicate the factor of the natural environment which provides, as with the Indian, but scanty materials from which houses may be built, but which, in the case of the Ladino, more so and differently from the case of the Indian, enters in as a negatively restrictive element. I mean to indicate here that the Indian has two main resources for affirming and positively utilizing the natural environment and being glad for it, while the Ladino is negatively restricted by it, for two other reasons. In the case of the Indian we find (1) that there is no intra-community pressure on him to make his house of anything other than those materials which are to be found in the area in which he lives, involving no expenditures for their securing, and, indeed, the Indian would be subject to community criticism by both Ladino and Indian if he were to attempt to step away from the utilization of resources, only naturally available and at no cost. For the Ladino on this score it is a different matter. There is decided community pressure, positively from the Ladino and negatively from the Indian, to live in a house or so build a new house which manifestly is different from the Indian in that it is not restricted to mere unworked or simply worked materials of the natural environment of the area.

For the Indian, secondly, we must indicate here that house building is a cooperative affair, involving the cooperative non-paid work of anywhere from 25 to 100 men and women over a period of several days, during which a new house is erected. Now, this cooperative labor is available only when and if the kind of house is being built which does not

require the use of labor so specialized, by reason of the esoteric materials involved, that the average Indian man with the average Indian's abilities cannot cooperate fully in all parts of the house construction. When and if an Indian should have enough money and enough indifference to general opinion to decide to build himself a house of several rooms, involving the use of sawn wood supports for the roof and the nailing together of various parts of the house, he would find himself in the position of having to hire artisans to help erect the house and would find himself completely without aid from the Indian community, (a) because of the inability of his Indian friends to perform the necessary specialized work and (b) for the scornful - envious, rejection, probably in part deliberate, by his Indian friends, of his house building venture, and their refusal to participate even on certain minor parts where their unskilled aid could be utilized. This latter is only my supposition.

For the Ladino, no matter what type house he is building, he necessarily has to pay for the labor involved in the construction of the house. There is simply no mutual aid tradition among the Ladinos on the matter of house building. Ladinos are aware of this and tend to verbalize this difference which speaks perjoratively for the Ladino in comparison with the Indian. Thus, for Ladino houses, minor paid artisan labor, is always necessary to some extent, and in some cases, among the wealthier Ladinos, a good deal of specialized house-construction-labor is necessary. This

latter element, in large part, accounts for the sparsity of new house construction among the Ladinos, while the former element, that namely of cultural pressure toward the city-type house, which then involves the entry of the second element of needed paid skilled labor, accounts in part for the general stereotype of Ladino house-type, to which stereotype the Ladino feels compelled to conform, and thus, in part, accounts for general differences in house type between Ladino and Indian.

Associated with the factor of general cultural pressure toward a certain type house there is the specific pressure which is exerted on the Ladino toward that same house type by reason of his proximity, in the Ladino sections of town, to Ladino houses of that desired type. No Ladino, no matter how poor, would think it at all right to erect himself a thatched unwhitewashed baharek house in a Ladino area. If he were content or forced to live on the outskirts of town, or in the Indian barrios, it is conceivable that he would build such a house with thatched roof and unwhitewashed baharek, if he found himself in need of a new house. But once decided upon residence in Ladino areas (and again as we have indicated, such intra-Ladino residence is one of the needed differentiations of the order of high-visibility) no Ladino would consider the erection of anything less than a tile roofed house with whitewashed baharek walls. Moreover, the other Ladinos in the area would most likely see to it that no house space was made available to a Ladino unless

they were sure that his house type would conform, generally, to those already existing. As we shall see later from a map the pueblo of San Luis is spatially laid out, as far as houses are concerned, on the same kind of axes as are those on which the social differentiations on other, economically central and/or non-economic, factors are concerned.

Now, in addition to these general and specific positive and negative pressures herinabove indicated, there are factors in the generally accepted Ladino life style which reflect themselves in the house types and are in turn, influenced by the house types. There is, for the Ladino, as differentiated from the Indian, a general tradition of social visiting and entertainment in one's house. In part this tradition may be historically accounted for in terms of the traditions of the centuries before, but, more importantly, it functionally sustains and is sustained by the current desired house types. Visiting and entertainment means that room is necessary, not only for small numbers of people to be entertained, but for private dances and celebrations as well. The highly approved unused and unfurnished large visiting room which the wealthier Ladino almost always has in his house is a function of the tradition of visiting, and functions to sustain and help perpetuate the tradition, or the practice. This large visiting room must have tile floors if it is to be used for dancing purposes. It must have white-washed walls of adobe if it is to be used for social entertainment. It must have windows and/or doors to make it

liveable when numbers of people are in it. In short, then, the practice of social visiting demands, of the house, conformity to certain accepted norms of conditions under which proper social visiting and/or entertainment may be carried on, and, in thus creating the horizon of preferred social activity, furthers the perpetuation of itself as a practice among the Ladinos. The circle goes on and Ladinos build houses in conformity, and carry on social visiting in conformity. To be able to entertain socially is a mark of status which Ladinos are eager to acquire. It helps them differentiate themselves in its consequences not only from the Indian, but, importantly, as well, from lower class Ladinos. We have discussed in previous chapters the importance of this felt need of the socially climbing Ladino.

We should now, for a moment, turn to related considerations concerning the determination of and the function of the range of alternative house types, and in this sense raise and attempt to answer the following questions: (1) To what extent are the differences in basic roof, floor and wall types differences that make a difference aside from considerations of prestige economics and general patterns to which the individual feels compelled to conform; and (2) to what extent are such differences not only functions of but adaptations, preventively or positively, to the natural environment? Answers to these two questions should provide us with some of the factors which tend for similarity in house type, all other factors being considered, for the purposes

in hand, as equal. We may perhaps rephrase the first question somewhat as follows: Let us suppose that one were to ask either Ladino or Indian what difference it made to him if he had a thatched roof or a tile roof; baharek walls or adobe walls; brick floor or dirt floor. What would be the most likely responses? The conversation would probably run somewhat as follows: "A tile roof is better than a thatched roof." "Why?" "Well, everyone says so." "Why do they say so?" "Well, because it costs more. Only the better people have such roofs." "Yes, but how is it that so many poor people have such roofs as well?" "Well, you need them for the rain." "Does tile keep rain out better than straw will?" "No, it doesn't, but it lasts longer and you don't have to change it as often." "Isn't it true, though, that a thatched roof is much cheaper and can be changed with very little trouble and very little work and no cost?" "Yes, that's true, but tile is cooler and bugs don't drop on you from tile roofs, but they do from straw roofs." "What about the walls of a house. Is there any real difference between a baharek house and an adobe house?" "Oh, yes, adobe costs much more to build and you need someone to make adobe and you need a mason who knows how to build an adobe house." "Yes, I know, but aside from that, what differences does it make if you live in a baharek house or an adobe house?" "Not much difference. Adobe is nicer and it's easier to whitewash and keep white." "Yes, but it's much more expensive and not so firm, isn't that so?" "Yes,

that's so, but it looks much better and people know you're a different sort of person if you have an adobe house than if you have just a baharek house, and besides, it doesn't matter much at all how firm your house is. We never have earthquakes here that are strong. Of course, it's quite right that it costs more; but everything good here costs more." "Well, then, as far as the general weather conditions are concerned, would you say it makes much difference at all what kind of house you have, adobe with or without white-wash, baharek with or without whitewash, as long as you have a house that's closed from the rain on the top and the sides?" "No, it doesn't really make any difference at all. Of course, adobe and tile are cooler than anything else, and to have a brick floor is much cleaner. The bugs don't crawl around and you can always entertain people in a nice white-washed room that has a brick floor; but the trouble is that when you have a house like that it means you should have everything else that goes with a nice house; animals in the field, and big milpa, and a house servant, and running water piped in from the fountain. Well, it means you have to be like a Ladino."

The conversation imagined above is approximately what a rational, verbal Indian would hold with the inquiring anthropologist; rational, verbal Indians being at a premium, it is to be noted that the answers and questions are derived from conversations held with many Indians and culled for their essence, that essence being reported above.

Now, we have thus far tried to discuss in some brevity the influence of various factors upon the determination of the limits of and the nature of the range of the alternative possibilities in house type possession and construction as we currently found them or deduced them from actual conditions and conversations in the field. This is true with reference mainly to the three basic facets of the house type: the roof, the walls and the floors, which we selected for reasons given in note 17.

We should now indicate that whereas the economic factor in the main is the necessary condition for and the one of the precipitating causes of changes in basic house type, it is in the realm of desires, not considering their genesis for the moment, that we must search for the active motivation for change in house type, with the movement on the range being from the lower economic bracket type to the higher bracket type. We have indicated this in part previously by noting the sense of rightness about correlates of economic wealth as indicated by such other things as cash on hand or obtainable and kind and amount of clothing. This sense of rightness about "what goes on with what" formally may or may not be Ladino generated, but is definitely Ladino in content. The Ladino sets the style for the Indian, insofar as the Indian feels compelled to fashion himself after the Ladino when and if possible; the style which the Ladino accepts himself is, as we have indicated, influenced and determined in part by factors similar formally to those which influence

and determine the choices and desires of the Indian. The Ladino is motivated by desire for prestige and status, the conditions for which he attempts to fulfill, insofar as approximating city-type house constitutes such a condition. He is motivated by the necessity to keep a sense of distance between himself and the Indian to make that distance visible to all concerned. It is to be predicted then that whereas and if the Indian progressively more and more comes to adopt what is now considered definitely Ladino house type, he will find that the Ladino is tending to adopt a house type which will maintain the same distance, on the new extended range, as obtained in the days of thatched houses. There is, however, a difference to be noted. The Indian much more quickly and concretely and much more easily, it seems, is becoming like the pueblo Ladino than is the pueblo Ladino becoming like the city Ladino. Documentation for this contention is to be found on two levels of inquiry: (1) historical evidence, which, impressionistically surveyed, indicates the affirmative of the proposition; and (2) the nature of the differences which the Ladino is quickest and most verbal about indicating to the inquiring reporter, and those on which he ultimately falls back when it is indicated to him that other differences which he insisted upon were not "real" differences at all. The Ladino, as we shall see later, indicates, when asked what he considers as the basic differences between Ladino and Indian, firstly matters of clothing and housing and general living style, but, when in

simplified terms, the overlapping curves of distribution on these counts as between the Ladino and Indian group is explained to him, the Ladino ultimately falls back on such "safe" things as (a) differences in basic blood structure, with which no sane anthropologist in his role as anthropologist in his role as anthropologist would seek to dispute; (b) basic differences in "character"; (c) basic differences in "personality"; (d) basic differences in educatability, or civilizability; these 4 being but 4 among a host of others which the Ladino relies upon in his last ditch stand in an argument about whether or not he is really different from the Indian. This we shall discuss in more detail later. But it is to be summarily indicated here that it is the urge toward the city type, positively attracted toward it, and negatively withdrawing away from the Indian and toward it as is the Ladino in the pueblo doing in current years, and it is the urge toward the pueblo Ladino type, positively attracted to it by the prestige-status-rewards imputedly awaiting the arriving Indian; and the being dragged toward it by the Ladino in his professed and/or actual desire to "civilize" the Indian up to the point where he is no longer "civilizable"; and again positively attracted to it somewhat automatically in the general stream of created desires within a new reward system which the Indian is coming to accept more and more:--it is these urges and attractions which we must indicate as being the motivations for the (a) changes in style and (b) the acceptances of changes in style within the pueblo.

The third analytically separate factor in any style discussion, namely the style itself and the "why" of it is an aesthetic-technological consideration which we have touched upon but on which we need not dwell at any greater length.

Now, then, as far as the basic facets of the house type are concerned, the factors we have above indicated operate as the most weighty constituents. It should be indicated in passing, however, that a good many of non-basic facets, such as interior decorations, kind and amount of furniture, arrangement of rooms, manner of separation of rooms, number of doors and windows, situation of rooms with reference to the patios and the sitios and like factors are determined in part by factors of a different order than the considerations already posited but which are, nevertheless, coming to assume a greater and greater importance in Ladino life; and consequently, if they filter down, will assume significance in Indian life and choices as well. I refer specifically here to the influence of the printed page, and the spoken word of advertisement, carried down from the city by newspapers and by people who go up to the city for short visits and bring back new ideas which they have seen, and which almost automatically, by reason of their having been seen in the city, are taken to be desirable and statusfull ways of living. We mention it, though only in passing, because the upper limit of the range of preferred house type for the Ladino is infinitely extendible, or at least as extendible as cosmopolitan city-type house dwelling, let us

say in New York City, may be said to be extendible. Guatemala City copied from New York City. Jalapa copies from Guatemala City, Ladinos in San Luis Jilotepeque copy from Jalapa. The home made canvas backed beach chairs to be found in some Ladino houses in San Luis is an example in point. It would not be surprising to find, in a few years, the Indians with some money having such home made canvas backed beach chairs in their houses. For, the San Luis Indian, in large part, consciously and then habitually, copies from the San Luis Ladinos.

II. Location in the Pueblo

Housing is a double faceted differential as between Indian and Ladino in the pueblo of San Luis Jilotepeque. For, in addition to the actual differences in house type, there are substantial and mensurable differences in the location of the Indian and Ladino houses. It is difficult, in light of the sparsity of history, written or oral, about the pueblo, from either Ladino or Indian sources, about any period further back than 75 years, to be able to indicate the development in time of the differences in residential location within the pueblo. In any event the historical sequence of residential location would not bear direct reference on the mere statement of differences in the question of house-location, and, whatever history does exist is largely oral and seemingly unreliable. The only sociological generalization which seems derivable from what little oral history is available is an expectable generalization concerning the gradual moving to the center of the ~~town~~ of the Ladino and the pushing to the periphery of the Indian in San Luis. Even now that trend is visible, though in a highly attenuated form. For, for all intents and purposes, the process of peripheralization of Indian houses and centering of Ladino houses is near complete. But, to make any general statements about process which would be applicable to the larger body of theory concerning movement of residences under given type circumstances, we would need to be

able to observe the actual situation in operation over a period of time during which certain test conditions, varying from time to time, would become operative. During the period of my stay in San Luis, what was observable was a series of isolated incidences of such residential shifting; and, what was further recordable was a series of opinions concerning the reasons, as conceived by the inhabitants, for the actual condition and their opinions further as to the probable trend of development in the near future.

A map of the pueblo of San Luis with stores, buildings, general residential constituencies and the like is appended. From that it should be clear that the situation as I found it was one in which the Ladino houses, the government buildings and the larger stores are centered around the main plaza, while there seems to be a gradual gradient of residential location stemming out from the center. The main element of the gradient is the extent of economic status. This in turn is highly correlated with Indian or non-Indian status and may be said further to be, as we have previously indicated, a major determinant of the house type of person in question. This housetype then further serves as one of the reasons for the specific location of the house in town at the same time that it enforces, on aspirants, through the process of a sort of proximity-influence a set of minimum conditions which must be fulfilled by a house before it can be located in a given area.

It is to be noted from the map that the central plaza contains the government offices to the west end of the plaza, faced on the east by the Church; the church in turn is flanked on either side by a park; the northern side park is flanked to its north first by a basketball court and immediately to the north of the basketball court by the school for boys and the school for girls, with a private Ladino residence completing the western edge of the northern flank of the basketball court. To the south of the southern side park two large Ladino houses and the side of one Ladino general store fill out the square. Immediately to the south and to the north of the government building which occupies the central dominance of the eastern side of the plaza are private Ladino houses, one to the south and two to the north. The main water fountain occupies a position almost dead center in the plaza, with a memorial statue of some revolutionary hero on its southern flank and the major iron cross of the pueblo to its west by south flank, the cross facing the church. There is, in short, nothing "Indian" in the main plaza unless the church be considered Indian. For, all the government offices, all the residences, and the actual play and recreation facilities which the parks offer are largely Ladino utilized, though more and more Indian children and some of the Indian men and women are beginning to think sufficiently in terms of the pueblo being their pueblo for them to take advantage of the facilities offered by the pueblo constructed resources.

Directly to the west of the government offices, running northeast to southwest through the western end of town is the river which forms the main water supply for the pueblo at large; from this river water is pumped into various fountains situated throughout town; in this river Ladino and Indians bathe, and Indians wash clothes; from this river water is pumped into private outlets in a few of the very richest of the Ladinos in town, situated sufficiently near the center for the low pressure, which obtains in the water pumps, to suffice in the bringing of water to the houses.

Without exception, all the houses within a radius of one block square immediately tangential on all sides to the plaza are either of Upper or Middle class status, as we have defined that upper and middle class status in the previous section on house types. There is no thatched roofed house; and, with the exception of one house on the northeastern side of the plaza, about one half block off the plaza, all houses have brick floors, at least in the main room of the house.

A bird's eye view of the area, as seen from top of the church roof, which commands, in its height, a dominance over almost the entire pueblo and in rather intimate details as well, reveals that all the houses within a block square of the plaza are of more than one room and are built around sitios or yards, in which grain is stored, animals kept, flowers planted and other of the almost infinitude of purposes to which a sitio can be utilized are operative.

Indian houses, situated wherever they are, rarely have such things as a large yard. A few Indian houses, to be sure, do have such things. But the fact is that usually only in the center of town is there sufficient individual land holding by the wealthier of the white families to allow for the building of a house of several rooms around a yard or patio. As we go from the center of San Luis to its periphery the multi-roomed houses drop off, the yards become smaller, the house construction becomes visibly different. It simply is not in character for houses on the periphery to be of more than one room. In addition, there is a correlation between peripheral residence and wealth which almost precludes having a yard, inasmuch as a yard is a place where cattle, chicken broods, bee hives, flowers, and the like are cared for. Without money one simply does not have cattle, flowers, large chicken broods and the like.

What, then, we may ask are the major factors which determine residence site in the pueblo? We may initially answer the question as follows. If one is an Indian one does not live in the center. If one is a Ladino one may live in the center. If one is a Ladino he may also live near the center. If one is an Indian he does not and would find it most difficult to live near the center of town. We must question whether it is the fact of being Ladino or of being Indian which is determinative in these instances or whether there are certain correlates of Ladino and/or Indian status which make

for the correlation between such status and possible and/or actual residence sites.

There is certainly one factor involved in the sheer fact of being Ladino or of being Indian which is determinative of residence site. For the Ladino it takes the form of keeping visible differences between himself and the Indian, and geographical separation and the consequent building up of Ladino sections as contrasted to Indian sections is one way to do so. For the Indian it takes the form on the one hand of being subject to the pressure from the Indian community to keep oneself dissociated from the Ladino and the Ladino way of life; and, contrariwise, being subject to an anti-theoretical pressure: namely, to secure prestige and status according to Ladino criteria; that entails residence near Ladino sections or in them.

But over and above all this is the sheer factor of money, without which one cannot either buy the land near the center of town, even if it were available; and, more importantly, cannot build the type of house which residence near the center requires.

Another factor enters in: the ineluctable sense of rightness about the status quo, which affects the Indians equally as strongly and yet differently than it does the Ladinos. For the Indian, now, in San Luis, it seems in the order of things that Ladinos live near the center while Indians live away from the center. The presence of a well-built house owned by an Indian near the center, of which there are

two or three examples, is occasion for comment almost each time the person's name is mentioned. Residence near the center is held by both Indian and Ladino to be a sign of the Ladinoization of the Indian, so that when such a reference is made to a given Indian the index of residence site is often employed. Moreover, residence on the outskirts of the pueblo, i.e. away from the center, is derogatorily held by the Ladinos to be "typically" Indian to the point that a Ladino living near the outskirts of town is considered almost "pure Indio." The question of whether a mixed-blood will be treated as Ladino or Indian is determined in part where he lives. If, along with other things, he has typical Indian residence site, his desire to be treated as Ladino will avail him naught. If, however, he has "typical" Ladino residence site to which to point as a formal index of his status, he can succeed, in part, in his desire to be treated as Ladino, even if some other, presumably more important things, such as proper clothing and the like, are lacking. There is always doubt in the minds of Ladinos, and sometimes in the minds of Indians, as to how to treat a mixed-blood of known parentage; the person's residence site is an important measuring stick in the formation of an opinion as to the treatment he merits. Thus, we may say in summary, that residence site within "typically" Indian or "typically" Ladino quarters gives rise to certain means of identification of the person with the given groups, and, at the same time, circularly reinforces the prevailing notions about "typical" residence sites.

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It is in point here to note that the tendency is for the Indian to try to move into Ladino quarters once certain other identification tags of Ladino status have been achieved; and it is the counter tendency of the Ladino to attempt to keep the Indian in his own quarters, no matter how many other identification tags the Indian has managed to secure. The only means I have of judging this latter tendency, I must admit, is by inference from the resentment which Ladinos express at the proximity of certain Indian houses to their own and their tendency to impute overweening and unjustifiable pride and presumptuousness to the Indian who is so non-Indian on these scores.

The Ladino "knows his place." The Indian, sometimes, is willing to accept this "place" to which he is assigned; but there is the undeniable and the obvious tendency on his part to assume the outwardmarks of the Ladino, up to the point of near identification with the Ladino. The pressure from the central core of Indian culture is toward retention of self and marks of self in the Indian fashion. At the same time, it seems not unreasonable to content that there are few if any Indians in the culture who are not impelled to assume some of the outward marks of the Ladino type, not only in unconscious conformity with the general styles, but out of deliberate "choice" as well.¹⁸

The map of the pueblo appended gives some notion of the distribution of houses and of stores and of buildings in

the pueblo of San Luis. (A spot map of the whole town, which was effected while in situ, which would show more effectively the distribution of residences and various types of residence concentrations, is somewhere en route between here and Peru at the time of writing.)

The present day set up of the pueblo seems to be about the same as it was about a hundred years ago, however, with the small exception that isolated houses spring up and have sprung up in the past on the periphery of the pueblo. We know from the data collected on neighboring aldeas of San Luis that at least some of the aldeas have been built up in the last hundred years from throw offs from the pueblo, rather than the pueblo being built up from throw offs from the aldeas. The tendency seems to have been for the Indians to move out of the pueblo and into the aldeas. This trend would then account for the room available for Ladinos coming in from other departments, as it seems they have done over the last 100 years, according to data I have collected on birth places of parents of the present adult generation of San Luis. Ladinos have moved in, bought residences; the Indians have moved out, acquired residences in the aldeas. The trend has been toward a lessening of the numerical majority of the Indian over the Ladino in the pueblo, to the point where now about 1/3 are Ladinos and 2/3 are Indians. This 1:2 ratio is comparable with the national ratio of population figures as a whole, but it is not comparable with many other pueblos in the east as

far as population composition of these pueblos are concerned. The tendency is to regard the pueblo as a whole, as a Ladino place, with the more rural aldeas regarded as being typically Indian. I cannot account for the differential as between San Luis and other pueblos, except in terms of the fact that San Luis on almost all other counts as well seems to be years behind other pueblos in the area. There is scarcely a pueblo of its size in the whole East which does not, for instance, have electric light of some sort. San Luis has none. San Luis has a reputation in the east of being a "backward" place, in general. It is considered probably more isolated from "civilizing" influences than any comparable pueblo in the vicinity; and, in a sense this is true. There is no effective day by day contact with any important source of change for the people of San Luis. The railroad station 14 kilometers to the east and the department capital some 40 kilometers to the west represent the most immediate possible sources of strong influence. Yet there is only isolated and sporadic contact with either of these places for the vast majority of the people of San Luis, be they white or Indian. The lines of direct influence toward city ways and city type seem to extend as far east from the city as Pimela, the pueblo some 17 kilometers due west of San Luis; and, on the eastern side, the influence of the pueblo of Chiquimula on the pueblo of Ipala, the railroad station 14 kilometers due east of San Luis, seems to stop at Ipala and go no further. San Luis stands in a pocket; the population is aware of it,

white and Indian alike. It is a subject for comment, especially when a fiesta occurs which people, who have traveled, know to be differently and more demonstratively celebrated in other places they have been on the previous fiesta days. "This is a dead place; there is nowhere to go; nothing to do; nothing to see; and nothing to work at" is a familiar complaint one often hears in San Luis. The passage of an automobile through the pueblo is of sufficient interest to draw people out of their houses toward the plaza through which the car must pass. It is the occasion for much comment. This is not true, so far as I can determine, in Pinula to the west or Ipala to the east.

If, then, it may be inferred from a general "backwardness" that San Luis is "behind" neighboring pueblos on the score of the population constituency of the pueblo as well, then we may predict that in years to come the Indian will move out to the aldeas in increasing numbers, leaving the pueblo to the Ladinos. One thing probably vitiates the feasibility of this prediction: namely, that for the same reasons it is considered backward by others, the pueblo must also now be considered by Ladinos as an uninviting place to come and settle. The only incidences of new settlers among the whites over the last ten years that I could discover were two occasions where men from the outside had married women from the pueblo, and one instance of a family having moved in from a neighboring aldea because the man had decided to give up farming and to go into pig trading instead; and, for these purposes the pueblo was considered a better center of operations. On the other

hand I know at least ten people among the whites, and there are probably more about whom I do not know, who have moved out (and will stay out of the pueblo) within the last ten years. For the white to move does not constitute a major change in his central life roles; he continues to function as a white, perhaps more economically profitably, but nevertheless there does not enter in as far as I can see any basic change in life style. On the other hand, when we consider Indian movement out of the pueblo and out of the nearby environs, we come to a different matter. Every single case of permanent desertion of the pueblo by an Indian on which I could secure data seemed to indicate that the movement out had been effected out of a desire for a basic change in life style. Within the last ten years, at least three and perhaps more Indians moved out into either another country, San Salvador, or another department, Chiquimula, to take up life as "whites." That is to say, they desired to "pass" into white society and had to move to an area where their ancestors and general background were unknown. Almost everyone in the pueblo knows of these three cases; everyone agrees that the people, where they are, are passing as whites, successfully, to the point where at least two have married white women and move in Ladino society. In addition, a considerable number of Indians have moved down to the coast to work for the United Fruit Company on their banana plantations and have remained there, and there effectively lead a new life style, basically different from that to which they were accustomed in the pueblo.

Thus, assuming that it is the city type horizon which guides the Ladino behavior and the pueblo type Ladino which guides Indian behavior, it seems reasonable to conclude that both Indian and Ladino, when they arrive at a point where they genuinely wish to and are capable of making the first moves toward actualizing these types, find it necessary to desert San Luis Jilotepeque.

We have thus in part accounted for the movement out of the pueblo and the failure for new movement into the pueblo to occur, and thus explained in part the "deadness" of San Luis which in turn in part accounts for the general stability of the pattern of distribution of residence sites, and gives us a basis for predicting that it is probable that San Luis will not follow the pattern which other pueblos, more subject to the effects of inward and outward movements of the population, have followed. We may reasonably expect that for many years to come San Luis will remain, in its population constituency and its residence site pattern essentially the same as it is today.

III. Clothing

The index by which most people both white and Indian, in San Luis, tend to judge differences, or to estimate the blood heritage of a given individual in the pueblo, is by the clothes the person wears. This is more so in the case of the women than in that of men; and more so in the case of adults than in that of children. For, Indian women wear what may be considered to be an attenuated form of "typical Indian" clothing, as contrasted to the European style clothing of the white women, whereas, Indian men's clothing may be distinguished from that of white men not so much by the kind as by the quality of goods and by the diversity of outfits. And, in the case of children, there are few if any Indian girls below the age of 14 who dress qualitatively differently from white girls of their age; and, Indian boys and white boys, except in the cases of the poorest of Indian children, cannot be distinguished in their wearing apparel.

The range of possible clothing types for adult males stretches from informal evening wear such as one might find at any middle class house gathering in the United States to ragged, torn and patched cheap cotton trousers, topped by an equally decrepit cheap cotton shirt, with homemade cheap cotton long underwear pants, no socks and bare feet. Again, it is the wealthy Ladino on the former end of the scale, the poor Indian on the latter. Between those two extremes, and their various possible types of combinations, all the men of San Luis Jilotepeque, white and Indian alike, may be pointed off.

With the women the matter is different. An overwhelming majority of Indian women wear a costume composed of a cheap cotton blouse, with imitation lace frills at the neck and the cuff lines. A long shawl, usually white, never black, and a heavy, cotton or wool, multi-colored, store bought, wrap around skirt of ankle-length, which is either tied with a multi-colored belt, or with a piece of string, or merely kept in place by tucking the ends of the skirt at the waist line in on each other. The blouse may be either home-made or factory-made, but in either event the goods are store bought. There is no such thing as native weaving in San Luis Jilotepeque. Indian women traditionally are barefooted, though an occasional pair of paper thin sandals made of uncured hide can be seen on the feet of some of the older women. Indian women all wear earrings, bought from the local stores or wandering merchants; they are the dime store variety; some Indian women have expensive earrings, costing anywhere up to \$1. The average price for earrings is from 8 cents to 15 cents. All Indian women who wear "native costume", without exception wear beads; the more strings, the better. They may be of imitation coral or of genuine coral, of imitation old coins or of genuine old coins; they may contain a crucifix affixed; they vary in color: white, red, green, blue, yellow seeming to be the favorites. Indian women, almost without exception, do not wear underclothes when out of the house; inside the house they usually wear either no clothes at all, or a skirt, or a skirt and a sort of under-

wear top which they prefer to the street blouse, for its coolness and because of the fact that it keeps the street shirt from getting dirty. To outfit an Indian woman completely with a durable skirt, blouse, shawl, string of beads and a pair of earrings costs anywhere from \$3.50 to \$5.00. A good many Indian women have but one outfit; a good many of them have two outfits; a few of them have three blouses and two skirts and two shawls; a very few of them have three blouses and three skirts; none has more than four skirts. A new outfit is usually bought once a year; sometimes a new outfit is not bought for three years or four years; but to keep proper status in the community an Indian woman should have a new outfit at least once a year; to buy two new outfits a year would be to invite some kind of criticism from the community; criticism and envy and the attribution of riches. There is a mean of poverty which the Indian community attempts to keep regulated, above and below which one may not go without being subject to criticism, severe or mild, depending on the extent of departure from the mean. It should be remembered that where the range of cash income over the year is between \$10 and \$75, excluding certain extraordinary cases, the investment of \$5 in the clothing apparel of one of the members of a usually large sized family is to be considered as sizable.

A very small percentage of Indian women, perhaps no more than 2 or 3% by rough sample and calculation, do not wear the "typical costume". They usually wear instead a

cheap cotton, store bought or homemade dress, and with it, or under it, the same quality slip or undergarment. These women are then to be seen without beads and earrings, still without shoes, some of them with sandals as described before, and, usually with black head cloths rather than white or colored head cloths. While the black head cloth may not be worn (if we are to judge the "may or the "may not" from the actual situation) with "typical" Indian clothes, it is not necessarily worn with cheap European style clothes. On the other hand, as we shall see in a moment, the Ladino woman will not in most cases wear anything but a black shawl. I know of no Indian woman in town, (and by Indian I mean that she herself considered herself an Indian) who wore shoes, or stockings. The cost of an outfit such as these mildly Ladinoized-women wear ranges from \$1.50 to \$3.50.

That exhausts the available actual range of women's clothing for the Indian woman in San Luis. For the Ladino woman, we come to something different in the way of clothes. There is no Ladino woman, firstly, who wears "typically Indian" clothes. There are a considerable number of them who go barefoot or wear a cheap type of foot sandal, but this, as we shall see, is not so much out of choice (as it is in part with the Indian women) as it is out of sheer poverty. The range of clothing as actually found in San Luis stretches from that cluster of items which we have indicated as being worn by a few of the Indian women to the upper limit of the informal evening wear which again one

might expect to find on women in a middle class American gathering. A store bought or homemade dress of fair quality, a slip, some form of brassiere, either homemade or store bought and usually the former, a pair of underpants, again either store bought or homemade, a pair of cotton stockings, or, in some rare cases, a pair of silk or rayon stockings, and a pair of shoes. The shawl, worn less frequently than in the case of the Indian women, is almost always black. Sometimes a purse is carried. Sometimes a string of beads, easily distinguishable from the kind worn by Indian women, is used. Sometimes a pair of earrings, again easily distinguishable from those worn by Indian women, is used. The hair is bobbed in a good many cases, as compared to the hair styles of the Indian woman, where the hair is usually braided or combed out and worn long over the shoulders.

Not only does the Ladino woman have different clothes from those worn by the majority of Indian women, but she has better clothes (in money terms) and has more clothes. A dress outfit for the Ladino woman, including dress, underclothes, shoes stockings, purse, handkerchief and black head towel costs a minimum of \$8, and while it is true that there are few Ladino women who have more than one complete outfit, at this price level, there are a considerable number who have several cheaper outfits in addition. The case is most marked in the instance of girls between the ages of 18-25; for in those age ranks, when the Ladino woman is considered most marriageable, the greatest variety in clothing is seen.

And it is between those ages that the average Indian girl has already had at least two years of marriage and at least one baby, alive or dead, and is surely and firmly incorporated within the Indian way of life even to the extent of horizons. Ladino women between these ages are most publicly apparent; i. e., they appear most in public between these ages; they form the main constituency of dances and other types of social gatherings; they form the main body of religious leaders at religious celebrations; they occupy the basketball court almost every afternoon; they are the "life blood" of picnics and excursions and outings. They are constantly on display, then, and try to live up to the part. Living up to the part involves being as presentable as possible as far as clothing is concerned. Being presentable means appearing in different costumes as often as possible. One's status in the ranks of the marriageable ones depends considerably on the type of clothing appearance made in public.

For the young Indian woman this is not the case, even at the ages when she is being courted. For, there is no such tradition among Indian women as public appearance in dress costume, as distinguished from work clothes. The Indian woman early learns that her place is in the house, over the grinding stone, and may appear in public only to bear water from the fountain or make a hasty purchase at the store. Any courting of her that is done is effected on her trips for water, or clandestinely, at night, if she can sneak out from under the vigilant eyes of her parents.

There can be no denying that there is a felt need for adornment among the Indian women; the frills on the blouses, the beads and the earrings are testimony to this; yet again, the culture sets the range to which this adornment may proceed; within the scope of typical Indian women's costume there is chance for variety and expression of difference; but the threat of public criticism limits the extent of the variation of any given blouse or skirt from all the others, and limits at the same time, as we have indicated before, the extent to which a person may go in having a quantity of clothes, i.e. a number of outfits rather than one, two or three at the outset. When we say that culture does the limiting, we mean also to imply that that "culture" has taken cognizance of the ordinary range of income of the Indian family and has set its limits in accordance.

This obtains, however, only in the instance of the "typical Indian" clothing style; when the first radical departure has been made toward the Ladino style, i.e. the European style of clothing, all the tendencies toward variation and expression of difference, in a manner highly visible, are to be encountered; thus, for instance, the case of one of the Indian Barbers, a man considerably richer than most of the Indians and indeed than most of the Ladinos where his wife retained native Indian costume, and while she could have had many more, according to his budget, had but three outfits. However, in the case of the other Indian barber, an equally if not even richer and more Ladinoized

man than the first barber, the wife wore Ladino style clothes and had a fairly wide variety of them, excluding an expensive dress outfit for which there would have been no earthly purpose, inasmuch as there would be absolutely no occasion on which it would or could have been worn. For, while it has happened and while it is conceivable in the future that some Indian man would be admitted to Ladino society functions, at which functions dress clothes would be in order, it has never happened and I cannot conceive of the situation under which it might happen for many years to come, that an Indian woman would be admitted to a Ladino society function: all this assuming, of course, that the Indian woman or man were so desirous.

With adult Ladino women, as contrasted with adult Indian women, the differences in amount of clothing and in quality of clothing tend to disappear, though the differences in kind continue to persist and indeed may be said to be more stable, judging stability by the chances of change that might occur. For, if an Indian woman does not make a break from the Indian pattern before she is married or at marriage or approximately immediately thereafter, there seems to be little likelihood that she will ever make such a break. Whatever incidences of departure from the Indian norm which I did encounter and on which I was able to get data reveal either that the woman in question had simply never worn Indian costume but had at puberty, which is the time of the usual change into full Indian type, simply continued to wear

Ladino style clothes; or, secondly, at marriage, due to the influence of Ladino godparents who officiated at her marriage, donned Ladino clothes and continue to wear them from then on. It is said that Ladino godparents will not serve as godparents for Indian girls unless they wear Ladino clothes; I know that as an overall generalization this is not true; but I also know that it is true in several cases Ladino godparents have influenced the Indian girl to put on Ladino clothes, even to the point of wearing shoes and stockings. In the one case where shoes and stockings were worn, I also know that those shoes and stockings were taken off immediately after marriage and never put on again. In this case, as well, the woman did not come in for scorn from the community of which she was a part; rather did the community tend to excuse the abnormal departure as being due to the influence of the Ladino godparents, and, from other angles, such as the possible help to be secured from such godparents, was considered as a wise move.

In the case of female children, the case for differences is by no means clear cut. One can generally distinguish, it seems, between the Indian and the Ladino female child on clothing count, but I am inclined to believe that one runs in unwittingly a host of other supporting criteria in the making of such judgments. Informal experimentation on the nature and reliability of my own ability to establish differences by clothing alone revealed that in almost all cases I was using skin color, gestures, language

ability and companions, in addition to mere differences in clothing.

With rare exceptions children up until 12 or 13 or 14 in the pueblo, Ladino and Indian, dress approximately alike. A simple dress with no underclothing, or, on occasion, a slip and a pair of bloomers, will be worn. Indian girls, to be sure, will wear strings of beads and earrings, whereas little white girls will not. This is perhaps the mark of difference most reliable in making such judgments. The exceptions to this generalization include little Indian girls whose parents have bought for them miniature versions of the adult Indian costume. These are rare and far between. Nor can one distinguish on the count of shoes or sandals; for, most little girls, except those of the very wealthiest of white parents, do not wear shoes; and, indeed, but very few of those wealthy children, and even they but on rare occasion, are to be seen with shoes.

Having initially established, now, a difference as between the nearness to or distance from the white standard of clothing which obtains as between Indian man and Indian woman, it is pertinent to inquire into the why of the difference. We may specify, initially, that on all other counts as well the Indian man is more acculturated to the white standard than is the Indian woman, and this includes; perspectives for the future, strength of ingroup feelings, work habits, education, language, visiting, friends, and like counts. This greater degree of acculturatedness is in

part itself due to a tradition which, while common both to Ladino and to Indian, is, in the case of the Indian, a function it seems, of the old, native life-style insofar as pattern of familial relations is concerned. I am speaking here of the tradition that is observed among the Indians that all business with the outside world is to be conducted by the man of the family. This holds especially true in the case of dealings with the white outside world. In not a few intra-Indian functions, the role of the woman is not insignificant. Now, supporting this tradition in the new situation of contact is the further condition that it is the man of the family, in his role as major breadwinner who must make the contacts with the outside world. He is the renter of the white man's land; he is the person who goes to the city hall when the occasion demands; he is the one who sees a year's service in Guatemala City; he is the one who is sent to school in preference to his female siblings; he is the one who goes on trips to distant pueblos to market goods which perhaps his wife has worked at in the home. There is no connection of sufficient condition between the fact of availability of contact and change of ways due to that availability. For, the mediating factor of resentibility needs to be operative, before contact may be said to be effective and ~~considered~~ a part of the general sociative process. But the fact remains that no matter how strong the counter-acculturative mechanisms and no matter how tightly closed some of the receptors of contact influence might be,

as indeed they are in the cases of some Indians, there is a considerable amount of sociation which occurs in the contact of white with Indian which has a positive valence toward the white side of the sociative equation. Some of it is voluntary; some of it is simply forced adaptation, assuming the desire for survival to be greater than the unwillingness to adapt. Whatever its specific conditions, it does function. And, the Indian man, much more exposed to contact than the Indian woman, has felt the influence of that contact; and, indeed, has come to desire that contact and to welcome its influences more than the Indian woman, who, knowing it only second hand for the most part, and seeing it as a source of insecurity to the patterns of behavior to which she has grown soundly accustomed, because of her lack of contact, resents and resists where her man accepts and welcomes.

And, now, a strange sort of ambivalent operation occurs with the more acculturated Indian man. For some reasons, which I cannot fathom except thru sheer guesswork, the Indian man in general prefers that his wife remain "native" no matter to what extent he himself has departed from what might be considered as native for the Indian man. The Indian man in the pueblo who on all counts was one of the most secularised in the direction of white standards had a wife and female children (the latter adopted) all of whom wore native Indian clothing; questioning of him during the course of a series of interviews revealed only that that was the way he liked it; he didn't like the idea of his woman

walking around in white woman's clothing, even though, he insisted, if he had wanted to, he could have made his woman change over in a minute. And this, in spite of the apparently contradictory conditions of his own clothing, which included shoes (worn on special occasions), a Ladino style hat; the best Indian house in town; several years of school beyond the level achieved by any other such marked standards of nearness to white life-style.

As to the reasons for this type of ambivalence I can only guess that it is intimately tied up with the wish to keep one's wife as sexually unattractive to other Indians and especially to the whites; I infer this from a seeming generalized fear the Indian has of the white man as a sexual competitor even in the case of married women as sexual objects. The donning of a white woman's clothing style immediately makes the Indian woman a more high visible object within the purview of white men's eyes; and, indeed makes her a noted object among Indian women, and hence of special note by Indian men; I know as well that Indian men have approximately the same standards by which physical attraction is judged as those held by white men; the breasts of a woman are a source of erotic excitement on the visual scale for the Indian man as well as the white; in the voluminous native type blouses the Indian woman reveals but an amorphous bulge; in a white woman's dress and underclothes, there is no question but that whatever physical charms an Indian girl's body does possess, would be accentuated. I have two ways of

knowing this: (1) I have seen white girls who, for frolic, dressed in Indian clothes; the difference between their sexual attractiveness in those clothes as contrasted to that in their own clothes was startling; (2) Indian men were not averse to passing typical drug-store cowboy remarks about white girls who passed by, commenting especially on the highly visible attractions which modern styles in clothing tend to accentuate. This all obtains as well for the skirts which Indian women wear as contrasted to those which white women wear. To put it in a different frame of reference it is suggested that the reader imagine the difference in appearance and excitement-potentiality of a show girl dressed (a) in a racoon coat and (b) in a tailored Chesterfield coat. Of course, it may be true that the passing of remarks by the Indian man about white women is not any manner of critical test if, for instance, fear of being overheard and consequent fear of witchcraft were to prevent him from passing similiar remarks about Indian girls; and indeed, I have not yet heard any Indian man pass remarks about a passing Indian girl; it may also be that Indian men make remarks about white women yet refrain from making remarks about passing Indian girls for the same reason that white men refrain from making remarks about white girls, confining their somewhat lewd stares and comments to the Indian girls passing by. All this is conjecture and fuzzy inference; and should be taken for no more than that until further data enables us to make more sound judgments. But whatever the

reasons, it is important to stress the ambivalence which obtains in Indian men's attitudes toward their own permitted and desired limits of approximation to the white life style and those which they desire for and allow to their Indian women. We shall see later that this same ambivalence obtains in other facets of the life of the Indian.

It is important to note here as well that the general conservativeness of the Indian woman on the count of clothing represents for her most probably an outstanding mark of her membership in the Indian group and assures for her a place in a community of people and understandings which she finds easy, by reason of her childhood training, to handle to the fullest extent. Each departure from the norm, whether merely manifest or actual, involves a breaking with habits and general overall personality patterns which were laid down and molded indeed very firmly when she was a small child. Perhaps even more importantly, each departure from the norm involves possible criticism, severe or lenient, by the community to which by birth she is assumed to belong. And, such departures, entailing criticism and in some cases severe psychic suffering, involve no compensating rewards from the outsiders to whose norm she makes gestures in her departure from her accustomed norms of behavior; one thinks, for instance, of the cases of the so-called Indian beauty queens; a court of 12 young Indian women selected by Ladino judges to represent the Indian community at the titular fiesta of the pueblo. The idea of beauty queen was sponsored

and enforced by the rather ambitious mayor of the pueblo; there was no glad reception nor any voluntary aid offered by the Indian community. But a court of 12 women was selected and rouged and lipsticked and beribboned as they had never before in their lives been, were paraded up and down, exhibited in the market place; there they also danced for the white spectators, something never before done by the Indians either, and, in general, were treated in a fashion somewhat akin to, but much less courteously than the beauty queens on parade in Atlantic City. Now, each of these beauty queens was of marriageable age; and according to rumor, each of them had an Indian sweetheart to whom she was promised; each of these girls immediately lost her sweetheart after having participated as fiesta queens; in the 9 months after the fiesta in which I was in the pueblo not one of them had regained her old boy friend or acquired a new one. The Indian men were frank in their opinions; the Ladinos were aware of the opinions; These girls, for their departure from the norm behavior, even though it was literally forced on them by the mayor, were simply being ostracized by all available Indian males with marriageable intent.

The Indian sweethearts in question, with some of whom I managed to talk about the matter, did not directly say so but merely inferred strongly that for the Indian girl to have been elected beauty queen must have meant that in some way she had secured the favor of the Ladino mayor and his aides; and that in San Luis there was only one such way to

secure the favors of white men. An Indian woman runs great risk of being unmarried and remaining unmarried if she is known not to be virginal; and, when the imputed lover is suspected of being a white man rather than an Indian, the chances of her making a marriage are far less. In short, then, whether aware or not aware of the consequences of their behavior, these 12 girls had made departures from the permitted norm, had acquired a sort of left handed prestige among whites and Indians alike, but, inasmuch as their lives will probably have to be made and lived in the Indian community, their loss of potential husbands seems, by my reckoning, a far greater loss than whatever gain in status and prestige they may have acquired as a result of being selected beauty queens for the titular fiestas.

Thus, though any given Indian woman may not be able to provision the consequences of abnormal behavior, it is an overall fact that sometimes very severe consequences do befall an individual for assuming even the manifest marks of departure from a norm. The Indian's woman retention of her native clothing may, aside from pragmatic scores such as warmth, be accounted for in part in terms of such clothing being the manifest symbol of membership in a community of people and understanding in which she feels comfortable and secure.

Several tangential considerations bear weight in the preservation by the Indian woman of her native clothing style, in preference to the white clothing style, which

latter, in the long run, would prove more cheap in money terms and more suited for the weather that prevails in San Luis. We should bear in mind, for instance, that woman's "native clothing" has a definite tie up with avoidance of evil witchcraft directed against a woman's child. One of the most common and popular preventive measures which Indian women adopt in order to save their child from the evil influence of wizards and witches is to wrap the child in the full skirt and tuck him to sleep in that fashion on the nights of the 1st, the 15th and the last of every month, the nights when wizards and witches are considered most powerful and children most incapable of resistance. A further tangential consideration involves the desire to distinguish oneself and to be distinguished from white women; this is the obverse side of wishing to be identified as an Indian, yet inasmuch as it involves a different affect syndrome, is worthy of mention at this point. Again, however, on this point we must note in the Indian woman an ambivalence similar to that which prevails for the Indian man; the Indian woman can be said to be desirous of conforming to white behavior under certain type situations: chief among which, to be sure, are those circumstances where already the initial break from the Indian life style has been effected. I refer specially now to the case of Indian girls who earn money by keeping house or watching children for Ladino families. An Indian girl who goes to help keep house for a Ladino almost invariably dons Ladino clothing, on entering the house for

service, or immediately thereafter. But the important thing to note in this instance is that for an Indian girl to plan to enter service for a Ladino involves an initial break from the Indian life style which recognizes in such Ladino house service the most strong and most influential source of contact and acculturation toward the Ladino horizon which an Indian woman can encounter, short of marriage with a white man. And, it must involve an even more marked break than is initially manifest. For it is well known that once an Indian girl takes up house service for a Ladino and dons Ladino clothing in the process, her chances of marriage with a "normal" Indian boy are too slim to be counted on. One wonders what the Indian girls, who do make these venture into new norms anticipate, when the consequences seem so obvious insofar as their further relations with the Indian community is concerned. These girls usually end up as part time mistresses of either the male adults or the male adolescents in the white household and continue the rest of their lives in a position intermediate between two sets of understandings into neither of which can they penetrate, try as they might. The ~~most~~ marked case of this sort was that of a young Indian who did service in the house where I was staying during my visit in San Luis; but unfortunately, the intimate data which I did secure from her is not applicable in general, for she had intentions of and would most surely have married an Indian, my chief informant, if he had not died. This Indian, my informant, was about as

"radical" as one could expect to find in a primitive or folk society; he was far more on the margin of the Indian community than was the girl to whom he was informally betrothed. With this girl, then, there was no actual surrender of securities involved in her going Ladino house service. Indeed, in her case, it involved the recapturing of a set of securities which her expulsion from her parental household had forced her to surrender.

We may now turn to a consideration of men's clothing and the differences and some of the "why" of the differences that obtain between Indian and Ladino on the clothing count. The chart on clothing should be consulted for a detailed presentation of these differences for men and for women alike.

As we have indicated before, the range of Indian men's clothing does not include any typical Indian clothing type, except insofar as the cheap, homemade, cotton cloth work clothes which also serve for pajamas and underwear may be considered as typically Indian. That, in some instances, they are so considered is witnessed to by the fact that when ten men were needed to "participate" in a "spontaneous" demonstration in Guatemala City in honor of the president, and were ordered to appear in "typical native costume", the clever mayor solved the problem (which stumped the Indian man who considered themselves as essentially the same as Ladinos, in kind of clothing) by ordering them to appear in Guatemala City in their underwear. That this type of garment is further considered as typical Indian is manifested to by

by the fact that when Indian men or Ladino men are asked how they differ in clothing they assert that the Indian wears "manta", the local trade name for cheap white cotton cloth, while Ladinos wear "casimir" the local trade name for almost anything not manta. But, that it may not really be considered as typical native costume is also witnessed to by a comparison with the west of Guatemala, where, each pueblo and indeed, in some cases, each aldea has its own costume, made by the natives, distinguishable from all other costumes worn by residents of other areas. In the east of Guatemala, the Indian in one pueblo is not distinguishable from the Indians of other pueblos in the manner which obtains in the West. He is distinguished from other Indians as much as one middle class American is distinguished, let us say, from another middle class American--the color of his trousers, the color of his shirt, amount of variety in his daily clothing habits, but he is also distinguished from the pueblo Ladino on the same scores. In short, there is no distinguishing typical costume for the Indian man such as we can say there does exist for the Indian man of the west of Guatemala.

The entire Indian man's costume is rough hewn after the white city fashion, with the exception of neckties, shoes and socks. No Indian in San Luis wears a necktie, though some say they have them; this is considered a mark of the Ladino or of that economic status where one could pass, on other criterions well, as a Ladino; thus, for instance, Indians say they could not wear neckties unless they had wool

suits and shoes and socks and were educated. About the necktie and about the shoes and socks, as we shall see in a moment, there is a sense of its rightness in its relations with other identifying marks of status, which apparently no Indian as yet, except under extraordinary circumstances, feels quite up to.

The wearing of shoes is, for the majority of people, white and Indian alike, the distinguishing characteristic of the Ladino. Not all Ladinos wear shoes; a good many go barefooted or wear rubber or hide sandals; but, anyone who does may be said to be a Ladino. This obtains for all people in the pueblo, and with the exception of one wizard in an aldea, for all people in the aldeas as well. By the Indian it is considered presumptuous of another Indian to don shoes, even if he should have the money to buy another pair when his first pair had worn out. Some Indians consider that the reason Indians don't wear shoes is the lack of money; and, indeed, ~~one~~ of my interviewees failed to indicate that if they had money, they would buy and wear shoes. When I asked them, "But wouldn't the people make fun of you?" they answered, "Yes, but so what? If I have money and I didn't steal it or cheat anyone to get it, I can do anything I please with it." The fact that the Indian indicates a willingness, at least verbally so, to bear the brunt of public scorn and ridicule when and if he has money, seems to me indicative that he considers money as the lever by which he could overcome not only his low economic status, but his low social

status as well, the raising of which would put him on the social level where he would consider it right and fitting and indeed, in some cases, necessary to wear shoes. Not a few Indians as well indicate that the reason for not wearing shoes is simply "custom". They indicate that they have tried it; and indeed, most of them have at some time in their lives tried the wearing of shoes; for, in service at the military station in Guatemala, all of them were forced to wear shoes for a year; a good many of them brought their shoes back with them from Guatemala City, but have never donned them since; some of them indicate that when they have a cold and are confined to the house, it is good to wear shoes, for it helps one get over the cold; I have yet to see any Indian, but this wizard from the aldeas of El Barrial wear shoes. One of my informants, one of the most secularized man in town, imputes to shoes a role similar to that which the average Indian implies when he says that he would and should wear shoes when and if he were to have money. This Indian, a fairly well educated man, who had served some 9 years as secretary and scribe in the mayor's office in the pueblo and for a long time had been considered as the leader on secular matters as well as on some religious matters of the entire Indian community indicated to me that when and if he found it necessary to go up to the city hall on a mission of some sort he always put on shoes and his Ladino style hat, but that aside from that occasion he never wore shoes. Again we see the sense of "rightness" for certain costumes under certain type circumstances.

It is in point here to indicate briefly the nature of the case of the wizard of the aldea of El Barrial of whom we talked above. This wizard, a young man of about 30 years old, is the most famous and trusted healer in the area of San Luis Jilotepeque for the Indians, and, indeed, for some Ladinos. His prestige is such that he is considered by almost all Indians to be one of the outstanding men in the whole area. He is periodically arrested for curing, which is held illegal under Guatemalan laws if done without a licence, and, each time that a prison sentence of 10 days of hard labor is imposed on him, it is a common sight to see him lying in the shade near the site of the work project which he is to complete as his punishment, chatting amiably with a group of Indian admirers who are performing his work for him. He does all things which would bring heavy censure upon the shoulders of any other Indian, insofar as departure from accustomed norms are concerned. Yet he secures commendation and admiration for these departures, rather than censure and blame. And, in the matter of the wearing of shoes, which he does constantly now, it is especially noteworthy that the Indians comment upon it favorably, indicating that it is quite right and proper for him to do so, and tend to attribute added prestige to him for the wearing of the shoes. In the case of any other Indian, no matter how rich, the wearing of shoes would probably bring heavily unfavorable comment and community criticism. It seems that the curer of El Barrial is sufficiently of the Indian culture and sufficiently of the

Indian in-group and yet sufficiently prestige-laden to be able to make serious departures from Indian norms without any consequence other than added enhancement of that prestige which he already enjoys.

Indian men have dress clothes as compared to work clothes, and house clothes as compared to public clothes; the work clothes and the house clothes consist of the cheap white cotton draw-string drawers, ankle length, and a shirt of the same material, made usually without a collar, fashioned somewhat like Russian-pajama tops. Either individual Indian house-wives sew these costumes for their men, or the material is bought in the stores and brought to the few tailors in town to make up. This costume the Indian man wears in the house, and in the fields when he is working and when he is asleep. To appear in public, and especially to appear in public on Sundays, the Indian man usually slips a pair of cheap factory made trousers over his white cotton cloth pantalons, and a cheap factory made shirt over his white cotton camiseta. If he has a jacket, as a good many do, this is put over his shirt, and his fanciest hat, in comparison with the cheap home made straw hat he wears at work or during the week, completes his outfit, from head to ankles. The jackets are usually made up by the tailors in town from cheap cotton cloth bought in the stores. They are of all colors; yellow, blue, green, white, and of all designs and patterns. The jacket is considered a necessary appurtenance for public appearance. Further parts of the dress costume include where available, shirt sleeve garters or arm bands,

no matter how short the shirt sleeves may be. I have seen men sporting arm bands on shirt sleeves that reached no further than 3 or 4 inches above the wrist. But arm bands are used by Ladinos and are considered fashionable, and hence, adopted by the Indian when he makes his public appearances. A further appurtenance consists of some sort of colorful handkerchief worn around the neck or under the collar in lieu of the Ladino tie. It is usually a loud red bandanna which catches the fancy of the Indian man. This is more true of the Indian adolescent and young man than of the more adult members of the Indian community. Dress costume also extends to the kind of sandals one wears; there is a sandal made of cheap leather with a built up heel, in which the Indian, accustomed to heelless sandals or no foot covering at all, finds it very difficult to walk. Yet, among the younger men in town, it is now considered the height of fashion to wear a pair of these sandals, usually gaudy red in color, when one is toting himself out for a public appearance. The straw hats which Indian men are so adept at making are considered by them as work hats or week day hats and not fit to be worn with Sunday clothes; rather must a store bought hat, costing about three to five times as much as their home made hats and gaudily decorated with colored strands of straw or palm, and bedecked with feathers, be worn with the Sunday togs.

Now, while it is true that the height of fashion among the Ladino men is a sombre black suit, and while it is

further true that the Indian man fashions his dress styles after those of the Ladinos, and while it is further true that there are Indian men who could afford to purchase a dark wool suit such as the Ladinos wear, there are no Indians in town who have such suits, even though some of them do have black wool jackets which they wear in their public appearances. The reason seems to be that the dark wool suit is the proper outfit for Ladino social events, at which no Indians participate except in those cases where houseboys or cleaning aids are needed for the occasion. So that while the fashion is the dark suit, the Indian tends to resort to "all whites" as his height of fashion, inasmuch as the purchase of a dark suit would avail him naught; it would not secure him admission to Ladino society affairs unless he fulfilled a host of other criteria which money could not help him fulfill; and thus, while the dark suit is the sine qua non of admission to Ladino society affairs for men, it is not the sufficient condition. So the Indian man buys white ducks and white shirts, and puts a red bandanna around his neck, and slips on a cotton jacket and his Guatemala City sandals, his 25 cent hat, and is dressed to kill.

Indian men vary as much from each other in style of dress and amount of clothes as they do from wealthy Ladinos, and as much as poor Ladinos vary from wealthy Ladinos. It is next to impossible to distinguish on clothing count alone a poor Ladino from a fairly well to do Indian, except in the case of the wearing of "manta", the work house clothes

of the Indian, which no Ladino would wear as anything but underwear, no matter how poor he were. But on all other counts, including the absence of shoes and socks, and of neckties, the poor Ladino is indistinguishable from the average Indian.

The range of clothing for Ladino men overlaps the range of clothing for the Indian man. The Indian range extends as far as manta clothing for some kinds of outdoor appearance, and the Ladino range extends as far as the dark suit and the shoes and socks and necktie and felt hat. But aside from these two extremities on the range of costumes, the ranges are the same, varying in quality of goods as we proceed up and down the economic ladder, and varying in quantity of clothes, again proceeding up and down the economic ladder, and, in this latter instance, as we proceed up and down the range of attitude toward clothing. Like the young Ladino girl, the young Ladino men, more so than the Ladino adult, puts a premium on quantity and variety of clothing as well as on quality. The more outfits he can be seen wearing, the higher his prestige among the Indians and Ladinos alike, for by clothing, as well as by house type and land and goods holding, is wealth and the prestige attendant upon it judged in San Luis. This is true to an attenuated extent for the Ladino adult as well, and true in an unattenuated form of these few Ladino adults who constitute the very leadership of Ladino society. Most of Ladino youth is potential "society" material; and goes through the rounds of

of social participation in dances and like affairs, up until marriage. After marriage, unless one has money, "good family", and a dark suit, one does not participate. So, like the Ladino young girl, the Ladino young man, being most often publicly visible, and being in that sense a representative of his family, considers important the appearance he makes in public. During his early manhood, then, clothes are of prime importance. This is coming to be true for the Indian boy as well, who, of late has taken to participate in certain peripheries of social events, such as parading in the dark around the plaza during the thrice-weekly evening concerts, where the Ladino boys and girls make the rounds of the park for two hours while the marimbas play "Chatanooga Chu-Chu" and similar "folk" songs. This new extension of social participation which the Indian lad has effected is subject for comment, in good natured scornful tones by the Ladinos, and in derogatory and serious criticism by the Indians. Ladinos crack jokes such as "There goes Lawyer Fulano" or "Doctor Juan" is really dressed well tonight" when Indian lads, dressed in their whites, and their clumsy sandals, and hats set at rakish angles, with five-for-a-penny cigars jammed into the corners of their mouths, skirt the periphery of the park or the plaza where the marimba "concert" is being given. Older Indians decry these tendencies on the part of the younger Indian generation to participation in things considered traditionally Ladino. The elder men are at once most vehement in their condemnation

and yet most philosophically resigned to the seeming "inevitability" of the change coming over the "younger" generation. The Indian lad sooner than the Ladino lad learns to limit his aspirations for more and better clothing, in most cases, for the majority of the Indian lads, after a few brief journeys into Ladino land, have to turn to the serious business of making a living at work where dress clothes and being a fashion plate neither is virtuous, pretige bearing or compensating. On the other hand, the Ladino lad, especially of the young generation now in existence in San Luis, is for the most part doomed, either happily or unhappily, to a life of general vagrancy. He will continue to be a public figure for years to come even after his adolescence. It seems not unlikely, either, that the young Indian generation now in existence in San Luis will more and more come to resemble the young Ladino generation; and, it is predicatable that in years to come, the same tendencies toward makeshift types of lives will prevail among the Indians as it does among the Ladino youth even now. At that time, we may expect the same attitudes toward quality and quantity of clothing among the Indians as we now find to obtain among the Ladinos for extended periods of time. Reference back to our discussion of the Ladino life cycle and the need for outward manifestations of status, though no "genuine" reasons for that status may be present, will help the reader to understand the significance of clothing in the life of the young Ladino. The Ladino youth are coming to

constitute a strange sort of leisure class in San Luis society, and all the strictures which Veblen urges about conspicuous consumption and the identifying marks of the man with leisure may be said to obtain, though in an attenuated degree, for the Ladino youth.

When we come to consider Indian and Ladino children of the male sex the case is not precisely the same as that which obtains for Ladino and Indian female children. Most Indian boys up until the age of six or seven run around with either no clothing or simply with a long shirt which serves more to keep off the cold, if there is cold, than to cover the body. On the other hand, Ladino children, past the age of two or three rarely go without some kind of small trouser and shirt and some kind of foot covering. This shirt and trouser is never of manta, as it is almost universally with the Indian child. The Indian male child is thus highly distinguishable on clothing count alone from the Ladino male child up until the time when both of them, coming into their adolescence, discard childhood clothing types and assume adult clothing, at which time they both resemble each other, if neither is too poor nor too rich, to such an extent, that for all intents and purposes they may be said to be indistinguishable.

To judge the extent to which the Ladino males are "acculturated" on the clothing horizon, is a matter involving different measures than those involved in the judgment of the extent of acculturation of women, by reason of the fact

that there is no typical costume for Indian men as there may be said to be for Indian women. With the Indian man, except for the extremity on the upper side of the Ladino range of clothing, it is above all the economic factor which enters in the determination of clothing he will have and wear. This is true, as we have indicated, with the exception of the matter of shoes and stockings and neckties. The limitations which custom and possible use of fancy dress clothing impose on the operations of the economic factor, we have already discussed in part.

It should be noted here as well that an Indian who moves out of the pueblo into a place where he will make the attempt to pass for a white considers it an indispensable part of the operation to put on shoes and to wear neckties and socks. The Indian man, then, who wishes to pass must pass not into the ranks of the poor Ladino but must be able to equal the manifest symbols of the fairly well to do Ladino. That this has considerable influence in deterring a large number of Indian men who might make the attempt were it a mere matter of changing residence and general life style, I have no doubt. The amount of money calculated to effect the passing over is effectively far too large for any but rare cases among the Indians.

~~Thixix~~ A point by point comparison with Wisdom's material on clothing and shelter of the Chorti Indians shows marked similarity between them and the Indians of San Luis. There are exceptions, which will be noted in short order. For a detailed analysis of clothing habits and shelter customs of both Indians and Ladinos, the charts appended to this section should be consulted. (The page numbers to be cited refer to Wisdom's book The Chorti Indians, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1940) Unless specifically noted, the materials in Wisdom's book are to be taken as applying to the Pokoman Indians of San Luis as well.

p.114. Some Indian women have sewing machines, and make clothing for their menfolk.

Colored hat bands are not prominent, nor are flower decorations.

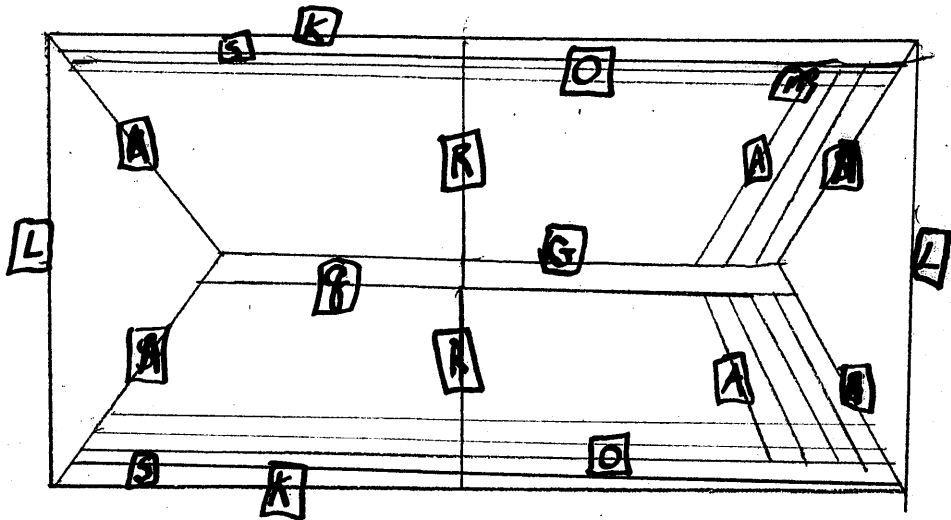
p.115 Women's blouses are sometimes colored, sometimes fringed with rilly material; skirts are sometimes other color than blue. Indian women never come bareheaded in public.

p.116 Rubber sandals are very common now among Indian men; wooden sandals are not used at all; no Indians carry a corbo unless specifically needed on a job in the fields; the machete is left at home when one is not going on a trip or to work. Aldea Indians however always carry machetes. Pueblo Indians do not smoke pipes; aldea Indians do; No data is available on the variety of pipe types comparable to that given by Wisdom, nor any data on preparation and curing of pipes; ~~ix~~

p.118 The flint outfits reported by Wisdom are available but are not generally to be seen since they are legally prohibited. Money is not carried in the ear by San Luis pueblo or aldea Indians.

p.119 Most Indian houses have privies but neither men nor women use them, preferring the fields instead. No privies in the aldea ~~are~~
in the pueblo

What Wisdom says about houses generally applies to the aldeas Indians of El Camaron but less so to the pueblo Indians. The pueblo level and house construction is done accordingly rather than in adjustment to a hilly terrain, as in the aldea. Most Indian houses have only one storehouse, if any, very frequently the house itself being devoted in part to storing food. There are no lime, pottery kilns, no sugar cane presses near the houses, either in the pueblo or aldea; Lime is made in communal kilns about 3 kilometers away from the pueblo; pottery is baked in a shallow excavation made especially for the purpose when the occasion arises; tile kilns are on the outskirts of the pueblo; there are no altar houses per se; dead people of the pueblo are buried in the pueblo cemetery on the outskirts of the pueblo; in the aldea, there is like wise a common burial ground, outside the aldea; there are no orchards or fruit or medicinal trees to speak of in any of the yards of Indian or Ladino houses, in the aldea or the pueblo; in the pueblo, almost no one's land is less than three or four kilometers away; in the aldea, the distance is even greater. WHAT Wisdom reports about multiple house organization and the multiple family structure on which it is in part based is decidedly attenuated in San Luis where the multiple family is more shadow than substance. Houses and house sites are much smaller as a result. The technical details of house construction are generally the same as those reported by Wisdom, more especially for the aldea of El Camaron than for the pueblo, where there is more similarity between the houses of the Ladinos and the Indians than is found in the pueblo. The reader should consult the appended chart for greater details as to the extent of this similarity. San Luis houses differ markedly from those reported by Wisdom for the Chorti in the presence of tile floors and roofing on Indian houses.



The following diagram is intended to represent the view of the roof of an Indian pueblo house, seen looking upward.

| | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| q = biga de media | g = caballete |
| m = embarilla | k = biga madre |
| o = varas | l = biga |
| r = puntales | a = limatones |
| | s = carga limatones |

The biga de media is the lower longitudinal center cross beam, measuring 2 spans round, 30 spans long (1 span = app. 8 inches) which rests on the bigas (l) and is tied to them with bark thongs, (agua mecate)

the embarillas, of which there are 8, serve the same purposes ~~they are 12 spans long and rest on the bigas (l) and are tied to them with bark thongs~~ (they are 12 spans long and rest on the caballete and the ~~limatones (a)~~ ~~on the bigas (l)~~ they are tied to the varas with maguey strips.

the varas are 700 small pieces tied together with bark thong to make about 120 longitudinal length poles; 60 are laid each side of the caballete (g); they rest on the limatones (a) and the embarillas (m) and are tied to both with maguey thongs; they are about 1/3 the thickness of the embarillas.

the puntales, of which there are two, are one and a half spans around, and are half yoked at the bottom with the biga en media (q); they are 9 spans apart and 7 spans from each side of the room; there is a full yoke on top to support the caballete.

the caballete is the top center cross piece, 4 spans around, and 32 spans long, supported on two orcon cumbreros (corner posts) and tied to the limatones with maguey strips.

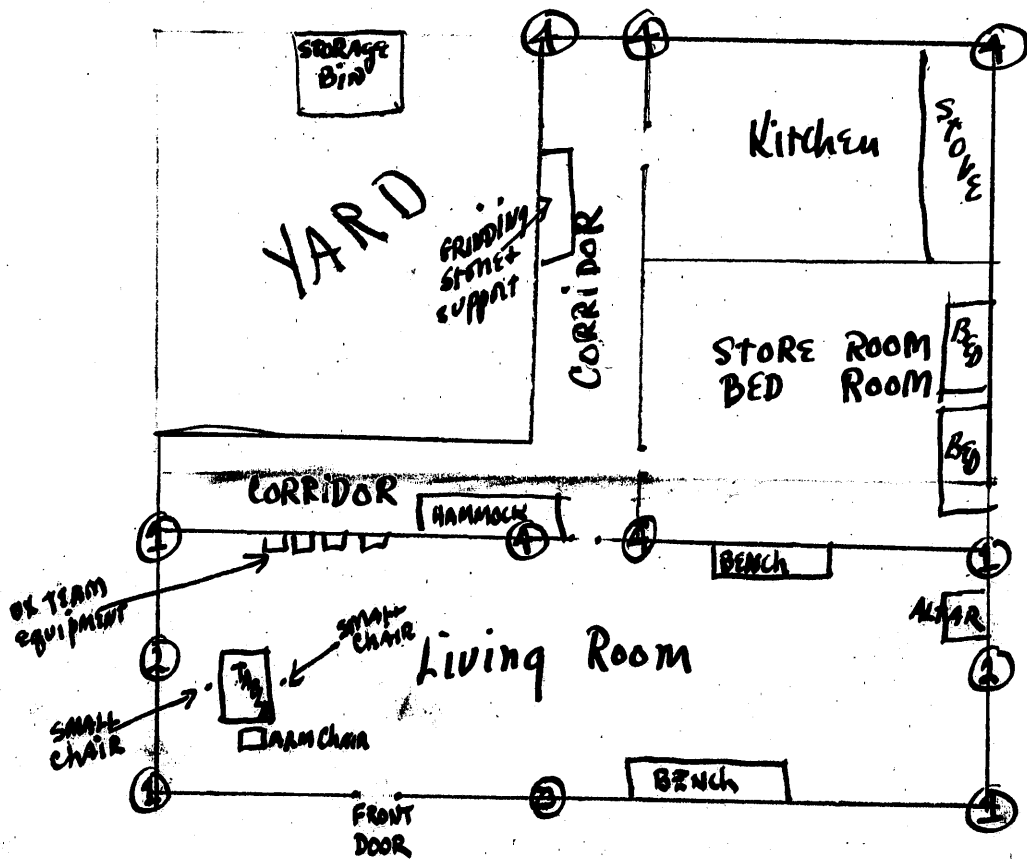
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bigas madres are two longitudinal cross pieces, 4 spans round, 30 spans long, and are yoked in with the corner supports, and tied with agua mecate strips to the bigas.

bigas of which there are six, are the cross wise cross pieces, 3 spans thick around, 24 spans long, rest on and are tied to the bigas madres with strips of a bark called bejuco blanco.

limatones are the latitudinal supports for the roof tiles, 16 hands long, 2 spans around, they rest on top of and are tied to the caballete, and on the bottom on the 2 carga limatones which in turn rest on the hangover of the bigas.

carga limatones, of which there are two, are 3hands thick around and 32 hands long, rest on the hangovers of the bigas and are tied to them with agua mecate strips.



A WELL-TO-DO PUEBLO INDIAN'S HOUSE

The encircled numbers in the house diagram on the preceding page refer to the corner beams mentioned in the immediately preceding section on roof construction of the house. (1) is the orcon esquinero, or corner beam; (2) is the orcon cumbrero or beam which stands in the middle of the width of the house; (3) is the orcon de media or the longitudinal middle support; (4) is the orcon del corredor, or the corridor support beams. (1) and (3) are 4 spans round and 15 spans tall, of which 4 are under ground. They are both cleaved at the top for cross beams. (2) is 21 spans long, of which 4 are underground; while (4) is 13 spans long of which 4 are underground. The interior of the house is 30 spans long and 24 spans wide; the middle cross beam is 32 spans off the floor to the top.

the yard is the place of all work; clothes washing, small repair work, etc; the corridors contain the hammock and the grinding stone and support, and many of the kitchen utensils are strung to the small cross pieces of the corridor roof; the beds in the bed-store room are not used for sleeping, ~~some~~ sleeping being done on the floor; the front or living room is never used except for guests; most of the living goes on in the kitchen and the corridors.

The following is a description by the most alert Indian in the pueblo of the process of getting a house built;

"When I want to build a new house, I go around, fifteen days before, to all my friends and relatives, near and distant, and tell them that on such and such a day I am going to build a new house and won't they please help me if they have time. The night before the appointed day all the women in my family, relatives by blood and marriage, arrive and carry water and work all night, maybe sleeping one or two hours; making chilate all night. Then at 6-7-8 a.m. my friends and relatives start arriving. I have had all the materials ready. I invite them to drink chilate and there is chilate for all, all day long. Sometimes as many as 30-40 men come to help, men I have asked and men who come even without being asked, and of course I return the favor when I can. One has to reciprocate. Well, first we dig the holes for the main posts--8 of them--and they are all put in at the same time. Then we put in the bigas madres in the yokes of the corner beams and on top of the orcon de media. then we put on the six bigas and bind them to the bigamadres with the bejuko blanco. Then we put the carga limatonés on the hangover of the bigas and tie them withagua mecate. Then we tie the biga media. Then with lassos, ladders and yoked sticks we put on the babalettes into the yokes of the orcon cumbreros. Then we put in the puntales. Then we put on the limatonés and rest them on the caballetes and the carga limatonés and bind them at both ends with maguey. They we put on the embarrilda, resting on the caballete and carga limatonés, and tied to both ends with maguey. Then everyone gets up on top and puts in the varas and ties them up. Then all the wood work is done. Only one man can put on the tiles. The top tiles are cemented with arena and cal to the caballete and cemented likewise to the bottom tile. Then we put on all the tile (1700 for the house pictured above). Then we cut 60 paraleles--on which baharek is cemented--they are put two hands deep into the ground, and extend 14 hands upward. They are tied to the biga madres with maguey--2 hands apart each. Then we put the cross varas--1 and 1/2 hands apart. There are about 500 in all. They are tied together with maguey. This ends the work of the 2nd day. (Then all the men gather dirt onto one side of the sitio, chop it up and bring water and make mud--this is the

first day. The next day they resoften the mud and put in zacate-- about 80 bunches of it--and mix it well into the mud; then everyone goes to work and builds mud walls around the vara-parales framework until it is all done. Of course sometimes the framework can stand for a year until one has money to pay hired help to do the work. You spend about 3-4 months getting things ready for the building, as it is anyway. After the walls have been made and the roof put on, it takes about a month before the house is ready to be lived in. All the days my friends help me they get chilate to drink for lunch and supper. For lunch they also get frijoles, or meat if there is any, tortillas, cafe, lots of chile, salt, huacuciles, potatoes. For supper they get fried frijoles, or meat, chicken once in a while, coffee, tortillas, salt, chile. At night they don't get chilate. They come the first day at 7 A.M. have some chilate, and begin to work. I work along with them and allot the work. At 12 we eat and rest until 2. Then we work till 4 or 5. My relatives who work later stay for supper-- The others go. Everyone who stays gets supper, some sleep over; we eat at 5:30 or six p.m.. The second day they come again at 7 a.m., and it is the same as the first day. Then all the wood work is done; then it takes two more days to make the wall. It takes two days to put on the tiles. If you hire men for this work it's 40 cents a day and maintenance.

Continuation of comparison with Wisdom's Chorti.

Footnote 18, p.129: all the plants except shaguay and canal are used; in addition there are espina de alambre, taxascamite, chimalyote, anono, espina blanca, piedra, espina negro, and camlote.

p.130: there is no new house ceremony conducted in the pueblo but there is in the aldea.

p.132: ovens D and E in diagram 5 are not known in San Luis.

p.136: there are no water jar stands in Indian San Luis. there are no chilate-tables with perforations for gourds.

p.139: all of the pottery types except a, b, and c are known.

p.148: neither chocolate nor utensils for its preparations are used in San Luis.

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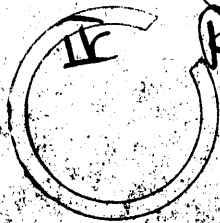
San Luis Sitotpeque

I. Language

II. Education

III. Community life

IV. Recreation



VI. Language

With but one exception, there is no Ladino in the pueblo or environs of San Luis who talks the native Indian Pokoman dialect with sufficient fluency to form a complete sentence of more than four or five words. With no exceptions, there is, as far as I know, not one Indian who was raised in a totally or partially Indian household now living in San Luis who does not talk the native Indian dialect with some fluency. The vast majority of Indians speak Spanish, some very poorly to be sure, but sufficiently well to be understood and to understand when spoken to. This is less true of the Indian women, who by reason of less contact with the Ladinos, speak less Spanish and a poorer Spanish than the Ladino males.

The official language of the government is Spanish; all the schools are conducted in Spanish; there is no school teacher in the entire department of which San Luis is a pueblo who speaks the native dialect of the Indians of his area; and, as far as I know, there is no Indian school teacher. The language of the business world, whether it be the local markets, or those at the railroad stations, or in the department capital or in the stores of the various pueblos is Spanish. Individual commercial dealings between the Indians themselves, of the same pueblo may be and usually are conducted in Pokoman unless there are Ladinos present at the transaction, in which case Spanish is spoken. Individual dealings between Indians who come from different pueblos and

hence speak different dialects, are conducted in Spanish, since, for the Indian, it has proven either more easy or more feasible for him to learn the base tongue of the country than to bother to attempt to learn the dialects of neighboring regions, even though he may have constant dealings with Indians from those regions, and indeed, as in the case of the pueblo of San Pedro Pinula, but a few kilometers from San Luis, and populated by Indians who must be classified as Pokoman-speaking as well, who speak a dialect so similar to the one spoken in San Luis that there would be little if any difficulty for a Pinulan to make himself understood to an Indian from San Luis if any effort were exerted in that direction.

As contrasted with the west of Guatemala, this situation which obtains in the East is to be considered as strange and unique. In the west of Guatemala according to report it is the Ladinos who are bilingual while the Indians, for the most part, remain unilingual. The reasons for the differential are not clear. I have no basis on which to form even a reasonable conjecture.

The language of the churches in the east of Guatemala and in San Luis as well is Spanish and Latin. As far as I know there are no church ceremonies held in the east of Guatemala where the service is conducted in anything but Spanish and Latin. As far as I know, there is no priest in the east of Guatemala who can talk the native tongues of the areas in which he serves. With reference to churches, I do

not know the situation as it exists in the west of Guatemala, though it is reliably reported that at least a few of the priests speak the native tongues. The Protestant missionaries in the east of Guatemala with headquarters in the department of Chiquimula make some attempt at transcribing, by ear, the Spanish prayers into native dialect equivalents, but an interview I had with the leading Protestant missionary of the East, who had been there some 30 years, revealed that he knew less of the dialects of the area he was serving than a trained linguist would have acquired in a month of study.

Indian children who enter the government schools at the age of seven or eight usually speak so little Spanish that they have to repeat the first year because most of it was spent trying to understand a teacher who did not speak the only language with which they were familiar. Almost without exception, all Indian children in San Luis who are raised in Indian households, learn the native Pokoman dialect first, and then, when they become social creatures to the extent of running errands to the stores, learn a few words of Spanish. If they happen to be fortunate and/or unfortunate enough to live in the neighborhood where there are Ladino children, they usually acquire a good deal more Spanish than other Indian children who are not exposed to this influence. They usually retain this Spanish; in exchange, the native words which the Ladino playmates learn during the course of their associations with the Indian

children are rapidly forgotten, or if not forgotten, are simply never used once the child is sufficiently old so that it is considered improper for him not only to play with Indian children, but indeed, to manifest any signs of being anything like the Indians. The one exception, which we mentioned in passing before, is that of a Ladino man, now in his fifties, who grew up with Indian children, learned considerable of the dialect and found it highly useful in land and cattle swindles which he perpetrated on the Indians, whose confidence he could gain through the use of their native dialect.

As for the differential between Indian men and women in Spanish speaking ability, in specification of the fact that Indian men speak better Spanish because they have more contacts with the outside white world than do the Indian women, it should be indicated that it is usually the Indian boy who goes to school, where only Spanish is spoken, and that only the Indian male goes to service in the military barracks in Guatemala City where, along with barefoot, the use of native dialects except with visiting parents and relatives, is strictly forbidden and severely punishable; further, it is the Indian man who makes trip to neighboring pueblos where he is forced to use Spanish if he is to conduct his business with foreign whites and foreign Indians, neither of whom speak his dialect; further, it is the Indian man who deals with the government wherever the government enters into the affairs of his family; it is the Indian man who does service at the city hall where only Spanish is

spoken; it is the Indian man who conducts business with his white landlord to whom he must conform if he is to secure land for rent. On the other hand, it is the Indian woman who almost under no circumstances except in shopping in the Ladino stores needs to avail herself of the Spanish tongue; it should be indicated, however, that as the Indian woman more and more tends to take over and share some of the functions which were formerly exclusively male (such as complaints to the officials) she comes to find more and more need for the use of Spanish; and, it should also be noted that not an inconsiderable number of Indian girls have been sent to the schools in the last ten years in the pueblo of San Luis. It is to be predicted that the Indian, both male and female, will continue to learn Spanish and will probably, with succeeding generations, become more proficient at an earlier age.

The native dialect serves for both the male and the female among the Indians in somewhat the same fashion as the woman's typical clothing serves; namely as a badge of identification of membership in the in-group of the Indians. Beneath this rubric we may subsume several other specific purposes which the use of the native tongue serves:

(1) to hold conversations which the Indians do not wish the whites to understand; (2) to curse and make fun of Ladinos without Ladinos understanding and, hence, without incurring specific punishment; it is true that Ladinos understand when the Indian is doing this, but can never prove it and

hence, can force no direct consequences upon the Indian; (3) to conduct religious services, the efficacy of which under some circumstances is partially guaranteed by the use of the native dialect; this is true in the case of the *cofrades*, the monthly religious club reunions in honor of the patron saints, and is not true of church services where an ordained official is participating; (4) connected with this latter is the use which native dialect serves in all manner of witchcraft, evil doing and curing, which the natives resort to and try to avoid; (5) the native dialect is the tongue employed in courtship situations which are conducted in native fashion without too much of the Ladino pattern entering; in connection with this, it is further the (6) language of marriage arrangements and indeed of all manner of intra-Indian dealings where the Ladino pattern has not entered too heavily to distort the original features which seem for the Indian to be inescapably bound up with the use of the dialect during the course of the proceedings; in this latter connection, we may mention the case of native healing, where, even though to a large degree patent medicines have replaced herbs in the curing process, the fundamental features of the curing process remain sufficiently unaffected by Ladino intrusions as to be considered "typically Indian" as yet; (7) the native dialect is the tongue of the Indian household, partly by reason of the fact that the housewife usually understands and speaks Spanish too poorly to be understood by or to understand her spouse in any prolonged

conversation which might be held in Spanish; moreover, in the raising of children, while it is true that a good many of the control adjectives employed in the education of children are formulable briefly only in Spanish, there is sufficient "native understanding" in child raising for the language to remain sufficiently useful on this important score; (7) the native tongue is the tongue of intimate friendships among the Indians, extending to dealings which involve respect patterns, such as that between godchildren and godparents, before, during and after the ceremonies at which the godparents are put into formal godparental relation with their godchildren.

It is in point to indicate that on such scores as the use of the native tongue to make secret fun of and to curse out the Ladino, the language is obviously serving there as a relief from tensions, which, according to what I have been able to observe, find no effective release on any other score, granting for the moment that there are tensions set up by the relations sustained between whites and Indians. That there are tensions and that there is release from these tensions gained through use of the native tongue is to be inferred from the fact that Indians boast of a superiority to Ladinos on the score of being bi-lingual while the Ladinos are uni-lingual. The felt sense of inferiority which manifests itself on others scores as well, which we shall later discuss, is obvious to anyone who works with the Indians for even a short period of time. We must infer that this

felt sense of inferiority constitutes a felt tension for the Indian; we have no way of explaining otherwise why the Indian makes a point of indicating his superiority to Ladinos on certain other scores, even without being prompted. Moreover, there is no other effective way of an order of high visibility in which the Indian can assert for himself and for the outside world a manifest superiority to the Ladino. The reasoning here is all from inferentially supported evidence, but the evidence seems reliable.

We have no way of judging the extent of distortion from the basal mother tongue which the Pokoman dialect as now spoken in the pueblo of San Luis has suffered; but it is obvious that the incidence of loan words is very high; and even in the supposed esoteric prayers of which theoretically only the older men who serve as priests are capable, one finds a high incidence of loan words, especially in the instance of appellation of the deities and their supporting saints. There is, for instance, no indication that there are dual names for the saints as there are for family names and for surnames of Indian individuals. There is no native word for God. Native words seem confined to the natural environment, except in the instances of flora and fauna for which the Indian depends on Spanish for botanical classification. The rain making ceremony, a vital event in Indian life, is considered most efficiently conducted only if Ladino women prayer leaders, reading special prayers from the Bible, lead the ceremony in conjunction with the native

priests who make exhortations, to be sure, in the native tongue. It would be possible, if a larger vocabulary list were at my disposal than that which I do have, to classify the type situations where the incidence of loan words is high and those where it is low. From such a classification we might begin to infer those facets of Indian life where the intrusions of the Ladino culture are most heavy. But this is not directly relevant to the discussion at hand, though it must refer itself to this discussion to be made intelligible.

Indian men, for the most part, confess to a decided admiration for the proficient use of the Spanish tongue, and indeed, tend to accord prestige and added status to those Indians who by reason either of schooling or active and continuous contact with the whites, combined probably, with a certain extra sense for linguistics, have managed to learn Spanish fairly well. Indians comment that in the military barracks they would have had considerable more chance for higher military grades had they been able at least to speak and understand more proficiently the Spanish language; and, in line with this, and the general desire on the part of the Indian man to acquire status within the Ladino's status-system, which comprehends almost exclusively the military officialdom and government service, as far as formal structuralization of the system is concerned, the Indian man expresses regrets about his inability to handle the Spanish language more proficiently and indicates that he is sure he would be able to gain some sort of office were he more proficient.

We may turn for a moment to the question of proficiency in writing and reading the language, though we shall discuss it in greater detail in the following section on education. Suffice it to say that up until my entrance into San Luis the idea of writing the Pokoman dialect phonetically had simply never occurred, as far as I can tell, to any Indians or Ladinos, except the wandering Protestant missionary who had effected some transcriptions of Spanish prayers into Pokoman. I managed to teach my two major informants how to transcribe, by ear, their spoken tongue, the writing of which seems never to have been done before; not being a trained linguist myself, the transcriptions prove to be crude and in some instances decidedly inaccurate. For, while my informants were hearing one sound, I was hearing others, and their transcriptions in instances seemed inaccurate to me. Since we could not agree on the sound values of the words in some instances, even the possession of standard phonetic symbols would not have been an accurate check on the accurate transcription of the dialect, except insofar as my understandings may be said to be accurate or insofar as theirs may be said to be accurate.

The same complaint which the Indian voices about the opportunities of which he is deprived by reason of his lack of proficiency in the spoken Spanish, hold many times over and in more cases for the instance of the written Spanish. For, while the vast majority of Indians speak understandable Spanish, but a very small percentage of them

are capable of anything but a painful writing of their names. And of those who can write, only a percentage of them can read handwritten Spanish, though not a few of them can read printed Spanish letters.

If one is to judge by the slough-off of a good deal of the bulk of native understandings which seemed to prevail in the generation before the current ones in San Luis, and to judge further by the verbally expressed and sometimes actionally manifested interests of the Indians in approximating some level of education in the spoken and written language; and, if one may judge further by the intrusion of the Ladino life style and status systems further and further into the remaining bulk of native understandings, then one may predict that in a few short generations the number of situations under which the native dialect is exclusively serviceable will be considerably reduced in number, and, consequently, the amount of Pokoman spoken will be less. One may also predict that while the dialect may persist in essentially the same basic form as it now manifests, the number of loan words will grow to a considerably higher number than that which now obtains, and that, if the tendency in language is for old words to fall off in some direct proportion to the introduction of new ones, then, the feasibility of the use of the native dialect will be less in generations to come. I have no way of judging whether the language has persisted more and more intensely than other native or partially native understandings; I can set no

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measurable criteria which could apply both to language and other facets of the culture.

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| english | spanish | lenguaje |
|----------------|-------------|--|
| milk | leche | li-eche |
| cheese | queso | ki-esho |
| bull | novillo | tu-oro |
| | toro | |
| cow's horn | cacho | dru-g'a- <i>dru-ka = con colera.</i> |
| | cuerno | |
| whip | chicote | chi-li-a |
| hoofs | wasco | aru-chu-chulo |
| straps | | |
| (for raincoat) | contralatio | gwa-tchi-jam |
| milking | ordenar | niru-pitzoj ✓ |
| | csquilmar | |
| back pillows | almoadilla | gwad <i>gwad</i> yu- <i>yu</i> -pornom-pil |
| under saddle | | |
| bridge pads | lomillos | maj-lomiyo (xxx) |
| under saddle | | |
| horseshoe | herradura | nu-ni-a-nom-erar (or) maj-iche-pan-k-am-gwayo |

A-KT = NEW
 GA-LAM = OLD

horseshoe nail clavo de herrar cla-wash dre eradura
 (let's move over--i'm cramping up the words this way)

| English | Spanish | Lenguaje |
|------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| leg protectors | XXXXXXXX rosadera | rosadero por no juk pantalon |
| saddle binder | cincha | ma-sincha |
| stirrup | estribo | estribush |
| toe point in stirrup | cubo | jo-estribush |
| bridge(mexican saddle) | wanzana | dru-jalom-ij-kal |
| bridge(guat. saddle) | fustre | chi-k-am |
| saddle(english) | galapago | XXXXXXXXXX ij-k-al |
| saddle(guat) | albardo | ij-k-al |
| halter | jequima | dru jalom k-a- ham |
| dress | vestido | a-k- dru soh (when it's new) |
| | | ix-k-ino-k- chi wutch-ti-k-(when old) |
| smoke | fumar | nu-k- ha- si-k- |
| walk | andar | nu-k- ha- wi-eh |
| talk | hablar (2) | na-k-a -k- <i>ta</i> (platicando) |
| | platicar(1) | k-a-k-u-ut- ja-woh(platicar) ? |
| greet | saludar | cha-yi-eh-ti-yo- <i>ash</i> |
| buy | comprar | cha-lo-k- |
| sell | vender | cha-k- <i>42</i> |
| meet | encontrar | eh-nu-k-ul |
| gain | ganar | eh-nu-an- ganar <i>also en contra ya</i> |
| kill | matar | eh-nu-k- <i>sa</i> <i>ya' mudi'</i> |
| lose | perder | eh-nu-an-perder <i>ya perdi</i> |
| beat | pegar | eh-nu-tox- <i>lo pegar</i> |
| sick | enferme | <i>ya</i> -wam (here the 'dj'is almost 'g') (<i>both are in the spanish j</i>) |
| healthy | alentado | bien grilli |
| | de buen salud | |
| oats | avena | awanera k-i-im |
| grass, herb, hay | sacate <i>verd</i> | drash-k-i-im |
| wheat | trigo | trigo(luis says trigo is "arroz") |
| barley | cobada | cebada |
| rye | centeno | luis didn't know what "centeno" was |
| button | boton | botoniss |
| button hole | ojal | gwi-am- botoniss |
| pocket | bolaa | gwai-shaj |

| | | |
|---|----------------------------------|---|
| woman's blouse | camisa | k-a-misha isho-k' |
| shoes- | zabatos | sabata |
| sandals | caites | shi-jam |
| horse | caites enrajados | en-ra-ja-da shi-jam |
| socks | caballo | gwa-yo |
| | media | maj-medya |
| | escarpin | |
| mule | mula | mu-la |
| good | bueno | bueno |
| bad | malo <i>no →</i> | k-u ma-a-jeh = <i>no el camy.</i> |
| sin | pecado | gwi-li-mu-a-pehado = <i>reine pecado.</i> |
| devil | diablo | di-a-blo |
| saint | santo | ti-yo-ush <i>grues</i> |
| god | dios | k-a-a-dios |
| virgin | virgen | -k-a-tu-vir-jen <i>or isho-k' Tiyos sh</i> |
| catholic | catolico | hin-dru-an-kre-er-k-a-dios (he believes in god) hin-k-u-hin-dru-an-kre-er-k-a-dios (he does not believe in god- he is not catholic) |
| spaniard | <i>Latin</i> la gente espanol | mo-o-soh |
| (note: luis had a job on this one. he said "but we are spanish" and then gavo me "coj" for spaniard--"coj" is the word for "la gente natural". then i told him i meant the people who came from spain--and he said "oh, ladinos"--and then gave me "mu-o-soh"). | | |
| spanish | espanol, la idioma (2) | i-shu-il-k-i-k-orri-al/maj-mu-o-soh |
| conqueror | castillo (1) | (trans:-the spaniards have other "habla". luis didn't know this at all.) |
| king | conquistador | reh(luis says this means "the best in the pueblo"--i had to explain rey in reference to 'reina' before he understood. "reina" meant the best in the pueblo, too. |
| | rey | |
| queen | reina | ti-rey-na |
| bridle | freno | fri-eno |
| bridle bit | bocado | bo-ka-do |
| rein | reinda | ri-en-da |
| lazo | lazo | la-a-so |
| jackass | garanon | ma-ni-ge-ra-no-ne (luis says this means a caballo de raza-ene who can make hijos). |
| saw | vaca | tu-wa- ka sh |
| heifer | vaquilla (2) | ti-vakiya ('k' should be separated) |
| | novilla (1) | ti-no-vi-ya |
| ox | buey | gu-uy-esh |
| chair | silla | ta-gu-ret |
| | asiento | chi-k-a- um |
| bench | asiento | pa-an-k-o |
| | escana | |
| | confidente | |
| door | puerta | chi-pat <i>or sitio</i> |
| mister | senor | ma-gwi-naf (or) nin-gwi-naf <i>is shun</i> (separate 'k') |
| mrs. | senora | ti-i-sho-k |
| miss | senorita | |
| | patoja (1) | ish-jun |
| | paie | pan-ishu-wil (our pueblo, our republic) |
| country | | tien-a-meet (<i>at</i> pueblo) |
| water | agua | ha shooa puebla - ha-puebla = <i>moza.</i> |
| pitcher | c. ntaro | shut |
| hat | sombrero | pa-a-nis |

| | | |
|---|----------------------|--|
| grinding stone | pedra de moler = ka | ka-a- = extra hand |
| blinders for horse | tapojos | jo-pa-am-na-gat'ch |
| ridge pole | caballete | ka-ba-yete-dre-pat |
| ridge pole support | limatonos | li-ma-ton |
| roof | techo | a-k-un-chi-eh |
| rooftiles | tejas | te-ja |
| toilet | inodor | sa-ru-al |
| | excusado | |
| window | ventana | ven-ta-na |
| rafter | tirantes | pa-ra-al |
| crow bar | barra de hierro | ba-ro-ta |
| | (para picar tierro) | |
| bottle | botella | botey |
| car | carro | ka-ro |
| basket | ganaste | chi-k-u-weet |
| | tombillas | tom-bi-ya |
| | sextas | luis doesn't know this |
| | | |
| cross | cruz | ku-ruz (separate the 'k) |
| | | |
| calabash gourd | tecomate | soh |
| | calabasa | ma-pi-ye-soh |
| headpiece for horse | gamarone | ma-pi-ye-soh <i>no work</i> |
| " | cabezara | dru-jalo-an-k-a-ham |
| leash of cerda | persoga | sha-k-ka |
| saddle bag(leather) | cantina | es-tan-k |
| saddle bag(cloth) | argana | maj-ar-gu-niya |
| tail fixture | tenedor | ma-te-ne-dor |
| saddle blanket | manton | man-ti-on |
| leash(leather braided) | trensa | jiteoj witch k-a-ham |
| | pial | nin-k-a-ham |
| casting net | ataraya | at-ra-ya |
| eating fork | tenedor | ku-chara-k-i-ish-jo |
| | trinchante | |
| | | |
| hoe | azadon | a-sa-ro-un |
| religious image | imugna | ti-yo-osh |
| knife | cuchillo | ku-chi-yo |
| machete | machete | ma-ma-a-chit |
| | machete pando(work) | ma-pando |
| | machete de filo(cut) | hin-k-atu-wi-ya-ma-a-chit |
| | fosforos | ma-a-fos-pere |
| matches | tremoles(big ones) | es-pe-ja |
| mirror | espejos | es-pe-ja |
| | | |
| mor tar | moledor | ni-ru-k-i-eh |
| pestle | colador | tzi-i-ral <i>spit out the tz hand.</i> |
| (note: this should be the other way around--mortar is colador and | | pestle is moledor) |
| razor blade | hoja de Gillete | 'k-a-at-al-k-i |
| blade holder | maquina a rasurar | chu-un-ma-k-ina-k-a-at-al-k-i |
| blade sharpener | mollejon | mo-ye-jo-wun |
| cleaning brush | sepillor(ropas) | jush- al witch-k-a-soh |
| | (bestias) | shi-al-pa-an-na-o-rij-gwa-ya |
| sour cream and sweet cream | mantequilla fresco | man-te-k-i-ya |
| sweet butter and soured butter | mantequilla lavada | man-te-k-i-ya pan-k-ush-tal |
| very soured butter (salted) | mantequilla costal | man-te-k-i-ya pan-k-ush-tal |
| (note: the sweet butter is made by washing the soured, salt butter. thus, sweet butter can be | | |
| made out of the salt, soured butter, but the reverse is not true. when i say 'soured' i mean | | |
| it tastes soured to me. obviously it is as fresh if not fresher than the sweet butter. no | | |
| distinction is made between sweet and sour cream. | | |

word list--5 oct.12,,42

(note cont'). crema here is the sweet butter--i.e. the washed salted butter.

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| | | |
|--|--------------|----------------------------|
| cream cheese | queso fresco | drash-k-i-esho |
| spiced cream cheese | requeson | dre-k-e-son |
| made by stirring and doing something else to the fresh cheese | | |
| idon't know how to describe this-----queso de mantequilla | | k-i-esho-dre-man-te-k-i-ya |
| it is made by putting 4 cups of mantequilla fresco with 2 cups of milk--and stirring till the cows come home | | |

| | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| silver | plata | pla-ta |
| spoon | cuchara | ku-cha-ra |
| table | mesa | mi-eha |
| compadre | compadre | k-un-pa-le |
| comadre | comadre | k-o-ma-le |
| padrino | padrino | nu-lu-k-tat |
| madrino | medrino | nu-lu-tut |
| ahijado (i mean: godson!) | ahijado | hu-lu- ahijado a-k-un |
| goddaughter | ahijada | chu-nu-lu- ahijada |
| barber's razor | rasurador | k-a-k-al-k-ij |
| rich person | hombre rico | dri-k-u-wi-nag |
| | burro de oro | |
| poor person | hombre pobre | ni-e-wa-wi-nag |
| saint | santo | ti-yo-ush |
| | imagina | |
| whore | puta | puta (or: this is what one woman says to another when they are fighting with each other: chin-k-i-hat-ri-tu-u- ten --trans:you, have lain with many men). - "you are like the church in the street") |
| | chispa | |
| priest | sacerdote | pa-le |
| | padre | |
| wood roof (guatemala) | machimbre | ma-chim-bre |
| wood roof (here) | tavique | ta-yan -ka |
| church | iglesia | i-gle-si-ya |
| | templo | tem-plo |
| ladino | ladino | mu-o-soh |
| natural | natural | coj |
| boy | patojo | a-k-un |
| girl | patoja | ish-jun |
| stranger | de otra parte | pan-ish-gwi-il-wi-nag taxt |
| | (but same country) | taxt |
| countryman | paysano (de esta parte) | ya-gwi-il-wi-nu-k |
| gringo | meestair | jun-tch-a- pat - ka -wi-nag |
| | gringo | (he comes from afar of another country) |
| dog | perro | tzi- pat |
| bitch | perra | tu-tzi- pat |
| chicken | pollo | dri- vo - om - ka -k-atch |
| hen | gallina | tu-ta-a-k-atch |
| rooster | gallo | gwi-hil |
| turkey | chunpe (male) | gwi-o-wah |
| | female | tu-bi-ip |
| ????? | pavo orial | pa-vo-o-rial |

jun tch a hu
 wi nag's he
 has to pay over
 water to come
 here = he is
 from another
 country.

| | | | |
|--|------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| sheep | chivo | ma-ta-chi-vo (male) | ma-tu-chi-vo (female) |
| burro | carnero burro | bu-ro | |
| flower | Lasano flores | pi-i-tché - <i>spit out the rh</i> | |
| color | rosas color | no word (note, however there are words for various colors. note also there is no word for music, but there are words for various kinds of music. i think this is a general tendency in the language--i.e its a no abstracting). | |
| white | blanco | sa-k | <i>MA-WI-K</i> |
| blue | azul | ma-u-sul | |
| negro | black | ma-k- exj | |
| yellow | amarillo | ma- yl -an | |
| (note: luis sees the brown varnish color of a chair, the orange of an orange, the gold of a finger ring and the gray of the back of a paper pad as all belonging to "amarillo".) | | ma-rash | |
| xxx green | verde | Kakj | |
| xxx red | colorado | ma-mo-rado | |
| purple | morado | kafe | |
| brown | cafe | groes | |
| gray | gris | chu-lik | |
| dirty yellow | xxxxxxx ??? | pi-i-ri-k = <i>small</i> | |
| many colored | ingerto | Kak -chi-coj | |
| rainbow | arcoiris | sa-k-watch | |
| hail | granisado | luis never saw, heard or dreamed of this. | |
| snow | nieve | na-k-jam | <i>cilo = wa-ta-shaj</i> |
| rain | llovía | su-utz | |
| clouds | nubes | na-k-a-k-a-man-i-k | |
| work | travajar | k-a-hil-oh | |
| rest | descansar | k-a-k-u-anu | |
| play | jugar | k-a-gu-o-oh | |
| eat | comer | pa-k-k-exj | |
| drink | tomar | k-a-gu-o-o-roh | |
| | bete r | ni-ki-liss (much laughter herefromL.) | |
| sleep | dormir | na-ru-na-on | |
| fornicate | chimar | e-ru-k-am-na = <i>ya se creyo</i> | |
| think | ponсар | chi-k-a-an | |
| believe | creer | na-k-a-atc | |
| (note that in the words for catholic and non-catholic on p.3--where the phrase said "he does not believe in god--the spanish cognate "creer" was used in the lenguaje expression rather than the lenguae word proper.) | | shi-k-in | |
| do | hacer | dru- id -hashi- kin | |
| eyes | ojos | ma-a-jo | |
| ears | orejas | ma-a-tchi | |
| nose | oidos | ma-a- ham <i>new</i> | |
| mouth | nariz | ma-dru-pi-er-i-et- ba -k-am = <i>palen</i> | |
| arm | boca | dra-k-un-ha-k-am = <i>punkis</i> | |
| hand | braso | wish-k- g -k | |
| finger | mano | dru-tsu-hu-mil-k-a-k-am | |
| nail | dedo | ka-lak | |
| skin | una | ha-ta-lem | |
| neck | piel | ma-a-mis | |
| | nuca | ma-a-tzok | |
| shoulders | pesquero | | |
| bicep | ombros | | |
| elbow | gatillo | | |
| | codo | | |

wrist
buttockspuno
cachetes = *maja yu*
nalgaspanagon-tsa
pan-a-shi-kin -- cheeks, too -
maj-a-yo

(i swear i don't know how buttocks slipped in between wrist and eyebrows! and i just had the ill sense to go ask the senorita what "cachetes" were--and pointed to my cheeks and asked her if these were cachetes, at which much laughter, and then she screamed that cahcetes were nalgas--but there are two different language words for the two).

eyebrows
eyelashes
lips
teeth
tongue
hair
beard
mustache
head
forehead
armpit
armpit hair
heart
liver
lungs
kidneys
stomach
waist
peniscojas
pestanas
labias
dientes
lengua
pelo
barbe
bigote
cabeza
frente
ceno
pelo de ceno
corazon
higado
pulmones
rinones
estomaco
cintura = *ji KAM KA ATM*
picoma-ja-mi-itz
ma-ja-mi-itz (luis insists they're the same)
wa-tcha-wieh
ma-ja-wieh
ma-a-wak-k'
ha-na
ha-wi-si-in-chi
ha-wi-si-in-chi (again he insists the same)
ma-a-ja-loo-um
~~gi-ye-jal-pa-naj-a-watch~~
pa-na-si-k-en
ma-ja-wij
ha-wa-al-ma
i-ga-do-pan-k-a-pan
pulmon

ri-non (note that the ~ is not present)

chi-ja-k-utgh + *rita*
k-a-shu-k-u-i

ma-a-pui (when it is big)

pi-ma-a-pui (when it is small--luis volunteered these differences. apparently there's a "size consciousness" here too).

ma-ja-wo-a-wa

ma-ja-pu-um

tush

testes
pubic hair
vaginahuevos
pendejo
tush
micobreast
rectom
thighs
calves
shinbone
knees
ankle
heel
toespecho de mujer
culo
piernas
poste de espinilla
espinilla
rodillas
hoja de pie
carcañal
dedos de piemaj-dru-itch *chuch - ishoy*
chi-a-yo
ni-mak-pa-a-ma-yu (separate the 'k')
sa-a-tu-u-k
watch-k-a-~~CO~~RIL
na-ja-tche-k
ha-k-us-k-u-yul
ha-tish-li
dra-k-un-a-tuj

(note: at this point i asked luis to give me all the parts of a cow's body--both the spanish and the lenguaje. the english translations are my renditions from his descriptions).

head
beck
ears
front legs
hind legs
hide
forebody
teats
hooves
tail
bowels
stomach
intestinescabeza
nuca
oreja de vaca
manos de vaca
piernas
cuerno
panza
tetas
cascos
cola
alifios
sucuse
tipasdru-ja-lu-um
dri-dra-la
dru-shi-k-in-wa-a-k-ash
a-am-wa-a-k-ash

(note: every part now ends in wa-a-k-ash--which means: cow).

dru-yu
drij
dru-pen-~~ta~~
dru-chu-utch
dru-chu-chu
dru-ji-ah
ma-dra-li-no (here the ~ is present)
su-ka-use
dru-tri-pa

Bull parts are the same, says Luis, except for bull penis which is DRU-TZI-K-IN-TORO

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english word

pokoman

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| today | ture |
| yesterday | iewu. |
| day before yes. | kuwacher |
| day before day before yes. | ishacher |
| four days before today | kiyacher |
| 5 days before today | liach. |
| tomorrow | iach-tal |
| day after tomorrow | kawich |
| 2 days from today | oishich |
| 4 days from today | kocheach |
| 5 days from today | patch-lich or liach. |

the spanish has entered into the dialect to the point where in order to say Sunday to come, if today is Friday you say kawich domingo. i tried in all ways to get a word for 6 days before today and 6 days after today but could get none. when i questioned luis on this he said that was because there are only 6 work days in the week and they didn't reckon a seven day week. luis could count easily up to 6 but had to think each time i asked him for 7,8,9 and 10. he said there are no names for the months in the lenguaje, and added that if there were he would know them. his mother did not know them either when asked. a month, however, is 'por'. "dre" is used to denote times to come. wuch' is used to denote time past. for instance, if this month is august, then the month of july just past is denoted either as "wuch julio" or wuch ru po hil julio'. and, september to come is denoted as either "dre septiembre" or "dre ru po hil septiembre". i have just checked with pedro vicente on his knowledge of some of the words. he is unclear on numbers above six and on the distinction between ordinals and cardinals. in counting up to ten he mixes in 5th for 5, etc.

this ended our session in lenguaje. much more will follow, of course.

yo--hat or hin
tu--re(it may be 'dre') or hat
el--re or hat
ella--hat or re
nosotros--coj (note that 'coj' also means natural.)
vosotrs-- hat or coj
ustedes--hat-a or coj
usted-- hat --
ellos--hat-a or re-taje

yo voy-- hinawoje
tu vas-- hatnaje
el va--- hatnaje ---renawoje
vamos--- coj nakoje ---
vais---- hat-a naje
van ---- hat-a naje

iba--hin shin owa nak
ibas--~~h~~ tiowa nak
iba--hat t~~h~~owa nak
ibamos---tak-ta --take--nak --coj-na--nakoje (there is a confusion here
ibais-- kati I can't get straight--he says that tak-ta means
iban--itiowa "abunus" and that coj-na-nakoje means "nosotros
ibamos a ir".

fui-- shimpane or hin-shimpane (voice starts level with shim --goes
fuiсте--~~et~~ipane down at "pa" and comes up with an
fue-- e-pane or yure-showa or e-tiowa accent at "ne")
fuimos--shaj-pane

fuiстеis-- shi-pane (note that until the 3rd plural is said, secundino
fueron-- shi-pane would say that 1st and 2nd plural were the same. then
or i would ask for the third plural--which he would
re-taje-ya-shi give me--and then ask again for 2nd plural--and it
pa-ne turns out to be same as 3rd plural).

ire---hina woje--
iras-- hatnawoje or hina woje
ira--~~xxxxxxx~~ hatnawoje or re-nawoje
irems---nakoje or coj-na-koje
ireis--~~xxxxxxx~~
iran--hat-a nawoje --or ha-ta-naje - or re-nawoje

note: this makes three times in a row i have gone over these forms
with secundino and gotten different answers for some of the forms each
times. there is mostly a mixture of the persons. the tenses seem to be
kept pretty straight. but it is impossible to tell whether 3 more rep-
etitions wouldn't give 3 different sets of answers. the attempt is not
worth while, i think.

tengo-- hin-wiligu--(voice down on wil--upwards on i- and up on gu)
tiene--hat-wil-a-gu
tiene-- hat-wil-a-gu
tenemos-- coj--wil-a-ku
teneis--hat-wil-a-ku
tienen--hat-wil-a-ku

The K in Espnaje is
1/2K 1/2g

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tenia--hin-wil-i-naj-ku
tenias--hat-wil-i-naj-a-ku (the 'a' before the ku appears in 2nd and 3rd
tenia--re-wil-i-naj-a-ku singular and 2nd plural on 3 repetitions).
teniamos--coj-wil-i-naj-ku
teniais--hatawil-i-naj-a-ku
tenian--re-taje-wil-i-naj-ku

the subjunctive forms ,secundino insists, are the same as the imperfect.

tendre---hin-na-ro-ji-wi-gu (note that the k gets to sound more and more
like a gw or a g--)
tendras--hat-wikna-ro-ji-wi-a-gu (note that to get future forms from
him i have to ask how do you say "tu vas tener" instead of
tu tendras. for tu tendras he gives me the present indicative.

tendra---hat no-ra-ji-wi-a-gu or re-no-ra-ji-wi-a-gu
tendremos--coj-no-ra-ji-wi-a-gu
tendreis--hata-no-ra-ji-wi-a-gu
tendran---hata-no-ra-ji-wi-a-gu

tuve-- hin-i-wi-gu
tuviste--hat-i-wi-a-gu
tuvo--re-i-wi-a-ru (note the 'r' instead of the 'g' or 'k' here. it
may be just faulty hearing on my part--but can i
hear wrongly three times?--maybe).

tuvimos--coj-i-wi-a-ku (now the g sounds like a k)
tuvisteis--hata-i-wi-ta-gu(now the k is a g)
tuvieron--re-taje-i-wi-gu
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tuviera--hin-i-wan-na-jin-wi-a-gu
tuvieras--hat-na-wa-nak-jin-wi-a-gu
tuviera--re-en-dra-nak-jin-wi-a-ru
tuvieramos--wil-i-taj-ku-- or coj-wil-i-taj-ku (taj and naj seem the same)
tuvierais-- hata-wil-i-taj-ku
tuvieran -- hata-wil-i-taj-ku

note, secundino has no forms to distinguish the future subjunctive
era form from the imperfect subjunctive ere form nor from the imperect
subjunctive lese form.

soy--hi-nak
eres--hat-nak
es---dre-nak
somos--coj-nak
sois---hata-nak
son--dre-take-nak

sea--etc--subjunctive forms the same as indicative.
era-- hin nak etc---same forms as indicative.
voy ser--- the future is the same too. can't get other forms. i'm going to
try estar with him.

estoy--guili-hin estaba---hin-guili-kin
estas--guili-kat estabas--hat-guili-kat
esta--dre--guili estaba-- dre-guili-kat
estamos--guili--coj estabamos---same as present
estais--guili-hata estabais--same as present
estan--guili -kyer estaban-- same as present--or dre-guili-kyer

estuve--~~guixixkix~~ --hin-shi-gui
estuviste-- hat-i-ti-gui
estuvo--dre-i-gui
estuvimos---shaj-wi
estuvisteis--hata-i-ti-gui
estuvieron--dre-shi-gui

estuviera--hin-wikkin-ta
estuvieras--hat-wil-ka-ta (took asking in three different ways to get
estuviera--drewil-i-ta this)
estuvieramos--wili-coj-a-ta
estuvierais--hata-wili-ka-ta
estuvieran-- same as present---can't get another form--but i'll
try now-- --ah, now he says its hata-wili-ka-tax or
dre-taje--wil-kyer-ta

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voy estar--hin-a-nu-gui
vas estar--hat-guili-kat
va estar---dre-na-guili
vamos estar-- coj nako guili
vais estar-- hat-guili-kat
van estar---dre-take-na-ko-guili

the names of ~~waxkx~~ days and months are the same as castillano, says secundino.

god-- ? (sometimes ti-yo-wash is used for god ,too).
saint-- ti-yo-wash
sun-- ka-ij
moon--poh (explode on this one--i.e. on the p)
estrellas--chi-i-min
cielo ---wajeshaj
clouds--suiz--
gentes--gui-nak
gente natural--coj
ladino--modso
white-skinned---saj-ma-kam
tall men---nimaruki--winajk
small men-- pi-wi-nujk
stranger;-- naj-tu-wi-najk--('he comes from afar')
paysano-- no lenguaje--
gobierno---
fiesta--ka-ijk

visitors broke up our interview---it was already 11 o'clock in any event, and secundino had to return to his duties as regidor since this is his week for service.

VII. Education

In San Luis there is no Indian as educated by formal standards as the most educated of Ladinos. But there are not a few totally illiterate Ladinos as well. There are not as many illiterate Ladinos as there are illiterate Indians, as the chart of education reveals in more exact detail; but, for the life style of the Indian, as now constituted, there is less use for literacy than there is in the case of the Ladino, the very poorest of whom, if only by reason of his membership in the community of Ladinos, feels more keenly the need for literacy in order (1) to preserve some kind of status within the Ladino community and (2) to have some kind of distinguishing mark which will mark him off from the Indian community.

One cannot discuss education in the pueblo of San Luis without talking sensibly at first about relative amounts of opportunities. San Luis school system consists of two schools in the pueblo, one for girls and one for boys, each of which teaches through the third grade curriculum, as prescribed by the National Ministry of Education. There is one rural school, in the aldea of Los Amates, for both boys and girls, which teaches through the third year as well. In the "urban" schools, the boys have three teachers, the girls have three teachers, one for each of the years taught. In the rural school in Los Amates, there is only one teacher who teaches all three years. Just as I was leaving the area of San Luis an order had been instituted to effectualize a

new school up through the third grade in the all-Indian aldeas of El Camaron where I had spent a month. A school had formerly been in existence there, as indeed it had been in several aldeas situated in the area, but for reasons, mostly unknown and unquestionable, these schools had simply closed down.

The plans for education, including the setting of curriculum, the number of days on which school is to be held, the salary of school teachers, the kind of examinations and examiners, and in general, the whole pattern of education is set in Guatemala City by officials who simply have no knowledge of prevailing local conditions, and allow for no local adaptations on the general plan for education devised. An examination of the prescribed curriculum reveals an astounding number of erudite and seemingly utterly useless topics which must be taught whether or not necessary materials, books or teachers are available.

The boys' school consists of one very large room, divided off into three imaginary sections by three imaginary dividing partitions, and there all three years of school are taught by the three male school teachers. The girls' school is set up in the same way. The orientation of the education is usually toward manual work to be put on display at fiestas and when visiting celebrities pass through, and toward learning of recitations and pieces to be recited at national holidays and at social gatherings.

The school teachers are paid poorly; the male and female directors getting \$15 a month for six days a week of service, while the two subordinates, male and female, get \$10 a month for their services. All writing materials must be purchased by the children, many of whom simply never purchase them for lack of money.

School is held from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. on week days and from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. on Saturdays. There are innumerable holidays celebrated during the year at which times the schools are closed. Examinations are held twice a year, orally conducted, for the most part, by people in the pueblo designated beforehand by the Ministry of Education. The rate of failures is seemingly very large, especially in the first grades. The director of the local board of education expressed his regrets that in many instances a child who apparently could pass his examinations if they were given in writing, simply muffed because of "stage fright" in the presence of the examiner, who in most instances demands precision, speed and formidable public appearance, in addition to knowledge of the subject, if a child is to pass successfully.

The spirit is one of high competition among the children; deliberately promoted; and rather violently sustained by the system of announcement of failures as well as successes at the graduation ceremonies each year. A child does not know before the graduation ceremonies whether he has failed or passed, and it was my personal experience to witness

any number of children who had brought their parents to the ceremonies only to be notified in somewhat triumphant tones that they had failed, and would have to repeat the year.

Such practices as parents having the graduation officials award special prizes to their own children for having passed the year are allowed at graduation exercises. Most parents simply do not attend the ceremonies. A good many of the children do not attend either. Not a few children fail the year's work for failure, due to sickness or some other obstacle, to be present the day of examinations. In order to secure reexamination, one must make special petition to the National Ministry of Education. The effort involved usually proves not worth the results. I know of no case over the past few years where a child who, though he had attended school all year, and had failed to attend the day of examinations, had his parents or the officials petition for a reexamination.

The national law on education says that all children shall attend school from the ages of seven to fourteen, regardless of the number of years of school available. So, in San Luis it is not rare to encounter children who simply stay three and four years in the third grade of school not in any sense of conformity to the national law which can easily be broken without fear of punishment, but simply because they (1) have nothing else to do and (2) feel that they can get something new out of the school year each year that they re-attend, for they confess it is difficult to

learn all there is to be taught during the one year that they are legally supposed to remain in third grade. San Luis used to have a fourth year of school, but the local budget of education was cut and the available teacher had moved out of the pueblo. Thus, for the last few years, there have been only three years of school.

Requirements for teachers state that they shall have had six years of schooling. That this obviously can be interpreted in several different ways is witnessed to by the fact that one of the school teachers who was conducting classes when I was in the pueblo had had six years of school, but they were constituted by two years in each of the three years of school available at the time he went to school.

Certain local variations upon the national directives on education do prevail, especially in the case of the treatment of Indian school children by the white teachers and the white students. There is no direct provision for equal kinds of education, and for punishment for discrimination or for misconduct toward Indian children, yet a whole host of local versions of interpretations of the implications of the National law are manifest. Instruction through face slapping is not uncommon; the rod is not used, but the hand is; and this almost always in the case of Indian children, as far as I can determine from the school teachers, who are short on patience and long on notions of education and educatability. The school teachers assert that if the Indian children had the same amount of pre-school training in

Spanish as the Ladino children, they would have even less difficulty, in problems of discipline and of instruction, than they have with Ladino children, and they cite exceptional Indian children to demonstrate this. At the same time, they admit that this lack of pre-school training is the cause of rather severe discipline problems with beginning Indian students, who simply can't understand the Spanish-spoken directions which the school teachers give out, and hence, come to bear the brunt of the wrath of patience-short teachers. It is difficult to determine, with any degree of certitude, the extent to which this manner of treatment goes on; if one is to believe reports of Indian parents, it is considerable. If one is to believe the school teachers, it is minimal and insignificant. The fact remains that I heard considerable complaints from Indian parents and heard no complaints from white parents about any manual handling of their respective children. The home conditions of both Indian and white school children must also be considered. There is homework handed out to school children after the first year of school, i.e., in the second and third grades, and the reader may imagine for himself the relative amount of aid which an Indian child can get from illiterate parents in a household, where as well, the moment he is out of school there are chores which keep him busy until bed time. Contrast this with the aid a white child can secure, in a literate household where the child, in addition, is master of his own time and free from chores usually until he reaches

the age of thirteen or fourteen. The reader may also imagine the differential involved in living in a one room hut, with extremely poor lighting, where everyone is crowded up on everyone else, and where, as far as I can determine, there is simply no kind of encouragement rendered by the parents, and indeed, where in the case of many Indians, the child feels ashamed to even mention school to his older brothers and sisters who, either because they did not want to or simply were unable to, did not attend school. We may contrast that with the case of the white child where all during his school career, as well as in later life, there is prestige to be derived from manifestation of the formal marks of education and where that education can later be employed in gainful occupations. The Indian child's education seems, for the most part, to be a mere interlude between childhood times of unrestricted play and the immediate entrance after his two or three years of school into the community of Indians as a full time economic hand on his father's milpa. There it makes not one whit of difference if he can read or write. And, there the knowledge of reading and writing and some indication of the chances that greater literacy might provide for him, when juxtaposed with the realization that that further education is not to be his and that all the things he learned in school were so much waste for the later necessities of making a living, causes, in some cases, a psychological disequilibrium which tends toward some rather severe disorganization of personality.

Most Indian children simply do not go to school or else go for one or two years, it being the rare child who goes through three years of school. In the history of the pueblo only two Indians ever went further than the third grade, one of them returning from the city where he had gone on to secondary school after eight months, because of illness, and never continuing; the other going on for some three years to secondary school and coming back to the pueblo, where he managed to secure the position of scribe and secretary pro tem over a period of eight years.

In the case of whites, it is difficult to estimate the number of children who go on to secondary school, though by informal estimates and by rough census it seems that about one white child a year leaves the pueblo for instruction in secondary schools; in most instances, that child, if he manages to stay in secondary school seeks and gets work afterwards in another pueblo and simply never comes back to the pueblo in which he got his primary education except for occasional visits to the family household. Going to secondary school requires what is for the Ladino and even more so for the poorer Indian a considerable amount of money. For the Indian more so than for the Ladino, a child ~~at school~~ represents a double outlay: (1) the money involved in paying his room, board, clothing and supplies at the secondary school; and (2) the loss of the child as an economic hand in the household, which usually entails the hiring of an adult hand to do the work which the parent might have gotten from

the child had the child remained in the pueblo. This is much more true in the case of the Indian child, especially where there are few or no elder male siblings or, in the case of the female child, where she has no other elder sisters to help the mother in the household work, which, in a family of four people, cannot be adequately handled by only one female hand.

Though this is especially pertinent in the case of the sending of a child on to secondary school, it has pertinence as well in the sending of a child to primary school in the pueblo. This is almost exclusively true of the Indian family, whose work routine is so constructed that each child in the family is vitally needed in the family work to be done, and, in case of his absence after the age of seven or eight, must be replaced by a hired hand, involving, thus, a double economic outlay. For, even to send an Indian child to primary school means expenditures for clothing and notebooks and other supplies which most Indian parents, according to their estimates, simply cannot afford. It must be stated, however, that my examination of their budgets and their sources of income and expenditure reveal that considerable inefficiency in the handling of their resources is responsible in some cases as well. But the fact that the parents so construct the situation, and the consequences of their construction, provide us with some of the reasons for the failure of more numbers of Indian children to attend school.

Certain other factors enter into the determination of the presence or the absence of the child at primary school. The Indian is ambivalent about a child getting education. He realizes and affirms the value of literacy in later life, if, as he says, there were opportunities for an Indian child to make use of literacy in some gainful way; but he is also aware that the Indian child will have little if any opportunity to profit by his education in later years except under special circumstances such as during his period of military service and/or his service, unpaid to be sure, for the mayor or the local military or other civil officials, where, as the Indian says, one should know Spanish well to be able to run the errands on which the servants are dispatched. The Indian recognizes for the most part, however, whatever his desires and in spite of them, that probably his child will lead the same kind of existence as he himself, the father, did. That involves work and skills in which literacy simply has no importance. He admits that this circle of perpetuation of some work habits through lack of literacy will never be broken until he makes his children literate; yet he always expresses the hope that someday his children will be more fortunate and more in possession of resources which might aid him to sustain himself during a period of a child's absence from the house as an economic hand. But for the most part the prevailing attitude is that there simply is no good purpose for sending a child to school. He simply can't make any use in later life of the

formal education he secures, except in the signing of letters or of documents or of votes for the president.

As for the female child of the Indian household, there is first the general obstacle of a lack of tradition of felt need for education for females. Girls usually marry much earlier than boys among the Indians and it takes them several years to acquire complete work skills which they will need if they are to sustain their part in their household after marriage. Some Indian women and some Indian men told me that education gave the girl ideas which simply were inimical to satisfactory conduction of the household in the native fashion. It created desires and horizons for which no gratification was available in the scope of the life which they lead if their husbands are, above all, workers of milpa, as indeed, are the vast majority of Indian men in San Luis. In short, then, Indian mothers, as far as I can determine, consider that found education of their daughters not only does not make them any more fit for leading the Indian life afterwards but indeed, unfits them in part. There is no doubt either that a certain amount of sentiment enters in the determination of whether an Indian child is to be sent away to secondary school, assuming that all other things are favorable. Indian men have told me that they would send their children to secondary school, assuming they could, but that the wives don't like to send their children away because they get sad for them when they are away from home. That this is not false sentiment may be inferred from the

general tendency toward sentimental parental attachment to children manifested even by Indian men who usually pay regular visits to their sons when those sons are in the military barracks in Guatemala City.

It is to be noted, in summary, then, that a host of factors combine to make it difficult for Indian children to get even to primary school and secure a minimal education and thus become susceptible to later informal education through the printed word. Most of these factors are simply not operative in the case of the Ladino, insofar as the securing of a primary school education is concerned. But, when it comes to the question of secondary education, the needs involved in sending a child on, while not so strongly burdensome on the Ladino as on the Indian, are still sufficiently burdensome to prevent the majority of Ladinos from sending on their children. Thus, we get a situation where there are many more Ladinos than Indians who have primary school education, but relatively fewer in the pueblo itself who have any further advantage in the way of formal education over the Indian than that constituted by the skills which three years of school can render unto a person. This situation persisting over a period of time has led to a condition which verifies in part our contention that the Indian is closer to the pueblo type Ladino, toward whose actual conditions he aspires, than is the pueblo Ladino to the city Ladino, to whose goals he, the Ladino, aspires.

It is true that one cannot measure in stated amounts the advantage which a primary school education renders a person, without taking into account the desires, the kind of life toward which the person to be educated is oriented, and the prestige and/or status to be acquired and actually desired, which is mediated in part through formal education. One might as easily try to set up some felicity calculus, which, in a situation of acculturation, would be no more stable as a measure than the least stable of goals which we know to be so immediately and vitally effected under acculturation pressures. In the situation of culture change in which we find the pueblo and the Indian of San Luis, far more so than the Ladino of San Luis, the ambivalence about the desirability and worth of a formal education for the children is marked. If this discussion has seemed to waver between the poles which represent the ambivalence end-points, it is only a reflection of the ambivalence which prevails among the people from whom these impressions were gathered.

The chart on education should be consulted for detailed presentation of the actual situation prevailing in San Luis at the time of my residence there.

Again, in summary, it should be noted that this situation of ambivalence, arising from a dual set of goals which the Indian looks towards, his acculturation-situation, is self-perpetuating not only by reason of the fact of change on going at the present time, but by reason of the imparting

to children of the same kind of ambivalence with which the older generation is affected. If the preponderance on an imaginary scale of desires and goals is on the side of desirability of formal education, and if that formal education merits, in the Indian's estimation, the effort which it entails, then we may reasonably expect in years to come that in that type Indian family, the children of each succeeding generation, barring extraordinary difficulties, will come closer to the active incorporation of a single set of goals and the partial fulfillment of them than their forefathers; but, in the contrary case, and these contrary cases seem to be in the majority as far as I can judge, the contrary consequences will prevail. So that, though the Ladino society presents a formal front and verbal statements to the effect of the desirability of Indian formal education, and makes available some opportunities, the gradual circular counteracculturative reinforcement may be sufficiently strong to vitiate the halfhearted attempts which the Ladino government makes toward making literate its Indian citizens and thus, enabling them in future years to make literate their descendants, enabling them to play an increasingly larger part in the government of the country of whose population they constitute a numerical two-thirds.

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i had gone up to the intendencia this morning to get some data and to get a copy of the municipio map and i met vicente outside. we chatted a while about nothing in particular and then he invited me to the chausura of the school to take place tomorrow at 3 p.m. i asked him whether he could give me figures on literacy and illiteracy for ladino and indian, but he said there were no official figures: that the census never included this and that any national figures were sheer guesses and approximations. he guessed that perhaps 75-80% of the indians were illiterate and that 35-50% of the ladinos were illiterate; we made a rough survey on the spot of some 5 indian men there, asking each of them how many in their families could read, etc: and the figure of 80% seemed substantial for the men there; my interviews reveal a higher figure of illiteracy, but vicente explained this as due to the fact that indians soon forget how to read and write once they get out of school: so, any figures on literacy based on the number of people who have gone to school here must be taken with that grain of salt. i asked him for the qualifications for passing from 1st grade to 2nd etc and we began to list them--but it turns out that he has an official programa of minimum qualifications which the examiners use--and that everyone to pass must succeed in these requirements, and that many excel them. i am going to get a copy of this tomorrow as well, as a copy of the attendance records, marks, failing etc of all the pupils of the boys and the girls school. vicente complained about how hard it is to teach the indians here: many of them come to school not knowing a word of spanish--he says they sit quietly and fearfully for the first month or so but that after a month or so after they have learned something they pep up and one can notice them fraternizing with the other students and being as mischievous as the others. he often mentioned the fact that those from the edge of the pueblo were worse than the rest: but could not explain, except in terms of the fact that on the edge of the pueblo castellano is practically never used. other factors contributing to the difficulty of the indian child he lists as (1) eating only tortillas and beans--which according to him atrophies the brain; he really has some idea of malnutrition and its effects: but he expressed it in terms of this tortillas business: (2) la pereza--the laziness; they go home and lie around and do nothing and have all their lives cultivated lazy habits--and this interferes with their learning anything; (3) their dirtiness and sickness and their poor living conditions--(4) from the above factors comes poor attendance and dilatoriness in attendance and this hinders. Now he says that the indian children are very adept in drawing and music; he says they draw fine pictures of airplanes which most of them have seen only in the air; and fine pictures of cars with chauffeurs--the most of them see cars maybe ten fifteen times a year--when they pass thru the pueblo; he says they're much better at this than ladino children; it is in the 'naturalness' of the indian, he thinks. some indian children he considers very bright; he never said that the indian was congenitally stupid or anything like that; the reasons listed above are the only reasons he gives for the difficulty of the indian child here. He laments the fact that there are only three years of school here--and no fellowships to go on to colegio; the becas given out by the government require completion of the sixth year of school--and these are available really only to the far more advanced municipios and departments; jilotepeque is not among them; he thinks this is a shame for he thinks he turns out some very bright students. he bewails the perrewarding and the overjobbing on the maestros; he had 49 1st grade students last year; some 27 or 29 passed into the second year; he thinks that is a good percentage; i shall know tomorrow whether more indians or more ladinos passed and failed when i see the records; he says that it usually takes two years for an indian child to pass the 1st year; he notes that maybe 2 or 3 students at the most go out of here each year to colegio in another place; he says maybe there are six jilotepeque children in colegio now. that would reduce the figures considerably i think. - now vicente is a reasonable guy--as far as i can tell; he seems about as free from prejudice as most any other ladino--seems an earnest school teacher and is serious about his work. he is a native--son of pancho escobar--living 'in sin' with the 3rd woman professor whom he brought with him from jicaro where he had been teaching before coming home to roost in jilotepeque. i shall have more to say tomorrow.

Education

i have just seen a ~~hix~~ brutal ugly demonstration of small town stuff and i must write of it and get my hate for this place out of my system, or at least toned down. i went with victor, an invitation of the primero professor, to see the clausura, the closing ceremonies of the school year at which the certificates are given out and some 'dramatic recitations' presented. the first notion i had of small town ugliness really at work was when the professors began to announce the 'suspensos' -i.e. those who had failed. each student was called up (thank goodness more of the suspensos were absent than present) and in front of the assembled 'sociedad' which is really the sociedad (note that victor was the only male adult present--the only one); there were several adult women present: the wife of pancho portilla and the wife of raymundo bollat and the wife of victor) the rest present were the young bucks (carlos, salvador jaimé and salvador sandoval--I--the marimbistas--a small crowd of onlookers to the rear--mostly children--and about fifteen of the leal patejas--no indian parents present)))--as i was spying each student was called up and handed his certificate and in no unclear tones it was announced whether he had passed or failed or passed with distinction or failed in all or some of his or her subjects; this is the first notice, i think, that the students have as to whether they fail or pass; only one that i saw visibly was affected: a boy, ladino, in the second grade; but what brutality--to announce defeat and failure to the public and perhaps to ruin a child's whole perspective that way; thank goodness most of the suspensos were absent and thank goodness again that those present who were handed their suspensos did not seem very aware of what was going on; some did--and these my heart could break for; would it not have been more civilized to inform them before hand--and not have them dress up as best they could and not have them come just to be handed a suspenso? no--small town stuff has to out. the climax was when the primo maestro presented a rubber ball to raymundo's two sons--a gift to the boys from his father and mother; an act so obviously wackish and vulgar--so ugly--an act--as victor who was sitting beside me assured me--which any number of other parents could have duplicated--that i turned nauseous when it came off. small town stuff will out.

well--people presented their pieces, people applauded half heartedly, the girls were more interested in making audible fun of the poor kids in ragged clothes; and the young bucks were a little too anxiously obvious that the affair should end so that the dance would start; most of these who were suspenso, victor told me, were indians; i don't know this for sure, but i shall find out for sure from the professors; i was pleased to see some indians who were distinguida as well as just passed; what amazed me was the obvious age differential between children in the same grade; this was more true of the girls than of the boys; another amazing thing was that it seemed a full half of the student body was absent from the clausura; --there were about thirty girl students present and about 40 boy students; and the boy school has an active enlistment of 79, and an almost equal sized girls school; small town indolence--except within restricted circles--; small town ugliness; oscar, president of the board of education--couldn't be bothered to come; he said he hadn't been invited; which is ridiculous. since he is actually in charge of the affair; but he did nothing; it was all handled by the maestros; the only town official present was the intendente; raymundo could have come but stayed away--probably couldn't be bothered; federico, mariano, daniel--all the big shots--they were conspicuously absent; maybe uninvited--but shit--the one thing here out of the whole town that represents a chance to make this place of a pig shit house--is treated with such indifference. i refer to the school of course.

well, it's small town stuff. and i don't hate it any the less for having written this;

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Education

just had an interesting chat with a little 12 year old girl, lacino, one of the 'subs' on 'my' basketball team. she always comes to my window sometime or other during the day to look in for a minute. got ta talking with her today. she finished the third year of school last year--having entered at the age of 8--and stayed two years in the third grade, complained about the school system--that she would like to go to colegio but her family was real poor. did she work? yes, she sewed dresses for a living--her mother taught her how. she gets 25 cents for a simple dress and fifty cents for a fancy, pleated dress. she can sew two simple ones in a day and one fancy one in a day. there are four~~th~~ other women who can sew--and to whom people come with things to be sewn--her sister, married, two aunts of hers--and another woman unrelated to them. they do most of the paid sewing in town, tho quite a few do their own sewing--there are quite a few sewing machines in town. she learned to sew while she was still in school--and when the year comes for making new school uniforms she will have a lot of work to do for she will get a good many uniforms to do. she has four sisters and one brother--the brother left last week to work on a banana plantation in Chiriquia; the sisters work and 'pasen' la vida. one older sister, berta, about 18, is one of my regular basketball players. i asked the little girl what most of the ladino girls did to fill in the day--she said that most of them don't have any trade at all--so they just walk the streets and visit and talk--and wait to get married. they go to church often--yes, she liked to go to church and went whenever she had 'lugar'--to sing and to pray to god that nothing should happen to her--she goes to church because she is 'catholic'. quite a few years ago they used to have fourth grade school here--but because there was no money to pay the teacher they discontinued it. now that the old profesora is back they are thinking of starting fourth grade up again--if they can get twenty pupils together who will each pay a dollar a month. she says school is not too good because they pay the teachers only ten dollars a month. up until the year before last, after having discontinued fourth grade a long time back, there were only two years of school--until the pupils asked for a third year--and so they dropped kindergarten and put a third year instead--but there were no books for the third year--and there still are none--so they use the same books as they used in the second year--and thus "we did not learn much". she said she could add, subtract, divide and multiply--and add fractions as well. i gave her a problem-- $1/5$ plus $1/5$ plus $3/10$ ----she couldn't figure it. gave her the answer and showed her how to arrive at it. then gave her $1/3$ plus $1/3$ plus $2/6$ to add. she couldn't figure it. so showed her the answer--and how to arrive at it. then gave her $1/4$ plus $1/4$ plus $1/2$. she couldn't figure that either. showed her the principle--at the showing of which it dawned on her that the principle was the same. then asked her if $2/6$ and $4/4$ were the same thing, she said no, because there were 6 parts in one and 4 parts in the other. brilliant, watson! so i tore

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two equal sized pieces of paper--one into six parts and one into four parts--and asked her if they were the same. she said, of course. then i wrote out the fractions $6/6$ and $4/4$ and asked her if they were equal. she said no because there were six parts in one and four parts in another. then showed her that the six parts of the paper were $6/6$ and the four parts of the paper were $4/4$ and then asked her if they weren't the same. she agreed--and apologized for her not knowing saying "they teach us badly and don't show us what they mean". we talked of the passing of time. what do some girls do? do they braid hats? oh, yes a good many ladinos braid hats. no they don't sew the hats---that is strictly for the 'indian race'--and especially indian men. oh, yes it was easy enough to, learn but people just didn't bother. could she make pitchers? no, she couldn't---no ladino or ladina makes pitchers. only the indians do. yes, they could learn from indians if they wanted to, but no one bothered. her mother used to sew but now that the girl sews the mother runs a bakery--one of the three bakeries in town-- the other two are run by aunts of the girl--thus the bread business is tied up in the family. one may not make 'pan francesca' without having certification from the health inspector and without paying for a license. bread is made beginning at 7 in the morning--and is ready at 2 p.m.---it is made every three days--. she can't estimate how much is bought or sold. she used to know but doesn't know now. she doesn't know how to make bread. rogelio the maestro of the pool parlor came along---i asked him if he could sum fractions--he said he used to be able to but one forgets very quickly and so he has forgotten. i asked him if he had 2 \$5 notes and 10 \$1 notes--would he have the same. oh, yes. i wrote out the fractions $2/5$ and $10/10$ ---asked him if they were the same. he couldn't tell me, really, because he had forgotten everything he had learned. he asked the little girl if she could sum fractions. oh, yes, she answered, she knew how. rogelio shook his head---but unashamed--confessed he had forgotten much. rogelio left. i closed 'school' for the day. the girl thanked me very much.

IX. Community Life

The community with which we are here concerned is San Luis, even though we have been treating at times of Guatemala City and the country of Guatemala as a larger community in which the people about whom this thesis is written have membership. It is our purpose to inquire in this section to what extent there are differences and similarities between the Indians and the whites in their participation in affairs of San Luis. Among the affairs of San Luis to which we shall give special attention are official positions in pueblo government; participation as members on committees which handle non-governmental affairs such as dances and fiestas; voting at elections within the pueblo, whether the elections are for local or national officials; military service in Guatemala as part of the quota from the pueblo; participation in politics and civic affairs in general within the pueblo.

We may open the discussion by asserting that the community of San Luis, insofar as it is to be considered one of the communities of Guatemala, is nominally Indian-Ladino in composition, but effectively only Ladino to the extent that in participations in community affairs dealing with the community in its relations with other communities and in the face which it presents to the outside world, only the Ladinos have effective voices and high indices.

To the extent that there are unpaid services of a house-boy or office-boy nature to be performed for the pueblo, to that

extent the Indian participates. But all paid offices in the pueblo are held by Ladinos. To be sure a good many of the paid officials are not locally-born Ladinos; but this is the result of government orders and not of choice. In the years between the end of the system of alcaldes and the institution of the system of non-local officials, it was the Ladino and not the Indian who held paid-office in the overwhelming majority of the cases.

In our previous discussion of government in chapter I of this thesis we indicated some of the set-up of the local pueblo governments. It should be noted that no Indian held an office where he could give orders to a Ladino. The ~~mayor~~, the Comandante, the telegraph officer, the mayor's first three aides are all Ladino. Only in one case, namely that of the first regidor auxiliar (who formally is subordinate even to the Indian regidores municipales) is there formal room for an Indian to give an order to a Ladino; yet it is considered unthinkable in the actual operations of the regidor system for the Indian regidores to so behave. And, the times of ~~service~~ of the regidor auxiliar, who is Ladino, never coincide with the weeks of service of the Indian regidores.

All the members of the various committees on agriculture and mines and labor are Ladino. All the members of the school board are Ladino. All the school teachers are Ladino. The titular fiesta committee is composed purely of Ladinos, though it should be noted that a rubber stamp Indian committee

was set up two years ago to act as general mediator of the communications between the government and the Indian community. In a sense, that points up the attitude with which the Indians are treated insofar as community participation is concerned. They are considered, for the most part, not as belonging to the pueblo in any effective sense, but only as being resident within the pueblo in sufficient numbers so that some acknowledgment must be made of them. The extent of this acknowledgment is indicated by the totally rubber stamp duties which the Indians on the committee serve.

The election board is totally Ladino; the committee on arrangement of church affairs and decoration of the church is all Ladino, even though every time in the past few years when serious repairs of the church have been undertaken, they have been initiated and carried through and paid for in most part by the Indians in San Luis.

There are however a good many offices which the Indians do hold. Indians almost without exception are those who serve guard duty, each turn lasting 8 days, each man being called several times during the year. This is an unpaid service. Of the thirty or so unpaid office boys of the mayor all are Indian, with the exception of the three municipal regidores and one regidor auxiliar. Of the thirty-one mailmen who walk 40 kilometers two days a month and serve as mailmen in the pueblo one day a month, to be freed from \$2.50 worth of taxes during the year, all but three are Indians. All the regidores of the various districts of the pueblo, whose tasks are equivalent to

those of the office boys who dance attendance at the city hall, are Indian. Every quota of military conscripts sent up to the city for as long back any anyone in the pueblo can remember has been filled totally by Indians.

In all community affairs held in celebration of patriotic dates, or patriotically inspired, all available seats are always taken by Ladinos, with the exception of two or three seats which are left for the three Indian municipal regidores.

In the remembered history of the pueblo, invitations to dances were extended only once to an Indian, and then to a totally-Ladinoized Indian who was serving as secretary in the pueblo.

In the remembered history of the pueblo, only once did an Indian serve as first alcalde, the position equivalent to that of mayor under the old system. This happened as a result of every available Ladino who was offered the position turning it down, until the political chief, in anger, as it was reported, said that he would appoint an Indian and did so. That was some 40 years ago and has not reoccurred.

Indian children, male and female, even though available in some cases, never play on the town basketball or soccer teams and never come out to "practice" with the Ladino players. Sometimes a separate soccer game is held between two Indian teams.

It may seem from the above that the picture is one of unbridled discrimination, yet certain factors have to be taken into account which relieve the hardness on some scores. It must be remembered that there are few if any Indians sufficiently

educated to dispatch the offices of mayor or comandante; i.e., few if any locally born Indians. There are not a few Indians all over the country, however, sufficiently trained to handle such offices; and since the officials now appointed are not native residents, one wonders why the officials are almost always Ladino. No exact figures on percentages of employed with relation to percentage employable are available, but San Luis does not seem to be atypical from what informal data I have been able to gather about other pueblos.

In the matter of dances and social affairs, there is no Indian in town who has the proper clothes for attendance at such affairs. Of course, all of my Ladino interviewees with but one exception indicated that an Indian would not get an invitation to such affairs even if he had clothes, simply because there would be no one with whom he could dance. Indian women, it should be noted, even though some of them could dress as adequately for the affairs as Ladino girls, are never even considered in this regard, even as potential invitees.

In the matter of unpaid office-boy services, and other similar positions, the Ladino interviewees indicate that the Indians are fools because they like this period of service. Of course, one must take into account that only one out of my fifty Indian interviewees indicated that he liked the service at the city hall; that he considered it a waste of time and a nuisance and wished he had known or knew, if then serving, how to get out of it.

In the matter of the various committees, again it seems that lack of literacy prevents an Indian from serving in the capacity of selecting from his district the right people for road service and other "volunteer" service for the pueblo. My Ladino interviewees indicated that it would never do for an Indian to be able to designate a Ladino for such service.

In the matter of military service in Guatemala City, two additional factors must be made known. It is true that the quotas are almost always filled by actual volunteer Indians insofar as the pueblo is concerned. In the aldeas the matter is slightly different; the comandante assigns each aldea a quota and that quota is almost never filled by volunteers; they are conscripts and are almost always Indian. Ladinos have a taste, it is said, for military officialdom, but dislike the year's training which is supposedly compulsory on all Guatemalans. It is true, however, that there are usually more Indian volunteers than can be accepted by the comandante, in any given quota period.

Two major principles of selection seem to operate in deciding who is to participate in community affairs. Firstly, selection is made along the lines of Indian or Ladino; and secondly, in such things as social affairs, selection is initially made simply along lines of social acceptability, which involves clothes and graces which the peer Ladino has no more than the Indian. It should be noted, however, that in each instance where the choice is made along lines other than Indian and Ladino, it is relatively simple for the peer Ladino

to acquire the necessary prerequisites of participation in comparison to the difficulties which the Indian would encounter in attempting to secure inclusion.

Over ~~and~~ above all this it is only by stretching the imagination that one can ascribe any kind of community life to the pueblo of San Luis in general. The dances and the meetings are so sporadic and so infrequent; the public reunions are even less frequent; there are no social clubs that function to any significant degree; and, in short, all community sponsored affairs are matters of the moment as much as they are ideas of one or two individuals, and seem to bear no organic relationship to the functioning of the community. This is true even of the marimba concerts held thrice weekly in the evenings; the attendance is almost totally youth, and actual central participation in the "walking of the turn," i.e., the walking around and round the kiosk where the marimba plays, is almost totally Ladino, with bold Indian youth skirting the edges of the park, dancing off in the darkness of the market place, or sometimes growing so bold as to brave the mockery of Ladino watchers and march around the park in their best dress array. But these marimba concerts are to be considered more as sheer diversion rather than as anything organically related or sponsored by the community. The basketball games and the soccer games cannot be considered in this fashion, for they constitute an important manner of representing the pueblo either on visits to other pueblos or when visitors come into the pueblo for celebrations. The social dances and gatherings similarly must be considered as playing an important role

in the functional integrity of the community prestige-status system.

San Luis is considered by its own inhabitants as a "dead pigeon." It is considered lifeless and inspirationless; devoid of community spirit; of community fervor and pride. It requires more than considerable effort to get the community functioning as a whole, even though this movement involves no more than signature on a petition and the contribution of a few cents. I have watched the process of the rise and death of an idea for a community affair; people simply are not concerned. In comparison with other pueblos in the east, it seems that San Luis is a "dead pigeon."

Indians themselves have a type of community life in the cofradias and the monthly reunions of those cofradias; there is at those times a greater confluence of individuals than at any other time in the month, except during market times and military drill on Sundays.

Market days and military drill days represent a sort of accidentally arisen type of community affair; people come to the market place even though they have nothing to do and simply hang around watching others doing the same thing; it seems that for both Ladino and Indian there is a heightening of emotion and positive entertainment value derivable from the mere confluence of large numbers of people.

After military drill there is on Sunday morning a crowd of people present in the market place and in the drinking places in town much larger than at any other time in the week. Temporary

reunions are held in the drinking places, the market place teems with practical jokers and vendors and buyers, and for a few minutes--from about 11:30 A.M. to 1 P.M.--there is a decidedly active picture of a community in motion. But there is never any formal structuralization of this picture, and it is never considered as representative of community life in these terms.

It usually requires the inspiration of someone from an outside place, who has seen other communities function for an idea even to be suggested, much less to be put into effect. And it requires the unceasing efforts of a few respected individuals to get an affair going. Without these efforts, affairs die or simply are never born. This was true for instance of the major Ladino fiesta during the months I was in attendance, where, because everyone depended on everyone else to make necessary arrangements for the active conduct of the fiesta, nothing was done and the fiesta died even before it got under way. People shook their heads in regret and went about with long faces the day of the fiesta, wondering when the activities and festivities were going to start.

The fact of the isolation of San Luis from neighboring communities and the fact that in no wise may it be considered an integral part of a larger community may, in part, account for the lack of community life. There seems to be no internal compulsion toward extension of the pueblo; no motivation for social gatherings other than limited small ones; no desire to promote the pueblo in its reputation in the East.

Thus, whatever community activity does go on, goes on in conformity with the general status patterns and social divisions which are so firmly enrooted in the general system of social relations prevailing in San Luis, so that distinctions and exclusions and inclusions are made along the lines of Indian and Ladino, rich and poor.

As a sterling over-all example, we may consider the manner in which elections are conducted. Firstly, in local elections it is almost impossible to get more than a hundred votes recorded out of a possible 1,300; the last local elections tallied 104 votes. The election officials shrug and don't care; their results are always known before hand, in any event, and the election is matter of mere formality.

In the election of national officials and especially of president, it used to be considered a good deal of fun to engage in political campaigning before the elections. But since the beginning of the reign of Ubico, there has been always only one candidate for any given office, and voting consisted of coming to the city hall to sign one's name or give one's thumb print to his vote for Ubico. In light of this, it is perfectly amazing to me that as many men do bother to vote as have been recorded in the presidential elections. But few of my Ladino interviewees and practically none of my Indian interviewees even thought it strange that there should have been only one candidate for president and for other offices. A good many of my interviewees among the Indians and not a few among the Ladinos simply did not know for whom they were voting: "No

nes dijeron"--"we were not told"; or, if they did know, they knew not beforehand but only once they had gotten to the polls; "Si, yo sabia para quien estaba votando; ellos alli me dijeron"; "Yes, I knew for whom I was voting; they told me there." One wonders if there is not some kind of relation between bureaucratic stifling of any kind of local autonomy and the rate of death of local community life.

In the matter of community life and spirit, the poor Ladino is equatable with the Indian; both have a strong sense of membership in the pueblo; seem to have affectionate ties to it as their place of birth; consider it "home"; are in some senses proud of it. The wealthy Ladino usually has a private disdain of the pueblo and a publicly expressed high index of citizenship feelings. But there seem to be no felt motivations within the pueblo itself for any promotion either of more community spirit and/or of community life. It would largely be up to the Ladinos, with their greater leisure and greater economic resources, to promote such things. But perhaps since the most probable gainers from the promotion of community spirit and community betterment would be the Indians, there seems to be little inward urging on the part of the Ladino toward promotion of such matters. In part it may well be also that because Indian life in San Luis is so much less colorful and so infinitely more sedate and at times dead, there is little in the way of promotion of shows and sponsoring of "typical native" affairs that can be done by the Ladino or the Indian himself, in contrast with the west of Guatemala where "typical

native" things are almost always being publicly shown and heightened and brought to the attention of people in others parts of the country. When and if tourist trade ever resumes to any considerable degree in Guatemala, as it was during the pre-war days, it will undoubtedly gain center in the west of Guatemala. Tourist trade is lucrative and there is an urge then on the part of pueblo officials and residents to make the pueblo a noticeable place. In the East, on the contrary, there is no such basis for any such urge. In San Luis this is particularly true, even in relation to other pueblos in the East. Its fiestas have been for the past few years decided washouts; one need only talk with the traveling merchants to discover this; its officials have either spent their time draining away the public funds or simply being uninterested in the welfare of the pueblo, a place which for them represents being kicked downstairs in the ranks of officialdom. No mayor in the last ten years has lasted more than two and a half years. When and if plans for community improvement and recognition ever do get formulated by an official, he usually finds himself removed to another post or in jail for defalcation. This was true of the last mayor, who, for all his thievery, was community-minded.

X. Recreation

We have indicated before that the Indian for the most part has little if any idea of recreation per se. In this he widely differs from the Ladino who seems constantly urged to seek means of "doing something interesting." For the most part, the Indian works, raises a family, prays and sleeps. The Ladino does all this but he also attempts to play for its own sake. The majority of Indians simply seem to have no idea as to what "play" might mean. And except for a few of the Indian youth who have come to mimic Ladino ways of play and diversion, no Indian does play. Above all there is no such thing as organized recreation for the majority of the Indian population, either self-sponsored or community sponsored, except on very infrequent occasions when some Ladino official is struck with the idea that it would be "nice" to have the Indians get together a soccer group and make their usual clumsy-footed efforts at kicking a soccer ball around on a Sunday morning.

The Indian in the pueblo, with but rare exceptions, does not hunt or fish or play checkers or chess, or dance, or carouse, or go on picnics, or horseback ride for pleasure, or take trips for pleasure, or make social visits for pleasure, or give dinners or parties on any but formal occasions such as a wedding or occasionally a baptism when the godparents are Ladino.

The Ladino on the other hand, whether poor or rich, does hunt and does fish and does "play" for its own sake. He

deliberately seeks a means of doing something different from that which he is routinely accustomed to doing in his regular work activities.

The Ladino tends to evaluate activities in terms of whether they are to be considered as work or as play. The Indian tends to evaluate them in terms of their being work or not work. The Ladino sees the hours of no work as leisure hours, to be filled with interesting things to do. The Indian sees them as hours in which one must make straw hats or rest for the next day's work. The Ladino when not working will tend to say "Vamos a hacer algo para divertirnos"---"Let's do something to entertain ourselves." The Indian, when he has no work to do, can be heard to say, "Me voy a la casa para descansar"; "I am going home to rest."

In light of this, it is no longer strange to me that of the some 40 of my 50 Indian interviewees who had been to Guatemala City for at least a year, not one of them had ever been to a movie in the city. Their days of leave were spent drinking, whoring, or just window shopping.

There simply seems to be no pattern, in the community of Indian understandings, of play activity as a decided and positively oriented activity. So that, even though the Indian were to have excess time and energy, it is most probable that he would not know what to do with the leisure time or would tend, as do some of the youth, to spend it in minor mimicry of the Ladino patterns of play. An occasional bold Indian ventures into the billiard parlor and sometimes plays a game;

only three Indians in the pueblo know how to play any form of billiards. Some of the Indian youth (in increasing numbers over the months I spent in the pueblo) go to the thrice weekly concerts and dance together; go to Ladino weddings and either peer in at the dancers or dance outside in the streets to the refrains of the marimba; all of this dancing is of male with male, for the courtship and work patterns of the Indian female do not permit her out in the streets or at public affairs at night, even escorted by males, or, one might more correctly put it, especially not escorted by Indian males.

Whenever then the Indian finds himself physically and psychically free from the traditional bonds of work or no-work and conceives of extra time as play time, he tends to follow the pattern of the Ladino, using Ladino-made facilities, enjoying Ladino sponsored affairs and concerts, affecting the play styles and the accompanying dress and gesture styles of the Ladinos.

Within the limits of the literacy and the physical environment characteristic of the pueblo of San Luis, the Ladinos seem to have exhausted nearly all the available possibilities for recreation, short of those which would either be considerably heightened or innovated when and if electric lighting, which is considered possible, were to be installed. And the Indian, gradually, little by little, is coming to take over the recreation patterns of the Ladinos; but as the situation existed as I found it, the initially indicated differences

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between Ladino and Indian attitude toward no-work time must be stressed as the more accurate and applicable over-all characterization of differences.

Community
Life

Ladino
Celebration

07
Sept. 15th

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~~Secundino Esteban~~
he is the grandson of the pasquale esteban, the eldest indian principal in town and among the five most respected indians, to be sure. at the same time secundino is 4th regidor municipal, the highest office in lad no government that an indian can hold here (equivalent to 3rd alcalde in former days) and, by that token the most direct connection with the intendencia and, at the same time, mayor dome of the Cofradia of the Regidor (jack: cf. the following interview with secundino which clears up the matter of organization of cofradias, i think); this cofradia and the cofradia of san luis are the two most important of the 4 cofradias still existent. thus, at once, secundino bridges the two prestige systems---for, also attached to his cofradia is the 'committee' which is responsible for the conduct of indian fiestas in town---it is the official handling committee of all indian affairs ---and it is with the committee and the committee alone that the intendente deals on indian affairs. secundino, as regidor municipal no.4 is top man of this committee---it is responsible to him---and he to the intendente for the conduct of the fiestas. it is interesting to note in this light that the only two indians working on decoration of the market place for the celebration today (the day of independence) are secundino and luis najera, 5th regidor municipal. all other indians who are "participating" are either in "la liste" or have been impressed into service as sirvientes for the time being. note, further, that despite all this, luis and secundino are observing the holiday festivities now going on near the intendencia from a discrete remoteness in the market place. this is a national festival---so-called---but the portion of the nation which participated is very small indeed. yesterday, for instance, at flag raising and lowering and singing of the national anthem the only indians present were the tin soldiers with their wooden guns. all other indians who had any interest were grouped discretely, distantly away---. the crowd singing the anthem and standing at attention was strictly ladino. indeed, here is where society and community and culture as discrete concepts serve their purposes. this is a society with two cultures and only a community life for one of the two cultural groups---; i contend ---hypothetically at this point---that there is little or no community life for the indian in san luis jiltepeque. here is where under the influence of acculturative mechanisms community disappears before culture--- and indeed it seems that non-material culture is disappearing before material culture---although there seems to be so little of both still (unless one labels illiteracy and ignorance and fear as the pride and joy of the non-material aspects of indian culture ---for, of "significant" beliefs there seem to be very little) remaining that one has a very difficult time of it deciding which has vanished more and more quickly---since the original baselines are still so obscure. community life for the indians seems to be confined to little whispering groups of men huddling around street corners by the dim light of pitch weed fires at night---the fires themselves being there by order of the government!----and to thrice-daily gossiping sessions at the public plaza in front of the intendencia. --- (society?)---

as will be seen from the dates of the various entries in this report there has been a two day gap between p.5 and p.6, monday, the 14th, i was sick in bed alternately with chills, fever, and nausea. i managed to rid myself of it by the morning of the 15th but was awakened by church bells and brass instruments playing away at the ungodly hour of 4.A.M--at which time the day of National Independence was officially inaugurated. no more sleep was to be had-- tho i made desperate attempts at it until 7 o'clock when it proved to be utterly hopeless. i 'upped and dressed' in my 'best clothes'--and, tho i did not like the idea, had to participate with the ladino big shots all morning in all form of formal and infernal celebrations. several things were rather interesting about the festival aside from the usual fourth of july aspects which attended it. (1) a parade was formed and we marched around some of the streets of the town. but, the only indians in the parade were the three regidor municipals. now, theoretically we were in 'feurs' for the parade--and, directly in front of me were marching the three indian regidores and a fourth--a ladino. about half way during the parade(which also served to pick up people from various street corners) a ladino man(also a 'bigshot') joined the march but he wanted to march alongside of the ladino who was with the 3 indian regidores. several times the new entry 'ordered' rosalia mendez, the 6th indian regidor to move back so that he, the ladino, could march alongside of his friend, the other ladino. but several times as well rosalia refused to budge and there was a small scene--with anger on the part of the ladino, continued resistance on the part of rosalia--and so they marched in 5's with rosalia squeezed in like some little boy in between two adults. but--i think that no other indian would have dared to refuse this way. rosalia, as far as i can tell, is extremely proud of being regidor municipal - and --tho not an ostentatious and boastful individual as far as i can tell--'performs the duties of his office'--and 'of his rank'. i think both luis and secundino, the other regidores, would have acquiesced to the 'request' of the ladino. rosalia is a 'nigger on his way to becoming a good nigger'--but 'hasn't quite learned the proper obeisance as yet'.

(2) the whole military reserve was out for the day, they were kept standing at attention on many useless counts, but i suppose that's the way of the military. note that as far as i can tell there is only one indian officer of any rank--a lieutenant, alejandro marcos, who is to be an informant for me next week as soon as he finishes building the excusado for me in the new house. the official reaffirmation of the independence of guatemala as of - sept.15,1821 was read in the market place where benches had been placed--one side for women and one side for men. now, all the women's seats were occupied--but, on the man's side, after all the 'society' had been seated(incidentally this was a good day to see who are the ladies who really count in town) there were three and a half benches unoccupied. yet, crowded outside the market place -- standing, pushing, congested--were any number--several hundreds to be sure--of indians who 'dared' not enter and take seats, to be sure-- i don't think anyone would have chased them out if they had entered-- but the fact remains that there seems to be such a social distance felt and observed and enforced--that they did not enter! (my notion that there is 'no community life' for the indians here seems to get reinforced on several counts. incidentally, in rereading my perambulations on p.5 of the 14th i notice sloppy usage of concepts thruout. i am going to return to this later).

indians were only 'bystanders' thruout the celebration of national independence yesterday. i was reminded all during the day of silone's fontamara. he might well have been in this village instead of somewhere in the peasant lands of italy. his description of the celebration of a saint's day in a town to which the fontamarans were "requested" to come and participate hits the nail on th head as far as jilotepeque is concerned too. when alejandre mareses told me of the government packing off some 260 indians from the dept. of jalapa for the national celebration in the capital on the 30th of june---how they were told when to cheer and when to salute--ete--fontamara becomee something more than a literary excursion for me. it is sociology made microcosmic in particularity but with every element of that particularity reflecting accurately the macrocosm whete from which it has been derived. (don't ask me to reduce those terms).

3. i think yesterday was somewhat unfortunate for me in that since i was 'dressed a la ladino' and was seen with them at official things by more than one indian, i may have lost some of the ground of confidence which i had perhaps acquired in these past weeks. on the other hand i carefully stayed away from the social, dancing afterwards in the market place(this too was confined straitly to the 'society'--and it begins to appear that there are 'peer white trash' here who 'don't count' too.)--because here there were even more 'peer gaping in at the windows' than at the other parts of the celebration---the music of the marimba being the center of attraction. i could write much at this point of the intrigues and scandals that are virulent among 'the society' here--but, i think for the most part this item is irrelevant, and, certainly is very ugly. a terrific double standard prevails---if the indians did not have it before it has more than penetrated their 'moral systems' now--at least with those with whom i have talked; it complicates, as a matter of fact, the clearcutness of the 'caste lines' which exist here. i shall talk of this later when i come to sum up my impressions and work in jilotepeque at the end of this month..incidentally, ladinos by their own profession are hidebound chauvinists---not a few of them(who know history as they learned it in guatemalan text books) being ready to go fight for Chiapas right now. it's tragi-comic and almost nauseating, for instance, to hear rogelio, the maestro of the billiard parlor, talk in grandiloquent terms about his love for his country. he is so close to the perfect stereotype of a beach comber that one wonders what sentiments he has above his genitals and his liver and his ever dry tongue--the, for all that, i still like him.

San Luis Sitotepaque

I. Division of labor among the

Pocoman Indians
written in specific comparison
with Wislous reports on the

Chorti Indians

II Work in the Pueblos in
general

III Markets and stores

IV Indian industries

San Luis Silotepaque

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The division of labor among the Pokoman Indians is both individual and regional when one takes into account the major two foci of Indian habitations, San Pedro Pinula and San Luis Jilotepeque. Within Jilotepeque municipio however the division of labor is four fold--being based (1) on sex (2) age (3) status and (4) professionalization. The latter category, of course, includes 'skills' which in a sense is the basis on which the sex, age and status divisions are made. With proper training any of the 4 separating lines could be crossed, and, as we shall see, most of them are crossed, except for one or two major items. Indeed, for all but the sex demarcation one should rather call them degrees of division, rather than divisions, for, as we shall see, the youth does almost all the things he ever does as a man, except on a lesser scale, in proportion to his expected strength and endurance. So, too, the road to 'status' is well known and can be traveled by anyone, almost anyone, with the inclination. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that cultures help create 'inclinations'.

AGE DIFFERENTIATION

There are four rather clearly marked off age rankings in Pokoman division of labor. The first is from birth until the age of six or seven. The second is from 6-7 until marriage at about 18 (for women it is 15, 16, or 17); the third is from marriage until old age or enfeeblement for other causes; the fourth is from enfeeblement to death. The child before he reaches six or seven years of age is given all manner of little tasks to do--but these are in no way specialized work--and constitute only minor items which otherwise would bothersomely occupy otherwise needed time of the mother or father. Both the male child and the female child may draw water, hunt up a stray animal, bring firewood, feed chickens and pigs and other livestock, help in the kitchen, go to the milpa occasionally to bring food to the father, help the mother with the making of pottery items, mind children, rock them to sleep, carry them around, watch them in general. Their offices are no others. and this is an age of play in the main for them. Their activities and wanderings are only geographically restricted--they are allowed free sex play, play with any dolls or toys they may fashion, they may wander not too far from the house. This is, in short, the freest period in the Indian man and woman's life. His responsibilities are at a minimum, his freedoms are at a maximum. With the coming of the age of 6 or 7 the picture changes. The child slowly but surely is brought into the division of labor, the necessary full time economy of the family. The little girl now becomes differentiated from her little brother in the tasks she may perform, just as she becomes differentiated from her previous age expectations. So here both sex and age distinctions begin to be made. The little girl is now her mother's helper. The little boy is the father's helper. "Everything the father does the little boy does on a minor scale--milpa work, learning to braid straw hats, feeding of animals, bringing of firewood, tending animals, bringing of animal food from the milpa, going on short trips with pottery to sell, --in short, learning all the skills which he will need at a later date when after his marriage, he assumes his own responsibilities and sets up his own economic unit. The little girl similarly, her training from 6-16 is designed to fit her for the task of being a wife and a mother for some local Indian buck.

she now learns to wash clothes, to sew and mend, to mind babies in a more careful way, to soothe them when they cry, to cook on a minor scale, to make small pottery items, the larger types of which she will have to make all her life when she later grows up, to grind maize, to clean and clothe little children as well as herself, to go to market and to the store and buy only at a bargained price, to pray in church, to clean house and iron clothes, if an iron is available, she is learning thus to become the wife and the mother in later years.

puberty--13-14 years of age--is the mid line in the training program of the indian boy and girl. at this age they are supposed to be in full possession of nearly adult powers and to be able to do everything they ever will have to do. now the boy can braid and sew straw hats, instead of just braiding them. now he can handle a milpa alone if necessary. now he can bring a load to market and sell it if necessary. now he can even build a house if necessary. now he can participate in religious celebrations; now he can tend animals, put a saddle on a mule, fix up a load, drive a hard bargain. so too with the little girl, now she can make full sized pots. and pitchers. now she can sew and cook like any woman. she can grind as much maize as a regular woman, she can draw and carry as much water as any woman, she can bear children, nurse them, feed them, care them, make them clothes, (if the 'occasion' arises); she now is the woman of the kitchen. and of the house. no more is she even in any way a non-economic unit. she is totally incorporated into the household economy and will may she so be, for in a year or two she will be married. each year then up until her marriage, as it is with her brother, she assumes more and more of the tasks of the house, and thus either lightens the burden on her mother or at least maintains it the same, for by this time the mother has borne many other children who too have to be given their six or seven years of unrestricted freedom before being made into little old people. with the boy, he is now capable of assuming all the tasks of his father, in case his father should die or get sick. and well he may so do, also, for either his father will get sick or die, or soon he too will be married or at least when he comes back from his year of military service in guatemala.

marriage then comes for the male and the female and marks the assumption of full economic duties by the two of them. they may in small part depend on their mothers and fathers in times of crisis. their fathers will help them out when harvesting time or planting time or weeding time has come--but only if they in turn help their fathers out or have no money to hire day laborers. they now turn to the business of raising their own children and beginning the economic cycle and the life cycle anew.

old age or enfeeblement does not come for a long time. men of 60 go to the fields here and work hard, as hard as their younger relatives and friends, hoeing, digging, planting, harvesting. they carry loads on their backs. they go on trips to distant places, there are perhaps two generations which they have had a hand in creating already functioning as full time economic helpers. but here each man and each woman must be useful up until the day his feet or his back or his lungs give out. and, when they are no longer capable of active milpa work, they then turn to the sedentary work of making

minding their grandchildren, or; if during their life time they have been further incorporated into the division of labor along status or professionalized lines, they may continue these activities if they do not require physical abilities which they no longer possess. thus, the oldest indian in town, who is 85 according to himself and others, learned a long time ago to make string and make mosh bags from this string. he is one of the few in town who can still do this. and at his age he actively occupied himself with this as well as with making straw hats. he is a sedentary creature, rarely going out, but occasionally makes trips to his fields to see to it that his sons and his grandsons and his great-grandsons are occupying themselves properly. he also sees to it that the household of which he is now a fairly sedentary member is run smoothly and quietly, that guests are treated well. being a religious specialist as well, he is occupied some of his time with prayer making and religious celebrations. but these require walking in processions and like physical exertions---and so for the most part he excludes himself from these things.

The old man and old woman in indian life here are not driven from the house if they are not capable of working full time. family ties are strong and it is expected that a child will support his elders when they can no longer support themselves but there are few old ones who cannot in some manner or other contribute to the economic well being of the family household. if a male head of a family dies his property passes to his wife, unless, in some rare instances, he leaves a will to the contrary. thus the woman becomes possessor of the house, the milpa, the animals, the house properties and attachments. if she has no children to work these lands herself, she can always hire labor to do her work for her. what is more usual is that the woman has younger children to perform the major economic labor. they live in what is now the mother's house and work upon the mother's lands. in turn she keeps house for them--if it is a married son--she and the wife will form a dual functioning female economic unit in the maintenance of the house and the performance of female duties. it is not too rare that a woman remarries if she is of a reasonably young age when her husband dies. the reverse is true as well. the economic totalness of the family is thus restored. if remarriage does not take place, then it is usually a married daughter or daughter in law who functions in place of the mother. since it is almost as easy to make tortilla and beans for three as it is for two, a single man in the house does not constitute much extra burden on the female members of the household. family ties and respect for age help to mitigate what otherwise might be harsh treatment of an elder when he or she was no longer able to serve efficiently. in an economy which is as close to being a subsistence economy without it actually being purely subsistence, such a mitigating principle is necessary in the case of the mentioned elders.

SEX DIFFERENTIATIONS

Some of these have already been adumbrated in discussing the age differences. But these and others bear restatement. It should be noted that women are generally included in religious celebrations but only as work aids in the preparation of food and decorations of celebration sites. Their work for fiestas and other celebrations begins sometimes many days beforehand, depending on the work to be done. In almost all instances

of relatively large scale celebrations women from all the households whose males are to participate join together in cooperative labor to prepare food and aid in whatever other duties may be required of them. It is not unusual to see a group of twelve-fifteen women grinding maize by the hour in preparation for a fiesta or a reunion of some sort of

their males on the following day or days. But this begins and ends the participation of women except in rare instances such as the changing of cofradias, mentioned in "Religious Organization" where the women of the principally involved men occupy a site of honor during the ceremonies. Otherwise women are confined to the kitchen or the work room. Women may not enter a celebration even to serve food. This is a man's job--and is usually handled by 'volunteers' at the various celebrations. "It is the education and the respect of the woman" explains one informant. Women then are generally confined to the house, to the pila for water, to the market and stores for shopping, to the church for praying, to the little place called 'Tierra Blanca' on the outskirts of the pueblo where the special soil for making pots and pitchers is to be found, or to the kitchens of other women in cases of cooperative labor. Women are not permitted to enter a conversation in which men are participating, nor to mix in politics in any way. They do not vote or enter into public life, except in those instances where they personally go to seek legal redress against a male. They are not allowed to talk socially with any other man, nor to stop on the street to chat with a man even if he be a relative. A woman may go visiting alone--but only at the house of relatives. Any other visits she wishes to make must be made with her husband and it is rare that a man brings his wife along on visits. When and if a man and woman do go visiting together, then the woman in the house being visited may join in the conversation and the social gathering. What is more usual however is that the woman paying the visit with her husband will walk into the kitchen of the woman she is visiting, and stay there during all the time that her husband is in the 'visiting room' with the other males present.

Women however do participate in all functions where passages of rites are concerned--marriages, wedding celebrations, baptisms, deaths and funerals, confirmation or communions, sickness. There is no division between catholic participations for men and native participations for women as wisdom suggests. There is no considering the woman a better catholic here as wisdom says there is among the chorti. As with the chorti, the men are responsible for all agricultural work, aside from stripping of the corn or maize in the house and other food treatment once the food has been brought from the milpa. Where work revolving around food products has to be done at home, the division does not hew to a sex line but follows the line of 'most time available'. Men will help strip maize, men will help store and guard food--the women participate equally in this. Once the food gets past the raw product however it becomes strictly a woman's concern. Men may cook on occasion--but only to the extent of warming up a cup of coffee or a cold tortillas, already made, in case the wife is absent and there is an immediate demand for such food. As with the chorti the men are the ones who take care of all large domestic animals, the smaller ones usually being

being the charge of the women and children around the house. since there is no hunting or trapping or fishing of any import that goes on at present--due to prohibitive laws--there is no question of division of labor on this score. when these activities did function on a large scale--as it seems they did years ago--then men were the hunters, the trappers, the fishermen. gathering of wild fruits is a task which either man or woman may perform here--depending on the locale of the fruit and the time available. Since there is little professional labor performed by the Indian here in general--i.e. since most specialized work is performed by specialists--rather than being the peculiar skill of the average citizen--one cannot talk about men being the soap makers, the copal makers, etc. as does wisdom of the Chorti. if these articles are made in the households, then they are handled usually by the men, but women may add and assist. since there is no textile making here, nor starch making, nor cigar making (prohibited by law now), nor sugar, nor charcoal nor indigo nor lime, nor furniture, we cannot offer specific points of comparison with wisdom material. we may note however that with the exception of making of pottery objects (and this includes the whole process, from gathering of the dirt to painting of the decorations) and (2) braiding but not sewing of straw hats, and (3) sewing and repairing clothes with manufactured textiles as the base--the woman is confined in her activities to such things as cooking, caring for children, cleaning, laundering, gathering water, making fires in the ovens, caring for small animals, gathering leaves and herbs from the fields, marketing. The man is responsible for all else that may devolve on the household--but with the exception of those items of women's work just mentioned (and even with some of them) there is no hard and fast line. Thus a man may be left in care of children. A man may go to draw water. A man may market (though it is rare, unless he is from the aldeas, in which case it is only he, usually, who has contact with the markets. This, incidentally, is one of the major differences between ~~xxxx~~ aldea and pueblo life. In the instances where work is tied up with things in the pueblo--no matter what it be--it is the man who does the work, for it is only he usually who gets to the pueblo, unless the aldea is very close by). In those cases where the marketing of a product--i.e. the bringing of a product to market for sale--requires heavy carrying--as it does with boxes of fruit from the mountain aldeas here--in these cases the man and the woman come together--he carrying the major load of the fruit, she carrying small children on her back and the basket and measuring cups on her head. selling in the market is strictly for both of them--there is no line drawn here. on the other hand, one never sees a man from the pueblo here selling things in the market--and it is rare that he buys--either in the market or the store--this is woman's work. The most symbolic male activity here next to his milpa work is his braiding and sewing of straw hats. His next major occupation is traveling with the pottery products which his woman has made. A woman never goes traveling with pottery. There is no strict line about tool-using--both men and women are tool-users. Women indeed in cases of poverty or sickness may go to the milpa and help out there--just as a man may help out with female duties--when the wife is incapacitated. what is more usually however is that substitutes of the same sex are found where a male or

is incapacitated. any crossings that do occur are not made habitual, for fun will be made of the person who so crosses, thus a woman regularly working in the milpa would bring scorn on the man's head, and a man regularly drawing water or heating his own food would be mocked. A man will never make pottery--and women never sew the straw braids for hats. As wisdom has pointed out with the chorti, every major work nexus is divided between men and women--sharing as they do some phase of the same nexus. men are food gatherers-- but women are food preparers. women braid straw hats--men sew them. women make pottery--men travel and sell the pottery. women care for children--men supervise them for the most part, (and facetiously speaking, men wear clothes, women wash them.) the indian family unit here is thus almost totally self sustaining. aside from the specialized needs--which are at best, however, intermittent--almost all the economic needs and duties and work to be performed is done by members of the same household, old and young, male and female.

PROFESSIONAL DIVISIONS

It is difficult to say what indians here consider as special professional work, for, for instance, tho there are some men who are known as housebuilders, there is no indian man who does not know how to build a house. the indians, also, depend on religious specialist, each man is a religious performer in his own right. the women depend on midwives they can bear their children alone if necessary. one must

therefore turn to the situation as it actually exists and in listing the specialized activities which are confined to a few specialists, try to derive from that listing some notion of what is in the economy in the way of professionalization, even tho theoretically the economy does not depend on these specialists. specialization or professionalization is both religious and non-religious. the religious specialization has been discussed under "Religious Organization". It needs no repetition. The following are the 'trades':

1. soap making. there are five indian soap makers. soap is made from pigs or cows. a soap maker is paid 50 cents for all the soap gathered from one animal. this is sold in the market at a later date--for 4, 5, or 6 dollars depending on the size of the animal.
2. 'negociantes mayores'. these are so called because they are the only ones who depend primarily on their trading with other than pottery items for their livelihood. there are 3 indians who are so designated. they are also as might be supposed among the most secularized of indians.
3. barbers. there are three barbers in town and they are all indian. two of them are also the "negociantes mayores". these two have barber 'shops' after a crude fashion. the third does not.
4. mason and brick worker and carpenter. only one indian combines all these three professions. he is widely used by ladinos, and especially the municipalidad in fixing of streets and beautifying of the plaza, erecting temporary shelters, etc. he is incidentally, the only indian who has

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a military rank higher than that of sergeant, he holding an active 1st lieutenantship. he too is one of the five most secularized indians in town. he is the only ^{indian} man in town who can build a sturdy mud fence.

carpenters--there are two indian carpenters. they are brothers. they can make doors, furniture, windows, house roofs and other wood items.

tile and brick makers: there are seven of these who are indian. all of them can make a partial living out of this since there is usually a large call for tiles, if not for bricks.

tailors: there is only one indian tailor in town, he is not widely used either by indian or ladino.

roofers: there is one indian known as a specialist in roofing. he is usually called in to direct or actually work the roofing of new houses.

lasso and mesh bag and string workers: there are three of these, and not two as I formerly stated. one is the very old man. the other two have learned from him.

cargo saddle makers: this is a specialized trade. there is one indian who does this. he learned from his now dead father.

marimba players: this is not really a specialization, though money is gained from this work. but due to the choice of the owners of the marimbas who select their own players, there are some 8 indian marimba players in town. there are 3 indian marimba owners--and they gain money from their ownership, taking one third of all the receipts of the hiring out of the marimba. only one ladino owns a marimba. drummers and fifers--there are some 8 indian specialists in this music playing. they gain no money from this.

candle makers: candle making is not commercialized here. whatever candle making is done is for household consumption or for sacrificial uses in the church or at celebrations. the chief candle makers are 5 of the six chief principales in town.

bookkeepers, secretaries, letter writers: two indians--among them one of my chief informants-- fulfill these special services when they are needed.

midwives and care of children and diseases:--there are two indian women who are the specialists in this. of course there are the patcheros who come in for child curing as well. these we shall discuss under other divisions.

horse trainers: there are two indians who are specialists in breaking in and training young work or ride animals.

animal castrators: there are two indian specialists in this.

adobe workers: four indians make adobe and they are depended on by most indians for whatever adobe is needed.

grinding stone makers: three indians, among them a father and his son, are the specialists in this.

Now it should be noted that in almost every one of the specialties above listed there are ladinos who are either as good or better than the indians in the production of these articles. and in most instances the ladino specialists gain more of their livelihood from their specialties than do the indian specialists. it should be further noted that with the exception of the midwives--there are no indian women who are specialists in the regards mentioned above. thus it is only the man who enters into the general economy of the town.

Potter

with the exception of the case of pottery, and indeed this is a large exception. For the bulk of cash which an Indian depends on to buy products in the market and the store which he is either not capable of making or of raising comes from the sale of the pottery items which his wife manufactures. Thus we see that out of some 2500 Indians in the pueblo only some 64 enter into the general town economy as specialists, and of these 15 are non-money gaining. In comparison to the number of Ladino specialists this is not too small a percentage for the Indian who is considered to be a 'pure work animal' by most of the Ladinos. I do not know exact figures on Ladino specializations and the consequent percentages. But the comparison would not be justified on all counts in any event. For while Ladinos do depend to a considerable extent on specialists, yet they so depend perhaps on a lesser scale than Indians--if one is to use Ladino material culture as the base for comparison. But, using the different material cultures--i.e. what the Indian is used to in the way of material accoutrements of his living--and what the Ladino is used to--I would venture to say that the Indian is no more and no less dependent than the Ladino--and in some major items, indeed, such as housebuilding and actual physical work in the milpa, he is less dependent than the Ladino on the general division of labor. He is more the self-sustaining economic unit in the sense that, for the things he requires and is used to having, he is capable of completing more of them himself than is the Ladino. This is all said, of course, within the frame of two different life expectations. The Ladino eats better--and thus depends on store goods and market goods more than does the Indian. The Ladino dresses better and thus depends more often and more heavily than does the Indian on manufactured textiles. The Ladino loses prestige if he performs physical work in his own milpa--and thus depends on hired labor more than the Indian. The Ladino loses prestige if he does not have house servants--and thus depends on hired labor for this, which the Indian rarely if ever does. This is not to say that the Indian might not like to move up the economic scale and be more dependent on the economic resources and abilities of others. But it is to say that in light of cultural expectation and norm, the Indian is the more self-sufficient economic creature. The possible trend in future days is somewhat indicated by those Indians who have climbed up somewhat on the economic scale. When they do so they come to live as Ladinos. Their abilities do not grow in proportion to their resources. They become specialized and are able to pile up a cash reserve. They become men of the market and of travels. And with this specialization and this cash reserve they slough off a spreading out of their abilities into a thin layer to cover all basically necessary facets of the division of labor, and come to depend more and more as do the Ladinos on other specialists, and on the national division of labor. We may sum up by saying that the Indian is for the most part a specialist on a minor scale in all major elements of his economic existence. When he turns gradually into a specialist in only one or two major facets of the town and national economy, then his spreading out becomes narrowed in and he thus in becoming a specialist himself creates the demand and thus the possibility of survival of other specialists. The peasant economy passes into the town economy. Aldea self.

sufficiency becomes pueblo dependency. This is in a sense drawing too sharp a distinction between aldea and town life for the Indian. But since the trends are even now clearly visible, the distinction is made, if only prognosticatorily.

STATUS DIFFERENTIATIONS

Status differentiations, if they coincide with professional skills of a widely demanded nature, are economically paying. Here, however, most of the status occupations are for the most part non-productive economically in any direct sense. For the status positions are constituted mainly by such major concerns as curing of disease, causing of disease, serving the government in non-paying roles, and religious leadership. Within the framework of native culture age and its sometime concomitant wisdom form the major bases for status accordance. Within the newer framework of culture of the Ladino to which the Indian is becoming acculturated, youth and literacy and 'alertness' form the basis for status. Wealth, to be sure, is always present as a means of acquiring status, but the major status positions here do not require wealth. Wealth will give additional status, but gives prestige more oftenly. The fact that wealth here is sometimes productive of training in some speciality which also requires the granting of status makes it impossible to draw a clear distinction between the different reasons for which status on the one hand and prestige on the other is accorded. Thus, for instance, one of my informants who is reputedly one of the very richest Indians in town has prestige as a rich man--but has status as a letter writer and secretary at Indian functions--because due to his father's wealth he was able to go to college and learn how to read and write. If he were rich but illiterate, he would have prestige but not status. His aid and opinion, I venture to say, would not be solicited on occasions, as it is now, due to his literacy. And the fact that wealth is not necessary for status is evidenced by the high status roles which the principales in town command--and most of them are very poor Indians. Yet they have status as religious specialists.

Turning now to the actual status positions in town: (1) curers. It is impossible to determine the number of these. Since any form of curing which is unlicensed is strictly forbidden by the government no one will confess to being a curer, tho any informant, if pressed properly, can name you a half dozen curers. There is however one curer--a young man of some 30 years old--a resident of an aldea--who is known to the government--and has been jailed several times for 'curing' activities. He is among the most highly feared of curers for he is at the same time reputed to be a maker of witchcraft and causer of sickness. He is also said to be a 'sabio', a role which is distinct from the role of curer or the role of witch and contains such functions as prognostication of the future.

The way in which a man acquires a reputation as a curer is very poorly understood--both by me and by informants. They talk in terms of "resignation" or "god given ability" from the time of birth--and discovered thru some special incident. Curing is not something that can be learned. It is 'native' to the person, and those who do not have never will have it. A man becomes a curer at an age of 18 or 19, after first attempting cures on members of his family, and if coincidence is on his side, and his cures are successful, his reputation is spread outside of family circles, and if he is willing, he continues his cures on a wider scale. Now a man may have 'curing' ability but may never use it. Thus, for instance, two brothers in town, young men as yet, are said to have 'resignation'. The younger one, as a child, was heard crying by his mother just as she woke from a dream that a monkey was making love to her--her cries of fright were hatched by the cries of the child asleep in a hammock. The word was soon spread that this boy was 'of god'--had the 'resignation'. A similar incident is said to have occurred with his brother. Yet neither of them practice curing. However they are both feared and respected for once a man has shown thru such special signs as the aforementioned incident that he has the 'resignation' he never loses it--and should he be angered--he may turn his powers into active use. Little money can be earned from curing sessions. They are held as far as I can determine only in cases of severe illness--and the efficacy of the local druggists' pills in part kills of the curing of the patcheros. But when sessions are held, there is comparatively good payment--cures costing anywhere from 25¢ and a bottle of whiskey to three dollars and meals and a bottle of whiskey. In terms of the average wage of 10 cents a day which the Indian here may expect, this is relatively very good pay. Now, a curer is almost always also a

(2) sorcerer and maker of illness, or brujo. The way he is known is thru the same type of discovery of 'resignation'. Not all curers are brujos. But all brujos are curers. All brujos with one exception are men. The one woman brujo-patchero in the area is reputed as being not very good. Like curing, sorcery is strictly forbidden and heavily punishable by law. Thus it is easier to get names of curers than it is of brujos, for while curing is equally forbidden yet one does not have to fear a Curer but one does have to fear a sorcerer. Thus an informant will tell you without too much pressing that fulano is a curer, but it will only be accidentally or after a great deal of confidence has been built up that he will tell you that the same fulano is also a brujo. It is reputed that brujos know when they are being talked about or when their names are mentioned in this regard, and that they seek to do evil to those who so designate them. The fact that brujos and curers mutually respect each other is some indication to me that they are 'abnormal' types who really believe in the efficacy of their fakery. They are said to be as afraid of each other as non-professionals are of them. They pay much deference to each other, according to reports, and hesitate to take on a curing which some local brujo has made necessary by his causing of sickness, unless it is with the consent of the evil maker--or unless powerful counter-charms are in the possession of the curer. Brujo work is even more highly paid than curing. The specific tasks

which a brujo or a curer can perform we will come to discuss under a section specifically devoted to sorcery and witchcraft. We may add that there is not one indian in town as far as we know who does not know to whom he would go when he wishes to employ either a brujo or a curer. Each family seems to have its special 'doctor' as it were. Age is no special commendation in these cases, tho the majority of the successful curers and witches are old men. However the most successful is the youngest of all.

3. Government workers. These have already been discussed in part under political organization. The leading indians in government service are young men, who can read and write, tho not being able to do either of these well. They are the 3 Indian regidores attached to the municipalidad. Because they had prestige as being 'vivo' and literate they acquired the status roles of regidores. And because of their status roles, they acquire further prestige with the Indians as men who in some measure have entree with the government. The fact that the government, thru them, enters into the native facets more and more automatically increases the prestige of these indians--tho their status roles grow no more important. Indians know that they have to deal with those regidores respectfully if they are to get any favors which they might need from the government. These are non-paying positions, and the period of service is two years. Theoretically a man who has so served one period is exempt from further call, but if he proves to have been a good regidor he is often "prevailed" upon to serve another term or other terms.

4. Religious specialists. These have already been discussed under religious organization in rather full detail. They are non-paying positions--purely voluntary--and much aspired after by that portion of the indian population who are still 'looking backward' as it were. Men thru years of active religious participation build up reputations as wise or holy men in things of religion, and thus a man usually knows, as do others in the community, if he will or will not be made a principal when one of the existing principales dies and the time for election of a new one is in order.

This ends our four fold classification. Now, there should be added to this a discussion of the regional division of labor--but in a sense this falls more properly under a section on regional economy. Thus when we come to talk of the available economic goods in the pueblo and in the municipio we will discuss the ingress of goods from other places. We will list the necessary items of life for the indian here and note its provenience. In so doing we will in part draw a picture of the economic unity or disjointedness of the municipio and of the larger regions of which it is a part. It should be noted, (with a dying fall from the father room) that despite the partial professionalization of the indian, he remains, in his own conception and in that of the ladinos, a man of the milpa. he is known as an 'agricultural laborer' or 'day laborer'--but his major work is in the fields, whether he works for himself or works for others. a good many indians hire out as field workers for others--but they also work for themselves--and the preference is to work for oneself entirely and not to have to depend on working for others to gain an income. one might say that the acquired drives of the culture start off modestly with a desire for self sufficiency and then lead to a desire for specialized self sufficiency--concentrating one's work abilities at one paying job and dropping off the economic totality of the individual insofar as he is the microcosm of the economy of the culture.

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IV. Work

Guatemala in general and San Luis in particular may be said to be non-industrial agricultural societies, depending almost totally on the raising, buying and selling of agricultural goods for all levels of living, from subsistence to luxury. Guatemala as a country has with industrial countries the same relationship as obtains between San Luis and similar pueblos in their relations with Guatemala City. From the industrialized countries of the world flow manufactured goods and finished products of all sorts in exchange for the few large scale agricultural crops which constitute the economic wealth of Guatemala, chief among them being coffee, chicle, and bananas. So, too, from San Luis flow agricultural goods to the city of Guatemala from which income is derived for the purchase of the manufactured goods which play such an important part in the material culture patterns of the people of San Luis.

Guatemala City is not the only source of supply of the finished factory goods such as clothing, implements of work, medicines and like materials which come into San Luis; for the Indian in his age-old custom of traveling into nearby areas with the pottery which his wife makes, has come to depend in not inconsiderable part on the neighboring state of San Salvador and in some cases on Honduras as well for the locus of purchase of goods which are not available in the community of San Luis or are available there but at higher prices.

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But in San Luis itself, almost without exception, all the available non-governmental work centers around the maintenance as a going concern of an agricultural community. Certain specialist services, such as barbering, pharmacist and doctor, horseshoer, general store dealer, are not uniquely characteristic of an agricultural community; but the fact is that in San Luis they operate only to serve the needs of the population which depends almost totally on agriculture for its existence and are not oriented toward production or stocking of goods for a market larger than that which is created by the immediate needs of the inhabitants of San Luis and its suburbs.

The basic food supply on which all, without exception, in the pueblo and its environs, are dependent, consists of maiz, or corn in various forms, and frijoles, or beans in various forms. Everything else in the way of food supply may be said to be supplemental and not central; and this is reflected in the initial and prime devotion of agricultural workers only to the raising of corn and beans, with excursions into the raising of other agricultural crops when and if time and energy and initiative and high market prices make it feasible. Trade in pigs and chickens and eggs which constitutes the basis of a not inconsiderable percentage of the total income of any given family in San Luis depends heavily upon the corn crop; if the corn crop is scarce, the raising of pigs and chickens and of the eggs of the chickens falls off, and this is immediately reflected in the variation of the cash income of San

Luis families, both Ladino and Indian. It is not being extravagant to estimate that without corn and beans 90 per cent of the families in San Luis would not long survive; and, when we realize that at least 90 per cent of the families are dependent on their own lands and their own work or hired hand work on their own lands for the production of the corn and bean crops, we may suggest that it is in order to consider San Luis as an agricultural community, as we initially indicated.

Now, within the general frame of near-total dependence upon agriculture, two types of specialization in work activities may be noted: one characteristic of the Ladino or non-Indian element, in the sense that almost all of the specialists of the kind we shall describe are Ladinos, and, the other characteristic of the Indians in the same sense of the word "characteristic." Both types of specialization are oriented to the market, both local and national, but the one characteristic of the Ladinos is maintained on "rational economic" bases while the other, that of the Indians, is sanctioned and continues to persist, despite a demonstrable high quotient of economic irrationality, through the influence of custom of hundreds of years standing. Let it be noted now that when we talk of a high quotient of economic irrationality, we refer not only to immediately available economic pursuits of a higher degree of economic rationality, but as well to economic pursuits not immediately available, and not availed of by the Indian because of the traditional or sacred sanctions which reinforce the sense of rightness about the necessary

continuance of the more "irrational" work.

The Ladino type specialization includes such specialist activities as ownership and management of the general stores and the small whiskey and cigarette counters; the pharmacy; the shoemaker; the bakers; the iron workers; the men who make a good part of their living in trading goods which they buy up in the pueblo; the slaughterers; the tailors; the leather workers; the masons and the carpenters, and like pursuits. These specialists perform their services to an extent and at a price in conformity with the general demands and the anticipatable price receivable in the pueblo and its immediate environs.

Work productivity and usefulness is calculated in hours and dollars terms; and, while the prices of all transactions involved in these specialized activities are relatively fixed and well known by all, they do fluctuate in response to changes in the markets in Guatemala City and indirectly to changes in international markets. This is especially true of such specialized activities as storekeeping, where almost all the goods available are city-bought and fluctuate in direct proportion with the city market and its corresponding dependencies. Thus, insofar as rationality in economic pursuits may be correlated with secular societal structure, or may be categorized as secular, we may say that the Ladino specialities are secular.

The Indian specialties consist in the main of the manufacture of straw hats by the men and of pottery of various types by the women. Neither hat making nor pottery making is

properly consid red work by the Indian; he imagines his main economic role to be that of milpero, or maker of milpa; but he does depend in large part on the sale of straw hats and of pottery for a considerable part of his cash income of the year.

As far as can be determined the manufacture of pottery by the women and the sale of it on routes sometimes as far as 8 days walking distance from the pueblo dates back to pre-Conquest times. The routes seem to be essentially the same now as they were then; the pottery types seem to be essentially the same as well. The Indian knows that the further away from the pueblo he goes to sell his wife's pottery and his own straw hats the higher the price he will obtain. In this sense, his leaving the pueblo to sell his pots may be judged as initially rational. But, by calculations made, the difference between the possible selling price in the pueblo and the price which he obtains at markets at various removes from the pueblo is not, according to prevailing rates of pay for a day's work, to be considered rational. The question rises, of course, as to whether there is anything else the Indian might do instead of selling pottery on the road at the time that he does perform this function. The answer is both yes and no. Assuming that there were no long standing tradition of pottery selling which is in some measure economically lucrative, and assuming that there were no high degree of mental immobility of the Indian, as there does seem to prevail, the answer would most certainly be that there were other work he might do, such as

going to the banana plantations in the coastal areas; moving to the west of Guatemala and working on fincas; going to the city and getting employ as porter or houseboy, etc.; but the Indian is tied to his milpa and to his pueblo by a sense of rightness and comfort involved in his residence in the pueblo of his fathers and in his main role as milpero; these ties, along with others, such as the imperviousness to contact influences which seems to obtain for the Indian even in the midst of high frequency and high potential contact with acculturative influences, prevents the Indian from exercising secular, rational economic choices. The fact then that because of these non-secular ties which are operative, the Indian does not consider that other work is available, is sufficient reason, it seems, for immediately characterizing the specialities of the Indian as more sacred, more tradition-bound, more custom-tied and justified than those specialities indulged in by the Ladinos.

As further test of this contention we have the evidence of those Indians, who in increasing numbers, up until the outbreak of war and the consequent peril of submarines to the shipping industry, went to the coastal areas to work on the banana plantations of the United Fruit company; a good many of them making milpa part of the year, to be sure, and going to the plantations for the non-milpa months; but not a few of them deserting pueblo and milpa alike in their quest for economic betterment. The Indian seems to recognize that once a rational economic venture such as exit to the plantations is ventured

upon, the whole central-role-conception of the Indian as a milpero stands in danger of being shattered. Once this central role conception is shattered there is little else which will hold the Indian to the pueblo and the Indian way of life, for in some way or other, the conception of himself as a milpero is integral to the vast majority of other minor-role or peripheral role conceptions to which the Indian is bound; and it seems that the destruction of the central role conception is almost sufficient condition for the breaking of most other more-or-less sacred ties which bind the Indian's behavior. What is indubitable is that the shattering of this conception which the Indian has of himself is a necessary condition for any active secularization of his life way which he might attempt, or consider as desirable. There is one Indian in town, one of the two barbers, who does not make milpa personally and who is dependent on his barber trade and his travels with goods he buys from outside markets for the main substance of his living. It is noteworthy of this man that he is considered by the Ladinos as being closer to the Ladino type than any other Indian in town; that he is the only Indian in town with a child in secondary school; that his wife does not wear native costume; that he has shoes and wears them when the proper occasions arise; that he speaks Spanish in his house, though he still can talk the native Pokoman dialect; that his wife wears the black head covering almost uniquely characteristic of Ladino women; that his children do not speak the native Pokoman dialect; that the Indians consider him as "oasi-

Ladino," almost Ladino; that he participates in none of the "native" Indian religious or social affairs; that he has considerably many more friends among the Ladinos than among the Indians; that he is treated by the Ladinos with a certain deference and near-respect which is accorded to but one other Indian in town; that he does not make straw hats nor does his wife make pottery; that he does not travel with the pottery made by any other person either; that he sells on the road only factory manufactured stuff or illegal imports he picks up in San Salvador on his trips there; that he never wears manta clothing except as underwear; that he is considered in the same prestige terms by the Indians as they consider Ladinos, and not in the terms in which they consider and render prestige and esteem to other Indians; that although he is mentioned often by the Indians as one of the richest men in town, he is not considered by them as one of the richest Indians; that he is not invited to nor desirous of participating in, as far as I can determine, the leadership of whatever intra-Indian community life still persists in San Luis, in contrast to all other Indians of fairly high economic status who are invited and who do participate to some extent or other; that he is not considered as a potential mayor domo or principal of a cofradia even though he more than fulfills the criteria, while other Indians, though less fulfilling of the criteria, are considered as being in line for a mayor domo's or a principal's office; that his son in secondary school in the pueblo of Antigua, in the near west of Guate-

mala, passes as a Ladino and not as an Indian and is allowed to do so by the school teachers and the director of the secondary school, all of whom know his background since they come from the same pueblo as his father: namely, San Luis, and have been barbered and shaved on any number of occasions by his Indian father; that the Indian father is considering for his son a career of study in the school for Cadets in the city, a school traditionally Ladino, but occasionally admitting Indians of a highly Ladinoized nature; that the family in the pueblo lives in a house of decidedly Ladino construction in size and type and eat in Ladino fashion.

Unfortunately we do not have life history material of anything but a scanty nature on this Indian; but the central fact seems to me to be that the Indian is not tied to milpa work; is freed from the mental restrictions which almost-total-occupation to the milpa imposes on an Indian, and which limit the kind and the extent of the secondary roles which an Indian can fruitfully pursue; that in consequence his children are freed from such initial restrictions on the shaping of their life ways as well; that they, male and female alike, can and do go to school, and begin to pursue careers oriented distinctly in Ladino-goal fashion and divorced far from native Indian understandings; and that, possibly directly as a function of all this, the man has hopes and horizons which extend far out and beyond those which, in their narrow range, tie the Indian, circularly reinforcing themselves as they do, to life in and on the milpa. So we may

perhaps say that once the initial breakdown of the milpero-role-conception has begun, those peripheral roles, actually dependent upon or standing perhaps only in symbiotic relationship to the central role, begin to crumble and disappear. The trend toward the new with all its psychic accompaniments seems as circularly-self-reinforcing as are the behavior and psychic accompaniments which are sacred-bound and limited.

We have indicated that the making of pottery by Indian women and the sale of it by the Indian men constitutes an economic activity, insofar as its consequences and some of its avowed purposes are concerned, which cannot be judged to be economically rational to any significant degree. It constitutes one of the native understandings within the frame of activities and attitudes which has as its focus the role-conception of oneself as a milpero. In response to some undiscernable need for explaining away the irrationality of his pottery dealings, or perhaps in simple accurate description of the significance of non-milpa work in his life, the Indian offers up the affirmation that neither the making of pottery by his wife, nor his sale of it, nor the making of straw hats to which he so laboriously dedicates himself are to be considered as work. All these activities may best be described in the Indian's own terms: as "something we do when there is nothing else to do, señor." This is especially true of the hat-making and less so of the pottery; though, if one considers the trips with the pottery as being part of the same

syndrome as the pottery making itself, then one may equate the attitude of the Indian toward it with his attitude toward his straw hat making. For, while almost every Indian feels it essential to his status as an Indian and as an economically functioning member of his community to go on his trips several times during the non-milpa season, he regards his trips more as a criterion of his status as an Indian, i.e. as a part of a custom-blood-stock community, and as part of the way in which an Indian may take pleasure in life when work is not pressing, than as a criterion of his membership in a division of labor. Again, then, folk sanctions control and folk rationales to a considerable degree give the *raison d'être* to the economically-consequential activities of the Indian.

It must be noted that this is "more or less so," and not "black-and-white so." There are not a few Indians, whom one would judge on other scores to be fairly Ladinoized, who resort to making trips with pottery and/or straw hats only when they are in need of some ready cash; who travel alone and hurry back and forth as quickly as they can; who do not get pleasure out of the trips, but need cash and have no other way of making the cash as far as they, in their limited visions, can ascertain.

The mere making of pottery by the Indian woman, may, on the other hand, be said to be in more direct relation to an economically rational sequence of events than the making-selling process considered as a whole or the selling considered by itself. Again, the Indian woman like the Indian man

will say there are no other economically gainful occupations for her to attempt, and, once given the fact of her central role as the house-hold complement of the field-worker or milpero man, we must agree with the woman that the case is as she puts it. Any attempt to engage in any other economically gainful opportunities would, with but one exception, force her to desert her central role as housekeeper and thus break not only with the core understandings by which she guides her life and is judged to be part of a community into which she is born, but would cause a break away from peripheral roles as well, which though they are supported by and in addition are given a *raison d'être* by and a functional integrity by the central role to which they belong as part to whole, in turn, support and allow to be central and retain as central and give functional integrity to the central-role-conception of the Indian woman of herself as a household complement to her milpero husband or man. The one exception to this is the possibility of turning to full-time making of straw hats along with her husband; in part, the Indian woman does this; she buys the straw or palm in the market place and helps her husband braid the strands, but the final sewing together of the strands is considered strictly a man's job and no Indian woman so engages herself, just as no Indian man would make pottery, since it is strictly a woman's job in San Luis Indian society. I have calculated that it would be more economically profitable, in terms of the relation between time, energy and money to be gained for a woman to devote herself to straw hats rather than

to pottery. So that we must judge, from an ideal type guide of economic rationality, that the continuance of making pottery in preference to straw hats constitutes another piece of evidence to support the general thesis running throughout this paper that sacred life ways in large part make up the total life way of the Indian in San Luis. On inquiring why the Indian woman does not engage in the more economically rational adventure, we discover that clear-cut distinctions between men and women in the division of labor among Indians is one of the firmest and most tradition bound and indeed most affect-loaded understandings of the Indians, to the point that though poverty sometimes forces an Indian woman on to the milpa alongside of her husband, even that poverty, with which all Indians are more than familiar, does not make any the less the public censure against a woman milpera.

For the man, now then, in terms again of an ideal type physically possible economic rationality, his devotion to the making of straw hats at anytime that his hands are freed from other work, may be considered as economically irrational to a relatively high degree. Like his trips, but even more so, the making of straw hats is considered integral to his role as an Indian in an Indian community of people and understandings; he cites this straw hat making, and the Ladinos cite it as one of the criteria by which Ladinos may be distinguished from Indians; the Indian cites it with pride; the Ladino cites it with merely a sense of difference without affect, as far as I

can determine. Straw hat making is considered by the Indian not as work nor as recreation, though to be sure he has no sense of recreation per se, insofar as he divides up his life time in terms of work times and non-work times. Thus, when an Indian is asked what he does when he is not working he will most usually answer that he makes straw hats. This is so in spite of the obvious economic gain which he derives from the making of hats and the complaints which he sometimes voices about the hard work it involves at times. The making of straw hats and the Indian's conception of himself as a maker of hats is not as integral as is his milpa work to his conception of himself as an Indian, inasmuch as it is one of the first things he will stop doing when a different opportunity for making money presents itself to him. Yet it is integral in the sense that one can distinguish between those Indians who are more within the native life style from those who, contrariwise, are more in the Ladino life style by whether or not the Indian makes straw hats on his way to and from the milpa, in the streets, at the city hall when on duty, in his house on Sundays and on week nights. Thus, it is a necessary condition for the characterization of a man as being more within the Indian life style than the Ladino life style that he make straw hats, though it is not a sufficient condition. As between the Indian man and Ladino man it is a unique condition of being Indian. No Ladino man does anything in the straw hat making process. But as between Indian and Ladino women it is not uniquely distinguishing. For a number of Ladino women

braid straw hats, and not all Indian women braid straw hats; though, like Indian women, no Ladino woman sews straw hats.

Two further considerations enable us to judge the more-or-less economic irrationality of the orientation of work such as the making of straw hats which occupies so much of the Indian man's time and energy: (1) The Indian man makes hats on Sundays; Sundays, according to the Indian, are days of "descanso" or of "no trabajo," i.e. of rest or of "no work." It seems reasonable to infer that an activity performed on a day of "no work" is not considered as work by the performers. (2) An agent of a New York Hat company has persistently over the last few years tried to get Indians to devote themselves full time to the making of straw hats, a full time activity which would be far more economically profitable than milpa work and pottery selling and straw hat making, in the combinations of time and energy which now obtain. He has consistently met with failure. The Indian simply cannot entertain the idea of devoting himself only to straw hat making. This is true even in the neighboring pueblo of San Pedro Pinula where the Indians sew straw hats on sewing machines rather than by hand as they do in San Luis. The agent turned to me in desperation near the end of my stay in San Luis; but I could do not more than counsel him that his mission was hopeless. This, then, is testimony not only to the non-economic orientation of an activity, considerable in its time and energy consumption, but is further testimony to the partial non-economic orientation of the Indian toward his milpa work as well; for here in

the face of an offer of work which would probably prove less physically arduous and more economically profitable than the work which the Indian now performs, it seems the Indian cannot even conceive of himself in that role, must less attempt to participate actively within it.

The definition of the work situation which the Indian renders to his milpa work may be shown by further evidence to be in part non-rationally economically orientated. And, if again we may correlate economic rationality with secular, non-folk behavior and correlate irrational, economic behavior with sacred, folk-like behavior, we have another basis for judging in the overall that the Indian is to be characterized as predominantly folk in his ideas about and attitudes toward economic efforts. The evidence is as follows. (1) The Indian considers the milpa on which he works as something distinct from the land itself; a distinction which we who tend to identify the "farm" with "the land" would find hard to understand. The Indian, for instance, says on questioning that he does own his milpa; when questioned as to whether he owns the land on which he makes milpa, he says usually that he does not; that he rents the land from Fulano de tal, usually a Ladino. He feels an invested right in his milpa, no matter on whose land it may be. Thus, a Ladino landlord who attempts to dispossess Indian tenants finds himself faced with the notion held by the Indian that the landlord simply has no right to do so, since the Indian owns the milpa, though he may not own the land. I have heard this dispute time and

time again argued out in front of the mayor, in which instances of course, the laws protecting the owner of real estate prevail and the Indian conception of his rights in his milpa is necessarily subjugated and given no validity. Indians have come to me with the same problem and argument before bringing the case to the court. On these occasions, once I had become familiar with the Indian conception of his rights in his milpa, I was able to counsel the Indian that he did have his rights as he formulated them but that the law of Guatemala did not recognize them.

Thus we see that the legal definition of property ownership pertaining in European cultures does not coincide with the Indian conception of milpa ownership; and, insofar as this legal definition of ownership of property may be said to be characteristic of non-folk society and conceptions of ownership of the type which the Indian maintains about his milpa may be said to be characteristic of folk, that far may we judge again the Indian to be folk and not "civilized."

The question of legal definition of life work or central life roles comes up in a related connection here. The laws of Guatemala, centering around the concern with vagrancy, declare that all men between the ages of 18-60 must be classified according to their occupations. The legal classifications allow for a man to be a landowner, a day worker with insufficient land holdings to be considered a landowner, a merchant or a professional man. All the classifications, to be sure, contain property holding criteria for their determination, but it

is especially important to note it only in the distinction between those who own sufficient land to be free of the legal necessity of demonstrating certain numbers of days of work for others, and those who hold insufficient amounts to be relieved of the necessity of demonstrating days of work during the year for others, the number of days varying again with the number of squares of land to which the man can lay claim as his own.

With respect to the vagrancy law, the Indian maintains a dual attitude; on the one hand he is *libreta*, or work-card conscious to the extent that he lives up to the regulations of the law as much as he can, through legal or illegal means; but, in no way does the vagrancy law and its influences on his life influence his conception of himself as far as his characteristic work is concerned. He simply conceives of himself as a milpero, whether he is free of the exigencies of the vagrancy law or whether he is subject to them; this holds true, it should be noted, up to the point where he earns his living, like our aforementioned barber, by commercial or other non-milpa work and stops considering himself as a milpero. But as long as he remains within the traditional work activities he maintains a tradition-defined and sacredly sanctioned conception of his role as a person. The legal definition of status does not concern him, in short; his definition of status is non-legal, sacred, folk. Once he stops being a milpero, then he conforms to the legal definition

of status, as is evidenced not so much from the work books where all definitions of status are legally determined, as from the verbally and publicly professed definitions of role which the few Indians, who do not depend mainly on milpa for a livelihood, express. Again, then, insofar as we may correlate acceptance of legal definition of status and role as being non-folk, and traditionally sanctioned definition of status as being folk, that far may we judge again the Indian to be more folk than non-folk.

Toward his work activities in general the Indian maintains a dual attitude, one part of which may be said to be economically rational, and the other less so. The Indian firstly though perhaps not most importantly looks upon his work as the way to make his living; working is "in the nature of things"; "hay que trabajar para vivir, señor," is a frequent statement. But to this is added immediately, in not a few instances, another sub-attitude toward the work which cannot be explained in terms of pragmatic judgment of economically rational means toward an economically rational end but rather in terms of a traditionally defined and determined notion of the Indian as an Indian insofar as his work is concerned. The Indian says not only, "One must work in order to live," but "one must work hard and long in order to live." The Indian distinguishes himself from the Ladino in that he is a worker, a hard worker, whereas the Ladino makes a living by such "obviously easy work" as writing in record books, selling things in a store, or asking people silly questions like the visiting.

anthropologist was doing. Many Indians do not believe that it is in the nature of the Indian to be able to do anything else but milpa work which is hard and long work, to earn a living. "No tenemos el sentido, la resignacion" for other kinds of work; "we don't have the gift, the innate ability" says the Indian. Or, even more to the point, "No podemos desempeñar otra clase de trabajo": "we could not perform other kinds of work." The use of the word "resignacion" which the Indian also uses to describe the supposed innate abilities which wizards and witches are supposed to possess is indicative of his attitude toward his work; the use of the word "sentido" is equal on this score. The use of the word "desempenar," which is a ~~5~~ word for Indians to use, is at once more and yet less to the point. For "desempenar el papel" in Spanish is used on the one hand to describe the handling of a role in theatrical productions, where it is equatable with "performance"; and on the other hand, it is used to describe the ability to handle any given role, any given work role. Thus the Indian says of himself and of his fellow Indians that they could not "desempenar el papel" of President or Intendente; it simply isn't "in them" to handle such kinds of work. It is not that they have no custom of doing other work, but that they feel that they could not handle other work even if they were given the opportunity. This attitude toward work other than milpa work is sometimes affect-loaded sometimes conceived merely as a difference without affect by

the Indian. By the Ladino it is considered likewise in some cases, but the predominant trend is for the Ladino to consider the Indian's imputed inability with a certain amount of depreciation. And, in the cases of some of the Indians there is decided feeling of inferiority associated with their feeling of inability to handle given work different from that to which they are accustomed. But a good many Indians and a good many Ladinos simply consider this difference in actual work activities as "in the nature of things" by reason of some people being Indian and some being Ladino.

By inference, then, from this, we may judge that the Indian conceives of his work in the milpa not only as a means of livelihood but as a necessary part of his definition of life role as an Indian. Further testimony to the correctness of this assertion is offered by the Indian's verbalization of differences between himself and the Ladino, when asked how might a Ladino, who was desirous of turning into Indian, do so. The Indian of course first answers that it is ridiculous to think that any Ladino would want to change over to Indian; but once he accepts the hypothetical terms of the question he answers: "He should take off his shoes, put on manta, and come do milpa work with his own hands like we do." He would then be "like an Indian," though, to be sure, in the overwhelming majority of my interviews, the Indians insisted that none of these manifest symbols constituted sufficient basis for calling a man an Indian, if he were not born an Indian. The Ladino, too, on the other side of the picture, offers testimony

on this Indian attitude toward his work by characterizing the Indian as a man who makes milpa with his own hands, while the Ladino hires someone else to do his milpa work if he possibly can. That the Ladino does not judge the making of milpa as a sufficient nor as a unique condition of "being Indian" is testified to by the fact that there are not a few Ladinos who work on milpas with their own hands; and, there are not a few Ladinos who, though now they do not work personally on their milpas, say that they did when they were younger. They consider it the mark of adult Ladino status of a relatively high order that they do not now work personally on the milpa, though they will supervise the actual day by day work at times of emergency. Thus, when you ask a Ladino whether he works personally on his milpa, in no a few instances, the answer will be: "No, no sey Indio yo": "No, I am not an Indian."

We may turn now briefly to consider the Indian's attitude not only toward his actual work habits but toward possible other types of work, once given the hypothetical possibility that other work were available to him. Most of my Indian interviewees, when asked what they would like to do in the way of work, if they could pick from all the kinds of work that they knew, were modest in their professed aspirations, and, almost to a man, confess desire either to be a "comerciante" full time, i.e., a trader; or a store keeper. Only with leading questions can one evoke from them positive answers to possible desires for such work as military or civil officialdom, medicine, accounting, and the like. And, there is evidence

that the aspiration horizon of the Indian is decidedly limited and small even when one attempts to discuss hypothetical conditions. For almost all my interviewees when asked, "And, if you were a comerciante, would you still make milpa or would you give up your milpa?" were ready with the answer: "Oh, I would always make milpa; I'd never give up my milpa." When asked why, the answer was usually, "Well, with milpa you're always sure of eating; if you're a trader and there's no work to be had, or if you're a carpenter and there's no work, you always have your corn and beans from the milpa to eat. This way, if you gave up your milpa and there were no work otherwise, you'd have to go hungry."

We may surmise from this that the Indian's conception of possible security systems is limited to the actual ones at hand; it is in most cases extremely difficult for him to extend his visions beyond the understanding of rather material and concrete implications of his actual day by day work; and it is even more difficult for him to attempt to envision the implications of work other than that which he actually performs. It is a form of mental isolation, induced in part perhaps by point by point indoctrination in these thoughtways as a child, and sustained by the circular self-augmentation which seems to be characteristic of mental isolation, as well as by the day-by-day urgencies of living and the consequent impossibility in most cases of building up a sufficient economic reserve to allow (1) for actual experimentation in other fields of endeavor, and (2) more immediately, for a surplus of time

and energy for making oneself psychically effectable by contact, and (3) for leisure time in which to reflect on new ideas and notions which that contact might bring to the person in question. Add to that the general "social fact" in the Indian community of understandings of simply not considering alternative possibilities and the few examples of those who having tried alternative possibilities having found in most cases that the expected compensations were not forthcoming, and we have here a functionally related set of factors which seem in considerable degree to explain each other as well as to define the whole general picture of mental isolation in its particularity in San Luis. And, insofar as mental isolation as we have here described it may be said to be correlated highly with other elements in a folk-culture complex, that far may we judge the Indian community of understandings about work to be folk.

We may speak now of a different implication of the word specialization with reference to Indian work in San Luis and thus bring to the fore a needed treatment of the division of labor in general for the Indian, and his incorporation into that labor-division. While we have heretofore talked of the trades of pottery and straw hats as being specialities of San Luis Indians in the sense that they serve to distinguish the Indian from the Ladino in the pueblo and in some sense from other Indians in other pueblos, we may now consider those trades as being part of the run-of-the-day work effort of the Indian in San Luis and consider for a moment the specialities within the native labor system.

In this sense of the word specialty, we find that the only real specialists among the Indians may be said to be the religious and/or magical specialists. We find the phenomenon here obtaining of a specialist class without what is generally considered as the necessarily prerequisite leisure. With but one exception, these specialists in religious and magical functions do not make a living out of their specialties; economic considerations seem of certainly secondary importance to other, non-economic considerations which keep the specialists functioning. All but one of the specialists--religious leaders and wizards and witches depend primarily on their milpas and pottery and straw hats and a slight amount of commerce in agricultural products for their livings. Yet, it is interesting and important to note that the most popular curer, the young wizard of El Barrial whom we have previously mentioned and whom we may here indicate as gradually becoming a religious leader as well, does depend only on his wizardry for his living. In this sense, then, he is the only specialist in San Luis who devotes himself full time to his specialty.

We feel justified in calling only religious and magical activities as specialized activities by reason of the fact that the Indians so consider them; whatever minor specialization in work activities some Indians do perform, such as roofing and saddle-making, while economically gainful, is not considered by the Indian who performs these services or the Indians for whom they are performed as being anything apart from the ordinary kind of work which the Indian can perform. For the Indian, the

specialist consists of that man who performs a service which the vast majority of the Indians cannot perform yet need to have it performed for them. Such secular economically oriented specialized activities as roofing and saddle-making are considered by the Indians and may well be judged to be accidents, in the sense that they were not predictable from any major trends beforehand, and one cannot predict about any similar situations occurring in the future. There is simply no *raison d'être* in the San Luis community for Indian specialization along secular, economically orientated lines. For the Indian, work consists of milpa making, and, in the indirect way we have noted before, of straw hats and making of trips to sell those hats and the woman's pottery. All Indians can do these three things; almost all Indians do do them; and, through a period of training beginning at the ages of 4 and 5 and 6, the Indian child, by the time he reaches 11 or 12, is a full member of the economic division of labor in the sense that he can perform the duties attendant upon milpa making, straw hat making and the making of trips.

For the Indian woman, the attitude toward specialists is essentially the same, with certain typically female specialties such as midwifery, supplementing the wizardry and religious leadership of the male specialists. As for Indian men so for Indian women in San Luis, there is essentially nothing which any one woman can do which all other women cannot, and in most cases, actually do. This is true of the pueblo proper, though it should be noted that in some of the neighboring aldeas there seems to be a tendency for such skills as pottery making to drop out. The

Indian woman in the pueblo is essentially the keeper of the house and the grounds around the house; the cooker of food, the washer and sewer of clothes, the caretaker of children, the grower of pigs and chickens, the gatherer of wild fruits and vegetables, and the marketer for goods in the market place and the stores. And, perhaps even earlier than male children, the female children among the Indians of San Luis are incorporated as full members of the division of labor pertaining to women by the time they are about 10 years old.

Aside then from the specialties which we have mentioned, the labor demands of the Indian of San Luis are divided along the lines of (1) sex and (2) age. Young children are expected to perform in kind but not in quantity as their elders perform; their tasks are graded to their ages and their physical structures and the expected capabilities attendant upon age and physical developmental level. Tasks in the total division of labor are considered typically female or male, but some overlapping is allowed and sanctioned. But the Indian man is in little or no sense a housekeeper and the Indian woman is in little or no sense a milpera. That seems to be the prime factor in the Indian division of labor. Gossip and rumor and public censure, open and covert, serve to keep the division of labor now as it seems to have been hundreds of years ago. Insofar as the sacred and/or folk may be equated with the tradition bound and sanctioned, that far may we characterize the division of labor of the Indian as folk. And insofar further as

simplicity of the division of labor (so that only two major principles of age and sex operate, with a specialist class being essentially non-economically orientated) may be said to be more folk than "civilized," that far may we further ascribe the adjective "folk" to the Indian division of labor.

However, we must also note that while at present secularly oriented specialization is not significant in Indian culture, it promises in the future to become more and more significant. By secularly oriented specialization we mean here that kind of specialized activity which has money-making as its major purpose; which provides, for the performer, the main base of his economic existence; which is fairly economically rational in its operations; which is performed not out of any sense of community welfare but rather from a sense of individual need and economic improvement; which tends more and more to constitute a total act in itself and does not bear, for the individual or for the community, the marks of membership in his community as a whole; nor is integral to the sufficiency of self conception of other roles which the secularized individual tends to play at discrete times in discrete places with seeming discrete funds of energy; which tends not to bind the individual to the general division of labor but rather which tends to free him from whatever consequences of routine operation within that division may seem oppressive to him; which tends to characterize him as a specialist in that particular type of labor and does not serve as the identification mark of membership within a total community labor crew; which calls for

devotion to the specialization to such an extent that increasing differentiation from a general work norm and increasing inability to perform other work functions is attendant upon the continuance of this process of individualization; where the work is considered by the individual as a means toward further ends, and the prerequisites for other role playing, whatever they may be, rather than as the fulfillment of certain roles or goals in themselves.

Toward this type of specialization we predict there will be a greater and greater trend on the part of more and more Indians in the proximate years in San Luis, because it is the general type of specialization toward which the Ladino in the pueblo now tends (attenuated though it may be in its manifestations as compared with other pueblos). And, as we have noted before, it is to the Ladino and his goals that the Indian seems to tend. Some Indians now, for instance, in San Luis earn a not inconsiderable total portion of their cash income for the year from their playing marimba parts at various fiestas; some Indian girls sustain themselves completely as housegirls for Ladino housewives; two Indians are primarily barbers and not milperos; one other Indian earns as much from his barber work as he does from his milpa and straw hats and trips. Thus we may predict that if and when the economic situation of San Luis in general improves, there will be tendency for more and more Ladinos to become further specialized as the demands, made possible by added income, grow; as they, the Ladinos, become more and more specialized, some Indians will tend to occupy

the minor yet necessary specializations which the Ladino, now performing, will desert or amplify in response to the demand; if and when this process continues over any period of time, a sufficient number of Indians will have had a sufficient number of contacts with the effects of secularly specialized work so that a serious incursion into the integrity of the now native understandings on the score of work will have been made.

In turning to a consideration of the Ladino work patterns in San Luis, the reader should consult again the appendix on bare facts. In that appendix the differences in occupations as between Indians and Ladinos is expressed in raw figures and in percentages. But some over all comment and analysis is needed at this point.

While the Ladino element of the population of San Luis and of Guatemala in general is largely dependent on the agricultural activities and produce of the country for the national money income, the Ladino in general is not as personally tied to the actual business of getting out the agricultural crops from the soil as is the Indian, except in a managerial way. And, his energies and time being less tied to the soil, there is a diversion of them to specializations which keep the rural pueblos of Guatemala fairly self-sustaining, such as pharmacies, iron working, restaurant keeping, and the like; and, in addition, it is he, the Ladino, who, being less tied to the soil yet deriving more monetary advantage from it, is able to secure the necessary education for the later securing of governmental positions, both civil and military.

Of the poor Ladino, the Ladino almost as poor and even in some instances poorer than some poor Indians, no clear cut statements may be made except to indicate that while in practice they find themselves nearly equatable with Indians, yet in their attitudes toward their actual work activities and in their horizons about preferred work activities they differ at present in considerable measure from the "average" Indian.

The poor Ladino sometimes maintains toward his necessary actual physical labor on his milpa the same sort of attitude which the local military official entertains toward his out of the way post: namely, that it represents but a temporary stopping off point in his general climb up the economic and social status ladder. This attitude seems essential to the poor Ladino's role conception and to his maintenance of personal dignity and feelings of self-worth; without these attitudes he would be in large part indistinguishable from his Indian neighbor. He knows, to be sure, that there is but a small margin of differential in the treatment accorded to him and to his Indian neighbor by the upper class Ladinos, yet he holds on to that small margin for all it is worth, making sure to manifest through expressed attitudes toward the Ladino and toward the Indian and toward himself his "difference" from the Indian. Thus, while for the Indian, his role as milpero constitutes for him, in the majority of cases, something "right" and "fitting," for the Ladino, contrariwise, it represents merely an accident of fate, an unfortunate concatenation of events which, God willing, will be changed in the future,

since, for him, it does not represent in any real way his real abilities or his life aspirations nor does it jibe with his central conception of self, a conception almost always pitched, as far as I can determine, to the highest point of attainment which the pueblo allows. Thus, the poor Ladino differentiates himself from the Indian by his attitudes toward himself and his work, and, at the same time, tries to equate himself with the upper class Ladino in terms of his "essential character" which, for all the misfortunes of fate which have befallen him for no good reasons, says he, is as good as if not better than any of the upper class Ladinos who merely had strokes of luck in larger proportions than he and consequently are on the upper rungs of the local status ladder.

The poor Ladino is essentially a milpero in actual practice. But above him, economically, and in terms of status accorded by the upper classes, is a class of middle-class Ladinos, comprised mainly of semi-skilled workers, specialists of a sort, who, not holding large amounts of land nor being of "the best families" nor being married to wealthy people, are allowed to occupy and in most senses are glad to occupy a role in the status groupings intermediate between that of the milpero Ladino and the upper class Ladino. These are the butchers, the bakers, the iron workers, the horseshoers, the shoemakers, the saddlemakers, the store keepers of small proportions, and some of the civil and government officials. There is no pressing urge upon them to differentiate themselves from the Indian as there is in the case of the poorer Ladino; their

security systems are more adequate in their recognition of the fact that they do not have to actively force recognition of differences between themselves and Indians; in the further fact that they are economically better off and socially better considered than the poorer Ladino; and, in the further fact that their aspirations are not pitched toward full participation with the upper class Ladino as long as they can spout about their equality of character, of essential character, with the upper class Ladino, even though they do not have the black suit or the party dress with which they participate in upper class Ladino affairs.

These middle class Ladinos, intermediate in both status and economic holdings, usually own or rent a small piece of land on which they have milpa made for them by Indian or Ladino hired hands; they are full time devotees of their work specialties and milpa making for them represents merely a sort of paid food gathering activity.

To be sure, the potential cash value of their crops constitutes a significant part of their total income, even as it does in the cases of the poor and the upper class Ladinos; but the actual time and psychic involvement is much less than in the case of the Indian in his semi-positive affirmation of his milpero role and his almost total time devotion to the milpa; or the case of the poor Ladino in his near total time involvement and his constant felt-need for denial of that involvement as anything psychically important for him.

The workers usually pass on their skills to their children; they usually, as well, send their children to primary school and in some instances to secondary school; but the majority of worker children either grow up as vagrants, or as journeymen apprentices of their fathers, later on to assume full economic responsibility for the household when the adults are no longer able to work.

Now, of the some 1,110 Ladinos in the pueblo, a figure which includes men, women and children, some estimated 300 of these are in the worker class, some 700 of them in the populacho or poor class, leaving some 100 Ladinos all told in the so-called upper class. This figure of 100 people represents perhaps the 20 "best families" in San Luis, usually the most wealthy, the best dressed, the most respected, the most powerful, the ones with most important "connections" and, in some instances, the oldest families in the area.

Among the men of these families are the druggist who is also semi-doctor; a large land and cattleholder who does a little creamery work; the Director of the local board of education who does no work other than supervise the work on the lands of his wife; the pueblo treasurer; one of the school teachers; the father of a school teacher who grows more poor through depreciation in land values and the division of his land among his many children; a retired semi-doctor who now lives off his land holdings and the small income from a small store which his wife tends for him; another large land holder who devotes most of his time to standing personal guard over

his mango groves, the only ones of their kind in the area and from which he derives a large part of his income; still another large land holder who seems to derive most of his income from small scale swindles of land from the Indians; the Chinaman in the pueblo who is actual owner of the largest general good store in the pueblo, a young carpenter, nephew of the druggist and illegitimate child of a Salvadorean diplomat.

There are in addition a pair of unmarried sisters, owners of large quantities of land and of the second largest general goods store in the pueblo; a widowed woman of some education, owner, by inheritance from her husband, of large landholdings and actively engaged in the tending of a small store; the owner of the billiard salon, who derives considerable income from trade in livestock; the telegraph officer who owns, by inheritance, a considerable portion of land; and, a pair of brothers who own some land but derive most of their cash income from the operations of a bakery which their daughters and wives run jointly.

All these people are upper class in their own estimations and are considered upper class in manifest symbols by the rest of the Ladinos and the Indians; they form the nucleus of the political ruling clique in town, though there are innumerable subdivisions among them on this score; they are the center of any social gathering; they invite usually only from among their own kind for weddings, baptisms, and celebrations in general.

The women and daughters of the families are the effective religious leaders of the Ladino community and of the Indian-Ladino community, when such a community temporarily forms in times of pueblo crisis, such as an extended drought. Their work aspirations are pitched above anything the pueblo has to offer, when they have these aspirations; a good many of them send their children away to secondary schools and to further training institutes to learn professions, either military or civil; but not a few of them as well, finding themselves upper class in terms of pueblo manifest symbols, still find themselves unable to send their children away and hence either rededicate themselves to a sort of prolonged childhood leisure existence or else to the making of gestures in the direction of some work effort involving little physical exertion and usually of a managerial capacity, such as the management of lands or the middleman role in commercial dealings would provide for them.

There is not one of the upper class families who in some significant way does not depend on commercial dealings in agricultural products for a considerable proportion of his income. Whatever other specializations they may have, even in the case of the pharmacist, it is to the land and its produce and the sale of that produce that their economic activities and existences are highly geared. The title "comerciante" is prestigious in San Luis, and hence used by the upper class Ladinos in classifying themselves as far as their work activities are concerned as long as they feel and think that

others feel that their involvement in the business of dealings in agricultural crops does not involve physical work on their part, nor too much time so that they have no time for the cultivation of social graces and the indulgence in whatever manner of leisure class activities the pueblo does provide, chief among which is the fine art of doing absolutely nothing.

Now, in varying degrees, proceeding upward from the poor to the rich, there is a differentiation in the division of labor along sex lines among the Ladinos; the general role which a Ladino woman is supposed to occupy is that of "housewife"; women are classified as being engaged in oficios de su sexo in their cedulas, or residence cards; the Ladino woman is in no sense considered a worker; she is considered merely as the ruler of the household activities; and, as she is proportionately richer so she is personally less involved in the keeping of house, what with the rich one's ability to hire housegirls and cooks and nursemaids to perform the necessary household and child caring routines; it is not frowned upon for a woman to work, so long as that work is of a "refined" type such as tending store, teaching school, baking breads and cakes, and, indeed, it is chiefly among the upper class families that we find women engaged in such activities, for it is only the upper class families who can afford to make the initial investment required by such activities.

But the Ladino woman does not regard herself as a worker in the division of labor, as does the Indian women; nor do her children until they reach the ages at which they are

marriageable; though in many instances, even as among the Indians, the children in a Ladino household are important economic functionaries. Above all, the Ladino man does not regard his women nor his children as functionaries in the division of labor; this is true even of the poorest of Ladinos, though the indispensability of the woman in the economics of the household unit begins to obtain in increasing amount as we proceed downward in the economic scale. To the Ladino woman is assigned approximately the same household duties as those which the Indian woman performs, short of those special activities such as pottery making which we may consider as being unique to the Indians. The Ladino child, male and female, is incorporated into the division of labor, if at all, much later than the Indian child; his years of play and of school-going and of leisurely growing into adulthood are much more than those of the Indian child; this is true whether the Ladino be poor or rich, but, of course, to a lesser degree for the poorer Ladinos.

Again as we proceed up the economic ladder from the poor to the richer Ladino we find an increasing cash income, as we might expect; a cash income which allows for the purchase of what may locally be considered as luxury products; for the purchase of that amount of extra clothing which serves to mark off, overtly, the richer from the poorer; for the investment in commercial goods for short time periods on which still further income may be made; for the erection of new houses; for the

opening up of stores; for the sending away to school of their children in order to pursue professions or at least, in the case of female children, to keep residence in the city in order to secure a "city" husband.

The work aspirations of the upper class Ladinos, and to a lesser extent of the middle and poor class, are directed at the amassing of money to the greatest extent possible; that money to be used in a circularly augmenting process as we have indicated above for the upper class Ladino; and, to acquire, through the purchasable manifest symbols of leisure and luxury, the status which is accorded to the person able to manifest those symbols. While the poor class Ladino aspires to be upper class, and the middle class aspires to maintain itself as middle class, the aspirations of the upper class are orientated toward residence in the city, on the one hand; or, as is the case with most of the families at present: feeling themselves to be the lions in the pueblo, only to make gestures toward the city; and they feel quite content, in most instances, with the status which they occupy as local lions in preference to the strong possibility of their being but very small frogs in the pond which the city would be for them.

If the Indian is tied by all manner of sacred sanctions to his role as milpero and his subordinate status in the community, the Ladino is tied by psychic rewards which are neither sacred nor secular, but merely neutrally satisfactory and adequate resolutions of whatever tensions there might exist as a result of a small difference between their levels of aspirations

and their levels of achievements. The wealthy Ladino looks upward toward the city and downward at the pueblo, yet, in the case of the upper class Ladino who has best chances of getting to the city, is most content in most cases to remain in the pueblo, so long as he feels and thinks that others feel that he is "city type" and could go to the city and make "a go of it" there whenever he so desired.

It is perhaps for this reason, among others, that we may predict that in years to come, assuming the same general type circumstances tend to prevail, the Indian and the poor class Ladino will move further up to the upper class Ladino level; while the speed at which the upper class Ladino begins to reach the city ways will be more manifest than real, so that the real discrepancy between pueblo types will tend to become smaller, though the manifest discrepancy may tend to maintain itself as it now is, or, perhaps, manifestly, assume even larger proportions. The onset of more difficult economic conditions may in years to come force a universalization of pueblo type as far as material criteria are concerned, through the process of forcing down the upper classes who will be the first to feel the brunt of a severe economic reversal in the general economic fate of the country. It is to be predicted, however, that no matter what the tendency may be on materially measured scores, the attitudes which today prevail by which social rank and status and prestige are awarded will continue to prevail, though the rationalizations for them may contextually change as the basis of the life in San Luis changes. It will

become increasingly difficult in years to come for the poor class Ladinos to differentiate themselves from the Indians, assuming that economic conditions bring the poor Ladinos and Indians into even further identifiability; but the Ladinos will exert greater efforts to seek bases on which to differentiate themselves and will find those bases. The same may be predicted as probably obtainable in the case of the social structure with Ladino society as a whole.

In short, we are here predicting that while the Indian will tend to become less and less folk in character as the years pass by, the Ladino will not proportionately tend to become more and more city type, so that the upper limits of the acculturation horizons will be essentially stable while the portion of population of the pueblo yet not there will tend, by material criteria and by their own attitudes and life-ways to approximate the upper limits.

The social and vicinal isolation of San Luis, Ladino and Indian alike, from effective contact with city type and effective stimulation to approximation in anything but material manifest symbols of approximation toward that type, seems to be creating a condition whereby the range of possible lifeways and life attitudes becomes smaller as the differentiations from below tend to slough off. The folk will convert to the town type, but the town type makes almost indistinguishable progress toward the city type, and will probably not, in years to come, make any greater progress, and may, perhaps, make even less.

The town type which is now San Luis will then, if these predicted processes occur, have to be judged, in comparison with other town types which are now changing, to be more folk like in character; this is not to say that they will revert back to a type of folk understandings; but whereas we now empirically judge the San Luis Ladino to be town-type in comparison with the folk-like Indians, in later years to come, as neighboring pueblos grow and develop cityward significantly, and as San Luis remains essentially the same now, it will have to be judged as an empirical example of the folk type of that future time. If it continues to remain isolated, custom will cake itself hard, local superstitions will tend to develop and flourish, tradition will come to rule more and more, mental content will tend to be purely local, family will come to assume more significant proportions, ritual will increase in content and in significance; and in short, if and when this isolation does continue over a period of time, we may expect that all the expectations of such a continuation of isolation will become operational.

What the nature of the harmony or lack of harmony in social relations will tend to be under such circumstances it is difficult to say or imagine; but two general possibilities suggest themselves: (1) as the Indians and poor Ladinos get to be more like the upper and middle class Ladinos on material counts, the same kind of insecurity which now urges the poor Ladino to hostility toward the Indian and overt verbal and attitudinal aggression against him, may develop among the middle

and upper class Ladinos; and, as the Indians tend to become even less indistinguishable from the lower class Ladinos, the insecurity, psychic and economic, which now exists for the poor Ladino, will tend to magnify itself and to induce with it even greater patterns of hostility and further dissociative and disharmonious relations with the Indian. Or, (2) granted the same general conditions, the actual tendency toward equalization of all peoples in the pueblo may induce in all peoples a recognition of a common fate and of common hard luck and may cause a in that feeling of commonalty of bad fortune a certain type of total community integration which in little or no wise exists at present. This second prediction is not made de novo, but contains the implicit judgment and extrapolation from the case of certain reported communities in the west of Guatemala, and, indeed certain aldeas in the east of Guatemala, where the Ladino and Indian, sharing the same kind of material fate, tend to identify themselves as a community group and economic group in distinction to the more fortunate city or pueblo people who do not share their fates.

Personally, the first prediction seems to have more probability value.

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Detailed Report
on
Pottery Routes

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San Luis Jilotepeque
Salapa
Guatemala, C.A.
October 31, 1942

Dr. A. V. Kidder
Carnegie Institution of Washington
10 Frish Place
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Kidder:

Your letter of October 21st was received here on the 29th, but today was the first chance I had to go about completing the information you requested in your letter. In addition I snapped some 4 or 5 photos this morning of various pottery types made here. I am going into Guatemala City next Tuesday and will have the photos developed at that time so that I may send them off with this letter to you. I shall therefore hold this letter up until the photos are also ready.

The specific data to follow was secured mainly from one informant, Don Jose Yaque, of the pueblo, and his wife. The material however is buttressed and further documented by conversations, and field note records of them, with other informants. I think the material is fairly sound. Don Jose is a man of 59 years old, Indian, and one of the wealthiest as well as one of the most intelligent. He quickly saw the object of my question on pottery and we were able to record the data in fairly short order. I think that the data I am sending on will answer all of the questions you raise in your letter to me. If there are any which remain unanswered or any further questions which develop on which I may shed some light with data from here, please do not hesitate to write to me.

Again, in the data to follow, I am unsure about the spellings of some of the place-names. Some of them are simply aldeas which probably are not to be found on any map. This is especially true of some of the places along the contraband route used between Suncion Mita and St. Ana, in San Salvador.

There are some 16 fairly distinct pottery articles made here. They may not seem distinct to our way of thinking, but the Indian classifies them as such. For instance, the Indian differentiates between large cantares and small cantaros, between large pitchers and small pitchers. I shall in each case give you the Spanish name, the Pokoman equivalent, and a brief English explanation of the use made of the article.

1. olla-- shun--- cooking pot. all sizes.
2. cajete-- kul ---- table dish, soup bowl shape.
3. cantaro--shut--- water jar; carrying of water, storing of water, table service;
4. cantaro dibujado-- si-rik-shut-----adorned and decorated cantaro.
5. jaro --- nin-ki-shi-na-wal---smaller water jar, with only one ear; same use as cantaro
6. cantarito--pi-shut---small cantaro; same uses as cantaro;
7. cantarito dibujado--chu-un-pi-sir-ik-wa-shut; adorned and decorated cantarito;
8. florero--- sharu---flower pots; all sizes;
9. rosario--chuy-a-poan---censer pot;
10. taza---ak-al-kul---drinking cup---all sizes
11. candelero---kak-an-kan-te-a-la---candle holder--all sizes;
12. jarrito---pi-ki-shi-na-wal---small jaro; little children bring water in these;
13. brasero---ya-wal-sak-ak-----a little pot for keeping hot coals and ashes for lighting cigarettes and preserving fire in general.
14. pitchinga grande--nin pit-chin-ga---large water pitcher-for pouring and for drinking

15. pitchinga chiquita---pi-pit-chin-ga---small water pitcher for pouring and for drinking

Now, you will note that distinctions are made between large and small and between adorned and unadorned articles. The basis for this distinction, in both instances, is the differential price received in the marketing of the items, as you will note from the data to follow. I am sorry to give you such crude linguistics--but I am not sure of the accepted linguistic markings and notations--and so I have merely tried to give you every letter pronounced or drawn out, etc. I shall have a copy of the accepted usage soon, and, if you wish I can send you the corrected linguistics at a later date. Please also note that it is quite possible that they may decorate other things other than those mentioned, but my informant said the custom was to decorate only those already cited. Myself have seen decorated candlesticks--which is a fair amount of refutation of his contention. In any event, when we gathered all the items together this morning to take pictures, he asserted that we had everything there was to be had. This is not literally true in that there are many varieties of almost all the items shown in the pictures. But the items, I think, do fall generally into the classes already described. Now, on picture # 1 (see back of photo for #) there are some 22 articles shown. Reading from bottom row upwards--and always from left to right they are as follows: (1) olla; (2&3) cajetes; (4,5,6,7,) ollas; (8) cantaros; (9) cantaros dibujado; (10) jaros; (11) cantarito; (12) cantarito dibujado; (13) olla; (14) florero; (15) rosario; (16) tazas; (17) candelero; (18) tazas; (19) jaritos; (20) brasero (21) candelero; (22) pitchinga chiquita. (we couldn't find a pitchinga grande anywhere around for the picture).

As far as the trade in pitchers is concerned: it is reported that no merchants from the outside come here to buy pitchers and carry them off for sale elsewhere. Only the men from this area carry them for sale. I checked this with a few men today and with the tiendas where trade in pitchers is carried on, and found it to be reliable. Women are the only ones in the area who do pottery work. A man either travels with his wife's pottery or else buys a supply from one of the dealers in town or from a neighbor who has an excess. Only two pulperias here, and some 5-10 private citizens trade in pottery. One pulperia extends credit to the indians in return for promises of pitchers at a later date. Thus the owner of the pulperia gets pottery very cheaply--at some 3-4 cents a pair of large cantaros, and proportionately reduced prices for all other items. She then sells them back to the indians when they are needed--one by one, in pairs, sometimes in dozen lots to men who wish to travel with them. You will note from the data to follow that prices at which the items are sold in general reflect the distance from Jilotepeque--the further away, the dearer the item. Indeed, my informant explicated this when, in talking of the comparative prices between two spots, he said: "We sell at the same prices in these two places; they're both just as far from Jilotepeque". On the selling trips the items are carried in large mesh bags, supported at the forehead with a cow-hide tump line. Usually straw hats are carried in the same cargo bag as the pitchers, the average load being a dozen straw hats. It is said that a man can carry 8 mancuernas (or 8 pairs) of large pitchers (these are almost always sold in pairs when not sold in dozen lots); or 24 cantaritas; or 24 jaros grandes; or 48 jaritos; or 24 pitchingas grandes; or 48 small pitchingas. The loads are usually mixed, except when large cantaros are carried, in which case a man carries only his 8 pairs or 16 large cantaros, and perhaps a dozen straw hats.

The accepted selling prices in the pueblo proper, here, are as follows:

1 pr of large cantaros---5-6¢..(6¢ when they are scarce).

1 pr. cantaros dibujados---8¢

1 jaros---2¢

1 cantarito---2¢

1 cantarito dibujado---3¢

1 jarito---1¢

1 pitchinga grande---3¢

1 pitchinga chiquita---1¢

The following are all the places, (or at least all my informant and others knew of) to which men travel with pottery. Note that only the items listed above with selling prices in Jilotepeque are carried for sale. Thus it turns out that only water containers are carried.

No ollas, or candle sticks, or ash holders, or rosarios--or anything except the 8 items listed --i.e., cantaros, cantaritos, cantaros dibujados, jarros, jarritos, cantaritos dibujados, pitchingas grandes and pitchingas chicas --are carried out of the area for sale. My informant was absolutely sure of this.

The places, then, are as follows:

| <u>Place</u> | <u>Department</u> |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| San Pedro Pimula | Jalapa |
| Jalapa | Jalapa |
| Matequesquintla | Jalapa |
| Matequesquintla | Jalapa |
| Alsatate | Jalapa |
| Jutiapa | Jutiapa |
| Santa Catarina | Jutiapa |
| Asuncion Mita | Jutiapa |
| Quezaltopeque | Chiquimula |
| Olopa | Chiquimula |
| Aguipulas | Chiquimula |
| Jecotan | Chiquimula |
| Zacapa | Zacapa |
| Gualan | Zacapa |
| Cabana | Zacapa |
| Progreso | Progreso |
| Guatemala | Guatemala |
| Agua Blanca | Jutiapa |
| Ipala | Chiquimula |
| Al Rancho | Progreso |
| A la Union | Zacapa |
| St. Ana | Republic of San Salvador |
| San Conata | " |
| Atiquisaila | " |
| Chalchuapa | " |
| Contepeque | " |
| Armenia | " |
| Metapan | " |
| Santa Tecla | " |
| San Salvador | " |
| Coyan | Honduras |

My informant insists that no one goes to the west of Guatemala City or further than the capital city of San Salvador. The following are the specific differentiated routes they follow, with distances between each place, days needed for travel, how the good is marketed, at what price, and what, if anything, is carried back. (Distances given are the estimates of my informant, which he calculates from the number of hours spent on the road, figuring four kilometers per hour. I think they are approximately correct).

Route # 1 San Luis Jilot. to San Salvador, San Salvador.

to Suncion Mita--14 kilom.

Jilot. to St. Catalina Mita--18 kilom.; to San Cristobal, the frontier, 20 kilom. Now, No one goes thru San Cristobal for you have to have a passport which costs three dollars a year to cross over. So, at Suncion Mita they make a left thrust off the car road, passing thru an aldea called San Miguelito, then one called Al Ceron, then on to a frontier town called Collal Dulce; this last is about 2 kilometers from the frontier guard post; Then you start bearing right and meet the car road in San Salvador at a place called Al Ceron (yes, there are two places they call by this name). This second Al Ceron is 14 kilometers on the car road from San Cristobal but it is twenty kilom. from Collal (maybe Coyal) Dulce. Distances are as follows: Suncion Mita to San Cristobal is 20 kilometers by car road; Suncion Mita to Coyal Dulce is 22 kilometers by the contraband route; San Cristobal to Al Ceron (San Sal) is 14 kilometers by car road. Coyal Dulce to Al Ceron (San, Sal. or #2) is 20 kilometers by the contraband route.

Thus if you travel the car road and pass the frontier legally you travel 34 kilometers from Puncion Mita to get to Al Ceron. The contraband route for the same spots is 42 kilometers, or a loss of some 8 kilometers, or 2-3 hours of travel. From Al Ceron to St. Ana--10 kilometers; from St. Ana to Coatepeque, 10 kilom.; to Armenia, 48 kilom. (i.e., from Coatepeque to Armenia; in each case the distances are between the last place cited and the next) then a left cut to Santa Tecla --28 kilom; then to San Salvador--6 k.. The trip from here to San Salvador is said to take 4 1/2 days; one leaves at 5 a.m. here and arrives at 12 noon on the fifth day. Some stay in San Salvador 2 or 3 days merely for pleasure, since their wares are easily sold the first day there; they say San Salvador is a good place to stay for pleasure "because there are many cars to be seen, lots of stores/ windows, it is very free there and one can walk the streets". The trip back is made in the same time since one travels deliberately slowly. In going there, the full load is almost always kept until the destined spot because the price increases with the distance. It is unusual, however, says my informant, that one goes as far as San Salvador, since it is very far, and one can get almost as good prices in St. Ana which is much nearer--being only three days of road travel from Jilotepeque. The following are the prices at which the items are sold. In each case they are given in terms of Salvadorian money; the informant computes 1 real at 5 centavos Q; 1 colon at 40 ¢ Q;

| <u>item</u> | <u>price St. Ana</u> | <u>price San Salvador</u> |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 pr. cantaros | 4 reales | 8 reales |
| 1 pr. cant. dibuj. | 5 reales | 9 reales |
| 1 jarro | 1 1/2 r. | 2 r. |
| 1 cantarito | 1 1/2 r. | 2 r. |
| 1 cantarito dibuj. | 2 1/2 r. | 3 r. |
| 1 jarito | 1 r. | 1 1/2 r. |
| pitchinga--large | 2 r. | 3 r. |
| " small | 1 r. | 1 1/2 r. |

My informant says that one arrives in San Salvador and goes around to the various pulperias there getting the best offer and then sells, usually by the dozen or the entire load he is carrying. Only the large cantaros are sold in pairs, if there is no selling by the dozen to be had. The other items are sold one by one, in the absence of dozen purchases. Up until 1928 men traveling to San Salvador used to pass thru a place called San Juana Guisalco to buy baskets, yuca starch, acapetates, and clothing. But since the bringing in of materials from other countries is prohibited now, this practice has stopped. One usually brings back nothing from San Salvador. Coming back the travelers make the same swing off to avoid the frontier guards. Once in Guatemala, they may buy household goods--salt, sugar, etc --to bring home with them. A man can bring back from St. Ana 4 colonas, or \$1.60 if he sells only large pitchers, or 4 1/2 colonas if he has brought the smaller items for sale.

Route # 2--Guatemala City

to Finula 21 k; to Palapa 20k; La Montana, 20k; San Patiscilla, 48 k.; Agua Caliente, 8k; San Sur 12 k; Palencia 12k; Guatemala City 16 k;. The trip is 3 and a half days; arriving at 12 noon on the 4th day; prices are as follows: cantaros, 1 pr.--20¢; cantar. dibuj, 1 pr., 24 ¢; jaros, 8¢; cantaritos 8¢, cantaritos dibuj, 10¢; jaritos 4¢; large pitchingas 10¢; small pitchingas 4 ¢; Selling is usually by the dozen in Guatemala as well--and only to pulperias, usually; this holds except for the large cantaros which are sold by pairs; the Santa Ana trade route is preferred, says the informant, because the road is better. One carries back only a skirt or two for his woman from Guatemala City.

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| <u>Jutiapa</u> | <u>St. Catarina</u> | <u>item</u> |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 10 ¢ | 8 ¢ | 1 pr. cantaros |
| 12 | 10 | " dibujados |
| 3 | 3 | jaro |
| 3 | 3 | cantaritos |
| 4 | 4 | " dibujados |
| 2 | 2 | jaritos |
| 5 | 4 | large pitchinga |
| 2 | 2 | small pitchinga |

Nothing is carried back from either St. Catarina or Jutiapa. (nor from Progreso).

Route # 11 Cabana

San Diego 20 k; Cabana 25 k, arriving 10 a.m. of second day. same prices and manner of selling as in jutiapa. nothing carried back.

Route # 11 Atiquisaila

One goes up to Al Ceron (#2) and from there makes a right turn off to Chalchuapa, some 10 k from Al Ceron; from there another 8 k. to Atiquisaila. Except for the cantaros, large, which get 1 real more and for the dibujados which also get 1 real more in selling; everything is the same as in St. Ana. (see route # 1)

Route # 12 Metapan

Agua Blanca --18 k; Las Pinuelas 12 k; Metapan 24 k. one arrives 12 noon of second day. goods there are sold to pulperias, in pairs for the large cantaros, and in dozen lots for the other items. nothing is carried back, prices:

| | |
|-------------------|----------|
| 1 pr cantaros | 3 reales |
| " dibuj | 3½ r. |
| jaros | 1 r. |
| cantaritos | 1 r. |
| cantaritos dibuj. | 1½ r. |
| large pitchingas | 1½ r. |
| small pitch. | ½ r. |

This concludes the specific routes used and followed. Men here are all aware of which are the best markets and where they may expect competition from local goods made in the places to which they are traveling. They expect diminution of prices where they have to compete against local made goods.

This about concludes the data. I must apologize for the bad typing and the many "blacking outs" but work here is under pretty bad conditions. There is only candle light--and any number of millions of mosquitoes and fleas. Add all this to a peck-and-hunt system of typing and you have the above result. If there are not two Kidders associated with Carnegie, then it is for you also that I am collecting corn samples from here. If I have luck I shall bring them in with me to the city on Tuesday. I understand you are expected in Guatemala at the end of November. I hope we shall have a chance to meet. I trust you find everything enclosed you need.

Sincerely yours,



Melvin Tumin

Photos

#1 - description above

#2 - doc up of 10 proofs of #1

#3 - near view of everything in #1

#4 - doc up of two 10 proofs of #3

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Reports on
Various Markets

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The first sally was into the problem of changing items of trade in this pueblo. for this purpose, on the first day out, i went to the store of Bonifacio Chang, one of the three chinamen in town, and, the owner of the largest store in town. manuel urrutia, the escribiente introduced me, and, we chatted for a while, exchanged cigarettes and then i told him what i would like to find out from him. he indicated very graciously that he would be glad to help me, and i told him i would return later. before i left he introduced me to the others in his store--a chinaman who does tailor work in the community--a brother of manuel who sells for bonifacio. john had come in meanwhile and chatted for a while with bonifacio about photographs. the chinaman gave john two good pictures of the town and of the church, with john promising to give him two others in return. john left after a while and i did also. manuel next took me to the store of the "enoritas" San Doval Chinchilla, both of whom are in Guatemala City at present, but, we talked with the salesgirl for a while. she couldn't understand my spanish but manuel could and translated for me. We told her of my purposes in coming to the store and she indicated she would help out if she could. I just took some sample items for examples and the results are as follows:

coffee: comes from Concepcion Las Minas--about 8 quintales a year--the salesmen come about 8 times a year.

rice: comes from Iapala--about 6 quintales a year--salesmen come about 5 times a year.

sugar: comes from Guatemala; about 25 quintales a year--it is brought only once during the year.

dulce or sweets: comes from Chaquiton;--about 12 cargos or 16 arrobas a year.

After securing this information we chatted informally for a minute and then manuel and I left. In the afternoon, armed with John's two photographs which he had promised Bonifacio I went back to the store. I spent most of the afternoon talking with Chang about items which come in from outside the municipio and are sold here. He did not open his books but gave me guessed-at figures. I recorded these to be sure, but, at the end of our talk, I brought up the question as to whether he kept receipts for everything he bought and sold and he indicated he did. He promised me, when I asked him, that I could see his books the next day. The discrepancies that we discovered between his estimates and the actual figures in his books are tremendous. For instance, from the books we discovered that he sold some 307 pairs of shoes last year, whereas he estimated in the morning that he sold only 100 pair a year. This discrepancy seemed too large to me to be a sheer error. I asked him about it and he shrugged, knowingly, it seemed to me. I couldn't figure out why he had misled me (if he did it deliberately) in the morning, but I realize now that probably I was there for some (i.e. thought I was there) bad purpose: tax, or to tell his competitors, or merely to see how much money he made. But I got the real figures in the afternoon. He keeps perfect figures--and has his book indexed so that he can turn exactly to the page concerning the particular good in question. He adds on a chinese adding machine, but keeps his books in Spanish, which, incidentally, is of a peculiar sort. He kept on saying something that resembled "beintos"--and i couldn't imagine what he meant until I asked him to write it out and it turned out to be 'menos'. I then asked him again how he pronounced it and he said 'beintos', and, very proudly opened a Chinese-spanish dictionary, showed me the word, and said "see, "beintos" "I let it go at that. The figures which follow are taken from his books. The figures for the number of years since they were introduced are estimates on his part. The figures on men's apparel and toilet articles are, for the most part, estimates, since I asked for them singly and he did not have figures on the single items which sell only in small quantities.

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TELA OR MANTA: 250 piezas a year (all figures to follow are for a year).
a pieza contains 24 yards. comes from Guatemala. Lad. y N.

DRIL: 1765 yards. Guatemalan provenience. Ladinos y Nat.

ZAPATOS FINOS: 182 pair. Coban

ZAPATOS CRUDOS: 125 pair. (Note: there are two grades of fine shoes:
priced at \$1.80 and \$1.30. there is one grade
of the 'mas sencilla' shoe, priced at 60 cents.
allshoes are bought by Ladinos. No Naturales
buy shoes from Chang. The fine shoes come from
Coban and the 'mas sencilla' from St. Catarina
Mita. From Coban the man comes 3 times a year
to seel shoes to Chang. From Catarina the owner
of the shoe fatcory there comes 5 times a year
to seel shoes to Chang.

ROPAS HECHOS: (sacos, pantalones, y camisas) hecho en Guat: ~~8x~~ 643
hecho aqui : 250
Lad. y Nat.--compran los dos
casi siempre; hombres
SOMBRAEROS: 500 hecho en Guat. y aqui Lad. y Nat. pero mas de Nat/

Note: Tela Fantsia (fine tela) and fine shoes have been introduced here
only in the last 5 years. Chang estimates also that about 40% more
finished items of clothing are sold now than were sold 8 years ago.
Less sugar and cafe is sold by chang now than before because there
are more stores which sell cafe and sugar.

CIGARRILLOS: (todas clases) 18,770 packs, mostly Vaqueros. Nat y Lad.

CIGAROS : 20,0000. these have been introduced in the last 5 years.

FACE POWDER: 50-60 boxes a year. only to Ladinos. intorduced 15020 yrs.
ago. Chang says that more powder was sold in years back
than now. He says that the major part of lipstick and
rouge and powder sold is sold by traveling merchants who
go from house to house.

ARTICULOS PARA TOCADOR (the following are estimates only made by Chang)

BRILLANTINAS: 30 bottles; Ladinos; introduced 20 years ago.

PALLNETAS: 150 --Ladinos--25 years ago

ARITOS: 30-50 pr.--Ladinos--antiguamente

PINTURAS: (for nails, lips and face) 40-50 items ;Ladinos;5-6 years ago

PERFUMES: 15-20 bottles--ladinos;;30-40 yrs. ago.

BASELINES: 25 jars--Ladinos--15 yrs.ago

CREMES: 10-12 jars--Lad.--15 yrs.

LAPIZ PARA OCHOS: 10-12 ladinos--10 yrs.

ESPEJOS: 25--ladinos--15 yrs.

JABON FINO: 180-200 pieces--ladinos--10-12 yrs.

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SOEILLAS: 200-300; only to Naturales; 20-30 yrs.

GANCHOS para pelo: 100; ladinos; 10-12 yrs.

CALCETINES (hombres) :--30-40 prs a yr. -ladinos- antiguamente

MEDIAS: 100 pr.--Ladinos--antiguamente--vale--30 y 80 ¢

CALCETAS: 100 pr. -ladinos--5-6 yrs.--30y50¢

MEN'S UNDERWEAR: hecho en Guat, :30-40 items-ladino-5-6 years.
importada: :50-70 items-ladinos-10-15 years.

JABON PARA HOMBRES: 50-70 pieces--ladino--15-20 yrs--25¢

NAVAJAS : 2-3 a year--ladinos- 25-30 yrs. 2 quetzales

BROCHES: 2-3 --ladino--20-30 yrs 50¢

MACHINAS (shaving): --2-3 yr. -ladino--1 quetzal--2-3 yrs. ago(?)

CUCHILLAS: 100 a yr. 5 cents--10-15 yrs. ago-ladino-

POLVO: 810 cajas--ladino--25-30 yrs. 50 y 60¢

CREMA: 5-6 tubos--ladino--10-15 years-50y60¢

ALCOHOL: only in the barbershop. chang reports this is the
reason aslo why so few razors are sold--many men go to
the barber.

BRILLANTINAS: --304-0 frascos a year--ladino--10 15 yrs--25y30¢

LOTION PARA PELO: - 810 --ladino--25-30 yrs.-50y80¢

GANCHOS PARA CORBATA:-- 15-20--ladino--5-6 yrs. 5¢

CORBATAS:--30-40 --ladino--25-30 yrs.

PANUELOS:--120-130--ladino y naturales--30-40 yrs--10 y 25¢

TOALLAS--50-60 ladiño--10-15 yrs--30-40¢

CINTAS PARA ZAPATOS:--100 pares--ladino--antiguamente--3¢

LIGAS (ARMBANDS)--25-30--ladino y naturales--10-15 yrs--25¢

ATARERAS (GARTERS)--10-15 --ladino--15-20 yrs. (chang wears garters
and armbands)

GINCHOS: 2--(belts)---25-30--ladino y. naturales--15-20 yrs- 30y50¢

DIENTRIFICOS:--30-40--ladino--15-20 yrs.--25-50¢

SEPILOS (toothbrushes)--10-15 Ladino--15-20yrs--25y30¢

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notes: chang has been in jilotepeque 18 yrs--and owns his store 18 yrs. he has traveled thruout the united states, and central america. he takes one of the daily guatemalan papers, seems highly respected in the community, runs his business methodically, and appears to be 'on his toes'. his store is clean and neat, and, seems to be the busiest in the town--altho a check on the store of the sandoval chincillas is necessary to confirm this. in any event people say his store and that of the chincillas are the two biggest it is interesting to note that when chang was telling me the prices of the various items, in the instances of those which sold for two prices chang always mentioned the higher price first. he complains that business is bad because of the times, of the other stores, and of the fact that people buy elsewhere--in Guatemala and neighboring towns. chang extends no credit. however, with some of the merchants who sell him stuff he exchanges equal value in other goods. ----after our interview on prices et.c was over i asked chang what i could do in return for his kindness. he gave the hand sign indicating a desire to drink and i stood treat for four beers--which included beer for chang, myself, rogelio cerna, the pool parlor owner who had just walked in, the other chinaman in the store and one other man, the tailor--i.e the other chinaman is named :

. the other person present was . we sat around a table in the back--on the patio-- and drank beer and ate , a very highly seasoned food. around the table i brought up the topic of what customs the indians used to perform that they do not any longer , and those which they perform now that they did not used to perform. the following are some of the itmes which came out of the conversation: 10 years ago the indians were eating dead animals they found. now it is prohibited and the four men insist they do not eat them any longer. 30 years ago the indians did not eat 'verduras', now they eat the. when i asked 'why' i was told by rogelio that the indians did not know before that it was 'good for them'. now, 80% of the indian women dress like ladino (this doesn't seem right from my own observations)--rogelio says it gives them more prestige. but, he adds, the other indians do not like the idea. 20 years ago the indians used only skin saddles --now, says rogelio, they have found that wooden and other saddles are better than skin or no saddles. (it should be noted that on each of these items rogelio was the spokesman for the group, but did not pronounce an opinion until agreement had been secured from the four men present) 20 years ago all the indian women used to walk around nude--now they wear clothes when they come on to the street and, even in the houses, they take only their blouses off when they are working. rogelio says that the custom is changing because they are developing a sense of shame--they realize it is a shame to walk around without clothes on, and, further, the indian men scold their wives for their nude habits. 50 years ago the indians didn't know beds--they slept on the ground--now they have--some of them, that is--skin and canvas beds. the reason given is that the "costumbres de ladinos gustan a los naturales". 10 years ago most of the indian houses did not have doors leading on to the street--now, a good part of them do. 4 years ago the indian did not know the 'tamale'--but, after observing the widespread use among the ladinos at the weddings and being told by the church father that it was a good thing to eat, they began to prepare them , and now they appear at all indian weddings. 20-30 years ago they knew only herbs for medicines. now they use almost exclusively medicines from the pharmacy.

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In line with the check on the in-flow and -out-flow of goods, i next visited the pulperia of avram and juana sanchinelli. john and i went there together and chatted a while, john discussin with avram his former practice of medicine, as a medico empirico. avram is an old man, doesn't hear well and his mind seems to wander. when questions were put to him in the beginning his wife let him try to answer them but when it became apparent that he was not answering the questions she reinterpreted for him and answered many herself. john told juana what we were there for and she indicated she would be glad to help. juana is a fairly youngish woman compared to avram, who is her second husband. her first husband was an american from mobile, alabama, and, with him she lived 20 years in guatemala city. she then moved to zacapa and there married avram, and they moved here and took the house and pulperia they now occupy some 12 years ago. avram had been living here before, but juana first came 12 years ago. i began to put questions to her directly, and avram moved over and repeated everyone of her answers.

My primary object was to get a list of goods sold in the store and to whom they were sold and in what manner they came to the store--i.e., made in Jilotepeque or other places and then brought here or sent here. The following is a list of the items in the store--every one of the items--and some notes on them.

1. panella dulce-- Chiquimula--the manufacturer comes once a year. Lyn
2. pan --hecho aqui--Lyn.
3. cafe--Jesaltepeque--people from this pueblo go once a year and bring back coffee which then sell to Juana. Lyn
4. maiz-- bought from indians here--sold only in june and july because there is elote other times. the indians sell maize to juana because they need ready cash and then she sells it back to them, at a profit of course. Lyn
5. jabon--hecho aqui--Lyn. there are four soapmakers in town. they are Filina Rodriguez, Silvano Florez, Francisco Lopez and Angel Fideroba. The soap is named 'desda sabores'.
6. majonchos--de aqui--Lyn
7. juisquil--de aqui--Lyn
8. frijoles--de aqui--Lyn--In december and january the indians sell frijoles to juana--the other 10 months she sells them to the indians.
9. candelas--de Pinula--brought here by merchants--sold to Lyn.
10. cigarillos--hecho in Guatemala--orders taken by viajeros and then shipped here by train and mule--Lyn--paquetes have been sold only in the last 5 years. juana also sells packets of 3 cigarettes as well as the regular packages.
11. sombreros--hecho aqui--n.
12. manta de color--hecho in guatemala--Lyn. before there was only white manta. in the last 8 years colored manta.
13. skin saddles--hecho in Jocotan--brought here by viajeros--Lyn
14. chiclets--guatemala--Lyn--as long as she can remember
15. bolitos de hilo--guatemala--Lyn--20 years ago they were making their own thread. now most buy it.
16. agujas para telas--guatemala--Lyn
17. capoterias (agujas para sombreros)--guatemala--Lyn
18. cantaros--hecho aqui--Lyn

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19. piedra de moler--hecho aqui--lyn
 20. comal(tortilla plates)--hecho aqui--lyn
 21. cinchos de parejo--wide belts)--hecho in Jocotan--N. go to buy them there and sell them to Juana. nyl
 22. cincharettas--(narrow belts for animal packs)--hecho in Jocotan lyn
 23. lassos--jocotan-lyn
 24. redes--jocotan--to voer maize en cargo lyn
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~
 25. sujates(saddles) hecho in San gustine--Naturales bring them here ---lyn
 26. petates--jocotan--lyn
 27. sogillas--guatemala--solo a los naturales
~~xxxxxxxx~~
 28. phosphores--guatemala--lyn
 29. batidores--para hacer cafe o coser qualquier cosa--de Jalapa inditos los trahen-- lyn
 30. sartenas--(pottery plates)--hecho in Jalapa--lyn
 31. piales--(lassr las vacaa)--avram makes them himself.(at this point i told avram his name would appear in a book as the maker of piales--and he and his wife beamed.
 32. picas--(peppers)--aqui--juana makes them.
 33. oye de varo(para coser la comida) hecho aqui--lyn
 34. peine de palo(madera)--hecho aqui par naturales--lyn

juana and avram go to chiquimula about Once or twice a year to buy materials such as sugar, salt, telas, candles, cafe molido, and matches. the trip takes threedays--one day on the road in each direction and one day there. when there they stay at the house of a friend. this friend, however, does not come here to visit them. the materials they buy are for purposes of personal use and to sell in their store as well. juana has been in zacapa, puerto barrios, jocotan, san diego and the capital. avram came here thirty years ago from Jicamapa, an aldea of Ipala, in the depto. of chiquimula. he was in the capital once, and in jalapa several times. aside from that he has been no other places..

i bought some cigarettes from juana before leaving, and, after passing the 'time of the day' i left.

Juana does not barter or give credit. Everything is for cash

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the following is a report on the Thursday morning market held here weekly in Jilotepeque. Luis and I had been doing a map of the layout of the streets and houses of the town and stopped at 11 A.M. to cover the market. It was reported by Luis as being only a small market, and not very important. But we covered every salesperson or merchant--all of whom were women on this morning--listed the goods she was selling, where they came from and where the merchant herself came from. a good many of the people selling were servants of owners of pulperias. there seemed to be no one from the big tiendas of Chang or the sisters chinchilla.

| <u>ARTICLE</u> | <u>PROVENIENCE</u> | <u>RESIDENCE OF MERCHANT</u> |
|-----------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| nanzas | pampacaya | Pansiguis |
| chuctes(look like avocados) | jilotepeque | -- (means Jilot.too) |
| trastes de varo | pinula;jalapa (bought before) | jilotepeque |
| ajos | jocotan;quesaltepeque (bought before) | jilote. |
| frijoles negros | jilot. and mt.pinula | " |
| batidores | jalapa;pinula | " |
| mangos | mt. pinula | mt. pinula |
| nanzas | pampacaya | pampacaya |
| majonches | mt. pinula | mt. pinula |
| bananas | " | " |
| cafe enoro | " | " |
| banana negrito | " | " |
| palma | chiquimula(van a traer) | mt. pinula |
| pepita de ayote (polly seeds?) | pampacaya | pampacaya |
| avocados | " | " |
| jabon | jilot. | jilot. |
| cigarillos&puros | guat. | jilot. |
| frijoles blancos | jilot. | " |
| limon | mt. pinula | mt. pinula |
| cebollos | " | " |
| lorcos(?) | jilot. | " |
| repollo | mt. pinula | " |
| chile tepe | jilot. | albaral |
| juacal de morros | " | jilot. |
| tomates | " | lagunilla |
| ocote(wood) | pansiguis | pansiguis |
| cafe en cascara | mt/ pinula | jilot. |
| sal | jutiapa-zacapa (van a traer) | jilot. |
| dulce de panela | jilot. | " |
| bolitos de hilo | guat. | " |
| najonches verdes | mt/ pinula | mt/pinula |
| naranjas | " | " |
| idalhia(flowers) | " | " |
| jabon negro | jilot. | jilot. |
| pan de maise | " | " |
| cafe molido | chiquimula | jilot. |
| | y zacapa | |
| jabon de cocoa | guatemala | " |
| cigarillos de terciena | zacapa | jilot. |
| cebollas cintaye | quesaltepeque | |
| | jocotan | " |

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| article | proven. | person |
|-------------------|----------------|--------|
| chiclets... | guatemala..... | jilot. |
| balls of | guat, | " |
| cotton | | |
| wood combs ... | zacapa..... | " |
| cigars | guat | " |
| dulce | jilot | " |
| cerillos | guat | " |
| green onions | jilot | " |
| salt | | " |
| dulce | | " |
| cherries | | " |
| coffee | | " |
| bananas | | " |
| dulce de leche... | jilot. | " |
| sulpores | " | " |
| tostada | " | " |
| semitas | " | " |
| almidon | zacapa | " |
| conservo de | jilot | " |
| gineos | | |
| quesitos | jilot | " |
| candelas | guat | " |

These last two lists--comprising the above on this page--are lists of articles which were being sold by sirvientes of local pulperias. note the absence of the provenience for salt, dulce, cherries, coffee and bananas. pressure of business prevented the salesgirl from talking further with us. in those cases where the provenience of the item is listed as guatemala, for instance, and the person is listed as coming from this pueblo or outlying aldeas, the possession of the goods derives either from traveling merchants, shipments, or, previous purchasing in the early hours of the market in order to resell during the later hours of the market. The market officially begins at 9 a.m. and ends at 2 p.m. its peak seems to be reached around 11 A.M. there are a few hangers-on after 2.p.m. to be sure and many of the merchants are in their selling places before 9 a.m. those who come from the aldeas of this municipio come here the same morning and leave the same afternoon of the market. they can be seen nursing their children, talking with each other, walking around to buy materials for their own use--all during the market hours. there were only women selling at this market. informant luis najera reports that at times merchants come from as far as coban, 2-3 times a year. (today, august 17th) and yesterday aug.16th there have been 6 men here from Coban, explicitly to buy piedras de moler which cost 35 cents here and which they sell for 1.00 in Coban. The trip is reported as taking seven days by foot. The cost of 35 cents is reported by the men from Coban. Other reports place the price at 25 cents. Najera reports that the people from Coban stop at Ipala, Chiquimula, Zacapa, Jutiapa, Chaparon, Santa Catalina Mita, Suncio Mita and Jalapa. This market on Thursday was said to be unlively because most of the other traveling merchants had gone on to Chiquimula and Suncio Mita where big fiestas were being held on the next day. Najera reports that small dealers at the thursday market earn about 5 cents for the day while large dealers earn anywhere up to 50 cents for the day. most of the pulperias in town send out sirvientes to cover the markets. Najera adds that cafe enoro, salt, and dulce de panela are the three items which sell the most--and hence are considered by him the most important items in the m'kt.

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luis says that the most important market days are those of the fiesta on the 23,24th and 25th of August. (He reported the fiesta days as being the 24,25 and 26th of August, but checking with others reveals it to be certainly the 23,24, and 25th). it should be noted that the men from coban sold not a few palm leaf raincoats to the men in this pueblo yesterday. their cost is reported at 17 cents. the men who purchased them say they are excellent for protection against the rain.

the following is a report of the sunday market held on august 16th. gillin and i covered this market by going around to every dealer, gillin asking her where he or she came from, and reporting the answer to me. this market had many more salespeople than the thursday market, and included men as well as women. to be sure, at the same time there were being held the military exercises in the nearby field--and this probably was one factor accounting for the size of the market as well as the presence of men, tho, most of the men were occupied with the military exercises up until 12 o'clock. the market began around 9A.M.--tho from 7A.M. on people began to come into town- for both the market and the exercises. most of those from outside the pueblo set down their baskets outside the corral specifically constructed for the market days. most of the favorite locations inside the corral were occupied by sirvientas of local tiendas. in the list of goods, to follow, it should be noted that the provenience of many of the items is missing. but in this list the number of salespeople and the provenience of each is listed.

| <u>goods</u> | <u>provenience</u> | <u>sex and number of people</u> |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| cafe | | |
| avocados | | |
| mangoes | all from | |
| cherries | lacumbre | 4 women from lacumbre |
| dulce | | |
| majonchas | | |
| cherries | jilot. | |
| tamales | lacumbre | 3 women from jilot. |
| frájoles blancos | | |
| bananas | | |
| majonchas | lacumbre | 2 women from lacumbre |
| cherries | jilot. | 1 woman |
| onions | jilot | 1 woman |
| onions | jilot. | |
| eggs | Iacamapa | 1 woman from Iacamapa |
| pastelas | jilot. | 1 wom. from jilot. |
| pottery | Iacamapa | |
| cherries | jilot. | 1 wom. jilot |

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| | | |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| cups and pitchers | jalapa | |
| morro shells | jilot. | 1 wom. jilot |
| mangoes | jilot. | |
| pan de maise | jilot. | 1 wom.jilot |
| majonchas | | |
| cherries | jilot. | 1 wom. jilot |
| cups and pitchers | jalapa | |
| lettuce | | |
| mangoes | | |
| cherries | lacumbre | 3 wom. lacumbre |
| frijoles in pods | | |
| mangoes | | |
| majanchas | lacumbre | 2 wom. lacumbre |
| majonchas | | |
| cherries | | |
| coffee | lacumbre | man and wom. lacumbre |
| bananas | | |
| cherries | jilot. | 1 wom.la carnacion |
| black beans | | |
| potatoes | | |
| green onions | jilot. | 2 wom. jilot |
| malitas | | |
| majonchas | | |
| corn | | |
| bananas | jilot. | 1 wom. jilot |
| malitas | | |
| squash | palo blanco | 1 wom.palo blanco |
| oranges | | |
| cherries | | |
| coffee | lacumbre | 3 wom.lacumbre |
| bananas | | |
| onions | | |
| cherries | | |
| beans | jilot. | 1 wom.jilot |

next woman interviewed said she was from lacumbre but only here to buy. she had bought coffee, cherries and palm leafs).

| | | |
|-------------------|----------|--|
| cups and pitchers | jalapa | |
| bananas | jilot | 2 men jilot |
| coffee | | |
| bananas | | |
| mangoes | lacumbre | 1 man |
| ocote | pinal | 1 girl (about 9 years old) from pinal |

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| | | |
|---------|-----------|--|
| bananas | pansiguis | 1 wom.pansiguis |
| cabbage | barial | 1 wom. barial |
| cabbage | barial | 4 men |
| coffee | | |
| mangoes | lacumbre | 1 wom.acumbre |
| bananas | | |
| mangoes | lacumbre | 2 men. these men reported on questioning that they can understand a little bit of the local language but it is not very similar. |

| | | |
|----------|---------------|--------------------------|
| bananas | | |
| mangoes | mountain near | |
| cherries | lacumbre | 3 wom. 2 child. lacumbre |

they report on questioning that the idiom of pinula is different from that here but they speak this idiom rather than that of pinula

| | | |
|----------|----------|--|
| mangoes | | |
| cherries | lacumbre | 1 woman. speaks the language of pinula |

| | | |
|---|----------------|-------------|
| cigars, cotton, sacrificial candles, soap balls, salt, dulce, black beans | jilot.pulperia | 1 wom.jilot |
|---|----------------|-------------|

| | | |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|
| cafe, beans, cherries | lacumbre | 2 wom.lacumbre speak pinula idiom |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|

| | | |
|--|----------------|----------------|
| duke, salt, cigars, cotton, cigarettes, salt, soap, beans, bananas | jilot.pulperia | 4 girls. jilot |
|--|----------------|----------------|

| | | |
|--|-------------|----------------|
| melicoche, bananas, cherries, cigars, cigarettes | jilot.pulp. | 2 girls jilot. |
|--|-------------|----------------|

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--|---|
| pineapple(sliced) tomatoes | | the salespeople vanished when they saw us coming. |
|-------------------------------|--|---|

| | | |
|----------|----------|-----------------|
| tomatoes | | |
| onions | Quichapa | 2 wom.Quichapa. |
| bananas | | |

note: since the merchants who were selling pineapples and tomatoes and vanished when we approached were sitting next to the women from Quichapa who were also selling tomatoes--and, these were the only tomatoes at the market, it might be concluded that the first were from Quichapa too.

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oranges, mangoes, cigars,
cigarettes, matches, melicoches,
pastelas jilot pulp. 3 wom. jilot

cafe molido, cotton (The only
spools of cotton i have seen
yet), cigarettes, soap from pigs,
matches, dulce, salt, coffee, cocoa-
soap jilot. pulp. 1 wom. jilot

sliced pineapple, cotton,
cigarettes, salt, cafe molido jilot. pulp. 1 wom. jilot

cafe molido (all this packaged coffee
is reported as coming from Chiquimula)
cigars 1 wom. and 2
child. - jilot

coffee, pots, pan de maise,
oranges, candy, cigars jilot. pulp. 2 wom. jilot

huásciles, bananas mountain 1 wom. mountain

melicoches
bananas jilot. jilot lwom.

note: the melicoches and bananas were laid out on a sheet from
a magazine called "El Campesino"

—
tamarindo jilot. pulp. 1 wom. jilot

arnoldes, mahgoes lacumbre 1 wom. lacumbre

chile, mangoes barial, 1 wom. barial

mangoes agua mecate 1 wom. & child. from
agua mecate

garlic (ajo) queslatepeque
plates jalapa jilot. 3 wom.

garlic queslatepeque 1 girl jilot
palm leaves chiquimula
barial

the next people sitting down were 3 girls from ~~jilotepeque~~ who reported
they had come only to buy. they had bought bananas, mangoes and cafe

—
c huotes jilot 1 wom. jilot

cane sugar ~~jilotepeque~~
pamapacaya 1 wom. jilot

onions jilot. 1 wom. and child jilot.

note: the child was wearing a hat made out of the end of a silk
stocking.

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there were a few remaining pulperia stands which, since they contained approximately the same items as all other pulperia stands, were not covered in detail. the remainder not covered comprised some 5-7 women and girls who were selling for the local pulperias.

all the stands (i.e. people sitting on the ground with baskets exposed)--were surrounded by men and women and children, chatting, laughing, nursing children, walking around, buying bananas occasionally which they stuffed in pockets,. the only colored textiles noticed were worn by women from barial. women from jilot traditionally wear allwhite head-ieces or blue and white. but, the women from barial had colored head pieces noticeably different from the women here. gillin thinks the headpieces are from factory made cloth. we did not investigate.

note that there was a tendency for people from the same aldea to sit near each other, although this was not a hard and fast rule. note further that the sunday market seemed to end sooner than the market on thursday --about a half hour to an hour. during the course of our interviews with the salespeople we were followed around by a few of the local bucks and those from other aldeas who were extremely curious to see what i was writing, and, who soon began to help us out by repronouncing names of goods for us which we could not distinguish when pronounced by the merchants. of particular 'help' was our informant for this week--who knew he was to start working as informant for us today. the prices of all goods and the amounts for each price seem well known to everyone for instance, in the thursday market when i wanted to buy some oranges from one of the merchants and she offered me 4 for a penny luis and all the others around who heard her offer me for only 4 insisted in loud voices that they sold for five for a penny. at this sunday market i noticed men walk up to a table,(a basket that is) take a quantity of goods and drop a coin without any exchange of words about the purchase.

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p.l. 7th field report--august 25, 1942--san luis jilotepeque-m. tumin

this is a report on the markets held here during the fiesta and will include the items sold, their provenience if available, and the convenience of the salespeople. the various market sites are spread out all over the plaza but one major section forms a large circle to the west side of the basketball court and is flanked on the north side by a series of three tents. tables form the outlines of the circle, scattered women and men with baskets on the crowd forming the other sections of the circle. the second major site in this fiesta centers around the outsides of the mercado, where, occupying a prominent position are two photographers with cameras for pictures of those who wish to pose. the rest of the people in this site are spread out on the shady sides of the mercado and move with the sun. the third major site--where blankets and all manner of cotton and wool goods are being sold is the patio of don Oscar's house where goods are spread out on beds of skin or canvas which, when emptied at night, are used for sleeping purposes. one salesman reports he pays fifty cents to don Oscar as rent for his site, but the senora insists that they are not allowed to charge for the site. the man's story has more credulity than that of the senora. one solitary blanket and cotton goods salesman--the one with a large stock--is selling underneath the balcony of the chief of communications' house. that and this patio of don Oscar are the only covered places except for the mercado, which is open at the sides. many sleep in the mercado, some in the tents, some in houses of friends or relatives here. the height of the market seemed to be this morning, with the tents selling frescoes with ice doing what appeared to be the largest trade. the drink sold in one of the tents consists of dirty ice in a glass with a little milk and a little flavoring put in. in the rear of the tent a table with tablecloth is set up 'for families' to drink at. that tent and the tent to the west of it are the two places where iced drinks are being sold. the ice is carried in from Chiquimula. It is packed in canvas bags and wrapped with corn leaves, it seems. the people in the large circle are bunched according to the towns they come from. the major portion of the tables and the three tents contain people only from Santa Catarina. There are four tables of dulces being sold by people from Zacapa. The people from Santa Catarina number some 40. bunched together at the east portion of the circle are about 20 people from Jalapa--each of them with mesh baskets spread on the ground which contain apples, peaches and oranges. at the south west end of the circle are 6 men from Jocotan selling potatoes. they start asking 25 cents for the potatoes, and, if twosales are any sample, they finally sell at 14 or 15 cents. the whole market has somewhat of the air of a country fair or carnival. there are ambulating vendors of dubs, photographers, one from Chiquimula and one from Santa Catarina both of whom complain about the lack of business. this is a general complaint which we have heard these past three days. everyone says there is less money this year than last. a man with two trained anaeries is here selling chances--you pay two cents, he opens a box in which are about a half million printed slips, a canary is let loose, hops over to the box and picks you out a fortune. in addition there is a small knife, coin and bell in a little box which the canary picks up. the knife signifies courage, the bell--religion and the coin--commerce. feathered toys are sold by boys who walk around. people spread their lunches and eat as they sell. there seems to be no particular exuberance.

on the other hand everyone seems good natured, and, if the word be permitted, 'contented'. there is more than a commercial angle to the market. the social communication with people from neighboring towns and even from distant towns, the interchange of customs and habits seem all to be operative satisfactions. many of the salespeople are traveling salespeople who stop here on their circuit for the days of the fiesta. the reports of the salespeople that business is bad seems --at least impressionistically--correct. on the other hand it is a generalized plea and complaint--both of the local tiendas and the visiting salespeople. it may well be however that this is a bad year. of the bargaining process one can cite at this point only incidentals--such as the fact that they seem to start at a price about double of what they expect to get. the salesman--or one of the salesman of oranges for instance--says you can have 3 oranges for a penny unless you are going to buy a lot--then you can have five for a penny. prices are set depending on the appearance of the customer. we 'gringos' are asked for much more than the indians. for instance a seller of hand made belts asked me sixty cents for each when i first priced them. i stayed around long enough to hear him offer them for fifty cents to an indian woman and i finally bought two at 45 cents each, as did jack. the sellers of trinkets have an overwhelming amount of trinkets from the united states which sell at prices much higher than they cost in the states. trinkets and beads seem to sell well however. the indians are much given to liking colorful beads and decorations. we have yet to discover what a good three days worth of sales can net for a average salesman but we will find this out later. the following are a list of the people and items and their provenience. special note should be taken of the solitary seller of remedial herbs from ~~San~~ Santiago Laguna, past guatemala, in the lake region. he joked with me, double talked in lenguaje, and we had a jolly time when it came to such remedies as those that relieve constipation or those that give you added virility. a crowd had formed around and many jokes were passed back and forth. (i must confess that for a good number of the people here --on all occasions--we are curious sights i.e. gillies and i. we are stared at, watched, whispered about. the size of my feet is a favorite discussion and remarks were passed at the stall of the seller of herbs as to what i could use to cure such big feet.)

| <u>article</u> | <u>provenience</u> | <u># and pro. of people</u> |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| potatoes | jocotan | 6 men-jocotan |
| aguacates machotes | san agustine | man and w.-san agus |
| dulces colaciones | agua blanca | 3 couples-aguablanc |
| cocoanuts | chiquimula | 4 men |
| melons and papaya | mita | 1 man-st. catarina |
| frescoes with ice | chiquimula and homemade | a tent from St. cata about 5 people |
| dulces and trinkets | homemade-Guat. | 1 wom. st. catarina with tent |
| iced drinks | homemade-Guat-Chiqui. | tent full from santa catarina |
| frescoes of pina, orange, dulces | 18 tables-ST.Catarina | 40 people-St, Catarina |
| apples, peaches, oranges | jalapa | 8 mesh baskets 15 men and women |

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p.3 7th field report--august 25, 1942--san luis jilotepeque--marvin tumin

the following is a list of the herbs--for cooking and for remedies--that a man from santiago laguna was selling.

gengridere----for ~~osis~~
 cana fistola----for sarampion
 oregano----for cooking
 anis----for calentura
 juacalend juacal seed---for ranion
 pelorses de santa maria--for 'vistos' (apparently the eyes)
 ajo---for cooking
 astilla---for cooking
 pimiente gorda---for cooking
 ojacena---for purgantes
 copalchi---for calenturas and paludismo
 manzanilla(recommended as best when mixed with whiskey)---for added virility
 culantre seed---for cooking
 ajote---for cooking
 mostaso de pais---for empachada
 savara---for refreshing one who has canlentura
 tecomatillos---some form of shell of fruit which the man said was only

I am unsure about many of the above sellers.
 the medicine man said that his herbs are more powerful than those
 medicines you can buy in a pharmacy, and, after all he added, poor
 people can't buy in a pharmacy so they buy medicines from him. the
 task of getting at manners of curing with the medicines was too risky
 with the crowd around. he said that many people buy from him---that
 he travels all over--and, later showed jack and me a letter which
 guaranteed him safe passage in going from department to department.
 he said he could not work regul rly because he had something wrong
 with his foot. the import of the rest of his talk with jack and me
 was impossible for me to get.

the last two salesphaps i noted consisted (1) 3 men and i woman
 selling dulce at 3 tables. they all come from zacapa.(2) 1 man and
 i woman from chiquimula selling bread made in chiquimula.

since there are not a few merchants here who sell all manner of
 trinkets, i note here a list of all the itmes one man was selling.
 he and his partner came here from Quesaltenango and set up shop in
 front of Mon Oscar's pension. They came on the 19th and as far as
 I know werethe first ones here. They travel by train and animal
 and go as far as salvador.the following is a list of the goods

cortes--factory and hand made
 scarves- ditto
 headpieces-- "
 telas---ditto--
 shoe laces
 handkerchiefs
 wooden combs
 children's underwear, shirts, sweaters and socks
 mirrors
 diaper pins
 women's combs- plain and decorated
 garters, shirt sleeve bands
 sun glasses(this article was a good selling piece. many--well, not a
 few indians bought them and never removed the price
 tag of 25 cents. our informant pedro, for example, bought
 a pair whic he paid off at 5 cents a day)

as far as i know jack and i were the only ones in jilotepeque who wore sun glasses before this fiesta. apparently they made quite a hit with pedro. whether he and others bought them because they saw us wearing them i have no way of knowing as yet).

hair pins and barettes
soap
kolynos toothpaste
hair tonic
perfume
vaseline
thread
face powder
ear rings
beads
scissors
hand knives(i.e pocket knives)
knit children's skating hats
men's underwear
key rings
forks, knives and spoons
coffee strainers
dolls
trousers
hats of junco(?)
knit sweaters
knit polo shirts
balloons
silk stockings
men's and women's socks

the majority of these articles bear american trademarks on them. some of them seem to have been repackaged in guatemala. strangely enough the salesman pointed out to me a ~~XXXXXX~~ denim shirt he was wearing which had a mexican trademark on it. he beamed and said"see, mexicana". the shirt was bought in guatemala, however. during the time i was talking with him and afterwards a crowd of about 10-15 indian women and girls were standing around, just admiring the goods, giggling --but bought nothing.

this concludes my notes on the fiesta market. this afternoon jack and i made the rounds of the remaining salesmen--and noted the provenience of the salespeople and what they were selling. this will be added to this report at a later date.

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17th field report--san luis jilotepeque--melvin tumin--sept.14,1942 -p.1
1.

this report will concern itself/with the sunday market held here yesterday, 2. with an interview held with secundino esteban, 4th municipal regidor, and ,with incidental items of the day and the past week. it may include personal diary as well; of this last i am not yet sure.

with the aid of my informant pedro vicoente i was able to cover several diverse aspects of the sunday market---ignoring the exchange of goods and money for the most part--and concentrating on gestures, clothes, shoes, (acculturation indices, as it were), number of people present etc. at 8:15 a.m. i counted roughly some 25 people in and around the market place. there were many more scattered all over the place and a few hundred men lined up for 'la liste' but of those who seemed concerned with marketing there seemed to be only 25. about 1/3 of these were on the 'porch' of the pension in which i live--directly facing the market plaza--where, a man from san cristobal who had arrived the night before--with carrying frame, blanket, cooking utensils etc. had set up and was doing a very flourishing business --much more busy than any other straw or palm salesman i have yet seen. it seems his palm that he sells is better and lasts longer and weaves better. he had no sooner arrived in town on saturday night than there appeared an indian woman to sell him tortillas to eat at 6 for a centavo. he secured permission from don oscar to sleep on the ground in front of the house and packed off to bed early, and, when i arose at 6:30 he was already doing a flourishing trade. at 9:30 a.m. i counted 85 people in and around the market place and the straw salesman. at 10:30 there were roughly 100 people, and, at 11 o'clock when i thought the market was at its height i counted 110 people in and around the market place. at 11:30 something happened that i witnessed for the first time since i am here. la liste was dismissed at 11:30 and with whoops and shouts about 300 men descended on the market place--from which many salesman had already left (i should not say salesmen--all of them except for one man--were women and female children) and soon these men from 'la liste' were scattered all over the place eating bananas, dulces, prudly exhibiting the sancristobal palm they had bought, etc. i counted some 300 men who were swarming around the market at 11:30 and for about a half hour afterwards. after buying their goods they would stop and chat, kid along with any females present, play jokes on each other, etc. i spent from 9:30 to 10 minutes to 10 observing for the gestures i have reported earlier. i noticed none of the clutching at the pelvic regions which carlos reported to me, but that might well have been because there was not one woman walking around who did not have at least one hand occupied with a basket, a child, or covering her mouth with her head piece. i counted 70 gestures of covering the mouth in some fashion either with the bare hand, front or back, or with some portion of the head piece each woman wore. indeed, even one woman (either ladino or indian) dressed in ladino dress but with black head piece displayed the gesture more than once. each gesture, as i have indicated in previous report, lasted at least five seconds. i am convinced that the gesture is part of the automatic motor repertory of the indian woman when in company; i can not say more about it. everyone i asks says they do it 'porque tienen verguensa'---; but either indian women have 'verguensa' about everything or else the imputed reason is fallacious. ;---during the course of the morning--while i was observing for the gesture--one woman walked over to me where i was seated in the balcony type window i have which looks right out onto the market---and, noting i had pen and paper in hand, said to me with many laughs "I'm not selling anything; you don't have to count me". I guess by this token that not a few are used to my presence and my writing down things during market time.

Indian Industries in San Luis
Indian

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The chief industries in San Luis are grinding stones (piedras de moler), hats (sombreros); adobe; tile (teja) (or brick); soap (jabon); pottery (cantaros, ollas,); dyes (tintos); string (pita); drums (tambores); brick (ladrillo); filters (filtros); lime (cal); fishing nets (atarrayas); saddles (aparejas);

Grinding stones; used to grind corn and beans; made mainly by Indian workmen from a stone called qua-a-woj in dialect; it is disjointed into workable lumps and then chiseled into the desired form; a man can make one stone a day. Victor the pharmacist owns most of the stone quarries and gets one stone a month from each of the people who use the quarries.

hats: the palm for the hats made in San Luis comes mainly from Chiquimula and Cabanas; it is brought in regularly by itinerant salesmen; only one special type of palm is suitable for the people of San Luis; it is called palma blanca (white palm) or shan, in the dialect. The wide palm strands are split with a knife into strands one eighth of an inch wide; weaving is done with 13 strands; the hat is begun at the center top of the crown and strands are woven circularly and downwards; the strands are woven to a length of 10-12 varas depending on the desired width of the brim; weaving is done inward from the two outside strands, with an under two-over two weave; the hat is started with 7 strands, the end of one serves as the binder on the cross tie; the rest are doubled and woven with the free end of the base strand, making thirteen strands in all. When a strand thins out you slip in another strand always making sure that there are thirteen. When the weaving is done the sewing begins; the sewing is into each joint of the braid, unless you want to go fast and then you skip every other braid.; the needle for sewing is storebought and

about 4 inches long; the thread is rasped maguey bark, about $1/32$ of an inch thick; the bark is rasped and then washed in cold water and allowed to bleach white in the sun for one day. When the peak of the brim is high enough (roughly measured) the brim is begun by doubling under the next strand, bending it into shape with the hand or biting it into shape with the teeth. The hat is formed in this way. Sometimes a colored strand, usually purple in San Luis, is woven into the outer edge of the brim. The strand is dyed as follows: from the bark of a tree called roble (dialect: matuk) negro, or roble amarillo, (dialect q'am piten) some is taken off and put into a pot to boil; then the palm to be dyed is put in and allowed to soak for 5-10 minutes. Then when it is taken out it is dyed black or yellow. For purple color, an aniline substance is bought in the store and used. Black dye is also made from the bark of a winding, climbing vine called ma-shesh (no spanish name); the dye is made in the same way as the roble negro and amarillo.

String: maguey bark is strung up and tied on top and then rasped with a branch until only fine threads are present; the bulk of the bark is discarded and the desired thickness of strands are selected; the thin strands are divided equally into two parts. Then, with the left hand holding the strands taut, and separated, raise the right knee and exert an outward and downward pressure, rolling the strand forward on the palm of the hand and knee, then backward for the same distance and the strands are then joined. The strands are rolled at a point about 3 or 4 inches away from that portion to be twisted into string. Cord is made simply by joining the pieces of string together in braided fashion. Thick cord is made with more strand, and rope forlassos is made by joining thick strands into a braided whole with the aid of a braiding revolver called taravilla (Esp. taravit).

(see wisdom's description of revolver--which fits the revolvers used in san luis).

Further notes on the making of the original strands of maguey state that the rasping stick is 3 edged; the maguey is tied onto a backboard--about a foot wide--and this board is leaned against a tree; one holds the rasping stick in his two hands and scrapes.

After string is made, it is joined on to the top peg of the revolver, and one man sits and holds the other end of the string to keep it taught while another keeps whirling the revolver; the sitting man keeps feeding more and more string until the desired length is had. Then the string is doubled and the process goes on with 2 men whirling revolvers and then doubled again and two men whirling revolvers again; sometimes the string is tied onto a peg on a house support and one man can work the string then by himself, with the cord always being pulled taut in the process. No lassos/are made in the pueblo

its lf, most of them being made in the aldeas; (almost everyone in el camaron in pueblo can² and ^{and} for does make string) ~~xxxxxxx~~. Only three men/make small mesh bags; but not for sale but only for use. No hammocks or other such string items are made in the pueblo proper.

Pottery---pitchers: dirt for pottery is gotten from a place nearby the pueblo called tierra blanca--and is carried to the home of the pottery maker in lumps in a mesh bag; it is ground on a special grinding stone (hollowed out more than the ordinary) until the dirt is almost powdered. Then this pulverized dirt is put into a pot and cold water is added until a thick mud is formed. After five or six hours of mudding, the mud is taken out and is begun to be shaped into the desired form of the vessel being made, starting at the bottom, working with a mold; once the cast of the bottom has been made, the mold is slipped

off and the formation of the neck of the vessel, with lugs and whatever other decorative items there may be is done entirely free hand. Once the whole vessel has been shaped, red mud is plastered on to the outside. This red colored dirt is brought in from a place nearby called Zapote (tierra colorada--q'akj aQ'al) The red dirt is made into a very thin mud by stirring it in water and then with a hand or a rag; the red mud is smoothed onto the rough vessel with upward strokes until an even coat has been made;; then, if the vessel is to be painted, a dye is made of a dirt called tierra negra (q'ekj aQ'al) merely by soaking the dirt in cold water; a non-washable dye is made from this and designs are painted on to the vessel with a chicken or duck feather. The most frequent designs are monkeys & ducks; the pitchers are allowed to dry 4-8 days or until there is a hot sun in which a fire can be built to fire the vessels; it is thought that unless there is a bright sun firing won't be successful; the fuel for the fires is cowdung (sa waakash) or ordinary little firewood (shi q'eye) --and a ring fire about 5 feet in diameter is built; then the pitchers are put on top of the firewood or cowdung; the pitchers are then covered with hay; then the fire is started and is allowed to burn for a half or a full hour; the vessels are left in the smoldering ashes until well-fired; then taken out and allowed to cool for two hours. If they are to be lustre-finished, this must be done before firing too--and is done with a soft ball of leather which glazes and lustres the red surfacing of the pitchers. Any bizarre shaped vessels (there are some made in the form of ducks, etc) are shaped free hand; there are no molds for these.

(Added note on dyes: besides those already mentioned, there is a bluing made by boiling leaves of the Tinto tree in boiling water; the bluing is used for washing clothes).

Soap: A pig is ~~slaughtered~~; the blood is taken out (to be used for suasaes) through an incision made in the neck; the intestines are extracted and washed with soap in cold water then the blood is added to the intestines when shaped into sausages; the pig is hung on a tree, and the fat stripped off separately from the meat; the meat is chopped up, as are the bones, the legs, head, teeth and everything but the hair which is scraped off with hot water and a knife right after the animal has been slaughtered; the bone is mashed with an axe, as are the feet; everything is thrown into the same pot of water. The water is then heated in the soap oven, and the fire is kept going for 36 hours, and is stirred continuously; The soap is then "pointed"; then a defecator of ashes from a tree called tutumusewan (dialect: toanchieh) is added; this defecator is called lejia in dialect; it keeps the soap from boiling over; after 24 hours the defecation stops and the solution just boils; after thirty six hours the fire is topped because the soap would burn otherwise; then it is taken out of the pot, after cooling, and, being very thick, is then put on a flat or concavely hollowed board and immediately cut up into standard sales pieces before it hardens too much; then put into baskets and is ready for marketing. Men can have soap made for them by paying 50 cent licence to the juzgado and fifty cents pay to a soap maker; a good sized pig will make twelve dollars worth of soap; a small pig makes about \$5 worth.

teja: special dirt is pulverized with a peche; then mud is made by stirring it with an asadon in water; then left stand for one night; more water added the next day; then pulverized horse manure is added; then formed inside a standard mold and put on ground to dry; the mold is washed each time before a new piece is made. each piece is allowed to dry 24 hours; then it is stood up on end, preparatory for firing; when there are 1 or 2060 ready for

firing, a good deal of thick firewood is gathered; and a floor of firewood, in a place sheltered from the wind, is made; the tiles are leaned against each other on this floor, and stood on top of each other, to a height of about three feet; then firewood is added on top till the tiles are completely covered; then fire is started in the afternoon and kept going all night; tiles are allowed to stand in the ashes for 3-4 days after the fire is out to cool-then they are ready for sale; 2 men working together can make about 200 a day; they usually sell for 1/2 cent apiece. Ladrillo (floor tiles) are made exactly the same way except that a different shaped mold is used, as with adobe. the amount that can be made in a day is the same as is the price.

Lime: there are lime ovens in a place called agua caliente--about 4 kilometers outside the pueblo; there is one which was made and is owned by the pueblo but the others are privately owned; the limestone is carried to the ovens; the place where the limestone is to be found is right nearby the ovens; the ovens are filled with limestone; fire is made with fifteen hundredweights of firewood; it is kept going for 48 hours; then allowed to cool in oven for 8 days; in cooling, it pulverizes; if water is added it pulverizes more quickly; rain will not hurt it; a large oven turns out 40-60 cargos of lime; a cargo is worth 40 cents.

saddles: (dialect: ij Q'al): cowhide is soaked in water for 24 hours to stiffen it; then a frame of wood and arc of thick branches is made; the skin is thonged on; the inside of the saddle is covered with banana stem skins.

fishing nets: not made in san luis anymore.; at least not for sale. two indians make them for their own uses; a pound of thread (80¢) is bought in the store, and a mesh work is made, in wider and wider folds so that it is narrow at top and billows out at bottom; lump lead is bought (in guatemala city), and heated and pieced; then it is joined to the bottom strands with heavy string by beating the cord into the lead and then reheating it to close the lead around the string; a thick cord tied to the top meshes draws the net in after it has been thrown; each opening is 3/8 by 3/8.

3A0

p.3 3rd field report--august 21, 1942--san luis jilotepeque-m.turin

this report is part of the same interview with luis najera. we had gotten on to the question of how much an indian can earn during a year of work and luis began to complain of living conditions. he 'flowed' without being questioned. the following is what i was able to get down before his friends entered the room, at which point we switched on to 'lenguaje'.

Economics

luis says that the average indian can earn \$15-20 a year if he owns his own milpa. if not, the average salary is \$4 a year with mantencion which is worth 10 cents a day in his estimate. the following is his own story--as literally as i could transcribe it.

"we can't ever get rich with the small holdings we have. we can earn \$15-20 a year but you never see the money. cargos are worth 50 cents and if you have a family what can you do with 50 cents? if you want to buy a shirt or pants you can't. these pants i have on i bought the 15th of march. before that i had not bought pants more recently than last april. my shirt is ten months old. it's the only one i have. if you have a family and want to clothe them you have to go look for work in Lacapa, Jocotan, Chiquimula, Gualan, Olopa, Quetzaltenango, Concepcion de las Minas".

at this point there was a break in his flow. i asked him whose fault he thought it was that conditions are so bad. here is his story.

"whose fault? it's the fault of the times we're in. formerly, in my father's time, for instance, if you had a coche full of maize it was worth a 1000 pesos. now, what is it worth? 3-4 quetzales. i can raise 2-3 coches a year beside what i eat, so, i can earn 15-20 quetzales a year.

at this point his friends walked in and this conversation stopped.

San Luis Sibogapue

- I. Religious Organization of the
Potomac Indian
written in specific comparison
with Wisdon's report on
the Choctaw Indians
- II. Religion in the fields in general

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As Siegel, Wisdomand others have suggested the religious system among Indians of Guatemala is neither native nor Catholic but a product of the two,with elements having for so long been interfused that the Indian, in his ignorance of the history of the Invasion and the entrance of Catholicism, identifies all of his practices and organization as Catholic, and any variations thereon as non-Catholic or as "something new and non-religious"(particular). That there are strong elements of both Maya and Old World Catholicism constituting the present religious base of the Indian is apparent from an observation of the differential participations of the Indian and the religious Ladino. Anticipating future description, we may note as an example, that the Indian has his cofradias, the Ladino does not. The Indian has his special agricultural rites. The Ladino does not. The Indian has his principales, the Ladino does not. These differences are recognized by both the Ladino and Indian. The former explains them in terms of the 'facts' that they are Indian practices. The latter says that they are 'catholic' practices, and that the Ladinos are not as good Catholics as the Indians.

Saints

Turning now to the Indian alone, we may note initially that the Indian is at once a monotheist and polytheist. He says there is only one God--and that this is Jesus Christ. He insists on occasion however that the saints which he worships are also gods or representatives of God. Indians can repeat the catechism about the Holy Trinity but seem to have no understanding of its import in Catholic worship. Thus Jesus is at once God and the son and the holy ghost--yet, aside from the repetition of the catechism, the Indian cannot explain for you why there is a trinity. For him there is only one. There seems however to be no other order or hierarchy of Gods. True, some saints are more important than others. Thus, San Luis Rey de Francia, the patron saint of the Pueblo here after whom the Pueblo is named, is the most important image at all religious festivals. But, for the Indian, as far as I can determine, there is no rain god, no sun god, nor other special Gods as Wisdom reports there are for the Chorti. God or "our senior" is conceived of as all powerful, and all knowing and as being the actual and immediate director and supervisor of the natural and human order. The church in the Jilotepeque pueblo dominates the religious life of the Indian. It is an impressive building, some three hundred years old, a product of the Conquistadores during their occupation of the East. It is the only church in the whole municipio, and, ever since some years ago when all the images were called in from the aldeas and the private houses in the pueblo and brought into the church by presidential order, the religious life of the whole municipio seems to center around the church. It is from here that all religious processions start and it is here that they end. It is here that candle lighting is considered most efficacious. It is here that all masses and baptisms and weddings and communions are given by the priest during one of his monthly visits. It is in fact the church which is the physical repository of the physical representations of the Indian religious life, and it is to the church as a physical and a spiritual object that the Indian turns for his most sacred and important rites. But other religious physical objects also form an important part of the Indian religion. (1) At each cardinal corner leading out of town, and, at the end of each barrio of the town, of which the

are seven, a small, roofed but unwall'd lean to covers either one, two or three crosses, usually of wood. These are kept in good condition the yearround, and redecorated at various fiestas. The 3rd of May of each year is a fiesta called the Day of the Crosses when special celebrations are held at each cross, conducted by mayor domos of each cross, appointed especially for the celebration on these days. It is at these crosses that images from visiting pueblos are set up prior to their entrance into the pueblo of San Luis. J^usta s they function, non-religiously, as shaded resting places for men on journeys to and from the pueblo, so too they function as resting places for saints when the images of pueblos are exchanged. A second community religious object is that of Calvario. It is an adobe-plaster, white washed building, in sad state of repair, leading out of town on the east end, visible from all parts of the pueblo. Per se it contains no religious objects. Indians rarely enter it. But outside Calvario is an immense metal cross, with a small replica of the crucifixion of Jesus at its head, and this functions as a religious object for the Indian, who, on making visits to and from the cemetery, will kiss the cross occasionally. Calvario in itself is mainly a Ladino burying place here, and then only for the rich Ladinos. The relatives of the richest Ladinos are buried beneath its floor, and it is these families which keep Calvario clean, or at least clean it when the occasion demands it. Calvario, like the church, is oriented east-west, the altar in the church and the head of Calvario pointing eastward. Further religious objects are for the most part confined to the houses of individual citizens. There is not one Indian house which does not have some sort of religious effigy, whether it be only a picture postal card of a saint, or a miniature altar. It is to these images or pictures or altars that private prayers are addressed, it is here that candles are lit when the occasion so calls, it is around these objects that rosarios or novenas are held. Some Indians have patron saints, images of which are affixed to their altars or to their walls. But any religious image will suffice, if one's particular patron saint cannot be secured. The exact meaning of the patronship of a saint seems unknown, in most cases. For instance one of my informants has as the dominating religious object in his house an image of Miraculous Saint Anthony of the Mountain. On questioning, he reveals that he doesn't know why he has that image as his main figure, except that somewhere he acquired it. His altar is named "The Divine Shepherd", but the meaning of this is unknown to him as well.

It is however the saints in the church and small miniatures in various houses, especially those in the houses of the mayor domos of the two major cofradias still remaining, which constitute the major physical objects of worship for the Pokoman Indian in this region and without which no procession or religious celebration may successfully be conducted.

We may now turn then to a discussion of the human physical element in religious organization among the Pokoman Indian. The religious cycle of the Indian is dominated by the figure of the principal, or the old man, who is also, in some manner, a sabio, an arbitrator, an arranger of marriages, a necessary figure at weddings and funerals, and, in brief, the major repository of the verbalization of Indian rites. The exact number of principales in the pueblo is unknown, i. e., it

differs from informant to informant. The source of the confusion resides in the fact that there has recently been an introduction, forcibly, by the local government, of an attempt to designate certain principales as chief consultants to the intendente on matter of Indian religious celebration, and is further produced by the fact that of some nine previous cofradias only two remain in active function. A further confusing fact is that principalship is a lifetime position, unless a principal is removed for inefficiency, but, when a man no longer wishes to serve, either because of old age or illness, he becomes a retired principal but still remains a principal. Thus there are a considerable body of old men around the pueblo who are called at times principales, but of these only a few function actively. The closest approximation to the actual set up which I can reach is that there are five principales for each of the major two cofradias remaining. To be elected principal one has to be well advanced in years, usually over 50 years of age, and one must have a reputation for having been an active participant in Indian religious life, and thus familiar with the ways and the rites, as well as with some of the prayers, none of which are written, and all of which are verbally transmitted from one principal to the other. This is not to say that every old man of such calibre in town becomes a principal. It is to say however that those who fulfill these qualifications have a chance of becoming so designated. Designation is by the body of existent principales. New appointments come on the retirement of an active principal. His place is then filled by election among the body of principales who are still active. There is an order of ascendancy, in some ways, into the office of principalship. One proceeds from being a member of a cofradia to an officer of the cofradia, to a mayordomship, and then, having been trained in the religious accoutrements, he may then be elected to the principalship. However, there are principales who were never mayor domos or officers of their cofradias. Principales are the actual religious leaders and organizers of Indian religion in the pueblo. They are the only ones who know the prayers. They lead all processions, they conduct all worship, they direct all cofradia celebrations, they attempt to keep alive the religious tradition of the Indian separate from that of the Ladino. Their non-sacred functions (which indeed seem inseparable in any functional analysis from their prestige funded primarily in their religious roles) are never totally non-sacred or non-religious, for, in some manner, every element in indigenous Indian life, from birth to death, is tied up in some meaningful manner with religious rites and celebrations. Thus the priest, as we have noted, is also the wise man, the marriage counselor, the arbitrator of disputes, the shock-cushion between the old and the new, and, lastly, in some cases, creator of magic and witchcraft which he only, in his other role, as agent of God rather than of the devil, can exorcise efficaciously. There are, beside the principales, no other strictly religious functionaries in Indian religious life, unless it be the priest on his monthly visits. But the priest plays a relatively unimportant role in the year-round religious cycle. He is, to

be sure, an indispensable element at masses, weddings of a non-civil nature, baptisms. But the every day run of religious worship flows along almost unmindful of him and of the rest of the catholic hierarchy, of whom, indeed, the indian seems to have little knowledge or understanding. But there are other semi-religious functionaries. Next in line to the principales are the mayor domos of the various cofradias. A cofradia is a body of indians, organized chiefly to worship at a monthly reunion one of the major saints intown, being rather formally structured with officers, members and invitees. There are two cofradias of former days still remaining,--the cofradia of San Luis and the cofradia of Santa Cruz. Other cofradias exist--two--principally, but these are designated by the old men as being particular--they are the cofradia of the 4th regidor municipal, an equivalent of the 3rd alcaide of former days, and (2) the cofradia of March 15th, which is also indeed the cofradia of October 20th, since what is celebrated on March 15th, namely the advent of winter; is later celebrated under the auspices of the same mayor domo on August 20th, at which time there is a reunion of the cofradia to give thanks for the coming and passing of winter. Other cofradias include the various one day reunion groups such as those for the celebration on the day of the Crosses, on March 3rd, and temporarily constructed confradias which are subordinate to that of the 4th regidor municipal. Up until 1937 there was no formal organization of the cofradias except for the appointment by the principales of 1st 2nd and 3rd Mayor domos, and sometimes a 4th if a 4th was needed. But it is said that as of 1937 there was a good deal of questioning as to the dispensation of the funds of the cofradias with the attendant result that they were formally structured, and now have a mayor domo, a secretary and a treasurer, the latter of which two offices are usually combined in the same person. Scattered records have been kept and are available, both of expenditures and income, as well as change of personnel of the offices. Requisites for mayor domos are simple--(1) a large house; (2) a proportion, or an assured income during the year, for the mayor domo must bear some \$5 worth of expenses during the year in the form of feeding visiting indians with saints from other pueblos, providing food for his own members at time, and other incidentals. The large house is necessary for the monthly reunions which may vary in attendance from 80 to 150 men. Also housed in each mayor domo's residence are an altar and one or two small images. Attached to the cofradia property of San Luis as well are three bulls--. Their exact function I do not know. Their pasturage is paid for out of the funds of the cofradia which are solicited from the various members and invitees during the year. The highest budget since 1937 has run to \$21. The major expenses involved were clothes for the saints, and candles for the various reunions. Mayor Domos, either the 1st or his assistants, need not at all be versed in Pokoman texts. In fact, those now serving are not so versed. The principales are the only ones who are capable of saying the Pokoman prayers in what is considered an efficacious way. Cofradia is an important element in indian life. The monthly reunion seems to be the high spot of Indian community life, as well, (excepting the fiestas) of Indian religious life. That bit is still a rather sacred object is born witness to by the sole nity of the proceedings accompanying

the changing of mayor domos of the cofradias. (see pp2,3,4 of lith field report, sept.1,1942). An indispensable part of each indian religious procession, and especially of the monthly cofradai reunions, is the playing of the chirria, or a 3 piece group consisting of two tambors, hand made by native craftsmen, and a reed pipe. These are the processional pieces, but, when the reunion is actually in session, there is a fourth piece added: a drum made of the log of a tree hollowed, out, too heavy to carry in the processions. The import of the music seems almost incidental. For, there are no given times for the music to play nor to stop--it merely keeps up all night during the celebrations. Any type of music is admissible, as long as it is music. Anything from a marimba to a visiting anthropologist's "recorder" is welcomed as providing more diversion and more "happiness". The music players are semi-religious specialists, in that there are perhaps only ten men in all who can handle the instruments, and some of them at best imperfectly. One must also mention the wives of the mayor domos and of the principales as being part of the religious organization--for it is they who join cooperatively at any time to reunion or celebration to prepare food and drink for the men participants. But religious celebration of any formalized nature seems to be totally a male occupation, though of course, women may join in processions and go to the church to pray, which they do with amazing frequency. They may not however be in actual physical attendance in the rooms in which reunions are being held or in sitios where celebrations are taking place. Their places are either the kitchen or a secluded part of a sitio, sitting around with each other, drinking and talking, but keeping apart from the male part of the celebration. The fact that prestige in part accedes to women is testified to by the fact that at the changing of cofradia officers on Sept.1st, the wives of the principales and the wives of the mayor domos were granted special privileges of spatial occupation near the religious rites themselves in the sitio of the new mayor domo, and, were the center of all women's activities. It is further testified to by the fact that an invitation to a member of a cofradia to be present at the monthly reunion also includes the presence of his wife with the other women at the reunion. Otherwise women are employed religiously only as supplementary prayer sayers and as leaders of rosarios and novenas, which seem to be strictly, or almost strictly, a woman's job. In some instances, while the principales are the actual leaders, the women are assigned definite functions, as for instance in the rain-making prayers during a period of draught, when, after the principales have inaugurated the praying, the women are then commanded to proceed. Now, mayor domos are elected ~~xxx~~ for one year, their period of office used to be two years, but is said that there are so many who are anxious to be mayor domos, that the period has been halved to give more opportunities to more people. Election of new mayor domos takes place about a month before the date when changes are to be made. The principales gather to gether and make their decisions, based on the voluntary offers of men to serve in these capacities. The procedure usually followed is to shift every subordinate mayor domo up one rank--thus the 2nd mayor domo of one year being the chief mayor domo for the following year. But this is not iron bound and deviations have been known.

Other semi-religious functionaries are the members and invitees of the cofradias, and the actual assistants and subordinates of the various major and minor mayor domos. These help in the redecoration of the cofradia house each night of the reunion, they contribute funds for the upkeep, they assist in all manner of actual religious duties at the reunions, and, most importantly they form the bulk of the religious processions held during the year--the younger ones being employed in the role of image bearers for the processions. There are very few active religious participants in these processions and reunions when one thinks of the total number of indianmen in town. For instance, on the Day of All Saints, certainly an important festival, there were perhaps 60 men in the procession in toto, and the procession was delayed for an hour and a half due to the absence of sufficient men to bear the six or seven images which were to be in the procession. There are some 30 odd members of each cofradia, and not all these attend each cofradia. attendance by invitees is not considerable, and men come only irregularly. election to membership is by the total body of members of any given cofradia, but actual leadership in cofradia celebrations is not confined to members alone. Outside people who attend for the first time, in many months, if they have had prestige before and are recognized as leaders or have nepotic relationships with higher up indians, are accorded places of respect in the reunions add in the processions.. One must note that there is gradually developing a tie between indian religious celebrations and the official government in town. The government invades the area of strictly indian celebrations more and more. There is now, and has been for the last two years, the cofradia of the 4th regidor, an indian position in the municipalidad, which functions as the official relations committee between the intendente and the indian population as far as all matters pertaining to indian celebrations are concerned. the mayor domo of this cofradia is the 4th regidor. he is assisted by a committee of 8 members, ranked hierarchically, and graded in various offices. it is thru this committee and a further committee of 5 principales, as i have noted in my discussion of political organization, that the wishes of the government are conveyed to all indians, in respect to their celebrations. the approval of the committee is almost purely rubber stamp. the most important indian fiesta of the year, that of august 24th, 25th and 26th--the celebration of the patron saint--san luis rey de francia--has two major facets--(1) that directed by the intendente on a minor rotary club or chamber of commerce level--and (2) the purely religious portion to which the principales and other devout indians pay single attention, ignoring the other aspects of the fiesta. The unity of Indian religious organization extends not only into the aldeas of any given municipio but seems to extend thru three municipios, those of ~~Matamoros~~ Jilotepeque, Pinula and Santa Catarina Mita. On the same days of each of these places there are exchange visits from the other municipio worshippers. For instance, on August 25th, the name day of San Luis Jilotepeque, a relatively large group of indians from San Pedro Pinula and a large group from Santa Catarina make the procession here with their respective name patrons. So too, on the 25th of November, the name day of Santa Catarina, the members of the cofradia of San Luis make a return trip to Santa Catarina, bearing with them the image of San Luis to assist in the celebrations in the neighboring pueblo.

I do not know of exchanges between San Pedro Pinula and Santa Catarina Mita---it would seem improbable that such exchanges are made--for the distance is well over 40 kilometers. Whenever such exchange visits are made, there is free lodging and food supplied to all the visitors-- and this duty devolves on the members of the various cofradias, supervised by their mayor domos; especially the cofradia of the 4th regidor, since it is at his house that the major celebrations of the patron saint of San Luis on Aug. 25th is held. The fact that it is at his house and not at the house of the mayor domo of the cofradia of San Luis is due to the influence of the intendente who insisted on localizing the celebration in that fashion. Preparations for such lodgings and feeding go on days before hand, and all women attached by reasons of their husbands' participation, aid in the preparations.

The actual conduct of a monthly cofradia reunion is rather baffling, for it seems to be totally unorganized, yet seems to proceed with a measured and steady pace, and as though some master engineer were directing with cues from behind the scenes. They usually begin in the mornings of the appointed day with the bringing of the image of the saint to be celebrated from the church to the house of the mayor domo in charge. After the procession to the house there is disbanding of the group and usually nothing occurs until the evening at around 7:30. At this time there begin to gather groups of men from all parts of the pueblo. The house is redecorated--i.e. the altar for the saint is redecorated--with fresh pine needles. New candles are lit. Extra pine needles are spread upon the floor, and, if new crepe paper decorations are available, they too are hung, crepe paper being the major bulk of the usual decorations. There is no regular order of events. The music plays all night, at seemingly irregular intervals, depending on the waking or sleeping of the players. The principales present are all gathered at a head table, placed there especially for the occasion. Praying is intermittent, and is usually performed by one principal after another going over to the altar, freshening the copal burning in a censor, pot, swinging it to and fro in front of the idol, kneeling for some minutes and praying in ~~xxxxxxx~~ low voice. Men who enter go over to the altar, cross themselves, repeat a benediction, kiss the frock of the saint, contribute a penny or so if they have it, and then, respectfully bid hello to all present and take a seat against the wall either on the floor or chairs and benches provided for just that occasion. Nothing else occurs all evening, except conversation and sleeping. That exhausts the total number of events except the occasional serving of chilate and tortillas to those present. No other food is served. No whiskey is passed around. There is no singing. There is no dancing. There is no joint worship. There is no particular exuberance. The reunion is quiet and calm and, for the most part, constituted by men sleeping in their seats or on the floor. Men get up and leave at appropriate hours, others come in. Some reunions last until the next morning. Others close at a relatively early hour. The major function of the cofradia reunion is, at my surprise, in deference to custom and a minor form of community celebration. The fact that each cofradia seems even more poorly attended than the previous one, and that one can measure from information given, the decline in membership each year, seems

testimony to the fact that formal Indian religious life, apart from visits to the church, is slowly but surely disappearing in this region of Guatemala. Perhaps the fact that only the old men know the Pokoman prayers; perhaps the fact that the Indian is on almost all other scores being brought into the Ladino life way; perhaps the fact that there is little prestige attached to participation in formal functions as far as the "new, accumulative drives" are concerned these and others contribute to the decline of the formal structure of Pokoman religious life.

But when we turn now to discuss the Indian as a man of religion we come to a different picture. I have discussed this at some length in my 6 weeks resume, and on rereading I find that most I have said there substantially holds at this date, in the light of all evidence since the date of writing of that report. I find especially true the division between the verbal religious life of the Indian and his actual conduct as a man. I find especially marked the absence of religious moral considerations of Christian behavior. The Indians praying to and fear of God here is inextricably tied up with avoidance of evil rather than with positive affirmation. The saints are protectors rather than guides of conduct. One prays to avoid, not to affirm. One lights candles to ward off, rather than to sing praises. One visits the church mainly because "it would be bad not to" rather than because "it is good to do so". The church and its accoutrements are sacred objects in some ways, are utterly defiled in others. For instance, it is customary for an Indian man when walking across the church platform in front of the church to take his hat off as he passed by the doorway of the church. Yet I have seen Indian men take their hats off when they pass by, only to walk around to the side of the church and urinate against the church wall. This obtains for the crosses at the ends of the pueblos, for the altars in any given house, even for the images of the saints. In decorating the saints anew for some given celebration there is little sacred caution taken in handling the images. Yet the moment they are decorated they are then once more in the pale of sacred objects--and only to be kissed and bowed to--but not to be handled. The crosses at the ends of the pueblo are places for siestas as well as for worship of the saints. The crosses in front of the church and at calvary are chairs as well as things to be kissed and decorated ceremonially. The bulls attached to the cofradias are things to be cursed and beaten to get them to move, as well as sacred objects on to whose tails one ties pink crepe paper ribbons and venerates them for it. Ceremonial candles are sacred--while so being employed--but when the reunion is over, they function perfectly reasonably as house illumination. The ordinances are crudely and 'unsafely' handled until the time of processions--then the bearers of the ordinances may carry them only with a handkerchief or other defending object as a hand grip to prevent dealing with the bare hand. Altars in the house may also be used to store nails, pins, any object which might get lost otherwise. Just as holy days here are more and more becoming holidays, so too sacred objects are more and more passing into the realm of the non sacred.

Other religions are known to the Indian but there are no Indians who are not Catholics, as far as I can discover. There are two "evangelist" temples in town, and even a rudimentary Quaker's Friends organization, but no Indians take part in these. What the differences between the Catholics and Protestant cults may be, the Indian does not know--except by such crude markings as the fact that the Catholics give light to their dead when they bury them and also believe in the saints. The Indian insists that the "evangelistas" do not believe in the saints. Yet the Indian himself, in part at least, believes that he can directly communicate with god, without the intervention of any member, live or imaginary, of the hierarchy. If the Indian finds it difficult to positively affirm because he is harassed by fear of witches and evil and sickness, he finds his burden even further increased by the invasion of the government, against whose measures no amount of praying or worshipping of his saints or god, can avail. The Jefe Politico is far more powerful than San Luis--at least when it comes to negative avoidance. If the Indian practices a division between his verbalized attitudinal frames and his actional frames, he finds support in this from the Ladino men in town, practically none of whom ever go to church yet confess to be good Catholics. But the Indian is religion bound on a different level. He prays for everything and anything. Every rite of passage is intimately associated with some form of prayer ritual and ceremonial. Every day of his life some form of supplication to his saints and to Jesus is offered. Whether he believes in the hierarchy of saints or of the Catholic church; whether he is a member or invitee or nothing at all in a cofradia; whether he goes to church or not; he is nevertheless a god fearing and believing man. God is everywhere and can see everything--at least when you are doing good things. You can take a chance that God is napping when you feel like 'sinning', but if punishment comes afterwards in the form of sorcery or illness directed against you or the members of your family, then you know that you did not slip anything past the watchful eye of God. The world is made of good and bad forces, just as it is made of mala gente and bucan gente. The personal representatives of the good are the images in the church, all religious people, your principales--unless they happen at the same time to be brujos whom you think have done you harm. The personal representatives of evil are the members of the kingdom of brujeria in their human, animal, and wrath like appearances. Life operates on the principle of avoiding the evil by supplicating the good. The success for your milpa, or rather the absence of its failure, depends on certain rituals and ceremonials and prayers which must be offered. Certainly planting and harvesting efficiently are considered necessary parts. But equally as necessary is the series of prayers you offer, the holy water from Esquipulas (for some), the avoidance of evil doing against your neighbor, the presence of good signs and the absence of bad signs. If it does not rain, prayer, not clouds are efficacious. When it does rain it is god's wish, of course, and not natural phenomena. The Indian is a naturalist only insofar as everything in nature is in the order of things--but that order of things is a matter of god's caprice and will of the moment. The agency of natural causes is inextricably intertwined with that of supernatural manifestations--chief among which is divine will. Evil too is part of the order of things--but of a different order. Hell and heaven are united in that they are in the order, but one can

pursue the path leading either way. Evil doing leads you to hell. Right doing leads you to heaven. But after life rewards or punishments are neither effective stays nor urgings in earthly behavior, when compared with the detaining and guiding influence of earthly regards and punishments. Punishments on this earth are mainly in the form of sickness and hurt caused by sorcery against you. Rewards are on a more material scale. One is not healthy because he prays to be healthy. One is unhealthy because he has not prayed enough. But one's crop succeeds because he has been good. One earns good money because he has been good. Other forms of punishment such as afflictions from the intendencia or from one's wife or children are due to natural causes--praying doesn't help this--except in a very generalized way. One cannot pray to be excused from 30 days imprisonment. One just avoids running foul of the law which will imprison him. Similarly, good or bad luck in the market is due to natural causes--"there isn't much money" or "there were very few people who came to market today"--or "they don't need any more pitchers or pots, there, they already have enough". While, thus, the supernatural agencies are supplicated and respected, the efficaciousness of direct application of correct means is not ignored either. In short, one may say, perhaps, that the Indian is fearful in his ignorance, religious in his fearfulness, and remains ignorant in his religiousness, in-sofar as in believing that "whosoever shall believe on me, him shall I save", he tries nothing further--at least nothing further than his fathers knew and his father's father before him. This is not to say that the Indian is not 'changing'. All indications point up the fact that he is changing. What is changing however is the formal structure of his religion. The rituals, the ceremonials, the celebrations, the contents of them, --these are passing away with time and 'acculturative' influences. As these pass away religion becomes less and less of a satisfactory and filling and compete influence for the Indian. He has lost these formal structures but has substituted none in return. He grows more commercial, becomes the traveling salesman of pitchers and hats, becomes less the man bound to the pueblo, more the man of the road. But all of this commercialism does not remove from his life that constituent, which I temporarily seem to see as being mainly fear, which keeps him the god worshipping and the somewhat evil-avoiding man. In the face of his continued illiteracy, one could expect no more, no less. At this point it would seem that becoming totally the man of travels and sales on the road will be a major influence in ridding him not only of the last remains of formal structure in his religion, but also of a good deal of his fear, for his ignorance funded in his illiteracy will in part necessarily disappear if he is to be a successful commercialist. I base this mainly on my knowledge of the perhaps most secularized Indian in town--a man who spends all but a very little of his time during the year traveling back and forth between here Honduras, San Salvador, Guatemala City--buying and selling. He said to me in talking of the saints and images: "Nonsense, let them have their saints and images--I have only one--Jesus Christ--I believe in him and pray to him once in a while". I know of no other Indian who would talk like this, "here may be some. But this man, who is not 'evangelista' but says he is catholic, has already quit from his life the belief in the saints, in the necessity of their worship, in the necessity of church attendance.

Note: I am now going to go thru Wisdom's chapter on religious organization and give point by point comparison where I have not already done so in the preceding ten pages.

Deities & saints here also have pokoman as well as catholic names, in some instances, but no duality is thus conceived of by the indian.

A strict division of labor is maintained between the duties of the catholic priest and those of the principales. The priest functions only in the church. all other things are matters of the principales and other funcionarios. Priests here do not perform any new house ceremony--because, as far as I know, there is no new house ceremony.

I do not know the attitude of the priest who visits here toward the indian version of catholicism. I imagine he is not resentful of it, as long as he is paid for his masses, his weddings and his baptisms.

See six weeks report for differences in religious attitude between the ladinos and indians.

the pueblo church here is in charge of a series of sacristans, there being a different one assuming duties each week. his duties consist mainly in tolling the bells at given hours of the day, pealing the 'double' at a death, keeping the church in not too shabby a condition. sacristans are both ladino and indian -and are paid from money collected for bell tolling and by the committees of women who run church affairs. they are under the actual direction of one of the ladino women in town.

the term 'captain' here is known by some--but not by the man who is the equivalent of captain--i.e. the 4th regidor. there are no special divisions of labor among the principales, who, I gather, are the equivalents of the chorti 'padrinos'. all principales are considered of equal capacity as far as the kinds of things they can do. the degree of personal efficiency in each of these things varies from individual to individual; there is no service rendered to the mayor domos as wisdom reports for the chorti. the mayor domo bears the burden of the expenses of the cofradia to a good part, and is not assisted either in planting or harvesting of crops, nor is he given food supplies gratis. there is however the giving of the canshu (see report on Day of the Saints-) to the principales and the 4th regidor and the members of the regidor's committee. this may be a partial correspondent to what wisdom reports on p.375.

there is no requirement of sexual abstention during the office of the mayor domo as far as I know, nor are there restrictions on his wife's movements, nor any special duties to perform. mayor domos do not have anything to do with care of the church. there are neither rain making nor drought making principales, even sorceres cannot do this, according to local talk. There is however one sorcerer who is said to believe that he is a rain maker, but my informant does not believe him.

there seems to be no abnormal behavior attached to the principales or mayor domos. they seem, if anything, to be the most stable and acceptable of citizens--except in those cases where a principale is also a brujo or curer. this applies only to two of them. I know both, neither from my observations is "abnormal" according to this culture's norms, as far as I can see.

I do not know the details of the rain making ceremony except from verbalized versions. I shall wait until I have seen it to report it. A partial report is given in the interviews with Jose Yaque. Note that here it is offered only in cases of drought. There may however be a special ceremony performed in esquipulas when the principales go there for holy water. That they do offer prayers for rain, I know. Whether there is any special ceremony I do not know. See also the interview with Jose Yaque for the role of women as prayer makers in cases of drought.

There are no dancers or religious dancing as far as I know. Dancing in the presence of the images of the saints is forbidden. The musical instruments are not considered sacred, though they are used in sacred ceremonies. The outsider, including the visiting anthropologist may try out his skill on the tambors or the pita if he wishes, and he can even purchase a pita which the pita player, who is also the pita-maker, will make for him for five cents. The major instruments of music making at religious ceremonies, are, as I have reported, the pita or the reed pipe, and three tambors--wood and hide. the marimba is used when and if one has the 'voluntad' to offer its use free of charge. Since one of the leading indians, Jose Yaque, who is slated to be a principale, is also owner of a marimba, the marimba has seen some use at cofradías this last year. I know of no masks or masked dances.

I know of no special value of candés already burned in church. white candles are not used in the church or at altars here, but I think that the yellow ones are employed exclusively because they are cheaper and burn slower. they are put to secular uses afterwards--and usually go to the principales if they have not been totally used.

the only sacred water is that brought back from esquipulas on the 15th of March which has been blessed by the priest there. some men go and bring their own water back, having it blessed there. it is used for all manner of things, from curing to use in the milpa to guarantee growth of the crop. I shall have more to say about the use of holy water when I come to discuss curing and healing, as well as other rituals.

incense burners are the property of almost every family which has an altar. they are easily made. I do not know of any belief that age gives them added sacredness. there is a silver incense burner in the church which is sometimes used in processions. but this is church property. others are pottery and can be made by any woman in town. copal is burned in these incense burners here as well.

there are no stone axes of any sacred value here as far as I know. an axe is not a very widely possessed or used instrument, and is mainly for the milpa and around the house. shint is not used here as a sacred object.

see description of first cofradía, August 22nd 17th, 1942, for description of the cofradía altar. individual house altars take so many different shapes, no one description can be given. they are not necessarily oriented east-west. there are no special altar houses in all the pueblo. there are no separate ceremonial houses in the pueblos. there may be in the aldeas. I do not know but will know soon.

like with the chorti, there are no cofradías in the aldeas, but only in the pueblo, but there are no special cofradía houses but rather the reunions take place in the private house of the mayor's dome.

there is no ceremonial table and chairs as wisdom reports in the cofradia house, chilate is served on occasion, but it is drunk, and not left for the deities. as with the cherti, maize products are the main ceremonial food products, this may be in the form of atol or chilate, or a special gruel made of beans and maize. cacao is not used here ceremonially. i do not know that there is any sacredness attached to their use, since they are served on non sacred occasions as well. pumpkins and pumpkin seeds are also used ceremonially and sacredly, but also ceremonially and non-sacredly. almost any form of food is admissible at sacred functions, as far as i can tell. if whiskey were available, they would drink whiskey. i have reported the use of pine needles in the previous text, and in the description of cofradia of aug. 17th. cane too is sometimes used as decorative for altars--especially on Day of the Dead. I do not know about copal gum. Copal is burned only in the censor pot. There is no offering of other forms of copal to the deities, because there are no deities.

Food is exchanged ceremonially--i. between padrinos and the families of those for whom they are serving as padrinos--and offered to principales and their wives at marriage times--and this usually is fowl and tortillas. i do not know that they are sacred objects at all however. I think wisdom's use of the word scared is a little too catholic to be of any analytic value.

i do not know of the use of turkeys and chickens for divining by the curers. all reports i have on curing fail to mention this. deer are not considered special animals, except that they make especially good eating. there is no 'deer-god'. the snake has no symbolic value here--except in an evil connotation --for the sake is one of the forms that the brujo changes into to do evil. or else a brujo plants a little snake in your stomach and lets it grow and thus you die. this is true of the frog, which, along with the snake, are most feared if seen at night. the owl is known--but is not associated with death or sorcery as far as i know. oxen are not sacred animals--but bulls are in some measure. see the text.

*Skyroerits & fruoractus, of course!
(made by a padre in Puebla)*

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A copy of all the
records in the
Record Book of
The
Cofradia of San Luis

Libro de caja de la comunida de san luis jilot. aug.15,1938

aug.15--recd--mayor domo alfonso mendez 39.40
 aug.28 recd from hesemildo mendaz 4.30

3576

aug.31 paid--don andres gonzalez 5.77
 for crespon 2.00
 for 2 tambors 3.00
 white cloth .30
 cintura de bandera .20
 colored crepe paper .10
 lastinyara ~~and~~ hilo & .24
 vara of lastin .20
 ??? .25
 Saldo efectivo for Sept. 31.64
 43.70

Rafael Luyano.

sept. 1 saldo anterior 31.64
 1939 limosna recaudo at Santa Cat.fiesta .64
 limosna recaudo de miembros 1.23
 at Ipala fiesta
 limosna rec'd fro mayor domo
 Marcos mateo at fiesta of
 San Pedro Pinula 1.22
 limosna rec'd-at titular fiesta .72
 35.45

june 26,39 to regidor, for tierna 3.50
 aug10 39 telegram to archbishop(28 words) .84
 aug10,39 letter to Presbitero Jalapa .05
 aug12,39 to Intendente for 25 programs fiesta 1.50
 aug.25,39 to priest from Riquimula for mass 6.00
 11.89

balance; 23.56
 nov.27,39 recd marcos mateo limosna at santa
 catarina fiesta(nov25/39) 1.79
 jan.26 recd marcos mateo limosna at Ipala
 fiesta (jan.23/39) 1.39
 recd marcos mateo and regidor alej.
 july 1 marcos, limosna,fiesta Pinula,Jun.29 .90
 aug.27 recd mayordomos marcos mateo,pedro
 felipe and jose felipe limosna at
 titular fiesta aug.25,1940 1.62
 29.27

jan.23 paid for pine wood table 1.00
 ja .28 paiffor pine wood cofre 1.00
 jan.25 recd mayor domo secundino damian
 limosna at Ipala fiesta-Jan.23/41 1.71
 july1 recd mayordomos senundino damian,jose
 ,aria damian,antonio damian and pascual 1.00
 felipe-limosna-Pinula fiesta june29,41
 aug.27,41 recd same four limosna at titular fi. 1.00

Pascual Juarez
 C. Abel

these three signed by chico cruz

saldo posterior 27.27
 ingresos 3.77
 30.98

XXXXXXXXXXXXX33

dec.16,40 paid for food for priest 1.50

| | | | |
|--------------|---|------|----------------------------|
| jan.22/41 | paid for flowers | .25 | (regidor alejandro marcos) |
| July 8, 41 | paid for pasture for novilla | 1.00 | (Oscar guerra) |
| sept 2, 1941 | for compra de Hierro de herrar y gastos de matricula | 1.00 | |
| sept.3, 1941 | comora de tamborcito | .59 | (julian mendez) |

357

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| egresos | 4.33 |
| saldo disponible | 26.65 |

| | | |
|--------------|--|-----|
| dec.25 41--- | rec'd by patron in visit to imagen de santa catarina mita | .60 |
|--------------|--|-----|

27.25 turned over dec.25/41 by whico cruz to secundino damian --recd by jose yaque
for ecundino because later couldn't sign name

| | | |
|------------|------------------------------|-----|
| jan.25, 42 | limosna at fiesta Ipala 1/23 | .89 |
|------------|------------------------------|-----|

| | | |
|--------|--------------------------|-----|
| jan.25 | paid vucunar des nobias. | .16 |
|--------|--------------------------|-----|

| | | |
|--------|-----------------------|-----|
| jan 25 | pature for dos nobias | .23 |
|--------|-----------------------|-----|

| | | |
|--------|--|------|
| jun.14 | to Manuel Pinto, for nobia given as gift to SpP. Pinula | 2.00 |
|--------|--|------|

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|----------|--------------|------|
| jul.3/42 | vidrão doble | 6.50 |
|----------|--------------|------|

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|--------|----------------------|------|
| july 3 | 2½ yds. damasco seda | 6.88 |
|--------|----------------------|------|

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|--------|-------------------|--|
| july 3 | 6 varas jalon oro | |
|--------|-------------------|--|

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| | 1½ varas fleco oro | |
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| july 3 | 1½ ydas cordon oro | 7.35 |
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| july 3 | 5 varas lastin for lining the vestido of pat on | 1.75 |
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| july 3 | telegram | .15 |
|--------|----------|-----|

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| july 3 | to don dolores ovalle for aserrar una trosa de sedro para compostura de altar | 1.20 |
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| july3 | habilitacion de vñajeros para traer vidrio de guatemala | 1.42 |
|-------|--|------|

| | | |
|--------|--------------------|-----|
| aug.15 | dos libros de cera | .50 |
|--------|--------------------|-----|

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| | | 28.14 |
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| dec.6, 1942 | recd from mayordomo Pascual Marcos limosna gotten at fiest St.Cat.Mita Nov.25, 1942 | 2.00 |
|-------------|---|------|

Acta # 1

En San Luis Jilot, jun.29,1937, constituidos en el local de la casa de habitacion de don alfonso mendez, los miembros de que se compone el comite y cofradia y junta de hermandad desan luis octavo, estando presentes los miembros que integran la cofradia para entregar y tomar posesion de los cargos&obligaciones que les corresponden formados de la manera siguiente:

primer mayor domo don alfonso mendez
segundo eusebio aquino
tercer evaristo aquino
fourth juan agustin damian
fifth andrws damian

(from here on instead of being columnized the names are run together, but they are all listed as mayor domos)

secundini mateo, marcos damian (everyone has a don in front of his name) antonio gregorio, marcos lorenzo, secundino damian, julian mendez, fernando gomez, francisco cervantes, pablo gregorio, santos manuel agustin, marcelino mateo --treasurer f.c. perez; secretary andres lorenzo: como representante de la comunidad en el regidor 5th municipal, don andrws gonzales, en compna de los senores principales siguientes, don Tomas Gonzales, Antonio Mendez Gomez, Andres M. Agust-n, Luis Esteban, Francisco Lorenzo y Vicente Mateo. Se acordo asimismo que antes de que se verifica la fiesta titular de este pueblo se hagan los invitaciones a los vecinos pueblos de Ipala, SP Pinulay Sanat Catarina Mita por medio de oficios a los mayordomos primeros de cada cofradia a efecto de que nos honren con su visita trayendo a las imagenes patronales, debiendo acudir a las fiestas de cada una de los fiestas de los lugares antes mencionadas, al ser el tiempo, toda vez que se reciban las respectivas invitaciones debiendo estar de comun acuerdo todos los componentes de la corporacion. 3rd: todos los miembros tendran la obligacion de velar por el bien de la comunidad y ayudar como sus circunstancias se lo permitan para las cosas de que haya necesidad. 4th: no habiendo mas que hacer constar se dio por terminado en el mismo lugar y fecha firmando la presente todas las personas supieron hacerlo y que intervénieron en la presenta acta andrs gonzales; f.c. perez; tersorero; andres lorenzo, sro;

Acta # 2 at san luis, sept.1,1938, at 17 hours, constituidos ~~en~~ en el local que ocupa la casa de habitacion de marcos mateo, mayor domo # 1 de la comunidad indigena, compuesta por los miembros de la Corporacion antes dicha, con el objeto de hacer formal entrega de los cargos a la nueva corporacion y Junta de hermandad de san luis octavo, se procedio de lan manera siguiente.

1. estuvieron presentes en este momentos los senores mayordomos salientes y que a continuacion se expresan: mayor domos 1. don alfonso mendez; 2: evaristo aquino; 3. desidero vicente; 4. bernavio gonzales 5. andres amina; 6. toribio gonzales; 7 secundino mateo; 8 pablo gregorio; 9 secundino damina; 10. fernando gomez; 11 julian mendez; 12 octaviano yaque; 13 antonio gregorio; 14. santos manuel hernandez agustin; 15 marcelo mateo; 16. manuel hernandez 17. cayetano agustin; 18. eugenio ventero; 19. victoriano mateo; 20. ernesto gomez; 21 alfonso gonzalez; 22 francisco gregorio; 23 tranquilino damian; 24 marcos lorenzo. 2. recibieron los cargos de mayordomos los siguientes: 1. marcos mateo; 2. pedro felipe; 3. marino gomez; 4. estanislov lorenzo; 5. andres lopez; 6 luis marroquin; 7 justo mendez; 8 pablo manuel; 9 viviano lopez; 10 manuel gomez; 11 antonio gonzalez; 12: nicolas simon; 13. jesus damian; 14. jose felipe; 15 luis marroquin; 15. guadalupe simon; 17. antonio cervantes; 18. juan mendez; 19 manuel damian; 20 tomas gonzalez; 21 fernando mateo; 22; nicolas felipe; 23 nazario an. domingo; 24 victoriano perez; 25 julian gomez; 26 pedro gomez; 27 benancio manuel; 28 manuel vicente; 29 martin mateas; 3rd --se tuvo a la vista del libro de caja, en el que aparese a favor de la cofradia entrante la suma de 31.64 que entrega en este momento la cofradia saliente. 4. tomando en cuenta que varios objetos pertenecientes a san luis se encuentran en mal estado y que hacen falta otros se acordo por la junta que recibe tomar de la cantidad que reciben el dinero para hacer los gastos ya sea para ropa, retoques, y principalmente para las misas necesarias. 4. se hace constar asimismo que el ternero que el ternero que entrego San Pedro a San Luis Rey de Francia como obsequio en el dia de la fiesta queda en el poder del mayor domo primero senor marcos mateo quien queda responsable del mal uso que haga de el; no teniendo

ningun responsabilidad el senior mateo en casa se muero se alguna otra cosa el ambiente aludido.

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5. queda el senior f.c. eperz desempendando simepre el cargo de tesore de los fondos que la comunidad recaudo en la descuidas que haga el patron san luis a los pueblos o aldea wircuveninas. quedandole en su poder el libro de caja respectivo el el que aparece un saldo de 31.64

6th no habiendo otra cosa mas que hacer constar se dio por terminado la presenta en el mismo lugar y fecha firmando todas las personas que en ello intervinieron y que supieron haverlo. Jose yaqu e-- andrs ginsalz; ciprinao manuel; jesus damina; f.c.perez; pedro najera; raymundo martinea andres lorenzo, siro.

act 3

sept.1,1939- at house of marco mateo:thenfollowing go out as mayor domos: pablo manuel, viviano lopez, jesus damian, antonio gonzalez,nicolas simon,saturnino marcos,manuel pedro gomez, and fransisco gregorio.

2. the gift ternero changed for voia so that there should be production--the same two conditons as last year obtaining.

3. caja book shows 23.56 and $\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

4--nothing else--hacer constar: jose yaque, andr z gonzalez,Sipriano manuel, jesus damian, chico cruz perez, pedro najera, raymundo martinez, andres lor nzo, siro.

act.4. sept1,1941, at house of senundino damian; --to hand over the cargo of mayor domo with all 'utiles y encerres'

1. quedan los cargos del mayordomos del primero to the following 46 people.

2. secundino damian receives: 3 cofres, 2old one new--bought from the treasury

1 new table of wood; 1 large and one small tambor, 1 cortina for the altar, 1 black novilla, 2 large cortinas, 1 mantel de color,

3. caja now has 27.27

4. the money is to be used for vestidos for the patron, masses and other things of mayor importancia--always "destinado a el".

5. andrez lorenzo named secretary of cofradia

6. nothing else:--andrs gonzalez, alejandro marcos, jose domingo manuel, cipriano manuel, nicolas simon, laureano agustin,rafael damian, julian perez, jose martin gonzalez, lucas yaque, clemente cruz felipe, jose manuel najera, rogelio estebas, santiago felipe lopez, chico cruz perez, tersorero, andrez lorenzo, srio.

act 5 spet.7,1941 ,at secundino damian's house,

1. the following ~~were to be members~~ are to be members: 28 people.

2. todas las personas se enteraron del corte de caja practicada en este mismo acta y quienes mostraron su conformidad.

3. another novilla given by Pinula--and the two novillas branded with cross and two circles to identify ownership by san luis rey.

4. caja 26.85

5. nothing more:--sabino sanchez, andrez gonzalez, jose doningo manuel, spriano manuel, juan lorenzo perez, pedro pablo manuel, luis martinez, pedro damina martinez, f.c. perez, andrez lorenzo.

act 6dec.25,1941 at 11 oclock-at secundino damian-

1. chico cruz resigns andturns over money gets thanke, d future treasurer instructed not to spend money without permission, andrez gonzalez quits and jose yaque takes his place-- jose servingas ~~xxxxxx~~ secretary and the mayor domo, secundino damian, as treasurer as well.

2.nothing else:--f.c. perez, andrez gonzalez, andrez lorenzo,sabino sanchez, jose yaque. alejandro marcos, jose domingo manuel, cipriano manuek, antonio gonzalez, pedro damian martinez,

act 7. sept29,1942at house pascual marcos, mayordomo--to reorga ize confradia

1. secundino damian says that he and the senond ad third mayr domos are the personnel and they will tun over theutiles and encerres.

2. reorganization as follows: 1. mayor domo--pascual marcos

2 " " guillermo najera

3rd catarino gomez
4th adrian damian---

leaving 38 others with same obligations as those of mayor domo.

3. pascual marcos received all the utiles and enceres, wit valor of 20.87

4th. jose yaque says there was 28.14 left in caja--~~nothing was spent during the year.~~
at beginning of year and that 28.14 was spent--so there is nothing left.

5. the 28.14 was spent:(see last list of expenditures in other list)

6/ jose yaque offers three months free pasture to the novillas; and everyone agrees to chip in 5 cents(all 38 of them) to pay for pasture of novillas for rest of year.

6. nothing else:--abino sanchez, manuel perez felipe, jose martinez, secundino esteban, juan lorenzo perez, eligio domingo, andrez gonzalez, jose domingo manuel, cipriano manuel, rosario lopez, jesus damian. jose yaque.

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General Summary
of

Religion in San Luis

VIII. Religion

Guatemala is a Catholic country. So says the president, so say the residents. San Luis is a Catholic pueblo; so say the Indian men and women who are fairly devout church-goers and church members; so say the Ladino women who are very devout church-goers and members, and so say the Ladino men who never go to church, but insist that they are good Catholics. A Guatemalan wit observes that perhaps the fact of no church attendance on the part of the Ladino men and the constant church attendance on the part of the Ladino women is simply another instance of the division of labor as it is conceived among the Ladinos: what with the women taking care of the house, the children, and the souls of the quick and the dead, and the men simply taking care of the business of making a living. I can offer no other explanation, either witty or serious, for the differences in church going habits of the men and the women of the Ladino element in San Luis.

But whatever the nature of the church attendance records, it is to some form of Catholicism that tribute is paid by all inhabitants of San Luis, with the exception of a handful of so-called Evangelistas, a generic term applied to all non-Catholics, who, in their numerical smallness of but fifteen to twenty members, make no appreciable dent upon the hard rock of faith which is the Catholic Church in its local variations in San Luis. The Evangelistas have had

houses of worship and pastors and money and instruments of conversion-propaganda for over twenty years in the pueblo of San Luis, but are no stronger now than the day some twelve years ago when a family of them moved in from a neighboring pueblo and swelled the number of non-Catholic religionists to its present size.

Within the framework of general Catholic worship, there are points of coincidence in practice between the Ladino and Indian, but there are a considerable number of points of difference as well, induced, it seems, for the most part, by the special interpretation which the Mayan ancestors of the present day Indians rendered to Catholicism, when, during the Conquest, their bodies as well as their souls were taken as necessary gains in the wars between the Spaniards and the Indians. That specialized interpretation has come down over the centuries, with the dropping out of certain Maya elements being witness to the reinterpretation of others into the general religious system which the Indian, in his ignorance of even his own history, suggests as being "real" Catholicism, in contrast to what they consider the attenuated form practiced by the Ladinos.

Siegel has suggested the obvious conclusion, which one must draw after a few weeks in any Guatemalan pueblo where there are Indians, to the effect that the form of religious worship as it now exists is neither Catholic nor pre-Conquest Maya, nor any sum of the two, but rather a new system of

worship, a new gestalt, formed in the process of years and years of operation of a general acculturative process. Yet it is possible and indeed feasible to talk of the Indian system of religious beliefs and worship and symbols as being generally Catholic wherever we find, as we do in many instances, the Indian worshipping in orthodox Catholic style through a series of prayers and symbols which, in his lack of reflection upon them and failure to speculate about their more remote significance and connections with a general religious system, remain describable as orthodox Catholic.

We may divide the religious system of the Indians into three parts, according to the objects of worship, the place of worship and the purposes of worship with which each of the three parts is associated.

There is firstly the Church, built several hundred years ago, housing the altar and the various figures of the various Saints, chief among which are the images of San Luis Octavo, Key de Francia, in three discrete forms; the image of Christ in various forms; the image of the Virgin in various forms; and that of San Jose, or St. Joseph, in but one form. The church represents the place where the monthly mass is held by the priest from the neighboring pueblo of Chiquimula on his one-a-month visit to the pueblo; it is where weddings are held, where baptisms are performed, where candles are lit to the various saints and virgins in times of emergencies too great to be handled by a candle at one's simple house altar. Being the resting place of the saints (a presidential

order some fifty years ago, according to reports of some of the old men, abolished the privilege the Indians formerly had of keeping the saints in permanent residence in the cofradia houses) the church, by that reason, is the starting and ending place of all religious processions which occur in great numbers during the year; it is, further, the beginning and ending place of the religious elements of the fiestas during the year, including the Christmas and Easter celebrations, the latter of which occurs mainly at Calvario, or Calvary, at the east entrance to the pueblo, but ultimately ends inside the Church. It is also the beginning and ending place of the monthly cofradia reunions which center around the adoration of the patron saint San Luis and associated religious objects.

It is difficult to say that the Indian treats the Church as a sacred object, for while in moments of prayer and devotion he will bend his knees and treat the altar and the church trappings as religious objects not to be profaned, still, in the moments when those objects are being prepared for worship, they will be handled with as little care for their profanation as an Indian would handle his machete. He will spit on the Church floor while working in the Church or just talking there, and, when feeling so impelled, will go outside and urinate against the wall of the southwest vestry; yet, when the local intellectual-druggist-semi-doctor attempted to secure permission to open up a

concrete facade which serves absolutely no architecturally necessary or adornment purposes in the hopes of finding the Spanish documents relative to the founding of the pueblo, his plan was met with such hostility by the Indian populace that he had to surrender the idea. Yet, of late, Indian boys (and Ladino) have developed a gambling game which consists of tossing pennies against a wall, and the wall they selected was the low wall of this very facade. Let he who wishes to attempt to characterize the attitude of the Indian toward the Church as a physical structure and its psychic implications do so.

The second part of the Indian religious system centers around the cofradia, or religious club house, and the various crosses which dominate the entrances to the pueblo from all directions. It is in the cofradia reunions that the major differences between the Indian and Ladino religious practices are most clearly to be observed. There are two cofradias remaining out of a former nine which the oldest man in the pueblo can remember. They are called the Cofradia de San Luis and the Cofradia de la Cruz, the former seeming far more significant inasmuch as it involves the adoring of the patron saint of the pueblo and involves the participation of more Indians than the other cofradia. Each cofradia has as its officials three principals, or wise old men, who are the effective religious leaders in all non-Church celebrations

and indeed even in parts of the Church celebrations. One cofradia is supposedly representative of the northern half of town and the other of the southern half, with the principals being selected from northern or southern barrios of the pueblo in accordance. In addition to the principals, each cofradia has a mayor domo, or presiding and arranging official, and three assistant mayor domos, hierarchically arranged. Mayor domos and their assistants are supposedly elected by the cofrades, i.e. all the invited members of the cofradias, at a general election once a year, but in effect are named by the principals who suggest likely candidates and whose approval is necessary before a candidate can be elected. The principals serve life terms or terms which last as long as the principal remains active in his duties and indicates a desire to continue to so remain. When a principal dies or desires to retire or serves unofficial notice of his retirement simply by not attending to his duties, the remaining principals select from the men in the pueblo over fifty years of age a man who has general community respect and is known for his wisdom and his active participation in Indian religious affairs. The principals themselves are hierarchically arranged according to a seniority principle, the oldest in point of service being the top man and the status of the others depending on their relative lengths of service.

The invitees of the cofradias are limited in number in the instance of the cofradia of San Luis to about forty

and in the instance of Santa Cruz to about twenty-five; the limitation is not imposed by anything other than that it seems impossible to secure more than those numbers of men who will actively participate in the cofradia in the style "to which it is accustomed"; being a member or invitee of the cofradia means attendance at the house of the mayor domo, (which serves as the cofradia or club house) about three times a week, in the evenings, and performing certain menial services which the mayor domo or the principals find necessary. Members in the cofradias are named every one or two years, depending on the disposition of the principals and the adequacy of functioning of the current crew of men.

There is no ordered procession up through the ranks from invitee to principal, though an age principle does operate, what with relatively high economic status, an accompaniment, if at all only of middle age, being the necessary and almost only prerequisite for the position of mayor domo; and what with it being virtually impossible for a man under fifty to be named principal. A further selective principle does operate as well in the ordering of rank within the cofradias, inasmuch as it is difficult for a man who has not participated actively in the cofradias in various capacities to learn the initial jobs of which a beginning principal is presumed to be capable, chief among which are considered to be the ability to recite certain prayers, perform certain ritual gestures

in accompaniment to those prayers, and exercise a certain amount of judicious wisdom in religious-secular matters, a wisdom which supposedly is in part learned through long time attendance at the exercise of such wisdom and the verbalization of it by other more wise and more old men sitting in judgment at various reunions of the cofradia, and at various special meetings of the principals.

Within the cofradias is to be found the only clearly Indian prestige system in the whole acculturation picture that is San Luis. Prestige accrues to the principals and in lesser degree to the mayor domos by reasons which seem to be common only to that community of understandings which we may call Indian in its unique operativeness within and for the Indian community. There is no transfer of this prestige out of the bounds of things religious and religiously-associated into the bounds of the secular community of understandings which to more or less a degree fix the orientation of the Indian and Ladino alike in his major life efforts. The principals are not rich men, nor politically influential men, nor considered overly wise in secular concerns such as arguments over land and money, except insofar as it may be thought that purely on native sacred-type understandings, such as appeals to friendship and community-need, can the principals be effective in the settlement of such disputes before they get to the duly constituted government authorities. We may call these understandings sacred insofar as they do

involve appeals to community welfare, rather than to individual gain; and insofar as they do involve appeals to friendship and peace, rather than to the letter of the law; and insofar as they represent an attempt to prevent the process of quarrel from reaching over into the due process of law; and insofar as the principals are accorded prestige in such matters on the basis of transfer of prestige from religious leadership. The monthly cofradia reunions occurring on the fifteenth of every month for the cofradia de San Luis and on the twentieth of the month in the case of the cofradia of Santa Cruz, consist of a process of twenty-four hours of fairly continuous involvement in adoration of the saints who are the respective patrons of the cofradias, San Luis for that cofradia of the same name, and San Miguel for the cofradia of Santa Cruz. The members of the cofradias proceed to the church near sundown of the date of reunion, dress up the saint, put him in his carrying altar, and proceed, in slow procession, to the number of about twenty-five men and fifteen women and children on each occasion, to the house of the mayor domo, accompanied by the tunes of several six-hole reed fifes and one small, hand-made skin drum. The cofradia house has been previously decorated by the cofrades, with fresh pine needle branches and fresh crepe paper wrapped around all the supports of the altar and the small canopy which provides a sort of prayer-frame for worshippers; the saint is

taken off his case and propped up on the altar, candles and copal incense are burned, special prayers said by the principals in attendance, each of the cofrades, if he feels so inclined, kneeling and saying his own prayers as well. Men come and go all night, the fifes and the drums play at regular intervals, and men simply chat and fall asleep and then wake and go home. The principals usually stay up all night; there is usually no food served; no drinking is done, though there would be drinking, it seems, if there were money to buy liquor; there is a quiet and a placidity about the evening which gives the observer the impression that there is simply no affect attached to the whole procedure; for, one may reason from the fact that Indians do show affect on other scores in recognizable form that it would be observable if present during these ceremonies. It may be, of course, that the pattern of affect behavior appropriate to the cofradia reunion is distinct from that involved in other type circumstances. And, indeed, the fact that not a few Indians have told me that it would not be in place to dance at the cofradia because of the presence of the saints seems to suggest that a type of affect associated with religious worship, but taking the form of silence and low toned conversation, is present. On the other hand it is as reasonable to infer that the contrary or the contradictory is true; for, in my attendance at cofradia reunions I was asked on more than one occasion to show them some of "my dances"; if and when I did

bring alcohol, it was drunk; when and if I did crack jokes, they were laughed at and the hushed tone gave way to loud laughter; when and if I played some music on an American-made Recorder, the hushed tone again gave way to a certain type of obviously permitted hilarity and excitement. Questions which I directed to various men about why it was so quiet and slow moving during cofradia reunions, and whether it was sad for them to be there, brought the answer, "Oh, no señor, it is very happy for us to be here; it is very happy for us to stay up late at night and adore the saints". I have seen the overt manifestations of happiness in Indians on other occasions; I have seen them express joy; and these expressions do not jibe with their supposed feelings of joy at the cofradia reunions; yet, as I have previously suggested, it may be that the pattern of expressing this "religious joy" may be entirely different.

There seem, then, to be no necessary connections between the specific kind of music, for instance, which is traditionally played at the cofradias and the actual reunion celebration; at least there seem to be no sacred sanctions preventing the playing of other types of music. Indeed, when and if money is available, the cofradia mayor domos and principals try to have a mariaba present, and such things as Chattanooga Choo Choo and Love Me Tonight are the accompaniments of the prayers of the various principals and cofrades. On the other hand, it seems that the cofradia reunion is

considered incomplete without music; but to infer from this that the presence of music implies gaiety is not justified necessarily, for the same music by the same instruments is played at processions which are considered sad and solemn.

Now intimately associated with the cofradias are the various crosses which dominate the various entrances to the pueblo; they are of wood or iron construction and are usually covered over by a frame-work lean-to made of tile roofing or straw roofing supported by tree legs. On the Day of the Cross, the big religious day of the cofradia of the crosses, all the crosses are specially decorated and visited and the cofradias and all manner of non-members, as well as members, attend. This day of the Cross is considered a community celebration, and a mayor domo, especially selected for that day and that day only, provides for the entertainment of and the feeding of his invitees from his special barrio of the pueblo. During the remainder of the year the crosses represent guardians of the safety of the pueblo, and are sacred objects to be adorned with flowers by passers by, as well as being places of rest in the shade for weary travelers.

It is impossible to say that the crosses represent anything in the Indian's theology other than non-figured religious objects which stand in the place of the saints, when the saints are not available. This may be inferred from the fact that

in these houses where for the private altars no small image or picture of a saint is available, it is considered next best to have a cross as the central piece of the altar, to be decorated and adorned and adored and prayed to even as the images in the house of the more fortunate are prayed to. The crosses are treated with care against profanation equal to that observed in the cases of the saints.

It is to the cofradias and to the crosses that we must look for the localization of what is considered as effective prayers of a more than personal nature, involving community welfare as a whole, and centered around the agricultural cycle and its progress in general. The opening and the closing of the two important seasons, the dry and the wet, or winter and summer as they are locally considered, are ritually celebrated in the cofradias of San Luis. A serious drought is ritually treated by processions and prayers at the various crosses; the bringing back of holy water, without which it is considered that the coming agricultural planting season would be unsuccessful, is ritually celebrated at the various east side crosses of the pueblo and at the cross directly in front of the church. The titular fiesta of the year, up until two years ago, was centered in its celebration around the cofradia house of the Cofradia of San Luis. But two years ago, a totally secularly oriented cofradia was set up by an ambitious mayor and the ceremonies transferred to that new cofradia house. Suffice it to say

that while in conformity with governmental pressure, the Indians moved over some of the ceremonies to the secular cofradia house, they consider it as totally secular and whatever religious ceremonies they consider as important are still performed in the house of the cofradia of San Luis. Visiting saints are lodged in the San Luis cofradia house, prayers conducted there, and the effective religious part of the three day titular fiesta celebration occurs in the San Luis cofradia, with the exception of a mass which is performed by the visiting priest in the Church.

The third part of the Indian religious system is less community and more personally orientated; it involves private and personalized household worship with the aid of such religious paraphernalia as household altars and images or pictures or cross as the central figures on the decorated altars; the burning of candles to these images or crosses; the burning of copal; their special decorations on the Day of All Souls; the placing of food there the night of November first for the returning dead to consume on the Day of the Faithful Dead on November second; the prayers for deliverance from evil, and illness which most Indians perform on occasion; the general feeling that these altars and their trappings represent a source of protection for the private household of the same type which the religious paraphernalia and the religious ceremonies on the spot of the crosses and in the cofradia houses and in the churches

represent for the community at large.

In the aldeas or suburbs where, for the most part, there are no cofradias and no churches at all, the household altars serve, in most instances, as the total religious physical structure around which devotions are held whenever the need is felt for them. In the Indian village most remote from the pueblo, yet belonging to the pueblo jurisdictionally, there was not one of the ninety-six houses which make up the village which did not contain some altar or some reasonable facsimile thereof. It is impossible to determine to what extent these altars are used during the day or week or year; but it is possible to assert from the evidence in hand that they are considered indispensable parts of the household and of the life pattern of the Indian, especially so in the absence of the Church. Most of the aldea residents of this particular aldea above mentioned rarely if ever go to Church unless they happen to be in the pueblo, at which time they do on occasion go in to say a prayer and light a candle. Yet it is not possible to say that the aldea residents are any less religious than the pueblo residents, for in their lesser church attendance may be explained, it seems, purely and simply on the grounds that the Church is accessible only with difficulty and a considerable expenditure of time, whereas for the people in the pueblo it is not only accessible, but, in its impressive presence in the center of the pueblo, seems to force a pattern

of attendance on the pueblo Indian, once granted an initial predisposition to conformity with other Indians and toward a pattern of religious behavior which allows for, though does not necessarily demand, church attendance.

Returning to religion in the pueblo, we may raise the question as to what constitutes the central core of religious worship for the pueblo people around which and for which there exist the church, the cofradias, the crosses and the household altars, and the attitudes in general toward these objects and their purposes. On this score, it should be first noted that there is no widespread community of agreement as to the purpose of prayer; one notes that the predominant tendency is toward prayers for avoidance of evil and curing of disease; it is only in the principals' devotions that one begins to see and feel a sense of positive affirmation of the goodness of God and his agents, the saints. God is good for most of the Indians because he keeps off evil if one prays to him; the saints, who for most of the Indians are either Gods themselves or agents of God, attorneys for him to whom one can address a petition, are likewise good on the same count; it is only by the principals and in direct connection with the fruits of the field and the waters from the sky that a note of positive appreciation of the heavenly works seems to find expression in the prayers of the Indian. Otherwise, if you ask an Indian "Why do you pray to God, Pedro?" the most likely answer in most cases

will be: "If I don't pray to him, evil will befall me." And then cases will be cited for you of instances where in the face of probable evil and illness, exposure to possible "evil winds," that illness and evil did befall a person who did not pray for exemption from the illness and the evil. Yet for all this predominant tendency of the use of prayer as a technique of avoidance of evil, there are some Indians who affirm God and His works even in moments free from crisis and danger. It is more than difficult to characterize in any over-all terms the attitudes toward religion which the Indian expresses. Indeed, for the majority of the Indians, there is a good deal of insecurity about the efficaciousness of prayers even though they may be resorted to on many occasions; on the one hand, in his illiteracy, whatever Catholic prayers in Spanish he can recite, he recites purely from rote, and in garbled form; and, as far as prayers in the native dialect are concerned, he feels himself incapable of making them effective for anything larger than immediate and small personal concerns unless he has a principal, a religious expert, say the prayers for him. Though the prayers which the religious specialists say are not very specialized at all in their terminology nor standardized in their construction, yet the average Indian feels that they are the special tasks and powers of only the religious specialists and it is to these specialists that the Indian goes in times of crisis. It is perhaps

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this feeling of insecurity about the efficaciousness of his prayer making by himself and the coexistent need for security against too great feelings of anxiety concerning possible illness and evil that help explain in large part the existence of and the continued maintenance of the priest in his orthodoxy and the principals in their specialized functions. For, while it is true that for minor diseases the Indian believes in the efficacy of certain individual prayers and the application of certain patent or herbal medicines, yet, in times of more than minor illness and above all when witchcraft is on the loose, the feelings of security which he achieves in his own efforts about minor things, disappears and the Indian finds it necessary to resort to religious specialists and specializations, along with some aid from secular specialists, such as the doctor in town, in order to effectively prevent, at first, and then later, combat the larger threats to his life and health.

Rarely if ever does the Indian pray to God for good luck in business; but he does pray to him for the success of his milpa, and in these prayers all Indians participate, individually, and on occasion, as a community of worshippers and devotees. And, aside from avoidance of evil and illness, and the later supplications for relief from illness when illness does befall, it is around the milpa and the whold syndrome of associated factors that the Indian's religious attention is centered.

The milpa is all important; it represents the major bulwark against hunger and starvation and in some cases the source of cash income. So, during the year the Indian joins with his fellow Indians to pray for the successful trip to the shrine at Esquipulas of the principals and their aids bent on getting water blessed and made holy; prays for the successful return; on the return, prays for sufficient rains to come in sufficient time and for the planting of the seeds to be propitious; prays not to hurt his body with his machete so as not to be incapacitated for his milpa work; sprinkles holy water in the corners and the center of his milpa so as to keep off evil spirits from the milpa; prays for a successful harvest; joins with the Ladino community in prayers for rain after planting in case an extended drought enters; joins with the Ladino community as well in prayers to remove some of the excessive rains in case they threaten the crop; spends many days in preparation for the titular fiesta in August, just midway in the whole agricultural year, at which time three days are spent in devotion to and celebration of the saints not only of the pueblo but of visiting pueblo delegations as well; then, in October, just six months after the prayers for the success of the coming planting year or season, the Indians join in reunion and celebration of the passage of the season, and prayers for the success of the harvest season; celebrates the fruits of the harvest late in November and December with gifts of food; holds throughout

the year a series of minor house celebrations of his saint's day and those of his children, in which the year of thanksgiving seems to reach an appropriate peak.

Yet, for all this seeming unity of feeling and feeling of relationship and integrity among these various dates of religious worship, that integrity is given to the religious cycle only in the written description of it and does not seem to be manifested at all by the Indian in his verbalizations of it; not a few Indians are quite unsure, without resorting to the very popular Catholic almanacs, as to the dates of the year on which various celebrations are to be held. The Indian has no sense of the community significance of some of his practices as contrasted to the individualized and personalized significance of others; he sees his participation in religious matters not so much as being part of his role as an Indian as much as being part of his necessary role as a Christian and a Catholic; he cannot and does not verbalize for himself or for others, as far as I can tell, whatever more-than-individual significances or indeed the implications for himself as an individual which his religious practices promote. Yet, in his practices and in his manifest gestures of a religious nature, and in viewing them from an overall perspective, one can see in them a unity and an integrity. It is perhaps this lack of consciousness of and inability or simple failure to verbalize the significance and implications of his religious practices that makes it

most justified for us to characterize the Indian's religious worship and attitudes as folk-like. For the Indian a sense of positive rightness and a felt need for negative avoidance techniques provide the unique rationales of his religion. He does not and perhaps cannot concern himself with theology and metaphysics; his notions of a pantheon are vague, diffuse, and usually different from those which any other of his fellow Indians might hold; the relationship between his cofradia, his Catholic priest, his crosses, his household altar and the natural world and he in it: whatever pattern an outside observer might impute to it is usually unseen and unelaborated upon by the Indian. And, on the other hand, nothing in the whole array of religious devotion seems out of place or awry or askew to him; everything fits, not with other things in any preconceived or rationalized integrity, but simply is "right" for him and would be "wrong" for him if it were left out. "This is the way my parents raised me; I like it; I am a Catholic, a Christian, senor, and these are the things I do." So goes the verbalization upon religion which the observer gets when he tries to have the Indian express in words what is implied for him by his practices and those of his neighbors.

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activities. It is the man of the family who is the public representative in all parts of the religious effort except those which involve church and church going; and in church and church going, the Indian woman is a separate religionist, attending by herself or with her small children or older daughters. She is usually more regular in her church attendance than the man; in part this is because she is more at hand for church going, especially during the non-milpa season, when the Indian man is away on trips; in part as well she comes more often to the center and has more incidental opportunity to enter the church; in part as well it is because perhaps the church represents the only public place of worship and devotion which she can attend. Her presence inside the cofradia room where devotions are held is strictly prohibited. She along with other wives and women tend to the cooking of food in an outside room during cofradia reunions or simply stay at home. In the various house celebrations which involve a religious component she is simply the housewife and not the religionist. At the Day of the Crosses celebration, she and the wives and women of other invitees prepare food and drink and bring that food and drink to the Crosses and then retire. She does not participate in any actively religious parts of the cofradia celebrations during the year. This is true of Indian women and girls. Indian boys, however, are allowed to attend and encouraged to attend cofradia celebrations; serve as errand

boys; are allowed to sit with their fathers into the long hours of the night; learn to absorb through this process the necessary techniques and attitudes of participation.

Wives and women of the prestigious Indian religious leaders and specialists have that prestige transferred to them, as well, upon occasion. The wives of the principals are important women among the Indian women. The wives of the mayor domos are the bosses of the cofradia preparations whenever they are so needed; they are given special places at special celebrations; they are treated with deference and respect by the Indian women matching that shown by the Indian men to their male counterparts. In the handling of preliminary marriage arrangements and baptisms, the wives of the principals necessarily involved play an important role as counterpart guardian of the female while her husband serves for the male. But aside from these scores, the Indian woman, no matter who she might be, is the woman of the house and not a public figure.

For the most part, Indian religious life in general goes on with less concern for and more devoid of any influence by Ladino life or Ladino religion than any other facet of Indian life. For this and in this it has preserved a particular flavor and sense of the "native" or "folk" to a degree which no other facet of Indian life has preserved. Yet, for all this, changes in the pattern of religious ways and beliefs in the direction of the more secular and away

from the folk are discernible even during a stay of a few brief months. Through an examination of cases of departures from the norm one gets some kind of insight into the possible trend of religious ways in the future.

Note, for instance, that in the aldeas, where there are no churches, the amount of time spent in religious worship of any formal nature is far less than that spent in the pueblo; thus, we may infer that insofar as the church represents a part of the pattern of religious worship, that part which depends on the presence of a church will in years to come disappear. There is to be noted, however, a contrasting tendency: over recent years, in some of the aldeas, local cofradias have been springing up for instances of specialized devotion, and especially with reference to the securing and distributing of holy water for the opening up of the planting season. According to men in the aldeas, this was effected because they found it more than inconvenient, in their geographical remove from the pueblo, to participate actively in the pueblo cofradias. Yet, it is to be predicted that these cofradias will not last long, for they all seem to be structured about and dependent upon the religious leadership of one old man in each case; and with the death of this man, it seems that they will disappear. We may test this by the following: in the aldea of El Camaron, the aldea most distant from the pueblo, there had been no cofradia nor any organized religious devotions since its beginnings

some 100 years ago until about three or four years ago. About three or four years ago a former pueblo resident, about fifty years old, touched with the idea that he was inspired of God, felt called upon, according to the story, to move into El Camaron and provide religious leadership for the people there. He moved into the aldea, where his daughter and son-in-law were living, and, with the cooperation of an ambitious and community minded aldea leader, organized a series of religious devotions, centered mainly around various parts of the agricultural cycle. These devotions are now accepted by most of the inhabitants of the aldea as a firm part of aldea religious life. But, they will continue to remain so, it seems, only until the death of the religious leader. Though, it may be assumed that if the pattern takes sufficiently firm hold, the community residents, if they feel a need for continuance of this pattern after the death of the old man, will seek out another old man to keep the devotions going. From all of this it is to be considered as important, I believe, that the aldea residents, who are for the most part throwoffs from the pueblo where they had a pattern of formal religious worship, did not feel sufficiently impelled or motivated along religious lines to build up in the aldea what they had had in the pueblo. For these people then, and by inference, for others like them, formalized religious patterning seems not an essentially felt need.

So too in the pueblo, men who are not invitees of the cofradias rarely attend; the principals comment regretfully on the gradual drop off in membership and attendance at the monthly reunions, and a check with the existing cofradia records reveals this regret to be justifiable in terms of the figures. Men have arguments with the mayor-domos and simply drop out and never return. Women have arguments with the wives of the mayor domos and they and their husbands effectively drop out from participation in the cofradias. Indians stay home from church on such excuses as headaches and tiredness. Secular considerations of commerce and the business of making a living are considered more essential on almost any occasion than church going.

In short, the formal structure of religion is still extant and functioning; but it seems to be maintained only by the active leadership of the priest on the one hand and the principals on the other, dragging the community along as it were, into active formalized religious worship. Processions are sometimes delayed for hours on end because not enough altar and saint bearers can be found to serve, though perhaps within a radius of 100 square yards any number of Indian men are to be seen who could serve.

This is not to imply that religion is markedly attenuated in San Luis for the Indian. Quite to the contrary, it is perhaps the main center of his security systems; the only area where as an Indian in Indian practices he can

acquire prestige; the only place where he can participate in some kind of community life with fellow Indians.

But from all sides all manner of secular considerations begin to take their toll. As the Indian comes to accept and adopt the prestige standards of the Ladino, the charm which the possible holding of the office of principal might have for him begins to disappear and he becomes less interested in going through the periods of service as invitee, mayor domo and then possibly on to principal. Indians express this verbally; they ask "en confianza" what is the good of going to the cofradia if it doesn't bring you anything in the end? The fact that this attitude of means toward end, rather than considering religious activity as an end in itself, is prevalent among the Indians, is indicative, it seems, that the Indian is beginning to question and later perhaps will deny and negate the worship of formal religious participation. Participation in cofradia reunions is perhaps one of the surest criteria of "being an Indian." And, so, for those Indians who are not desirous of being so identified and indeed who seek to acquire the manifest symbols of other status, participation in the cofradia not only has no attractiveness but indeed has negative value for them. An examination of the membership lists of the cofradias reveals that for the most part the membership is composed of (a) the old men; (b) young Indian men who are playing around with both Ladino and white prestige systems, trying to keep

a foot in both camps; and (c) Indian men, young and old, who have simply given up the ghost as far as acquiring the manifest symbols and recognition thereupon of Ladino or at least non-typical Indian status.

So it is to be predicted that in the future there will be a tendency toward breakdown of the formal structure of religion as it now exists in San Luis, without any necessary breakdown of attenuation of religious belief. But it is also possible that as the formalized structure of religion disappears, there will tend to enter into the religious system of the Indian more and more of the components of witchcraft and supernaturalism than now are present. When, as it seems not improbable, religion gets to be more of a personal and less of a community affair, and when and if the amount of insecurity due to disease and attendant and concomitant beliefs in sorcery continue to flourish, there will be a direct ratio between the disappearance of formal appurtenances of the religious system and the entrance of greater amounts of supernaturalistic beliefs related to sorcery and magic, and their anthropomorphized representatives. It seems that the church and the cofradias operate to preserve a kind of check on the too great formal recognition and admission of too much sorcery and magic; it may be that the culture as now constituted can bear without too much strain only so much of all things religious and supernatural; and, as some of the elements now obtaining tend to

disappear, others, directly related to the same purposes for which strict religious practices are now maintained, will tend to appear and be given more community and personal recognition and care. Sorcery and witchcraft are considered by most of the Indians as evil. God and the saints are good. The Church and the *cofradías* represent in part, it seems, the formal means of equilibration between the forces of good and evil. As one gives away, the other may tend to flourish; for, in the absence of education and literacy, and in the continuance of insecurity about gaining a living and keeping disease away from the household, it cannot be safely predicted with any degree of probability that once religion gives away, a secularized substitute will appear. Rather are we to expect, that, in the presence of conditions so ideal for the flourishing of personalized and individualized reactions to insecurity, witchcraft and sorcery, which seem to be some of the forms which such personal reactions take in the culture, will tend to flourish.

As we turn now to a consideration of Ladino religious-ways certain things should be noted initially: (1) Ladino men never on any occasion go to church for worship purposes; they will attend church for baptisms and weddings; but for no worship purposes are they to be seen inside the church walls. Moreover, they perform no individual devotions at home. They do not attend *cofradías* nor have any such thing as Ladino *cofradías*. On occasion, a Ladino goes to visit the Indian *cofradías* to "see what they are like" but that is all and no more. In the religious fiestas of Christmas and

Easter, Ladino men will participate in certain secular portions, such as the dramatic reenactment of the birth of Christ and certain reenactments of the rebirth of Christ, and they will tend to participate on the periphery of these major fiestas; but they never perform devotions nor involve themselves in religious parts of the celebrations. Yet, they insist almost to a man that they are Catholic; that they believe in God and the saints; that they consider their wives' and daughters' devotions very nice and very necessary; that the "evangelistas" are animals because if you're a Christian you have to believe in God and the saints; they will sit in on wakes and the nine days of prayers following the death of a person; but they will not open their mouths in prayers; they will receive first communion as children, but after that their careers as active religionists are done with. The pattern of the Ladino woman and girl is entirely different. It seems that almost as if it were in compensation for the absence of active devotions on the part of the Ladino men, the Ladino women attend church almost daily, and in some cases, several times daily, pray every night in front of their house altars, and may be characterized therefore, as women of the church and of religious devotion almost as much as they may be characterized as women of the household.

Aside from whatever religious motivations impel them to such near-frenzies of participation on occasion, it is apparent to the observer in the pueblo that the whole Ladino

prestige system is tied up with religious leadership. The upper class Ladinos of the pueblo are almost without exceptions the religious leaders, the officials of the committees of the fiestas, the women at whose houses the saints are lodged on successive nights during the pre-Easter celebrations. The Ladino man acquires correlative prestige through the religious participations of his woman; even as she is able to secure important roles in religious leadership only if she is initially of high status. For, with reference to the latter, by no means is active religious participation a sufficient condition for the acquisition of social prestige. In the religious processions it is not uncommon to see the most noted town prostitutes and so-called social "dregs" marching side by side with the society matrons of the pueblo. The "dregs" no doubt acquire a sense of community with the society matrons in so participating, although it is undoubtedly true as well that the "dregs" are as much "religiously" motivated as are the matrons. There is no attempt to exclude anyone, no matter what his or her social status, whether he be Indian or Ladino, from religious celebrations, as long as the same prestige and status lines which obtain in other facets of the culture are preserved inside the frame of religious participation and leadership as well.

For the young Ladino girl, before marriage, religious participation is considered an important and necessary part of her activities during the cycle of weeks of the year. She

is learning her "role" as a Ladino woman of the community in so participating. She may steal, cheat, lie, fornicate, and be totally amoral, discreetly, outside of Church, but the pattern of community behavior to which she must conform if she is to preserve status involves regular and unceasing attendance at church and participation in processions and fiesta celebrations. Inside the Church, she may turn during prayers to pass a nasty comment on the kind of dress another devotionist is wearing at the time, but as soon as the gossip item is done with, she will dig into her prayers with a vehemence and a supposed devotion which startles the observer who has noted her whole pattern of behavior, in and out of the church.

She will attend on occasion the Indian cofradias, and, entering boldly, will kneel down in the dirt floor before the images of the saints, and perform her devotions, rise, perhaps stop for a moment to chatter and make fun of the sleeping Indians, and then leave.

I think it undoubtedly true that most of the Ladino women are devoutly religious; they fear God, praise Him, thank Him, appeal to Him, ask His aid in times of crisis. They believe in God and in His works and in His omnipotence. They raise their daughters likewise, and indeed their male children as well; yet impose only on the female children the formal pattern of formal participation which they themselves have observed. Their men consider their women's religiousness

a fine and necessary thing and are the first to rise to the defense of the essential saneness of the constant religious devotions which the women perform.

The Ladino women, unlike the Indian, are for the most part literate and fairly sophisticated in the dogma and ritual of the orthodox Roman Catholic Church. They know about the Trinity and can repeat the explanations which the priest gives them; but that is as far as they can go in "explanation" and argument about the Trinity or the Saints, or the Virgins. Their sophistication, to be sure, is a function of their literacy and their reading habits. For, in the absence of literature and impulses to read that literature about religious ideas, Ladino women in many instances are as confused in their notions about the Catholic conception of the saints and the Trinity and of God as are most of the Indians. For some Ladino women, as for some Indians, there are many Jesuses, and not just one; there are many Marys and not just one; each of the Jesus images and each of the Mary images representing for them discrete entities to be prayed to for different things under different type circumstances.

The cross is for the Ladino woman a religious symbol, of course, but not to the extent that it so stands for the Indian. There are no devotions performed by Ladinos at the crosses which guard the entrances to the pueblo, except on the one occasion of a severe drought, at which time, Ladino

women, (who are considered by Indian and Ladino alike as the only efficient prayer leaders in prayers for rain, by virtue of their ability to read the prayers from the prayer books) join with Indians in processions to the crosses and make their prayers.

The household altars of the Ladinos are usually more ornate affairs than those of the Indians, but this seems to be a function of better economic status rather than of greater concern with and devotion to the altar and its representations. Ladino women perform more devotions with candles and use more paraphernalia, again probably because they can afford to do so better than the Indian for the most part.

Most Ladino women and not a few Ladino men are extremely superstitious and believe in spirits and demons and ghosts and wizards as do the Indians. Yet, this belief in this type of supernaturalism does not effectively enter their lives as much as it does the life of the Indian. The Ladino woman is ashamed of her belief in sorcery and divination. Instead of going to a diviner herself she will send the house girl to find out what she wants to know. She will not herself take avoidance measures against sorcery, as do the Indians, but she will express credence in their stories about the workings of sorcerers. She will confuse coincidence with causation just as readily as the Indian. Her literacy, while greater than that of the Indian, is not sufficient to

render her a creature of sufficiently secularized and rational world view to render her free from such credences in such forms of the supernatural. But, these supernatural elements of sorcery and related items do not enter in as effective parts of her religious life, either, as they do in the case of many Indians. She does not pray for deliverance from the workings of sorceress. She does not pray for the works of local curers to be successful. She hires the doctor and the priest and believes in the efficacy of her own devotions and those of her neighbors. Unlike the Indian who is never sure of the efficacy of her prayers, the Ladino woman has a great deal of confidence in direct causal relation between her prayers and the occurrence or non-occurrence of an event.

For the Ladino woman religion produces more overtly expressed signs of affect; tears and expressions of joy are often visible during her devotions; she affirms the goodness of God and His works. He is not only something to be supplicated because evil might fall unless one did so supplicate. Yet once God's Will has manifested itself, the Ladino woman resigns herself to it as much as the Indian woman.

While the Ladino woman, like the Indian, accepts God on faith and believes on Him, yet she is more aware than the Indian of the unity of the cycle of religious practices in which she indulges. She knows the connection between Easter and Christmas and can explain it. She can recite the official

Roman Catholic version of Jesus and Mary and Joseph; she can tell about the events on the Saturday of Glory; about the purpose of Lent; the Fridays; Ash Wednesday; Palm Sunday. She knows more church history than her Indian co-religionist and perhaps for this, with the aid of the priest, can put together the pieces more adequately.

She celebrates different things than the Indian. For her, Easter and Christmas are the religious highpoints of the year; the titular fiesta of the pueblo on August twenty-fifth is much more of a secular concern for her and for her man than it is a religious matter. She does not participate, nor does her man, in the Indian ceremonies centering around the milpa and the opening and closing of the seasons. During the Easter and Christmas celebrations she is the leader in all the important parts of the ceremonies. And, on the Day of the Faithful Dead, she joins with the Indian in spending the day at the cemetery; but unlike the Indian does not leave food on her household altar nor on the graves for the returning dead, as do some of the Indians. In her literacy she is far less dependent on others for the adequate conduction of her religious affairs, and it may be inferred from this that the greater sense of security which she feels about her devotions flows from this, in part. While she recognizes the existence of forces of the Devil in the world, they do not actively assume anthropomorphic shapes in the pueblo itself for her, and hence her religious feelings

are not invaded with a sense of unsureness about the efficacy of positive affirmation of good in the presence of deliberate, man-formed and Devil-inspired efforts at harm doing.

Religious participation for her is the facet of the culture which provides for her, whether she be society matron or "dreg", the most ample opportunity for community life; the confluence of people in processions and at fiesta time is something which heightens life in general for her, and takes her out of the general dullish routinized life which she ordinarily leads as a housewife. Her man may indulge in adultery and gambling and drinking and recreation, but she, as an adult woman, is confined almost solely to the diversion which religious participation provides for her. As a young girl, to be sure, the available opportunities for more-than-personal and more-than-private expression of herself are not limited to religion, since there are dances and basketball games and walks around the park with boy friends and picnics to attend. But once married and once inside the role of the married woman, basketball and dances and walks in the park and even picnics in many instances are removed from her reach and she must fall back only on religious or semi-religious or religiously-connected matters for her avenues of self expression as something other than a housewife.

And in many instances she devotes all her spare time

to such religious or religiously-associated activities. Her social life, then, aside from weddings and wakes and baptisms and very sporadic social visiting, centers around her participation in actual religious devotions and social items which pertain to the trappings with which religious devotions must be psychically and physically decorated.

Ladino religious life, aside from the fact that a priest is no longer in residence in the pueblo, does not seem to be any more attenuated at the present time in San Luis than it was fifty years ago (if one is to believe reports of the older residents) except that marriages and baptisms and masses are held less often now, what with the priest gone. But it seems, from reports, that the percentage of people participating and the number of times they participate and the intensity of their fervor in participation is as great now as it was fifty years ago.

And, inasmuch as religion fills felt needs for a social life, satisfies whatever purely religious motivations may be ascribed to the inhabitants, and serves as a bulwark of the rest of the prestige system as it now obtains, it may be predicted that insofar as these felt needs and these religious motivations and the same status-prestige structure continues to persist (as it seems they well may) that long will the practices as we now see them in San Luis continue to persist. There seems to be a tendency to glamorize the church and to decorate it and the saints more richly; this seems to

be in line with ideas about church decoration which the priest himself brings and which the society women bring from the city on their visits to churches there.

The city has no disorientating influences to exercise on San Luis. What impulses toward changes in religious practice seem to stem from the city are usually only in the direction of greater ornateness in direction and in ritual and in greater frequency of formalized religious procedures. This represents no point of disharmony with what is now going on in the pueblo, and inasmuch as it seems most unlikely that the Ladino will tend to take into his religious practices some of those which are considered typically Indian, it is to be predicted that the pattern of behavior as now expressed will continue for some period of time to remain essentially the same. Unlike other facets of the culture, religion is not importantly hitched to the economy, and is not likely to vary with fluctuations in the economic welfare of the community, except insofar as those fluctuations bring up new status people and tend to level others down, and this in turn may be reflected in religious leadership ranks. And, there seem to be few other things in the offing which could more adequately provide the religious and social gratifications which the present religious system now provides. Even if the Indian were to become very similar to the Ladino in religious practices, it seems to me this would not unbalance the religious participation pattern of the Ladino sufficiently to affect any major change.

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Reports on Various
Religious Reunions
and
Events

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Canada Aug. 17, 1942 - House of Scandinavian Customs

At the appointed hour of seven thirty your informant respectfully advises you of his readiness to proceed with you to the house of the cofradia. you gather up raincoat and flashlight and begin the walk. you know it will take you some ten minutes, for the house of the mayor domo lies on the outskirts of town. you walk in silence until points of doubt ~~which~~ about customs and manners arise; you ask your informant; he answers as best he can, and you go on in silence. the flashlight beam cuts thru the darkness, pointing up a housetop here, a cross read there; dogs bark, run to the yard entrance; the master of the house calls harshly to the dog; the barking stops, and again the night is quiet. your informant needs no light to guide him; he is on home territory; he knows every turn in the road, guides you to the ceremonial house in the expected ten minutes. at the entrance he drops behind you, but you ask him to go first, not knowing the customary procedure upon entrance; he moves forward seemingly reluctantly, lets his presence be known to the mayor domo, who cordially invites you to pass into the house. you stoop to enter thru the low-framed door, shake hands with the mayor domo, take the seat on a bench pointed out to you. the only light in the room comes from three candles burning before the altar. your eye is immediately caught by the large figure of san luis, robed in red, soft cloth, occupying the center position on the altar. your eyes soon grow accustomed to the half-light and gradually the room builds up into a picture. while your companion exchanges amenities with the men near him, you pick out the details of the altar. san luis is surrounded by a host of minor saints, constructed on lesser proportions. the altar is covered by a canopy of wood decorated with all manner of cut-fancy crepe paper of all colors. burning before the altar, some to the left, you note a large candle in a holder some foot and a half high, resembling the base-holder of a christmas tree. three other smaller candle holders are distributed in front of the saints, two with candles burning, one unoccupied. your attention is diverted for a moment as the conversation in the room, low-toned, turns to you; your age; your birth place; the semi-gasps of amazement at your youth amuse you but you do not laugh louder than the tone of the conversation permits. you begin to see the room. benches and chairs are distributed along the four walls; half occupied as yet. the mayor domo sits immediately to the left of the door in a big arm chair, semi-hidden by a large table in front of him, under which you pick out of the darkness the details of water pitchers; a completely nude child runs in, begins to use the under-sides of the table as equipment for minor gymnastics; he climbs over it, runs to the other side of the room, runs back crawls under the table, over the middle supports again, repeats the process; the mayor domo picks up the boy, fondles him, puts him down, lets him continue his play; low talk goes on all over the room; there is an air of demi-respectfulness; no loud banter; no loud laughter; whispers, murmurs, chuckles. you sit respectfully, quietly, begin to observe the altar again; you note that the crepe paper is distributed on many of the beams of the room; that the supports of the altar are decorated with unfresh pine needles and combs; men have been entering in the meanwhile; the first to enter carries a load of pine needles wrapped in mesh carrying-sack, carried with the aid of a tump line. he is helped to unload on the table in front of the mayor domo; takes his hat off, immediately walks over to the altar, crosses himself, mutters a prayer softly, bends and makes as if to kiss the major and lesser saints in the altar; turns, squeezes in between the mayor domo and the table, shakes hands with everyone on the bench, takes his seat. others who come in, proceed directly to the altar, after a warm, cordial 'ay' announces ~~his~~ presence to others in the room; some cross themselves, some say prayers, all bow to pay respect to

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the saints, pick out their seats, shake hands will all whom they must pass in front before being seated, hang their hats on pegs on the wall, begin to add to the murmurs of conversation in the room. soon you too are talking with your neighbors; answering questions about the time you have spent in guatemala; you realize you are being mistaken for a mexican; you insist that jilotepeque is a fine community, the climate good, the noiseless than in mexico, the people more 'amables'. "avaya, avaya" greets your every phrase. attention in the room turns for a moment to a nude muchacha who saampers across the room, scampers back to the outside of the house; greetings of welcome meet the entry of the second carrier of pinal, who, like the first, is helped to unload, doffs his hat, proceeds to the altar, performs his respects. the conversation is almost always in the lenguaje, except when questions are put to you or your companion; the mayor domo champions the conversation; comments on your answers--using lenguaje--to the others; laughter; more questions; the talk has grown louder; candles are now burning in all three small holders; the larger one has been out; it had burnt low; you wonder at the seeming growing air of conviviality; there seems to be now awe, no total deference to the saints; the impression arises that the cofradia is more a social function than a religious one; you discuss it with your companion; your use of english arouses the interest of your neighbors; they talk with you, examine your flashlight, throw its beam into the outer darkness, disclosing the presence of others outside; they are invited in, respond that it is 'mas fresco' outside, but soon enter, perform the necessary rituals, take their seats. your interest begins to fade, and you turn into yourself, imagining how you look to others, try to figure what you are doing there; the total detachment of the cofradia from the world at war strikes you hard; twinges of conscience arise; thankfully there is a stir; the mayor domo has arisen and with him several of the others; they proceed to the altar, carefully remove the poles tied to the altar supports; one holds the pole while the other unwinds; you soon discover that the pinal is carefully bound to the poles with some rope-like barklike material which comes from gineo trees; the process of stripping is slow, accompanied by much talking and laughter; there is no ordering of the division of labor; it seems to proceed as though tasks had been appointed before hand; the strippings are gathered, placed into the same mesh; carrying-sawks, brought to the back yard; the new pinal is unwrapped; the poles are redecorated with fresh pinal; your companion notes the absence of the pine odor; you sniff and agree; mild curses are flung about by the man tying the pinal on as the gineo-bark breaks at times; laughter at each outburst, at each new breakage; your questions to your neighbors reveal that the pinal is changed every month, that the crepe paper is bought in a local tienda, cut into party-figures and forms by men of the cofradia; excess pinal is used to form a mat in front of the altar and a carpet to the door; spread around the room as much as the excess permits; seats are taken again; conversation resumed in low tones; your companion suggests that you leave; you make as if to leave but are encouraged to remain; music and drinks are to follow in an 'otro momentito'. 'otro momentito' becomes ten minutes; then, you notice cups of some beverage being handed out two at a time, by men who vanish into the dark out-back of the house, to reappear with new cups; you discover from questions that the beverage is chilate, maize and water mixed, heated; soon cups are brought to you; they prove to be morro-shells, carefully cut out on top, forming excellent cups; the gathering seems to wait for you to have your cups; then they stand, murmur thanks to the saint of the cofradia; sit down and drink; the chilate tastes like unseasoned oatmeal; you sip occasionally but cannot drink too much; your companion seems to drink with gusto, but comments that sugar would add to the taste; soon someone comes to take your cups from you, notes with laughing surprise that you have hardly tasted it; you fumble an excuse; your companion soon rises, advises the mayor domo he is going to contribute to the cofradia, places

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some coins in the plate on the altar piece in front of san luis, turns, shakes hands with the mayor domo and others around; is loudly thanked for his contribution; before he goes out he turns and makes a hurried bow to san luis; you cannot follow suit; it hits the wrong grain; you wonder whether you should tarry for a moment; decide not to; shake hands with the mayor domo, thank him for his kindness, follow quickly out the door. outside men are sitting and talking; the air is cool to the face; it has been warm and odorous inside; flatulence and heat had become oppressive at times; loud belches had annoyed you at first; but now you are out in the night; it is past nine p.m.; you take up the walk back to your pension; songs from the states are hummed, whistled, sung; you are almost glad and relieved; it is as if you had been somewhere you had no right to be; saw something semi-scared which was not your s, tom which you had no membership-right; the tenseness you felt all during the cofradia passes, you reach home soon, the walk back always seeming shorter than the walk there, pay your informant, arrange hours for the next day, unlock the room and soon are asleep. it has been your first cofradia. there will be more.

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5th field report--p.l.--san luis jilotepeque--august 24, 1942- m.tumin informant--pedro vicente--place: our room at penson---in the morning of the 24th

today is the day on which the images of saints from neighboring aldeas are brought to jilotepeque to be worshipped during these last two days of the fiesta. the organization of personnel for the various velorias and celebrations held during the days of the fiesta resolves itself somewhat as follows. there are two sets of mayor domos appointed especially for the fiesta days. they are called the mayor domos of polvora, and, neatly enough, are subdivided into the mayor domo of the infanteria and of the artilleria. from pedro i got the impression that, as with the infantry of the guatemalan army, the mayor domo of the infanteria serves one year and he of the artilleria serves two years. in any event, there are 3 mayor domos for each. in order of rank for the infanteria they are (1) silvestre agustine; (2) julio martinez; (3) policapo lorenzo. those of the artilleria are (1) desiderio vicente; (2) pedro lazar; (3) justo damian. on the 26th--i.e. tomorrow--new sets of mayor domos are appointed for next year. theoretical; the present mayor domos have the right to appoint anyone they want for their positions next year. but the custom has been to move up (2) to (1), move up (3) to (2) and appoint a new (3) for the infanteria and artilleria. seven saints get worshipped these next two days: San Luis Rey de Francia; gobernador; (2) san Luis Rey de Octavo; (3) San Luis Chiquita; (4) san Pedro Pinula; (5) Santa Catarina (6) San Il de Fonso; (7) San Bartolemeo. Last night the veloria was in honor of san Luis Rey, santo Jesus and San Miguel. This morning at about 12 o'clock san Pedro Pinula was brought in from Pinula and finally put to rest in the house of Luis Najera, 5th municipal regidor. Later in the day he will be brought to the church for vesper services at 5 p.m. and then brought to Secundino Esteban's house for an all night veloria; (esteban is 4th municipal regidor and volunteered (tuve voluntad) his house and his food etc for the veloria. in addition, secundino told me that because he is 4th municipal regidor he is entitled to have the veloria at his house if he wants to; santa catarina was brought in from santa catarina at about the same time as san pedro this morning and also brought to najera's house; she too will be brought to the church for vesper services at 5 and then brought to esteban's house for the night veloria; (note that pedro admitted only after many questionings that the images would rest for a while in najera's house. there seems to be strong competition between the two of them since they have been our two major informants so far). san luis (the middle sized of the three images of san luis) is now in the house of the mayor domo of the infanteria and will be brought to church for vespers where he will remain till tomorrow morning; san bartolemeo is now in the house of the mayor domo, secundo damian; he will remain there until tomorrow morning; san il de fonso, now in the church will be brought to esteban's house tonight for the veloria; san jesus is now in esteban's house; san miguel is now in desiderio vicente's house and will be brought out for vespers at the church at 5 p.m. thus, at the vespers there will be san luis (1) san luis (2) and san luis (3), san pedro pinula, santa catarina; san il de fonso and san bartolemeo. and san miguel. after the vespers the two junior san luis', san pedro, santa catarina, san il de fonso and san bartolemeo will be brought to secundino esteban's house for a veloria all night. then, in the morning, at 7 a.m. (guatemalan time--which means about 2 hours afterward) they will be brought back to the church for services and at 11 a.m. will be brought out into the plaza for public offerings to them. then they are returned to the church, and, at 6 a.m. on the 26th santa catarina is started on her journey home, at 7 a.m. san il de fonso is started on his journey back to ipala (it should be noted that the information above failed to mention san il as coming from pinula this morning along with the other two traveling saints of catarina and

pinula. at 12 noon san pedro is started back for pinula.

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after this interview with pedro (which on later examination checks in the major details with the interview gillin had with pedro on the same subject) pedro and i went to the house of secundino esteban to watch the preparations for the visitors from the neighboring aldeas with the images and to see the decorating of the house in action. there were not many men present when we entered and all seemed slightly bleary eyed. questioning revealed that most of them had been up all night without sleep for the veloria. secundino esteban was present and greeted us cordially. the altar was being prepared for the saints that were coming in later in the day. women as well as men were helping with the decorations. in addition there were two crews of women cooks at work preparing food for the visitors who will be bedded and boarded these next two days. enormous caldrons of frijoles, maize and soup were cooking on wood fires. men were shopping up the entrails and backbones of pigs in the back yard (the remainders were wiped clean by the ever present vultures and the dogs) one woman was gilling pork meat into 'hamburgers'. in another room in the house next door there was a crew of some 12 women on hands and knees rolling maize in unison. a crew of some 5 or six men were cleaning pork into a basket at the rear of the same room. as usual in these ventures, there seemed to be an orderly division of labor without any ordering of the labor by any higher ups. i sat around for a while with pedro, answered questions about where i came from, how far it was, how much it cost to come, etc--and then left for a few minutes after offering some money for the veloria, which secundino esteban accepted "as regidor". (note this interesting crossing of status lines. secundino is 4th regidor municipal and hence top regidor among the indians). returned a few minutes later, chatted with the men--of whom there were more at this time--tried to take some pictures but could not get the right lighting and posing. pedro soon beckoned me inside. gillin was there now, and, seated around a fairly long table were three old men--three principales as it turned out--omas gonsalez, luis esteban and francisco mendez. they were the leaders of everything from then on until the final resting of the images in the house of luis najera some 3 or 4 hours later. on the table, on which table cloths had been spread were plates with fried fat pork, tortillas and dishes of salt. the men lined up in neat order in front of the table and gillin and i were given seats near the principales. as soon as the principales started to eat everyone else started. meanwhile there had been occasional music from the fife, two trap drums and one log drum. this kept up as long as we were in esteban's house and, of course, kept up on the whole trip to meet the incoming visitors. coffee was served with the food (black coffee with sugar), we passed round cigarettes, and general chatter and continued preparations in the kitchens kept on. i wandered outside, spent some time asking the women how things were made, exchanged information with them about eating customs here and in the states. they were very surprised that we do not eat tortillas in the states. their pork that was served that morning was fired in its own fat with some salt added. (note that mantequilla was the word used for the pork fat. it also means butter and sour cream here). gillin joined me outside, we chatted some more with the women, returned inside, the music started, and, soon we left, at a signal from the principales to start the trip up the hill on the road to pinula to meet the visitors from pinula. all during the process we were treated as distinguished guests and, pedro later reported to us that the principales said that we were welcome to come to the velorias and spend as much time there as we pleased. the trip to the Ipala cross--about a half mile from the church on top of the hill that starts the road to Ipala was slow and solemn. the procession halted first in front of the church for just a moment and all men doffed their hats as they passed. one of the principales was carrying candles decorated with crepe paper. initially, the principales were in the front of the procession, and immediate

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behalf them came secundino esteban --clothed in his finest--a white hat, a new white jacket, a white shirt, khaki pants, semi-pressed, and his sandals. in his hand he carried his regidor stick decorated with a special ribbon for the occasion. alongside of him marched luis najera, also in his finest: a blue jacket, blue and white striped pants, a white hat, and his sandals. the principales seemed not to be garbed in any special fashion. as soon as we got on the road to ipala past the church the orderliness of the procession broke up--though some semblance of order was maintained--and children ran ahead up to the top of the hill, the principales, old men all three, dropped behind somewhat. we arrived at the cross of pinula, heading out of town, and discovered, to no one's surprise, that the men from pinula had not yet arrived. the altar was all decorated in preparation for the arrival of san pedro. on our arrival the majority of people crowded into the shade of the altar and a nearby tree, some went to urinate, one of the principales relieved himself in a nearby milpa. people set around and chatted, music played at intervals, laughter, some anxiety about the arrival of pinulans. soon a crew of four horsemen was sent out to greet the pinulans at a distance and to announce their coming with the shooting off of firecracker rockets. the ubiquitous vendor of dulce on a stick was there walking around trying to vend his wares. four ladino women dressed in their finest passed by, greeted no one but me--kept on walking. a red banner and two ~~ribbons~~ soon appeared and were set to rest near the altar. a traveler from the direction of pinula with a load of wares on his back, passed by, doffed his hat, picked his little boy's hat off his head, hurried his wife and other child, soon passed out of sight. a pack of men appear with rocket firecrackers, are sent on ahead to announce the first sight of the pinulans. the committee selling flowers makes two sales in a row, the secretary is summoned imperiously each time to record the name of the buyer. perhaps it is a raffle for numbers are recorded too. a man on horseback is godnaturally prevented from passing on until he buys a flower. (oh, poppy day! oh, shades of club raffles!) i notice then for the first time that almost everyone is wearing a crepe paper flower. music keeps on. more chatter. more urinating by the roadside. a stir, because a rocket is seen, but not heard, announcing the coming of the pinulans. they must be a kilometer or two off as yet however. soon another rocket then still another --but these from a different direction--announcing the coming of those from santa catarina. a few words of discussion and the majority of the crowd including the principales, is off to greet the santa catarinans who seem to be nearer than the pinulans. a few remain behind. gillin goes on to stay. a man left behind says what foolishness it is to go running off to greet the santa catarinans when the san pedro is later all more important and will be here any minute now. (a few minutes before the majority left for the other entrance to town pedro had come down from the shade to point out to me in a low voice the patchero jose agustine, dressed in a blue shirt, white pants, and, as pedro pointed out the very first thing--notice, he has shoes on. he was the only man in the gathering beside jack and myself who had shoes on). a few minutes after the crowd has vanished down the other hill heading to santa catarina the music of the fife and the drum of the pinulans can be heard. soon the advance horsemen--of the pinulans--some 12 in number--appear, look around for a welcoming committee, find none and unload from their horses. they seem slightly better dressed than the men from here, not a few of them wearing protection against the saddle straps--but, of course, barefoot or in sandals. their language seems to my expectant ear to be much different from that heard here. there seems to be a dearth of clucks and ghotal stops.

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the music of the pinulans gets louder and soon they appear in sight. the three piece band first, then two men carrying ordinances, different from those here, a man carrying rocket firecrackers, and behind him a man carrying san pedro in his box --on his back. men appear carrying their sleeping potatoes, their leaf raincoats. all crowd around the altar as san pedro is taken out of his box, carefully tied on to the altar, the altar decorated, while all the while a bow bell is softly tinkled to call out san pedro, as our informant pedro later told us. the altar is decorated with flowers, white cloth, crepe paper. the box out of which pedro has been taken is carefully closed, the flower seed carefully replaced. the women from pinula rise and come over to the altar where they and the children bend down and kiss the hem of pedro's frock--then return to their squats, unload their baskets, undrape a breast, feed and milk their children. cigarettes are passed around. most of them smoke. again the language seems even more different. it seems softer. the music starts up again. two children do a mock ballroom dance in the roadside. a rocket is shot off to announce the readiness of the pinulas for the reception committee. none appears. 1 o'clock sounds. we have been in the hot sun some ~~xxxxx~~ two and a half hours. i leave. gillin is at the other welcoming. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ he can give full details on what occurs when the two bands meet.

A08

at about 6:30 jack woke me to tell me that the men from the veloria at secundinoestaban's house were waiting for us to come with them to breakfast. jack's statement that they smelled 'a little' of whiskey was easily confirmed on greeting them. we hurriedly dressed and washed and walked up to the intendencia where the secretary, the intendente and members of the committee were waiting for the intendente's jacket to arrive 'by messenger' from his house. jokes were passed, a picture of the committee taken last week shown around a little (note that the intendente made gestures at showing the picture to the committee but everytime one of them tried to look at the picture something 'occured' so that the intendente managed to ignore their desire to see the picture). we were joined by the colonel of the hacienda police with whom we have become very friendly of late and started the walk to secundino's house. on the way we picked up don victor sandoval, the pharmacist and a man, either a friend or relative of his who was in the store at the time, a thin one armed ladino. we were greeted cordially as we walked in to secundino's house and asked to be seated. tomas gonzalez, one of the principales, and another man were performing devotions in front of the images of san luis san pedro and santa catarina. tomas was swinging the censor pot (burning either copal or myrrh) in front of each image and muttering incantations in lenguaje and spanish. he kneeled for some time in front of san luis and offered a lengthy devotion, then, rose, and passed the censor pot around each of the candles burning before the images, took his seat. the other man completed his devotions soon and general talking started in the room. don victor started to tell jokes ridiculing germans, at which the colonel laughed loudly each time. while we were waiting a few women came in to offer devotions to the saints. soon breakfast was called, however, and we went out on to the patio in back of the house where we were served --tablecloths, cups and saucers!---tamales, french bread and black coffee with dulce. the ladinos were rather boisterous, the indians more servile than usual--the intendente was present, cigarettes were passed around we smoked and chatted and then after a few moments and the saying of the usual 'muchas gracias', 'muchissimas gracias' and 'bien provechos' all the ladino visitors left and jack and i stayed on, and the room near cleared soon as most of the men went out on to the patio to eat their breakfast--some kneeling, some stooping, some sitting--while eating. the food was the same--the ceremonial tamales (introduced within the last four years, we have been told), the french bread and the coffee. women were cooking and working all the while on the patio, preparing food for the meals later in the day. most of the men and women had not slept at all and one principle told us he had not slept for two nights and probably would not sleep tonight either. men began filing in, 'good mornings' were said and not much after the breakfast had been done with the music started again, and the images were brought out into the street to be put into their 'thrones' and carried to the church. there was some consternation because the mayor domo from san pedro pinula had not yet arrived and the procession to the church started leaving san pedro to wait for his 'paysanos' to carry him/. the procession was headed by the usual file flanked on either side by a small and large drum, the same tunes played over and over again. in the next line to the rear of the musicians came men bearing the images of san il de Fonso from Ipala, santa catarina and san luis rey. directly behind them were the standard bearers carrying the separate banners of each of the saints, a red one for san il, a pink for santa catarina and a red --much larger banner with a blue cloth skirt effect on the top of the pole for san luis. the usual streets were traversed, the crowd swelled as it got near the church and, as it arrived on the south side of the church had to go around a wire strung across the road, used in yesterday's festivities. after ranks formed again on the south side of the church, the procession halted and waited for the image of san pedro which was soon brought up. (note that only one ordinance was in the procession--between the musicians

A09

and the bearers of the images. the ~~indian~~ s of san pedro were brought into the church much later). as the procession neared the front of the church the bells began to peal, and, as at the beginning of the procession, firecrackers were shot off from the north west side of the plaza. the musicians stepped to the south portion of the front entrance to the church and the procession did squds right to allow all the images to be brought up evenly for the entrance. catarina and luis clearly dominate all thruout. the images are turned around to face the public, which now has swelled to considerable number, s and, luis and catarina ahead, are brought in two by two into the church and placed on the north side of the altar at the church well. the church is in magnificent decoration for today. (and it has cost the indians plenty--the mass, including a cantor and food and decorations cost \$14, a fortune for the indians. jack and i contributed a dollar before we left secundino s house. it should help a lot). the altar is respendent in white and magnificent steamers of cloth--maroon and blue and white are hung in the front part. candles are burning all around, women are holding their own candles, the church fills rapidly. many try to push to the front but it soon is completely packed. women squat or kneel with their children, milk them whey they start to cry--all women's heads are covered --some with the black cloth of mourning, the predominance is indian but here and there a ladino face is recognized. ladino society is absent, however, as far as i can see. the church is soon packed--on benches--every available sitting space seeming to be occupied--on benches (the few that are in the church) as well as the ground. the crowd does not seem restless, yet it seems anticipant of a unique event. and a mass is a rarity here. i feel a different air circulating. i felt disgust and contempt in part at the ceremonies of yesterday. today i feel pity and sorrow for these people who give themselves wholly to the worship of images, unquestioning, believing implicitly. i think of the fee the young priest is charging, of the story jack told me of his insistence on so much and so much more, for such a kind of mass--and i grow angry. he and the indians are of the same faith--but to them it is ever so much less a matter of dollars and cents. to him? quien sabe? the priest does not come out. jack leaves. i stay because i have never seen a mass. but twenty minutes more produces no priest. i wait no longer.

7:30 in the evening and from the distance in the eastern streets of the pueblo the music of the fife and the drums carries to you thru the drizzle that darkens the half-moon-lit streets. your flashlight is in hand and lumberjacket zipped to keep off the slight chill of the evening you walk four blocks past corners which reveal the doorway-watchers only when you are too late upon them to say buenas noches in the usual lesimely fashion. you turn back then for your informant --a little boy you stopped to ask--tells you you are walking in the wrong direction. past the corner from which the ring of billiard balls against billiard ball punctuates the otherwise silent streets, you see the tail end of the procession blocks ahead of you and you hurry to join it. you know that this is an important night in indian life. it is the night before the changing of sites of the cofradia of san luis. the veloria is under way, but it is quiet and dignified. liquor is absent. men sit around the house of the new mayor domo, dozing, chatting. the sidewalk outside is more than full with men drawing on cigarettes, exchanging gossip, joking with children. a familiar face is spotted, and you walk over to shake hands and greet your acquaintance. you are invited inside, but you gratefully indicate that for the while you will stand outside. the amenities --always and ever the same--are exchanged and you must express your pleasure with the climate, the life, the people, the customs of jilotepeque. "avaya, avaya!" greets your every remark, and soon a crowd forms around you, respectfully questions are asked about where you are from, how far is it, how long will you stay. your fixing of a stay of six months causes much pleased murmur. you get the notion that your 'audience' must be thinking that 'you are of our sympathy if you are going to stay six months; you don't let yourself think that perhaps they are also thinking 'and, indeed, shall we have to bear your presence that long?'. there has been no indication in the past that they might be pondering in these terms. the light from the pitchwood suddenly goes low and a child hurries to put the uncharred parts into full exposure to the flame. the light glows and you note more faces you have seen at other cofradias, other nights, other days: in the streets, in their milpas; in their houses. you are away from ladino life and you feel comfortable and at ease. you are amazed that you can feel comfortable. this is still all so foreign to you. but you are pleased in your amazement; and you note, sharply, that, mixed ladino indian gatherings are much more uncomfortable than either all ladinos or all indians. thru your mind runs all the points and edges of the arguments about ladino-indian relations, but you banish them quickly, for you are enjoying yourself talking with these people--and it is among the first times in jilotepeque that you have enjoyed yourself and felt at ease with the indians. suspicions seem absent. warm receptiveness seems to dominate the atmosphere. you wonder whether it is possible to 'feel' rapport growing. these things flit thru as you talk with the men and boys. the most frequently asked question concerns whether or not you think the war will come to jilotepeque. indeed, you had never thought of it before, but you answer in the negative rapidly, assuring the audience that guatemala will be the last country to be invaded, if at all. your joke about being able to fight off the invaders with the curved machetes. your joke is appreciated, the heaviness which surrounds questions and talk of the war is lifted for a moment. how different this talk of the war from that in the states! here your every opinion is worth its weight in gold, it seems, to those men and women who never read newspapers, listen to radios, or hear news of the outside world except as visitors come into jilotepeque. in the states, talks of the war are fights, vehement arguments. here one has time to think over his answers, to weigh each point; there at home one needs his answers sharply on the point of his tongue; else they remain unexpressed; "others have won the argument"; men continue to enter and leave the house of the new mayor domo. you note his name; you make a mental note of the fact that tomorrow at three (you know, then that you will have until five) the idol of san luis is to be transferred. more talk, offering of cigarettes (which are never refused!) handshakes and goodbyes and you are off for a table or two of billiards before retiring.

A 11

a heavy sleep has fogged your head and you cannot get your bearings. even your shoes seem unwilling to go on to your feet, but at last they are tied and you walk out to clear~~x~~ your head and wonder why in the world you dreamed so confusedly. your brain begins to clear as you trace each item of the dream you recall and suddenly the meaning of the dream becomes apparent. you rush back to your room to note it down before you forget, and you are grateful for having exerted the effort. the clock of the intendencia strikes four thirty and with the going the world you are in comes back with a rush. your dream had transported you to the world of the 'what was'. a feeling of exceptional clear-headedness comes over you--and you laugh at the contrast with an hour before. a slow walk to the post office to send off your long letter to saul--a chat with raymundo--exchanging english and spanish phrases. he shows you a book he has from which one may learn english. year-1879. forms for second person singular--thou and thine. you encourage raymundo to learn english(he is really one of the 'best' in town; and you wonder whether it is because he is half indian, but you realize this is as silly a racist view as others now being effected on the political front). the intendente beckons you to come see what he is doing; he is up to his usual rotary club tricks of arranging for an award for the best all around athlete in town. as you are chatting, the music of the fife and the drums comes once again to your ears--and you remember with a startle that today is the day for changing the cofradia house. you note the clock--it says 10 minute to five. you had estimated almost correctly how much delayed after three o'clock it would be. raymundo joins you and you go to meet the procession after rushing to grab your camera from your room. you mentally kick yourself for not having been present at the beginning of the procession; you cannot write of it all now. there will be gaps. but you throw off the feeling of regret for the moment and take a position on the corner of the street where the pharmacy is located. don victor is there, with a pair of binoculars--which he displays prominently so that all can see he has binoculars. in many ways he reminds you of a rich kid among poor kids--showing off his toys. but you turn to the business of the day. there are crowds on each street corner--waiting for the procession to pass--it can be seen easily as it moves slowly from the house of secundino demian. you and your camera are the focus of attention as usual, and especially when you take up a position in the middle of the street and adjust your camera for the light and the distance. the procession moves closer and you note that the front ranks for almost a block are composed splendidly of little boys and women and children in arms, or toddling along side--pulled this way and that by their mothers to keep them on the shady side of the street or in the shade cast by the shadow of the mother herself. you snap two pictures of women carrying children. you think of jack's desire for pictures of typical postural responses. you think of jack, of the states---but that leads you far afield. snap back! the procession is on you--you take picture after picture, gallop up a side street to take others, raymundo close on your heels, children following and gaping at you, your camera. you wonder whether you will ever not be 'the stranger'. then, at last, into the yard of the house of the new mayor domo---the yard already packed--but, of all things, mostly with curious ladinos. you take up a position favorable for photographs but then get snowed under by a load of women and children. there are two mats spread out on the ground--potatoes--all the principals are around them, with candles in their hands, the new mayor domo with a small idol, the old mayor domo with a large idol in his hand. the principals nod to you; others nod; one principal comes over and shakes hands; invites you to the celebration later; you thank him and chat with him; and find out that september 1st is two years since the election of the last mayor domo;

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you try to fix in your mind--for there is no chance to write--all the details of the procession--the wives of the mayor domos and principals, ahead then the flute and the drums--the ordinances--and note, stranger, the ordinances may not be carried with the bare hand; a clean cloth serves as a holding mat; then san luis and two smaller saints--you think, perhaps, they are san jesus and san miguel but are not sure and will find out later; only san luis stands out, however; behind the idol holders come men carrying the sleeping-boxes of the various idols--the ones used to transport them from place to place--; then the canopy which covered san luis; ah, yes, all the principales to the front and slightly to the rear of san luis; then behind them secundino ostoban. luis najera, others of whose names you are not sure; then at the tail end, not failing to mention the hundreds of women and children and the few men not officially connected with the cofradia who accompany the procession--there come the three bulls--two enormous black ones and one bull calf--all with pink ribbons on their tails--ludicrous--and, in their ludicrousity, worth a photograph; the details fairly well fixed in your mind you return to watching the ceremony again--the principales get on their knees around the mats placed in front of the altar of san luis in the back yard of the new mayor domo; the old mayor domo and the new face each other--their faces perhaps an inch apart: the old mayor domo says a prayer--lasting perhaps ten minutes; then apparently he is repeated by the new mayor domo who falters at parts, has to be helped along by the new; you get a feeling of tradition being handed down by word of mouth from elder to elder, to new elder, strange as new and elder may sound together; but you can't hear a word except occasionally sufficient to come to the ear so that you know its language and not in spanish; you take pictures trying to get all the details in--the censor pots being swung, the look of utter separation from matters of this world on the faces of the two mayor domos; the close-eyed semi-trance one of the other elders seems fixed in; the ordinances being held by two others; the bunches of candles in the hands of one; the ago of the principales; the looks of admiration on the faces of the younger devout indians; you note faces of boys not older than 15-16--bearers of the arc--being inculcated with indian ceremonial ideals, being given the lesser jobs as a way of introducing them modestly, bit by bit, to the last vestiges of indian heritage dominant in this culture; you realize something has been bothering your ear--and you look up and note the fifes--now joined by another; the drums now joined by two others; the brass band--which accompanied the procession--all going at once--different tunes--for the fifers know only one; the brass band knows only two--popular dance tunes, the latter; the 5:30 sun is hot, you are perspiring; everyone around is too; your nearest neighbors are the men carrying the boxes of the saints--they must be heavy for they are bent over with their weight--and have not let them down; one has his tump line square on the forehead--the other further back on his head; even the two men who carried the table on which one of the little altars will rest still hold the table aloft; the oldest principal suddenly gets off his knees; the prayers of transfer are done; the principales arise and each goes over to san luis, crosses himself, says a short prayer; with much exertion the idols are brought into the house of the mayor domo, and, after noting that for the time being only the setting up of the altars is a major item of business, you start to leave; but then note for the first time sitting in a circle under a newly constructed canopy of pinal--in the back yard--all the wives of the principales and older indians--drinking whiskey--the bottle passing from mouth to mouth; you smile at one; she smiles back; more looking around, noting in your ears mind the grunts from inside the house as exertions are made in setting up the altar--and you leave.

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raymundo walks back with you and on the way you discuss the meaning of religion in the lives of the people of native guatemala; for an half-indian raymundo identifies almost completely with ladino life; he agrees with you that there seems to be little other alegria in the lives of the indians other than that which religion provides; you invite raymundo in for a drink of your precious rum; you talk more of indian ladino relations thinking perhaps a half-indian will have a new slant; but he is ladinoized thoroly it seems; he insists that indians and ladinos get on well; no friction; no fear of the government by the indians; but two separate existences in jilotepeque--one for the indian and one for ladino; you show raymundo wisdom's book on the contrast--remark about the similarity and differences in part between the chorti and the pokoman; he seems uninterested; you bid him goodbye soon--noting as he leaves the sound of voices coming from the church across the way--singing their rosario songs--all ladinos as you find out later--having rosarios in preparation for the ladino fiesta of the birth of the child on september 8th--and the long and mixed afternoon draws to a close; supper, a table of billiards afterwards; when you tell rogelio you are going to the cofradia he thinks it very surprising and indeed laughable; but you go out, a little annoyed with rogelio; for the first time--annoyed that he should think it funny that you would decide to go to a cofradia rather than the raffling off of the carnival cow in the plaza by the ladinos; but then realize that for him one obviously has interest and the other obviously can have no interest--so you go up to the new house--and stand in the doorway hoping someone will recognize you--but no one does--it is all quiet inside as usual except for the music of the fife and the drums and soon that stops too; men women and children enter, kiss san luis hen, leave; men are dozing again; there is no excitement, no display of emotion that you can see; sitting over in one corner you note is tina, the little 17 year old best known prostitute among the ladino bucks in town; with her the 14 year old girl whom luis najera had seduced last year and lived with for a while--and was sent to jail for six months for it; you realize that luis is really confidential with you when he tells you such things, as he did that very morning; manuel and the blacksmith's son come up--make a great deal of noise--flash a flashlight around the innor of the room and obviously annoy some of the men there; they step in boldly, tell you to 'passe adelante'--but you refuse, reprimanding them by saying no one of the indians had yet invited you; they answer that it is ridiculous you don't wait for invitations at indian affairs; you get annoyed and want to pick manuel up by the cuff of his shirt and toss him out of the house; but you merely act curt and soon he goes away probably thinking what a queer creature 'meestair' is; you stand around for more time, but the quiet is appalling--when there is supposed to be alegria--and, the fleas are beginning to eat again; no one yet has recognized you and you have a good chance to stand there all night; even the music of the fifes and drums is not going; and you turn away for your house; wondering where in the world, where, where is the 'spirit' of the indian? is it possible that complete suppression of outward display of emotion can be formalized within the personality of a whole group? isn't that what benedict hints at in his 'patterns'? the rain has started up again--though the stars shine thru in places; and you find your home, your candle, your lock in the door, and sit down to the typewriter to record ere you forget quickly, the impersonal joins with the personal in those last phrases and the night's activity is over.

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AIA

i want to tumn briefly now to a summary of the important items ocured in the cofradia of the winter to which i was invited last monday night--oct.19. the cofradia, unlike others i have attended, started rather early in the morning--with a visit to the church by some 24 men---the lighting of candles (see letter to tax of oct.12 for full description)--etc. and the carrying of the two saints --san miguel and san luis to the house of pablo baptisto, mayor domo of the sofnia of the winter. there the two saints were set up on an altar candles lit, prayers said, and men retired to their seats against the wall to spend the day. i got there in the afternoon around 2 p.m. and the room of the house was packed with men. i was given a seat , welcomed cordially, and conversation was had with all those around me and with principlaes sitting at the head table to the right of me. men were sleeping in sitting positions, tomas gansalez was fast asleep--everyone seemed content but tired. there was no special 'alegria' yet the tone of the gathering seemed lighter and more gay than that of other cofradias i had witnessed. it didnot seem as though they were going trhu a tiresome routine, as other cofradias have seemed to me. i stayed about an hour--chatting, leprning lenguaje--cracking jokes--then, after promising to bring my flute that night, i left to get a haircut across thestreet in the barber shop of rafael gomez which had just opened for the afternoon. one shearing and i knew that rafael was pretty drunk--and the results were apparent after a half hour. que brutto! mas jodido podria ser? i can back to the cofradia at 7:10 that evening--; a good number of men were sitting outside, a pack of kids were in the door way and in a nearby ladino house there was a vela going on for some dead geezer. ladinos asked me where i was going and when i said i was going to the cofradia they laughed. this is one of the things about them that makes me most angry with them. but i got to the cofradia-- and again was welcomed with hearty greeting--given a seat--and invited to eat--for a meal of tortillas and chilate was spread on the table and there were men standing and sitting and eating. i politely refused(i meant to say also that in the afternoon i had been given chilate to drink--it's some thing like oatmeal with a heavy dose of flour -i.e. that's the taste)--telling them i had just eaten. men would take turns eating at the table--everyone waited patiently until the mayer domo and his assistant designated who should eat. there was a table cloth spread---there were a pack of women outside in the kitchen and sitio working away--men were coming and going all the time--and i would estimate there were thrity in the room all the time--with others standing crowded in the doorways and even more outside beth front and back. the air was much more levitous than i had ever seen it before, even more so than in the afternoon. i was asked if i had brought my flute and when i showed it everyone exclaimed that it would be so 'chula' to hear it. several wanted to try it, especially the man who plays the fife in the chtribia--and he tried it--and soon picked up the principle and was playing aleng. i noticed that each time new lets of men came to the table to eat a principale would eat with them--but first everyone would stand still with hands clasped--fingers touching, extended--while the principale said a prayer--waved his hand over all the food--then they would begin to eat. the same praying and waving of hand after all were done and than a new lot would come.

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they fed about sixty men while i was present --from 7 to 10 in the evening--well, ten thirty, really. the chilate was served in fruit shell cups, or in clay soup-bowls (that's the closest shape i can describe). the tortillas were piled one on top of the other in several immense piles and on top of each pile the assistant to the mayor domo would put a pack of salt. there were two younger indians who were always running errands for any one of the principales or older indians who wanted anything. i recognized them as two of the younger men who also carried the saints back and forth from the church. they are really ordered around in rather preemptory fashion --which surprised me much. i had never seen this before. they were not little boys either. each of them was well over twenty, if i am judging approximately correctly. i got into all sorts of conversations the most amusing of which concerned the state of health of the king (sic!) of the united states, and the total amazement on the part of my amigo when he learned there was no king. (see letter to shirley of oct.20 or 21 for rather complete record of this conversation). my informant, or rather conversation companion, was also interested to know that tho i came from the United States i lived in another country called Newark, New Jersey. i it was hard for me to be polite and not laugh. but i managed to restrain myself--but not for long. because soon the marimba of jose yaque arrived--a voluntary contribution of jose for the evening--tho jose had not yet come. in any event, the cofradia had to pay the intendente sixty cents for permission to play the marimba during the hours of silence--7-10 etc. this is a regular fee which one must pay--and, as i learn, many therefore put off night celebrations until 4 a.m. when the day officially starts and no license fee need be paid. this was the case, for instance, with luis and his birthday celebrations--which he delayed until 4 a.m./ amazing things were happening all along. the most amazing, for me, at least was the entrance from time to time of ladino girls --who came over to the altar, kneeled, crossed themselves, said a prayer and then kissed the hems of the frocks of the two images. some 9-12 of the 'sociedad' filed in this way during the night. also the two old senoras--who are 'evangelicos' and go to the prayer meetings of those 'pagans'--but who also go to church every day--catholic church--they came and paid their devotion to the saints as well. one of the old senoras even deigned to clean crumbs off the table cloth before she walked out--at which everyone laughed. ladies from time to time came to the doorway, stayed there a few minutes and left. if they noticed me they said good evening and looked a little wonderingly at me seated among the indians against the wall. one old ladine, don panche pinta, came in, paid his devotions to the saints, and sat down in a corner. nobody paid attention to him, talked with him --he just sat and looked--and later chatted with a grandchild of his who came in and sat down next to him. there were the only two non-indians who stayed for any length of time except three senoritas who came in and leaned against a wall where they squeezed to listen to two or three marimba selections. pablo baptista who was seated next to me and talking with me asked me if i wouldn't play my flute. i told him i would when all

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the ladinos had left because they 'wouldn't understand'. he laughed, leaned over and told his neighbors what i had said--and they laughed and shook my hand and said that was a very good reason. by 8:30 most of the ladinos had gone from the doorways--(incidentally, the ladinos are mighty polite in a funny sort of way when they come in to a cofradia. they ask permission first to come in--then when a nod of the head is given--they enter, but always go over and mumble a prayer or kiss the saints and cross themselves. manuel, the escribiente, who never goes to church otherwise as far as i know, actually went thru this routine-- and he is among the most boorish of the ladino younger cráp;)

i started to play in between marimba selections--everything from the Hebrew National Anthem to "White Cliffs of Dover" all of which was received with some gusto on the part of the indians. the only ones who laughed softly were the marimba players--whether they were laughing because it was apparent i am more than a novice at the flute--or for some other reason i don't know. but i kept this up for an hour or so--each time being asked anew by the principales and by pablo to play some more. one of the principales came over and sat down by me(a younger man quickly got up to give him a seat when he came over!)--and chatted with me. another principale called me over to the table to talk with me, and sat with him there for a while. tomas gonzalez, the oldest, asked me if i wouldn't dance for them---itold him i would dance if he would dance with me together--much laughter--and fortunately the matter was not pressed. by ten oclock i would guess some 150 men had come in, stayed, and some of them left--about 40 in the room--some twenty outside at each entrance. this was the largest attendance i have ever witnessed. everyone was fed--who wanted to eat--but this lasted only until about 9 o'clock. at 10 o'clock the air was so heavy with flatulence it was sort of difficult for me to either breathe or keep awake. but just then jose yaque and secundino esteban and secundino s whole committee of the regidor cofradia came in--and food was spread for them and they ate. i chatted with them for a while and then decided it was time for me to go. i gave pablo 25 cents--at which he nearly died in surprise--he went around showing it to everyone saying "Don Balbino just gave us this"--pointing to me--everyone exclaimed in turn that god would pay me for my kindness--i got up after a while, shook hands with pablo and all the principales, bid all good night in lenguaje--and left. i found out later the cofradia had lasted until 4 a.m.--secundino had stayed until 2 a. m along with jose yaque. and others had remained until 4. i report so many of the personal itmes here--because each one of them added to a feeling that i am being rather throly accepted by the indians here. i crack jokes in spanish and in very poor lenguaje about the ladinos--and these always bring many laughs. i talk lenguaje with them and they answer in lenguaje and teach me more. indeed, the afternoon hour i spent at the cofradia was practically all a session in teaching me lenguaje--tomas gonzalez who was seated at the far end of the table of the principales being my teacher. and, surprise of surprises, i actually enjoyed myself both in the afternoon and evening--which i have not been able to do before at cofradias. it may be that my being more content before i came made me think that here was alegria in the cofradia--or it may be that there

actually was.

Nov. 14, 1942--san luis m. tumin--

DAY OF THE SAINTS

A17
This will be a short write up of the fiesta called "Day of the Saints, which takes place here on Nov. 1st, of each year. It is mainly an Indian celebration--but there is a good deal of informal Ladino observance of this day as well.

The day starts off quietly. There is nothing of any active interest that goes on in the morning or the night before--except a good deal of cooking and decorating activity in individual households. Tamales either of chicken or pork are the holiday dish special for this day. Ladinos and Indians alike make these tamales. All altars in Indian houses are decorated for this day. The special decoration is cane and large green leaves. The final decorations come at night in preparation for the next day's celebration of "The Day of the Faithful Dead". I got the impression that somehow this is harvest festival. For, at 2 P.M. the church bells start tolling--the special "double" for the dead. At 3 P.M. a sacristan comes out of the church dressed in regular sacristan clothes, and followed by a group of boys proceeds to make the rounds of every Indian house in town asking for "canshul". They stop at a house and the following is said: Angelos somos, del cielo venimos, canshul pedimos". A newer version adds as a last line "Y si no nos da, ya nos jodimos". This is however unofficial, and is only used levitously. The major collection is of cane sugar and of oranges--the anything in the form of food will be accepted by the 'canshul' crew, which swells to well over a hundred children by the time the procession has made half a round of the town. At 3 P.M. a procession of saints starts from the church. This procession includes 6 images--(1) an enormous image of Jesus; (2) the Virgin; (3) San Luis; (4) San Miguel; (5) a small barebreasted moreno colored female figure called "el anima" and (6) San Juan. The Virgin of the Rosario was supposed to have left the church as well, but not enough men could be found to carry this saint, so the procession was limited to six figures. It should be noted that the procession was delayed for almost an hour and a half because not enough men would be mustered to carry the saints. The procession was all Indian--there were no Ladinos at all. There were perhaps 50-60 men and boys in all in the procession, with 4 principales leading the procession. Discount 24 image-bearers and 4 principales, and that leaves at the most some 32 other Indians participating in on the the most holy of holidays in the catholic calendar. The chiribia was present, of course--and a slow march was made--a 3 block rectangular rounding of the entire pueblo. A six piece brass band was also playing along with the pita and the tambores--both instrument sections being oblivious to the other--the brass band playing popular jazz tunes while the chiribia played the usual monotonous and regular high pitched discordance. I got the impression the the Indian needs music--no matter what kind--for his processions. The fact that the brass band played "Kiss Me Much" to start off the procession and came back to the church playing "Only Once Do you Love" makes me think that there is no such thing as inappropriate music. Music, just any kind, is what is wanted and appreciated. The procession lasted until 5 o'clock--but did not swell in numbers as it marched thru the streets. The ordinance bearers and the chiribia and the 4 principales holding candles--and only they!--were the vanguard of the procession. When the procession re-entered the church--the saints were brought in facing outdoors--as always. A saint is never carried into the church facing the altar--he is never carried out of the church facing the altar--he always is facing the outdoors end of the church. There were no ceremonies

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when the saints were brought back. The images were deposited not in their usual niches but all around the main altar at the front end of the church. Some men and children and women who were sitting in the church--all indian--went over and kissed the hems of the saint's frocks--but this exhausted the religious celebration for the afternoon. Everyone soon left and there was quiet in the plaza again. I chatted for a while with some of the principales, but their major conversation item concerned the paucity of men in the procession and one deplored mightily the fact that there were not enough men to carry the saints so that the procession could start on time. All was quiet in the town until about 8 p.m. in the evening. At this time, the ladinos had a social dance starting in the house of one of the local sociedad. I picked up one of the chinamen in town--who is well known by the indians and liked by them--and with him I went to the house of one of my informants, Jose Yaque, where I had been invited to spend a few minutes that night. We walked down to the house which is on the outskirts of the town--and there was the usual deadly quiet in the houses on the way. Jose's house was decorated rather neatly and pleasantly. The floor had been newly swept and there were flower decorations around the main living room. The altar at one side of Jose's living room was fully embellished with cane sugar, leaves called "corazon"--and on the altar was a great deal of food--laced there for the 'faithful dead' who were to be celebrated in the cemeteries the following day. Jose had the following items on his altar: tamales, coffee, crude milk, butter, cheese, oranges, gineco majonchos, whiskey, french bread, sweet bread and cane stalks. I asked him for whom the food was--he said it was for the dead--and that people believed the dead would come and eat during the night--but he knew that they didn't eat for in the morning the same food was there. He said the food went to be eaten at the table the following day--that 'it is only a custom' to put food for the dead. There were no men in Jose's house when we had arrived at 8 p.m. He served Chico and me coffee and tamales--of chicken--we chatted for a while, smoked, and then left. Jose had told me that there would be a few friends over later in the evening and that perhaps his marimba would be played a little, but that there would be no family reunion as he had expected there might be a few days earlier. Jose gave both Chico and me a cane stalk as "canshul" and we left about 9 o'clock bidding him a cordial good night. We walked around for a while and then went to Secundino Esteban's house. Secundino is 4th rejidor municipal. He had invited me to come down and visit him earlier also. The altar there was sparsely decorated compared to Jose's altar--and there was little food--just some cane stalks, a tamale, a cup of coffee and two pomegranates. We were offered tamales and coffee but declined. We chatted--and I discovered that all the canshul which had been gathered during the day--had been brought to Secundino's house at about 7 o'clock--and there had been divided--among the principales, the intendente, and the committee of 8 attached to Secundino's cofradia. Secundino reported that there were very poor pickings this year, as far as canshul collection was concerned. This distribution of canshul and the poor pickings coincided with the earlier description he had given me the day before as to what would come to pass that evening. Note that while Secundino's mother sat in the room and chatted with us the younger sisters would not come in the room while we were in the room. This is alternately said to be either from 'shame' or from 'respect'. Chico, the chinaman joked about the "vergüenzositas" who wouldn't come into the room, and Secundino's mother agreed with him as to the adjective

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Secundino said there would be no sleeping that night but that there would be a 'veña' all night! His bloodshot eyes the following day testified to this. José confirmed this. From secundino's house I went with Chico to the house of a Ladino friend of Chico. We were greeted cordially, given seats and served tamales and coffee and chatted and smoked. One thing present in the Ladino house which was not present in the Indian house was a series of five "coronas" or "floral wreaths" which were to be placed on graves the following day. These are made of some evergreen leaf, wrapped around a branch bent to form a small wheel-shape. paper stars or actual flowers are the surface adornment upon the green background of the wreath. The Ladinos commented on the fact that Indians make their ~~xxxxxxx~~ tamales differently--because they don't boil their corn meal long enough to make it soft the way Ladinos do. I noticed this difference. there was no decoration of the altar present in the Ladino house--and no placing of food for the dead. we left that house around 11 P.M. and I went home to go to sleep--but the church bells were pealing so steadily--it was almost impossible. I had planned to get up at 5 a.m. the next morning--because I had been told that most people would be going to the cemetery to decorate their graves at that time but the church bells kept me awake too long for me to rise at that hour. I did go up to the cemetery at 10 a.m. there were not very many people present--but all the graves were decorated. the stone tombs had coronas or wreath on them, the poorer peoples' graves had all manner of crepe paper decorations, the most common being little crepe paper flags. I could however notice no food upon the graves, as I had been told there would be. most of the graves consist simply of unmarked mounds. I could see only two name plaques--one of wood and the other of metal--when I made the rounds of the cemetery, those who were present were seated around the graves, or leaning against tombstones, chatting if there was anyone to chat with, or merely sitting silently.. I walked around chatted with some people, then went to Calvary nearby--and there found the drugist directing the clearing of the enormous name slab which marks the grave of his mother. only the very wealthiest of Ladino families have their relatives buried there. I noticed the coronas of the senora of this pension decorating the far end of Calvary where her relatives are buried. chatted for a while and then left. at 2 p.m. I returned to the cemetery with my camera and snapped a roll of film there. there were many people present at this time. there was one group around a series of mounds, two men playing a guitar and a small accordion. one old Indian was taking a nap, using the mound of his head as a pillow. some people were eating--but these were all Indian--except for one group of Ladinos gathered under the shade of a far off tree, who evidently had brought their lunch and were spending the day in the cemetery. children were running about flying their kites, and from the nearby football field could be heard the shouts of the teams playing a game and the tune of the marimba and the brass band as they played alternately. the general air was that of holiday instead of holyday. there seemed to be no grief in the atmosphere. everyone had insisted to me beforehand that this was a very happy day--Ladino and Indian alike. "We get much pleasure out of visiting our dead, señor". after about an hour in the cemetery I went over to the football field. the game was between two Indian teams--the first of its kind

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since I have been here. This was at the "order and permission" of the jefe politico, transmitted thru the agency of the local comandante, who is also director of football here. Most of the sociedad were gathered in the shade of the crude bandstand watching the game and laughing at the feeble flat footed efforts of the Indians involved in the game. There were no Indians in the bandstand. There were a group of perhaps 60 Indians dressed in their Sunday finest--i.e. white pants and shirt--gathered in the semi-shade of the west goal--and they were taking active interest in the game. Sellers of iced-drinks were present--near the bandstand as well as at the cemetery entrance. As usual there seemed a complete separation of Indian and Ladino celebration. This obtained in the cemetery as well as in the football field. In the cemetery Indians stuck close to their graves--ladinos wandered around and chatted. At four thirty, after a return visit to the cemetery for about a half hour, I went back to the pueblo. I noticed that Indian women and children before entering the cemetery kissed the stone cross in front of calvary which was decorated with evergreen leaves and needles and with crepe paper as well. Men and women and children were still coming up the carroad leading to the cemetery with decorations of flowers and crepe paper in their hands as I left. Just as I got back to the pension, the senora here was leaving with the whole household for a last visit to the graves. This was at about 5 p.m. they came back within a half hour. I had expected to have taken a picture of Jose and his family that afternoon--since he said there might be a family reunion--but he notified me later that his family had not gathered together--even for this day of celebration of the dead. The church bells stopped pealing at 6 p.m. that night--after a 27 hour steady run--and the night was quiet--the dead had been fed--the day was done.

A21

i have just returned from the pueblo where i have been since last saturday (today is friday)--and i want to write up--at least in part--the fiesta which was held there on monday and tuesday but which dragged out in some of its parts until thursday afternoon. this fiesta is considered as the big fiesta for the ladinos of the year--and is supposed to match the indian fiesta of aug.25th in gaiety, uniqueness, and number of drunkards. it failed on all but the last of the three counts to be anything but a rather total fizzle, from almost every angle. everyone in the pueblo--without exception (i.e. everyone i talked to) agrees that it was the worst and the deadest celebration that has taken place in their memories. the merchants who came and set up their wares for several days also corroborate this view from their particular interests. they made next to nothing in the 3-4 days they were in the pueblo. i arrived on saturday afternoon--early--to find that the main merchandising spots were already occupied--; three men from totonicapan had come with their usual, 10 cent store items--and--the merchant from jalapa--who sells blankets along with the small items was also there. the men from totonicapan were different men than those who had been here for aug.25th fiesta but a check with the list of goods offered for sale at this fiesta and those offered aug.25th revealed that every item offered here this week was offered in august--but in august there were more items besides. there were two cold drink sellers--(ice in the usual canvas bags and the usual bottles of flavors)--and, on the second day of the fiesta some 5 bread merchants from jalapa--selling that bread which seems peculiar to jalapa (and peculiar in its own right) arrived. also arrived were two men selling 'colocacion'--the white sugar molds--which had been for sale in august as well. two herb and medicine merchants were there with their goods; in august only one had been there; that one--and another--a seemingly very 'ladinoized' indian (oriterion clothes) was the other herb merchant. the totonicapan men were all indian. the man from jalapa and his brother are ladino. --aside from these there were no other out-of-the-pueblo merchants selling goods during the fiesta--except for two camaronen--both from chiquimula--. they both had been here in august as well/. and, on the last day--i.e. on wednesday (the fiesta was officially over on tuesday) there arrived two more notions salesmen--(both indian--(i do not know where they are from))--and they kept shop open thru thursday after all the rest of the notions merchants had left. monday--the first day of the fiesta--was a low day--for trade and everything else. there were the usual tienda representatives with their tables in the market place-- but everything went very slowly. the priest was not due to arrive until the following day--and nothing of import was scheduled. in fact, during the whole fiesta, nothing was scheduled except religious events--baptisms, weddings, etc. i do not know whether it is true--as the priest told me--that this fiesta is observed more in its religious components than in its secular--or whether the absence of the usual chamber of commerce stuff was due to the fact that the intendente--the moving spirit behind such 'stuff' had just been removed from office and was languishing in jail in jalapa. i am inclined to think that the latter is the more effective reason. don paco, the intendente, had boasted to me on many occasions what a joyous fiesta it was to be in december--and i think if he hadn't gotten mixed up with certain minor and major malfeasances--he would have promoted the usual rigamarole of dances, school recitals, basketball games, beauty queen contests, etc. in his absence there was no 'moving spirit' and hence no moving. a fair amount of drunkenness topped off the first day of the fiesta. the arrival of the priest in the afternoon of monday set a certain 'salute' to the fiesta which was to be followed up the full day. on tuesday a mass was held early in the morning--and the church was packed. ladino and indian women turned out en masse. both lady

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and indian men were conspicuous in their absence. But the church which is enormous was filled to near capacity. The priest retired for breakfast--and at 10:30 I witnessed an amazing sight: the baptism of 45 children--24 Indians and 11 Ladinos--at the same time. The ability of the priest to maintain composure in the face of 45 muling, defecating, puking, urinating and howling children--raging from one month or less to a year and a half in age--was simply amazing. The priest tells me that he has tried to tell the parents and godparents of children to be baptized that it is only necessary for the godparent to hold the child for baptism at the moment that the child is brought to the 'pila'--but he says that they insist that if the godparent doesn't hold the child all during all the preliminaries--which lasted well over an hour--that they consider that they have not done their duty as godparents. The priest gave me permission to circulate around and take pictures wherever I pleased--so that I have rather full photographic coverage of the mass baptism. But since the church was rather dark I doubt that the pictures will come out. Prior to the baptism I spent about an hour in the church just walking around watching the godfathers dressing up the godchildren in gaudy baptismal clothes--; the ladies stuck to white little dresses and caps for the most part--; the Indians used bright yellow fluffy material--for hat and dress--with some red and some pink and some blue dresses also being used. Women were sitting in the church waiting all the time that the priest was having breakfast and indeed had been there for the mass in the morning as well--so that they were in church from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. all told--if they stayed for the baptism. Prior to the baptism as well--all the children were registered with the priest --and the 60 cent fee paid. Since the priest baptized some 15 others later in the day and a few others the following morning--everyone made mental calculations of how much the priest was earning for his work--and, the Ladino men especially made wry assertions about how 'it paid to be a priest' at that rate. It was rather difficult to remind them that on the 10 other trips to the pueblo that the priest makes during the year he makes not even one cent. In the afternoon of the second day--trade picked up considerably--; a lot of people from the aldeas were in to the pueblo--(not a few from here as well) and there was a general bustle which had been absent the first day. At five p.m. the cofradia of San Luis came marching out of the church with the usual procession of saints; the procession was about as small as I have ever seen it--there were maybe twenty five men in all in the procession--although there were a larger number of Indian women followers than I have usually seen too. A vela was held all night in the house of the mayor dome of the cofradia. An added number of drunkards that night put another rosy tinge on the nose of the fiesta --as it went into its third day--tho it had been scheduled for only two days. A mass was held again early the next morning--but before the mass three weddings took place; the priest invited me into the sacristy while he was taking the money from the godfathers--\$3 apiece--and gave me permission again to be by his side taking pictures as he married off the three couples. They were all Indian. But two of them were dressed in regular Indian clothes (i.e. the women in Indian blouses and skirts--new--; the men in white pants, white shirts, no tie, black jackets dug up somewhere; sandals on their feet) but--the third couple--was dressed a la ladino. The woman had on a ladino dress of cheap quality, woolen stockings and shoes of leather; the man had on a white, yellow striped suit--but was wearing sandals--and no tie; everyone commented on this ladino outfit of the woman--and everyone gave the same explanation: i.e. the godparents were ladinos (and it was true) --and everytime this happens, the people say, the Indian woman has to put shock on if her godmother asks her to--the usually she sheds them as soon as she possibly can after the ceremony; but this sort of forced acculturation gave spice to the weddings which were otherwise

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the usual catholic ceremonial observances. the priest assured me afterwards that practically none of the people he marries here understand the significance of the supposed thirty pieces of silver which the priest drops into the grooms hand and which the groom then sifts into the hand of the bride who then turns it over to the godfather. he also assured me that a good many of the couples he marries haven't the slightest idea of what's going on during the ceremony; they merely follow directions--repeat words--but the fact of 'holy matrimony' in the church sense of the word seems utterly lost upon them. if looks upon the faces of bridal couples may be used as a criterion--i should agree with the priest. i have rarely seen more unhappy and bewildered looking couples than the three who were married in the church on wednesday. i have photographic coverage of this as well. --now immediately after the weddings--(the couples were in the front of the pews--and remained there on their knees all during the mass) a mass was held, but several things should be mentioned before hand. first--the cofradia of santa cruz came marching into the church--in a body--early in the morning--and, instead of taking places in the rear of the church or in the front--they marched all the way up to a place very near the altar--where no people are 'supposed' to be during services--and remained there all during the mass. the organization of seating in the church is interesting. the priest and the acolytes and the sacristan and two assistant sacristans occupy the fronts--at the altar--of course; to the right--before the rail which separates the congregation from the altar and the altar space--was the violinist--cantor whom, like the acolytes, had been brought by the priest from chiquimula with him. about thirty feet from the altar is a rail which separates the congregation from the priest and the altar; between this rail and the altar were crowded some twenty five, thirty men of the cofradia. immediately after the altar rail is a series of benches to the left and the right; every seat on these benches was occupied by ladino women. crowded into the aisle in between and the room between the benches and the walls were a host of indian women and children. there are about 10 rows of benches--and behind these benches is nothing but immense floor space. all this floor space was covered with indian women and children--with a scattering of ladino women here and there; half way to the rear of the church are two side doors; crowded about each of these entrances were some 15 indian men on each side. from the middle back again the floor was filled with indian women and children. then--about 15-20 feet from the rear of the church is a large wooden stand--which blocks the view of the church from the center rear door; crowded around this were indian men and boys. that completes the picture of the church gathering. it is interesting to note that the 'allowed' devotions space--as far as seats is concerned--was totally ladino occupied. it isn't that the ladino women got there first. it simply is that indian women don't occupy the seats. they come into the church and squat in the first clear sitting room on the floor--or hunt up a friend or a relative and squat with her. they simply leave the seats for the ladino women. the indian cofradia--principales prominent--occupied the choice spot in the church, of course--the it is 'unallowed' spectator space; however the notion of 'unallowed' just doesn't enter in when the indian cofradia comes marching in; they come and sit near the altar. the priest doesn't re-monstrate with them nor does the sacristan try to move them back; it would be very rash to do so, i imagine. they simply wouldn't understand. the mass lasted a long time--and about 11:30 the people filed out. the market place filled up with people at this time--the business had been brisk in the meantime; and the fiesta went on; trading and religious worship constituted the two main items of the fiesta all during its existence after the church had been nearly emptied the cofradia of santa cruz marched out--with

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two images of christ on the cross as the center of attraction; it seems that they decided to hold a reunion of the cofradia on that day instead of on the usual 20th of the month; they say this is the first time this has happened; i don't know whether they will hold one on the 20th as well i think perhaps they will; i will find out. their procession was very small in man power--perhaps 35 men in all--but again a larger number of women followed the procession than i have ever seen before.

drunkenness was pretty rampant all during the early afternoon--but it was all ladino (except for one indian) as far as i could tell. i had made arrangements with my indian informant to go visit the house of one of the wedding couples that afternoon--but he didn't show up--so i went alone. i found the house empty by tracing the music. i walked into the attic of the house--where only women were sitting around--chatting--eating--cooking--and asked for the owner of the house; one old bitch piped up asking me what i wanted; i told her very politely that i would like to get permission from the owner to take pictures of the wedding couple; very nastily she bit out "no hay permiso"--; i knew better than to argue with her so i went around to the front of the house--and soon--after standing in the doorway long enough--the groom came to the door; i told him what i wanted--but he stammered and protested that the bride was doing "madado" 'madados' and he didn't know when she would return--; i pressed him to try to make an arrangement for me to come back later--but he said he thought it would be better for me not to; he didn't think he wanted any pictures; i tried to 'reason' with him but it didn't work--so i went off; but i had about ten minutes of an inside view of what the indian celebration was like there were maybe fifteen men in the house; it was about as cheerful as the usual cofradia; and the usual cofradia is about as cheerful as a low class funeral; the marimba was there--and played alternately--but no one was dancing (and this wasn't because of my presence--because i was outside all the time--with the groom)--no one seemed particularly drunk; there was no shouting or uproarious laughter--or any laughter for that matter, as far as i could tell; i am beginning to think that when the indian says he is 'alegre' he looks just about what we would expect a person in the state to look like after three days of mourning his best friend's death. i have never seen boisterousness among indians (it may be that my entry on to the scene sometimes disrupts what might have been boisterousness before i got there)--i have seen them laugh--of course--they laugh at about the same things that a burlesque devotee would laugh at; almost any joke referring to sex will bring laughter from them; they laugh also at things which seem very absurd to them; for instance--you tell them a suede jacket costs \$8--and the notion of a jacket costing six dollars sets them into gales of laughter; they'll talk about it all day and all night and laugh each time it's mentioned; they laugh at 'strange' things; for instance; a ladino fumbling with indian words makes great laughter;--my uttering even one word in language makes whoever is around--to look at his neighbors--look at me--and then laugh; it isn't that i pronounce the words wrongly; i think; i think rather that the mere notion of a non-indian talking their language--a very 'strange' thing to them--makes them laugh. for instance--when angel fiareva--the one ladino in town who can talk language--uses language with them--they nearly split a gut laughing. they also laugh when someone gets hurt or gets punished very severely; it may be that they long to remove the severity of the note which they have just heard; but i have seen them laughing when a child got seriously hurt during a football game. i have seen them laughing at very bad news about a close friend; i have seen them laughing at being utterly exhausted from a very hard work. they also laugh, of course, at things they tell each other in language--which i cannot understand--but i have had some of these laughter provoking things translated for me--and it usually has turned out to be my doing something which is 'unladino'--like sitting on the ground and eating with them; i have been told they are pleased that i do it--but they think it very strange that a ladino should do so.

(i am sorry for this digression into the 'whys' of laughter for the indian; but i have wanted to get down this onto paper for sometime).

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to get back to the fiesta: i learned that the 'ladinoized' indian couple was from an oldest--and that the other couple was not having any bulls for their wedding--so that i could not cover the wedding celebration at all. this was bad luck--as i had remained wednesday purposely for this --but i may have better luck in march when there are many more weddings.

now i had quite a long talk with the priest--rather--several of them-- trying to find out his attitude toward the indian version of religion. he says he is utterly unconcerned what the indian does out of the church-- he can have all the cofradias he wants. he realizes that the indian is a strange sort of pagan-catholic--; but he doesn't care as long as the indian performs certain basic catholic devotions like attending mass. the major part of his confessions come from indian men; tho he says there are precious few of these as well. he told me that the priest before him had tried to forbid the indians to have their cofradias; at which the indian members of the cofradias en masse went to guatemala and spoke with the archbishop and had the priest repudiated--and since then no one has molested them. the priest adds that the best catholics are the ladino women--at least those who are literate. next best are the indian women; they come to church most often; next are the indian men; last are the ladino men who come to the priest, he says, only when they are dying and want to get 'purified'; he thinks this is rather sourly funny. he tells me that it is nearly impossible in jilotepeque to count on anyone having a child ready for first communion--because there is no one to train the children; in chiquimula it is possible--but here not. the priest says that the catholic priests in the country do not wage open warfare against the "protestants"; however--when the protestants try to undermine faith in catholicism, then the priests speak out every once in a while; he notes chiquimula--with misses smith and ???--as a hotbed of protestantism; but jilotepeque is dead as far as protestantism is concerned, as far as the priest seems to be concerned.

the priest left wednesday afternoon; the fiesta was dying with 'a dying fall'; there was a last minute flurry of business at night--the last night for most of the merchants; prices went down as stock was tried to be reduced; bargaining was less prolonged; asked and offered prices more easily met; wednesday night also--started again the processions of 'posada' for the large saints--in celebration of the christmas holy day; as i have noted before the processions start in november and keep up until dec. 1--but with small saints images; on dec.16 they begin again--and keep up until christmas night; the usual brass band--the usual ladino women leading the procession; the usual fifty or so indian women following; but this time--instead of the two indian house maids thoroly 'ladinoized' carrying the small saints; there were several ladino bucks--whose girl friends were in the parade--who carried the saints--each of the two saints needing four carriers; last night--i saw a crew of four carriers--the four of them being about the worst of the young ladino male profligates in the pueblo; but their girl friends were in the parade!--i find out that the large saints give more 'alegria' to the people than do the small; at least so says ansana, the house maid at the pension where i stay. for her there just isn't any comparison between the large and the small saints; the large ones give so much more alegria. why?--well, it just is so! ---

drunkenness was the major noticeable item for the fiesta--after religion and marketing; but since the comandante and the chief of police 'participated' in this facet of the fiesta, no arrests were made as far as i could find out.

san luis. dec.30,1942

Christmas Fiesta

A 26

"While the christmas fiesta of this pueblo was infinitely far more of a religious holy day than a secular holiday, it equalled in dimensions the fiesta of the 14th and 15th of december--also primarily a religious fiesta--tho with a heavy secular fringe. I think perhaps the major reason for this was the presence of the priest on the 14th and 15th and his absence on the 25th.

the fiesta here on the night of the 24th and the day of the 25th is very largely a ladino affair. certainly in its direction and organization it is ladino. it represents the culmination of year long preparation; elections of officers of the fiesta the year before; the nightly posadas starting nov. 1st and ending only the night of the 24th; all during the month of november --with a two week stoppage in the first part of december-- i.e. until dec.16th--9 nights before the pascua--there is a procession of the saints--(the small ones of mary and joseph up until dec.16th--and then the large images of the same saints from the 16th thru the night of the 24th) which starts at the church and winds its way around the pueblo--ending ultimately at the church again; hostesses of the saints have been designated by the woman's committee (all ladino) beforehand;--and each night the ritual of a group of processions asking--in singing of sung--for posada for the saints is reenacted. none of the hostesses are indian; none of the officials of the fiesta committee are indian; but--each nightly procession was not all ladino; the procession consists of the images of the two saints, two ordinance bearers, three lanterns lit with candles inside; now--the personal of the processions seemed to change nightly at times indian men and boys functioned as carriers of the ordinances and of the saints and of the lanterns; one night two indian housegirls thoroly 'ladinoized' as it were--carried the small saints; when the night of the large saints were in order, local ladino bucks were recruited: they were usually the novios of girls in the procession: since it required four to carry each saint: we had eight ladino bucks participating for a few nights in a celebration or religious demonstration which is probably their only religious activity all year; the night of the 24th the ladino bucks carried the saints, two indian men bore the ordinances, small ladino boys carried the lanterns; now--every night as well the all indian brass band played in the processions; there are no ladinos in the brass band; note also: every night--forming the vanguard and the rearguard as well--were hosts of indian women and children; they imitated all the gestures of the ladino women: the kneeling and crossing when that was done; but--they could not sing the songs or even hum the tunes which the ladino women sing all during the processions. for christmas eve a miniature altar --or facsimile of the stable in which jesus was born was set up on the intendencia corridor:--the procession wound its way from the house where the saints had had posada the night before and came up to the intendencia corridor: the stable was hid from view by the throw curtain used in the school salon for dramatic festivals, etc:--indian women were in front of the procession but they got out of the way to let the special cantors among the ladino women and girls take room near the corridor: get down on their knees: and begin to chant to other cantors inside to allow the saints posada for the night:--perhaps a hundred people kneeled; all the ladino sociedad certainly was there on its knees; i.e. all the female sociedad: plus local ladino prostitutes, girl vagrants, etc. no one can exclude anyone else from informal religious participation; indian women in the rear and to the sides: either kneeled or squatted as they do in the church; only the ladino women knew how to pray and sing and so only they prayed and sang; no indian women could; there were no ladino men praying; there were lots of ladino men spectators and lots of indian men spectators; but this was an all woman affair as far as making devotions was concerned.

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after the ritual of asking and being answered, the curtain was drawn and the saints were given posada; the two ladino bucks who had helped most in fixing up the miniature stable and who were very prominent in placing the saints in their proper places were the brother of the perhaps worst girl vagrant in town:--and the brother is vago # 2; the other was vago # 1, the novio of the girl (who is also the captain of the basketball team, reputed to have the sharpest tongue, the worst character and the most forceful personality among all the girls; she is unofficial religious leader among the young girls:--the way she goes at her devotions you would think that neither hell nor highwater would stop her)--and primo hermano of the girl and of her brother, vago # 2 in Jilotepeque. they were dressed in their gaudiest finest, of course; and put on a great show of solemnity and piety for the occasion. As soon as posada had been given and prayers said the crowd broke up; meanwhile in the plaza to the west below--the marimba had been futilely countering the 'music' of the brass band at the posada-ceremony;--and when the posada finally broke up everyone, nearly, drifted down to the plaza, the indians retired discreetly to the dark corners, male and female ladinos 'anduvieron la vuelta' --as of always: --and a usual nightly concert was under way. but the festivities did not die out as they do on a usual concert night, music kept up all night; and at 12 midnight the birth of christ was reenacted at the intendencia corridor; there was a dance in the salon before then; and music until 2 A.M.---a lot of drinking--mostly ladinos as far as i could see --some drunks--all ladino as far as those i saw; a lot of noise, shouting and gaiety---all ladino--with exception of small, indian boys--again as far as i could tell.

christmas day was more of a secular fiesta than religious. there was no public religious celebration; the private devotions were offered by ladinos only at specially built and decorated altars in various ladino houses: a great deal of effort and time goes into these altars; they are elaborately decorated; and from somewhere a good many people manage to dig up rather large images of the josph, mary and jesus figures. jesus is always represent as the infant in this celebration. i have taken some pictures of what is perhaps the best decorated altar in town.

(before i forget--as i did before--i want to add that the indian tambor and pita crew was blowing and banging away all night on the intendencia corridor--utterly unmindful of what else was being played by the brass band or what was being sung or prayed).

the icedrink seller had hung on from the fiesta of the 14th and 15th--and was doing a laddoffice business; in addition for the first time this year that i have seen --enormous popcorn balls--made of maicillo and honey--were sold at a half cent a piece --and hundreds were sold; i have tasted them and they are almost exactly like our crackerjack popcorn in the states; the not so fluffy ceremonial tamales were made in almost every ladino household as far as i can determine; private dances were held in several houses at night; with tamales served at 11 p.m.; since this fiesta corresponds in its opening days with the biggest festa of the year for the department capital, an official feriado was declared: a d all official business except that dealing with criminal actions declared at a halt until the 12th of january; the schools are closed until then as well. the fiesta died with a dying fall in the late afternoon of christmas day; scattered drinking and drunkenness prevailed; reblections of officers for next year's christmas fiesta were held in the school salon; note that the new intendente was made one of the four officers: this is the first time that an intendente has been so named; it was an unwritten rule heretofore that no such proceeding should be allowed; but probably to incorporate the new intendente into the ladd

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sociedad, the rule was broken. there seemed to be an inordinate amount of interest in the elections; all ladino society came out and participated. the elections lasted several hours: the officers consists of two couples: two men and two women: the couples are paired off and work as two-man teams. it seems however that the women do whatever organization work is needed. no indians participated. nothing else noteworthy occurred during the day and the fiesta was over.

but there are aftermaths: in some houses: especially in this pension since--the night of the 25th there has been a nightly novena--attended by some 10-15 women and children--for the infant jesus; they change prayer and song leaders each night; they are kneeling all during the praying which lasts about an hour; there is a fringe of people--lower class ladinos and one or two indian housegirls--who kneel all during the ceremony--but since they don't know any of the prayers or the songs--they don't participate except silently.

another aftermath is the "ia de Inocentes on the 28th of December--the day that the guardians of jesus are supposed to have deceived his pursuers;--it is almost the exact equivalent--in mood and in actual tricks performed--of our April fool's day; everything is permitted: event to the point where if you can get some one to loan you money on that day without him asserting that it is not 'por inocente' that he is loaning you the money you do not have to pay it back. people say this day used to be much more alegre here before than it is now. they offer no reasons.

nothing else of import to report:--about the christmas celebrations.

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several things have come to notice in the last few days; some 4 days ago the cofradia of san luis united--in midday--carrying the image of saint luis and the banner of the cofradia from the church; some 24 men in the procession, a few women and children tacking on behind; now, i didn't see the reunion afterwards--and i was only told--but the stories seem to coincide; it seems the cofradia got together to wash the general decorations which are hung in the church for the 25th of august--and this was six months after august 25th and six months before--and the custom is to wash all these decorations; for this purpose some 10 men and twelve women went down to the river; the men to gather firewood for the comida which the women were to make after the clothes had been washed and dried; the vela was held as usual all night; but saint luis was kept at the mayor domo's house until two days later--i.e. 48 hours later and then returned at 5 in the evening; this time the procession had exactly the same number of men but had about sixty women and children following; the usual incense burner, the firecrackers, (the standard bearers were missing) and the procession back into the church; a short stay there to redopist san luis and then the procession broke up.

today the principales and some 12 men in all have gone to esquipulas--i shall find out who they were; i know some of them already. this matter was decided a week ago sunday noon--a reunion in the house of pablo baptista the mayor domo of march 16th and october 15th--and the names of those who wanted to go listed; (no elections--apenas de they get enough to go--a special plea had to be issued for people to come along to help carry the holy water); the vela lasted all day and night as usual; but no saint brought to the house of the mayor domo: the same behavior as in the other cofradia reunions--nothing special seems to be going on yet somehow things get done; firecrackers were shot off at odd intervals designating as i was told that things had been decided--but i neither saw nor heard decide. and i was present when one of the firecrackers went off, an awful lot of men--far more than the ordinary cofradias seemed to be gathered there --about as numerous as october 15th; evidently this holy water business for the milpa etc. is important in the indians' life still.

A 30

san luis march 15

yesterday the holy water came from esquipulas. the procession to meet the men with holy water formed at the church here in the pueblo: san luis and san miguel; three ordinances; two censor swingers; the red banner of san luis; went up to the cross just beyond the football field--leading to Ipala and points further: etc. the cross guarding the entrance to the pueblo there were waiting the men who had come from esquipulas. the procession from here was composed of about 40 men and 30 women and children with a couple of non participants: myself, sd vador juane, etc. all the principales but two were present: tomas gonzales didn't show up at all--which means he must be sick for he is the most important principal; and one of the other principales was with the men who had gone to esquipulas. at about 5:30 the procession got underway; picked up many people on the way; marched up with chirimia to meet the men at the cross: at the cross were some forty men; twenty of whom had gone to esquipulas last monday; the cross in front of calvary was decorated--as was the entrance cross with banana bark strips, pine, coaves and flowers; the entrance cross was more elaborately decorated--a sort of canopy of leaves was formed for the entrance of the saints: this canopy consisted of some 10 much chosen branches on each side holding up branches of a tree, recently cut--"beneath a leafy bower did come san luis and san miguel"; when the procession from the pueblo got within 50 meters or so: the men from esquipulas lined up abreast: 9 men: the two on each extreme with a picture of the christ of esquipulas; the three men on each flank next to them with bottles of holy water decorated with flowers, wrapped in leaves, in bark, with candles tied to the bottles; the center position was occupied by one principal: he holding holy water as well: san luis and san miguel came thru the leafy bower; everyone was silent; a crowd of some 400 people was present: the principal with the holy water walked up to san luis; and said in spanish: let us greet the senior--got on to his knees and everyone followed suit: i snapped pictures all over the place: in a voice loud enough for almost everyone to hear the principal recited a language prayer to san luis and to san miguel; this lasted about 10-15 minutes; then everyone arose, the procession formed: headed by the saints: followed by the principales with lit candles: in front of the saints two chirimias and the brass band and the two censor swingers: immediately behind the principales two lines of water bearers: carrying well wrapped canteens of water: 16 men in all--8 on each flank--surrounding all these people: the vast multitude of indians and some interested ladinos; women and men and children scattered all over the place on the roadside waiting to join the procession: --a group of about twenty indian vagos--young and middle aged; dressed in their fineries: watching the football game and ignoring the procession completely; --a very slow march down to the pueblo: arriving in utter darkness: about quarter to seven: in to the church: orations to jesus: some holy water left there: out to the cross in front of the church: a prayer on knees to the cross: and then the whole procession to the house of pablo baptista; the mayor dome of the cofradia of winter: where the vela which lasts until tomorrow morning is to be: i go there tonight. very few indian men seemed to be interested observers: almost everyone of the men present was a participant: either carrying water of the saints, or censor pots, or the banner, but very very few indian men otherwise: maybe 10, and in all--maybe 80-90 men: out of perhaps some 1500 men: but if last october 15th was any indication, there should be very many coming and going: at the vela today and tonight; jose ya uca and i are going together; jose tells me that not just everyone gets holy water; only those who in some way have been active in cofradia affairs during the year get holy water; they sent him some last year; he says he probably will get some this year; he says he will not go to the cofradia unless invited: and up until last night he had not been invited: --but probably will be invited tonight.

Let me try to characterize the attitudes: at the cross. The only ones who seemed to understand what was going on were the principales. After the major oration perhaps some forty or fifty men went around and crossed themselves: in front of the two saints, kissing the hems of the frocks and then did the same ritual almost with all the bottles of water and the two pictures of the christ of esquipulas. I watched this carefully: the principales crossed themselves: and even they each differently from the others: they mumbled prayers in front of each: probably the "in nomine"--but i could not make it out;--and they actually kissed the frocks and the bottles and the pictures: but few if any others went thru all of this except naturally: few if any mumbled the "in nomine"--even fewer actually kissed the bottles or pictures. It seems that they were simply doing something which they considered to be appropriate because the principales did it and for no other reason. none of them looked embarrassed by the procedure however.

a sort of test case came up a few minutes later when we passed the cross at calvary: a few indian women went up and kissed the cross: and soon a whole flock of children, indian and ladino, were waiting in line to kiss the cross or to bow their heads in front as they had seen the women do. if there was any understanding of the gesture, i do not know--but i doubt it.

A31
 now: i saw something the last two days in relation to the holy water which surprised me considerably: the day before the men from the pueblo came back a small procession: with one obvious leader carrying a decorated bottle and one man carrying a censor pot came rapidly into the pueblo accompanied by the chifflin from here: a group of some twenty men. I did not know they were coming and there was no advance warning of this: and so i saw them only when they were actually at the church. they marched in: there was one leader: he mumbled a silent oration, left holy water at the foot of the altar from which the sacristan dispenses during the year:--then came out and went to the cross in front of the church and again on his knees another silent oration of about 5 minutes: accompanied only by the censor swinger: and then the group reformed and marched off to Pansiguil. The men were all from Pansiguil, i learned later: the principal was an old Indian named Rafael Lazaro, a typical ladino name if anything: small, handkerchiefs around head. i asked jose about this: he said that it began two years ago: someone got up the idea that they in pansiguil should go separately: and so money was collected for a mass and they went off last year and this year: collected their own holy water: are to hold their own celebration in pansiguil. they have no local chirinia. i pumped jose as to whether there had been a dispute of some sort between men from pansiguil and the local cafraditas and he assured me that there had been none--that it was merely a question of someone being the leader and taking the initiative in forming a separate group: there is no santo in the celebration in pansiguil. now: about an hour before the men from the pueblo came in yesterday another little group came almost on the run: perhaps fifteen of them: again, one very small indian principal who seemed to be the only one who knew what was going on. no chirinia for them this time: into the church and the same ritual there: except no holy water left; then: out to the cross in front of the church:--and again a mumbled oration with a censor swinger: then the group reformed: with the rest of the group seeming like so many ununderstanding clods--on the double up to the cross at calvary: there some more orating, and prayers: censor pot swinging: with every one but the principal sitting around, chatting, joking, or smoking:--and then off. I left them there. * discovered that they are from Culima: there is no poblacion recognized there--not even a caseria--but it is said that there are a few river dwellers there: and these were they: and they too--only this year it seems --formed a separate group and went off to Esquipulas. i grow more and more impressed that the celebration of the opening of winter is by far and away the most important --next to San Luis--fiesta of the year for the Indians. Use--why do these separate manifestations of religious observance form only on this date? as far as i can find out nothing like that happens at all during the rest of the year. the pueblo is for the rest of the year the center of all religious celebrations.

i grow more and more impressed that religious leadership here is the only real part of the religion which understands even a little. from the prayers of pedro (who incidentally was one of the bearers of holy water in the main pueblo business yesterday) of camaron: i have found out that the prayers are not fixed at all: pedro could not repeat the same prayer twice: there was nothing complicated at all: yet the people insist and the principales insist that not everyone can make the prayers: that i simply do not understand. even jose yaque says he doesn't know the prayers: there being no fixed set of prayers--except in general terms--this seems to be something of fakery or 'lack of interest' as pedro put it: but it seems that religious leadership here is tied up with the 'right formula' which seems to be a special gift of age and a special kind of intelligence: for while only old men get to be principales not all old men get to be principales. previous participation, much experience in life: a certain fullness of knowledge of custom and the 'right thing to do at the right time': these seem to be the prerequisites.

A32

March 18

last night victor and i went to the cofradia of winter at about 3 p.m. i had waited a whole hour for jose yague with whom i was supposed to go, but he didn't show up. the cofradia was at the house of the bartista, the mayor de o, some two blocks above victor's store; right across the street diagonally from rafael's barbershop. the usual sight of indians sitting on every corner -- cooling off and chatting -- was to be seen. behavior inside it seems is necessarily more formal than that to which one may relax when outside. so mango out to cool off and to ease off; and perhaps to drink: for while the smell of alcohol was more than strong in the air, in my hour inside i didn't see anyone tipping the bottle: tho i almost got drunk talking at d'ose quarters with tomas gonzalez the principal of the principales. victor and i were treated like visiting royalty: the three principales in attendance at the moment moved over their seats and had seats made vacant for us at their head table facing the altar. the altar was no differently dressed at this date than it was on other dates i have previously described: except that i note the use of banana bark for the first time. san miguel and san luis presided.

victor and i chatted with various of the indians, tomas gonzalez being nearest to me and he and i chatting pretty constantly: about how he couldn't get up for the procession because his foot was swollen with rheumatism; and "what might be good for rheumatism?" i told him that youth was the best cure: but he didn't understand: for he didn't laugh, and then i realized that he was pretty drunk as were a good many others present. some had not slept for the previous night and all that day and evening: and it may have been sleepiness merely: i am inclined to think it was both in some cases: for: it is reported that there isn't a bottle of guarda to be had in town: the storkeepers say that every last bottle was bought by the indians last night and yesterday during the day, and this morning.

the usual cofradia inactivity was going on; or not going on: the chirimia every so often. four pieces: now that the sedentary big tambor was in action:--men sleeping and nodding: chilate being served to various and sundry at odd intervals. victor and i were served with jicoros full by a servile sirvienta:--victor soon gave his up to a muchacho and i did likewise. the india makes chilate without dulce--and it tastes like unseasoned oatmeal.

on the floor in front of the altar a group of four ladino women: the pinto family--was invoking some sort of salvation for the departed soul of someone or other: probably for the wife of jesus pinto--; seated against the wall was francisco pinto, the father: and a young grandson: the son of jesus. francisco goes to the cofradia pretty regularly: at least he has been at these where i have been; jesus made an ass of himself; he was half drunk and kept walking around the place making cracks: shouting things at me which were meant to be sly references to the interview questions i tortured him with a few days ago; offered us liquor which we refused:--eat his fanny on the principales table: probably the worst thing he could have done: and there in that pose let us know in a very loud voice that he had arranged for chilate to be served to us: so that we could see that "he was good friends with the naturales"; i rined at this, as did victor: but you couldn't quiet jesus with a crowbar at that moment. victor and i soon left: i slipped the ~~max~~ tomas gonzalez twenty five cents: telling him it was from victor and myself: many loud thanks.

we left and on the way back: victor remarked what an ass jesus had been: how clearly he showed his colors when he had to pronounce that he was a friend of the naturales: what disrespect he showed in sitting on the table; and walking around as tho he owned the place: i was surprised and gratified with victor's reactions.

later

i have just come back from watching the bringing of san luis and san miguel back to the church: four principales, 1 standard bearer, 8 saint carriers, the assistant sacristan swinging thacensor pots, about 35 other men; some fifty children: some 60 women. a curious scene took place in the church. salvador has torn down the altar to repair it in commission of the indians--five of whom: jose y, manuel martinez, andres gonzalez, dominico manuel and manuel perez felipe are encargados with the mission of repairing the altar. note that no ladinos are involved in this: there was consequently no image of christ in the front altar: for there was no front altar: jesus had been moved to a case nearby: well, the procession got at the church steps: there the saints were turned around, as usual so as

to go in facing outwards; the chirimia paused at the door (for some reason the chirimia never plays inside the church; do not know why); the principales were carrying candlest. fran. mendez was so drunk he was walking almost with eyes closed and didn't notice that his candle was not lit; he and manuel cervantes and chico lorenzo and one other--non-principal--came up to the altar: they got on their knees: the women and children behind did the same: the many men paid absolutely no attention to what followed, being more interested in the discussion that jose y. and the others were having with salvador as to the means of repair of the altar. and this right at the front of the church too!--only manuel cervantes prayed: chico lorenzo was swung a censor pot: fran. mendez made desperate efforts not to fall over: he maintained the most precariously balanced position i have ever seen outside of martha graham in "Lawent": except that graham scots: and chico was kneeling. manuel prayed for about 15 minutes: the indian women and men behind (among them prominently pablo baptista the one for dona) simply were blockheaded: just looked and stared: no prayers: no one else but manuel prayed. there certainly was nothing "sagred" for the people about the moment of prayer: that was obvious. salvador wanted to keep hammering away--but i asked him to stop--he asked me what for--i told him out of respect for the prayer: he stopped. jose and manuel and others paid no attention at all to the prayer: more and more i see how limited is the knowledge associated with indian religion: people know the trappings of the ceremonies; but actual ritual: actual prayer: is limited narrowly to a few specialists: some 6 in all. ---- i had meant to remark before that instead of praying to the image of jesus off to one side, the principales knelt and prayed to the front blank wall where the altar had been: ch. habit is strong: it sanctifies with the smell of old ripeness. the prayer once over the principales led the way out the front door, the chirimia started up again; and the procession wound its way back up the street ext to this pension: and on dropped off by the wayside. san luis and san miguel had been undressed; put in their respective niches next to jesus: the dressings of the carrying cofres were wrapped and folded and stored in the sacristy, as was the banner --the big red banner, taken off its stand; and the interailing was done.

i did not take pictures this afternoon--but i did go this morning to the cofradia: for about 30 minutes: and took some pictures of the chirimia in action and of the saints: the latter on special request of luis esteban who was so quite drunk he couldn't hear me or anyone else and couldn't even talk: except to keep repeating to the chirimia boys: "go on, play, play, come on muchachos, play a little"---and to me "just one little picture of my san luis, just one little one i want"---i promised him and the other five principales (not all of whom were present) that i would give to each a copy of the picture if it came out. the scene of last night was repeated this morning: men otuside--he f inebrated and sleepy; luis esteban and manuel cervantes heading the prin. table: fran. mendez off to one side of the table: well drunk by that time:--it was hard to get proper lighting and pose for the picture: but one of the men guided attendance on me, bringing me lifts for the camera since i had to take time exposures: i left promising to come back later: but this afternoon just as i was about to go back: i heard the skyrockets announcing the beginning of the procession: four of them: --and so i didn't have a chance. two more skyrockets scared the pants off children as the procession entered the church; the bells tolled out a faint, single peal--till all the procession was in the church: took it up again when it left (no firecrackers or skyrockets this time)--and the celebration of the opening of winter was done, probably my very last pokoman religious spectacle i shall ever see in my life. it feels strange to be counting 'last things' already. Inri be with me.

A34

The following is a description of the fiesta of the 3rd of May--as reported by ~~Jose Y.~~, chief informant.

This is the principal celebration of the cofradia of Santa Cruz. A mayor domo is appointed for each cross the night of the previous May 3rd. This includes all the crosses in the pueblo and those in the aldeas of Pampacaya, Cuxapa, Cruz de Villeda, Palo Blanco, Trapichitos, Los Perez, Los Amates, El Barrial, El Camaren and Pansiguil, but none for the aldeas of Chaugiton, Largatero (Les Angeles), San Jose, San Marcos and La Montana. The mayordomes for the crosses in the pueblo are Fran. Cruz Perez--who always is the celebrant of the cross in front of the church; Manuel Perez Felipe for the cross at El Calvario; Francisce Lorenz, for the cross of the road to Pampacaya; Antonip Esteban for the Cross of the road del Sunco; Juan Perez of Pampacaya for the cross of the road to Trapichitos; Luis Perez for the cross on the road to Ipala; and I do not know the mayor domos for the cross of del Llano, de Tierra Blanca, de Carretera, and de camino a Pansiguil.

We celebrate the third of May because it is the day of crosses. the day before pine is gathered; also cane stalks, and other types of wild mountain flowers; crepe paper; and then the crosses are decorated on the 1st, the 2nd or the morning of the 3rd of May.

Each man is invited, if invited, to his own barrio cross. The women of the invited men gather the morning of the third to make chilate (sweetened or unsweetened). Men go fishing on May 1st to have fish for lunch on the 3rd. At 7-8 in the morning of the 3rd, all the invited men gather at the house of the mayor demo of the cross they are to celebrate; they adorn the house and the altar therein and then go to the cross. Every mayor domo arranges for some kind of music--fife and drums if possible. A principal is asked by each mayordome to go to the cross with the men. The invited buy a pack of candles; those principals assigned are Luis Esteban for Calvario, Pasquale Esteban for Ipala cross; Francisco Lorenz for Pampacaya cross; Deigo Perez for Sunco cross; Tomas Gonzalez for the one in front of the church. I don't know the others. But each cross has a principal, and this includes all the aldea crosses as well.

Before leaving the house for the cross, the chilate is served. The principal lights one candle after another as they go out. This is at the cross. Meanwhile he says prayers ("relaciones"--not to be confused with "paciencias"); he prays for half an hour on his knees; there is no drinking or dancing at the crosses; but music is played and there is smoking and talking all morning.

At 12 noon the women bring lunch: fish, frijoles blancos, tortillas, cafe, salt, pork tamales (the fish is fried in rice or in semilla de ayote) if there is no fish and chilate. The women wait until the men are done and then bring back the dishes, etc and they return to the house. The wife of the principal is boss of the women; in her absence the wife of the mayordome supervises. Men sit around the cross all day and talk until 5 P.M. Then the principal makes a goodbye prayer, thanking god that he had kept them alive, asking him to keep them alive to celebrate the next day of crosses, so that they should not lose the custom of celebrating the crosses and the rest of their religion. The "relaciones" in the morning are asking God to permit them to celebrate the cross pleasantly, without mishap and with everyone present.

A35

At 5 P.M. they go back to the house of the mayordome. The principal says relaciones at the altar, lighting candles, relating the day's events, telling God they don't intend any evil, they always remember there is a God, asking him to aid in their future work for it is possible only with the grace of God. There is music all this time and mereburning of candles. Then at 6 P.M. the principal has the duty of calling the attention of the company present to the fact that they must choose a new mayordome. He asks for nominations and they vote; each man is supposed to vote aloud. The votes are tallied and then the principal turns to the successful candidate and informs him that by reason of the votes counted he has been elected mayordome and can't refuse. He always accepts with "gusto", and he is entrusted with the duty of mayordome for the next year. Voting is also held for mayordome #2 to help mayordome #1. These two pick a third mayordome to help them. The mayordome then drags out one or two bottles of aguardiente saying it is his "gusto" to fulfill his obligations and to discharge all his promises. He then passes the bottles around to all the men and women present, usually 8 or ten couples. Anyone who has not been invited does not get in. He may go to visit the cross during the day but he may not come in the house of the mayordome. After the mayordome has passed the whiskey around, and it is drunk up, everyone sends out for more and most people get drunk and dance; then at 8 p.m. they eat--frijoles, tamales, tortillas and coffee; he here chilate, but there is salt, chile and fish if there is any fish left; there are no more prayers; people dance and drink all night; some actually stay all night doing this; men and women get drunk; sometimes there are fights--only between the men and the others have to separate them or call the guard; they fight with sticks or rocks or their hands; no machetes. the fiesta ends in the morning.

yes, copal is burned in the sencer pot all day; the principal has the obligation to get copal from the mayordome who has to buy it; 4 cents worth lasts all day; it can be bought from people here; firecrackers are also blown off; they are shot off when you leave the mayordome's house in the morning, when you arrive at the cross; every so often, just "per gusto"; when you leave the cross, on the day of crosses ever family decorates any cross they may have at home as well; they make a cross in the yard for this day, making a new one each year; they adorn it with mountain flowers, "flor de eria" and "flor de mayo", some use fruits or vegetables; but there is crepe paper; yes; during this week everytime you pass a cross you adorn it with stones at the base and with flowers; you plant palo de piete in every house; this survives crosses; no other palo is used; a new palo is usually planted each year; any new crosses may be set up only on the 3rd of may after being blessed by the priest; but crosses may be moved any day during the year.

A 36

This is a report of what transpires at the Easter celebration in San Luis, as given to me by Jose Y.

Every riday for seven fridays before good friday has its "aunãa" (or owner), always a Ladina, to lead prayers in the church and the procession with Jesus at 5 in the afternoons. The principales have the obligation of going to the regidor municipal # 4 and advising him they are going to have a celebration Easter week and want to collect contributions (limosna) to buy ~~many~~ wax for candles. Regidor helps them and collections are taken all over the pueblo. This is done one month before easter week. every sunday the principals meet at the house of the regidor to clean up unfinished business and one of the items is to name some men as Jews and five guards. the morning of holy thursday the jews are dressed like jews--all in black--black masks and black head pieces and this is done at the house of the guards; the jews are picked by the principals; many of these named refuse; but finally ~~two~~ they get two picked; the regidor keeps the costume from year to year; the jews are served breakfast, always being watched by five men; then after breakfast they go to church and then in church sit down with a drum wrapped in black and a fife wrapped in lack and begin to play, but all ays watched by five men because they can "ir a la chingada puesto que es ma dia, este jueves"; anyone can go to church and enter and many do; at 12 noon the jews are brought back and served lunch; they are given conservos de ayote, chilecayote, or gineces o sandilles, conservos de arroz or de pan, and onlym fish but no meat; also the are given tortillas and coffee and chile and salt. then they go back to church and play all day and are watched all day and then at 7 they go and eat again; yes, you may talk to the jews and they may answer you; after supper they go back to church; at 11 at night there is a procession with jesus nazarene; the jews play the drum and fife and lead the procession; at 2 in th morning they end up in calvario; there ~~Jesus~~ left for the night watched by 6-8 principals; the jews go back to the church (the principals burn candles all night) and are watched by the five men; on good friday there is a procession with the jews and a band and a procession. the start at the church, collect jesus from calvario, go back to church at 1 p.m., when they arrive at the church, the ceras for the crucifixion of jesus is ready. 4 apostles are selected to bring another jesus with holes in his hands and feet to be nailed to the cross. the jews are happy, playing all the while. at 4 p.m. jesus is taken off the cross and put in a bed ready to be carried to calvario to be buried; at 5 the procession to bury him starts; at 7 the procession arrives at calvario, with jesus and the band leading; jesus is laid to rest in his glass case for the night. there is no music at calvario then; all is silent all night; many people stay there watching jesus. after jesus has been laid to rest the jews bring the crucifixion cross to calvario and there the cross is suspended over jesus. then the jews go back to the house of the guards and eat and drink and get drunk, and the guards too, and their duties are done. Thursday and friday no bells are rung in the church, only a wooden rattle is used at thursday: 9 a.m. 12 noon, 4,7,8, and 9 a.m. friday, 12 noon friday, at procession times, and when the jews go for the cross. and lastly at saturday 7.2.m. then no mere rattle. when Glory is sung on Saturday at 9.Am. then there is permission to sound the bells again. saturday morning, the principals having collected

money for firecrackers on thursday and friday, have them shot off on saturday. this is much fun. they shoot them at 9.a.m. saturday to revive Jesus. Jesus stays in clavaric all sturday and saturday night; there is a fiesta in clavaric all day and night; many get drunk; then at 5 a.m. sunday Jesus is brought back to church amidst many firecrackers and music and much happiness and Jesus is put back in church; then after 3 days he is put in his Sener Sepulchro position for the whole year, where he is not touched all year. The Jesus of the Friday processions is the Jesus nazarene; the permanent one crucified is Jesus Christ; yes, it's the same man; on the friday procession when Jesus is brought from clavaric to church there is a scene where the Sirineo named by the sacristan comes running to take the cross of the shoulders of Jesus and Jesus comes to church without the cross. On friday, San Juan comes running from church to meet Jesus in clavaric. the legend is that Juan couldn't find Jesus and Jesus couldn't find him and finally found him only at calvaric in the time of Jesus. San Juan is laid on a table and run up and back four times bringing messages to his disciples from Jesus while he comes in the friday procession from calvaric to the church. On the saturday of glory the cofradia of Santa Cruz has the gusto to give chilate to the principals at 11 a.m. and bring lots of decorations --cane stalks, bananas and pine to adorn calvaric. on saturday this cofradia brings supper to the principals at 10 p.m. in clavaric--a supper of pork tamales and chicken and tortilla and coffee. the cofradia of San Luis does nothing; this is a different fiesta;--on the saturday of glory, after singing Glory, the Ladies hang an image of Judas and an image of him on a burro and ride him thru the streets reading a testament of Judas; verses are made up for the occasion making fun of the neighbors; they decorate Judas with all kinds of garbage which they leave in part with the neighbors. copal and candles are burned in all house altars on the saturday of glory--

VOs reports that on the saturday of glory Indians make a mock beating of small people to make them grow. also they mount a tree called the zapote tree which never gives fruit and beat the tree; saying, as though the tree were talking; "No me pegas, no me pegas, porque el otro ano le voy a dar fruta"; Victor adds that the Indians do lead the semana santa celebration but the ladies help them make altars, etc.

On plain sunday a child, as the image of Jesus, is put on a burro and ridden thru town; sacristans accompany giving out palm to all; the Indians in piñala do not smoke or drink in front of him, saying you must respect him. but that is not observed here anywhere in the absence of a priest, and there has been no priest here since the death of padre Bollat 15 years ago. there always was a priest before that.

A38

supernatural and sacred--1

these are to be notes made in comparison with wisdom's text on supernatural and sacred elements in the culture of the chorti indians. these notes should be read in conjunction with the section on religion, in which a systematic description of religious phenomena, activities and associated elements is essayed.

p.390-391 the attributed six-fold classification of supernatural beings does not hold in all its integers in san luis. the classes of supernatural beings there are (1) God;(2) the saints and the virgins, some of whom are sometime addressed as god; (3) the magical non-material but anthropomorphized spirits; (4) their earthly representatives; (5) the local religious leaders ;(6) the priest; The Indians invest these last two classes with supernatural powers, and hence, though they may not be so classified by ordinary criteria among supernatural beings, they may at this juncture. Indians believe in an integral connection of any one of the six classes (except the priest) with all of the other five; so far as is here known there is no connection imputed between the priest and the magical elements in the beliefs and traditions of the Indians. There is, however, no conception whatsoever of any organized pantheon as Wisdom reports.

None of the material from p.392-401 is applicable in San Luis. In San Luis, as among the Chorti, the belief about sleep is that the soul wanders during sleep and hence that is why in one's dreams one can see so many things in such distant places. None of the material from that point to top of p.406 is applicable to San Luis.

The following is comparative material on the kind of spirits believed in in San Luis. The material comes from Jose Y. 2nd major informant.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

A 39
Salle
del
da.
duende
spite
Sociedad

Duende or duendo: lives in cerros:--always mounted on a mule or burro: is a little dwarf--must be ladino because it speaks spanish and we don't recognize it as one of us:--wears an enormous felt hat:--and very large shoes:always carries a lasso or whip:--wears bronze spurs that shine:--it speaks to people and if one has valor, he can speak to the duende and ask him for favors: telling him how poor he is etc:--and the duende will grant your wishes: give you cows, lands, etc:--one becomes quickly rich after speaking with a duende but either one himself or someone in the family dies very soon thereafter:--and then after the death one becomes richer still: and more people die:etc:--the duende wears pants and a jacket "like yours"--with color aplomado or negro,--wears shoes. You can make arrangements to meet the duende at a given spot at an appointed time to receive your riches. in lenguaje: pan-ye-kol-winek'.

sisimites:--very small-- both men and women forms. very hairy. his heels where his toes should be and his toes where his heels should be but walks forward. he is seen only at night; speaks to one but only in castellano--jese knows nothing more about this sisimite--because only his grandfather could tell him about it--and he never heard his father or his own generation men speaking of sisimites. the same with the Siguanabas, thaxxxxxxxxxxxxx --no lenguaje word.

Siguanabas:--jese says that most have died or are afraid to appear--that's why none have been reported recently. is usually in the form of a woman, plegada or refajada. her favorite lure is to post herself on a street corner especially nights of the full moon, there she waits for men who are out enmerandose por ay:--tells the man she has been waiting for him a long time--to hurry up and follow her--lures him to the orillas of the pueblo:--and there leaves him--without his senses(he recovers his senses soon)--she does this purely por gusto(jese also reported this to me as being a habit of the brujos on certain nights of the month). no notion of her being a water creature as with the chort

Largata:--in lenguaje: i-hin; said to live in the Pesas--the deep spots in the rivers; ~~can be seen at night~~ appears like a monstrous lizard with an enormous tail and enormous mouth large enough to swallow a manhole:--jese unsure about this one--said he has heard of it appearing as man, woman and animal. says that the largatas frighten fishermen at night:--when a lot of fish are being caught it is a sign that seen something will appear to frighten the fisherman.--largata is size of jese:--appears in lagunas.

cadeje:--no language word:--sometimes looks like man, woman or animal; usually in the form of a monstrous dog or tiger; with eyes like pure fire; puts itself in front of one on the road at night and won't let one pass: frightens people to death. said to live in el monte.

Jose Yague April 5

People say that drunks often see dead men in their winding sheets on the road at night on the street corners.

and when you call someone to come and see--for it is something to see--than there is no more apparition. that's what the people says but how candid men come out:--duendes come out during the day. my uncles rafael was in his field one day looking for a lost novillo: and there appeared a duende--hombre regular with bekuna hat- and asked him what he was looking for--my uncle told him he was looking for his novillo--and the man with the mule with shiny hoofs said to my uncle to go to tal y tal parte and there he would find the novillo: and that they would meet each other on such and such a day in the same place. my uncle went to look for the novillo where the man had told him and sure enough it was there; when the day of the setting came my uncle didn't go -i don't know why--but he went the following day but the duende wasn't there. and that night when my uncle was asleep he was wakened by the sound of mule's hoofs and heard the man's voice call out "Listen, Rafael, Listen Rafael"--but my uncle didn't come out--and this happened three nights--and then the duende didn't come back anymore--so repentant and after that my uncle turned like crazy--he was like a tonto from there on. the duende had promised him that he would give him anything he wanted if he would meet him: and my uncle didn't go.

A 39
Sallen
del
dia.
a duende
spoke to
his uncle

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Jose Yague - April 5

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jese says he has never found any spirits; becuse he doesn't sale andar--especialmente no a la neshe. friends have told him of meetings hwever; --my brother appolinario who used to drink a lot -now he doesn't --told me of how one night he was walking in the street all arriba and ran into a cadaver in his bed--he didn't know who it was--and he ran to call and a friend to come and look- and when they came back it was gone.

cadejos don't come out when there are many people--but if one is coming from far parts andis along le cadejos come out--and won't let one pass--onesees a bulo in the camino blocking the way--with eyes of pure luz. --i don't reamber who it was who told me--one of the viejos it was;

antiguamente they say there are spirits who guard the deat: el duendo it is-- the hunters of antigua tell of this:--dicen que hay un venado rey que no entra la bala si lo tira:--the hunters asked the old men-- how com they always meet a very large deer--and no matter how near he passes and how often they shoot at him the bullets don't enter; the old men tell the hunters that this is the mere rey de los venados--and that the only way for a bullet to enter him is if you make a cross on the tip of the bullet before loading it in your gun:--they say that if you have your dog--no matter how good it is--and he goes to bring down this rey de venados at whom you shoot--no matter how good a doghe is the venado will carry him offte the cerros and you'll never see him again.--jese knows only of duendos hambres---they say that duendos are always well dressed--domains encierran los venados par unos dias cuando estan matando muchos los tiradores--and the duendos come to a hunter in his sleep if he has killed animals--and says to him in his dreams: "why are you killing my animals; they are my animals; no sea ingrato; stop killing the fazienda venados";

they say there are giants in the mountains-- they walk around nude--very hairy bodies--tamaño de hambres--they have miedo al mirar al uno--live only in the montañas--like in the cordillera de los andes---dicen que tienen platanos and and gineales--viven juntas en casas--solo ellas--dicen que tienen mujeres--the women are nude too--avery hairy--the women grind maize--but this i don't know for sure, says jese--every one has his little house--no se meten con nosotros--ah, en que tiempo/

Diablo lives in los infiernos--we don't know where this is--quien sabe/ no one has ever seen the devil---the only idea we have about what the devil is like is the pictures we see of him that come in books or papeles en almanacas. he is mal hombre--only the malhombres--con muchos pecados le encuentran: --alves los brujos son agentes del diablo: they say the masasins and mal gente go to infierno when they die. like there are people here who have killed four or vie people--they go to hell.

supernatural and sacred--4

AA1

for comparative material on saints and crosses see the principal discussion of religion in san luis. No certain comparative data is at hand on sacred concepts related to time, direction, locality, number form and color (p.427).

interview with pedro miguel vicente. august 21, 1942

Relations
between
Political
and
Religious
Status
among
Indians

this interview of about an hour and a half was directed at the inter-connections, if any, between the status systems of the municipal government in which the indians participate in part and those of the indigenous population--as institutionalized in the cofradias, as well as at the manner in which the status system of the cofradia operates. i proceeded by having pedro list for me the various officials of one of the cofradias. they are as follows:

mayor domo--seundino damian--owner of the house in which the cofradia is held.
 2nd mayor domo(also called 1st principale)--manuel cervantes ✓
 3rd mayor domo(" " 2nd ") antonio mendez x
 (note that at this point i discovered that they are called principales rather than mayor domos(except for 1st and 2nd)).
 3rd principale: luis esteban ✓ *Juan Esteban*
 4th " : tomas gonzalez ✓ *Francisco Mendez*
 5th " : luis perez x *the 3 & 4 are in service now.*
 6th " : luis morocin x
 7th " : santiago hernandez x
 8th " : esigio mendez x

next in hierarchical order in the cofradia are those who are members i.e, those who contribute money and help with the work. then everyone else is allowed to participate as well.

i next had pedro list for me the officials who serve the intendente. they are divided into several classes:(1) regidores municipale;(2) regidores auxiliar; (3) regidores for the barrios;(4) sirvientes. there are six of(1), six of (2), 14 of (3)(two for each barrio)and 30 sirvientes. all 4 classes serve for two years. the regidor municipal is formally elected by the population at large, but everyone agrees that the intente te sends a slate of whom he desires to the political chief in jalapa, who then approves or disapproves, sends back the slate with his approvals or disapprovals and, that slato that he sends back is almost always elected, since it is announced that these are the choices of the jefe. if someone else is elected, it is said that a new election is called. the regidores auxiliar are named by the intendente with some consultation from the regidor municipales. for instance, pedro, who is 4th regidor auxiliar was recommended by secundino esteban. the regidores for the barrios are also appointed by the intendente, with some slight advice from the regidores municiplaes. the sirvientes are picked(so says pedro) by the regidores auxiliar. the principa of selection is, according to pedro, that which emplys the critteria of picking men who will be willing helpers. it is imputedly an honor to be a regidor. less so a sirviente.

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p.6 3rd field report--august 21, 1942--jilotepeque--melvin tumin

the regidores municipale are as follows:

- 1st: rafaël cerna arana- ladino
- 2nd: fransisco bollat -ladino
- 3rd: fidensia garcia -ladino
- 4th: secundino esteban- naturale
- 5th: luis najera ---naturale
- 6th: rosalia martinez--naturale

the regidor auxiliar are as follows:

- 1st: jose juarex--ladino
- 2nd: nicolas simon--naturale
- 3rd: alfonso diaz--naturale
- 4th: pedro vicente--naturale
- 5th: jose lopez--naturale
- 6th: guillermo perez--naturale

the regidores for the barrios are as follows, in hierarchical order. (unless otherwise denoted they are all, naturales).

la bolsa: marcos perez, policapo mendez
 santa cruz: tudolfo pinta(ladino), avilon mendez
 calvario: eugenio perez, silvestre agustin
 centro: cono sandoval(ladino), pablo gregorio
 las isote: desiderio vicente, da go aquina
 llano: justo damina, jose hernandez
 san sebastian: angel soliz(ladino), tomas damian.

there are six serving cuadrilles, composed of 1 regidor municipal, one regidor auxiliar, and 5 sirvientes. each cuadrille serves for 8 days beginning one saturday at 4 p.m. and ending the following saturday at four p.m. this totals to 61 days of service a year--with 35 days of rest in between each period of 8 days of service. (note: pedro asked how many days he served a year by saying "how many days a year do we lose?"). this service is, of course, all gratuitous. the men who serve are excused, however from paying the \$3 road tax a year, which they would have to work off in 20 days of road service if they could not pay. pedro seemed ambivalent about whether or not it was good to be a sirviente until i pointed out to him that a sirviente works 61 days a year whereas the most a man has to work on the roads is 20 days. pedro says however that many beg off regularly as being sick, or, have easy missions most of the time. there are, to be sure, other psychological factors associated with being a sirviente which attract some men to the position. (note: the barrio regidores merely serve to arbitrate disputes or prevent noise, and other disturbances in their barrios). i looked over the names of the various native and government officials to see if there was any cross leadership, but there appeared to be none. i then went directly at the question of the manner in which you advance from sirviente, to regidor auxiliar etc. pedro finally got the point of my broken spanish and answered "oh, first you're nothing then you become a sirviente, and if you're a good sirviente you become an auxiliar, and if you're a good auxiliar you become a municipale". i asked what you became after that. pedro said: "then you are nothing again". i asked if one had to be a regidor before becoming a principal or if one had to be an auxiliar before becoming a municipal. we took two examples: secundino esteban, who is now 4th municipale was 5th auxiliar last term of service. luis najera, who is now 5th municipal only served for two months, some three years ago, as 3rd auxiliar. there appears then to be no regular and orderly upward procession. pedro says it depends on how well you dispatch your "cargos".

AAA

I then asked pedro how one became a principale or mayor domo of a cofradia. did one have to be a principale before he was made mayor domo, or rather, chosen mayor domo by the principales? what did one have to do in the cofradia before becoming a principale. again we took the two examples of the two mayor domos- and I asked pedro to tell me what kind of men they were. both were characterized as not "denying any service asked of them" as being buenos gentes, inteligentes, could read and write (this was stressed time and time again), and as being hombres muy cumplidos. neither secundina damina nor tomas martinez were principales before becoming mayor domos, but both could read and write, both knew very much about all the fiestas and were frequently consulted by the principales on proper procedure even before they were mayor domos. they were hombres vivos. pedro could think of no further characterizations to be a principale however you usually have to be among the oldest men in town, but you have to be intelligent as well. the principales pick their own members to fill any vacancies. you are principale for life, but mayor domo for only two years.

our interview ended at this point but will be continued tomorrow.

AAS

metaphysics went by the board at the end of the last page, today (sept.17th) is market day--(a very small market due to the fickleness of the weather, i think) - and i was besieged by no less than 12--women complaining of everything from menstrual pains to injuries of their nipples where their sucklings had bitten them, aspirin and suggestion as usual were my remedies. it's getting to be more of a nuisance than ever before, one woman passes the word to another--as they did this morning--and i literally have a walkgreen drug store functioning here in short order.

i want to write up now the report of an afternoon session with secundino esteban which i had last week, the question of the organization of cofradias and the interrelations between the ladino and indian formal prestige systems was unclear in my mind. secundino, being in both formal systems, seemed like a likely person to be able to tell me accurately about the workings of the systems. i shall not attempt to organize the interview but will report it item for item as it came out in the interview.

there are five principles for each cofradia, which number four at present, they are the cofradia of san luis, of which pasquale marcos is now ~~mayor~~ mayor dome; cofradia of santa cruz, of which tomas martinez is mayor dome; cofradia of the 10th of march (easter week, i presume) of which pablo baptista is mayor dome; and, cofradia of the 4th regidor, of which secundino esteban, as 4th regidor, is mayor dome, thus there are twenty active (en servicio) principales, and others, still living, who have retired but who are consulted on most matters pertaining to indian celebrations in any event, thus, pasquale esteban, who is retired as principal at his own request, is still considered wise and important enough to be consulted on all matters, a principal, thus, does not have to die to be replaced. "He leaves to rest" and is replaced by a person selected by the other principales of his cofradia. a principal must know all the customs and prayers, does not have to have money, but must be a 'gente vivo' and has to be at least 40 years old.

the cofradia of the 4th regidor replaces the cofradia of the 3rd alcalde, now that 3rd alcalde etc. has been abolished, by order of the department political chief no indian may be anything above 4th regidor, the cofradia of the regidor has attached to it a committee of 8 men--including a secretary, a president and a treasurer and 5 members ranked in order, they are responsible to the intendente for the management of indian celebrations etc--but their relations with the intendente are mediated thru the office of the 4th regidor who is always mayor dome of said cofradias, any fiesta the indians wish to hold the committee has to go to the intendente and secure power from him to run the fiesta, without this permission fiestas are impossible, as secundino put it, the committee has to 'contar' with him (i.e. secundino) for anything they want to do as well, the regidores municipal (indian and ladino) are elected on the 'suggestion' of the intendente who is supposed to have previously consulted the wishes of the population in an informal manner, conveyed these wishes to the jefe politico who then designates his approval or disapproval of the slate, you do not have to be a regidor auxiliar before becoming a regidor municipal, but, you have to be able to read and write, secundino had 8 years in school.

Religious
Organization
Among the
Indians

AA6

mayor domos are not principales. the mayor domos are named by the principales of each cofradia and the period of service is for two years. the members of the committee in the regidor cofradia obtain rank as 2nd, 3rd, 4th mayor domo from their rank as members of the committee. in the other cofradias the assistant mayor domos, ranked to the 4th, are named by the principales also. incidentally, the members of the committee of the regidor cofradia are named by the principales of that cofradia. to be a mayor domo, you have to have the 'voluntad' as well as a big house and a proporción, because mayor domos spend about \$5 a year out of their own pockets for various items of celebrations a mayor domo cannot succeed himself because 'there are so many people who want to be mayor domos'--but it is customary for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th mayor domos to move up to 1st, 2nd and 3rd with the change of office, this is not automatic but is usual. you do not have to old indian ways and prayers to be amayor domo--that is handled by the principales--but many principales have been mayor domos, for in that way they learn the prayers, etc. the oraciones are learned 'just as learn things in school, by memory', said secundino. disputes among indians may be settled (if español is not spoken well) by coming to secundino and explaining the dispute in lenguaje. secundino then goes to the intendente, explains the case, and gets an official opinion which he then passes on and by which the parties to the dispute are bound. in a situation where a man is seeking the hand of a woman in marriage and there is resistance on the part of the woman or her family, a man can go to a principal and explain his case. then the principal and his wife go to the family of the courted woman and talk over the matter with them. the young man is advised by the family that after a month or so they will announce their decision. principales also settle disputes among men and their wives. a wife can go to a principal and the principal will summon the man and tell him to 'live in peace with his wife. disputes between men are matters for the intendente and secundino--as mediating agent. (note here that the matters of the family are still in part settled by the prestige-bearers of the old culture--whereas matters of 'contract' and the like are settled by resort to the public authorities--the new system, as it were. secundino insists that his cofradia and that of san luis are the most important because in those two the most important fiestas of the year are held. he says that formerly there were many more cofradias--including those of san sebastian and san marcos--but they have disappeared. his grandfather, pasquale esteban, can tell me all about them, he assures me. i have made an appointment to see and talk with his grandfather. ---the principales do not have dealings with the intendente of any important sort. the word of the intendente bears more weight in matters of law, etc. than that of the principales. secundino says that 'they say that before it was of a different 'modo', but not now'. (time out---3 more pharmacy patients--- there seem to be an awful lot of toothaches and headaches around).

the committee attached to the regidor cofradia is an innovation of only 2 years standing--initiated by the intendente---and, with the 'consent' of the principales. when there was the alcalde system in effect, there was no such thing as a committee. the principales are respected because they can talk and pray to god better than ordinary men. but a man can speak directly to god if he wants to or can speak to god thru the saints.

4A7

i next asked secundino who, in his estimation, were the ~~two~~ most important indians in town. i put it in this fashion: "If the president of the republic were to come here when would the indians have to represent them"--secundino answered quickly that jose yaque and chico cruz perez would be the only two who could speak to the president--because they were the most vivos--and they were the only two who had been to colegio.---"who are the richest indians in town,secundino?" pasquale esteban and jose yaque(not that esteban's last name is really 'yaque' but it is not used--he is not 'pariente' to jose); pasquale for instance has 3 terrenos--about 60 manzanas in each--5 cows, 2-3 beasts, lots of chickens and roosters and about 8 pigs. ;jose yaque and chico cruz perez were named by secundino as the most 'amables' of the indians, but only after he insisted several times that all indians were amables--he says there are no 'disliked' indians. jose yaque is informally slated to be the next principal. principales can remove another principal from office if they want to, if it is apparent that a principal is failing to dispatch his office. secundino doesn't remember any such cases in his lifetime. as far as secundino knows there is no lenguaje word for principal, and none for mayor domo. the word for alcaalde # 3 --is alcalcoj--coj being the lenguaje word meaning 'indian'. secundino knew that the lenguaje they spoke here is called 'pokomam' --but only because ladinos had used the word and had told him .

this ended my interview with secundino--and i had an appointment to work an afternoon on lenguaje with him---but his 'service' for the celebration of independence day were required the afternoon i had an appointment with him and so he and luis and the other regidor municipal spent the afternoon sweeping and cleaning the 'salon' for the dance at night that was held tuesday at 9.P.M.---'for ladinos only' our interview has been postponed until next week.in the meantime i am in a pickle with my other two informants--luis and pedro. pedro has outlived his usefulness to me at this point and i want to get rid of him but i don't know exactly how. it seems he is always here when luis comes to ask me if i have work for him--and i do have work for luis--but i can't very well tell him that in front of pedro. i shall have to find some diplomatic way of 'sacking' pedro in the very near future.

C

AAS

Indián
Religion

This does not deal with race relations but is of interest. on the 29th and the 30th there was a celebration for San Miguel. The image of San Miguel along with that of San Luis were brought to the house of F. Lorenzo because he has an image of San Geronimo in his house--and there used to be a cofradia of San Geronimo, I discover now. as will be seen in the report of interview with Pasquale Esteban to fellow, he mentioned 8 cofradias which used to be but did not mention this one. the only reason given for holding the celebration in Lorenzo's house was the fact that he 'has an image of San Geronimo' there. I shall try to find out more about the connection between San Geronimo and San Miguel.

AA9
Ladino Religious Celebration
of Sept. 8.

sept. 8th---1942---San Luis Jilotepec---
the long awaited ladino celebration of the birth of the christ child finally took place starting at 4 a.m. this morning with the playing of popular songs on two brass instruments and the shooting off of innumerable firecrackers. the rosarios which have been going for eight days now were started again early this morning, and, at about 8:30 a procession came out of the church--with various saints in tow, the virgin dressed up in bridal costume--the ordinances and one censor swinger. the censor swinger--note--was the only man in the procession. it was almost strictly a ladino affair--with maybe 75 ladino women who were joined later by about 25 indian women. but there was not one man in the procession. ladino men--from the intendente down(or up!) were standing around commencing the festival seemed to have no significance for them. i asked carlos what percent of the ladino population was in the procession and he said that a good two thirds of them were there. this is obviously impossible however in the absence of men and children--there having been school today. all the children--indian and ladino alike--were brought out of the classroom to stand at attention while the procession circled the church slowly to the accompaniment of some dour tune on the brass instruments. i took five pictures--trying vainly to get an impression of the size of the procession to compare with the size of the processions during the indian affair. however, the percentages are the important thing--and i have not estimated them--and don't know whether i can or not.

San Luis Silotipeque

I. Social Organization
written in point by point
comparison and contrast
with Wisdom's Report on
the Chorti

II Family

III God parental Relations

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The primary facts of sociation and the most enduring sociation contacts and accordances are to be found within the family unit of the Pokoman Indian. In a way, as we shall perhaps see later, the society of the Pokoman Indian is a macrocosmic projection of the smaller family units which make up that Pokoman society. (This is, of course assuaging that first (1) family then (2) society) Being a society in transition, however, Indian Pokoman here in the East of Guatemala shows a fraying at the edges of the former smoothness of the family as an agent of primary sociation as well as an agent of social control. While there is no single sociation unit which as yet threatens the supremacy of the family group, there are other sociation units in existence which have, in a minor way, invaded the what seems to have been total supremacy of the family. These intruding elements are not parts of the native Pokoman society, for, even as the family shows signs of wear, so indeed does the larger society, which, in a way is the family writ large, show signs of the same wear and falling into disuetude. The foreign elements are those which result in part from the contact of the Indian with the Ladino and the rather rapid rate of acculturation to which the Indian here in the East, seemingly in contradistinction to the case of his blood brother in the west, is undergoing. As, for instance, the government locally and nationally invades the area of native social controls and places a premium on cooperation and good behavior according to the rules and expectations of Pokoma-Ladino society; and, as the Indian becomes more and more the commercialist and, in some unknown as yet proportion, less and less the man of the milpa; as, in short he widens his own world and local horizon and also has it widened for him whether he likes it or not, --so do the bidding effects of Family begin to be less binding and the Indian turns his face toward his secondary sociation groups--or at least primary sociation groups other than the family --if one considers the neighborhood and the town-- when sufficiently small and personalized in the contacts therein available--as primary sociation groups.

One cannot make a clear distinction here between the single and multiple family/household types. There are cases where a married man and his married children, or at least some of his married children, live in the same house; there are cases where there are no married children living with their parents; and there are cases of combination of the two in all forms--and, when one takes in family cooperation on the economic front as a criterion of single or multiple family type, the combinations are even more numerous. For all manner of intra and extra familial considerations determine the cooperativeness or non-cooperativeness of relatives. As a point of departure one can say that there is a tendency for the multiple family type to preserve a certain amount of geographical and social contiguity. Married children tend to the upresidence in the immediate neighborhood of their parents' house. This refers mainly to married males; for the female after marriage in most cases passes into the family organization of the male and his elders; tho, as with all these generalizations, there are exceptions. For instance, in the family of my chief informant, his one son in law is an effective part of his

i.e. my informant's family, rather than that of his, i.e. the son-in-law's, own family. The general trend, however, seems to be in the opposite direction. Patrilocalism of an attenuated nature is the concomitant of an almost equally attenuated patrilinealism (illegitimacy and laws of descent in such cases being the wedge in this instance) and a only slightly lesser attenuated patriarchalism. (To be sure, we have no real justification for talking about the 'attenuation' of any of these three post-marriage conditions--if it is thought that a comparison with conditions of antiquity are implied. For we do not know conditions of antiquity. But the adjective 'attenuated' is here used in comparison with an 'ideal type' of any or all of the three) (The conditions of function of these three 'isms' we shall discuss at a later moment)

It is not unknown indeed that married children move out of the aldea in which they were born and, on marriage, take up residence in the pueblo or in an aldea nearer either to their fields or to the pueblo. Since it seems a tendency for men to marry women from the same aldea there would thus be a taking away from the family site both a man and a woman. The integrity of the family household for cooperative activity of several generations is thus also endangered on some scores by the attraction of the pueblo and its better conditions of living. Other attractions take members of a family even further away----work in a different department or municipio, marriage with a person outside of the aldea or pueblo of one's own residence (tho this usually means that it is a girl marrying outside, since it is the men who have the mobility and can seek partners in outside areas), or, lastly, separation from one's wife and desertion to work in other parts of the country, since it is more 'comfortable' not to live in the pueblo in which one has left a deserted wife. This is not too frequent as far as I know but does occur. All such cases seem to be known. The importance, however, for our present discussion, is that it breaks up the multiple family unit --not only for one generation but probably for generations to come, since a man when moving to another place, seeks lands there and will tend to settle there. A still further factor must be noted. The attraction of work on the coast takes men from the pueblo for many months during the year--(not only the pueblo, for the aldeas contribute their share of workers as well when fruit is moving) and the absention of a man in this fashion from his household often leaves a household minus either its oldest male head or a second generation male head. The unity of the family is not directly threatened by this as yet, for men almost always return. But as a factor which future studies in acculturation of this area and its Indians must take into account, it is noteworthy at this point.

Two factors tend to equalize themselves out--either of which alone would either cause, it would seem, a sudden regrowth of the multiple family to distended proportions, or else completely disrupt and indeed remove the physical basis of the multiple family household. I now refer to the practice of early marriage and (2) the high incidence of death at a relatively early age among the Indian. If the first factor--i.e. early marriage were not in some measure counteracted by early death--one could reasonably expect multiple family groups of 4 generations to be fairly common. Spreading out

laterally in the lower generation rungs there would be a considerable piling up in the family unit of all manner of members. But, (making a comparison which cannot really be sustained) one may say that early death in relatively early middle age lops off the top members at the same time that lower generation members are being added. Infant mortality also helps on this score. For, even if there should be early death of elders, still the lateral spreading out would not thus be appreciably counteracted. But, infant mortality is even higher than mortality in middle ages (making a rough estimate from the death figures available) and so the lateral spreading out is also checked. In the absence of birth control and in the presence of almost subsistence existence for all members of the society (surplus and leisure are the exception rather than the rule) such infant mortality seems to be a judicious response of the fates. (I do not mean to read purpose into nature nor to make silly ad hoc 'explanations'. Only a figure of speech is intended).

The multiple family type seems restricted in the main, then, to three generations--the upper of which is the oldest male and his female partner--either married or unmarried; the second rung consists of his married sons and his daughters-in-law (and in some cases his married daughter and his son-in-law as we have noted before); the third rung consists of the children of the married children. Added to the second rung, to be sure, are unmarried children, either with or without children of their own. For, an unmarried daughter who has had residence in a different family unit, born children in bastardy, and then been deserted by her man, returns to her familial dwelling and therein enters as a functioning member of the family unity. In those cases where the difference in age between siblings on the second level is great, it is not unusual to encounter a member of the second generation either the same age or younger than a child of his own sibling. As we shall see later, the 'respect education principle' maintains the integrity of the lineage ranks in these cases and social treatment of an elder is accorded one who is properly of a different generation, though he be of your age or younger. I know of only one case of great grandchildren alive at the same time as their great grandparent. I cannot generalize about the tendency or failure to remain together under such 4th generation circumstances. It should be noted that in the kinship terminology system proper there is a tendency to include as more directly belonging to the family members of the third generation--i.e. siblings of one's grandparents, than there is to include siblings of one's great grandparents. It is sometimes explained as due to the fact that "oh, they're so far off and beside whoever gets to know his great grandparents?". (I have forgotten to note that members of the second generation rung may also be a son merely living with a woman--and not married to her. I do not have enough data to generalize about differential treatment, if there be any, of married members of the household and unmarried members). I do not know of any cases of orphaned children living in a family unit other than their original, among the Indians in the area, but informants seem familiar with expected behavior in such cases, and thus it would seem that such cases do exist. The only differential in treatment seems to be in cases of inheritance).

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New households are set up within the multiple family unit usually only on marriage or its equivalent--i.e. man taking a woman for his partner without benefit of marriage. Marriage is usually preferred--tho there seems to be no censure of any import for such unmarried cohabitation, as long as both partners seem intent on preserving the union. It is said however that fragmentation of the family occurs moreoften in the cases where no marriage has been had. I do not know whether this is true or not--and since most people just separate and takeup residence with others--and consequently fail to record their separations with the officials--it is difficult to make estimates of this. Fromal obligations and powers stop with the marriage of a child. Thus a father may command his son upuntil the the son takes a woman. At the same time, the son is officially and formally expected to be self sustaining. In reality, neither of these 'stoppages' is strictly observed. For, the child often has to depend on his parent for aid the first few years after marriage and in turn must render assistance and obeisance to the father on some scores after marriage. Thus while my informant says that he may no longer order his son after marriage, he also adds that the fields which his son works are his --i.e. the father s--and that as long as the son is respectful and helps the father out when help isneeded--the son will keep these fields and not have to pay anything to the father. There seems to be no fixed period of bride service nor indeed any bride service at all, once the marriage has been consummated, unless the father in law, rather than the father, helps out the son in law with fields, the building of a new house, the harvesting andmarketing of his crop..In such cases the son in law falls heir to the same obligation of return of unpaid aid as do the son proper. In most cases however it is the son who with his father assumes responsibilities for the successful economic conduct of his household after marriage. It is thought rather shameful that a man cannot aid his own son or that the son does not have a proportion of his own to begin life with after marriage. But in such cases the marriage, tho it may be delayed, for these reasons nevertheless, if marriage is insisted on by the children involved then, the family of the girl may come to the aid of the couple and give them an economic push off, to the point some times of taking in the son in law as part of the family, thus removing him from economic functioning as part of his own family.

The fact that the grandfather if alive is the one who goes to the padrino along with the prospective groom before marriage in order to make arrangements is indicative, I think, that in former days it was the grandfather who was responsible, perhaps for giving his grandchild a send off into the world at his marriage, and may indeed have assumed the economic responsibility attendant thereupon. But the only role which the oldest male member seems yet to play in this culture is that of the arranger of details with the padrino to be. He does not assume the economic obligations attendant upon the marriage. These devolve upon the immediate parent of the man in question. I turn this attentuation of the role of the oldest male shows itself in the actual direction of family affairs. It is said that a grandfather may not order his grandchildren but may only request favors of them, while on the other hand a father always may order his children, up until the time of their marriage. In effect, this verbal distinction is attenuated by the age-respect principle. But direct supervision of behavior and charge anddirection of

a child's education is the responsibility and privilege of his parent or her parent, and not of the grandparent or the great grandparent. The fact of the existence within the kinship terminology system of a joking relationship allowable between grandfather and grandson to the extent that they reciprocally treat each other, referentially as brothers-in-law and vocatively the same (which is also the same as the vocative treatment for anyone on the same generation level as ego) is I think indicative of the deformatization of the relation between grandfather and grandchild. One may never so joke with his father. I do not know and have no idea what possibly might be the meaning of the treatment, referentially, of the grandfather as a brother in law. It should be noted that this treatment is only possible if the grandfather is of a very advanced age. But the vocative treatment--as tho the grandfather were on the same age level as ego--may be had 'exhansendo' even if the grandparent is not of an advanced age. (This is a brain breaker on which I can get no further data at this point).

As I have noted before, the referred but not the only type of household unit is the single unit--i.e. each married child having residence separate from that of his parent. With the death of a man's father, thus leaving him the oldest male in the family unit, there is a tendency for the family to separate in its activities and cooperative functions even more. But this is in some measure counteracted by the mother's taking up residence with one of her children or else the oldest (usually--if all others are married or well) son taking up residence with her in her house--for it is now her house and all the dead man's properties are now hers unless, as does not often happen, he bequeaths differently. Thus the unity which is in some measure shattered by the death of the father, is in almost like measure restored but centers now around the oldest brother or around the household where the mother has taken up residence. She is now the titular head of the family, but in effective sense of headship there is no head at this point. The one pays respect to his older brother, when one comes of age one does not take orders from him or necessarily consult him for advice in times of trouble. With the death of a father, the sons tend to separate more and more in their relations--at least in comparison to the unity which is usually evinced when the father is alive--and, with the death of the mother, this process of fragmentation continues even further. It is rare that complete separation is effected. Moving to another residence or being 'excluded' from the family by reason of separating from the spouse who is a blood member of the family, of course fragments off one part of the family. But the general rule is for all members of the family of one man to preserve a certain amount of family integrity and geographical contiguity throughout the life of the elders of the family. Since, by the time the elders die off a man is usually a father of more than one child in his own right, and may indeed be a grandfather, family reunion on different generation levels is taking place to replace the unity which formerly existed when the elders were alive.

The question of lineal naming is complicated by the necessity of complying in some way with the civil code of the national government which specifically provides on such matters. but certain general outlines may be indicated. a child always takes as his family name that of his father if his father and mother are married. if the parents are unmarried the child takes the family name of the mother. however thru formal legalization of a child with the local officials the child then passes into the lineal descent of his father, even tho his parents be unmarried, at least insofar as naming is concerned. a woman does not take the name of her husband when she cites her pokoman name. when she tells you her name in spanish she gives her own family name and then adds the spanish "del" with the family name of her husband. but this is only in case of marriage or legalization of the union. even in marriage instances, a woman when asked her name will almost always give you her maiden name. thus while in effective social unity and economic cooperation she is a member of her husband's household and of his family, and treats her husband's parents as her own, still the tendency to give her maiden name as her name, even after marriage is perhaps indicative of former matrilinealism. (i am so totally vague on 'what used to be' that these "perhaps" which i utter every so often are genuine "perhaps's" and do not even have the status of hunches). the total amount of spanish surname in use among the indians is rather limited. they are also stereotypically used by the ladinos to indicate parentage of a person, although this is an unsure criterion at best. the ladino practice in naming often confuses the picture, even for the indian (as for the anthropologist) for the ladino practice is to affix the mother's family name as the ultimate in a sometimes long list of names, and officially, one must always indicate at least the initial of the mother's family name. there is however among the indians no strict rule about naming. a person may call himself by his mother's family name or by his father's family name---but the general practice, as i have indicated, is to use the latter. (unlike the chorti, there are, as far as i can discover, no general 'nicknames' given to families which stick with them). if there are no male children in a family, and the parents are unmarried and there has been no legalization of the children, the family name of the father will disappear with his death and only the name of the family of the mother will be continued. i do not know adlea practice about intermarriages between members of the same families--i.e. brothers from one family marrying sisters from another family--and their children repeating the intermarriage when their turn comes. But in the pueblo this does not seem to be the practice, it is not considered either desirable or undesirable. it is allowed but not particularly promoted as far as i can discover. the fact that the rather mobile indian male has a rather wide surface of contacts different from that of his brothers--for his unity as a young man is with his friends of the same age rather than with his older brothers--may account for the failure to concentrate marriage choices within the same family as that which served your brother and possibly your father before him. there seems to be no feeling that members from families with the same name would not marry. there may be some tendency to this along the lines of the Pokoman dialect name which each family has--but then it would reflect itself in the spanish equivalent

Now familial relations are bound by rather strict rules of respect. The older members command absolute obedience from their children, and command respect from their children when they are married, even tho the ability to order is no longer present. Again the national law has in some way disrupted the total obedience which parents feel i their due. For instance it seemsthat in former times the fathor or mother could force a daughter to marry a man whomshe did not wish to marry. But now it seems that a daughter can find her way to the intendente and make a complaint against her parents; the intendente will call in the parents and ferbi them to force the daughter to marry a man whom she does not care for. So too what with the opening up of work possibilities in other regions and the demand of ladinos for hired labor, a son may break away fr m family discipline and family rule and take up residence in other places or even in the same pueblo but in a separate house hold. in these instances, however, the law steps in to preserve family unity. for a man may complainabout a runaway son, if th boy's under eighteen. and the intendente will then, if he thinksthocase is just, order the capture of the son and order him once he is in custody to remain as his father's helper. this replacing by force of an errant member of family naek in the fold of the family once again applies even to wives and husbands. a woman may complain that a man has deserted her, and the officials wil thenmake an effort to force the man to live with the woman if he can show no good cause why he has deserte her. likewise with a man whose wife has left him. the usual procedure in this case however is to utter a 'good riddance' for the departed member and to seek life anew with a different partner. since remarriage is strictly forbidden by law in case no divorce has been consummated, ~~xxxxxxx~~ a man or woman whose married partner has left, may not remarry but may take up living ith another spouse. men or woman however may seek official acts of separation from partners with whom they have joined--but not legally--and thus be assured that there will be no legal claims forthcoming against them from former partners. but in some cases--and e very recent case with which i have intimate acquaintance-- the departmental authorities overruled the decision of the local authorities and ordered a man to live with a woman whom he had ejected from his house. Men may leave women mainly for bad conduct on the part of the woman. A woman who is seen talking with another man is said to be showing bad conduct. If this occurs after warning not to do so again a man may either leave the house or order the woman to leave. A man may also sack the woman from his house if she is lazy or fails to take care of children properly or in any way fails to live up to his estimate of what constitutes a good wife and thus brings community gossip about his head and her head. A woman may do likewise. Tho a man is nominally considered owner of everything in the house and the fields--in those cases where a separation is contested--i.e where a woman protests being thrown out or complains against her husband's desertion--if the separation is maintained by law-- the property is divided equally among the spouses, even tho the woman may have not originally contriuted anything to the household. this is based onthe principle, as far as i can tell, of equal work inthe household over a period of years, by man and woman alike. in cases where the house cannot be divided, a cash equivalent is made for the share which is due either of the partners. a woman once sacked usually takes up residence

in her former parental household. Since it is rare that a man is 'sacked' or 'leaves' i can make no generalizations. In the two cases I know of where the man has left the bridal household he has taken up residence in a different part of the pueblo in a house apart from his parental household, seeking 'boardership' with the family of a friend. One other case of which I know shows the man to have left the department entirely and to have retired discreetly to San Salvador. It is not too rare that a child 'elopes' against her parent's wishes. The usual procedure is for the girl to go out at night and not to come back in the morning. The word soon reaches the family that she has taken up living with fulano. The attitude of the family in such a case is usually expressed by 'hay que conformarnos' and after an initial period of reconciliation, the family will probably help out the formerly errant couple. In some instances however the family does not 'conform' and if the girl is under 18 she may be forcibly removed from the man by the father with the aid of law officials and restored to the family household. If she is over 18 the family has no legal recourse against her. Since however it is extremely difficult (though possible) for a young man to make his initial start in marriage without the aid of his parents, these cases are rare. But there are some instances where the family of the girl has come to the aid of the beleaguered couple and given them the aid or some of the aid which they might otherwise have had from the boy's family if they had legally consummated a marriage. It seems that a considerable amount of adultery goes on in Indian society, some of it on a prostitutional level. The double standard prevails among men. They are rather proud and boastful of how many women other than their wives they have lain with, but insist they would kill a man if they found him with their own wives. A man may of course desert or sack his woman if he can in any way prove she is having affairs with other men. A woman may do likewise in the obverse case with her husband. There are not a few instances where children have been born or are to be born to women who are neither married nor living with any given man. The law again steps in here and picks up the picture of native expectations, for it takes good care of the woman in such a case. A woman needs only to go to the department capital and see the 'efe politico' and complain against a given fulano. The fulano is then summoned and the Jefe, either thru blood tests or thru the principle that the eye is quicker than the calipers, makes a decision in case the father protests paternity claims against him. If he decides that the man is the father the man must then usually pay a pension to the woman ranging anywhere from \$1 to \$5 a month until the child is eighteen. He may buy off all future claims with an outright cash settlement. The matter of pensions is somewhat of a department joke as well as horror among the male population elements. Since most women are well aware of the legal resource now available to them, they have used it rather widely--and it is reported that as of last month there were some 45 men in prison in the department capital on the complaints of women whom they have said to have impregnated or actually given children, already born. Jail sentences are usually meted out along with the punishment of the pension. What native expectations were before this ruling I do not know. But it seems that cases of impregnation were not too rare before either and that a man usually helped out if he had the 'voluntad'.

In some instances a man having discovered that he had impregnated a woman would then take up permanent residence with her or marry her, even tho he had no such intent before hand. It seems that it was more usually however to let the woman "stew"--and from this it seems also that many enmities between a man and the girl's family sprung up. In the days before the present administration, when feuding was carried on with the corbo or machete, instead of just words or rocks or sorcery, the girl's father and brothers usually sought retribution in the form of the blood of the man involved. The feud seems to have ended there, it being considered just by the society at large that a girl's family members should so revenge the 'malcriadesa' which was inflicted on her by the inconsiderate man. The law at present, having at once made it almost impossible to feud with arms, and having at the same time given the woman legal recourse against her husband, or rather her lover, has somewhat put a stop to unfamiliar children circulating in the pueblo or aldeas.

The law also steps in to reinforce society's expectations that a man support his elders when they can no longer support themselves. In those cases where a parent is too feeble to work and threatens to become a public charge--tho there are no social agencies for such public charges--the parent may complain against children--even if they are already married and have their own families--and secure a measure of economic support and security from the children. Since the tendency for the fragmentation of the family is more adumbrated now than actually explicit it is rare tho it has been known that a parent has to resort to the law to secure support from the younger members of the family. The general expectations which are almost always followed is that the children do actually maintain the elders where the elders can no longer maintain themselves.

To return once again to the matter of family discipline. The parents have ordering and forbidding authority over their children until they are married or of legal majority, which comes at 18 for both male and female. This customary expectation is given buttressing by the fact that since children do not receive pay or 'allowances' from their parents, they are totally economically dependent upon their parents for their living. Their work in the fields or on trips with their fathers to sell pottery; their work even as mozos for others--results in no cash gain or fund for them--for all such money must be turned over to the father--who, may, if he is so inclined, put away such funds as a marriage reserve for his child's later marriage--since a wedding costs a father some \$200 to \$500. What is more usual is that the money is needed immediately for maintenance of the family and is so used. So too with the daughter. Any money which she may gain either selling pots or by making or hiring out as cook or washerwoman or tending of children in ladino families--or on any other count--goes into the family coffers--and is therefrom dispensed by the parents as they see fit. Child beating is not at all unknown and in fact is considered a necessary and efficient way to educate a child, especially in those instances where he has shown to have a certain amount of 'maleducacion' or 'malcriadesa'. Society condones and applauds the father who is strict with his children at the same time that it deprecates overstrictness--for this shows the father or mother to

be somewhat 'maleducado'. But since the societal preferred type of behavior for the younger generations is almost absolute docility and humility and quiet reverence for elders--the extreme in discipline is far more applauded than the other extreme of too great laxity in training. Relations with older siblings are somewhat attenuated versions of relations with ones parents. One has to show his older siblings respect and obedience--and in the case where the sibling is much older, the sibling then fills in either the maternal or paternal role in the absence or death of a parent while the younger sibling is still below his majority. I do not know of any cases where a man and woman have separated after they have grown children. I do know of one case where the man deserted a woman leaving her with children of 12 and 14 on her hands. But in cases where there is separation and the children are much younger, they pass usually to the mother, if she wishes to care for them. If the father does not wish to allow her to care for them he may contest their custody with her and may either secure a partition of the children or else an agreement that she should care for them a certain time until they are weaned or can walk around--at which time the case will be reopened. As can be seen from our discussion so far, the law has entred so rather completely in all these matters that it is difficult to give native culture expectations. One would suspect that the native culture had formerly favored the man in most of these instances, for in almost every case of the intervention of the law it seems rather heavily weighted in the woman's favor. Again this is only supposition. When separation does occur where young tots are involved it is not infrequent that the case is resolved among the parents themselves without recourse to the law, if the basis of the separation was such as to provide a formal amount of talking relationship between the spouses even after separation. But since most separations rarely pre-serve this amount of unity between the couple involved, there is usually always hard feeling and an attempt to get the best of the other partner. In such cases then if one of the partners thinks that the law will favor his petition, he resorts to the law. If it seems that a good deal of stress is being put on the conditions surrounding separations and fragmentation of the family it is mainly because it seems to this observer that a good deal of separation, desertion, impregnation without support, and general fragmentation of family relations does occur. I do not know whether this is more frequent now than it was before--and whether it will keep up this way. It seems that as the Indian gets drawn more and more into ladino life ways---among which adultery, prostitution and rather neatly rationalized variations on the double standard prevail--he may well, in his imitating of other ladino habits and customs, also imitate these less respectable ones. It would seem that fragmentation of the family went on at a lesser scale in the past. The economic opportunities in other places were not present for the male; the need for hired labor offered was much less than now--and as a consequence the child, even if he wished to desert had little way to make his way to a livelihood of his own--; yet opposite evidence also indicates that there may have been more fragmentation in the past, at least in the spouse level---for now it is more difficult, what with the law behind a pursuing spouse, than it was in former days. In either event one must note the general tendency present in the culture today --and at the same time note that for all the

fragmentation and tendency of the family to be less the stable and satisfying totality, yet it is the major unit of association in this society and indeed is the only unit of association of any importance on a major scale within the society as it is constituted today.

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The Pokoman family unit tends to spread out even beyond the limits of blood and marriage relationships--and this thru the service of the institution of godfathership and godmothership. Each Indian child has a set of godparents for his baptism, another set for his first communion, if he goes thru this first communion, and a set of godparents for his marriage. In turn, when he becomes a parent, he becomes compadre with the padrino and madrina of his children and he himself is padrino perhaps for 5-10-15 other children. There are no strict obligations or duties imposed on godparents which cannot be broken in exceptional circumstances--the most usual of which are poverty or sickness. But certain minor obligations do befall godparents at the time of the particular rite of passage for which they are functioning, and these persist in a lesser form thruout the life of the person--and extend not only to the godchild and godparent but also extend to the families of each. In a society as small numerically as Jilotepeque society--pueblo and aldea considered together--there would seem and there actually is a great deal, of interlocking of families thru the godparent institution as well as thru blood and marriage. The least obligation expected of anyone in a godparent or godchild or compadre role is exchange of respect with his respective partner in the institution. But here an interesting thing occurs. This facet includes Ladino and Indian alike--for it is considered desirable to secure a wealthy Ladino godparent for one's child if it is possible, and it is considered something of an honor for an Indian to function as godparent for a Ladino child, tho this is very rare. I know of one such case. I do not know the circumstances surrounding it at all. It is usually, the Indian who seeks the Ladino as a godparent rather than the Ladino seeking an Indian. I feel fairly sure that it is considered something of a disgrace for an Indian to serve as godparent for a Ladino child. The fact remains that at least Indians and Ladinos are united by compadre and comadre bonds thru the Indian children. It is felt by both Indian and Ladino that such unity requires mutual respect exchange and ascertain amount of dispensation of favor when possible. For instance, while most Indian women go the public pila for water, those or at least some of those who themselves or thru their families have godparent connections with the owner of the pension here in town, where there is a private pila, come here for water. So too in the case of a young Indian man who has no place to house a woman he wants to live with until he gets rid of the woman with whom he is now forced to live--he tells me that his godmother has consented to take in the girl as a servant in the house and let her live here until he himself can provide otherwise for the girl. Indians and Ladinos who are related by godparent relationships address each other in the appropriate terms--calling each other madrina, or padrino, or compadre or comadre, whatever the circumstances of relationship happen to call for. The usual ladino-indian relationships then which seem to prevail in the absence of such relationship are watered down --and indeed a

his is
entire.

positive pleasant affect sometimes accrues to the situation. This is not to say that thru this institution ladino and indian so related acquire equal status--but it is to say that thru this service an indian can command and usually gets more respect and deference than he might otherwise get--as long as he doesn't become too familiar and preserves the proper respectful attitude toward his godparent or his compadre--which attitude is something more than respectful when compared to the 'respect' shown him by his ladino relative. It is difficult to say to what extent the godparent relationship has either become intensified or attenuated over the past years. Certainly the obligations which were thought to devolve on a godparent have become less in the past years--what with the decline of the income level of the Ladino and of the Indian alike--and the multiplication of such godparent relationships thru the practice of seeking out the wealthier people to so serve--thus making men and women godparents of an incredible number of children--the woman owner of the local pension being said to be godparent to a hundred children. At least the economic burdens involved have grown less. People--Indian and Ladino alike--are cognizant of this--there seems to be no cognizance of attenuation of expectations along non-material lines. As has been mentioned in other discussions (see Life Cycle) it sometimes happens that an orphaned child is adopted by his godparent and raised by him. When it is a Ladino who takes in an Indian child, the child becomes a house servant or an unpaid field mano, in exchange for his room and board and perhaps occasional clothes. He remains in this capacity until marriage--and if the godparent is willing and has money--he may help the lad in his marriage. If not, the child must somehow seek funds from other resorts in order to consummate his marriage. The family of the Indian girl involved in such a case usually helps out. If the child is taken in by an Indian family he becomes on equal status with all other children of the family--except in case of inheritance of the property of the male head of the household. The adopted child is excluded from all such inheritance, unless, as is rare, the man bequeaths directly to him. But in all other regards he is expected to be treated equally with the other children. Whether this is observed or not I do not know. But at least the expectations in behavior militate against discrimination of the adopted child. Now it is not rare either that an Indian child will pass into the custody of a Ladino family even if a parent or sometimes both parents are alive. In the case for instance of a man deserting a woman and leaving her with children on her hands, she will sometimes go to a Ladino family and offer her child to the Ladino family to do with as they wish--i.e. to raise the child in the household, using it as a houseservant or a field aid. So too in some cases where one of the spouses dies and the remaining spouse cannot take care of all the children. One or several of the children will pass into a Ladino household or households, on occasion, and grow up in that household--until such a time as they, with the consent of their own parent and of their guardian, see fit to release them from the household of their growing-up. In such cases the Indian child usually gets removed from the stream of native culture which still persists--will not learn the native tongue--but as far as I can tell never becomes accepted as a Ladino. He is always known as an Indian. He may show all Ladino mannerisms and attitudes--to the point of being contemptuous of Indians--he may even don shoes if they are available.

but he is not considered a ladino. It may be said of him scornfully by other indians that he 'is trying to become ladino'--as is the case with a servant for the wealthiest store owners in town--who have an indian helper who has lived with the family all her life. Of her other indians say "she tries to pass for ladino but the ladinos know she isn't ladino and we indians know that she is pure indian". Or it may be said of such 'converts' that, this time by the Ladinos, that "he is almost like a Ladino--h 's as good as a Ladino when it comes to speaking". But both of these verbalizations indicate I think that despite total conversion in habits, mannerisms and attitudes--one cannot cross the 'race' line here. Since intermarriage between Ladino and Indian has never occurred here as far as I know we have no test of the results. But when asked about the hypothetical results of such cases Ladinos say the child is a 'cross'--and if the husband is ladino the child has a better chance of being accepted as a Ladino in Ladino society, than if the father is Indian. There are some cases reported--one of which I know in detail--of children resulting from illegal relationships between an Indian man and a lower class ladino woman. In this case the woman has custody of the children and is raising them 'as ladinos'. But they will always be known as crosses--even tho they may later deny their indian father parentage and attempt to function as ladinos. They will be able perhaps to function as Ladinos and marry Ladino men. Crosses can succeed in crossing the 'race' line. But if they cross the 'race' line it is only when they assume the full attitudinal and habitual paraphernalia of the Ladino. The case of the telegraph officer in town is a case in point. His bastard half brother is also functioning as a Ladino to the point where he is one of the three municipal regidores of the higher rank--and this status is strictly reserved for Ladinos. But a man with both parents Indian can, as far as I know, never do this. (I do not want to prolong this discussion of racial interrelations--since it will be treated in detail in a special discussion devoted to it). Now relations between Indian families are usually of an informal nature, tho a great deal of formality in talk and salutation seems preserved. Occasional visits--usually between the males of the family--are observed. In such cases the visitor must be treated with the utmost of hospitality and given food and a chair or a hammock. Since the indian is very poor, the amount of food or such items exchanged in visits is not considerable--but at least the display of friendship must be formalized with such gift making. This is true not only within the local neighborhood groups but indeed when the Indian travels outside of his residence locale as well. The institution of 'posada' provided for the traveling Indian. Any indian may come to the house of any other Indian--whether he know the family or not--and ask for a night's lodging. The man cannot be refused. If a hammock is available it is given him. If a bed is available it is given him. And, in the morning, before leaving, the man is invited to take coffee and tortillas and beans with the male head of the household. One of my informants states that he gives such posada about once a month to travelers--some of whom he knows, others whom he does not know at all. There is a differential in treatment between visitors previously known and those not known--but it is only a slight differential in the amount of food given him and the kind of lodging given him. The fact is that Indians do not have what they call 'friends' outside of

the municipio. They have acquaintances of the road whom they may visit occasionally during the course of their travels; if the road to their specific selling objective happens to lead by the residence of this acquaintance. The exception to such cases occurs when an Indian has moved out of the pueblo of his birth--and he makes trips back to the pueblo or friends from the pueblo of his birth to happen to be passing thru his new residence site may stop in and visit with him for a while. There is no such thing as far as I know of going to another pueblo or aldea just to pay a visit. One always has either a future objective toward which he is moving, or else has specific business to contract with his friends, or acquaintances. One here does not say "I think I'll buzz off to Jalapa to spend a couple of days with fulano whom I haven't seen in a long time". Families themselves do not reunite merely for social purposes. A family may accidentally happen to get together at the paternal household. This is always considered a happy coincidence. But there is no planning of such reunions. And, while it seems that it was formerly a practice for families to reunite on the day of the patron saint of the oldest male in the family--or on the Day of the Dead--even this does not seem to obtain to any considerable degree. Marriage, births and deaths do bring the family members together. But aside from these three times of passage--there seems no trend toward family reunions. This may well be because members of a family usually see each other every day--if they live near each other--paying occasional calls back and forth--and thus there is no spice to the family reunion. Or it may just be that there is no purpose seen to total family reunions. I do not know. The fact remains that the practice is very limited. Reunions do occur sometimes at the plaza--or for longer periods of time--in the market place on Thursdays and Sundays. But these too are unplanned--and they endure for only brief periods of time--each woman or man having specific business to conduct and having little time to purposefully set aside as visiting time. The exception to this is for the men on Sunday afternoon. Indian men as a rule do not work on Sunday afternoons--and, if they do not have to report for military drill on Sunday morning, they take a full day of rest. On this day visits are exchanged more frequently than on any other day (except special fiesta days when invitations bring one to the house of a friend). Men dress up in clean clothes if they have them, put on non-work sandals if they have them, and slip into a jacket, if they have one, and go to make a social call on a friend--which, however, has been announced beforehand, although this previous announcing is not strictly required--but is a means of insuring that the one to be visited will be at home when the visit is made. Visiting at other times is rare. A man may if he has to go out at night stop in for a moment at the house of a friend if he happens to be passing by. Or if he has specific business to conduct, the business call is always in part a social call. One does not proceed immediately to the agenda of the day. Social formalities in the form of coffee etc. have to be observed. But these visits are of short duration and always have a specific intent other than social reunion. Since an Indian man is almost always occupied all day long, all year long--and since an Indian woman is equally occupied--one does not have time to pass the time of day even with a neighbor. This applies less stringently to some of the young Indian boys--who are hangers on on the Ladino fringe--; they meet at the chinaman's store and sit on the bench in the

passing away the afternoon or part of it; they join on street corners at night and pass away the hours before bedtime, holding hands, chatting, or just sitting and staring. These however seem to be exceptions to the general rule. For there are always straw hats waiting to be made at home--and if parental discipline is strict the boy is at home making straw hats--for which he needs no light or illumination. Indian girls do not get a like opportunity. They are not permitted to go out at night--unless there is a concert--or a baptism--or "something doing" up in the square. In such cases Indian women as well as girls come up for an hour or so--haggling always on the periphery of the event--which is almost always pure lading--and, when the event ends, hurry home to their houses and to their husband's bed either to sleep or to lend valiant aid in the turning out of another muchacho or muchacha so that he or she may too do the same things when he or she gets older.

Let us turn for a moment now from the family per se and see in society's rules of behavior and its formal structure how the family organization is macrocosmically projected on some scales. Of major worth to note initially is the fact that if one 'has respect and education' he treats all his elders--as tho they were of his family. This goes as far as the actual vocative addressing of the person in question--and the response to request for favors and services. The age-respect principle combined with the education-respect principle enforces this expected behavior on Indian members of the society here. The Indian society expects--and the law of the government in some ways back it up--in its expectations ---that an older man is to be treated by younger men as tho they were parents--in--part of the younger man. It is expected and allowed that an older man may beat a younger man if the younger one shows disrespect. If the younger person refuses to allow himself to be subjected to such non-familial discipline, other older members, if present, will drag the reluctant younger one off to the arms of the law--and the intendente is said to back up the elder person in such cases. The agreement of the actual father--or his disagreement--depends on what he believes to have been the facts of the case. If he discovers to his satisfaction that the older one was right--and the son rude and disorderly--he may add his own whipping to that which the intendente will order administered. If however he does not concur with the facts as presented by the older man--but agrees that his son was right--then an enmity may spring up between the father and the other man involved which may last for years. Such enmities however seem to have semi-institutionalized means for dissolution. It is said for instance that if two men who are enemies happen to be invited to a same social function--and one, in slight drunkenness goes over to the other and offers him a drink, the other may not deny the overture and the pact of friendship, or at least of non-enmity is sealed with the drink. This is only in minor enmities, however, and in cases where purported poaching on one's land, or stealing of one's daughter and like violations of public moral code, the enmity usually lasts many years. It need not however descend the generation ladder, unless the father involved forbids the children to have intercourse with any members of the family of the man with whom he is feuding. It is said however that there are children who are friends with boys or girls in another family even tho the respective male heads of the family may be feuding.

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If there was family feuding in former days this seems to be a decided attenuation in the practice. In cases where a feud is in progress, and illness falls on the family of one of the parties to the feud, almost always the other party to the feud is accused of having, thru the employment of a sorcerer, caused the illness of the other family in the feud. Often a child in a family may get sick--and the cause of it be attributed to an enemy who is trying to get even with the father of the family by bringing illness upon his little ones. If it is generally accepted that the enemy is the cause of the illness society condones retribution in the form of a stone to the head on a dark night or counter sorcery in the form of causing illness or death in the other family. but one can not properly speak of society justifying such things--for when feuds do arise--and each man knows he has enemies and who they are--the man's friends how to his dislikes--just as the other party to the feud has his sympathizers. So, as with most other things, the tendency toward genuine unity of the society thru kinship and godparent and neighborhood bonds--is in some measure counteracted by the tendency to assume your friend's dislikes as your own and to let it be known to that effect--thereby incurring the dislike of those whom you have vicariously taken a dislike to thru the medium of your friend involved. We should note in passing that the most serious offense which a man can commit against another is to steal part of his land; this seems to be more serious than stealing his wife. There seems to be some tendency to 'laugh' off the matter in the latter case. The former is a case for the law officials, and for almost endless feuding, sorcery and enmity.

One would expect that in a society so small as this, the neighborhood would constitute an active and effective sociational group. But it seems that it does not except in a very limited way. The pueblo now is divided into seven barrios, and men are known as much by the barrio from which they come as by their family name--in fact, in identifying a man one has to give his family name and his barrio--since family names are shared in common by so many that one has to specify in order to effect active cognizance of the person being referred to. But there seems to be no special 'barrio pride' or 'community consciousness' on the level of the barrio relationship. True, the government in its dispensation of orders or duties or obligations follows the barrio division. But men may live in the same barrio and not even have speaking acquaintance. On the otherhand, men living at opposite corners of the town may be in strong relationship with each other. The geographical contiguity of the barrio, to be sure, aids in knowledge of all the affairs of one's neighbors, but this is no more productive of friendship or special community feeling on this scale than it is of enmity. And indeed it seems that the latter may sometimes be more provoked by geographical nearness. For, one tends to blame a neighbor if a chicken disappears--; one blames a neighbor if his wife is thought to be misbehaving; one gets mad at the neighbor's children for crying and disturbing the peace; one has to bring a neighbor to account if his animals invade one's sitio; and it is with neighbors' wives that one's own wife loses time gossiping or idling, when she should be home preparing food or just being at home. True, children of the same neighborhood tend to play together. And in some instances this play relationship develops into later adult friendship. But the child is so soon removed from his play habit

and made a work animal that the contacts of his childhood are usually broken off, and his adult associations formed anew and on different bases. The question of geographic al nearness of milpas is more productive of discord than of harmony--for there the vital question of moving of fences, illegal pasturage of animals, stealing of crops, etc. is always present as a potential source of enmity and feuding. There is a certain feeling that one should be friendly with one's neighbors--it is expressed by saying "after all, somos vecinos de terreno" or ~~XXXXXXXX~~ "estamos del mismo barrio" but this seems to have little effect or affect attached to it. One has to be careful of his neighbors, for while they may be good at heart, temptation is difficult to resist. We may conclude, provisionally (not knowing the case for the ideas) that neighborhood does not seem to be an effective sociation group for the Pokoman Indian--except to produce discord. Men do not hew to membership in the same barrio as reason sufficient for cooperation. Their major sociation lines are formed along blood and marriage relationships and other friendly contacts, which do not recognize barrio lines.

There are no secondary social organizations of any import in Indian Pokoman life except the cofradias. True, young Indian boys seem to have fond friendships with others--; they walk the streets at night arm in arm, they hold hands with each other (I note this for the second time because I have seen it so frequently practiced) they come and dance with each other in the darkened areas of the plaza when the marimba is playing at one of the three-times-weekly night concerts, they horse around and wrestle with each other, they whisper secrets and probably, tho I do not know, join in common sexual adventures into the land of females. But they do not have much time as a general rule--unless their parents are lax in discipline--to promote such friendships. They too are work men, and men of the milpa, men of travels and of making straw hats---even as their fathers. I cannot account for the presence of a small fringe of Indian boys of 16,17,18--who hang around with each other and seem to have as much spare time as the Ladino idlers. They are seemingly always dressed in clean clothes--i.e. non-work clothes--non-work sandals--non-straw hats--and sitting around and chatting the long afternoons. I say I cannot account for this except in terms of lax parental discipline--and this is only a hunch drawn out of the range of possible alternative explanations which come to mind from what I know of the culture and its general attitude toward unfruitful occupation of 'spare time'. But aside from them, adolescent friendships seem to have little time to develop. Judging by an adult's friendship circle, it seems not unreasonable to say that a man in this society has many acquaintances but very few friends. One thing that does impress me startlingly about friendship alliances is that they are not close knit. One sympathizes with a friend's trouble and may aid sometimes; one may do an occasional favor; indeed one is expected not to deny a friend a favor he may ask; (the obligation is much stronger in the case of relatives); but I have seen some men go thru crises periods here where their closest friends lifted not one finger

to aid them except to extend verbal sympathies; and even these seemed not greater than those which come forth from known enemies of the man--when they were informed of the man's plight. It seems therefore that the society does not expect a man no matter how full of enmity he may be for another to say "it serves you right". Silence or fake commiseration is the expected norm, I think, but the fact remains that the friends in these cases did not aid from knowledge personally of two such cases I am inclined to think that the friends could have aided. But it may be that each Indian has his own fund of trouble to such a degree that he can do no more than extend verbal sympathies. It is the family in the last analysis--as indeed it was in the cases I intimate at above--who must and in most cases can be depended upon. But if in times of personal plight there is little recourse to be had to friends--at least it seems that in times of need of physical assistance on a work project--one may depend on friends and acquaintances as well as families. Thus, when a man wishes to build a new house--he informs friends and relatives 15 days in advance--and the day appointed there is a large turnout--and the house is erected in short order. The wives of the men involved also pitch in and help cook food for all concerned. So too with institutionalized facts of grief letting--such as a funeral--a man may depend on friends to help dig the grave. A man may also call on his friends to aid in milpa work--and this is very frequent--and is institutionalized to the extent that it has a specific name--"demo un lomo" one asks of another and knows that he will not be denied except for very good reasons. There seems in short to be a great deal of mutual aid exchanged between Indians--within family and friendship lines--but it seems to stop short at entirely personal difficulties. I see no other satisfactory principle to use in distinguishing between those cases where mutual aid is exchanged and those where it is not. And even this is a poor classification--for friends will help out in times of illness and disease and in times of other crises. I cannot, therefore, account for the two cases where the man's closest friends did not come to his aid, unless it be something in the specific nature of the friendship relations between the men involved. I am inclined to think that mutual aid is exchanged even more in the aldeas than in the pueblo. Here it seems that the well being of the aldea depends more on community cooperation than it does in the case of the pueblo, where the intervention of the government and the assignment of official duties helps to slough off part of each individual's own-assumed obligations.

Turning now to the cofradia as an agent of sociation for the Pokoman Indian we may initially note that it does not cover a large percentage of the Indian population in town. Monthly reunions of cofradias are poorly attended. Membership in cofradias is limited to about 30 each in the two major cofradias. The other two 'particular' do not have a regular membership--but it seems that since they are cofradias which concern other than strictly religious matters--i.e. planting and harvesting; and fiesta conduct--they are better attended when the reunions are held. This may be because food and sometimes music other than the chiribia is served up to the attendees. I do not know. I do however wish to note the difference that I have noticed. Even with the two strictly religious cofradias--those of San Luis and Santa Cruz--it has always seemed to me at each of

them--the major purpose of attendance was something different than religious. Music is played--for the only time in the month(except for the concerts during each week which the Indian does not consider as his own); men come together and redecorate the house and the altar; there are jokes exchanged, and sometimes chilate is served; conversation is lively sometimes; but one gets the feeling that bonds of relationship which have been allowed to water out during the month are renewed with vigor on these reunion nights; the role and purpose of the principales at the cofradias seems to be different than that of the average Indian in attendance; the principal seems to be present chiefly to pay special homage to his patron saints; they occupy themselves far more than any of the other Indians in praying during the night; and when they are not praying they are usually asleep in their seats; other Indians, however, who are not religious functionaries in any special sense, seem to invoke a spirit of cofrade companionship on this night which they do not have a chance to or perhaps do not feel inclined to on other occasions; except for making an initial bow and crossing in front of the saint set up on the altar when they enter for the evening--they pay little attention to the saint during the rest of the night--which they spend in gossiping, or sleeping or cracking jokes back and forth. The Indian almost chronically speaks in a subdued voice--and this is even more so at the cofradias; only the principales seem not to be bound by this deference paying which the others practice; It also seems that 'alegria' is measured on such occasions by the number of hours one spends at the reunion. If one spends the whole night, the affair is considered more 'alegre' than if one just passes a mere 'ratito'--which is no less than two hours and often more. But in short one cannot talk of the cofradias here as being widely used organizations of social organization or contact between Indian men. Their avowed purpose is religious; their seemingly actual function is for community life diversion; their net result is to keep bound together a little band of men who seem intent on preserving the Indian life way against the invasion of the Ladino life way.

This brings us in our discussion to a point where logically we should talk of Ladino-Indian joint social organization. But since a major attack will be made at this in a special portion to be devoted to it, and since, in part, my writing of political organization, religious organization, fiestas, etc--we cannot fail and have not failed to bring in some of the elements of this relationship which have the special hue of the matter--having under discussion, we will not go into this now. Likewise with matters of inheritance which have been discussed in part in other sections, and will be treated more fully in a section on 'economics'. This leads us finally (though perhaps we should have turned to it before) to a discussion of the actual kinship system. But for this one should turn to the already written description of the kinship system, which will be summarized more closely and analytically when we come to make a final summation and are more sure of the kinship system than we are now.

| relation | reference term relative speak. | reference term ego speaking | vocative ego speak. | vocative relative speak. |
|----------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| W | nahl | wishkiel | name of person | name of person |
| WB | waluk | waluk | ha-ho | ha-ho |
| WB | gwetcham | wishnam | k'u and name | s'u and name |
| WBW | ---see note 12 in "additional notes". | | | |
| WSH | wutchimass (or) wutch j'i k'im | wutchimass (or) wutch j'i k'im | ha-ho | ha-ho |
| WM | nuji | tinujak'en | tut | sun or s'u and name |
| WF | nuji | nuje machij | tat | sun or s'u and name |

All the children of siblings of ego's wife are treated, vocatively and referentially, as ego's own nephews and nieces. *Same here*
 First cousins of wife of ego are treated by ego, vocatively and referentially, in the same manner that ego treats his wife's siblings. *liwado - Same here*
 Children of first cousins of wife of ego are treated by ego, vocatively and referentially, in the same manner that ego treats his own nephews and nieces. *Same*

see note 22

Parents in law, referentially, are wu-ni-ki-hal, regardless of sex. Vocatively, one consuegro may not say hu-ho to the other, but has to use s'u and name. Vocatively, one consuegra says k'u and name to other consuegra. Vocatively, consuegro says k'u and name to consuegra; consuegra, vocatively, says s'u and name to consuegro. *Same*
 Nephews and nieces of wife, in direct lineage to wife, i.e. ego's WBs or WBD, etc. are treated as nephews and nieces of direct lineage to ego--vocatively and referentially. Tios and Tias of wife, in direct lineage, i.e. ego's WFB, or WMS, etc. are treated as tios and tias of ego--vocatively and referentially. *Same*
 Grandparents of ego's wife --in direct lineage with wife, i.e. ego's WFF, WFM, etc. are treated as ego's own grandparents, in direct lineage--vocatively and referentially. *Same*
 The following are relationship terms which are still lacking--starting with ego as female.

| | | | | |
|-----|---|---|--------------|----------------------|
| HB | wishnam | gwetcham | s'u and name | k'u and name |
| HS | <i>wutch liwado</i> | <i>wutch liwado</i> | s'u and name | k'u and name |
| HBW | wutch ishoj (or) wutch eli wass k'im | wutch ishoj (or) wutch eli wass k'im | k'u and name | k'u and name |
| HSW | see note 12 in "additional notes". | | | |
| HM | wilim | tinujak'en | tut | k'un or k'u and name |
| HF | wilim | nuje machij | tat | k'un or k'u and name |

* I discover that to distinguish female consuegro from male consuegro one says TE WU NI KI HAL for female & just WU NI KI HAL for male. *Same.*

OCT. 21, 1942--SUMMARY OF POKOMAM RELATIONSHIP TERMS--CONSANGUINEAL AND AFFINAL--Informants:

Luis Najera
Jose Yague

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| RELATION | REFERENCE TERM Relative Speaking | REFERENCE TERM EGO SPEAKING | VOCATIVE TERM EGO SPEAKING | VOC. RELATIVE SP. |
|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| 8 OB 2 | Nu chak | gwass | ha-ho | ha-ho |
| 8 OS 2 | Nu chak | gwanam asu-wiess | k'u and name | s'u and name |
| 8 YB 2 | gwass | nu chak | ha-ho | ha-ho |
| 8 YS ✓ | gwass | gwanam chak-wiess | k'u and name | s'u and name |
| 16 FBd 11 | kaprimohinkilakim | kaprimahinkilakim | k'u and name | s'u and name |
| FBs | " | kaprimahinkilakim | ha-ho | ha-ho |
| <p>Note: These two terms for 'cousin' hold for all children of all of father's and mother's siblings regardless of age of sibling or of child. Note further: any children of 'cousins' who are of same age level as ego are treated as 'cousins' as well and the same vocative terms are used. This is not 'compulsory'. It is a matter of 'education and respect'. See note 6 in "additional notes". In this case, i.e. of children of cousins, strict 'education and respect' requires that children of cousins be treated as nephews. But "en confianza" or "en chauseando" (which seem to mean the same in geneology references) one may treat his cousin's son or daughter as a cousin, if the relative is of same age level as ego.</p> | | | | |
| 9 BW 3 | gwetcham | wishnam | k'u and name | s'u and name |
| 9 SH 3 | waluk | waluk | ha-ho | ha-ho |
| 111 Bc | nu-ta and name | wi-kaj | sun | tat or ta and name |
| 111 Bd | nu-ta and name | wi-kaj-a-ha | k'un | tat or ta and name |
| F | KOSUN daughter's wakun ishgin | nu-tat | tat | sun |
| 111 FB | wi-kaj? | nu-ta and name or tat | ta and name or tat | sun or s'u and name |
| 111 FS | wi-kaj | nu-tu and name | tu and name or tut | sun or s'u and name |
| M | wakun | nu-tut | tut | sun |
| 10 MB 4 | wi-kaj | wikan | ta and name or tat | sun |
| 10 MS | wi-kaj | nu-tu and name | tu and name or tut | sun |
| 13 MSs 8 | nu-ta and name | wi-kaj | sun or su and name | tat or ta and name |
| 14 MSs 9 | nu-mam | gwi | mam or tat or ta and name | sun or su and name |
| 15 FF 10 | gwi | numam | mam or tat | sun or s'u and name |
| 15 FFF 10 | kashikin | kaman | mam or tat | sun or s'u and name |
| 16 FFM 10 | kashikin | kayam | yam or tut | sun or s'u and name |
| 15 FM | gwi | nu-yam | yam or tut | sun or s'u and name |
| 17 FFSa 12 | wi-kaj | nu-ta and name | ta and name or tat | sun or s'u and name |
| 17 FFSd 12 | wi-kaj | nu-tu and name | tu and name or tut | sun or s'u and name |

Numbers in left margin refer to explanatory notes in "additional notes"

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1. children, if legitimate or legitimized, take the name of the father as their family name. otherwise the name of the mother prevails. this is for spanish names. as far as indian equivalents are concerned, i do not know. i will find out.

2. in cases of crosses--as for instance the two children luis has by the ladino woman, sara servantes; there seems to be no fixed rule as to whether child is ladino, Indian or mesclado. luis, for instance, when asked by me as to whether his children were ladino or indian or mesclado, answered without hesitation that they were naturales; then, said, "wait a minute", thought a few seconds, then looked at me and asked me what i thought. i told him i didn't know what the custom was here. he laughed and said "oh, well, maybe they re half and half". other times he has insisted very seriously that the children are indian since they have his blood. but since the children are growing up in the care of the ladino woman, i feel that they will be recognized as ladinos crosses rather than as indian crosses.

3. it seems there are certain reciprocal vocatives between ego and his grandfather ~~and~~ which are used "en chanso". luis said, for instance, that if he is passing his grandfather on the street and the grandfather is with a group of men, luis may say to him "en chanso" "ha-ho", the same as one says to one's brother, or cousin. the grandfather will answer ha-ho "en chanso". also, if the grandfather is of a very advanced age, one may call him "waluk" and the grandfather calls the grandson "wauk" in return. but, luis, says, in-decent formal talk, one must always ~~xxx~~ refer to his grandfather as 'numam'.

4. there are no differences made between the ages of the uncles or aunts. even if the uncle or aunt happens to be younger than ego, ego has to call them by the term for uncle and aunt, "because they are brothers and sisters of my mother, whether I'm younger or older than them and so i must show them the proper respect".

5. the question of when to use vocatives and when not to use them seems firmly understood by ego, and, indeed there seems to be affect attached to their use in many cases. for instance, i was trying to get the vocative one used to his older sister and luis insisted that there was none. he said if one wanted to one can say "hatugwass" or "hat nuchak" if it's a younger sister. "But, senor, one never says this. Why should we mention it when she knows and i know whether she is my older or younger sister. Other people may ask you in language "how is your older sister or how is your younger sister" but you never call your younger sister, "younger sister" when you are speaking with her, never, never! No, it's vergenzuoso to do this. One never does it. But it's not vergenzuoso to say ha-ho to your brother. Now, if you are speaking "en confianza" to your older sister or younger sister and she wand to say something to you, she says, "hat-a-su-wich"; hat means you; and su-wich is my name. (wich is his name--wich is lengua equivalent for luis. thus su and first name seems to be the vocative used on ego). And so when I speak to my mother, I say hat-a-tut to her. my mother's name is I-EL--but only my father's brother or his wife use this name to my mother. So too I may use the proper name of my brother's wife when I am speaking to her and it is not an offense. Now, my father ~~xxxxxxx~~ and I can play with my mother and call her by her name; but this is only playing and she will laugh much when we call her by her name, or, if my brother and sister should by chance arrive to visit me and we would be sitting around and laughing very much, if we should call each other by our proper names in full we would laugh more --because it is the gusto that one has to 'chanciar'. But we only do this "dansiendo". " --- This came put in the first hour of our work on geneology--and from then on when I would want to get the vocative, I would ask luis how he called his relative when he was speaking "en confianza" with him --and vica versa for the vocative for Luis himself-- and then for the reference terms I would merely ask him how one called such and such a person--(i had names of his relatives each time--). I found out after a while that luis was throwing in the first names of his relatives along with the vocatives--so i had to take time out to get a lengthy list of lengua first names to check on this.

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It took more than this to get equivalent reference terms all the time. Luis would give me long descriptive terms sometimes--and then very short reference terms. I think however that I finally am getting equivalent reference terms in every case. Luis is learning geneology as much as I in the process. we are not yet done--since he is now in jail in jalapa--as of yesterday morning--but he should be back any day and then I will get it completed.

Luis insists that for reference terms if one wants to make perfectly clear what the relationship is one has to indicate on which side of his family the relationship stands--thus, for a first cousin--i.e. MOBd --one should say it is his "kaprimakim dru um nutut"--i.e. first cousin by part of his mother; and kaprimakim dru um nutat when it is on his father's side. but, when I would ask Luis "what is she to you"--and using the person's name--Luis would answer only with kaprimakim. (Digame, Luis, Petrona, la hija de su hermana mayor, ~~que~~ que es ella a usted?----the answer was "kaprimakim". I took this to be the reference term.

6. one of the major principles in the geneology system is what I call the 'respect-education principle' borrowing the own words of my informant. I am going to report a lengthy conversation here to show its ramifications not only in the family system but in the general societal order as well--and, indeed, it has a tie up with the acculturation of the Indian thru the school and thru service in Guatemala, as will be seen. the matter started with how one calls his first cousins. Luis starts the conversation:

Luis: We talk like brothers. We do not respect each other; (nos nos respetamos); because, for instance, I go to my uncle Pasquale's house and we talk--his children and I--without respect. They say to me "ha-ho" and U say to them "ha-ho". It is the same with my father's side. I go to Petrona, the daughter of Aunt Rosa, and say "K'U Petrona" as if she were my sister

Tumin: And what if your cousins are much older than you, don't you have to respect them?

Luis: Oh, I have to respect them, older or younger; in front of others one must not set a bad example, one must show his education. If I'm only to 'channiar' with them then we don't respect each others; but if they ask me to do something, I have to do it and if I ask them to do something, they have to do it.

Tumin: And if they don't?

Luis: Oh, if they have their own work they will, allright; but if they're not occupied then they have to do it.

Tumin: And if they don't then?

Luis: (laughing) Well, we stay that way. But when they come to ask me/a favor, then I don't do it for them.

Tumin: ^{for} do they have more obligations than friends who are not of the family?

Luis: Yes, because with others it gives one much "peina" to "molestarlos". But in the family, no, we may talk "en confianza".

(at this point I was quite unsure of the meaning of the word respect, so:

Tumin: Luis, what does respect mean?(respeto)

Luis: Respeto? Respetar una a la gente; por ejemplo, usted y yo; yo lo respete usted. It's like education. Because when one does not have respeto he says almost anything in front of people. Or one offends others in front of other people. One perhaps scolds an older person. Then the older person has to say "Malcriado, sin respeto! Sois menor que yo y no me respetas. Me offendas y sois bastante menor que yo. No te educó su padre? Otra gente xa te va educar con chicote". That's what we here call maleducacion. Then the malcriado gets worse, more bravo. And if the older man calculates to beat the younger one and the younger one is bigger he'll beat the old man.

Tumin: And if there are others present?

Luis: Then they'll drag the malcriado to the intendente.

~~xxxxxxx~~

Tumin: and if there are other malcriados present?

Luis: Oh, they'll be bravo with the intendente too. Because when one is malcriado, he doesn't respect the authorities either. (sic). and he'll say to the intendente, "Why

should I let the old one beat me just because he says I didn't show respect to him: just because he's older?"

Tumin: And-what will the intendente do then?

Luis: Oh, he'll sentence the malcriado to one month or twenty days in jail for his malcriadesa.

Tumin: What do the people say about this?

Luis: Some are content for the trouble that the malcriado has gotten into.

Tumin: And others?

Luis: The companeros malcriados are sad because they'll get the same punishment if they do the same things.

Tumin: Are there many young ones here who are malcriado?

Luis: No, only a few.

Tumin: For example?

Luis: Well, maybe there are fifty malcriados among all the muchachos here. (laughter).

Tumin: Luis, how does one become malcriado.

Luis: They let them grow that way when they are very young. They let them say bad words.

For example, pedro's two children. (pedro was my other informant--but is now 'sacked')

If one says anything to them they pick up a stone and throw it. Oh, they're malcriados.

They say "puta, chingado, cabron"; Bad words! Then, too, you know, they say to each other, since they're brothers, "vamos chimar".

Tumin: Is pedro malcriado?

Luis: Well, since I'm not very much of a friend of his-----yes, he's malcriado too.

(Luis expressed concern in the pause indicated by the dashes--he seemed reluctant to talk badly of another).

Tumin: Luis, if a father is malcriado are his children always malcriado?

Luis: Only some, not others.

Tumin: How do the others escape being malcriado?

Luis: If they put them in school. There they avoid the malcriadesa. And if they don't learn in school and are still malcriado when they are 18 or 19 then they send them to service in Guatemala--there they get educated too!

Tumin: And if they come back from service and are still malcriado?

Luis: Oh, they don't come back malcriado. Because there are plenty to order them around, and if they don't do what they're told, ping! they hit them with a whip. So they learn soon enough to do what they're told--soon enough! (smiling here).

(Luis then told me stories of his year in the "quarters"---especially funny incidents concerning the incident in 1931 when Santa Maria--a volcano--exploded--and there was a general mobilization--because they thought it was cannons from Mexico---and a rumor began floating thru that Quesaltenango was knee high in blood).

This respect principle comes in in the actual naming of people even more directly. For instance, Luis kept insisting that it doesn't make any difference whether an uncle is younger or older than ego-- one calls him the same. so, after we had had this conversation on respect, I took the cue, and, went back over each term we had done, and asked him "and if you don't have respect for your relative, how do you call him". In most instances the term remained the same, or, one just used the person's proper name. But in the case of brothers or sisters of parents--who are younger than ego--it turns out that "if you don't have education, then you treat your uncle as a brother and you say ha-ho to him and he says ha-ho to you. Like one of my nephews--the son of my sister Maria Pilar. He has an uncle Lorenzo, the brother of his father, who is his same age. and he calls him ha-ho and the uncle calls him ha-ho---and they scold each other much and fight at the slightest thing with each other. So with your aunts. If there is respect, you say Nu Tu and her name, or Tu and her name. If she is younger than you and you have no respect then you treat her like a sister--and say 'k'u and her name to her and she says S'u and your name to you.

7. Thru getting reference terms :relative speaking and ego speaking, I have thus secured a good many of the terms which would be used if the geneology were constructed around an ego--female instead of eg-male. some additional notes are needed. two sisters vocatively address each other with k'u and the first name, lenguaje, of the female--thus sister luisa says to sister rosa :k'u russ, and rosa says to luisa k'u wich. In all instances where sun is indicated as the vocative for ego male, the vocative for ego female is k'un, and where s'u and name is indicated, the female complement is k'u and name. All reference terms--ego--speaking, are the same whether ego is male or female. thus even if ego were female she would still say to her father 'tat' and 'tut' to her mother, etc. every place where ha-he is used as between two males, two females would say k'u to each other, with first names added. ~~xxxxxx~~ where a female is speaking to a male of same age level, the male says k'u to the female and the female says s'u to the male, first names added. I think this covers all female ego terms.

8. Unless otherwise explicitly stated there are no differences made, either referentially or vocatively, for different ages of siblings, spouses, parents, siblings etc. The only place where age differences seem to be noted are in reference terms for older and younger siblings of ego---and in the special case of cousin's children who are of same age--(cf. note on p.1, of kinship chart). the whole question of age differentiations is treated in some detail, as should be noted, in note # 6 under the discussion of the respect-education principle. a further note should be added, with reference to this principle. Generally speaking, anyone of the same age as ego, no matter what relation, if not bred with respect is vocatively addressed as a brother or sister. the reference term always remains the same, of course. there is one further degree of dis-respect and mal-education: i.e., in the cases of in-laws who are included referentially and referentially and vocatively within the kinship system 'out of respect and because of one's education'---where there is not this respect and education, then the referential term itself is dropped out--and one treats the person in question as an acquaintance or friend. This obtains in such special cases as the widow of ego's sister, for instance--who after the death of ego's sister informally severed connections with the family of his former wife---and, as my informant luis says, he is now treated as though he were outside the family---'tho he once was of the family'. any children of such a marriage, however, i.e between ego's dead sister and her now--"de-familized" widower are still considered within the family and treated as such.

9. ego is not considered any sort of relation to the relatives of the spouses of ego's siblings--i.e. ego is not a relative to BWB, for instance.

10. These terms hold for all of the children of all of ego's siblings, regardless of age of children or age of sibling. Many indians here insist that there are no lenguaje reference terms (altho there are descriptive terms) for tio, tia, sobrino, sobrina. Luis could give me terms for tio and tia, but could only give me descriptive terms for sobrino and sobrina. Jose Yaque could give me only one referential term, wikan, for MB. All other aunts and uncles (i.e. MB, MB, FS) regardless of age-- he could find no term for. Another informant whom I worked with this morning, in an attempt to clear up the difficulty, supplied me the terms for sobrino and sobrina. Note also that Luis, a young man of 28, used wikan indiscriminately, while Jose Yaque and my informant of this morning, the former some 59 years old and the latter 40 years old, insisted firmly that wikan is specially used and only used for brothers of one's mother. I think this is an interesting item in 'breakdown of the family system'---i.e. if Luis is not aware of this distinction while men on a different generation level are aware, I have not been able to question Luis on this for he is still in jail. But I shall do so when he gets back. The terms indicated for FB, FS, MS hold for all siblings of ego's parents, regardless of age (with the exception noted of MB--wikan). The question of the use of nu-ta and nu-tu for FB, FS, MS, referentially, and the use of tu-and name, and ta-and name vocatively brings some interesting, if somewhat inexplicable information, from Luis. he says as follows: "Nu-ta and nu-tu pronounce nothing. Thus, if I had a friend of mine are walking down the street and we meet my uncle Pasquale, and I say "ka-ti ha-ta" to him my uncle pasquale won't

22. there is an interesting case of the inclusion with a reference form of one who does not properly belong there. this is the case of the older brother of the husband of the sister of ego--i.e. OSHOB. Luis says that this person, named Marcelino Vicente, is considered as consuegro by Luis' parents "out of respect to the fact that he is older than Pedro". (pedro is OSH). I do not know how generally this applies. In this case, Pedro's parents were dead at the time of his marriage to ego's OS. It may be that he was thus placed within the kinship system for the absence of any parents of the man.

XI. Family

Family writ large plays an important part in the lifeways of both the Indian and the Ladino in San Luis, but enters-in-differently in each case. We may initially indicate that for the Indian the family functions as a loyalty group whereas for the Ladino it serves as a prestige group. For the Indian the family's preservation has been and continues to remain essential for the adequate economic sustainment of individual members of the family within the scope of approved and/or accepted economic efforts. For the Ladino in the pueblo the family constitutes the starting point out of which the individual is expected to move in order to provide his own living. Both for the Indian and for the Ladino the family is the group above all others in which the child secures training for his later adolescent and adult roles in society. There are no secondary groups of any importance in the pueblo which impart the training to the child which he will find necessary in later life. The schools most certainly do not function in this manner, and aside from the schools there are no friendship groups or social organizations of any sort which provide training for full adult role assumption, with the single exception in the case of the Indian of the cofradia, where a minor part of his later religious behavior may be learned.

There are no universally accepted rules of kinship in the Indian community; there is, however, sufficient a community of understanding as far as the naming of relatives

and the calling of them in native dialect is concerned, so that a kinship diagram could be constructed and offered as a generalized picture of kinship among the Pokoman Indians of San Luis Jilotepeque. But, from individual to individual, the supposed behavioral correlates of the kinship system vary so widely, both in professed belief and in actual behavior, insofar as I was able to observe, that it is possible to indicate only with a great deal of reservation what may perhaps be a pattern sufficiently general to call it the most characteristic pattern.

If by patriarchy we are given to understand the ultimate dominance of the male in household decisions, then we may call the Pokoman system patriarchal. But, except in relations between man and wife, and indeed, even in many instances of that relationship, the woman of the family has as much power and voice in decisions as the male. This is especially true in the raising and training of children, even to the male children of the family. An Indian child shows as much respect and/or fear for his mother as he does for his father up until the age of independence, an age the reaching of which depends in most part on whatever financial reserve the youth has been able to store or whatever opportunities for employment outside the family economic unit may suggest themselves to him.

There is no fixed rule of residence, though one notes a general tendency toward patrilocalism; but this tendency is ignored in not a few instances where the male youth depends

on the father of the girl for lands and a site for a house. No one is condemned nor censured for taking up residence in the house of or within the vague bonds which geographically unite the multiple family group.

There is no fixed rule of naming, to the point where not even the national law is followed on this count. The one general custom which most seem to observe is to name the child with the family name of the father in case of wedlock; and to give it the mother's family name where it is born out of wedlock. But this is not followed in many cases; and it is a matter of paying only a small fee which is involved in "legitimizing" the child with its father's family name if born out of wedlock; so that it is impossible, without considerable inquiry, to determine in any given case from merely the family name which the child uses whether he is of wedlock or was born out of wedlock; whether he is a child of the parents with whom he is living, or an adopted child; whether he is a half son or a half-daughter and what his exact relations to his siblings might be.

Moreover, the custom in Guatemala of a woman simply tacking on "of Smith" or whatever her husband's family name might be onto her own, after marriage, complicates matters even more. Thus, for instance, Maria Galvez marries Oscar Lopez; Maria Galvez then becomes Maria Galvez de Lopez, but continues to be called Maria Galvez all her life. A child born of this marriage, named, let us say, Juana, becomes Juana Lopez G. or Juana Lopez Galvez. When Juana marries she may name her children either with Lopez or Galvez

depending on her fancy of the moment, though the law prescribes that she should use her father's name; but assuming her husband's name were Lemus, Juana then becomes Juana Lopez Galvez de Lemus, and, a child becomes Fulano Lemus Lopez Galvez or Fulano Lemus Galvez Lopez, or Fulano Lemus Galvez L. or any of the other possible combinations. Add to these difficulties those arising from the fact that in not a few Indian families there are children of the same parents born out of wedlock as well as in wedlock, and some of those out of wedlock legitimized, and some not, and the difficulties involved in stating general principles of naming are apparent.

With the Ladino, naming procedure is much more standardized and the large number of complications which arise in Indian names do not arise usually among Ladinos.

In the pueblo of San Luis the Indian family's tendency, still highly observable in the aldeas, to form into a multiple family cluster with geographical unity, is decidedly attenuated. Children tend to take up residence in the same barrio as that in which their parents live, but this is not at all a necessary relation in the behavior patterns and expectations of the family system; and many children go off to other aldeas or to other pueblos to live; many of them go off to neighboring barrios or to the outskirts of town where house sites may be more freely available. Correlated with the attenuation of the tendency of multiple family clustering is the attenuation of the behavior correlates of multiple family clustering which one finds in the

aldeas, where, the multiple family operates as an economic unit, while, in the pueblo, the tendency is for the single family unit to operate as an economic unit, though a good deal of unpaid mutual aid is exchanged between members of a family where harmony still prevails between siblings and between children and parents.

In the pueblo only the father, the mother and the children tend to work together as an economic unit. All the labor of the children up until marriage (except in the cases of rebellious children, who, though few now, represent a trend which seems to have considerable promise of growth in the future) is dedicated toward the economic ends which the father and mother decide upon; all cash income is turned over to the parents and is spent by them in accordance with their notions of how it should be spent.

In return for this work of the children, the father and mother pay for the wedding of the male child and help the female child in her marriage, where necessary, to the point of paying for the marriage if the prospective groom has either totally indigent parents or no parents or relatives to stand up for him in the marriage. Without this paying for the marriage of the male child, in many instances the male child cannot get married. It seems that in earlier years this hold of the father over the child was a secure one. But within the last century the tendency toward simply taking up living with a woman without marriage has gained great headway, and, calculating from records I have of several

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generations of practice, it seems that in a relatively short time marriage has come to be looked upon by the Indian as a nice thing if possible, but not to be considered by any means the indispensable condition for the setting up of a household and the bearing of children. I have no records with which to accurately document my impression, that families set up without marriage prove to be far more brittle than those legalised by both civil and church officials; Indians do not consider themselves fully or really married with only civil ceremony. Unless the Church ceremony has been performed, the Indian does not consider himself or herself married, though some tend to treat children born in cases of only civil marriage as being children of wedlock, while others treat them as being illegitimate. There is no affect attached to illegitimacy, insofar as the child itself is concerned. In recent years a tendency has developed among the Ladinos toward attributing status partly along the lines of legitimacy or illegitimacy of birth. And some Indians have come in part to accept this attitude. But among the Indians it is not sufficiently generalized at all as yet to call it a ~~definitive~~ trend. Indications that it too has promises of considerable growth, however, are to be derived from the fact of the tendency among Indians toward legalization and legitimization of illegitimate children after birth, through the payment of the necessary fees.

The kinship system of the Indian calls as far as the verbalizations of Indians may be trusted for extreme

respect for immediate parents; for older siblings, both male and female; a joking relationship with one's grandfather, combined with respect; an ordering and forbidding relationship with younger siblings; considerable respect for one's paternal uncles and aunts, though less so than for one's parents; the same for one's maternal aunts; but in the case of maternal uncles, a deliberate pattern of joking relationship is expected. One's first cousins are to be treated as one's own siblings; one's godparents are to be treated with equal respect to that shown to one's parents; the children of one's godparents are treated the same as one's first cousins, and are included specifically within the kinship system as one's first cousins and may not be married by Ego. The incest taboo stretches only as far as first cousins laterally, and has no limits vertically, in that marriage is not permitted with grandparents or grandchildren or direct grandnieces or grandnephews or granduncles and aunts.

Ego's father and mother in law are called by the same vocative as Ego's own parents; and are treated with the same respect; Ego's brother and sister in laws are treated vocatively differently from Ego's own siblings, but behaviorally the same. There is so much confusion among the Indians as to the vocative and behavioral treatment to be accorded relatives-by marriage any further removed than immediate parents-in-law and siblings-in-law, that it is not possible to formulate any generalisation. There is in addition in the vocative and the reference terms some evidence of the remains

of some sort of levirate. But it is impossible to document this.

All members of a household are considered full economic workers after the age of about twelve and until death; elders are not expelled from the household and remain effective household leaders as long as children remain unmarried. A parent loses jurisdiction over his child after the child's marriage, whether the child be male or female. Visiting between parents and children after marriage of children is frequent, and respect patterns are preserved, though ordering and forbidding relationships no longer obtain. A widow will usually remain in the household with her unmarried children, until their marriage, as matriarch of the house; at their marriage she may either remarry, if she has not done so before, and continue to remain in the house, while her children move out; or she may continue to remain unmarried or unjoined with a second or third man, and function as one of the women in the household of her married child.

A married child who becomes either widow or widower or separated from his spouse has any number of alternatives, all of which are accepted and/ or approved; he may remarry or join up with another woman; he may move back with his parents and make special economic arrangements with them; he may take up living by himself; he may move out of the pueblo and desert the pueblo way of life. The last of these alternatives is held to be most undesirable. All the above is true for the female as well as for the male.

The laws of inheritance provide that in the absence of a written or spoken will, all property of the household passes to whatever spouse survives; and on his or her death, if no will is left, the property passes to all children, male or female, married or unmarried (with the exception of adopted children) in equal parts. This law of inheritance of all by the remaining spouse in some cases has acted as a defense for the spouse against being ousted by her or his children from the household.

Women hold property with equal rights. What is specifically the man's and what is specifically the woman's is agreed upon at marriage. In cases of later accumulation of property and real goods, chickens and other household animals are considered to be the woman's; the fields are to be divided equally; the house and the site of the house to be divided equally; tools of the field and the house are the man's; each one's clothing remains his own; available stocks of food stuffs are to be equally divided. These types of understandings have proven important in recent years, what with the tendency of couples, united by assent and not by law or the Church, to separate easily.

The pattern of expected behavior within the family is considered as the miniature of the pattern of expected behavior of young with old and male with female in the community at large. Offenses by a young man against an older, even if only a disrespectful word, are severely punished not only by the local officials of the government

but bring the child or the youth under the severest imaginable type of public censure and criticism, with the application of the word "malcriado" (badly raised one) and its attendant later reputation. Yet, there is no doubt that the pattern of age-respect which flows from the family into the community pattern is highly attenuated now in San Luis. Not a few Indian youth who have been involved in patterns of disrespect have asked the officials "Why should I take a lecture and insults from that old man; just because he's an old man? He's not my father!" That the community seems to sense the threat to its general pattern of respect for age is testified to, it seems, from the severity of the criticism and the overallness of that criticism, even from one's own parents, or perhaps, especially from one's own parents. The age respect principle flows over into the cofradia patterns of behavior, though there there is an attenuation due to the assumption of status by younger men who occupy fairly important positions in the pueblo government; thus, the regidores municipales are treated with a great deal of respect even by the principal at cofradia reunions.

All that is true of the male child with regard to the age-respect principle holds true for the female child as well.

The behavior expectations of the present kinship set up among the Indians of San Luis seems adequate to the general social structure of the Indian community when that community is not effectively in contact with Ladinos and Ladine influence;

but, as the pattern of work available to the Indian and desired by the Indian changes, and, as the pattern of public behavior desired by the Indian youth begins to change, and, as marriage becomes to be considered more and more of an unnecessary though nice formality, and, as the poverty of the Indian tends to allow for the supremacy of money considerations above all else, and, as the Indian becomes more and more aware of Ladino ways and their behavioral expectations, and, in adopting Ladino ways, forces himself almost to adopt those expectations as well; in the face of all these things the kinship bonds as now constituted are weakening considerably, and the behavior expectations of the kinship system, in some crucial instances, are sent shattering. For instance, it is not uncommon for a child to bring his parents to court in an argument over money or land or goods; it is not any more uncommon either for a parent to bring his child to court for the same reasons. It is growing increasingly common to see spouses dragging each other before the local officials to complain of maltreat. Formerly, the prestige of the principal was such and was so integrally related with the community of Indians as a whole, that such disputes were brought to them to be settled; but, Indians have learned that the bindingness of a decision by a principal is much less than that of a decision by a mayor. I have seen parents bringing an adult married child to court for disrespectful and abusive behavior to them; the court acted in favor of the parents, to the amazement of the child who could not see that

he had any special obligations to his parents now that he was a married and self supporting individual. I have seen mature siblings engaged in actual physical combat over possession of some instrument; and, I have seen siblings, both of them admitting in public to having tried witchcraft against each other, yet each insisting that he was going to bring the case against the other before the local government officials. I know of cases of siblings estranged for life from each other due to arguments over divisions of inheritance.

All these and like cases are stark witnesses to the breakdown of the formerly all-pervasive control of the family relationship system and its behavioral expectations. As the economy shifts more to an emphasis on cash, as the ways of the city and their temptations and inspirations filter down, as economic opportunities open by which the child can free himself from submission to the patriarchal rule of his father, so does the family of the Pokoman Indian tend and will continue to weaken.

Courtship patterns are tending to become less and less formal or, what is more true, tending to disappear altogether in the recognition by the Indian of the ease with which he or she can join up with a desired mate and later leave the mate without fear of punishment. Girls have been known over recent years to bring their parents into court for having tried to force them into undesired marriages. The law in all these instances has ruled in favor of the children,

to the point where, while parents may be effective in preventing marriages not desired, they are not and, as far as I can tell, do not try effectively to enforce a marriage against the choice of the child.

The breakdown of the pattern of marriage and of the marriage preliminaries thus excludes the principals from the marital relationship, leaving them out as effective reconciliators and peace makers in times of dispute, and thus leaving open only resort to law and the government for settlement of disputes where money and land and material goods are involved. And indeed, the higher incidence of legal claims among the Indians against each other for offenses against person as well as against property makes the observer feel that the Indian is coming more to believe in the greater efficacy of the law and the greater severity of punishment by law than that which might be effected by witchcraft.

To be sure a good many Indians try to settle disputes by themselves or with the aids of old men and wiser men. Women will go up into the hills and engage in hair pulling bouts; men will arrange to meet in the woods to flay each other with machetes and sticks. But in each of these instances the regidor of the barrio in which such a fight occurs is held personally responsible for such fights and his interference prompted by a desire to save himself from punishment has forced on the Indian the recognition that he is far better off immediately and in the long run to bring the dispute before the duly constituted authorities.

It is to be predicted then that as the general community pattern of behavior, which flows from the family pattern and in turn reinforces the family pattern, tends to give way to the influences of change induced by contact with a set of laws and behavior patterns foreign to itself, the individual family pattern will weaken in accordance; and it is to be predicted that in years to come family, as now constituted in San Luis, will have far fewer behavioral implications of any binding nature and will come more and more to assume the growing impersonality of the city-type or non-folk type family, where ideally, obligations are at a minimum, respect is for personal merit and not by reason of blood ties, and where leaving of the family and the family unit is the expected and not the unusual.

Turning now to the Ladino family pattern we may note that there is again no community of understanding either about vocative or behavioral treatment of relatives, near or distant. Choice and taste and personal like and dislike enter in as determining elements in Ladino family pattern much more so than in the Indian family pattern. Ladinos with whom I worked on genealogies had, in some instances, to resort to government publications at hand to decide how they ought vocatively to treat certain relatives more distant than first cousin laterally, and aunt and uncle vertically. As for the behavioral expectations of these relationships, they varied from family to family. Some families treated second and third cousins with the same kind of family

familiarity as they did first cousins; a good many of them simply didn't know the names much less the necessary manner of vocative treatment of their relatives at that remove.

But again, as in the case of the Indian, certain general patterns may be observed in family behavior. The Ladino man is more the patriarch in the house than is the Indian man, especially in intra-spouse dealings. In most cases the ordering and forbidding techniques are more often and more necessarily employed by the parent with his children in a Ladino family than in an Indian family. Cases of disobedient children are always available to other children as possible patterns of behavior for themselves. All manner of obvious power devices are employed by Ladino children and are usually successful in contrast to the Indian child who after six or seven, usually does not even venture to use such devices.

Generally, respect is expected from a child for his parents and his grandparents; this is not generally true of uncles and aunts. First cousins are treated as such, the extent of respect or intimacy depending on personal reactions more than on any preconceived notion of expected behavior along blood tie lines. Godparents are treated with more respect yet with much less personal feeling, of intimacy than regular parents. Treatment of in-laws is again a matter depending more on taste and personal reactions than upon any community accepted understandings of any formalized nature. The same tendency toward expected dislike of in-laws which is

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to be found in our society is to be noted among the Ladinos, though in a much more attenuated form.

The Ladino male is considered as the breadwinner of the family, though aid from children is expected during non-school hours or years up until the point where the child, out of taste or parental pressure, decides to leave the family household. Money that the child may earn by his own work is sometimes his own; it does not always get turned over to the parents. Parents may or may not aid their children in marriage times, depending on the nature of the relations between parents and children at the time of the marriage. There is a general expectation that parents will help marry off a daughter and provide a dowry of money and/or land with her; but in the case of a male child, he is supposed to be sufficiently economically independent to handle his own marriage, though unlike the Indian, it is the girl's family among the Ladinos who pays the wedding expenses.

Children after marriage do not usually live with their parents; they tend to set up separate household and there is as much likelihood that they will do so in a different pueblo as there is that they will remain in the same pueblo. There is no such thing as the multiple house or family unit among the Ladinos, except psychically considered.

Children may or may not support their elders, once the elders are incapacitated, depending on the nature and extent of friendliness between children and parents at the time. There is a general community expectation that children will

support their elders, but, in most cases this is not necessary for, where children have remained in the pueblo to work it has usually been out of the motivation of acquiring the parent's land and property which the child will manage during his lifetime; so that as long as the parent lives, he nominally supports himself; widows and widowers and separated spouses among the Ladinos as among the Indians tend either to remarry or to join up with another mate. Marriage is far more important in the eyes of the Ladino community than it is in the eyes of the Indian community; living together without benefit of clergy is frowned on and, as indicated before, cuts off in some cases one or both of the spouses from what might have been otherwise available high status. Thus, the two school teachers of the higher grades, man and woman respectively, lived together without benefit of clergy. In drawing up a list of invitations for a farewell party I was giving, on consultation with the "social boss" of town I was told that if I invited the woman in question, there would probably be severe adverse reaction by society matrons and their husbands, and especially from the two unmarried sisters who held top notch in the social status ranks of the town. I checked on this, without experimenting, and found it to be true.

While marriage is more important, a Ladino will consider himself fully and adequately married in most cases with only civil rites. Some Ladinos, of the more religious brand, look upon Church rites as an indispensable part of the

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marriage; but in recent years, what with the absence of any resident priest and with the relative high cost of marriages and celebrations which are expected if church rites are performed, there has been a growing tendency toward ignoring the church part of the ceremony and considering ones self fully and adequately married by civil rites only.

There are no fixed rules of post marital residence; if the dowry accompanying the woman involves the land from which the family is to make its living, the residence will tend to be on or near that land; and, in not a few instances involves the moving of a man from his birthplace pueblo to that of the woman whom he "wooed and won". If there is no dowry involved, the post marital residence is determined by the consideration of where the family can earn a living; the Ladino, having more choice of vocations and being more mobile, is the less fixed in questions of post marital residence than is the Indian.

Like the Indian, a premium is put on premarital virginity for the woman; but unlike the Indian, the Ladino woman who is suspected of not being a virgin is liable to remain unmarried and un-mated all her life, while an Indian woman can almost always get a mate. A divorced or widowed Ladino woman finds it more than difficult to secure a second or third spouse; an Indian woman does not usually find this difficulty.

Again like the Indian, the double standard operates in Ladino society; adultery on the part of men is accepted as

a necessary part of male behavior in most cases, as long as that adultery is discretely performed. Indian women tend to view adultery by their men with less tolerance than do Ladino women; and an Indian family is far more liable to fracture in case of suspected or proven adultery on the part of the male than is a Ladino family. But the attitude of the Ladino and the Indian male is essentially the same to any suspected or proven adultery on the part of the female. The national law allows for the killing of any adulterers found in flagrante, and recent cases in Guatemala City where the wife has been shot as well have been decided so that the man was allowed off without punishment. Prestige of the man within male Ladino society in part depends on the extent of his extra marital relations and in part on the discreteness and the obviousness of his discreteness. It is simply taken for granted by most men and women that the males commit adultery and resort to prostitutes in and out of the pueblo. No such thing is taken for granted by the male in the case of his female.

The romantic love tradition and its correlated patterns of courtship and extravagant formalized chivalry in public toward women prevail for the Ladino. The Ladino wife is treated in public places by her husband with full chivalry and extravagant display of courteousness and deference, even though ten minutes later that same man may be seen immersed in intimate conversation with a young girl or woman with whom he is known to be sleeping. Sometimes the pattern of

acceptance of male adultery brings cases to ridiculous extents. For instance: the case of the treasurer of the pueblo, a man of high social status and considerable prestige in the pueblo. He was married, had five children; he had not appeared with his wife in public since a date some year ago when he took up with a sixteen year old girl in the pueblo. It was "known" by all that he was sleeping with her. He took her as his partner to public dances and celebrations, leaving his wife home all the time. Finally, the young girl became pregnant. He took her out of her own home, and set her up in a separate household. The girl's family pressed charges against him; the wife did not. The man was brought before the political chief; there, a settlement was effected whereby, for the payment of \$50, the parents dropped charges against the man and gave up their jurisdiction over the child; the man was made legal guardian of the child, and in effect, a legalized polygamous situation was set up. The man was considered as "evil" for his acts in the pueblo by some of the women of the pueblo, but he lost no social status and no prestige in the process. What the final outcome will be I cannot predict.

The Ladino family is far less joined in terms of sentimental ties and yet far less brittle than the Indian family. Divorces are few and far between, yet spouses may live for years with each other in the same house without passing a word of conversation, a situation which it seems no Indian would tolerate or maintain. In some instances,

there is obvious sentimental attachment between parents and siblings; but in many instances open hostility between spouses and siblings, male and male, and male and female, is easily observable, and may end up in violence or in legal entanglement. There is more community pressure against the involvement of family arguments in the legal processes, but there is, at the same time, readier access to the law than there is for the Indian; and probably a higher degree of availing oneself of the law obtains in Ladino families. For this, however, I have no adequate documentation.

In the Ladino family pattern, though the effective unit is but the simple family group, prestige accrues to all members of a family which contains a distinguished member, and it is presumed that a family with a noted member has influence and power through that family connection. One speaks with pride of a noted member of one's family, no matter how remote the family connection. Likewise, political lines tend to adhere around families; political loyalty or disloyalty is imputed by higher officials to lower officials on the basis of known members of the family, no matter how remotely connected. An official with a relative on the governmental blacklist, no matter if he be third cousin of a cousin, is persona non grata with the government, and stands very little chance of promotion.

Loyalties within the pueblo itself, however, do not necessarily follow family lines. Friendship groups in part constitute effective ties in some instances though it should

be noted that in no way else does any secondary group replace the family among the Ladinos as a training ground group and the group of primary and intimate contact. But, in later years, the Ladino, unlike the Indian, will tend to consider in some instances, that he has more confidence in friends than he has in his family. Of all my Indian interviewees there was not one who could name a friend with whom he had more confianza than he had with any close member of his family. This is not true, in many instances, among Ladino, however, and especially not among Ladino youth.

Incest taboos and their formalization in law stretch as far as first cousins; but there is and there probably will be continued violation of this law and taboo. There are in the pueblo now two sets of first cousins who are sweet-hearts and who plan marriage, if one may believe his eyes and the town gossip as well. This is heavily frowned upon by the community and may be stopped at the marriage by the officials. But I have no way of knowing this.

The Ladino family pattern, not being concrete in any universal sense, and not embodying any universally observed behavior principles, does not reflect itself in the community pattern of behavior, where, much less so than in the case of the individual families, is there any reason for any such principles as age-respect to prevail. Behavior in the pueblo, for all its standardization and insistence on general conformity, is highly individualized and depersonalized; it is not oriented at general community welfare, any more and indeed

much less than is individual behavior within the family pattern oriented at general family welfare.

Prestige and character assessment tend to follow along family lines, however, inside the pueblo, as long as certain manifest symbols of that prestige are maintained; but with money one can surmount the requirement of "good family" and can break through almost any kind of social restriction which might otherwise be imposed on him. Among the upper, upper social crust, "good family", both currently and in the past, is considered indispensable for good reputation and for inclusion in the upper, upper crust. But everyone "knows" too much about everyone else's family for this requirement to be much more than a verbal wish and pretense. Family behavior in and out of the house is highly visible in San Luis among the Ladinos; and this, in part, acts as a check on too great disharmony and open discord. But, in the case of unmarried children, and especially unmarried female children over the age of twenty, there seems to flow from their relationships with their families a type of discord which no amount of community censure can keep from becoming overtly expressed on occasion. And, of recent years, with the wholesale tendency toward pure vagrancy on the part of Ladino male youth, and the lack of gainful occupations other than working the soil in the pueblo itself, and with habits of laziness bred from youth time up, the families of San Luis seem to be, in almost all cases where such children are involved, highly concerned over and highly involved in openly

expressed conflict between parents and children, and between older and younger siblings. The trend seems to be toward the greater and greater depersonalization of familial relations among the Ladinos. San Luis as a pueblo itself seems to be tearing at the bindings of the social fabric, if only because it represents a picture of enforced and circularly self-augmenting stationness in a country much concerned with and actively involved in processes of wholesale change. San Luis has nowhere to expand, and can only throw off. This is true much more so of the Ladino than of the Indian, for the Indian has the limits of the lifeway of the Ladino, in part, to which he may stretch his hands and eyes. But the Ladino is finding himself in the position of deriving only from the offerings of the pueblo a set of gratifications for desires which continue to grow in inverse proportion to the availability of satisfactions of those desires.

It is to be predicted from this that the family as an instrument of social control will come to assume even less significance in later pueblo life than it does now; desertions from the pueblo will continue and increase; the Ladino population will tend to grow smaller, with the Indians taking over a good many of the Ladino functions; and, as far as Ladinos are concerned, it may be guessed that San Luis will become effectively a ghost town for them.

V. Godparental Relations

It is much easier to discuss with some precision and certitude the attitudes accompanying the operations of the godparental system than it is to set down differences in any clear cut fashion as between Indian and Ladino on this score. The operative system of godparental relations among the Indians is shot through and through with many obviously non-native elements, and, the very relations themselves seriously involve the Indian and Ladino community, by reason of Ladinos serving in many instances as godparents for Indian children at baptism and at marriage.

It is impossible for me to estimate, functionally, as contrasted to a judgment based on mere verbal reports, how important it is, for instance, that an Indian show respect and consideration to his godparent, whether he be Ladino or Indian, and to estimate whether more respect and consideration is shown by an Indian godchild to a Ladino godparent or to an Indian godparent. The case is not at all difficult in the instance of the attitudes of Ladinos toward either their godchildren or their godparents, but we shall reserve discussion of that until the section on symmetry and assymetry of views toward differences in customs.

Certain formal indications are present, however, by which we may judge that while the Indian godparental system may not be more important and vital for the texture of the Indian social fabric than the corresponding system is for the Ladino, it does have, nevertheless, a different kind of

importance as seen from the ways in which it manifests itself. We may note initially that aside from presentation of gifts to godparents in which Indians indulge, the formal procedure of securing godparents for one's child's baptism and for marriage is essentially the same for Indian and Ladino. The gestures of requesting and accepting and/or refusing are observed; the preparations are made; the role of the godparent at the actual baptism or marriage is essentially the same; the giving of gifts by the godparent to the godchild is essentially the same for both Indian and Ladino, whether the godchild be Ladino or Indian; and the informality of relations afterward is essentially the same. For, though both Indian and Ladino verbally insist that one's godparent is due the same respect as one's own parent, it is easy to observe both among the Indian and the Ladino, and perhaps more so among the Indian, that this respect supposedly equal to that to be manifested to the parent is not present in anything but an attenuated and highly formalized and patterned manner.

The relations between godparent and the parent of the godchild on the other hand are more obviously respectful for both Indian and Ladino. There is a tendency which we shall discuss in some detail later for Ladinos to treat with a certain lesser amount of respect their Indian "compadres", i.e. either the parent of one's godchild or the godparent of one's child, than that shown them by their Indian compadres. But, in the case of both Indian and Ladino the fact of being

one's compadre is sufficient reason for expectation of a considerably greater amount of respect and cordiality and indeed free entry to one's house than would be accorded were the relations other than those comprise within the godparental system.

For the Indian, but not for the Ladino, the godparent assumes a place in the kin relations of the immediate family to the extent that the children of one's godparent become one's first cousins and are taboo as far as marriage with them is concerned as strongly as in the case of one's blood first cousins.

For both Ladino and Indian, though more so in the case of Indian with Indian and Ladino with Ladino than in the case of a Ladino being godparent for an Indian child, the godparental relation brings together the parent and the godparent a formal structure of expected intimacy and confidence. In many instances I have observed that even as between Ladino and Ladino united by godparental relations this expectation of intimacy will be fulfilled by the economically and socially lower member of the godparental diad, but will not be reciprocated by the socially higher member of the diad. It is rather clear that the formal structure of the godparental system for both Indian and Ladino does not produce the expected behavior patterns, theoretically implicit in that formalized structure of relations. Though I have no records of actual occurrences, I infer that a person would bring his godparents to court if he had a ruckus with him. I infer

this from the fact that Indian and Ladino alike bring their own parents before the bar of justice, when they find it necessary and deem it expedient; and it is indubitable that more respect and deference is paid to parents and more sacred sanctions maintain and preserve this expected pattern of respect and deference behavior in the case of actual blood parents than in that of godparents.

The pattern of selecting godparents is in one sense a reflection of the pattern of horizons which prevail in the pueblo. The wealthier Ladinos select from their range of acquaintance outside the pueblo, and preferably a city person; the less wealthy Ladinos select from the wealthy Ladinos; the Indians, when selecting from Ladinos and not from Indians, tend also to select from the wealthier or the middle class Ladinos. The reasons in the case of the selection by the wealthy Ladinos are different than those which obtain for the less wealthy Ladinos and for the Indians who select Ladinos. In the case of the wealthier Ladinos, prestige is acquired and enhanced by having a personage from the city serve as godparent for one's child; and, indeed, it is only among the wealthier Ladinos in the pueblo that we find the pattern of multiple marriage-godparents prevailing; the pattern of multiple marriage-godparents seems to be strictly a city-wise matter as far as I can determine. The less wealthy Ladinos and the Indians seem never to have multiple marriage-godparents. Less wealthy Ladinos and the Indians pick on the wealthy Ladinos (who refuse in a good

many cases because of a tremendous number of godparental relations already in existence) out of economic considerations which they do not hesitate about expressing: in the case of the Indian it boils itself down to a matter of concern for the child's welfare in the event of death of a parent or of the two parents; the pattern is for the godparent to take the child in and educate him and perhaps give him opportunities which he never would have had even if his parents had remained alive. This is so for the less wealthy Ladinos, but in an attenuated form, but is augmented by the further desire for prestige and status which being joined in compadre relationship with a wealthy and prestige-full Ladino can afford. In addition, it is the wealthy Ladino who is socially powerful to whom one can come and request his mediation in the securing of certain favors from the authorities which the less influential compadre could not possibly secure by himself. This is also true in the case of Indians who pick out Ladino godparents. For, these Ladino godparents can mediate certain relations with Ladinos and the Ladino community which the Indian parent might otherwise not be able to effect. It is interesting to note further that if the Indian parent selects a Ladino godparent for secular, economic considerations, he also rejects the possibility of securing a Ladino godparent for his children on the same score. Many of my Indian interviewees told me that they would have picked out a Ladino godparent and perhaps have secured him except for the fact that when one has a Ladino godparent one has to make a celebration of the baptism, which he almost

never does if the godparent is Indian; and, in the case of marriage, though both Indians and Ladinos hold wedding celebrations, the celebration requisites, when it is a Ladino godparental affair, are much more expensive and much less satisfying than when the godparental pair is Indian. Thus, for instance, when an Indian couple has Ladino godparents for its marriage, the wedding celebration is totally dominated by Ladino guests invited by the Ladino godparents, with whatever Indian guests, if any, occupying the roles of houseboys and maids and servants, rather than as invitees. Evidently, however, a sufficient number of Indians consider the gains accruing worth the indignities of such an occasion, for it seems that more and more the Indians tend to pick Ladino godparents both for marriage and for baptism. We need not discuss the alternative situation when an Indian is godparent to Ladinos because in the history of the pueblo that has never occurred, and if one is to judge from the attitudes of the Ladinos as they verbalized them during the course of my interviews with them, it would be preferable for some that an earthquake destroy San Luis rather than that an Indian should serve as godparent for a Ladino.

For neither Ladino nor Indian does one become joined in secondary godparental relations. That is to say: A, the godparent of one child of B, does not become joined to C, the godparent of another child of B. A maintains discrete relations with B and C does likewise. It is not rare, however, to find a Ladino family of high repute where either one or both of the adults have anywhere from fifty to one hundred fifty

godchildren, Ladino and Indian. In the house in which I stayed during my residence in San Luis, there passed through the house each day literally scores of Indians and Ladino who had entry to the house and its private water fountain by reason of being comadre or compadre with the lady of the house. The question of how many godchildren a woman or man or a couple will accept is a function of their particular temperments, their purses and their attitudes toward unloosing their purse strings for a few dollars involved in the buying of presents for godchildren. Indian godparents exchange gifts, usually of food, to their Ladino compadres and comadres as well; but Ladinos do not send gifts either to their Ladino or to their Indian compadres and comadres.

For both Indian and Ladino it is possible, without insult being imputed, for one spouse to be asked to serve as a godparent without the other; this usually occurs in the case where the parent of the child stood in some special relation not to the marriage couple but to the family of the spouse whom he requests to serve as godparent, designating another person, perhaps a spouse in another marriage pair, to serve as the corresponding godparent. It is not possible for either Ladino or Indian to refuse to serve as godparent without reasonable excuse, the most reasonable one being lack of funds. Indians and Ladinos alike insist that in years gone by there were no grounds on which a person could refuse to serve as godparent without incurring anger and imputation of insult and community condemnation, but that since times

"had grown bad" this had changed, and now people did not grow insulted or angry if one refused on the grounds of insufficient funds. One cannot, either Ladino or Indian, refuse to serve on the grounds of having too many godchildren already, without incurring anger from the person refused and community condemnation. There is a check, however, to unlimited service by the wealthier people and it involves a matter of attitude toward the possible attitude of the prospective godparent. Both Indian and Ladino express the notion that no one would think of asking a person to serve as godparent unless he thought that the person would do so willingly and gladly; no one would think of forcing a person, through mere fear of later public censure, into serving as godparent. To this extent the godparental relation is governed by non-secular, non-economic considerations, insofar as we may call this respect for the possible attitude of the godparent a kind of non-secular, non-economic limiting condition.

A common practice among larger pueblo people and among city folk in Guatemala City which has not yet seeped down in any effective sense is the asking of a person whom one needs politically to serve as one's godparent. The former mayor of the pueblo, only recently released from jail for defalcation, was getting married at about the same time that he was due to be investigated. He sent a request to the Political Chief who was to conduct the investigation, to serve as godparent for his wedding. The chief, aware of

the implications of the move, merely designated the local military commander, who was a known enemy of the mayor, to serve as his substitute.

There seem to be no other determinate checks on the possibility of growth of the custom of Indians asking Ladinos to serve as godparents for their children, except those considerations above mentioned, plus one further factor: namely, the involvement in Ladino society, attenuated though it may be, which is implied in the godparental relation, and the consequent bringing into necessarily greater contact of the Indian with the Ladino, a contact which a good many Indians simply seek to avoid, possibly, for fear of the unpleasantness which is entailed. This will be discussed in more detail when we come to talk of reciprocal or non-reciprocal attitudes of Indian and Ladino, but it is worthy of note here that the Ladinos say that even if an Indian is your compadre or comadre you do not treat that person as you would a Ladino compadre or comadre; you simply do not manifest any respect, though you may be very cordial to your compadre; respect, for most Ladinos, is to be reserved for other Ladinos. Indians are aware of this and do not relish it. On the other side of the picture, low class Ladinos in part say they do not like to serve for Indians as godparents because the Indian compadres and comadres do not know how to show proper respect for them; i.e. using "vos," the familiar appellation, rather than "usted" which is purportedly the respectful appellation. As the reader can imagine, it is pointless to urge upon the

Ladinos in question the obvious contradiction involved in their treating their own Ladino compadres and comadres with "vos" and respect tone, and their Indian compadres with "vos" with no-respect tone, yet resenting the use of "vos" when they are being addressed by their Indian compadres.

In summary, we may note that the godparental relation system, intra-Ladino, intra-Indian and inter-Indian-Ladino serves to keep wound together a social fabric which seems to be straining at the seams on other counts; it invokes a series of formal behavior expectations which tend to mitigate what otherwise might be harshness and total inconsiderateness in social dealings between Indians and Ladino and between wealthy Ladinos and poor Ladinos. It tends to bind together, as well, certain parts of the Indian community which might otherwise fly totally apart under the pressure of secular demands which no sacred sanctions or even secular sanctions, aside from those implied in the formal structure of the godparental system, can serve to bind together, even if only temporarily. As between Indian and Ladino it serves as a medium of greater and more frequent and perhaps more intense contact, which, for all the unpleasantness which may be involved on some of those contact situations at least provides a ground for making the Indian a more familiar creature to the Ladino and the Ladino a more familiar and perhaps more pleasant creature for the Indian. The Indian for all of his hundreds of years of residence side by side with the Ladino suffers, as does the Ladino in reverse, from

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the xenophobic elements arising from social classism and
strong inbred feelings even in the presence of immediate
geographical proximity or residence. The parental system
and the forced greater frequency and intensity of contact,
helps to alleviate this condition.

For detailed listing of some of the conditions of
parental relations see the chart on page 331. We shall
have cause to say on these relations in our discussions of
attitudes.

with a few of my interviewees I have had occasion to clear up a matter
in the kinship system here; it is the matter of treatment of mother's
brother as contrasted to the manner of treatment of father's brother.
The latter is *ma nu tat*, the former is *ma wikan*; the crux of the treatment
seems to be that one has a joking relationship--i.e. "*uno puede chansear
con su wikan, pero con su tio por parte de su papa uno tiene que tratar
a el como si fuera su papa*".: thus a permitted joking relationship with
other's brother: but a strict, respectful 'parental' relationship with none's
paternal uncles. this does not extend to the spouses of the male relatives
in question. i can't seem to find any behavioral motivations for the dis-
tinction; i don't think there's any affect attached to it now; i think it's
a "vestige" which hangs on; but then, if it's here it serves some purpose;
what this is i do not know; note that my informant *jesus esteban* says that
he has most confidence with his uncle (maternal) *pasquale esteban*--most with
him than with anyone else in the family. (confidence equals *confianza*: which
latter seems to mean being able to bother someone for a favor without pena).

the xenophobic elements arising from racial cleavages and strong in-group feelings even in the presence of immediate geographical proximity of residence. The consanguental system and the fact of greater frequency and intensity of contact, helps to reproduce this condition.

For detailed listing of some of the conditions of consanguental relations see the chart on page 331. We shall have more to say on these relations in our discussions of attitudes.

with a few of my interviewees I have had occasion to clear up a matter in the kinship system here; it is the matter of treatment of mother's brother as contrasted to the manner of treatment of father's brother. The latter is *ma nu tat*, the former is *ma wikan*; the crux of the treatment seems to be that one has a joking relationship--i.e. "*uno puede chansear con su wikan, pero con su tio por parte de su papa uno tiene que tratar a el como si fuera su papa*".: thus a permitted joking relationship with mother's brother: but a strict, respectful 'parental' relationship with none's paternal uncles. this does not extend to the spouses of the male relatives in question. i can't seem to find any behavioral motivations for the distinction; i don't think there's any affect attached to it now; i think it's a "vestige" which hangs on; but then, if it's here it serves some purpose; what this is i do not know; note that my informant *jesus esteban* says that he has most confidence with his uncle (maternal) *pasquale esteban*--most with him than with anyone else in the family. (confidence equals *confianza*: which latter seems to mean being able to bother someone for a favor without pena).

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San Luis Jilotique
Political Organization
of the
Pohoniam Indian

The Pokoman Indians have no native political organization of any formal nature. There are ways and means for settling disputes and for organizing social relationship but these are informal and for the most part are rapidly disappearing. All formal political organization is a product of the Ladino population, and, almost completely, is dominated by the Ladino element in the population. The division of military and civil control which exists on a national scale is maintained throughout all the political subdivisions of the Republic. San Luis Jilotepeque, one of the two major foci of the Pokoman Indian, is the capital of a municipio by the same name. This municipio is one of the six municipios comprising the department of Jalapa, the capital of which department is located in the municipio by the same name, and in a pueblo by the same name, the pueblo being some 40 kilometers from San Luis Jilotepeque pueblo. The absolute and unquestioned chief authority of the department is the Jefe Politico--; his power is unlimited and as a consequence he is much feared and his orders obeyed strictly to the word. The chief officials in each municipio are (1) the intendente, or a somewhat close equivalent to the United States city mayor. He has total charge of all civil matters in the municipio which covers jurisdictionally the pueblo, and all the aldeas within the geographical limits of the municipio. He is directly responsible to the jefe politico in the department capital. He has no responsibilities to anyone in the municipio as far as consulting with them before going ahead with any project he may have in mind. He has power of summary arrest and imprisonment, fines, forced labor. His is an appointive position, the appointment coming from the jefe politico and the president of the republic. Attached to his office are (1) a secretary and (2) an escribiente, or scribe. There are only two paid positions attached to the intendencia. The intendente here gets \$20 a month, the secretary gets \$15 a month and the scribe gets \$5 a month. His power within the limits if that allowed him by the jefe politico is unlimited. He too, like the officials higher up, is much feared. Though his jurisdiction is limited to civil matters, he is militarized to the extent that he is subject to military as well as civil discipline. He functions as justice of the peace as well as an administrative representative of the department and national government. He is responsible for keeping all records of marriages, births, deaths, imprisonments, and the like, and for reporting these data to national and departmental heads. Typically, he has a more immediate supervisor than the jefe politico. This supervisor is called jefe de primaria distancia, but the real supervision lies with the jefe politico. The secretary sometimes functions as intendente in the absence of that official, but his major duties are confined to usual secretarial offices. The scribe functions as scribe, tho, as in the rest of the hierarchy of the government, he and the secretary as well have power of ordering services from local aids, whom we shall discuss in a moment. Attached to the intendencia, as part of unpaid labor, is a system of civil aids constituted as follows. The upper level of the hierarchy consists of six municipal regidores. The last 3 of these--and they are arranged hierarchically--are, like the intendente, the secretary and the scribe, all Ladinos. The lower 3 are Indians. These are supposedly elective positions. The actual process of naming is as follows. When the 2 year period of service of former regidores is up, the intendente supposedly consults, informally, the wishes of the population of the municipio as to whom he shall suggest for regidores for the next period of two year service. After such informal consultation, the inte

dents then prepares a slate which he sends to the jefe politico for approval. The approval usually is a matter of formality, since the jefe politico is not acquainted with most of the suggested candidates. The slate of 6 comes back from the jefe politico and then 'elections' are held. Only men from the ages of 18-60 have the right to vote. The ballot is denied all women and all men over 60 and under 18. Almost all men, Ladino and Indian, turn out for the elections, and among the Ladinos there is usually a good deal of stir--but the major stir comes before the elections--i.e. in the 'suggesting' of the slate. There has never been a case here where the slate suggested has been voted down. There has never been a case where the suggested candidates--all of them--have not been 'elected'. It should be noted that this holds for all elections--whether they are local or national. The jefe politico is not elected but appointed--and thus there is no question of approving or disapproving the president's choice of candidate for jefe politico of a department. These six regidores are in active immediate supervision of the (3): regidor auxiliares who are constituted as follows: (a) six regidor auxiliares who serve at the pueblo intendencia with the regidores municipales--as their immediate assistants. These are appointive, non paying positions, regidor #1 being Ladino and the other 5 Indians. They are the higher sorfs, functioning almost purely as office boys for the regidor municipal as well as for all the government employees attached to the intendencia. They are appointed the intendente, on the recommendation of the regidores municipales, or sometimes, without such recommendations. In addition to each of these six auxiliares who see service every sixth week at the intendencia, or city hall, there are regidor auxiliares, one each, for each of the seven barrios or wards into which the pueblo is divided; and, in addition there are 1 regidor auxiliar and one sub-regidor auxiliar for each of the aldeas belonging to the municipio. There are 14 such aldeas and hence 28 municipal representatives in total scattered thruout the municipio. The duties of the regidores auxiliares of the barrios, most of whom are Indians, is to transmit the wishes of the intendente to his ward population, to preserve peace and order in the barrio, to round up men for road work when there is a call issued for such work, to report infractions of the law to the intendencia, and to assist in arrests whenever they are needed. The regidores in the aldeas function on the same scale and with the same purposes except that since the aldeas are farther removed from the pueblo proper, the regidores have more duties immediately at hand. The regidor positions--all of them--are for two years. Service as regidor removes one from the obligation to pay the \$2 annual road tax and the \$1 annual municipio beautification tax, since most Indians find it extremely difficult to muster together this amount of cash, in some ways taking up job as regidor is desirable. Most Indians are unaware of the number of days that they put in for free service for the government. They talk in terms of the time "we lose" in service. Most of them insist that they do not like the service. There is no prestige attached to being a regidor auxiliar--there is some prestige attached to the municipal positions. In addition to the regidores, there is a system of 'servientes' attached to the intendencia. This consists of some 30 men, divided into six groups of five each. Each week each group rotates, as do the regidores auxiliares and municipales, so that there is always a staff of 7 assistants on hand to run errands for the intendente or his other paid assistants.

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Usually the supply of sirvientos is taken from the pueblo population rather than from the aldeas since it is an extreme hardship to a man from a far off aldea to spend his every sixth week in service at the intendencia. These are unpaid positions, of course, and the duties go as low as garbage collection and sweeping of the market place--but never higher than running an errand for one of the higher members of the hierarchy. It is very difficult for a man to refuse doing service as a sirvi ente. His name is given to the intendente by the regidores of the barrios who are acquainted with all people in their respective barrios, and the selections usually are made from those whom it is known have the time to serve. Some Ladinos says that the Indians are stupid in asking, sometimes, for sirvi ente duty. I do not know whether they do so ask, but if they do, there must be little fore-calculation--for they put in anywhere from 50 to 100 days of service a year--which, at the prevailing rate of pay of 10 cents a day and maintenance if they were to hire themselves out, brings them into the losing column, since they are only excluded from payment of \$3 worth of taxes. The sirvientos and the regidores as well pass their time in between arounds sitting on the front benches of the intendencia which overlooks the central plaza of town, sewing or braiding straw hats, or what is more usual, doing nothing at all. They seem to have an enormous capacity for doing nothing. The intendencia's budget is limited to \$50 fund given to it by the department for public expenses during the year, and to the money collected in fines from the citizens of the municipio. I do not know the extent of these fines. Taxes are imposed in the form of licenses on stores, part of which tax goes to the municipalidad, taxes on slaughtering of beef animals, taxes on playing of musical instruments at night; fines for beasts found wandering loose in the streets; fines for drunkenness and fighting; fines for not having your street corner illuminated from sundown till 9 p.m.; fines for failure to send children between ages of 7-14 to school; fines for wife beating, child beating, public nuisance, etc; there seems to be little other visible supply of income to the municipalidad; most public community celebrations are financed on a 'voluntary' basis; the fines mentioned above provide little source of income for most Indians work out their fines at the rate of 10 cents a day. Feeding costs the municipalidad nothing since prisoners must feed themselves; prisoners are always put to work--either on the roads or adorning and cultivating the parks and the shrubs and the plants around the plaza, sweeping the market place, cutting wood or anything else that may be needed at the time of their imprisonment.

Also attached to the intendencia is a 'chief of police' but with no police staff. The chief of police is Ladino, unpaid, though he derives income from his service as keeper of the water supply in town. He is little more than a right hand trusted office boy of the intendente, though he usually is in on all arrests, being one of the three men in town allowed to carry a pistol--which he always does. The military division of the local government falls under the jurisdiction of the comandante, usually a trained soldier with the rank of lieutenant, and always, as with the intendente, taken from a different municipio than his own for service as comandante local. His chief duty consists in training soldiers every Sunday morning in exercises at which attendance is compulsory for all men from 18-30. This is called "la lista". Men from 18-30 are considered active reserves. Men from 30-50 are considered second reserves. A recent law abolished men over fifty from military service except that they have recently been formed into a local defense guard in each of the aldeas in case of invasion, arising from the current war.

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The total active male population of the municipio is divided into service divisions, and each division reports twice a month for military training. One of these times is the 'generaliste' at which time all men between 18-50 report for training. Each man has a wooden rifle, and training consists of learning maneuver and military discipline. The comandante is aided in this work by a series of retired or active reserve officers who have seen duty in Guatemala or in some other military post. There is no Indian above the rank of sergeant in this municipio except for one Indian who has gone 'ladino', and has a commission as lieutenant after having served two years as artilleryman in Guatemala. The comandante is directly responsible only to the jefe politico, by whom he is appointed---for an indefinite period of service. He is responsible for supplying the recruits for the year of compulsory military service in the capital or other posts, a quota being so assigned to him by higher officials. I do not know official figures but I believe that proportionately many fewer Ladinos have seen a year of service than have Indians. The law provides for equal treatment on this matter, but as in all other matters, there is considerable leeway allowed the local officials in the dispatch of the law. The 'liste' serves other purposes. Once a month, at the 'liste general' there is a check up on each man to see that he has paid his road and ornato taxes for the current six-months period. There is also a check up at this time on vagrancy violation. The vagrancy law of the country provides that any man who is classified as a day laborer must show 150 days of work for the year. There are four other classifications into which a man may fall: (1) artesano; (2) oficinista; (3) agricultor; (4) comerciante. Since Indians, in the overwhelming majority, can be classified into none of these four classes, agricultor, for example, requiring land ownership as a criterion, the vagrancy law applies almost purely to them. Any man who cannot show a proportionate amount of days of work punched on his work card, or cedula, is jailed for vagrancy--the legal limit being 30 days imprisonment at hard labor. This vagrancy is checked up on regularly at the 'liste general' every fourth Sunday. Other classes of work--the 4 above mentioned--do not have to show this work schedule completed since it is assumed that they will occupy themselves with their work. This assumption on more than one count disproves itself. The major body of 'vagrants' in the town are lower class ladinos, who by reason of being classified as comerciantes or agricultores, do not fall under the effect of the vagrancy law. The comandante has power almost over life and death of the people under his jurisdiction. He must report any incident, of course, but since the comandante is an appointee of the jefe, the further assumption is that "the king can do no wrong". There is however, as with all other officials, constant fear that someone is going to 'give part' against him before higher officials. This fear of being removed summarily from office should the charges be proven; plus the fear of mere scoldings by the jefe, helps check what might otherwise be total brutality on some conditions. Attached to the comandancia in this municipio (the same is reported as being different in other municipios of the same department) is a staff of 10 soldiers or guards. These are composed almost always of Indians; one sergeant, one corporal and 8 soldiers. For purposes of recruiting these guards the pueblo is divided up into 2 halves--and there are two military commissioners in each half of the pueblo. These commissioners select the crews of men for guard duty, which is unpaid, from their local populace. Guard duty changes every 8th day. Each man who is picked for the

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duty serves two weeks on duty at the intendencia. Every third day of his two weeks there he sees 24 hour duty. Otherwise his hours of duty are usually from 6 at night to 6 the following morning. During the day there are only two soldiers on duty. at night there are 8. They sleep on the ground outside the jail, which is in back of the office of the comandante, which is also in one city hall along with the intendencia. They are on hand to watch over prisoners and to be ready to make arrests or aid the comandante in anything he may require -- from the hunting of a criminal to the securing of a package of cigarettes. These men are not absolved from any road tax or ornate tax. They are merely absolved from annual collection which they fall on other citizens who are making no duty during the year. Men may only with very good cause--which usually means only severe illness--ask to be excused from guard duty once they are summoned. They may however pay another man to serve for them when and if the occasion arises. The comandante does not interfere in this, insisting that all he wants is 40 soldiers at hand for the work needed. Other municipalities have full time paid soldiers--usually paid \$3 a month--and hence no alternation of crews of men is necessary. This comandante does not have that money allotted to it and consequently must draft labor. There are some 10-15 very old and almost worthless rifles in the comandancia--constituting the total armed force of the pueblo. The soldiers or guards also function as the active police force of the town, it being they whom the intendente must depend on for serious arrest cases. There is a great deal of military formalism imposed upon the guards--hand salutes, smart slapping of guns to "at arms" position whenever the comandante approaches and like military gestures. Indians on guard duty take their jobs very seriously--and act as high handed with their fellow Indians as possible. Most of the time when there is no official work to be performed the guards are like the sirvientes, functioning almost purely as messenger boys for the comandante. The comandante along with the intendente has partial responsibility for taking care of the public roads and grounds in the municipio. Directed by the maestro de caminos, who is also a jefe appointed, the comandante aids in the procuring of road gangs for repair of the roads, or for work gangs for repair or beautification of public buildings and grounds. He may draft any man on sight--for any kind of service or duty--. He may commission any man as his deputy and give him power of arrest. He may summon two hundred men within an hour if they are needed. His powers of arrest are summary, and he may make a 24 hour arrest on 'suspicion'--and keep up this 24 hour arrest for 24 years if he finds it desirable. He may shoot a man on sight if the man refuses to halt if he is suspected of something. There is no record within the past few years of any such extravagances in the dispatch of the law, but there are former cases of it. Like the intendente, the comandante is much feared and, with some ladinos, is disliked because he has been more impartial in the summoning to the 'liste' than previous comandantes, all of whom, it is said, excused ladinos with deadly regularity from coming to 'la liste' or from aiding in public work. In any event in all cases where obligatory labor is required the Indian suffers by far the heavier of the burden. A comandante may be dismissed and deranked for infraction of duties. Since the possible requests of the jefe, which requests constitute duties, are almost limitless, the comandante lives in active concern for his post and his military rank. The

extent of this concern is a function of the good or bad nature of the jefe politico.

A third paid office is that of municipal treasurer, who receives \$10 a month, or one-half of the comandante's salary, which is \$20 a month. As with the salary of the comandante and the intendente, the pay varies from municipio to municipio and from department to department. The treasurer is responsible for the collection of license fees, the recording of all payments of fines and fees in the municipio, the keeping of budget books for the municipio and, in general, the handling of all municipal financial matters. He has no sirvientes attached to his office.

A fourth paid office is that of telegrafista and director of mails of the municipio. The salary for the telegraph officer--who is also the mail man--is \$25 a month. In this municipio he has an assistant who gets paid \$5 a month. Like all other paid officers of the municipalidad, the telegraph-mail officer is under military supervision of the jefe politico, but is more immediately responsible to the chief of mails and telegraph in the nation's capital. He is responsible for maintaining communications 24 hours of the day. He takes turns with his assistant sleeping in the telegraph office which is next door to his own house. Like the comandancia and intendencia the mail-telegraph office is situated in the city hall, overlooking the plaza. Mail is brought into the pueblo every day from the department capital, some 40 kilometers away. For this purpose, there are 31 sirvientes attached to the mail office. Each of them serves 3 days out of each month, or 36 days a year in toto. The trip is made on foot, the mail being carried in a special mail sack. The mail man with outgoing mail leaves here at 6 a.m. every morning and arrives in Jalapa, the capital, at 2-3 p.m. of the same day, taking by roads and short cuts to travel the 40 kilos. He sleeps in Jalapa that night and picks up the mail the next morning which is to be distributed in the pueblo, makes the trip back, arrives here between 3:30 and 5 p.m., at which time the mail is stamped and delivered. The third day of service is spent at the mail office in the pueblo proper, acting as mail deliverer. This is unpaid work. There is no abolition from taxes for this work either. It is said that "they are not bothered for anything else all year if they serve as mail men". This is obligatory labor, and is much disliked. There is no status attached to this position whatsoever. Indians avoid it whenever possible. Only Indians are requisitioned for mail duty, as far as I know. A good many of the men who work the mails are from the aldeas. One can judge the time of arrival of mail by the person who is carrying it on any given day. It is known that a man from the aldeas will make the trip sooner than one from the pueblo, for, after walking 40 kilometers from Jalapa here, men from the aldeas sometimes have to walk another 10-20 kilometers to their own houses in far off aldeas. This service is for one year. There are no excuses accepted when one is summoned for this duty, unless it be illness.

Supervision of the schools comes under the jurisdiction of the Local Junta, the officers of which are the Director, two vocales in ranked order, and a scribe. Two of these are unpaid appointive positions, the appointments being made by the intendente with the approval of the national director of education. The positions are for two years, but usually reappointed, as are these officers are made unless there has been delinquency in service.

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Their major duties are to pay a monthly visit to the schools, to see to it that the teachers dispatch their duties, to scold any teacher against whom a complaint has been made, to recommend hirings and firings. All teachers are appointed from the national capital, anyone wanting to be a teacher having the right to suggest his name to the director of education. Appointments as teachers are without date, but discharge is summary as well. In this municipio there are two urban schools and one rural school. The two urban schools are (1) boys and (2) girls, each of them having the first three years of primary school, with one teacher for each grade. The actual supervisor of teaching duties is called the primary professor. He gets \$15 a month, the other teachers in the urban schools getting 10 a month, and the rural school teacher--in an aldea some 5 miles from here--getting 8 a month. The rural school is coeducational. The urban schools here in the pueblo stick to a division of the sexes. The schools form an important part of the official celebrations, there always being exercises of some sort performed by the school children. The law of the nation reads that every child from the age of 7-14 shall attend school, though he may have finished all available classes by the age of 10. Thus there is the not infrequent comedy of a child of 12 going thru the third grade for the third time. Some municipios have truant officers who act to enforce the ruling about compulsory attendance. This one does not. In this case, as is reported by the director of the junta, there is little attempt to force children to go to school. Since most Indian men and women need their children as work helpers there are very few Indian children in school. The intendente, being 'progressive' has seen to it in his years here that a reasonable quota of Indian children are in attendance. Failure to send your child to school results in 25 cents for first infraction, 50 cents for second, 75 cents for third, and \$1.00 for fourth, and then imprisonment for the parents if the intendente orders it still not carried out. Only sickness may excuse a child from school but in the absence of truant officers this ruling applies little and has little effect. All the school teachers are "ading, except the rural school teacher who is 'suspected' of having negro blood. Classes are over-filled and understaffed; curriculum is rudimentary; discipline is severe; teachers and pupils constantly reporting discontent with the conditions. Text books date many years back, and often there are not enough texts to go around. Children sit in semi circles around the school teacher, who, it is reported, is not unfree with the use of physical disciplining. Examinations are held twice a year--in September and February, the vacations starting Feb. 10th and lasting until the 1st of May, at which time the school year is again resumed. School is held from 8-11 weekdays, 2-4 weekdays, and from 8-11, Saturdays. On public celebrations there is standard uniform for the school children: blue imitation soldier suits for the boys and red and white dresses for the girls. There is no constant public health officer in attendance in this municipio. There is a director of sanitation, a medical interne, who is attached to the department. He makes occasional visits to the pueblo, giving small pot inoculations and making cursory examinations of the barber shops, bakeries, and other stores which are partially subject to health regulations. There is no such thing as isolation of contagious cases of rashes or diseases or infections of any sort, unless the family itself is discreet--or unless the local medical empiric appeals for official aid in such a case from the intendente. There is little

examination of the water supply; and all other health measures are scarcely even perfunctory. the slaughtering and eating of dead animals, for instance, is imperfectly supervised. There is no garbage problem, however. Vultures, pigs and dogs are the garbage collectors in town.

In addition to the locally stationed officials there are a series of different police divisions with headquarters in the capital, the representatives of these divisions making occasional trips thru the department in search of possible or actual infractions. Perhaps the most active of these is the hacienda police, or a near equivalent to our treasury department, which supervises the licensing of liquor and the payment of liquor and other taxes. There is also the rural police, attached to the department capital, who function as representatives of the national police when arrests in the countryside have to be made. A series of other types of supervisory and administrative officers make up the political controls of the department, the municipios therein and the pueblos and aldeas therein.

I do not know how widespread the system of officially organized relations between the ladino and indian element which exists in this municipio. There, however, there is an official committee for the conduct of such relations. Two three years ago the Intendente set up a committee of 8 Indians who are responsible to him for the maintenance and conduct of all indian fiestas and total indian celebrations. They are under the supervision of the 4th regidor municipal, or the highest ranking official indian in town. At the same time a cofradia of the 4th regidor, (the current equivalent of 4th alcalde in previous years) was set up. This is the official fiesta committee for the Indian population. Also acting in advisory capacity is a committee of five of the leading indian old men, or principales, in the pueblo. Whenever a major indian fiesta is to be held, the committee and the principales are summoned to the intendencia and plans are made. This making of plans usually consists of the intendente speaking for two three hours on what he would like to be done during the fiesta, with much 'yes yessing' by the Indians. The committee and the principales act as purely rubber stamps under such circumstances. The fiesta of Aug. 25th, the bigst Indian fiesta of the year, was a case in point. The intendente here has an interest in the preservation of Indian customs and traditions, and, as a result, he intrudes himself into all Indian celebrations of any major nature which provide opportunity for conspicuous display on his part. He organizes beauty queen contests, has special stands built in the park, decorates the market place, beautifies the plazas, and has the Indian committee trail him around all the three days of the fiesta. There is little doubt however that the presence of the committee helps in a way to cushion the shock of the intendente's innovations, and provides at least the formal structure for maintenance of relations on a fairly amicable basis, as well as giving some Indians an opportunity for audience with the intendente which they might otherwise never have. This last reason--namely opportunity for an audience--is also cited as one of the advantages of being a sirviente or regidor attached to the intendencia or comandancia. I think it cannot be doubted however that the formal structure for relations between Indian and ladino is purely formal. The older Indians scoff at the idea of the regidor's cofradia being a cofradia--they say it is 'particular' and not part of their religious system.

In a manner of speaking, the political organizational structure of the municipio has been described in rather full detail at this point. But the major core of the political and political organization has so far not been touched. One needs to understand many 'informal' facts about the political set up in Guatemala in order to understand the position of any local division of the government. Several things should be borne in mind: (1) Guatemala is probably the country with the most highly centralized government in the world. It is a country which has known revolution after revolution, with no peaceful elections for president yet recorded in its history. Its existence as a republic independent of Spanish control, dates from Sept. 15th, 1821. But since that time it has known a whole series of full and quasi-tyrants as its rulers. As with most Latin American countries, the man who has the army behind him can become president. Elections are by open ballot--to the extent that each ballot must be signed by the man voting. The consequences of this step rather obvious. There is a very well organized secret police which operates on a broad scale. There is internal as well as external censorship of mail. With those with no nepotistic influence there is summary power over life and death. There is extremely rigid control on all officials. But all of this is described in some detail in Jones' book "Guatemala Past and Present". Now we must trace the national influences down to their local effects. Guatemala up until the time of Ubico's administration was a lawless and wide open country. Murder and crime were rampant. It can honestly be stated that non-official violation of the law has been effectively put under control. Rigid measures were taken and are still taken whenever there is a flare up--but one can report, judging from stories of years ago and from observation of present day conditions, that the country is much more internally at peace--at least as far as the incidence of violent crimes is concerned--than ever before in its history. It is said that years ago one could order a murder for a few dollars. It would be very difficult, I think at this time, to order a murder for even a few thousand dollars. The police are extremely well organized. Locally, the situation obtains as well as in the larger cities of the republic. There is almost a deathly peace about Guatemalan back country places. Whereas formerly Indian feuding was frequent, it is almost non-existent now--at least as far as physical violence with anything other than stones or whips is concerned. Drunkenness has almost completely disappeared from the Indian life--for two reasons: (1) fear of imprisonment and punishment; (2) lack of money to buy liquor. In addition, the Ubico administration has wiped out all saloons all over the country. One may not drink his liquor in the store where he buys it. There may be no music playing in stores where liquor is sold. Liquor may not be sold over the counter after nine o'clock at night. Informants report that in previous years one could go into a saloon, buy a drink, have a dance, for there was always music playing, pick a fight, if he wanted to, draw a gun and have a good shooting session. The carrying of firearms is strictly prohibited now--except for official representatives of the law. Whereas Indians used to carry machetes and knives wherever they traveled before, they may be held accountable for the carrying of such instruments now if they cannot prove that they are for work purposes in the place to which they are moving. Indians walking around the public or the aldeas no longer carry their machetes. There is no fear of attack. Indians walk the streets at night now, whereas they feared to before Ubico's administration. Indians walk the streets--dark or lit--whereas 10-15 years ago one ran the risk of his

life and his money in walking the streets when it was dark but merchants traveling from one department to another ran great risks, and tales of robbery and murder of merchants are still current. Now, for all this, it is the Ladino who is gladder about the great degrees of personal safety. The Indian, since he could not be robbed very much in any event, is not particularly joyful about the present set up. The cantinas, which were his main diversion at night, have been taken away. Music may be played a night only with official permission or the payment of a prohibitive 50 cent fee to the intendencia. The avenues of physical release from the other impositions upon him has been for the most part, closed to the Indian. One rarely sees a drunken Indian. One does not infrequently see a drunken Ladino. The knowledge of a very severe government has been brought home chiefly to the Indian. Perhaps to say he is 'terrorized' is not exactly to the point. The Indian, if he were a peaceful man who had many other levels of satisfaction, would not need the extra-legal restraints, especially him heading them now. In the face of this, the attitude of the Indian toward the government has become one of 'avoiding'. The government represents a source of unlimited molestation. It is forever calling on him for unpaid duties and services. It is always present with its bailings and finings and forced labor. For the Indian the government has proven more of a bane than a boon in many respects, although it cannot be denied that at least this government has 'tried' -- which other governments before it did not. The Indian is government and law conscious. He knows he can appeal for aid. He may not usually get it. He knows he can go over his local officials head by going and 'giving' part to the jefe politico. But he also knows that unless he has an iron-bound case to make out, he will have a life of hell afterwards and probably to the source or instigation of his own punishment. He knows first and foremost that the government is Ladino and favors Ladinos in all cases, almost without exception. Thus, he knows that should he get in trouble involving a Ladino against him, he will have little chance in the ultimate primitive arbitration of the state. Indians, unless they are marginal, are extremely deferential and servile in all their dealings with Ladinos. They get off the sidewalk for them, tip their hats to them, run errands for them. It is a rarity that an Indian will even so near a situation which might involve a physical combat with a Ladino. This applies to little boys as well as to men. Added to the fact that the government is Ladino is the further fact that the Indian is for the very most part totally illiterate. He understands little of the formal structure of the law nor of what recourse are open to him other than the most direct and obvious ones. Elections for the Indian population turn into plebiscites with a one man ballot. An informant, who is one of the two most literate Indians in town described the past presidential election as follows: He said that almost all the Indian men turned out for the elections, but since most of them couldn't read or write they were therefore naturally voting for the man whom the Intendente told them was the man who was supposed to be elected. There was no question about there being any other candidate. They came up to the Intendencia, were given a ballot signed their names or an X, and voted for whom the Intendente told them was to be elected. To say then that the Indian has recourse to the ballot

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is formally true, but only formally so. it will become functionally meaningful when and if the Indian becomes literate and enters in as an active constituent element in the nation's affairs. To date he doesn't in any meaningful way--at least as far as having a hand in determination of policy is concerned. If one says that the Indian, politically, is fear and ignorance bound, I think one comes close to the mark.

Now then with such a state of affairs one should tie in this picture of the Indian in the political set up with other aspects of Indian life--mainly those aspects which give us a view of some release mechanisms, among other things. This will come later, in a summing up of the general cultural picture. But what should be included at this point is something of a discussion of informal political controls among the Indian population, which, as I have said before, are, for the most part rapidly disappearing.

The major officials of the informal political controls are the principales, or the old men. It is to them that an Indian will turn for adjudication of a minor dispute where there is as yet no need to have vengeance upon one's adversary. Principales serve as the handers down of tradition, the oral transmitters of custom. They convey community wishes rather than government orders. They tie up good behavior with religious principle and thus exercise a sacred control on secular affairs. They are not resorted to very frequently, however, for fear of them and fear of community reprisal is not half as strong as fear of official or governmental action against one. A principal cannot put you in jail. A principal cannot force labor upon you. But the government can. Thus most adjudications are brought before government tribunals. It is reported that in the aldeas men will attempt arbitration of disputes among themselves before going to the intendencia--but it seems that the pueblo here has moved more 'secular' in this respect. One need only testify that Fulano did so and so to have Fulano preceptory summoned and an explanation demanded of him. If no recourse is available to local officials one need only hike 40 kilometers and 'give part' to the jefe to have one's adversary brought in, his hair clipped, and his life thoroughly scourged with fifteen days in jail at hard work, if there is the shadow of a case against him. I would suspect that the decline of influence of the principales and other informal methods of arbitration proceeds somewhat at pace with the decline of witchcraft and other forms of sorcery. Witchcraft is illegal--as is non-licensed curing--and I would suspect that in former years the power of the principale also rested in part on his power as a maker of sorcery--for at least two of the principales at present are known to be able to work magic as well. Further, since the coincident decline of witchcraft sessions--which I believe (from only scant evidence to be sure) to have been methods of exposing your social and personal sins to the disapproval of your family and relatives and the witches or curers present--there would seem to be a natural inclination toward resorting to more secularized controls over such matters. One can get vengeance or retribution without exposing his personal pecadillos to public disapproval. Although belief in witchcraft is widespread--and even the most secular of the Indian is afraid of evil from a witch--still witches are considered evil--and resorting to them an un-godly practice. In addition, diseases caused by witches can be cured. These two further reasons help to influence the Indian to resort to the formal social controls offered by the government.

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Note: I see no point in discussing forms of economic co-operation under Political Organization as does Wisdom in his book on the Chorti. This will come under a chapter on economics.

Now, the Indian here, tho he resorts more and more to the formal controls offered him by the ladino government, maintains at the same time, because of his knowledge of the two-knived edge of the law, a healthy fear and consequent attempt to keep distance from the law. Impressionistically it would seem that the frequency of willingness to 'go to the law' is an index of the degree of acculturation of the Indian. The Indian preserves several attitudes toward the law in this respect. On the one hand we have a group of younger Indians who are hangers-on at the Intendencia. They are employees, either as regidores municipales or auxiliares or merely as sirvientes. The intendente can rely on them to help out in almost any municipal affair. They will help in all manner of decorations and cleaning projects; they will run errands for the office even tho they are not on official duty; they will assist in arrests; they will provide information leading to arrests; they will supervise the work of indian prisoners and will supervise this work with as much harshness as could be expected from a Ladino under such circumstances. They are haughty about their positions in the intendencia and are constantly trying to curry favor with the officials thru this servile and gratuitous aid which they render. They are for the most part some of the most literate indians in town. They are known among the Ladinos as 'good muchachos', at the same time that there is contempt for their efforts to 'go ladino' at least partially. Of them the other Indians are at once contemptuous, fearful, envious and respectful. For it is thru them that one can get audience with the intendente. It is thru them that knowledge of the desires of the officials is handed down. It is thru them also that one can get into trouble, if one runs against them. Being close to the intendente, and, being able to judiciously pass on an item of gossip or whispering, one must be careful not to cross them. This attitude is never openly expressed in those exact terms. But I have had Indians say to me of the above mentioned hangers-on "Well, I don't speak much with him; he's always around the Intendencia"; or "Be careful, he and the intendente are acuerdo". Probably the outstanding example of such a hanger-on is the 4th regidor municipal. Strangely enough he is also the grandson of the oldest principal in town; his grandfather has contempt for his son's municipal activities and laughs at the notion that the cofradia of the 4th regidor, set up by the intendente, should be considered a cofradia. He insists that it is "particular". While the young regidor--and he is a young man of perhaps 28-29 years of age--tries desperately hard to be accepted by the Ladinos he at the same time is an active participator in Indian religious functions. I think two factors operate to determine this: (1) his grandfather's position in Indian life; and (2) his connections with the intendencia. I think this is a strange case of transfer of prestige from the secular to the sacred instead of from the sacred to the secular aspects of the life here. To be sure, I do not doubt that his grandfather's status in the Indian community, plus the fact that his grandfather is perhaps the second wealthiest Indian in town, helped make this young man a 'candidate' for the 4th regidorship. But

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but his continued participation in Indian religious life is I think due to the fact that like it or not the Indians must accept his role as mayor domo of the 4th regidor cofradia--for it is their main connection with the government--and only with the governments consent may their religious activities be carried on, at least openly in the fashion to which they are accustomed. Of course his ability to have a mayor domoship depends in part on his having a 'proporcion' and a large house, which is again an inheritance from his family in part, and also due in part to the fact that he is employed by one of the leading ladinos in town as a well paid mozo. In any event, he is probably ~~the~~ one of the 5 most 'secularized' indians in town --yet--thru the s rvice of official decrees- he is not a 'marginal type' for he is incorporated into both the Ladino and Indian element in the culture in a meaningful way. I am personally inclined to think he would give up his Indian life if he could be fully accepted by the ladinos. he is one of the few indians who always hangs around the pool parlor at night--which is notoriously a Ladino hang out; he always wears a well cut white shirt and trousers and jacket and non-straw hat; he always carries a pencil in his pocket; and lastly, he borrows money and does not pay it back.

Type # 2 of political attitudes is evidenced by Indians even lower down on the social scale than this young 4th regidor--but who are constantly trying to get higher up in the hierarchy--and see a municipal regidorship as the fruition of their official or personal political and social hopes. they are therefore servile not only with the Ladinos but with the Indians higher in the hierarchy--aping their gestures, their manner of talk, their manner of dress, their manner of deportment. They are far more marginal than the type # 1--if only because they have far more incomplete acceptance by Ladino and Indian alike. They make one mindful of petty, small time ward-healers in the States, who have learned a few erudite phrases and never fail to employ them. They scorn the old Indian ways, adulate the Ladino way of life, but are not accepted on the second court --and hence remain precariously balanced in their unsatisfied petty ambitions, and unincorporated into either province.

Type # 3--is the secularized Indian who is at the same time non-fearful of the law and does not attempt to curry political favor, but acts independently according to his own dictates. He will not give ground to a Ladino on a sidewalk, he will not run errands for a Ladino unless it is an official order when he is on duty, he will be polite if the Ladino is polite and surly if that is the treatment rendered him; he has fair acquaintance with the law and knows when he can resort to it and when he must seek extra-legal measures; he may or may not be active in Indian religious and community life -depending on his 'gusto' and not upon custom; taste is a more important determinant of his behavior than is 'tradition'. He is known as "almost purely Ladino" by those with whom he has good relations, i.e. with those Ladinos; at the same time that he is known as a "very bad muchcacho" by those whom he has crossed with his refusal to be servile. He has a good many enemies among the Indians but most are admiring of his boldness and envious of it, at the same time that they fear for themselves if they were to adopt his attitude. He is fairly literate and alert; but discontent most of the time; for while 'taste' determines for him, the culture does not allow free play of his 'taste choices' and would force him into a mold which he does not wish to conform with. He is 'on the margin' but it seems to me if any type Indian has a chance of

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becoming 'something' when the Indian is given a real opportunity, this 'type' will be the first to succeed.

type #4--which comprises the vast majority of the Indians--is that type which operates on the 'avoidance of trouble' principle. They stay as far away from the law and all political manifestations as they possibly can. They lead the life which would be marked off at the bulge on the statistical norm curve. They eat, sleep, drink, work, fornicate, gossip, pray--usually mind their own business and are content to be let alone. They will show the ladino all the deference he requires, if they run into a situation involving a ladino. But otherwise they will avoid such situations. They attend religious celebrations every so often--if there is food to be served and if there is nothing else to be done. They are "good family men", in short, with little or no interest and ambitions above their tortillas, their beans, their wives in bed at night, and an occasional bottle of whiskey. If they are called on to be a sirviente they will serve if they have to, but will try to get out of it if possible. They are neither active nor actively inactive. They are merely indifferent. They have been too poor for too long to expect anything else, and have stopped expecting anything so effectively, that they will probably be nothing but poor all their lives. They are at once the main blood and flesh of the culture and the major garbage heap of the culture.

type #5---this comprises mainly the old men among the Indians. They are the most active repositories of the old Indian culture. They accept in a resigned fashion the inroads of ladino civilization--deplore them in their effects on the younger generation--but continue to adhere to Indian way of life almost entirely--manner of dress, leading in the worship, participation in cofradías, staying away from the ladinos. It seems they have given up any notion of making a determined political effort to preserve Indian life and are content if they are allowed to follow their own ways as they knew them of old. Their self-sustaining community is comprised of the older Indians in town--and their satisfactions are still on the old levels--for their age commands for them the respect and deference of almost all the younger Indians in town, their families, and even that of the ladinos who do not demand deference of an old Indian.

I do not know whether this exhausts the political types among the Indians. In each instance I have had a group of specific personalities in mind when I was writing up the 'type'. I think however that it is a fair approximation at a total coverage of the 'typology of political social attitudes' of the Indian here.

In conclusion it must always be borne in mind that the Indian has several strikes against him when it comes to a question of dealing with the law. For while the Ladino in his literacy and family connections can devise ways and means of avoiding or getting out of trouble in some situations, the Indian, for the most part, cannot. The Ladino to be sure is much bound by official regulations. The jefe políticos are very powerful men. They have power over life and death. If I add that Frank Hague is pretty much a 'piker' compared to the jefes here, there will be some understanding more, perhaps, of the extent of the power of the jefe. For a "peaceful" life under present conditions the Indian must learn to conform. There are those who, however, want something more than peace. Whether they get to hell or heaven--is not as striking as the fact that they will get there very quickly.

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San Luis Sitotzeque

1. Indian Life Cycle
2. Ladino Life Cycle
3. Comparison between
Chorti and Pokonian
Indian Life Cycles



~~CHAPTER II~~

The Indian child in Little-Town is born midst poverty and disease; the odds are high against his living past two years of age; if he does survive the first two years, the odds are fair that he will live till forty-five or fifty; from the age of seven to fifty he will work hard, have many children, be sick a good part of his life, be poor all his life, and die midst poverty and disease.

The life of the Indian of Little-Town is comparatively simple: composed of a few major facets, few frills. He works, eats, prays, fornicates, sleeps and stares: from Sunday to Sunday, from January to January. For men, so for women as well. For old, so for young as well.

The new born Indian child has little time to be spoiled by his parents; siblings follow each other with almost deadly regularity every two years; the three year old child is not yet weaned, perhaps, when a new brother or sister comes on to the scene; he knows as little, at the beginning, about where or how his new sibling came from as does his father, who under no circumstances is admitted into the room where delivery of the child takes place. From the very beginning, the child learns that he has certain powers over his younger siblings, and certain duties to them. To his older siblings, male and female, he has only duties.

He learns that he must treat his older sister and brother as though they were parents; that he cannot joke with his parents, though he may joke with his grandparents; that he cannot joke with his father's brothers and sisters, but that he may joke with his mother's siblings; that his godfather and godmother, Ladino or Indian, command the same respect from him as do his parents; at the same time that he learns the names of his relatives and how one is to call them in native tongue, he learns what are the behavioral expectations attached to those namings.

The Indian child's first tongue is the native Indian dialect; about the time he puts on his first pair of pants in public he begins to learn Spanish: perhaps at the age of five or six; sometimes earlier, usually later. The first sense of difference between his "kind" and the other "kind", the mo-o-soh, the Ladino, is impressed on him. In the house, with his friends, in the streets, in the milpa or the sitio: he hears only lenguaje, the tongue familiar to him. In the stores, up at the plaza, around the big houses, on the football field and the basketball court, between men and women with shoes and with real clothes, with ties and felt hats: in those places he hears another tongue: Spanish. Perhaps he asks his parents about this difference; is told that there are two groups, "we" and "they"; if he asks why there are two groups, he is probably told "it has always been that way".

From the time he is old enough to chew, the Indian child lives almost exclusively on a diet of tortillas and beans; everything else is frill, luxury; meat is a rarity; milk gives way to coffee at weaning time; vegetables and fruits are something they sell in the markets on Thursdays and Sundays if you have one or two cents to buy; he usually does not have one or two cents, but sometimes he is with his mother when she goes to market, and he knows what fruits and vegetables taste like: and knows they are a welcome relief. Ladino boys and girls his age, buying their pennies' worth of plums or pears or mangos, stand out in sharp contrast to him; they wear clothes and shoes sometimes; he wears only paper weight shirts, sometimes a pair of homemade paper weight pantalones, a straw hat. They play; he stares; he doesn't understand what they are talking about nor what they are playing; but it looks like fun.

As a little child, the Indian goes with his mother or older siblings only when he is allowed out of the sitio of his house or the street in front of it. If he has a sharp eye he notes that, as he walks toward the center of town, the house type improves; the straw thatched roofs give way to tile; one room huts to houses with patios and several rooms around the patio; perhaps his mother takes him with her when she goes to her Ladino comadre's house at the center to buy one cent worth of cheese; he notes that the floor in the Ladino comadre's house is of brick; his floor at home is of dirt; the insides of the rooms in the comadre's house, he

notes, are nicely whitewashed ; clean; his house with everything and everyone piled into one room is neither whitewashed nor clean; he wonders if bugs crawl on you at night in his comadre's house too; if "niguas" bore into the soles of the feet of little boys and girls with shoes or sandals; if it's softer to sleep on a bed as he sees in the comadre's house, or on the floor as he and his brothers and sisters do; whether it is better to eat from a table, sitting in a chair, or to sit on the floor as always, and eat there; whether it is better to drink water from a glass or from a fruit shell. These differences must in some way impress themselves on him. If he asks his mother "why"? he gets his second lesson in explanation of differences: "that's the way the rich people live; we are poor and cannot live like that". The little Indian boy never forgets during his whole life how to say "we are poor"; even if he tried to forget, it would be so continuously impressed on him that his efforts would be in vain.

Our little Indian boy or girl is still four or five years old; as yet his work duties have not begun; but the beginnings of the patterns of his life have been adumbrated already in his experiences. He goes with his mother to church, learns that he must take off his hat as he walks in, that he can't run around and play in the church, that he should walk over to the saints and bow in front of them or kiss the frocks of their gowns if he can; that candles are lit to the saints and that only if you light candles and pray

to the saints can your father and mother remain well, your sick brother get better, your father's milpa bring a lot of maiz and frijoles, your brother at the coast come back healthy and with a lot of money in his pocket, your older brother on his trip with water jars and hats not get caught by the frontier guards, and bring home some money to the house. His mother need not caution him, indeed, about the church; it is so big and so high inside, and so quiet in there, with lots of big people, who never move, standing up in cases in the wall; it must seem reasonable to him that God and the saints live here; because God is "nuestro señor" and so are the saints, and this is a big place, appropriate for them to stay.

Inside the house itself the little Indian child learns a lot of lessons on the visual level; mature and immature human anatomy is constantly laid bare to him; his mother works without a blouse in the house; he can note differences between his little sister and his mother; his father does not retire discreetly to a non-existent other room or enclosure to undress; he can wonder at the differences between his father and himself; he learns, by analogy from the pigs and the chickens, the functions of various parts of the male and animal body; his mother's tireless nursing of his younger sibling gives him further instruction; his mother's and father's strange actions at night, when all the children are purportedly asleep, cause him wonder, but he

says nothing as yet; later he can ask an older brother or a friend, and, with a little imagination, figure out the strange game and its rules.

At the age of four our little Indian is housebroken; he knows that it matters not where he empties his bladder or relieves himself otherwise, as long as it is not inside the house; dogs, vultures and pigs form an efficient garbage system. His father and mother and older siblings retire discreetly into the shadow of the sitio or perform their necessities while in the fields or walking to and from the plaza or market. The question of available accessories for the necessities is amply met by the abundance of stones and leaves of plants which abound in the fields. He grows up without any embarrassment about such matters, and later pretenses at modest retirement from public for performance of certain duties extend only as far as modesty does not tyrannize necessity.

He grows up unafraid of animals and almost unafraid of the dark; animals are around him all day, all year, all the time; the dark is deep on moonless nights; pinewood is costly and used conservatively by his parents. The light of the fire in the "stove" glows even as he is falling asleep; the night noises come; the wind blows and rustles the straw thatch; coyotes howl; but the Indian has little fear of such things; unless he is taught to fear them.

He goes with his mother to the river when she goes to wash clothes; he bathes, as a child, more frequently than

he will bathe later in his life; his mother's clothes stretched out on rocks in the sun to dry stand in strange contrast to those of the whiter-faced women he has seen in the pueblo: women with dresses and shoes and stockings; his mother's wide, thick skirt, whose warmth he has known on nights when spirits were astir; his mother's simple blouse, frilled only at the neckline and sleeves with cheap imitation lace adornment; his mother's shawl which shielded him from sun and eyes when he was yet a creature to be carried; the shawl which performs the most common automatic gesture of the Indian woman who covers her mouth as she walks or when talking to others; his mother's bright red and blue beads, lots of strings of them; her earrings, he remembered going to the traveling merchant with her one day and spending almost an hour before she paid the twelve cents they cost. Walking close to his mother as they return from bathing, she smells differently and even he smells differently than she and he had during the past weeks; it's always like that after bathing: the smells change, and he wonders why. His father still smells like he, the little boy, and his mother did before bathing. Maybe that's the way men are when they are bigger.

He now is old enough to be sent on errands; he learns the few Spanish words necessary to ask for things in the store; most of the time he asks for things in one cent amounts; and most of the time it is to the pharmacy he is sent: to buy

mysterious oils from mysterious bottles which his mother feeds to his little sister who is ailing; the little sister continues to ail, and one night our little Indian boy is awakened by the arrival of a strange man in the house late at night; the man is on his knees in front of the altar in the house, candles lit, praying; then perhaps he takes eggs and rubs them over the body of the patient; washes the forehead with water from the tiny little bottle of precious holy water standing under the altar; says strange words, inaudible, unintelligible; even his father and mother apparently do not understand; he sees his father and mother give this strange man whiskey and coffee and bread and maybe a chicken before he leaves; and, his questions reveal that someone has thrown hifillo, a strange disease spreading from dead people, into his little sister. Why did someone do that? Because they were evil and had evil intentions against his father who had spoken out against them on a previous occasion; and who was the funny strange man? That was the parchero, the curer, who, with the aid of God, yes, por Dios, always with the aid of God, might get rid of the evil that the agent of the Devil had done. But later he hears his mother and father saying that the curer man was also able to make evil if he wanted to, and he wonders how you can make evil and good all at the same time.

Dirty faces and hands are no problems, nor dirty clothes; he is not scolded for either; not asked to wash his face and hands before eating, nor to brush his teeth in the

morning and before bedtime; nor to go in and change his shirt. If he were asked, indeed, what shirt would he change into? He has only one. Food dropped into the dirt is perhaps perfunctorily brushed, eaten; but never thrown away. Nothing is ever thrown away; everything finds a use. Food is scarce. Every grain of corn counts; every bean. Table manners are no problem; there are no such things. You eat with your hands when you have no silverware; you gulp and sip from fruit shell containers. You belch like your mother, flatulate like your father, wipe your lips and your nose on the sleeve of your shirt, grunt, and dinner is done.

Nobody brings the little Indian boy picture books and crayons. He doesn't listen to music coming out of victrola chests. The only art he is exposed to are the cigarette paper wrappers that his parents pin into the mud walls; or the crude drawings of monkeyz and fish that his mother paints onto her freshly made water jars, using vegetable dye and the feather of a turkey or chicken as her paint brush. The only literature he is exposed to is quite unintelligible printed paper he sees the Chinaman reading when he goes there with his mother to buy two cents worth of salt. He does learn to count up to ten if his father is ambitious; he will need later to count his change in the stores scrupulously, keep count of the chickens in the yard, perhaps sell something himself later on.

Nobody brings him toys. Perhaps if his father is skillful with machete, a little doll will be fashioned for him;

otherwise his toys are fruit pits, pieces of scrap paper, maybe a bunch of paper pounded into the shape of a ball which he makes rough efforts at kicking around the way he sees bigger boys on the football field doing. No one teaches him games; wrestling he learns crudely in play with his mates; boxing is something no one knows; running around and screaming, staring, peering, drawing circles in the dust of the yard or the house; such are the games of the child.

And soon his play days are over and his work days begin. From about seven on, the little Indian boy becomes the child of his father; the Indian girl, the child of her mother. Life starts in earnest. It is important to be earnest from now on; he and she, little boy and girl, now begin to learn how to make a living: "how to pass the life."

There are the pigs to be fed two or three times a day; firewood to be brought; food to be carried to his father in the milpa; animals to be led and watered; fences to be repaired; straw hats to braid; even some help in the milpa with milpa tools to be rendered. The little boy of Little-Town is turning into man now and must learn his duties; they are the duties he himself will have to perform by himself soon, and then, not much later, teach to his children. He learns the hard way; he is not expected to be too agile at too early an age, but he is expected not to be slow either; and above all he must not complain. Every task he does on a miniature scale, his father and older brothers do on a much larger scale. There is nothing to complain about except the

heat of the sun, the mud during the rainy seasons, the weight of the pack of firewood on his back; but he complains to himself.

The little girl of seven finds herself learning her duties as well; duties which perhaps in seven or eight years she will have to be performing as the chief woman of a household. She learns how to strip ears of corn and rub off the grains; how to feed the chickens; how to carry little water jars on her hip and perhaps on her head. She goes with her mother to the nearby site where the only good dirt for water jars is to be found; she helps her mother carry this dirt; she helps her mother pick the special kind of hay needed to fire the jars; she is even taught how to mold and fashion little jars for herself. She learns to grind maiz into a paste; how to pat-pat tortillas into shape; how to strip a chicken; how to sew a little; how to bring food to her father at the table; how to quiet crying children; how to mind them and put them to sleep; how to pick bugs out of her mother's hair; how to wash clothes. She is now a woman of the house. No more running around with her brother or friends: errands to the store, water from the fountain, sweeping the dirt floor of the sleeping room; all these things are her duties on greater and greater scale as she grows older. She had better learn them well, for, in a few years, she will be a wife herself and will have her own children shortly after to quiet, to nurse, to put to sleep--and to teach, in short years afterwards, exactly the same things.

The little boy and the little girl, now speaking some Spanish, learn other useful items of social behavior; they learn that all Ladino men are called Don and all Ladino women "La Nina." No one ever calls their father or mother by these names because only Ladinos get called that way, and their mother and father are Indians. They dress different, talk different, smell different, walk different, live different; they get off the sidewalk to let Ladinos pass; Ladinos never get off the sidewalk to let them pass; they act very timid and mild with Ladinos, run errands for them; Ladinos never do that for them. They tip their hats to Ladinos; Ladinos never tip their hats to them. Other Indian men shake hands with father; Ladinos do not shake hands with father when they meet him; to Ladinos you make sure to say "Buenos Dias"; it's all very different with Indians; every one of your relatives has a special way in which he is greeted; or a special way in which he must not be greeted. Little boy and little girl, Indian, learn soon that they are really different from Ladinos: not so much that they find themselves wanting to be different; but they have to be. Friends are all Indian; playmates are Indian; neighbors are Indian. The Ladinos are they; the Indians are we: even the language says so; for, one of the first words little boy and girl Indians learn is "coj"; and "coj" is what "we" are and not "mo-o-soh"; "coj" also means "we", the little children find out; "we" and "Indian" become synonymous; are the same in fact; the same word. This is no surprise for

the children: their thoughtways--reflections in part of the minute by minute and day by day lives they lead-- are formed along lines of acknowledgment of differences from the very beginning.

Boy and girl go with mother and father to the cofradias; the celebration is for the men; the work for the women; age respect is visible in everyone's behavior; Ladinos are absent; the elders sit at the head table; their wives run the work in the kitchens. Girl learns that where men are together, women do not enter; not even to bring food, unless it is in your own house, and then you bring it quietly and retire quickly. Boy learns that chairs, if available, are for older men, but this is no difficulty; boy has been used to sitting on his heels as he saw his father do, or else on the ground as he almost always does anyway. Girl helps her mother at the work pots in the corridor which serves as kitchen; she learns to bend from the waist in her tasks; one tires less easily that way; she learns that she is expected to do anything that any older person asks her to; that she may not answer back any older person; that she may not speak to males unless they be of her family, and then only in the special terms that he or she is due.

Girl has her first menstrual period, at eleven or twelve, and is simply told that she now will have it about every thirty days; that the moon causes it, for so says the name of the disease, "enfermedad de la luna." She is not told of its connections with child bearing. This is not yet

her concern. And she will learn later on. But she now is a full grown woman, twelve years old, perhaps. Her body changing; her work duties more arduous; her seclusion from males more strict; her keeping to the house urgent. Perhaps she hears of her former little friend with whom she used to play who is now serving as house girl for Dona Rosario; wearing Ladino dresses; even wearing sandals maybe; eating good food; earning twenty-five cents or fifty cents a month; sleeping on a bed; learning how to live like a Ladino. She wonders what it must be like in Ladino houses; what they talk about; whether it is dark and dirty there; whether they have toys; whether the children work like she does. It seems improbable, for she sees her Ladino age-mates playing basketball in the plaza as she goes for water in the evenings; she sees them walking around the park while the mariaba beats out; she sees them eating candy, fruit, cake: something she herself does not. By now she wears miniature versions of her mother's costume: they together look so different from a Ladino mother and her daughter; they talk differently; they need to behave differently; they are different.

Boy grows up to twelve years of age; he now knows how to make milpa on his own; he can weed, dig, plant, harvest, fire; his little brother now brings him and his father food while they are in the milpa. He knows what it is to get up every day at 4:00 A.M. to walk for two hours to get to the milpa; to work an hour; then eat breakfast of recooked

tortillas and coffee that his brother has just brought; to work in the terrific heat; to work till sundown; to carry home firewood on his back and braid straw hats while walking home; to spend his Sundays braiding straw hats and sewing them into shape; to come home at night utterly exhausted, too tired even to eat much, and to fall asleep quietly and quickly on the floor that is his bed.

And then he goes on his first trip with his father. Four pairs of enormous water jars are carefully tied together and loaded on to his back; the weight and pressure cause cruel pains in his forehead where the tumpline is supported; they walk and walk without stopping; time out for meals; then more walking. In five days or six they arrive in a "new country", or "different state" as his father calls it; they have made a wide circuit off the car road when they got near the frontier. His father explains this to him later as being necessary to avoid the frontier guards. The water jars are sold quickly; prices set quickly, goods handed over; money given; then, maybe, some stuffs bought to bring back and sell. But the burden back is always lighter; it's easier to cross the rivers, to walk up the sides of mountains; it's almost fun at night to help your father gather firewood for the fire over which the steadily diminishing pack of tortillas is heated, the coffee warmed. The little boy sleeps close to his father to cut off some of the cold of the night; knows that his father is at ease, for there are almost three dollars in his pocket and some food stuffs in his pack. The trip has

been a good one and he, the little boy, has helped. His pitchers and water jars sold for the same prices as those of his father, and the hats he made with his own hands sold well too. It is strange, he thinks, that the people in the other state pay more money than they pay in his own pueblo for the same articles; but he learns from his father that the further away from the pueblo, the higher the price for the goods. He figures out that they walk some forty kilometers for each two cents rise in price. When he comes back home, he is allowed to rest for a day before asked to do more work. He is now treated as a man in the house; his little brothers and sisters obey him; his mother serves him food at the same time as his father. Little Indian boy is growing up.

As he grows up, so his loins begin to wake; his body and voice change; the changes are noticeable. He knows he cannot play freely with girls as he used to but his father tells him nothing. Sometimes his older brother tells him answers to his curiosity, but most of the time he has to depend on older friends; learning by verbal instruction at first, maybe later paying more attention visually to his mother's strange games with his father at night; later on, in short order, experimenting himself.

By the time the Indian lad is fourteen or fifteen he smokes, drinks if his parents are not near, and has probably had his first woman; a woman much older than he, who with the aid of his desire, is able to initiate him into the mysteries of the games his father and mother play at night. He learns

that it is easy to secure a woman if one is wise and careful; that one can always find someone else's wife, yes, even a Ladino woman sometimes who for ten cents or twenty-five cents will accomodate his hunger. Sex becomes an important part of his life once he starts, and he doesn't stop till he's too old--or dead. He can describe the process of intercourse, but he can explain nothing but its social genesis; and the only thing he knows about avoiding conception is that prayer sometimes is effective, as with other things.

He learns soon that young Ladino girls are forbidden territory; he dare not even approach them as he can an Indian girl; and effectively, as he nears his middle teens, he learns that young Ladino boys are equally "untouchable"; maybe he wants to be friends with them but they don't want to have anything to do with him. He learns soon, then, to come out Sunday afternoons, after putting on his new white pants and his store bought shirt and his elastic arm bands and his twenty-five cent store bought hat and seventy-five cent leather sandals, and go down to the nearest street corner where people pass by. There he is joined by his friends, dressed the same; they share a two cent pack of cigarettes; admire the gaudy neckerchief of one of the boys; crack jokes at the Ladinos who pass by making sure to talk in lenguaje so as not to be understood; are bold and brave in their own language; would never dare talk to the Ladino in Spanish as they do in lenguaje; enjoy a sense of superiority which compensates in part for needing to move off the sidewalk

when a Ladino approaches, needing to call them "Don", needing to tip hats to them. They hold hands, walk arm in arm up the street, stare into stores and open doorways, stare into the plaza if nearby, stare at any people who have stopped to talk, stare at the ground, at each other, just stare: and begin to gossip: what woman they had last, how they got her, who is next desired, who stole the chicken from the neighbor's yard, how Marcos Mateo beat his wife last night, how his daughter would be fine stuff, what happened to the uncle on the last trip to Salvador: and on and on, staring and gossiping, listeners and lookers at doorways: and the long afternoon winds its way to dusk. The lad returns home for supper being careful not to soil his clean clothes: greetings, gas and grunts, and he is back at the street corner. The mariaba starts to play the Sunday night concert; up to the plaza with his friends, hats set jauntily on heads, cigarettes in corners of mouths, ignoring the jaunts of Ladinos who address them mockingly as "Counsellor" or "Doctor" in derision of their pretenses; flinging back, however, curse words in lenguaje, threats that bring great laughter from the companions and an "Indio baboso" from the Ladino; up, now, at the square, within the semi-light of the gasoline lamp in the kiosk; there, walking around the park, Ladino boys and girls hand in hand, arm and arm; no Indian girls in sight except the Indian house-girl of the Intendente: but one must have nothing to do with her it is said, for she lives Ladino-like, sleeps alone in the house with two Ladino men, has already caused grief to

one Indian man. They join arms, maybe five of them, walk around the park, hoping and wishing they had girls to walk with, knowing full well that the girls they will later marry are at home, in skirt and blouse, working. A few turns around the park, then, perhaps, into the shadow of the market place and dancing, boy with boy, the slow foxtrot they have seen at Ladino dances, stopping with the music, stopping with peerers, starting again with the music and the darkness; then home again, arm in arm, the night yet early, yet the morning and the 4:00 o'clock rising in the near offing: the day of rest is done; the week of work is about to begin.

So our boy works and stares, sleeps and eats, tries women, alcohol, tobacco; grows further and further away from the Ladino in friendship and harmonious social relation; grows nearer and nearer to him in desires, clothing habits, social horizon, mannerisms. He knows that he works far harder than Ladino boys his age who, for the most part, do not make milpa or straw hats or go on trips; he knows that he is probably far poorer; he knows that he hasn't one-tenth the chance the Ladino boy has in later life to make any money above sheer cost of living. Yet, there is no way out--and no way back. Even if he has been lucky and was allowed to go to school for three years: he knows next to nothing. He entered school speaking maybe fifty words of Spanish. It took him a year before he could understand half

of what the teacher was saying; another year to learn to sign his name, count to twenty and print the twenty numbers, and thus pass into second grade where he remains understanding even less than he did his first year; no one at home could read or write; no one to help him in arithmetic, history, spelling; no one to help him speak better, since only lenguaje is spoken in the house; so, after three years of schooling he can sign his name, count to fifty, add a little, subtract a little; and his education is done. Now, he can participate in community life to the extent of signing his name rather than just leaving a digital impression.

Sixteen, seventeen, and, just as he turns eighteen the military commissioner of his barrio comes to his father to tell him that the boy must go to military service in Guatemala for a year. Let us leave the lad there for a moment and turn back to his Indian sister.

She is now fourteen, capable of bearing children, ready for marriage, ready to be a little old woman before her time; if she has gone to school, it has been only for a short time: her mother soon complained so much that her father took her out; she does everything her mother does; cleans, cooks, sweeps, draws water, makes water jars, takes care of children, shops in the market place and, if she can get away with it, has her men as well. Her friends have instructed her in part; she has even heard how she may rid herself of an unborn child should she become pregnant; she

knows from her mother's talk with the other woman who saw a dog bringing a foetus back from the bushes, that it is a great sin; but she wonders what she would do if she were to become pregnant; how does it feel? What is it like to nurse a child?

She has been sneaking into the bush every so often with the boy she likes; it is a strange thing for her; sometimes it is good, sometimes bad; the boy is impatient; he knows as little as she. Some fine day she finds that her sickness of the moon has not come on time; she is afraid to ask her mother; does not know what it means; vaguely asks an older friend; is told that it means pregnancy; the next time she sees the boy, she says to him that she is with child and that now he will have to marry her; the boy says he cannot marry her but will take her to live with him; and she is content; it would have been nice to be married; you get new clothes and new beads from your padrino and your family; and there is much merriment. But she is not sorry too much, for she has a man and she knows he is a good worker and will stay with her for some time; that he will be better than her sister's man who went off to the coast to work one year, got Ladino shoes and Ladino ideas and never came back. So she and her man move into a straw thatched hut on the edge of town as near to her father-in-law's house as can be found; and the routine starts:--up early as her mother taught her, to grind maize and make tortillas which she must

later carry to her man in the milpa; the day is never empty; there is water to get at the fountain, jars to make, food to prepare, clothes to wash, firewood to carry; everything she learned, almost nothing else. It was good she learned these things; else how could she pass the life now? Her belly swells with child, her breasts fill, but she keeps working till one day the pains are too great; she struggles to her mother-in-law's nearby house; is brought back to her own house; her mother and deserted sister now come; the mother-in-law and her daughter come; medicines are sent for; the midwife hired beforehand comes; she is put on a sleeping mat; a belt tied tightly around her upper abdomen to force out the child; a process of several hours of massaging begun; she has been taught not to scream no matter what the pain; she has a wild flash that the scissors she put in her skirt during the recent eclipse will help prevent her child from being born with a hare-lip; in a few hours, the child is born; malhandled at birth; dies two days later; buried quickly; bereavement forced out by necessity of work. She is up in eight days, grinding maiz in a month; her little sister has come to help her in the meantime; three or four months later she is pregnant again; the cycle starts again.

A major event happens; a letter, crudely written, comes to her father from her brother in service in Guatemala; just saying he is well and hoping all is well at home; yes, all is well with her brother; he now has shoes, eats regularly,

is forbidden to talk anything but Spanish, is forced to bathe every morning; works hard; stands guard duty long hours; learns old, antiquated armament; learns that unless he is sharp and snappy in his duties, in his salutes, it means punishment, failure to get leave to go into the city streets; most of his fellow soldiers are Indian; most of his officers are Ladino; he wonders why but does not ask; it was that way in the pueblo too; most of the people were Indian, all of the officials were Ladino. It seems to be in the nature of things. It must be that Indians just can't get such posts. At least not as long as they remain just Indian. He sees fellow soldiers who can read and write, something which he has forgotten, being promoted to corporals and sergeants and lieutenants; he is a vivo himself, alert, a good soldier, but it doesn't help any; illiterates are not wanted; the barracks has a school where he may learn to read and write again; and he promises himself he will go but each night something else comes up; he is too tired or too busy and he never manages to get to school; so, too, with the majority of his fellow soldiers. He makes friends with some from the west of Guatemala; learns they are from a fairly wealthy family of Indians in the West; they become good friends; they tell him of a sister they have whom they would like him to marry and how they would like him to come to the West after the year is up and take up life there; it all sounds fine and he likes the idea. They will give him

land and a woman and a house, more than he could get in the next five years back in the pueblo. The sister and her parents come to visit his friends from the West; the father wears a queer costume, a jacket made of fuzzy wool, a short skirt, striped pants. Our Indian lad learns that this is how they dress where his friends come from. The sister and the mother are dressed in different costumes as well, rich, hand woven textiles; they speak a queer sounding language. The lad knows that though Indians are Indians there are many classes, even in the East: in Jocotan, Olopa, even those in nearby Pinula speak slightly differently. The lad likes the sister; the matter is arranged; when the year is over he will go back with them to the West and settle there. He is happy and wants to tell his own family. He will soon for he is expecting a visit from his father.

He has a day of leave; permission to go into the city if he wishes. The two dollars in his pocket sees its first use in securing a woman, something he has waited for so long. The places where soldiers can go is well known to all of them; one must just be careful not to mix with those women if they are sick with the moon; for then purgasion, a strange running disease, can be gotten. Off through the city streets, staring long in shop windows, wide eyed and curious, almost envious of the men in good clothes, the men and women going into the movie houses; the cars in the streets; the tempting soft drink stands; the Sunday park strollers the neon signs; the electric lights; oh, life in the city is so dif-

ferent from the pueblo; life in the city is so nice. But where are the milpas? That he does not understand. Where are the milpas that these people make? He knows, for instance, that even though the pharmacist and other Ladinos in town in the pueblo don't make milpa themselves, they have milpa that they pay others to make. But these people in the city? Can they all be rich? It must be so for only the rich can live without milpa.

Day of leave is done, year of service just about over; the lad is totally perplexed. Shall he go back to the pueblo where he knows everyone, knows the streets even as he knows the lines on his own face he has studied so often in the little mirror he always has with him; where everyone knows him; where he has his milpa and his father's house; where he can get a wife who talks his language? The matter is decided for him for he had half decided himself. His friends from the pueblo who were in service with him and who are leaving that very same day with him, spirit off his bed clothes and all his other belongings; tell him they will give them back to him only if he comes back to the pueblo; assure him he is a fool to go off to a new place, a new people, a new language. The new is so exciting; but the old is so sure; and so he comes back to the pueblo; gets drunk with his friends to celebrate his homecoming; gradually adjusts himself to the seeming narrowness of the streets; falls back into his old ways; takes off his shoes never to wear them again;

and, in a short time, is back in the life of Little-Town. The year in Guatemala was an exciting adventure in a way, a tiring one, the most unique one in his life; one he will long remember; but it is a change from the old and the old is so sure and secure in comparison. Our lad is back in Little-Town; speaking Spanish better than he ever did before; but he has not forgotten his lenguaje, his birth-right; he never forgets that; he has not forgotten how to make milpa, his mess of pottage; he never forgets that; and, in brief, Little-Town man has gone almost to Big-Town for a while, but has come back to Little-Town, is a little town man again, somewhat better equipped, knowing how to behave so that the Ladinos will call him a good muchacho, knowing how to be polite and retiring; as his officer taught him; knowing, as well that nobody like him or his people are the rich in the city; that his people are milpa makers, land workers, makers of straw hats and pitchers, textile workers, men who make long trips, workers, poor, never to be rich. He has seen all this in the city, in the barracks. People from all over the country have told him so; he has learned that he is Indian, that Ladino is something different, entirely different. He has learned what the Ladinos expect of him, what he can give. He has learned his place as a man in a society of two cultures. And he takes up life as that man with surprises yet in store for him.

He has not yet met up with the impact of government from above, except in a remote way. But now it descends full

force. He is over eighteen so he must have his libreta; he must pay his road taxes and his ornato tax; and perhaps the first year he does not have enough money to pay the tax; his father, an ailing man, cannot help him. So off he goes to work twenty days on the road because he defaulted both sets of taxes. Twenty hard cruel days in burning heat and thunderous downpours, mud, slime, abuse. He learns his lesson from this; several lessons. Masters are cruel when they want to be. Masters are Ladinos. Servants are Indians. Everyone on the road gang was an Indian; no Ladinos in sight. How come? That's the way it always has been, lad, that's the way it always will be as long as you continue to remain "Indian." The word "Indio" gets to be repulsive for him. It means bad treatment, lack of respect, abuse, orders, depreciation. He saw all this cumulatively black headed on the car road. He is yet to see more of it in the pueblo. He comes back from the car road work, thinks of going off to make a few trips with pitchers and jars and straw hats which have been stored in the house, and finds himself designated as servant of the Intendente for the next two years to come. Protests do not avail; almost three months of each of the next two years he will run errands for the Intendente, sweep the market place, water the floors and the flowers, pretend to be sharp, snappy, agreeable. He is told that he is performing a valuable public service. How come, then, that no Ladinos perform this so valuable public service? And why

Isn't there some reward for it? He learns it's bad to ask questions. You never get answers and you only get abuse.

Why is it that Indios get abused and Ladinos do the abusing? "Custom" is the only answer even his friends can give him. Custom plus certain trenchant remarks as to the real nature of the Ladino as the Indian sees him. He learns that he has to take orders even from the cockroach-like secretary and scribe; small men with big mouths; from almost any Ladino who wants something; his public service ranges from running for packs of cigarettes to securing the football for the boys going up to the field. All public services of high import, it seems.

But he keeps quiet and is ready with his "si, si, senor," his errands are dispatched efficiently; he gets a reputation at the Intendencia of being efficient, a good muchacho. He thinks he is avoiding future trouble this way, but after his two years of service are over he finds himself "elected" as municipal regidor number four. Even in this position, the highest an Indian can occupy in town, he learns he must take orders and commands from the three regidores, Ladinos, numerically above him. But he gets a taste of what it is like to give orders; for he can pass these orders down to the auxiliaries and the servientes; sometimes he is extra hard and bitter in his orders just to see what it's like and he finds that it feels pretty good to be able to tell somebody else to do something for a change. But he soon learns

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that he will lose even his Indian friends if he keeps this up, and so he stops. But the taste has come up; he knows what it's like. He dreams someday that he will be in a position--someday, someday.

Four years have passed since he came back from the service. His father has died in the meantime; he has known the feeling of helplessness attendant on being the head of the household now that his older brother has married and moved out. He must be sure the milpa gives if he and his mother are not to starve; he must make his trips, fatten his pigs, do all the services that the male of the house must do. It is hard, tiring, living that way. But there is no way out. He manages to save a little money; buys himself a nice pair of pants and shirt like the Ladino wears, a hat like they wear, a pair of nice sandals; and he thinks that maybe he can command a little more respect that way but it avails nothing; he is always "Indio"; he is never allowed to forget that, never. Little Town has two peoples: Indios and Ladinos. No matter how much the former might like to forget it, the latter never let them. The lad doesn't see much difference except that they are richer and "we" are poorer. He figures out what he could do with money: he could buy his nice house, his clothes of casimir, his shoes, his animals, his plot of land, wear jackets and neckties, maybe even marry a Ladino woman, move with the Ladinos perhaps then. Money, money, money: but how does one get it? From

where? His land is poor; it gives bad milpa. Little beans; nothing to sell; not enough to fatten pigs. He knows of other Indians in town who do have money; they are merchants; they travel to Salvador and bring back nice things to sell; they make money; one sends his children to colegio; they have barber shops; good clothes; nice houses; they are almost Ladino; they are comfortable. But to be a merchant requires money to start and he doesn't have money to start. Oh, if he could get money, but from where?

So, wanting to Ladino-like, forced to be Indian-like, he gets more and more Indian-like in behavior and appearance and customs; gets more and more Ladino-like in ideas and talk; and finds himself nervous, ready to believe that he is a sick man, prey to fears and superstitions which had never bothered him before. He tries all manner of things; he gets invited to be a member of the cofradia; participates there; but that is not much fun or help; one simply spends a lot of time, aiding the mayor domos and the principals; yes, it's nice to be in the processions; it's comforting to think you are serving the Senor; it's pleasant to have a place to go where you can sit and talk with other people: but where does it get him in the end? He has served the Senor: and then what? After two years of this service he is still the same; no better off, no worse off; still Indian in life, still Ladino in hopes. Between the two he finds no rest.

And now as well, he is married. His older brother has

arranged the marriage for him. The principals had exchanged visits, asked for the hand of the girl, secured permission of the parents; padrinos selected; the civil rites performed; the totally unintelligible church ceremony performed; he really doesn't know why he got married except that he always thought it would be nice to be married and have a woman regularly in the house to help him; to grind his maiz; to wash his clothes; to raise his children; to warm his bed and his limbs; to care for him when he was sick. His mother had served well but she is old, and needs help. And now he is husband and father. He looks curiously at his wife sometimes: she is with but slight changes, almost an exact replica of his sister; speaking little Spanish; dressed in the Indian costume; fighting with neighbors over prowling chickens, dogs and pigs; gossiping in the streets and over backyards; scolding him for his daydreaming; but she is very necessary; she makes him water jars to sell; she helps him braid straw hats; she nurses his child who will someday help in the milpa and on trips; his chances of becoming something other than Indio disappear more and more with each new child who manages to survive the peril of childbirth and the first two years of life. Each new child is an added responsibility; more expenses, more clothing, more mouths to feed, more care to be given to the house.

He hopes that he will be able to give his child something he did not have; but his child grows; there is no money;

he sends him to school anyway; the child comes out in three years, knowing next to nothing, and is hauled off to the fields to work; is taught to make straw hats; to go on trips. His first language was lenguaje, too. The man could not speak Spanish with his wife; she did not understand half of what he tried to say; so surely and certainly he slipped back almost totally into lenguaje. Surely and certainly as the visions of becoming something other than Indio grew more and more dim, the actual incorporation into being totally Indio became more and more fast and certain. Road taxes, or road work; guard duty about once every three or four months; helping with a fiesta once in a while; going to the cofradias once in a while. Praying, lighting candles, avoiding insulting and being insulted; sarcheros to cure; sorcerers to harm; work grows harder, muscles grow less able, visions grow dimmer, and resignation sets in; what is the use to struggle; you save \$10 and then you get sick and have to spend it on medicines; you work hard planting and weeding and then no rains come and your milpa is almost ruined; your wife is a nag, wants you to stay home all the time; you find yourself forced to beat her at times for her tongue; your children need to be beaten. People tell you they are maleriados, that they walk around the plaza and the town on Sundays as though they were "counsellors" or "doctors" and that they have no right to do so because they are Indios: the hated word. Your childhood is not far off in

time, but terribly remote in memory. You keep hoping against hope; praying against rigid determinism; your wonder and your visions disappear; your wife is far behind you, even diminished as are your visions; she has none except for a repetition for her children of exactly the same things she has known and her mother before her knew. "It is our way" you are told constantly; why try to be different?

With middle age; with disease and poverty, more dead children than live; with your one room mud hut, your dirt floor; your saint in the corner, your bottle of holy water under the altar; your once a week visit to the church; your helping carry the saints during the fiestas; your coming to street corners to stare and stare; your getting drunk as often as you have money, if only to forget that tomorrow is work again; your woman now grown aged and ugly after bearing so many children; your daughters growing; your sons about to become men; life moves on; you have changed a little from what your father was; you have imparted some of your visions to your children; you have helped them a little more than your father helped you; but the wife keeps tugging from behind; the children, still young and hopeful, keep pulling from in front; necessity slogs you down where you are. You are Indian, poor, sick, without a chance; and you don't know how to start making that chance. The Ladino says "Become like us and we shall accept you"; you want to become like them, you did want to at least, when you were younger, but how? How can it be done? The same wrinkle on the brow

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that this question caused you, you see at times appearing
on the brows of your children; your male children; for your
daughters are now children of their mother; a son goes off
to the coast, with your godspeed and his mother's curses;
you almost wish he does not come back; at the coast, in shoes
and clothes, in Spanish speaking, buried in anonymity, there,
maybe he has a chance. In Little-Town he has none.

SOCIAL BRIDGES IN LITTLE-TOWN

In Little-Town, East meets West, pauses for a moment, exchanges money for services or goods, greetings for ignorals, salutes for abuses, services for verbal thanks, seeming respect and fear for obvious depreciation and fear; and then East goes back East and West goes back West. In Little-Town:

The Ladino is the landowner; the Indian the tenant.

The Ladino the store-owner; the Indian the customer.

The Ladino the patron; the Indian the hired hand.

The Ladino the official; the Indian the unpaid servant.

The Ladino the comandante; the Indian the unpaid guardsman.

The Ladino picks the candidates; the Indian signs his name or his thumb print.

The Ladino walks the sidewalks because the Indian gets off to let him pass by.

The Ladino is godparent to Indian children; the Indian never for Ladino children.

The Ladinos occupy the billiard benches and tables; the Indian peers through the window.

The Ladino is the sergeant, the captain; the Indian is the soldier at drills. Ladino and Indian participate in the fiesta of August 25th, the patron saint's day of Little-Town; the Indian carries the saints, the Ladino carries away the money from the marketplace.

All this is more or less; an occasional Indian hires Ladino helpers; has Ladino renters; in the market places on Thursday and Sundays, the Indian is the merchant, the Ladino the customer; some Ladinos live farther away from the center of town than some Indians; some Ladinos are far poorer than some Indians; some Ladinos are far more uninstructed than some Indians.

Money and "just plain difference" constitute a one-way toll gate at most of the avenues of contact between Indian and Ladino in town. Most Indians are very poor. Those Indians who can pay the toll, find their way blocked by "differences." When they almost eliminate all visible differences, they run into stereotype and prejudices. You can't buy your way through that last blockage if you're an Indian, unless you get up and go somewhere else where they don't know you. In Little-Town everyone knows everyone else.

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~~CHAPTER III~~

The Ladino child starts with a terrific handicap; several of them in fact. Firstly, he is given a family name, whether he asks for it or not; all his life he either has to live up to that family name or take great pains not to live down to it. Secondly, he is endowed, by common opinion of the Ladinos, with a superior blood from which flow such blessings as superior intelligence, good character, a noble heritage in general when contrasted with less "good" Ladinos and with all Indians, none of whom are good, except as in comparison with the worse ones among the Indians. Thirdly, he is born in a pueblo, a rural area. That is not the preferred type. Everyone in the pueblo knows that; pretends that, of course, he is not of pueblo type at all; is really like anyone else in "the capital." So the Ladino child must make all efforts, or have them made for him, toward assuming as many superficial appearances to city type as he possibly can. Sometimes this is very difficult; for, if he is poor, as a good number of them are, it is very difficult to distinguish in anything but family background and language, whether he is different from the Indian whom God, in his wisdom, according to the Ladino, endowed so poorly in contrast to even the humblest Ladino. He has a two-fold job then, on this last count; make as many pretences

as possible toward the city type; never forget to depreciate the Indian on such "objectively indicable" counts as bad blood, bad character, native stupidity and inability, congenital dispositions toward dirtiness and laziness and disease. The Ladino child then really has handicaps at birth; perhaps even more than the Indian child who is only burdened by poverty and disease and the sometimes deceitful gestures of the Ladino to "come ahead." Genuine psychic burdens are indeed greater crosses to bear than mere poverty and disease. It's much easier to eat humble food like frijoles and tortillas than it is to eat humble pie. The unwary Ladino, the Ladino who insists on living as he "chooses" finds himself almost forced to eat humble pie. It's an unpleasant dish, especially if no one will join you at the table.

A birth of a child is occasion for a celebration in Ladino families, whether the child be male or female. Godparents are selected, dates of baptism set, preparations made, and finally, a party given to which Ladinos are invited as participants, Indians sometimes invited to help decorate the house, clean up, serve the guests. The Ladino child, male or female, is a child of both his father and his mother, from birth to death. The mother cares for him; the father commands. Ladino paternal authority is as strong if not stronger than Indian paternal authority.

Rough efforts most of the time, careful efforts sometimes, are made to keep the child clean, clothed, fed well. He is almost always under the care either of his mother or

father or an older sibling; or an Indian nurse girl; he is never allowed to wander anywhere by himself; he is not allowed to explore his backyard or the tastiness of a dirty plum pit; he is, however, allowed to have his own way on almost all other counts, within the limit of his father's anger and his mother's patience. In Little-Town, among the Ladinos, there are as many notions of "scientific child caring" as there are children; everyone has personal experiences to offer, everyone usually different, many contradictory.

Like the Indian child, the Ladino is free agent until 6 or 7; unlike the Indian child he is freer many more years afterwards, with certain minor exceptions. As a child under 6 he is given home-made or bought toys: dolls made out of pumpkin and other vine products; perhaps a ball, a home-made wagon or animal; sometimes, in rare cases, a book with pictures. He learns games and songs; recitals; is brought to the concerts at night and his efforts at dancing applauded and encouraged; his tongue rapidly acquires the rrr of the Spanish; the colorful idiom of the pueblo; the typical adjectives by which all things may be classified as "jodido," "fregado" or "babosado." Before six, he learns from his uncareful father that almost everyone is an "hijo de la gran puta"; if he is a boy, he swears by this with his friends; if a girl, she swears only a la gran chuchm or a la perra.

Even before he is old enough to understand fully, he becomes aware of certain differences among the people in town; dark skinned people come to the house and act very servile to his father; call him Don; his father treats them brusquely, calls them by their first names; they usually come to ask father for work or to pay him a debt, or to arrange the payment of the days of labor they pay as rent for his land which they use in part; he sends them off with a "va," they tip their hats, salute servilely and leave. This is all in strange contrast to the way his father treats other men who come to the house; invites them to sit down, exchanges smokes with them, chats, smiles, lots of polite phrases, confidential talk. The child learns these differences visually and orally before he understands them. It is not long before understanding comes.

The Ladino child undergoes good chances of becoming spoiled, having almost anything he wants, if his desires are reasonably limited; for, he does not give away to another sibling until he is 3 or 4 years old; and there are not as many in his family as in Indian families among whom things must be divided; his mother usually has much more leisure time to spend with him and to pamper him than if he were the child of an Indian mother. His father does not work in the evenings, spends time with him, takes him on walks; or there is always an older child who must drag him along wherever he happens to be going, until his bedtime.

He may hang around his father's carpentry or iron working shed; maybe play on the floor of the store his father or mother tends; maybe get taken for a ride on his father's horse or mule when father goes to look at his lands or to hunt up a lost animal or to repair a fence. He sometimes finds Indian playmates in the neighborhood; is allowed to play with them, even learn some of their words that sound so queer; all this until he is taught better; and his parents make sure to teach him better very soon. In all of Little-Town only one Ladino speaks the Indian language fairly fluently; most Ladino people don't know ten words of lenguaje otherwise.

When his years of almost unrestricted play are over, his years of schooling begin; most of the day is taken up with school: from 8 to 11, from 2 to 4. Saturday mornings as well. In the first grade, most of his classmates are Indian; he knows enough now to know that he must consider himself as something apart from Indian. The Indian children in the first grade scarcely can speak Spanish. Ladino children do not fail to make fun of them; perfunctory efforts at punishment of Ladino children for such social derision are made by the Ladino school teachers; friction is kept at a minimum; as yet the social line has not hardened between Ladino and Indian; they play together during school recess; but after school is out for the day, they separate; Indian boys and girls go home to do their duties; Ladino children

run home for some food, in very short order, and are usually out playing again until dark.

In the house, they eat and sleep differently than does the Indian child and are constantly told so by their parents. "Don't act like an Indian" is a popular reprimand handed out to Ladino children by the Ladino adults. They eat at tables, usually with tablecloths and silverware, cups and saucers, glasses; perfunctory efforts at table manner-teaching are made; judging by adult Little-Town table manners, these efforts are scarcely successful; the hand is still the most manipulable table instrument. The Ladino child is taught to bathe regularly, to keep fairly punctual hours; to keep fairly clean, though shabby; to be polite to all Ladino adults; to understand social etiquette, the right phrases, the right greetings, the right amount of respect. He learns that his father is boss, but absolute boss in the household. Certain power instruments he developed during the process of being spoiled as a child are not as effective in his school years as they were when he was a younger child. The flat of his father's hand teaches him that.

He learns early that he must treat the best families in town with a good deal of respect; compliments are forthcoming for good manners, punishment for bad manners; his padrino and madrina command as much respect as do his father and mother; he must be shy and retiring in company, until asked to perform or to speak up; he develops a stock in trade of performances.

Both Ladino boy and Ladino girl learn certain minor tasks in off-school hours or days. The girl learns how to sew, how to wash clothes, something of how to cook; the boy learns something of his father's work; sometimes learns something of milpa work; not enough to go out and make milpa himself. Both Ladino boy and girl at very young ages learn to bargain sharply; they go to market with their parents or siblings; they shop in the sotres; learn that ultimo precio is something you arrive at after all the nonsense of the first few bids and offers is done with. You develop a business sense if you are a Ladino child; you learn to drive hard bargains, for, you and the family, in contrast to the Indian family, are almost always buying things; the Indian family is far more self-sufficient--out of necessity rather than choice. Your most probable work later in life if you are Ladino will be some form of buying and selling; it is well to develop this sense of the "bargain" and how to drive it.

As a school child, the Ladino child is far more an economic deficit than asset. New clothes, school uniforms, everything in line with keeping up with the Jones in some way or other. The only real services the child performs for his parents when he is in his early teens is running errands. He cannot help but notice the contrast between himself and the Indian child, who is almost never without a straw hat-in-the-making in his hand, carrying firewood, off to the milpa, carting jars of water, grinding maiz. Indian girls and boys

are early incorporated in the division of labor of the Indian group. There is no fixed type of labor desired in the Ladino group, at least not desired and achievable. You can't really train for anything except in an offhand way if you are a Ladino child. It is always hoped you will be sent off to colegio or secure some employ as a school teacher or a scribe in your own or some other pueblo; or maybe some pot of gold will fall during the rainy season. So a good many Ladino youth learn how to wait for the pot of gold in the immediate vicinity of the clicking ivory of billiard balls.

The Ladino boy almost never goes to church except for his first communion. His sister goes to church very frequently: she follows in the trail of her mother, black shawled; lights candles; learns the church songs; participates as singer at the rosarios for the dead and for the dead-about-to rise; joins in all the processions of the church and of the special saints' days during the year. She becomes a very formally religious person; can recite the Ten Commandments; the "I, Sinner"; the "God Be With You"; taking time out occasionally during such recitals to whisper the latest item of gossip. From school age on--and perhaps from an even younger start--the Ladino girl develops the ability to talk quickly, viciously, quietly, at length about everything and anything. It is an indispensable part of her social preparation for an early or late marriage.

Several avenues of instruction in the art of talk are open. When visits are made to the house the children are not excluded from the company of elders; they learn at first hand the proper inflections for emphasis, the right way to say "Y fijase" or "Imaginase." In company with her school chums, almost always Ladino, favorite recreation consists of basketball with time out for gossip; the Ladino girl simply has "no time" to make friends with the Indian girl; the Indian girl is almost always annoyingly occupied at work. From the age of 12 or 13, the Indian girl is dressed in native costume; Ladino girls simply do not walk or talk with Indian girls in costume except in perfunctory, business-like manner when they need a favor. Indian girls in Ladino dress are either house servants or house-to-house merchants of the products of the bakeries and the stores. The Ladino girl knows it is "low class" to mix with them.

The Ladino lad's sex instruction is less visual, less experiential, more oral than that of the Indian boy. Like the Indian, he can infer analogously from behavior of animals and satisfy his curiosity by questions to older friends, or simply by listening to older Ladino boys at the football field, the basketball court, in the pool parlors, wherever he can find them to follow around. He learns how to make lewd remarks to passing-by Indian girls, learns not to do it to Ladino girls. But perhaps his first sex experience is with an Indian woman, the meeting with her being arranged

by an older friend; the price being paid C.O.D. This is one of the favorite topics of pool parlor and park bench conversations: the thematic differential between Indian and Ladino women. The differential is computed unscientifically, for it is a contrast between the perhaps-experienced and the surely imagined: bluffing is the filler of the cake.

The Ladino girl's sex instruction is at best informal. She perhaps knows, in her early teens, that menstruation and childbirth have some vital connection; the exact connection is as much a mystery to her as to the Indian girl. She is early taught the bargaining value of the anatomical virginity she is cautioned to preserve until marriage, or until joining up with a Ladino man. She learns that the slightest suspicion of rumor about her will blow up like a balloon, ruin her chances for marriage with a "respectable" citizen; and, at the same time, from her observation of available male material and from her family's putative knowledge of the exact amount of income and land holdings of any given family in town, she learns what she may expect in the way of economic comfort when and if she does marry a local product.

With but very few exceptions, the Ladino girl's life from her middle teens onward is devoted to waiting for marriage to come from some providential source. She must keep up her appearances if she is to be invited to the society dances; that means she must somehow or other manage to have nice clothes; skillful handling of cheap materials from the local

stores becomes one of her main occupations and preoccupations; skillful "sociability" without giving cause for rumor becomes one of her main day by day and night by night concerns; she must learn how to be a desired public figure, without being a public desire. She must learn how to choose from the best of the bucks those whom she will let take her arm in a walk around the park during concert nights; at dances, she must learn to refuse no one, yet must learn how to subtly favor a few; she must learn how to act shy and retiring and make sure that that shyness and retirement is publicly noted and talked about; she must learn how to handle compliments gracefully, after employing all her tricks to solicit them; she must learn how to appear a woman of leisure yet not a female counterpart of her vagrant brother; an obviously attractive sexual object without being obvious about her attractions; if her attractions are few she must learn how to exploit them to their fullest; if they are many she must learn how to show them all without being showy; learn how to vary interestingly from her girl friends, yet not go far afield enough to be called "strange" or queer. All these things the Ladino girl must learn and does learn, in accord with her "social station," the class position of her family, the popularity of her family name or its notoriety. And, having essentially no other goal in life but early marriage of a reasonable promise, the Ladino girl spends a good deal of her time talking of such things, watching others, getting

advice, copying modes from city visitors, talking with much more surety about "proper behavior" than her yet undeveloped sense of socially correct actions would lead one to believe, without her verbalizations as supports. Being "social" and being an active Catholic, plus crochet¹⁵ and house work when it's neither Church time nor dance time:--thus does the Ladino girl pass her waiting teens; and often her early twenties as well: waiting, waiting, until at least some respectably poor, or, preferably, some unrespectably rich version of a bell bottom trousered buck on a white mule comes asking for her hand. If she is lucky, she marries early; if she is very lucky, she marries fairly well with some other pueblo lad; if she is terribly lucky, she marries someone from the city. Her usual marriage is with some putatively respectable, not-too-poor local product who has managed to find a way to earn his 12-15 dollars a month without working personally in his milpa.

In Little-Town almost everyone knows almost everyone else, by first name as well as by the string of family names tacked on, sometimes arbitrarily chosen to impute connections which the legitimate bearers of the names would deny when asked. Part of the training of the Ladino boy and the Ladino girl in their teens is to become thoroughly familiar with all such names and nameplaces, imputed and real origins, claimed and legitimate heirs; family scandals and disgraces; family fortune and fame; it is not a difficult task; Ladino parents

on visits do perhaps nothing essentially but talk of such things; Ladino family life is highly visible through open doors, open windows, over back yard fences, at public meetings and gatherings; indices of status ranging from the creak of the leather in a pair of shoes to the cut of a dress are guides to deserved treatment; number of years of schooling and kind of employ are further guides; thus, family, clothes and work help the Ladino boy and girl estimate the amount of depreciation of a person he or she can get away with safely; for the rule of conversation, as they all learn soon from their parents and their parents' friends, is to depreciate in the main, make reservations with certain ineffective "buts," pull down if one himself has no right to go up, or step hard on someone down further than yourself, so that the light of your own position shines through a little more clearly; make a virtue out of your failings, a joke out of your peccadillos, condemn as prideful and pretentious any efforts, right or wrong, on the part of others to insist on status by the very indices by which you yourself lay your own claims; assert, for yourself, the very things you deny for others; condemn severely in others the very things you make light of about yourself.

The Ladino boy's training on the social status front is somewhat different than that of his sister; this is mainly so because the life of the male in Little-Town is infinitely freer and more socially potpourrish than that of the female.

Plebe mixes with society in the pool room, on the football field, in joint work efforts, in socially sponsored projects, in the stores, over the checkerboards, on the streetcorners. The "society" lad can't refuse directly to let one of the plebe join in a game of lottery pool, though he usually does wait until only other society lads are playing before he joins; he plays football with the plebes, because the plebes may be good players and without them there are not enough for a team; he chats with him on the street corner because he cannot turn his back on him and walk away immediately; even in the popular late night and early morning drinks and the subsequent serenades with guitar and bandolion, the plebe in part hangs like glue to the society boy, stands in the doorways and watches him drink and eat, runs errands for him if fairly politely asked; knows all the tricks of "losing" and so never gets lost during the night. But, where status determines who is to be present and who not, then, the plebe and society even among the males, do not mix; the society lad dances; the plebe looks on from the far off platform in the rear of the salon or through the open windows; when national holidays are openly celebrated, the society lad and his family occupy the benches inside the market place; the plebe hangs on the rails of the market place, presenting a not interesting rear view to the Indians behind him; when select weddings and baptisms occur, the society attends, the plebe hangs in the doorways; thus, residually, through not being invited, the young Ladino boy learns the status of his

family and thus his own status of the moment; he learns with what group he is tops, with what group he is bottoms; with what group his later life will probably be led; with what group he will always be considered a socially inferior creature. After a while the plebe lad does not resent this, if indeed he resented it when it first struck home. He just aspires to someday securing enough money to buy the necessary clothes which will allow him into the less select society functions; clothes are the most important; the black suit, the black suit--that the plebe boy learns is the entrance card to all but the most select of functions, where invitations do not otherwise include or exclude.

In the current actual life of Little-Town the plebe does not have a hard time of it among the male portion, for real society sends its boys to colegios; and, only during the two months vacation time, does young male society, recently come from the city, with city suits and songs and ways, dominate young male society in general of Little-Town. It is the less select of the upper middle class family group in Little-Town which constitutes the ruling social group among the male youth of Little-Town the other 10 months of the year. The cream is up at the city; the cruder product, nearer than others to the top of the social bottle, yet still not cream, dominates during the rest of the year, with certain reservations. For adult Little-Town male society functions, by permission of the double standard and the generally accepted

custom of leaving your wife at home, as the partial complement of female Little-Town youth at dances and other determining social functions. And, in the presence of upper class adults, middle class youth must recognize its place and pay its proper respects; and does do so. If it does not, upper class adult knows how to teach it its place and what the meaning of respect might be. Age and status are fairly effective cautions upon pretentious middle class youth in Little-Town. In all of this, the plebe is like some giant mongrel trailing silently behind the social pekinese led by the lady with the pince-nez and the mink coat; a pekinese who will condescend to romp a little with the mongrel in leisure time moments as long as the mongrel never forgets that it is a mongrel. Somehow or other that mongrel, though far more numerous, mixed and strong in his own connections, pays deference to the shiny coat of the pekinese and knows enough not to sport with it when the lady with pince-nez is out for a walk with her dog.

The plebe youth makes milpa and hires itself out as day laborer and goes to the coast a few months of the year to earn part of its living; nothing that requires work skills, nothing that requires training and careful instruction; so, plebe youth grows into plebe adult and does the same things, with a few exceptions. These are the obreros, the skilled workers, the few carpenters, iron workers, masons and tailors in town. But here training is almost always from father to son; you grow up into your father's trade, even as you do into

his second best pair of shoes. Most plebes don't have skilled workers for fathers. Middle class youth of Middle-Town today spends most of its time practicing the fine art of vagrancy, with certain annoying times of work needed to gather the few cents a no-longer-patient father refuses to throw into the whiskey bank, the pockets of the maestro of the billiard salon, the cigarette counters. It plays football and basketball, usually can play a marimba part as well, is most anxious to be highly versed in the snappiest of possible retorts: things so vitally needed to give color to each billiard shot, to each wry face that unfermented alcohol causes, to each publicly-to-be-denied envious remark concerning society lads.

Plebe, middle class and upper class youth vary from individual to individual in the acquired attitudes toward the Indian which they present to the inquirer. Yet there is a general rule on which artificial social appearances and behavior seems to be based, i.e. that the further away in money and family and hence, in status, one is from the Indian the more one can afford to be friendly with the Indian; there is little chance of such condescending semi-politeness being confused with socially condemnable fraternization with the Indian. But there seem to be as many exceptions as observances. Plebe youth range from almost actual friendliness with the Indian to a degree of frigidity which even the upper class, who have the "right" to behave frigidly, condemn as prideful and pretentious. Upper class youth and adults are often wont to boast of their

friendship with Indians, yet are pressed hard and often fail when asked to name some of their Indian friends. They turn out, on closer inquiry, to be friends with the Indians as a whole. For Little-Town social talk, this seems to be the wisest procedure; for gossip starts with names and ends with names; gossip loses its sting when one has to talk about "disgraces" without being able to mention names. "Some of my best friends are Indians" is a safe contention for Little-Town Ladino to make. And it is often made. Little-Town Ladino youth early learns that the line of permissible social behavior extends as far as the point nearest to the tip of the tongue of the Queen of town.

Little-Town Ladino male youth seems chronically devoid of goals above those of achieving social recognition within the pueblo, and hence being almost not of the pueblo. It is an axiom of Little-Town that the closer to local high society you get, the nearer you are to the toes of lesser society of more important pueblos and in some rare instances, of the city.

Visiting society from other pueblos or from the city or upper class youth come down, geographically and socially, for the vacation period, is adequate cause for the biggest social flurries of the year. Black suits are futilely brushed free of the more obvious spots, baths taken, hair washed, and Little-Town Ladino youth ready and eager for the events. Status for the rest of the year, when other-town society is gone,

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and local upper class society returned to its medical and law books and offices in the city, is determined by the invitations to affairs given during these limited social snow-falls.¹⁶ A set-back during this social season is a set-back for the year; a rise in status during this social season is cause for confidence that the coming year will see you admitted to more restricted social circles than those to which you had been previously accustomed.

Through all this the plebes either play the marimbas at the dances or continue to shoot billiards or merely watch the billiard tables; not failing to make sneering comments about the dances to which they would not have gone anyway, even if they had been invited. "One doesn't like to mix with pretentious people, you know." Plebe and Indian women and children and young girls and Indian men crowd the doorways and the windows of the houses where dances are being given, some staying as long as the marimba continues to play, sleeping in corners of the doorways, or dozing on the window sills, as excluded and ignored and unable of entering, but not as resentful and demanding as some Kafka-like servants beating upon the window panes to attract the attention of the inner sanctum occupants to their outcast state. Only the clicks of the tongues and the billiard balls in the gasoline-lit salon bear resemblances to unavailing assaults upon The Castle. All men may fail to achieve divine grace; but practically no one in Little-Town, except the Indian, stops trying to achieve

some measure of mortal grace, measurable in number and kind of invitations to the houses of the saints of the social order.

Little-Town Ladino youth, male and female, equips itself early with a set of rationalizations which are as unassailable as the heights of the social order. The first and last ego-defense for Ladino youth is "at least I'm not an Indian." Actual closeness to the Indian, by "objectively measurable standards" seems to be a function, in inverse ratio, of the number of times Ladino youth finds it necessary to assert the distance of the provenience of their ancestors from the Bering Straits. When all else avails naught, Ladino youth can always say, "at least I'm not an Indian." When not pressed so hard, Ladino youth, like Ladino adult society, resorts to more assailable contentions such as "At least my family is honorable"; "At least all of us in the family are hard workers"; "At least we're not pretentious and prideful"; "I don't run wherever I am invited; I go whenever I feel like and not just because I'm invited"; "I didn't go last night because I have a cold and therefore couldn't shave; my health is more important, you know, than any dance." All these rationalizations again seem to have a frequency index which seems to be in direct negative correlation with the truth-value of the proposition.

Little-Town Ladino youth's personal claim to social valor then depends on the amount of proximity it can claim to the foreparts of the rat. The closer to the probing and assertive nose, the more scorn one can cast back on more hind

region. Everyone is better than at least someone else; those, however, who find themselves on the very tail end, either go to great pains in insisting on the honorable nature of more humble reaches of the animal organism or seek to present scientific evidence that there are animals even more humble and lowly than the rat.

It is important for Ladino youth to learn this early and to learn it well; it is a social catechism which is repeated all during adult life; for Little-Town adult society is as much the child of its youth as is its youth the product of its age. One does as an adult exactly what one has learned to do as a child in Little-Town. Social maturation does take place; but on a limited score. Maturation consists in the widening of the repertoire of stories, gossip, scandals and rationalizations. Maturation means less flexibility of opinion, of self-estimate, of estimate of others, along with psychic hardening to give a color of certainty to things of purely imaginative provenience.

If Little-Town Ladino youth is hopeless, it is mainly because it has no hopes for which it does not have instruments, real or imaginary, for achieving its hopes. If it is hopeless, it is mainly because it feels it needs no help from anyone; the repertoire of psychic defenses need not be very large when there is little to defend. If it is essentially equilibrated, it is because it allows itself no undue tensions; it makes sure to limit the disparity between its levels of achievement and its

levels of aspiration to a sufficiently comfortable narrowness. It remains aspirationless because it cuts off from itself the avenues by which aspirations of a non-pueblo dimension might otherwise enter. It feels no particular pressure to "rise" because it always makes sure to keep the social fluid below it at a non-boiling temperature. It finds its surety in ignorance; its conceit in self-deception; its contentment in small-town smugness; it compensates for its lack of social movement in the rapidity of the movement of its tongues; it ignores the years for the days; the days for the hours; it worries not at all about the future because the present is so ever much more real and important; it mounts to social heights on its spotted black suits and \$1.50 pair of shoes; it keeps from descending to the social depths by repeating over and over "At least I'm not an Indian"; it prefers colorfulness of idiom to depth of intellect; skillful unoccupation to work skills; extent of contact to depth of friendship; the Word to the Deed. It prefers racial dogma to cultural integrity; superstition and coincidence to science; Catholicism to Christianity; belief to skepticism; it chooses to ignore rather than examine; to pass profound judgments rather than to judge profoundly; to make a lot out of a little rather than a little out of a lot. It prefers to pretend rather than to be; to be rather than to mean; to mean rather than to do.

There is a small circle which encloses the life cycle of Little-Town Ladino. He and she learn early the art of effortless and directionless leisure. They learn the first

lines of social attack, the last lines of social defense. They learn the best methods of depreciation of others, eulogization of self. They learn how to demand respect for themselves from others in "exchange" for which they grant themselves license: Ladino man formally respects Ladino woman, as long as she allows him license; Ladino demands respect from the Indian, in "return" for which he exercises all manner of license with him. All this they learn almost completely just about the time they are ready for their first dance: perhaps at the age of 15 or 16. The rest of their lives, with but minor exceptions, they spend doing essentially nothing else except lending allowable individual variations upon these major themes. The music is written for them; they learn it well; pass on to their children the same scores, slightly tattered at the edges, a few notes stricken out, a few added, but essentially the same in all major details.

There are now two generations of Little-Town people who have played this music; further back than two generations, the strains are so unclear, it is difficult for the observer, in the absence of written scores, to explicate the major themes; an even more difficult feat lies in store for him who would try to predict the music that will be played by the next generation of Little-Town people. The lulling stability of the tunes of this generation are threatened by the rising incidence of discordance and disharmony. There

are no Schoenbergs or Hindemiths at work with a purpose, but there are Indians and there is a world at war; and, slowly but surely the influence of these possible causes of major departures makes itself felt; and noticeable; and all this despite the ability and propensity of Little-Town to give harsh reception to unfamiliar strains and compositions. Meanwhile Little-Town continues to lull itself to sleep under the drowsy tones it finds so comfortable; and, like anyone trained in only one kind of music, on only one sense-familiarity, it will be difficult for Little-Town to admit the feasibility and merit of any departure from that to which it is accustomed as it will be impossible for them to admit that those departures are the arrivals, once the avant-garde has turned almost to kitsch. Little-Town, as now composed, will not without something more than reluctance, turn in its horses for autos, its victrolas for radios, its candles and pitchwood for electric light, its racial dogmas for beginnings of genuine functioning of the democratic spirit; Little-Town's stuff is small town stuff; it has its ears wadded with cotton; its eyes glazed with the opaqueness of semi-sleep; its nerve endings turned inwards upon itself; and its ego inflated like a balloon; all of which, of course, is a remediable situation: with the co-operation of the patient and the services of an efficient doctor.

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Detailed Account of
Life Cycle of
Polonau Insects

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The actual function of the male sperm in the fertilization of the female ovum to produce a child seems unknown to the Pocoman Indian. It is known that intercourse must be had in order for children to be born, but neither the function of intercourse nor its specific results are understood. It is believed that some months after marriage a woman's menstrual period stops, thereby indicating pregnancy. It is thought that one has to have intercourse many times before becoming pregnant. The blood of the man is said to be transferred into the woman thru the medium of the semen, and in that way the woman becomes with child. Menstruation is attributed to the influence of the moon, the specific name for the menstrual period being "sickness of the moon". The fact that men cannot bear children or have menstrual periods is, like most other things, accepted as part of God's wishes. The menstrual period is thought to last anywhere from two to five days, and that intercourse may not be had during this period because there is severe danger of contraction of gonorrhoea. Women may work and bathe during this period as long as there is no 'calentura' concomitant. It is not believed that menstruation is due to aigres or any other agency other than the moon. Variations in the occurrence of the menstrual period are not explained. It is said that a woman's menstrual period resumes one month after birth. A woman works up until the day of delivery and it is believed not to be harmful to have intercourse up until the time of birth of the child. If an eclipse occurs during pregnancy it is feared that the child will be born without an external extremity or with a hare lip. It is believed that the moon has eaten away parts of the lip causing it to form in the distorted fashion. Deaths at birth are in part attributed to the influence of an eclipse, in part to the effect of evil sorcery. A mangled ear at birth is also said to be due to the eclipse. The evil effect of the eclipse may be avoided, it is believed, by putting a pair of scissors, opened, into the belt holding up the skirt and kept there for two hours. Women do not have to stay in the house during an eclipse, while pregnant, if they have this precaution. Women are not considered weak during pregnancy. They are expected to do full time and heavy work. Abortions and miscarriages are believed to be due to sorcery, although there are many stories about younger women who induce abortions to get rid of unwanted children. Dogs have been known to carry back a foetus or embryo from the fields where a woman had improperly concealed the abort. Those abortions and miscarriage due to sorcery can be avoided only by being careful not to anger anyone while the woman is pregnant. It is believed that the child is killed thru the influence of an aigre. Birth blemishes are said to be questions of God and not of sorcery. Sex of the expected child cannot be controlled, tho it is said that the midwives, of whom there are three in town, can determine whether the child is to be male or female. The method used to so determine is unknown. Contraception is known by some, but practiced by none. Cases of sterility are said to be due to weakness of either the man or the woman, depending on previous or later demonstrations of fertility with other partners. Two or three months before birth a padrino and a madrina are chosen for the expected child by the mother and father. A letter is sent to the one wanted as padrino asking him to serve. If the expectant father cannot write a letter, he seeks out a friend who can write. But in any event the letter is the thing. A personal call does not serve.

The wanted padrino returns a letter either agreeing to serve or asking to be excused on the grounds of either sickness or poverty. One month or fifteen days before the birth of the child is expected, the grandfather of the expected child or some other close relative, should there be no grandfather, goes to the padrino, accompanied by the father of the child to be, bringing a pot of coffee, a large bread and a bottle of whiskey. The padrino brings out a bottle of whiskey if he has the 'voluntad'. Two large candles are also brought by the father, and they are lit on the altar in the house of the padrino. A few days before birth the midwife, who has been asked some months previously to serve, is notified of the expected birth. The day of expected delivery she arrives and she, with the aid of the wife's mother and the husband's mother help in the delivery. Massage or the strapping of a belt around the upper abdomen are employed to help in the delivery. Women either deliver in bed, or at times on a potato stretched on the ground. A potion called "white woman" is prepared and given to the expectant mother to ease labor pains and to ease the delivery. No fixed period of massage is set, children sometimes being born early, some late. The child is bathed, sometimes and is sometimes merely wrapped in warmed covers. No remedy is used to remove the placenta. It is said to come out with the child. The placenta is put in a juacal shell and covered with a banana leaf and then buried by the husband 3 hands pans underground in a corner of the sitio attached to the house. My informants have no knowledge of the purpose of this other than to keep the dogs from eating the 'companera'. They do not know of any belief in possibility of harming a child thru harm to the companera. There is no bathing of the child or the mother in copal smokes, as wisdom reports for the chorti, but copal is burned for prayer offering immediately after birth. No males may be present at the delivery. Consequently, very few if any males have ever witnessed a birth. All matters attached to birth are kept among women's circles. Women will not talk of them to their own men much less to strangers or friends. It is known that the child's umbilical cord is cut with a hot knife, the belief being that cauterization and sterilization are thereby both effected. The umbilical cord is buried along with the after birth---and no mark is left to indicate the place of its burial. After the birth of the child the woman is kept in bed for eight days. She nurses the child from the first day. The husband may see his wife and child immediately after birth. Some go to church to light candles, others do not. After the first 8 days of confinement to bed, the woman is allowed to move around little by little. Mothers of the couple help out in duties around the house. If no mothers are available a servant girl is hired, or friends come in to assist. After a month of rest the woman may begin to assume her duties once again. If a child is born dead it is buried within two hours. If the mother dies at death she is not buried with the child but is given a separate burial 24 hours after death. If the child lives and the mother dies the child passes to the padrino, usually, or if the padrino cannot handle the obligation, the child goes to the grandmother of the man, or to some relative who is willing. A wet nurse is sought out or else goat milk is bought to nurse the child. There is no special pre-birth diet. There is a special soft diet after birth consisting of soup of fattened chicken, dry

cheese, coffee, soft tortillas, and french bread. After fifteen days the woman may edge on to regular food, little by little. The child's main diet is his mother's milk and "aceite de comen" which is thought to help fatten him up. Circumcision is unknown. It should be noted that premature birth is known--as early as 7 months children. The cause of this is not known. Multiple birth, up until twins, is known. There are no known cases of triplets. Twins are said to be good luck, but very hard to take care of. As far as I know there are no twin adults in town. I do know of a pair of twins, one boy, one girl, age 1. They are both extremely tiny for their age. Any of the remedies which wisdom reports as being used by the chorti are also used here before during and after birth. Thus, a boiled potion of quinine bark, oregano montes, santa maria leaves, jute, hipericon, the boiled tea from epazote, from ciguapacte and from culantrillo negro are used here. (see wisdom, pp. 289-290). There is no general bulla or celebration either immediately after birth or after the 8 day period of strict bed confinement. As with the chorti, soon after the birth of the child, the almanac is consulted for the name of the saint celebrated on the day of birth. The child is usually named after the saint, feminine adaptation on male names and vice versa being employed where necessary. Not all follow this practice. A few employ names which they have read in the papers or heard others use. Thus one indian child here is named after a lawyer in Guatemala City, whose name the mother had overheard and liked the sound of. Where a given saint's name is unadaptable due to different sex, then the name of the saint of the day before or the day after is used. An indian has a spanish and pokoman first and last name, except in those cases where there are no pokoman equivalents for the names. Immediately after birth a date is set for the baptism, which may be as late as a year after birth. On the date appointed for baptism, the godfather or padrino has ready for the child a baptismal dress and cap--a cheap outfit is said to cost sixty cents--a good outfit is said to cost as much as one dollar. The child is brought to the church and the padrino dresses the child in its new clothes. The padrino or madrina hold the child for the baptism. This is always of course with a priest. No other gifts are given at birth. After baptism the padrino gives the child back to the mother for more nursing. There is then a celebration at the house of the child. If the padrino and madrina wish they may come. Otherwise they are coffee and bread from the house of the child. At the celebration parents and friends and relatives are present. Whiskey and tamales and coffee are served. Music may or may not be had. It is said that the principales have nothing to do with birth rituals. 8-15 days after baptism a message is sent to the padrino telling him to expect something the following day. 2 fatted and cooked chickens are sent to the padrino along with a plateful of small sized tortillas. This ends the baptismal rites. No other gifts or food are exchanged. The padrino sends nothing in exchange except his thanks. But, as with the chorti, the godfather often acts as the actual father in case of the death of the father. He helps out in difficulties, gives small presents, sometimes adopts the child as his own, the legal adoption is not known. So too with the godmother for a female child. As with the chorti, if both parents die, the godparent may receive the child's inheritance, if the child is young, and use the inheritance to support the child. When the child is of age the full inheritance must be turned over to him.

Infant mortality is extremely high among the Pokoman. So little of practical value is known about infant care that the child's existence is something more than precarious. It is believed therefore that if a child lives past the age of 4 or 5 he has a good chance of living the normal life span. The first born child is perhaps the greatest burden upon the family, for, there are no older children to aid in his or her care. The child is constantly the creature of the mother, although it is not thought strange or peculiar to leave a man in charge of a child if a woman has to go to the pila to draw water or on some other errand where the child cannot successfully be brought along. There seems to be no consistent preference of male children over female children, or vice versa. Both male and female child are soon incorporated into necessary duties around the house or in the fields--and both are economic assets, since, as we shall see later, it is the women's making of pitchers which supplies man with almost half his year's work on the roads in his travels with these pitchers. As yet I do not know of special medicines or sorcery avoidances practiced in the care of children. Infants when being carried are always well covered, and, this means the head and face as well as the body. none of my informants confess to knowledge of the evil eye which must be warded off, though one would surmise that the constant covering of the child's head and face has some reference to the avoidance of some sort of evil. Girls children's ears are pierced either immediately at birth or within a day or two afterwards, so that later earrings may there be placed. Male children are not mutilated in any fashion. Nursing period extends anywhere from a year and a half to four years. It is believed by some that, as among the chorti, nursing over two years will cause him to have nasal hemorrhages, turn pale and die. But the fact that not a few nurse their children well into the third year and some even past the fourth indicates the non-universality of this belief. I know of no methods of forced weaning practiced here--except denial of the breast. As with the chorti food for the infant consists of crushed beans and tortilla soaked in water. Too, during the teething stage children are given boiled anise seeds as a sedative. For traveling long distances children are carried usually in a shawl which, wrapped around the back and tied under the left breast of the mother, provides a safe sack for the child on his mother's back--only his head being left uncovered. This leaves the mother's arms free for carrying of baskets or other materials. Children may also be carried astride on the hip or in the arms. The hip carrying is usually practiced by older siblings who have been given the child to carry around and who are yet too small themselves to bear the burden in their arms or upon their back. When not being carried the child is allowed to creep and crawl into whatever place around the house is not dangerous for him. there is little if any attempt to keep the child clean--and not too many put any clothes on their children at all. it is believed that if the child has a cold or any kind of pulmonary infection, washing is bad for him. one deplors the sickness of children but little effort is made to cure the child--until he gets to an age when curing is though to be effective. i do not know at what age this is to be precise, but it would seem that a child up until two years of age is allowed to cry and be sick without medicinal care being given him. it is difficult to determine this, for, many children's diseases are said to be the effect of sorcery, the harm being intended against the child to make the errant parent suffer. sorcery being a legally forbidden thing at this date, it is difficult to secure information on this.

Children are supposed to be able to talk a little by the time they are one and a half years old. The age when walking is expected also is approximately one and a half years. Teething is expected to begin at six months--and is supposed to bring fevers with it. Crying children are soothed by shaking and jouncing or by being given the breast--no matter how often he has had the breast in recent minutes or hours. children are allowed to put, strange and dirty objects in their mouths, ears, noses--it being thought funny rather than dangerous to the health of the child. no matter what the age of other siblings it is the newest born child who gets the greatest amount of care. but since children usually come with deadly regularity every two-three years, this spoiling is not for long, and the three year old child must give ground to the new infant. families are usually very large, though, when the mother gets past the age of child bearing, there is not much left to the family--death and early marriage having taken their toll. up until the age of six or seven the male and female child are left to wander around on their own resources, exploring the site, the house, the neighborhood. they are given minor duties sometimes, but nothing serious in the way of training. there is a hierarchy of discipline based on the principle of seniority in age. in the absence of parents the older siblings are the masters. the child has no toys except crude dolls which the father may fashion out of wood for the female children. any paper object forms a source of diversion for the younger child among the pokoman. otherwise his toys are fruit pits and any other rubbish he may find and fashion. both the female and the male child begin to be incorporated into the family work routine when they reach six or seven. minor duties designed to slowly incorporate the child into his later adult duties are assigned. little girls are taught to make small pitcher's candle holders and all other manner of ~~pottery~~ objects. male children are instructed in the braiding of hats and in minor milpa work. the officios of the male child also may include tending the animals in the sitio, bringing firewood from the brush, taking an animal for water, bringing food to the milpa for the parent and the older brothers. the little girl is instructed in sewing, in cooking, in taking care of younger children, in helping around the house and kitchen in general. little girls are also sent off to carry firewood and water when the occasion demands it. there is no strict male-female division of labor, except that men do not engage in sewing or cooking. male children may however be sent to carry water from the pila when no girl child is available. if there are sufficient older siblings around the house the child may be sent to school when he is 7 or 8. it is however rare--and it is usually avoided unless the parent is ordered to do so by the local officials. girl children are even more infrequent than to school, since, as youngsters, they seem to be greater economic assets than the male children. there is no attempt at sex instruction of either the male or the female child before puberty. education in non-work things centers mainly around the age respect principle as far as intra-race matters are concerned and the 'avoidance of trouble' principle as far as relations with non-indians are concerned. male and female children of six and seven know that (1) they are poor and (2) they must work to live. these phrases come easily to their lips on questioning--or on any slight instigation. they are also taught to fear god and to praise him and worship him. they are almost always brought to church with their parents --usually the mother --whenever she makes her visits. there they see their parents kissing the hem of the saint's frocks, kneeling, crossing themselves. they soon learn to do this, and it is not rare to see

a young child enter the church himself, kiss the frock of a saint, crosses himself and leave. they are taught that they are catholics, although what the differences between catholicism and other religions might be they do not know. nor do they know if there are other religions. the general belief is that if you're a catholic you believe in the saints and in god--if you are not, you do not. toilet training is not enforced upon the child. he is allowed to empty his bladder or his bowels anywhere and anytime it pleases him, though he is usually house broken by the time he is two years of age. children soon see their fathers urinating against the church wall--and they follow suit. they see their mothers defecating in the fields or while bathing--and they follow suit. their sex instruction is visual rather than verbal. children when very small usually sleep with the parents in the same bed. when they grow slightly older they are let to sleep with the mother, unless the father wishes to have intercourse--in which case they are then transferred to another bed for the night--but in any event, since most houses consist of one room, there is no attempt to hide the sexual relations between parents from the children. and, since they are constantly in sight of fornication between animals, their instruction on the visual scale is double barreled. there is no embarrassment about sex or privy parts when the child is young. he and his sisters are allowed to wander around without clothes entirely or with just a long shirt on, their privy parts being well exposed. they play with each other without sense of shame. they are not reprimanded. children of seven and 8 may not infrequently be seen without clothing or at least without pants. little girls who they get to be four or five are usually given little dresses to wear, but no underclothing is put on. since many indian women walk around the house either without any clothing or at least without their blouses, especially if they are grinding meal, which they almost always are, children learn both immature and mature physiology and anatomy on the visual scale at a very early age. i do not know if there is specific instruction in relations with ladinos but it would seem that there is--for it is a rare sight, aside from school circles, and even there it is not frequent, to see a ladino child playing with an indian child, unless they happen to meet in the market place or in the fields and join in playing spontaneously. there is no doubt in my mind but that by the time a child is 13 or 14 he is fully aware of what the ladinos expect from him in the way of deference and respect and fear. he knows enough not to engage the ladino boy in a fight if there are adults present. he will not hesitate however to let him have a rock to the head if they are alone and he is provoked and the ladino will not later recognize him. now, the relative freedom of the child up until the age of six or seven stops--and he is given little free time to himself. he is constantly needed either around the house or in the fields. so too with the little girl. from 7-12 the period of heavy work begins to be assumed, and by the time a boy is 12 and by the time a girl is 12 they are expected to be full time workers on a fairly adult scale. the boy is supposed to know all milpa work. he has already been taken on one or two trips either by his father or an older brother or a relative--carrying a lesser load of pottery on his back than the adult companion---but knowing full well what a tump line around the forehead means for days on end. he knows what it means to sleep on the ground, in rain or shine. he knows how to build a fire and warm his tortillas and beans and coffee. he knows how to sell and buy. he has, in short, learned the elements of the commercial part of the life of the Pokoman Indian. So too

with the girl of 12.

she already knows how to make pitchers, shine them up, paint them. she knows how to carry water, carry children, wash clothes, grind maize, feed pigs and chicken, strip corn husks, sweep and clean the house, sew clothes. she knows enough to obey her elder's slightest command. she knows that when her mother is not present she must take care of all household things. she knows that her place is in the kitchen and that she is not to mix in male company, for she has seen her mother retired and kept to the kitchen -- even when her father had friends visiting, she knows she is supposed to act shy and distant with males. her days of unrestricted play with them are over. if her first menstrual period has come by this age she knows that she gets sick about every 30 days with sickness of the moon, and that that is a sign that now she is a woman and can and must assume duties. she does not know that that is also a sign that now she can bear children. she knows that she is poor and that she will always be poor and that she must work and work hard to earn a living. she knows that her parent is an agricultural worker. she has heard stories of fights with ladinos, of how ladinos are bad people. but she also knows that she has godparents who are ladinos -- and that they are good in some ways -- one may go to their house to buy cheese, to draw water if there is a private well, to ask a favor if it be needed. she knows that there are differences between her mother and ladino women -- for they wear different clothes and they talk different languages. her first language like that of her mother -- was the Tzotzil dialect. it is what she hears around the house all the time -- what she hears her father talking with her mother and with his friends. it is the language she is instructed in at first. she has learned to speak some Spanish, for she has often to go to the store or to run errands where her native tongue does not serve. she learns that there is a man's world separate from the woman's world -- as she also learns that there is a ladino world separate from an Indian world. these are, for her as for her brother as well, the first two major divisions she learns. her introduction into the adult world -- though sharp -- at least was graduated -- so that she has become used to the two worlds in a gradual way -- and she is almost ready and willing to accept her adult duties when they are demanded of her. her mortal and worldly outlook is that of her mother's. explanations to questions arising from her children's curiosity are answered in a term of 'it's our custom'. the "why's" which torment children are attempted to be answered only in those terms, for the parent knows no differently. she knows there are other places and other customs -- for Indians come from all other parts to buy and sell here; also she hears her father and her brothers talking about the places they saw when they were on trips with pottery; she knows there is an ocean, for she hears about coast workers; she knows there is a railroad for sometimes she goes to Ipala and sees the railroad tracks or the actual railroad cars moving. she learns to cover her mouth with her hand towel when she is in public or when talking with ladinos for she sees her mother constantly doing this. she knows that if she is to be desired and wanted around the house and among her family she must conform. the question of being independent rarely if ever enters into her head; she knows that someday she too will marry and will bear children and repeat with the same precision all the gestures and ignorances of her parents before her and their parents before her. she, more than her brother, is taught that suffering is in the culture and that "hay que sufrir". for she has had a toothache or menstrual pains or some other illness and her mother has told her "hay que sufrir". she and her brother both

know what brujos and patcheros are--for they have been present when the curer has been in to cure their sick father or mother or perhaps themselves--and they have heard that it was a witch who made them sick--and that they were made sick because their father or mother did something evil, but that they can be cured with proper magical treatment. they know that brujos do evil and are to be feared, for they know their fathers are afraid to go out at night for fear of brujos. they know something of curing with herbs--for hanging in the kitchen or sitio are all manner of herbs with which to cure minor diseases before one resorts to a doctor or curer. they learn that disease is something which enters the body and must be removed violently with a purgative--if they have been given efficacious purgatives ever since they were one year old. they know that when one is sick it is usually a question of "hots and colds" for they hear their parents forever talking about this and they themselves have hot and cold spells with deadly regularity. they have learned that the woman is an indispensable part of the family outfit--without woman's work man cannot succeed and they know too that they must have a man to work for them in the fields when they get older. as they develop physically they do not wonder about their development for they have had the example of animals before them--and they have always seen their mother. they know they will develop breasts later in life--and that this is to give milk to the child. so too with the boy of twelve and his physical development. he knows that it is supposed of him that he will not expose himself to women after a certain age. he knows that he woke up one night and found himself immersed in his own seminal fluid--and he knows from stories that older friends have told him that now he can make children. sometimes he tries and sometimes he sorely wishes he could try. if he is lucky when he is 13 or 14 he will have his first woman. otherwise he will not until he is one or two years older. so too with the girl. if she tries she can have her first man when she is twelve or thirteen/she soon learns that intercourse for the man is a one-two-three process. she is supposed to lie still and let him perform the activities in coitus. it is not a question of pleasure with her--it is her duty as a woman, though if she has a good man, it sometimes is pleasurable. the girl learns that if her sickness of the moon does not come then she is with child. she may also learn from some of her older friends how she may sneak off into the fields and abort this child. she is afraid, but she is more afraid of what the consequences of bearing the child will be. she loses this fear when she gets to be 15 or 16--because then she may force the manto to pay her a pension and live with and support her. when she reaches the age of fifteen her education is practically at an end. she knows almost everything she will ever need later in life. not so with the boy as yet. he has much yet to learn. each year his tasks in the milpa get heavier. each trip with pottery means a heavier load for him. he knows that when he gets older and tries to take a wife for himself, he will have to be on his own. he will have to build his house by himself, aided maybe by friends. he knows that he will have to plough and plant and harvest the milpa himself. he cannot be sure he will have a milpa, for it is necessary to rent it and he has no money. he has never earned money, for his work was always in payment to his father, for support. he begins to wonder what he will do when he gets older what if his father should die? how could he possibly manage all the duties by himself, yet he sees his older brothers and sisters making their own lives with their own spouses. he has gone almost every day to visit them and they have come almost every day to visit their parents. he

and his sister, in this respect as well, have learned the strength of family ties and that in the last analysis one can depend for help --if it is not asked too frequently--from one's family. this reassures him somewhat. he learns the vocative and reference terms he is to use to his elders and his in laws when he is married for he hears his brother's father in law being addressed as father--and he soon learns that for his brother, the father in law is also a father. at the same time, thus, that he is gradually being taught to be on his own, he also gets reassurances that he is not a one in crisis. he knows he can go to his indian friends and seek aid and advice when necessary. he had learned that the world was good--for at last a man has his milpa and his wife--no matter what else he does not have. yet he has many wonders about the otu life world. his older brother has come back from service in guatemala, full of tales of the cuartels and something of the big city. he hears ladibos talking of the same. he sees men reading newspapers and wonders what there is to be read there--and how it must feel to be able to read and write. he learns an overwhelming respect and fear for the written document--for they keep pouring out of the intendente's office and the comandante's office with frightening regularity. his real lesson on this score has not yet been learned. he also wonders much about the non-indian life in town. he sees younger ladino boys and girls playing basketball, football, idling around, playing pool, going to school, participating in fiestas, going off on picnics, riding horseback or mule back ---and none of this is his. he sees men dressed in nice clothes dancing to the tune of the marimba--holding a girl tightly--making the rounds of the park the nights of the concerts--yet none of this is for him. when there are concerts --maybe he comes down to the plaza with some of his friends. and, in the darkness of the church steps he dances foxtrot fashion with his friends--while the marimba plays. there is no courting of girls for him, no dancing with girls, no making the rounds of the park for him. but he imitates as best he can. he and his friends play football with a string ball. they hang around the entrance of the salon when there are dances there. they even sometimes edge up to the intendencia and there get inducted into some of the local town life and gossip. they see men wearing clean clothes on sundays--so they too learn to wear clean clothes on dress days. they see ladinos wearing felt or non-straw hats--they too aspire for a felt or non-straw hat. they see ladinos wearing shoes--but they cannot afford to buy shoes--so they try to manage to get a pair of special sandals from guatemala---red in color--for these differentiate them from their work sandals or their barefoot walking around and working around. they learn of such things as cofradias because they know their fathers go to them occasionally--and, if their fathers are religious--or if they have been with a special religious bent themselves--they find ways and means of being volunteer helpers at the cofradias--they carry the images of the saints in the procession, run duties and errands for the principales and all older men--but they are glad for here they are accepted--and try as they might--the they learn it is useless to try--no matter what they do--no matter how servile or friendly they try to be with ladinos--they learn that ladinos do not want their friendship. and they see no ladinos at cofradias so they know that cofradias are their religion and not ladino. such difference thus gets impressed because there are observable and high visible differences in social participation. they

have other indices by which to judge the different worlds. clothes are different. they knew that before. language is different. they knew that before. but now it gets impressed upon them even more sharply--for they have entered effectivly into the world where cash speaks. the ladinos have cash. they can buy. the indian does not have cash. he knows he can do many things if he had more money. he knows he could buy the favors of fulana who is reputed to go to bed with any man who can pay her fifteen cents. he knows he can buy a bottle of whiskey if he has 8 or ten cents. he knows that cigarettes cost--and he has a yen to smoke. he knows if he had money he might buy clothes and shoes and thereby get admitted somewhat more to ladino society. he might play pool. he might even be able to buy a ladino woman. he might buy a horse or a mule and make added money that way. there is no one he can turn to for cash. his father gives him none--he has no time to work for himself since he must work for his father. perhaps thoughts of stealing enter his mind, but he has heard so many tales of the strict punishment for theiving--and beside from who would he rob and how? his desires are awakened and developed but his capacities and what the culture allows for him have not taken cognizance of these desires. the indian girl is not quite so on the margin. she is not allowed into the outside world as much as her brother. differences get impressed upon her sufficiently strongly, but her contacts are less. she learns to be more and more conservative, more tradition bound, more ignorance bound, less curious and questioning than her brother. when she was 14 her mother brought her her first native skirt and blouse to wear. it was heavy and cumbersome - but she sees all her friends wearing them and so she is glad, for it means she has grown up. yet she also notices that each year more and more of her age companions are taking to wearing ladino dresses--and they seem so light and comfortable. and then perhaps her old indian costume wears out--and there is no money to buy anything but a ladino dress--which is much cheaper--and so she takes to a ladino dress and never changes back--until the time of her marriage. then she is back once more in the indian fold entirely. she does not hang outside ladino functions as does her brother. she does not walk around the park with girl friends. that is forbidden. she does not --except in passing by with a pitcher of water--see the ladino girls playing basketball every afternoon. she wonders how they have so much free time--for she knows that she must grind corn, take care of the children, help her mother make pottery ware, have food ready for the males when they come back from work. she fingers the lonely string of beads on her neck and admires her mother who is almost choking with all her beads; she wonders if her men will later buy her strings like her father has bought her mother. then she is walking along the street on the way to the market or the store or the water fountain and she notices a man staring at her. she notices this all the time after when she goes out. this happens day after day. finally one day she is somewhat frightened when the boy approaches her--she tries to pass--he will not let her pass. she crosses the street. he crosses the street. she turns around--her follows her. finally she stops, for he has grabbed her arm--and has said to her "I like you and wish to marry you. I am going to ask my parents to ask yours. Please tell your parents to expect a visit from my parents very soon". And if she likes the boy, she says all right. If she does not, she gets angry with him and tells him never to stop her on the street again and never to talk to her

like that again. let us assume she has rejected her first offer. she has eyes on another boy whom she wants for a husband. thru friends she makes known indirectly to the boy that she would not resist his attentions should he offer them. one day as she is walking with a friend the friend gives her a letter. she cannot read, but her friend can. the letter is from the boy whom she likes. it says that if she has the "voluntad" to chat with him he will pass by her house at such and such a time on such and such a night and if she can arrange it she is to slip out of the house and follow him. fort nately, she can manage it. she follows the boy and they enter the house of a friend of the boy who has consented to leave the couple alone for an hour. he begins to speak gently with her--telling her he likes her and that he wants to marry her but that he cannot do so as yet. his arm creeps around her, he kisses her, and in a few minutes she has had her first introduction to the indian male in a complete way. she has known what to expect because her friends have told her something about this. she makes it a regular habit to sneak out and meet the boy. and then she discovers that the sickness of the moon has stopped and she knows she is with child. she tells the boy, hoping all the time, that he will take her to live with him. and he does. she is not disgraced in her family's eyes as long as she can go live with the boy. she would rather have been married, but at least she has a man. she wonders what a marriage would have been like. and maybe she asks. and she is told that it happens in this fashion. the boy stops the girl on the street just as the first boy had stopped her. she agrees to his advances. she tells her family what has happened and the family asks her if she is willing she says that she is. (For description of marriage preliminaries and arrangements read in full--from bottom of p.4 interview with José yague of oct.24,1942--until bottom of p.6).then--for description of actual marriage celebration--please go to p.3 --life history of Luis--oct.6,1942--and read to bottom of p.5 of same--this will with the previous discussion give a full description of the marriage cycle.)

Thus we have our indian girl married or living with her man--she is perhaps 16, or 17 or 18 years old. not so quickly with the indian boy. his life cycle is delayed. perhaps he has worked hard until he is 18--then one day a letter comes from the comandancia saying he is to be ready on such and such a date to proceed to guatemala for a year of military training in the cuartels. he is glad and excited at the same time that he is afraid. this is his first train trip. but he is with 15-20 friends of the same age. the train follows almost the same route that he and his father took when they went on their trips with pitchers to guatemala city. he recognizes the place names. if he were marcel proust he would write a chapter in his novel about place names.(forgive the levity--i couldn't resist the temptation). he soon becomes accustomed to the life in the cuartels--for they are restricted to military duties almost entirely--and he learns soon that either he obeys and conforms or else he gets punished and whipped just as his father did to him when he disobeyed. if he has had a rebellious back--it is, almost without exception--broken. yet in this same period he learns of another life--the city life--the life with good clothes--the life with shoes. his shoes hurt him--and he is clumsy and awkward with them. but he gets used to them quickly. he is allowed an occasional liberty in the city

and so he walks the streets, looks at the pictures in front of the movie houses; admires the things in the shop windows; sees women in brassieres and girdles which he never saw before; sees a city full of automobiles and electric lights and music and gaiety. He also notices strange looking Indian men who seem to be wearing short skirts wrapped around pants that look like pajamas which he sees in store windows. He hears them talking different dialect. He inquires and finds out that they come from the west of Guatemala city where the life is much different; he sees women in magnificently strange colored costumes--Indian women--his color skin and hair--but talking differently--he realizes that just as the men from Coban, and from Jutiapa and from Jocotan are different so too are these men and women different. He is almost glad to get back to the cuartels when his liberty is up. The cuartels at least are composed of now familiar things and obligations. Perhaps he was mal crido when he came to the cuartels. But that has been beaten and whipped out of him. He knows he must respond and respond smartly and quickly. He looks around and notices that most of his officers are "ad no--that" while the overwhelming number of soldiers are Indian, still his officers are off the outside crew and not of his own native men. His Spanish improves, for he has to talk only Spanish there--and he and his friends have been separated the first couple of weeks--so that now he is friends with men from different departments, different pueblos, different customs, different language. They can talk together only if they speak Spanish. He learns all the official phrases which he will ignorantly apply wrongly when he gets back to Jilotepeque. Most of all, he needs obeying and for being servile is impressed on him. As months go by he begins to worry about his family, the milpa, his future when he gets back. He imagines what it would be like to stay near the city, but he can't for the life of his figure out how he will earn a living--after all he knows only how to braid straw hats and how to work the milpa. What good will that do in the city? They offer him classes in Spanish and orthography and other things in the cuartels. He tries them out but he is too old to learn quickly and well and he has lost his ambitions on this score. There is no need for reading and writing in Jilotepeque and he knows he will be back there sooner or later. So he gives up the classes offered him. Perhaps during the year his father comes to pay him a visit--and it is good to see his father--and to chat for Jilotepeque--and the family--and the milpa--and his yearnings for his comfortable home soil, where they speak his language, where he knows what he can do and what he can't do--where he can take shoes off and walk around barefoot--where he can go looking for girls--where he can go on trips with his father--all that--in spite of the somewhat cosmopolitan charm of the cuartels--attracts him much and he looks forward more than anxiously to his return, and finally he returns. The town looks queer and small--but a day or two--and he is totally used to it again. Then his work begins for real. He is up at 5 o'clock in the morning and off to the milpa--he loads mules with the cargos of maize or beans when they are ready for harvest. He can plow and dig and harvest with the best of them. He has grown strong and healthy in his year in the service, for they have fed him regularly and well there. And he has worked hard, his muscles have firmed and set, his outlook is now of the adult world. He goes to the intendencia and gets his cedula for he is now over 18 and everyone over 18 must have this work

card, he is listed as a jornalero and told that he must show 150 days of work during the year or else he will be jailed for vagrancy. he is also told that he is now subject to a 92 radd tax during the year and a \$1 public adornment tax, called the ornato, during each year. If he cannot pay these three dollars at a rate 20 days at hard work on the roads for him. And the first year he cannot pay--for there is not enough money to pay both his father's tax and his, so off he goes to twenty days on the road, and he learns what back breaking work it is--harder ever than milpa work was--and so much worse under a fairly cruel and inconsiderate road master. then he returns and finds that he has been summoned for guard duty at the intendencia for the year to come--that means two more weeks taken away from him. then the intendente learns he is an alert boy and has the barrido vejidor commission him as a sirviente for the intendente for the next two years. 60 more days of unapid work each year, but there are satisfactions he sits around the intendencia all day when it is his turn during the weeks of his duty, perhaps he braids straw hats--perhaps he just sits and chats with the other sirvientes. he learns that the officials here demand as much obedience and virility and quick, snappy response as did the officials in the cut tals. but he has had training in bhms by now and knows how to please the officials. and so he gets a reputation for being a good muchacho with the ladinos. yet he has also learned the hard way that he cannot cross the line, no matter how good a muchacho he is, he is always an indio and can never be a ladino. he sits at the intendencia and notices ladinos talking with each other--laughing, joking--he has a chance to see the pueblo life as he never saw it before--for he has crossed the railroad tracks at least temporarily--and is permitted to stay and watch--as long as he runs errands well. he learns that ladinos like it if you act smartly and use the 'right phrases'. so, when he is commissioned to supervise the work of prisoners or to 'direct' some work he does it with the same shapness and lightness as he has seen and felt it done with him and others in the pueblo. the pueblo indian man thus gets caught in between a desire not to give offense to the ladinos whom he has learned to fear and to obey, and a desire to be an indian and command the respect and friendship of his fellow indians. the way that pays off materially is the ladino way, but the indian is never sure to which set of internal claims he wants to pay more deference. he remains on the margin unless---but the 'yalese'. in the pueblo scarcely if ever gets resolved. for the pueblo is the center of change, and the he live in an aldeia the influence of the pueblo stretches far out into the aldeia life---he sees it every second sunday--he runs either with or against its current in social relations--and, in sum, while the old way of life might offer a "complete" life the "old" way has so far disappeared that only the old men of the municipio may still find a complete living within it. --The Indian finishes his two years of service at the intendencia and, now that he has completed most of his 'duties' he knows that they will molest hi only occasionally. he seeks a wife and finds one easily enough and turns to the business of making a living, renting a milpa, hiring animals, raising children which usually come within the first year or two of marriage and don't stop until the wife is exhausted. He may or may not enter actively into Indian religious life. He may or may not become a member of a cofradia. But whether he formalizes his religion in this way or not, he always goes to church when he has time, and above all he fears god and the saints, prays to them, lights candles to them, beseeks their aid on any and all things.

Then his father dies. If he is living in the pueblo he immediately sends word to the sacristan to toll the double peal in the church bells announcing a death. And arrangements get under way for the funeral. (for full details of this please see Luis' life history--death of his father). The corpse of his father is laid out on a bed, the hands laid at the side of the legs, the feet left untied until burying time. A handkerchief is tied under his chin to keep the head erect. The man is dressed in his finest clothes, socks put on his feet for the first time in his life. The body is washed before dressing, and then dressed and covered with a white covering cloth bought for the occasion. The corpse is kept in the house in the sleeping quarters or on public display for twenty four hours. During these twenty four hours many things happen. Our Indian man has to notify the intendencia of the death and pay for a burial site. Then he has to make arrangements for people to come in and participate in the ~~evening~~ nightly rosario which must be said over the dead. Many Indians in the pueblo seek out Ladino women for this because they are more efficient rosario prayors than Indian women. Food in large quantities has to be prepared, for the first night and the day of the burial and 3 days thereafter there will be many people at the house whom one has to feed if he is to conform to custom. Friends and relatives from near and far must be advised of the death. 3 candles must be lit at the station of the corpse--two at the head and two at the feet. The principales must be called in--those who are especially acuerdo with the family--and prayers said during the first twenty four hours, accompanied by the burning of copal in the censurpots. The night of the death there is no rosario said; but friends and family may gather in the house, sitting and chatting all thru the night. Food is served rather late at night. The following morning, early, the male members of the family and as many friends as have volunteered gather together with whatever digging equipment they may have on hand and they go to the cemetery and work cooperative to dig the grave for the man to be buried. They all return to the house of the deceased and there are given food and drink. At about two o'clock in the afternoon the corpse is put into a burying box or coffin if one is available or can be bought. If none can be bought then the corpse is wrapped in a petate and put upon a litter which is available in the church and the procession starts, with wailing and crying, toward the cemetery, there are no orations at the cemetery. The body is lowered into the grave--six spans deep--feet east and head west. A tecamate full of water is placed in the grave. It is to give the dead man water to drink on his way to heaven. Dry mustard is scattered all over the grave to keep brujos away. Small candle bits are buried with the man to frighten away brujos with the light which the dead man will make with the candles. The man's hat is folded and laid beside him in the grave. He is dressed, remember--more fully than he ever was before--in shirt jacket, underwear, pants and socks, and sometimes, if no one at home needs them pressingly, his sandals are buried with him. A cross of bronze is put on his chest. 3 small crosses of palm leaf from the holy triangle, one at each shoulder, the other at the breast, above the bronze cross. The man's eyes are closed, his feet tied, a tecoyal shell put by his side, and he is laid to rest. The litter is carried back and placed in calvario for the next burial of the next dead one. No food or music or celebration or mourning of any formalized

with candles &
cigarettes &
cigars too

nature is conducted at the grave. the burying is done and all return to the mourners house and there they are fed, and given whiskey to drink, and men reclaim candle stubs if they were the ones who brought the candles originally. There is no limitation on the food which the relatives of the deceased may eat, nor is there any restriction on sexual intercourse. But during a period of at least a month after the death a man may not play or sing or dance. He is in mourning. Ato'l is not prepared as a rule. Nor are the tamales which mark the festive holy and holidays made. Tortillas and coffee are served to the invitees. The novenas or rosarios start the first night after burial. The altar in the house is decorated for this, a black crepe paper cross being hung over the altar, and special candles lit during the hour of the novena each of the nights. This is usually at the hour of sunset. The ninth day when the soul is about ready to start on its heavenly flight the biggest celebration of the whole mourning period is held. Six boys and six girls between the ages of six and twelve are sought out and brought in to say the novenario--and to pray the soul to rest in its flight. they come in at 6 a.m. and are given coffee and a piece of sweet bread to eat. then they pray for an hour. they are then allowed to go out and play, but at 11 o'clock they come in again and pray for another hour. then lunch is served. this is the first food that is allowed anyone who is to participate in the praying during the day--except for the coffee and the sweet bread at 6 a.m. at lunch rice and bananas and ayote conserves, tortillas, fried fish, fried beans, fried rice is served. all meat is forbidden, on this day, to anyone who is in mourning or who is participating in the praying. after lunch all the mourners go to the cemetery and say a novena there and the funeral and burial rite of passage is over. at year' time, one year after death, bells are tolled the special peal, to announce the year is over, and the dead man is well plac'd in heaven. Life is resumed normally from that time on.

So Our Indian has lost his father. There comes the question of inheritance, disposition of the house, division of the property. The man may have left a will, verbally or written. This will is conformed to. The man may cut off his whole family if he wished. He usually does not. If he does not leave a will the property passes to his wife. If the wife is not alive the property passes in totally equal parts to the children or the nearest of kin in case there are no relatives. The government claims inheritance where no relatives and no will show up. The mother or wife usually remains in her husband's house after his death, with her youngest unmarried children. The work burden is thus increased for the unmarried and married children alike. Remarriage is known and practiced, but not widely. Our Indian man is now the oldest in the family. As such he assumes semi-paternal obligations to younger siblings. He becomes the adviser and the one who is called on to help out in trouble. He however already has children, and they are growing, fortifying their ignorances, developing skills, getting sick, getting into trouble--learning to help and to hinder---- becoming incorporated into a life much like that to which their father was trained--but slightly changed with each new generation. The cycle is on its way again. The wheel has turned full.

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San Luis Silotepaque
Brief Life History of
Major informant
Luis N.

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Aug 21 1942

Luis N.

Life
History

i want to describe luis as closely as i can at this point. for his personality will doubtlessly enter into the reportage on further interviews, since i have found him (and gillin reports likewise) to be a reasonably good informant, tho he is given to moroseness and depressed outlook. he stands in sharp contrast to pedro vicente, our other steady informant to date who is a seemingly full blown extrovert, given to laughing at almost anything and everything, jolly, contented, a sort of mild version of a Babbit. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Luis, on the other hand rarely smiles, is full of complaints of mild and strong orders, seemingly full of anxieties and mildly delusional persecutions. It is Luis' turn this week to serve as aid to the intendente, and, he is extremely anxious about losing his position as informant with us. he needs almost daily reassurance that I am going to use him later in the year and for periods of time as informant especially since, in this period of his service, we are using other informants he has told me that he would rather work with us than work in his own milpa and that he will hire someone to harvest and plant for him if we want his services during those periods. he has had a series of bad breaks according to him which have caused him to be 'unhappy these past ten years'. his first marriage was a forced one, since he seduced a fifteen year old girl. she left him after two years, but he was not divorced from her. he took up with a second woman some 8 years ago and has had two children by her. some weeks ago she left him too, and his friends have brought intermittent reports to him that they have seen her having intercourse with other men. he says that he does not want the woman back but only wants his children, and projects the desire somewhat by saying it is making his mother unhappy as well not to have the children in the house. he insists that there are few if any good indian women--most of them being the kind who will take to another man's bed at the slightest provocation. he is not boastful of his affairs, to be sure, and, at times when talking about

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his unhappy matings seems almost ashamed of them. that he suffers from some sort of repression is evidenced by his unwillingness to speak out the spanish words for fornication, penis, etc. we were exchanging words one day and he would only write the spanish versions for me, but would not pronounce them. when i asked him why he didn't want to say them. he just smiled weakly and shrugged. despite all these seemingly bad features of his personality he is, at the same time, warm and pleasant, easy to work with, extremely helpful at times, and, at least in my experience a better informant than pedro. he knows language better than pedro does, as far as i can tell, but does not seem to be on such good terms with the indian population as pedro. on the other hand he is better liked by the ladinos who consider him closer to a ladino than other indians. at least this is the opinion which our landlords, don escar and his wife, have passed. the fact that he is 5th municipal regidor is some proof of the fact that he stands high in the eyes of the ladinos. what the connotation of this 'standing high' with ladinos is for his relations with indians is yet to be seen, although, from this point of vantage, at this time, there seems to be an inverse ration. luis, in effect, seems to be a 'marginal man'. i shall have much more to say about him later since i expect to do a life history of him at a later date. so much by way of introduction.

sept. 23, 1942--p.l.--interview with luis najera--m. tumin slj

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Luis N.
Life History

luis najera---natural--28 years old 11th of octubre--
born: jilotepeque-- lives in barrio santa cruz--
mother:--michael hernandez--born jilotepeque--natural--60 yrs old.
living in luis' house--but she is owner of house;
father:--fransisco najera--born jilotepeque--50 yrs old when died--
died of frios and calenturas--(10 yrs ago)--mother had
no schooling; for her one year but 'didn't learn anything'.
milpa and straw hats and selling pitchers;--
mother makes pitchers; braids straw hats; can't sew them;
~~xxxxxxx~~-- weren't married; --doesn't know at what
age they began to live together; grandparents all born
in jilotepeque--luis knew only his maternal grandmother;
siblings:--fransisco najera--31 yrs old;--lives block and a half
away from luis; no schooling; married;
maria pilar najera; 35 yrs old; barrio la bolsa--
1 block away from luis; no schooling; married fifteen
years; husband died five years ago; she earns her
living making pitchers; she has her husband's milpa
that she and her boy of 12 years old work; --the boy
was in school for two years;
justo najera--dead--fifteen years old when died--
died more than 25 years ago; luis doesn't remember
him; died of frios and calenturas--
antonio najera--died about same time as justo--
13 years old; died of frios and calenturas;--
luisa najera--dead--20 years ago; 20 years old when
died; was married; had two girls who also died;
luisa died of 'a fever'; the children died of
"falta de alimentacion".;

luis: married;--civil rites;--1934--'forced' marriage with
16 year old indian girl; no children with her; lived
one year with her; separated from her by 'act of
separation';--can marry after such an act; she was 'bad';
she is living alone now but has child by another;

luis separated for two months now from a ladino woman with
whom he had been living for six years but whom he took into
his house only 11 months ago;--sara cervantes; --two
children by her;--silvia marina-5 yrs old; elmira cervantes;
2 years old--notice that both of the children are called
by the family name of the woman because luis was not married
to the woman, though he 'recognizes' the children as his own;
he says the children are part 1. part n. but that they are to
be known as 'naturales' because they have his blood;
luis has had other women in between these two women--but
never joined with any other; was 22 16 years old when had
first woman; she was older--indian; never had any other
children; luis was in jail for six months for having
seduced a thirteen year old --natural----no children with
her; --luis said he was able to join up with the lad no
woman because she had many men beside--and it was easy;
he gave her money before living with her; finally joined
up with her because they began to have a family'; is sure
the children are his; she was not in school ever; this
woman has had children with don victor, moises escobar--and
2 others---all leading ladinos in town;

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2 of these children with other men have died; two are still living; the other men do not pay for their support; correction: the one don victor 'knocked out' is living in his house; the other by moises escobar was living with the ladina woman until she joined with luis at which time she 'gave' the child to another woman to maintain--but now that they have separated --the woman has taken back the child;

work:--milpa; braids and sews straw hats; sells pitchers; owner of his own milpa; jesus miguel is owner of terreno-- 26 terrenos de milpa(?)--pays \$2 rent a year; --learned milpa and straw hat work from father;--began to work sporadically in milpa when he was in school--but when he left school at fifteen worked full time in milpa; was 8 years old when began to braid; could sew a hat together when he was 10; --- --no real 'rest' because when he's not milpaing or traveling with pitchers he's making hats; says he earns \$20 a year (see previous interview with him for different figure)-- 26 cargas of maize-- 1 or 2 cargas of frijoles when he plants them but didn't plant any this year; didn't plant frijoles because he had 'calenturas' when the time for planting came; he gave his ladina woman 10 tarejas of milpa when they separated for maintenance of the children; a mozo does the work on her milpa; see previous interview for savings, etc;

service:--1 year in guatemala--in 1931;--infantry man; was sirviente for 2 years for the comandante when he returned-- no pay;-- 2 years sirviente for the intendente--4 years ago-- he was forced into this---he showed that he had done his work-- but they demanded his services;;now serving his first of two years as regidor municipal--no.5;--

liked military service--in guatemala; because he likes the military militia--likes to learn maneuver tactics and use of arms; would go with gusto if they sent him again; will not volunteer however; ate the same there as here; --had to leave his clothes there brought his shoes here; wore them for a few days; they wore out; put on sandals and has never had shoes since; learned addition and multiplication--no reading or writing; only one hour a night for school; no money for soldiers; it isn't a question of 'liking being regidor'--they don't let you say no; would not like any more after his service is up; loses 3 months a year as regidor; 6 months in two years; --- the service as regidor doesn't serve anything except to help maintain order in pueblo and to be able to get a visit with the intendente in case you want an audience with him; --

religion:-- catholic;--goes twice a week to church; burns a candle each time;--san luis is his saint; goes to mass if he's in town;--is a major participant only in fiesta of aug.25th--other fiestas helps out only with money but not with service; not member of cofradia--tho he takes part in the cofradia of the regidor regularly;--not mayor domo;--would not volunteer as mayor domo--but would serve if they 'named him'--while he's regidor principales can't name him as mayor domo because he's occupied with service in the intendencia; -- never to esquipulas for holy water--prays to god every morning and night; he speaks directly to god;--only one god; saints are representatives of god; the sun and the moon and the stars are the light of the world

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Please fill in this blank if you have not already done so,
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Check your present class standing:

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Junior 1st S _____ 2nd S _____

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When do you expect to graduate? _____

Indicate your curriculum preference.

Group Work _____

Case Work _____

Indicate what you expect to do on graduation.

Social Work job _____

Other job _____

Enroll for graduate training in Social Work _____

Apply for graduate fellowship _____

Adviser: (Do not fill in this space) _____

(Do not write below this line)

Name of Student: _____

Your adviser in the Pre-Professional Curriculum will be:

Name _____

Address _____ Telephone _____
Zone _____ Number _____

Office Hours _____ Days _____

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which god permits; god can do anything-- including stopping all life in the world if he feels like it; god is in the heaven; doesn't know what god looks like--no one can tell; knows there is a god because the bible says so; he reads the bible once in a while; doesn't know who wrote the bible; but believes in it because it is not 'something made just now'; the bible is something of god; but other books which say that there is no god he does not believe because they were written recently; --there is a hell; there are many devils; they live in the mountains and other places where people do not know of them; doesn't know and no one knows what they look like but others say that they are evil; they do "evil" because they don't like god--they are against god;-- easter week is a bad week--because then the devils come out--especial from the mountains--they killed jesus during this week--and they come out again so it's dangerous to walk around if you live in the mountains; luis heard the principales talking about these things and that's how he learned them; --there is no after life--but if a man has not been a sinner in his life than his spirit is claimed by god and if he has been a sinner his spirit goes to hell;-- the worst sin is to beat your mother; and your father; live incestuously with a sister; or with a child; or to offend against god; ---for example scolding god for letting it rain so much in the winter time and preventing you from going to your finca; --- life in heaven is comprised of paying for your sins on earth--even though you go to heaven--for you can't know all the sins you have committed on earth--and there is no man without sin;---only the little children--if they die very young---become angels; ---life in hell, so they say, is comprised in being put into fire on occasions;---there are no ghosts but the spirit of a man doesn't go to heaven or hell for 8 or 9 days--and returns only on the day of his saint- -some say that the spirit of a man is always watching his family--but one can't see the spirit or talk with it; every person has a spirit; bodies wither away after death;--there is no returning incarnated in form of animal or anything like that;

travels:--son sonata; - equipulas; santa anna; santa tecla; quesaltepeque; colon; chilamatal; aromania; coyito; san juliano; quatepeque; isalco grande; san juan naguisalco; nueve concepcion; santa rosa juachipilin; theisis; metapan; suncion mita; juitapa; mtaquescuintla; guatemala; san agustine; eneljicar; lodechino; quesaltepeque lacierras; chiquimula; zacapa; gualan; --most distant is songonata;-- even more distant is santa tecla--near san salvador-- 8 days of road to get there;--went to all these places to sell cantaros, tecomates, barcos(?) or tolas?(a thing that grows in the milpa which they split in half and clean and then are used as dishes)---never there in these pueblos just to visit --always for business; luis spends four months on the road, as an average, each year;--can carry sixteen cantaros at one time;--they are bound with macuermos---no carrying frame--and coreja de cuera--(tump line);;--only pitchers and 'bastimento' -i.e. food etc. is carried; barcos and other things to sell are not carried at same time--except that straw hats -a dozen--are carried with the pitchers-----when he carries barcos he carries six dozen----snata anna and son sonata are the best pueblos - you're supposed to have a passport to go over the border-- but none of the travelers use the public frontier roads-

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p.4--sept.23--interview with luid najera--m. tumá----slj --
a passport cost \$10 for every three months---;thus no one buys
a passport---the officials of san salvador theoretically don't
say anything---they let you buy--but the 'chapines' watch out for
evaders of the passport regulation;--santa anna and san sonata
are the best pueblos because there's most business there; ---
santa anna is also the 'mas bonita' pueblo;--luis would like to
live in san salvador because 'theybare pueblos of negocios--you
can make money there'; --luis spends most time --some fifteen d
in santa tecla and san juan águsalco--because there one buys pet
to seál in all pueblos;----lived only one month in san juan
a uisalco--that's the most he has lived outside of jilotepeque
except for his stay in guatemala---now he can't leave because of
his service here; ---luis has paternal relatives in guatepeque--
stays one night in the house there when he passes by on his tra
has friends in santa anna--stays in their 'maisons'(note the
word for a house of a rich man!)--when he's there--pays 5 cents
stay over a night; --never goes just to visit;

friends:---i am his best friend;(2)--rosalio lopez--(n)--;(3)
maximiliano florez-(L);(4) rafael cerna pinto (L);-- (5)
pio marcos (n)--juan mario ortiz (L);--jose gonzalez (n);--
grew up with his ladino fri nds; he can go their houses;
he eats in the r houses, they eat in his house; all his friends
are "equally faithful";---all his friends were in school; all a
intelligent men; --a friend does 'favor' for you; a non-friend
does not do 'favor';--

education:--here in jilotepeque for two years--can't read or wrí
well--but can read and write a little; does not have his school
bookd; reads a 'campesino' once in a while or a antiquated news
paper;--reads a campesino every three months--a newspaper about
twice a year;---read more before than now--because before he had
his parents and didn't have to worry so much about his house --b
now he's all alone in chagre of his house; ----received letters
a friend i. jalapa--two months ago--receives abotu one a year--
reads them himself--the letters 'salute him--hoping to find hi
well--news of his friend etc--he answers the letters--rosalio
helps him writes the letters; --has heard victor's radio and rad
in all plades in salvador;----just heard them in p ssing--never
stopped for any time to listen--- would buy a radio if he had
money to 'entertain himself'.

health:---plaudismo, three or four days spells of calenturas and
frios, --this lasted for a long time--pwith giant stools--but he
worked nevertheless;--other times--frios and calenturas--;
only these two 'châsses of disease'; had never an aire--
--has three enemies:--(1) pedro najera-- a neighbor-- only
'por gusté'--but the ~~frimáxik~~ enemy thinks luis has screwed his
wife; (2) ramon vicente;--father of the 13 year old luis seduced
--luis tells me that the girl is now living in his house with hi
the father has been hunting luis with a 'corbo' to kill him--so
says luis;-- pedro miguel has joined forces with ramon against
luis--why? well, that's pedro's way---; and, luis adds they're
going to throw pedro out of service because several things which
have disappeared from the intencencia have been found in pedro's
house;--note that pedro is my other informant--note my former
remarks on him--;(3) pedro is the third enemy;--solo por gust
luis says these are his three worst criminal enemies.

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lopez--(n)--;(3)
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p.5--interview with luis najera--sept.23,1942--m.tumin--slj

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luis says that he haw pedro stealing a chicken from a neighbor
 at midnight the other night--but he hasn't said anything --but
 pedro knew that luis saw him-----(4) secundino esteban was
 an enemy of luis' before--because luis lived with a woman(his
 first) before secundino lived with her; --now he is not an enemy.
 one of his enemies ever threw an aire into luis---
 don avram sanchinelli cured him of his paludismo with quinine
 injections;-- he cured himself of his calenturas and frios--
 first a purgante--of sal ingles or sufata soda--; then a sweat
 with a cafe aspirin; and then if the calenturas don't leave him
 he repeats the process;--and then drinks 'frescos'; frios are
 cured in the same way; ----hots and colds in foods etc:--(this
 is off the interview but want to check on this)-

frasco

pescado
 avocado
 mantequa de tunco
 raw milk
 mantequilla
 queso
 requeson
 semilla de ayote
 chuctes
 cana blanca
 caldo de pollo
 limon
 agua de cocoa
 carne de cocoa
 agua tibia
 puros(cigars)
 mahgo
 mataxan
 melon
 sandilla
 lona azul(blue cloth)
 palm hat
 camiseta
 huevos-tibios
 agua
 montagna
 pure cold water
 agua tibia
 cold tortillas
 chilipepe
 pot clay(mud)
 rabbit meat
 new cantaros

caliente

beef soup
 bean soup
 atole de elote
 elote asado
 sugar cane
 miel de cana
 dulce panella
 naranja
 aguardiente
 cigano--because of the paper
 ayote cocido
 bed clothes
 gallinas
 vacas
 mujeres
 zapatos de goma
 caites de hule
 sweater
 saco
 pantalones
 belts
 underclothes
 sombrero de bicunja
 thich shirt
 calcetines
 abrigos
 towels
 huevos recodidos
 pinal
 piedra de cal
 coffee
 metals have no meaning
 french bread--nothing(because
 it has butter too)
 fosforos
 men--doesn't know
 Parts of body don't signify
 hot tortillas
 frijoles
 chiliquga
 the animal(rabbit)because he's alive-
 all living animals
 old cantaros
 hair--human and animal
 petate
 gloves
 cigarette lighters(because they make fire)

BICARBONATE
SODA FRESCANTE

frogs
culebras
Tamarindo
piña
rice
black bananas
JOJOTES TISANO

quinine
 agua manganiilla
 yellow banana

6/2

why do they say things are hot and some things are cold? well, because if one is sick with 'calenturas' for example and he eats or drinks something hot, then he gets worse. but you can be cured with frescos when you have calenturas---and you can cure frios with things that are caliente. yes y u can eat hot and cold things at the same meal. ---but you should not eat, for example, avocado with beef soup---because it does harm to your stomach. --nor should you eat fish soup with mantequilla--because they'be both very fresco--and too much fresco makes you sick.

family relations:---

a man is supposed to support his child--male--until he is seven years old and then the child is supposed to make his own living--working as jornalero for someone. and a girl is supposed to be able to work for her living--grinding meal and entering into family service--by the time she is seven. when a man or woman is too old the children are supposed to support them until they die, and if they don't have children they have to 'morir de necesidad'. the law demands that a child support his parents if they have no means of supporting themselves. no, i couldn't send my mother out of my house--my heart forbids it; yes there are many here who maltreat their parents; a man can send his children out of his house when they're seven or eight years old; but there are no cases of a man in this pueblo having thrown his children out of the house;--- a boy or a girl has to do what the older sibling asks them to do; a sibling has to do whatever his senior sibling asks, no matter what sex the sibling is--as long as it's senior; yes, a man has a right to beat his children--to educate them---but only a few here beat their children; a man has a right--with motive (con motivo) to beat his wife;--but a man has no right to beat his parents; the obligations to the first cousins are not the same as to proper siblings;--there are no real obligations to first cousins; --- me and my older sister? if she couldn't ear her living? yes, i would work for her and help her - but i couldn't do too much because i have my own house to take care of; when a man dies his things go to his wife, if she is living--unless he has previously indicated he doesn't want to leave her anything--he has to have witnesses to such a declaration, etc; when a woman dies her things pass to her husband; if there is one parent, the things pass to the children in equal parts---decided by two outsiders--unless the parent has previously designated to whom shall go certain articles and possessions; a woman can own anything a man owns; a woman may not sell what her husband has left her if she has children; she must keep and use the stuff; a child--if single and owner of anything--can leave his stuff to anyone he pleases when he dies--even tho his parents are alive---the stuff goes to the parents in case the child has died without saying to whom he wishes to leave his stuff. a child can leave his parental home at 18--and sever all relations with his family if he cares to;-----a man can have as many compadres as wish to be his compadres--if someone asks you to be compadre you cannot refuse---a compadre has to buy clothes for his godson or goddaughter--go with her to the baptismal rites--pay the fee to the padre--if a man dies the padrino of his child is supposed to support the child or children--if he wants to---it is not obligatory;--a man also --does not have to help out a compadre in distress--it depends on the conscience of the compadre;--luis is compadre of three; has two padrinos and two madrinos--the padrinos and madrinos are usually man and wife but they need not be; the ahijados have

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p.7---interview with luis najera--sept.23,1942--m.tumin---slj
no obligations to the padrino except to pay him respect, and to
run errands for him, etc. --i asked luis whether or not all the poor
people want to the rich people to ask them to be compadres,etc.
he said many do--but that you can refuse to be compadre or comadre.
there are many who refuse. you don't become enemies as a result--but
the person who asks you whom you have refused is hurt--because he
asked you because he liked you. not many at all ask merely because
the other is rich; they refuse on the grounds that they have another
one coming up, or don't have money;etc.;luis stresses that nothing in
the compadre system is compulsory--not even buying the baptismal dress
for your godchild---the only compulsory thing is to buy two candles
for your god-relative when he or she descend place them near the body
at the funeral. luis says he doesn't know of any time when anything like
this was obligatory;--there is not even moral censure from others if
you don't buy the baptismal clothing, etc. --because the level of
poverty is such that people 'understand' if you can't do it. there
are many who don't buy the clothes, etc. --then the proper family
pays etc. the compadres of a man have to recognize each other as
compadres too; godchildren of the same godfather are not thus secondarily
connected; however; nor is ~~any~~ ahijada connected with the com-
padres of his compadre;--

clothing:---luis is wearing a blue jacket(i have yet to see him without
a jacket) blue and white striped pants and caites and a faded yellow
shirt;--he has one other pair of 'good' pants and one pair for working;
he has three jackets----all good ones; does not wear a jacket when
working; he has one shirt in addition to what he is wearing which he
calls a 'camiseta'--a camiseta is of 'manta' , he explains. he has
three pairs of caites--2 good ones and the ones he has on which he says
are not very good;--2 pair of leather and one of rubber; rubber wears
longer; wears his rubber caites when he's working; has one pair of
underclothing;--always wears this;--always had the same kind of clothes;
each of his children has three dresses; they do not have sandals;
the woman has three dresses two; his woman had shoes when she was living
with him; luis has a bed;--his mother has a bed; when the woman and
children were there one slept in a little 'tabalita' and the littlest
one slept in the same bed as luis and the woman; luis has dishes,
a hammock, one glass, five pairs of china(cups and saucers), 4 chairs,
a table, eats on the table and sometimes on the floor; 3 spoons, one
table knife, no forks; --house is tile, two sides of bajarek and two
sides of adobe,--dirt floor,-- luis has a sitio, two jowote trees there,
1 rooster, 4 gallinas, 7 pollos; one little horse; no cows, pigs or
sheep; --has one machete pando, one de filo, and one asadon, a large
knife; ladina clothes for women please him more than indian clothes
because 'asi me gustan mi' ! no towels, has soap sometimes, one blanket,
no wall decorations--a little picture of san antonio is the only thing;
food:--- tortilla, frijoles, arroz when there is any; pollo, carne
tunco(once a week);(children is once every fifteen days or every month)
one egg once or twice a week(sells most of his eggs); his chickens
each give four eggs once every two-or-three days--they sell at half a
cent apiece)--eats beef only on sundays; potatoes with this beef and
beef soup;--eats repollas, cebollas, lorocos, tomatoes,-- these vegetables
only on sunday; jocotes, naranjas, mangoes, gineos, neisperos, zapota,
mamey, cana, nanzas, --eats these sporadically.
luis' father's house is also of tile and all of bajarek, dirt floor.
the sitio of luis' house belongs to his mother, but luis built the
house but has not yet made the documents transferring ownership of the
house to himself--meanwhile he leaves it in her name(even tho he paid
for it -because then if he has trouble they can't take the house away--
because it is his mothers).

happiness etc(?)

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the life of jilotepeque is alegre---(but you don't look happy, luis?) well, that's my type; santa anna and guatemala are more alegre because there are radios and more facilities for making money; the only things lacking here are radios and more business; because with a radio you can know of other things far away; the festa of agosto is the most happy time of the year---because it's fiesta of 'la gente naturale'; days in january are happy too-- --because many cars are on the roads here in those days; during the week thursdays and sundays are happiest because people come here from other places; --and then you can see things and talk of things you haven't seen or talked of before;--- life in the aldeas is just as alegre as the life in the pueblo--- ---for me personally, says luis, the one thing lacking is money--- if i had money i could savor of many things, put music in my house --the marimba on my birthday, for example;--you see, with money you can do anything;--now i have a woman in my house so that isn't lacking; yes, i miss my children---but i have to get used to the idea of being without them;--my mother, yes, she likes my woman that i have; yes, if god grants them i'll have children with this woman;--no, i won't marry her; she doesn't want to marry me either;

if you had fifty dollars:

i would put it into business--buying and selling hats to go sell in other places;--oh, i would buy little things to improve my house-- but i would put most of the fifty dollars into business; i would buy clothes--yes--if i made money out of my business---;no, i would not buy another house -i would just improve it;--i would whitewash it inside i would fix the roof so water wouldn't come in; i would buy cut lumber and fix it up that way; and put in a stone floor; i would make a window;

in the way of food--i would buy more mantequilla and eat more chicken; in the way of clothes--i would buy a suit--coat and pants to match-- i would not buy shoes--because i would have to be going about my business and you can't go from one place to another with shoes on--because there are rios and fangoes you have to cross---no, it is not because others think it is a shame to have shoes; yes, there are some who think it is a shame to wear shoes;--- (sunday they wear shirts and jackets here instead of just camisetas.)-- if i had shoes i would wear them all the time around here.

in the way of animals:---i would buy a mule; i would drink a little more, yes.

luis doesn't have a woman outside of his house when he has one in his house; a man fornicates (like luis does) once every night with his woman--except when she has the curse ---one time every night--never in the daytime;--a man has his first woman at 18 or 20 years old; women at 18 or 20 too have their first man;---

the life 12-14 years ago was more happy--there were marimbas for the fiestas, there was music in the estancos, victrolas, --that was the happiness of before which we don't have now. --the marimba pleases me most of all entertainments.

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(see previous report
as to family background).

for details

the officio i had in my house when i was small was to feed maize to the pigs to fatten them. i had to stay in the house to help my mother as well for while there were two sisters they weren't competent to help in the officios of the house. after i fed the pigs i would sit down and braid hats--and then at 3 o'clock again i had to go feed the pigs because they ate twice a day. this is what i was doing when i was 8 years old. before i was 8 years old i didn't have any duties to perform--i just played with my friends around the house--but at 8 years old my brothers taught me how to braid hats and from then on i had officios. before 8 i used to play with antonio ramirez, natural, and rafael carna pinto, a ladino boy. we lived together--i mean near each other--and since we were not allowed to go out of the house i played in their houses or they came and played in mine. we played 'oscondederas' or we built little wooden houses and built little pieces of furniture and put them in the house--and made little dolls of 'vara' to live in the house and then their parents would call them if they were in my house or my parents would call me to do some little officio like 'granar maize' in the house and so we would stop playing. then after we had performed our officios or whatever they had called us for we would return to our games--the same game we had been playing before being called. and when night came each went to his house to go to sleep until the next day, when, after performing whatever was required of us in the house, we returned to our games. since antonio's father was a carpenter he made us little dolls out of wood and we used to play with them too. and once when we were playing i broke one of rafael's dolls and we began to fight, but after two days we were friends again. we began to play games again but we didn't play with dolls anymore. we used to play riding horseback on branches of a tree for horses, and we had races--we would string a lasso up at one end of the sitio and race to the lasso and back. at eight years old they put us in school--and so we would go to school from 8 in the morning till 11 in the morning--after doing our duties in the house before going to school, they put us in school--and gave us books when we got there--and we began to study. my maestro was flavio morales in my first year. we studied until 10 o'clock and then from 10 till 11 we had recitation. those who were good in recitation were not punished but those who were not were punished with an extra hour of work. when 11 o'clock came we would go out of school and then go to our houses where we would then go to bathe in the chorro--and wash there--and then at lunch--and then go back to school at 1 o'clock. but the afternoos in school were for writing--but then they were teaching us to write words of one syllable--only one syllable--like

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pen, sol, sal. and all the afternoos we spent one hour of writing--they would show us the word--and then we would write it--then a quarter of an hour of 'recreo'--we played--only played--during recreo--played ball with oranges or lemons--or we would eat the fruit sometimes instead of playing with it, after recreo we would go back to a class of 'sumar, restar' but 'primamente sumar, es lo mas facile'. when one learned to add very well he passed to 'restar' after learning very well to 'restar' one then passed on to division. then after one learned very well to divide he passed on to multiplication. then at arriving at 4 o'clock one left school until the next day. we would go back to the house--and they would give us an hour or a half hour to play--and then we would have to go back to do our jobs at the house--the job i always had was to feed the pigs to make them fat. i had this job in the morning and in the afternoon. my father used to come in from work at 6 or seven--and when he came in he would sit and have me recite him the election i had recited in school that day. he couldn't read very well but 'media podia', and if i didn't recite well he would beat me, telling me he was beating me because i wasn't learning my lessons. my older brother, he never went to school, not even one day. he was always in the fields working with my father. he always worked in the fields and i went to school and fattened pigs--that was the only thing i had to do. after this they took me out of school when i was ten years old--and one of my sisters got married. that left only one sister with my mother and she needed me around the house. my sister was 13 years old when she got married. she was called luisa najera. her husband was called pedro vicente. they lived together only two years and then my sister died. and her little girl died too. the year she died my other sister got married. since my sister's husband was poor my father put the money for the burial of my older sister. he was so poor--this husband--that he couldn't even have his own house--and she and my sister were living in a little ranchita that he rented. we buried my sister--we bought a box or anything--just the way she was--when we had buried my sister her husband became enemies with my father--soley 'por gusto' because my sister had died. we didn't speak to him and he didn't speak to us finally at the end of that year he got up with another woman. after that it wasn't long he began speaking to us again. when we come to the marriage of my other sister. the man had asked my father and mother for permission; they considered his

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 request, decided in his favor, set a date for the marriage and my sister and he were married, civil and in the church as well.

Luis, tell me something about the burial of your sister and your feelings at her death?
 Oh, yes, there was much feeling at the cemetery because she was my sister. I used to go to her house every day--morning noon and night--in the morning she would give me a cup of coffee to drink and in the afternoon sometime she would give me lunch to eat. I always went to her house. and she also came to our house very often when she didn't have enough to eat in her house she would come to our house and my mother would give her lunch or breakfast or supper, because they were poor and didn't have enough to eat, and when she died, where could she go? and she didn't come to her mother's house. Oh, I could have gone and visited her husband but it wasn't the same as when my sister was there. and when she died we had much 'sentimiento do ella' because we missed her very much---but afterwards we adjusted--because there used to come to the house many friends, men and women--and that way one can adjust himself. (se conforma uno). Oh we remember her now--but now just a little--once in a while we go to the cemetery where she is buried and we fix it up and make it look nice.

then my last sister got married. when my sister got married there was much happiness in the house of her nobio. many people arrived. there was chilate, there was sucuse, there was a marimba, the band arrived, and, at midnight, as is our custom here, my sister went with her husband to the house of her husband. in my house there was only chilate and the marimba. the marimba stayed until midnight--from 10 o'clock--at what time--i.e. midnight--it went back to the house of the nobio when my sister went there. a principal went with them to their house. and there was another principal in our house. the two principals communicate--and the principal of the house of the nobio says to the principal of the nobio--"where are you going"--he says "I am going to receive the bride". and then he and lots of men and women are at the house of the nobio to receive the bride--and they drink much--very much. and when the principal receives the bride he instructs her in language--he tells her to respect her man, her husband, to do her duties well and to do whatever she is asked and when she has to go somewhere to do something, she should return soon and she should not make her husband dislike her for any reason. and all the invitees

in my house give gift to the bride--a chicken or a plate of chinavara, or a dish of a fruit, shell, or whatever they have to give / meanwhile my father has clothes prepared for her--and he gives her the clothes--two skirts, two blouses, two headpieces--beside what she happens to be wearing. and then at 6 o'clock in the morning they go to mass. before six o'clock every one goes to the house of the padrino and they drink coffee and then they all go to church at six o'clock.

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the padrino puts a bronze necklace around the man's neck and then puts a shawl of white cloth over the shoulders of the man and the woman, and after the misa they go out to the house of the noble. the padre is the one who performs the ceremony-- it was in the month of march--they get married with civil rites 15 days before but there is no celebration until the church wedding. then they breakfast at the house of the noble. they fix up four chickens there, very well fattened--they put two chickens in a plate of china in front of the madrina and two chickens in a plate in front of the padrino--and then they put a small cup of soup in front of each--and a small cup of coffee, and they put a plate of bread, sliced, in front of each, and some very small tortillitas, only to eat with the caldo. they do not eat the chickens. those they carry to their own house to eat, after breakfast everyone begins to platicar--the father of the girl with the father of the man--his compadre--for they are now compadres. they tell stories and do other things and at the end there is happiness. the marimba is still in the house. after this the father of the man brings two frascos of guarda and gives them to the father of the girl, and two packages of cigarettes--and the compadre and the padrino name two people of the invites to pass the whiskey around to all those present. then when this whiskey is done the padrino comes in with two more. this is "parte del padrino, gusto que tiene si". and if the compadre, the owner of the house, has "gusto" he continues to bring in more whiskey when this is done with. everyone gets very drunk. then the padrino comes over to the girl and the boy who have been sitting in one place--in front of the table--and tell them they can go and sit somewhere else if they want to. the girl can go into the kitchen and the man can do whatever duties he has. and, if they choose come back at noon they would probably find everyone very drunk and dancing for the marimba is still there and it is their pleasure to dance and get drunk. the bride and the groom may not drink, however, everyone dances--the padrino with the compadre, and the madrina with the compadre--and all the invites and there is much happiness. the bride and groom may dance if they want to, but without drinking. many naturals here don't know how to dance so they don't dance--but when they get drunk then they dance even tho they don't know how. then when the padrino feels that it is late enough he gets up and everyone gets up and the padrino gives thanks to the compadre and they say their farewells and then they leave. but before they leave there is a custom to appoint two other people who are waiting outside the house with two other frascos of whiskey. it's a custom here. then these two who have bought the whiskey--after everyone has finished it--they go with the padrino to his house--and there everything is prepared for them, there are two more frascos of

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whiskey and these two poor men have to suffer for they have to drink all that whiskey themselves and they are not allowed to leave the house until they have gotten completely drunk--but drunk if they don't return to the wedding house, there are two other men appointed to go to the padrino's house with two more frascos of whiskey to see what has happened to the two men--and they give this whiskey to the padrino, then they have to drink this whiskey as well. then when this whiskey is done, they go to the house of the nobio and bring the marimba to the house of the padrino; meanwhile the padrino has five or six invitees at his house--and they help him receive the groom's mother and father and five or six vouple whom the groom's parents have invited. they all come armed with whiskey. then at the padrino's house everyone comes and drinks and dances--there are no invitees to those--everyone comes and drinks and dances. the nobio also comes to the house of the padrino--the nobio does not come then in the house of the padrino the nobio has to drink--he has to bring one big frasco or two small ones--and he has to drink---. the padrino--since many people come when they hear music--has to go to the door and say "genos, have the kindness to enter in my house and dance", this lasts until 8 or 9 p.m. until the paid hours of the marimba are over--and the marimba owner takes his marimba home and the dance stops. but if the padrino has the voluntad he pays for two more hours for the marimba--the day before the music has been paid for by the groom's father. meanwhile the bride is in her own house--where she has brought the chickens to her mother--and there are many invitees--and they all have to taste of the chicken--and there is drinking, of course. she returns to the house of the groom--and when the dance is all over at the padrino's house--the groom returns to his house and to his bride. the groom does not have to get drunk because "he has que hader". then in the night only the groom and the bride can quiete after the first night together. the groom's mother officially presents the bride with all the household possessions that are the groom's--tells her what he likes--and what is his type--practically all here stay in the same house--they don't move to a new house when they get married--at first, and from there on they go about making their living. after 8 or 15 days of marriage they begin to make straw hats, the woman braids and the man goes to work. the man doesn't go to the fields because in this month and season it is not time for field work. marriages here are in march or april. there is no work in these months. and in august too it is the same. and when they have made one or two dozen hats the man goes on a trip to sell them. and when the man goes out, if the woman has interest in making a good living, when he comes back there are more hats already braided for him to sell.

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if the woman doesn't have an interest in life she passes all her time sleeping. that way no one prospers because frankly, one doesn't have a real helper if she sleeps all the time. because if only one works it takes much longer a man can braid twelve hats in twelve days and sew twelve in twelve in twelve days. but if the woman helps they can cut fifteen days off of this time. thus if they make two dozen hats and 16 cantaros--the man goes to santa anna--and he sells his hats--two dozen for 8 colonas--and the 16 pitchers sell for 4 colonas--these 12 colonas change into 4 quetzales and 80 centavos--one can bring back 4 quetzales of this 4.80 and then he can buy a pig with one quetzale--and if he has maize he can fatten him---then the man after a few days--if the woman has an interest in advancing their conditions somewhat she will have made pitchers--and he goes out on three more trips--and can earn, the man that is, 2 quetzales each trip with these pitchers--and thus out four trips he can come home with ten dollars. of course he doesn't have this clear because he has to spend some money around the house. but if he is ambitious he can put down money and buy a 1000 tiles for a house--to be, this is a beginning. and if the pig turns out well one can sell him for five or six or even more dollars--if one has good luck. but if one doesn't have an interest, he doesn't get anywhere at all. here you see, "el interes, es lo que vale". from this time on one is traveling--to santa anna--because there one can make more money. if one travels, he can have something--but if one does not go out from here? nothing! how can one buy a blouse for his wife if he doesn't go out from here?--when one goes there he can bring back from santa anna a blouse for his wife--and can bring back 'blusas' to adorn the blouse. and one can bring back 'genero blanco para talaro' / in making trips one can thus buy his clothes and clothes for his wife--a blouse for himself, pants--maybe even a whole suit. this is in summer. and in winter? in april or march then one goes to the owner of a piece of land to ask for some land to weed and clean and to plant things there. one--with others helping--cleans off 20 parcels or cuerdas of land--two or three men helping you--you pay them if you have money and if not you exchange mutual aid--we call it 'linda' we arrange when we shall help another beforehand--and we help each other. we say "ayudame losos?" and the other says "bien" and then we arrange dates for this. after we clean weeds then we burn them--all the rubbish there is--then we look at the nah and if it has burnt well we plant it not--then we have to burn again--then when the gente begin to plant--then we plant.

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when my sister married i began to visit them. i was only small at the time. my sister's husband was a barber and so he used to cut my hair--his name is vasilio perez--

they took me out of school when my sister got married. i was ten years old then. but they didn't put me to work--and i wasn't going to school either. i just stayed home and did my 'oficios' in the house. graner maize--feed the pigs--and chickens and roosters--and after all this they put me to work braiding hats. and when there was no firewood i used to go to the mountain to gather firewood. and when i could come back they would give me lunch. and i returned to my braiding hats after lunch. at 4 in the afternoon again i would 'graner maize' another time for the pigs and for ourselves. 5 years i did this ---i never went on travels--and i went to the fields very rarely--only when there was something extra to be carried there or home. but i did not work in the fields--i had no time these five years for anything but the performing of my oficios. i had no time to play or anything like that. only to do my oficio. sundays they gave me two hours in the morning and two hours in the afternoon to go and play with my friends. when i was 14 and a half they took my brother for service in guatemala. then i began to work in the fields with my father.

when i was ten years old i had a ladina novia whom i liked very very much. and she liked me too. she sent me letters and i answered them. much time we spent being sweethearts. when i was 13 and a half they put me in jail because they said i had screwed the girl--but it wasn't me--it was another--i was in jail only two hours--and the secretary got me out when i proved it wasn't me--but that i was with two friends at the time that the girl had been 'lost' for a few hours and came home screwed afterwards. my friends testified for me and they let me go. after that i was not sweethearts with her anymore. i avoided her--because she was the one who accused me of being with her. her father threatened to marry the girl or he would put me in prison. but i wouldn't marry her and so i went to jail but i got out in two hours. i told the father however that if he would pay for the years which i belonged to me and to her i would marry her. my father had money too but he didn't want me to marry her because she was ladina. and so when i got to be 14 i didn't have any more to do with her. then when i was 14 and a half i began to work with my father in the fields. i never did anything with the girl because i never had an opportunity--never, never. oh, i put hands on her and touched her and all that--but there were always people around and i couldn't do more. i always had a big idea when i was small that

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that i would get married someday in the church with a girl i liked. this idea came when my feelings were developing. when it used to rain much i would sit and worry where my father and brother could be in such a heavy rain. and i would say to my mother that i was never going to work because look at the torment that was falling from the skies and if i were to be working i would really get wet, no i wasn't going ever to work in the fields. and my mother would say to me "now are you going to pass your life untoss you work"--and i would answer her "oh, i'll find a way to pass my life without working". and when someone would die i would think "what would we do if my father or mother got sick; how would we cure them"--that is what i used to think at such times. and once when i was real small my father got sick and i got to wondering and worrying how we were going to eat the next year. and i asked my father how could we eat the next year if he were sick and couldn't work the milpa. i didn't know how and my brother was very small then too. so we worried a lot. finally we called in avra san chineli and he cured my father. and when my father got well then he said to us "muchachos, for this you have to learn to economize and watch your money; if you don't economize then you don't have money and you die"/ and i asked him "how do we do to economize"--? and he said "don't spend your money on things y u don't need; spend your money only on food and clothing and whatever else you need. don't spend your money on drinking, avoid cards and dice. never lay them for you'll lose your money. because you see if i had not had money i would have died here, wouldnt i? and how would it have been to have left you little ones without a father, and only with a mother? your mother can't support you, because she can't work for money. and for this i tell you so that when you grow up and become men yu will remember what i am talking you now"; you can spend your money on a candle to burn in the church because this shows yu believ in the saints; pray to god that one shouldn't get sick and that every thing will be all right with you; you should be good catholics and when they come around from the cofradia or tribunal to ask for money have the voluntad to give them five or ten cents;" and its sure that my father used to aid the cofradias. when he didn't help them with money he helped them with maize, or lenya or acote. but always he never left them without help. and i have the same religion. because if the cofradias ask me for something, i help out, with whatever i have. but this comes mainly from the reason of what my father told us when we were small. i was catholic then and i remained catholic till now and i will be catholic in the future. when i was fifteen and my brother was in service one of my father's cousins came to ask my father permission to take me on a trip with him, and since there were some hats which were in the house which my brother had made before they took him to service, i took these hats and went on a trip to sell them. my father gave permission and in addition to the hats i carried six pairs of pitchers

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we arrived in a place called Isalco grande in six days of travel. while we were traveling i was always afraid that someone would attack me and kill me for the pitchers i was carrying. when we set out my mother had made tortillas for the whole trip--and they loaded me up-- and what pain i had in my head from the weight of the pitchers--because i had never carried them before--told my cousin that i had a pain in my head--and since he was a man already he said to me "that's the way one learns to become a man; me it doesn't hurt anymore when i carry on the first trips i had when i was small it hurt me too just the way it hurts you now". well we set out. and when lunch time came we built a fire. we heated up the tortillas and made coffee and we ate lunch. after lunch we began to travel again. we traveled one league and then we would rest. another league and then more rest. we know it was a league because my cousin told me so and he could calculate. finally we arrived in a pueblo where we made our stop for the night. about a half league away from the pueblo we gathered firewood for the night. we got to the pueblo, made our fire and then we ate again. we waited only until our food should go down and then we slept. the same thing the next day--more forward, we traveled one league outside of the pueblo and there we ate bryak fast. we traveled this way. one league and then rest. and after four rests we ate lunch again. we had traveled five leagues before lunch. and then five more leagues at night. we traveled 10 leagues a day. this was slow because it was my first trip and so we got to the frontier of san salvador in two days. there we stayed for the night. the next day it was the same again. forward again. one league in the morning before breakfast. after six days we rested because the body was really tired and i couldn't go any more. i went and sold my things--and sold them early. he took more time--going to a different pueblo to sell his stuff. and when we had sold our stuff we started back. we came to sanat anna. there he bought a roba of salt. --a half a roba for him and half for me. we traveled this way each of us loaded with a half a roba of salt. the place where he sold his stuff is called arrieta --and then the eight day we got to sanjuan. --the first day back we had traveled much too fast because we didn't have any load--but the second day it was a little slower because we were loaded with salt. when we got to sanjuan. --the river was very full-- he said to me i had to cross by myself. i went into the water and it got to my waist line--and i was that, if he didn't help me i would fall into the river and wet the salt--and when he saw i was going to fall --what with my arms high over my head with all the stuff i was carrying--he grabbed me and helped me across the river. and when we got to the other bank he asked me if i had been afraid. and i said he was looking for a stick to beat me with--and so i said i was not even afraid. and so he didn't beat me. the money he had earned he wouldn't let me carry. he insisted on carrying it himself--because he said if i carried it i could lose it. so he himself went and sold the salt to my father that i had.

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earned on the trip. and when i got back i told my father i didn't want to go on any more trips with him because he was 'my bravo'--he wouldn't go ahead of me when we crossed rivers. i told my father it was better if he taught me to sew hats so that i shouldn't have to go out to earn money. this was because secretly i had such a pain in my head that i could hit myself on the head and not feel anything-- this was from carrying the pitchers. and so from there i went on only small trips--once i went with my father to chiquimula but i only carried two pairs of pitchers. but i dropped one pair and broke them. and when we got to chiquimula my father beat me with his belt now because i had dropped the pitchers. he said, but because i had been frightened. and those times since my brother was in guatemala my father and i used to work hard, very hard in the milpa--every morning we would go out. when my brother's time in service was up he came back and we all worked together in the fields. my father had been to see my brother's office in guatemala and when he returned he said to me: 'luis, i wouldn't like for you to go to guatemala for service' and i said: 'why not.' he said: 'because it's too far--and you ought to see your brother--and when you have guard duty you're not allowed to go to sleep and you get very sleepy. it's better for you to find some kind of service here if you can.' so i said, 'all right, papa, if you think it's better i won't go.' and so he went to my padrino, don daniel aguilar, to see if he couldn't get me a job as mensajero into telegraph office here. my brother came back from the service and he told me he had been sent with a bunch of other soldiers to the honduras frontier to fight off a certain general who was aspiring to the presidency at the time. he told me also he had traveled much by train. and when he and his soldier mates had gotten to quesaltenango to fight off the aspiring forces they found all the communication dead--and they knew the enemy had already gotten there--because they also saw many dead in the streets, and many wounded walking around, screaming, howling in pain 'ah!'; and then he told me about the rest of his trip to the frontier of mexico and that they saw there of the remains of an encampment of the enemy's forces--the dead animals they had slain, boxes, the deformed artillery pieces, etc. but after a few days of fighting the enemy went out and there was a new president elected. and so when my brother told me of how he had traveled in trains and cars and to places where he would probably never return i developed a desire to go there too, and my brother came back well dressed with all good clean new clothes 'huan ranch', and he used to send us photographs when he was there--and i saw him in his boots and his riding pants and he had another uniform as well--for this i had much desire to go, but a little while after my brother returned my father fell sick again--but this time he did not get better but died--it was because someone had done him bad. it was the visgo mardocheo perex--for the sick on which our house now stands--it was for that he did my father bad.

this is a continuation of the history started yesterday. i am going to off on a slightly different tack this morning--and in trying to get luis to characterize his parents for me--maybe i will get more details of his youth.

tell me, luis, what was your father like? what sort of man was he? how did he treat you and the other children and your mother, and his parents?

my father was a naturale, decent, formal, kept to his word. for if you were to say to him that "we shall work tomorrow" and he said "all right" he kept his word. he sat well with us. he knew how to educate us. he explained to us how we should be able to pass our lives when we got to be men. he taught us how to work the ground, the milpa, he taught us how to braid hats, sew hats, how to travel and sell, and he gave us ideas how to fatten pigs. he told us how to pass life, and also to my sisters he explained how they should pass their lives when they were going to get married. and we followed all the advice he gave us. those are the things which are serving me well in these days. and when he died i was sixteen years old but i knew how to work and how to pass life, even as did my brothers. he was a good man with my mother. they never fought. my mother would speak with him and ask him something and if he thought she had good reason he would do what she asked. they had the happy life. they never bothered each other for anything. and for this my father knew many people here in the pueblo and they knew him. he had friends, ladinos and naturales. he too was a sirviente of the intendencia. and, in sum, he did services for everyone. he never did harm to anyone and no one did him harm. and when he died we were well known in the pueblo but mainly because of him, because many people knew him. when he was alive he bought the house and sitio where my brother is living now. when he joined up with my mother he built a house there, with a tile roof and baharek walls--and on a corner of the street. he never had an enemy--not among his neighbors nor anyone else. and when he died we remained in the house he had built. and then between my brother and me, we began to 'pasar la vida'. when he died neither my brother nor i were in the house. we were in the fields working. for at 5 a.m. the day he died he said to us "muchachos, go into the fields and work, for nothing will happen to me". and since we always did what he said we went to the fields. and we were in the fields working, content, for my father had been able to see everything and looked well before we left; but we had not been in the fields for two hours when one of his nephews arrived and said "look here, muchachos, let us go to your house?" and we said "why?" and he said "because my uncle, your father, remains the same and he is not getting better"--but this nephew did not tell us that my father had already died. and when we arrived at the house there were many people there. and so we knew that my father had died. i began to cry and everyone else too was crying, but soon we began to get a box ready and to make ready everything that was necessary for burial.

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the box cost us 8 dollars. we arranged everything that was going to serve for the night of the wake. all the najeras were now present.. one of his brothers was there--he's still alive--he's called p.n. --and one of his in-laws was there too. wit the body they got two tables and they put it on the tables--and they put four candles in four candle holders at each corner--and they bought a white savana to cover the body--here in the store on the corner they bought it-- the compadres of the man washed his body--head and all--they put on his best clothes--they bought him a pair of socks to wear-- and they arranged everything--they put a pillow at his head and one at his feet--and then at the veloria all his friends and relatives arrived--and from there we passed the night telling stories--and talking-- but no one got drunk--we had a little whiskey we bought and drank but only to get rid of any sleepiness we might have--and later on in the night we ate--at midnight the food was served--and when morning came we were then getting ready to go to the buying grounds in the cemetery. the custom here is for the body to be in the middle of the room and the seats are placed all around the room-- so that everyone can see the body--it is covered only with the savana. my mother and sister were crying all night--but not only they--there were others who were crying as well--we left my house at 8n o'clock to go to the cemetery. at the cemetery the grave was dug quickly because there were 45 men to help with digging it. and while they were working my brother and i and my cousin served whiskey to all these men who were wrking because they were sweating much. and then when the grave was dug and the whiskey finished we returned to the house for breakfast. all the 45 men and many more invitees were there for breakfast. and then after we were done with breakfast we named four people to go bring thebox from the carpenter's house--so that we could put the body in it--for it was drawing close to the time for burial of thebody--. and we waited then after putting the body in the box --until 2 o'clock--thetime for burial--(no, we cannot bury at night--why? because never was there a custom here for burying at night; but you can bury in the morning or later in the afternoon if you wish) and then the music band came to the burial; many people came to the cemetery with us--some 25 men and 30 women; we arrived at the cemetery and buried my father; the pall bearers were his friends--there were many who had the voluntad for carrying the box and so neither my brother nor i carried it; we buried my father--and put a cross to mark the spot--and then we returned to the house(luis's tone has grown extremely modulated at this point--and he talks in a very low voice). (no, no prayers are said, nothing--just the burial--and the music band playingWaltzes of Lent)---the musicians do not return with us to the house. and in the night nothing happened. just my mother and my brother and my sister and my father's nephew and i passed the night. and the next day when we arose the invitees returned to the house and we went out from the pubelo at 8 o'clock

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to go to the cemetery again, no music this time. we went only to fix up everything nicely in the cemetery. and at 11 o'clock we returned. the women stayed in the house to fix up lunch for those who had been to the cemetery. and then those who were lunching began to tell us that we had to adjust, that it was a shame that my father had died but that it had been god's will-- and that we had to get used to the idea and we should try to forget my father. but how could we forget my father, we missed him so much? of the milpa we had no thought. we could only think that my father had passed away. my brother in law arrived and others came to spend a few moments with us. and then for nine days we had rosaries in the house--the women were there to pray to god for the body of my father. little girls and older girls were there praying too. after nine days we had others invited to the house so that we all might give thanks to the senoritas who had participated in the rosaries. and after the nine days we sent for some fish and they fixed up fish fine for lunch; and after the nine days were over the senoritas said to us--"pancho, luiza, luis, you have to conform yourselves now--because now there is nothing you can do". and we answered "yes, we would try even tho it was hard on the heart, we would try to adjust ourselves". and we went out visiting-- aunts, and friends and everyone, to escape or avoid the feelings that were oppressing us. and soon we began to forget--we would go to work in the milpa one day-- and rest the next--but we worked--just my brother and I now--but we worked--and thus we learned to forget a little. we planted the milpa, just my brother and I. and when a year had passed from the time of his death we had the year-after celebration---we sent for fish-- and we had the -year-end celebration--the church bells rang out a 'double' and we went to the cemetery-- ; and so now after a year we were doing things by ourselves, without him; and two months after the year-end of his death they were asking for people here for service in guatemala and i presented myself and was sent off to service.

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when my father died i was beginning to think how my brother and i were going to pass life; now that we had no hope for anything except from my brother and myself, he and i. two things joined --my feelings for my father and my worry about how we were going to pass life without my father. Because when my father was alive he would say "luis, you carry firewood, and you, my brother, carry maize". but now that he was dead how were we to do this. he could tell me, my brother could tell me to carry wood, and i would do it, but i could not tell him to do anything, because i had to respect him because he was my older brother. frankly i did not know what i was going to do. my mother would ask me what i was going to do and i did not know what to say. i began to think--"suppose my brother should get married. that leaves me and my mother here. and what shall i do". frankly i didn't know what to do. i

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knew how to fatten pigs and make them grow but i didn't think much could come of this. and my brct herf he had already been to service in guatemala and was now a man. but he could not get married because my father was dead. and, when you court a girl and ask permission to marry her the first thing they ask for here is for the father of the boy. and there was a ne ighbor in the next milpa--one who owned hss milpa. he used to respect us when we came with my father. but now that we came alone he did not respect us and he began to scold us. he said to us that now that my father was dead he could boss us and if we did not listen to him he would beat us. and my brother and i said to each other that if he started to beat us we would join in and beat him. and thus he never was able to beat us. and when we came back to the house we told my mother that julano had said he was going to beat us. and my mother asked "why?" ad we said "solejy 'per gusto'. because now our father is dead and does not come with us to the milpa". and my mother said, "wait, i will have him summoned to the intendencia because he has no right to beat you nor to scold you just because he doesn't like you". but since he did nothing to us and we did nothing to him he soon began to speak nicely to us and so we spoke nicely to him. and while we were working my brother said that we had to work very hard, that even tho my father was not there working we would have to get all our work done. he said we should plant much milpa so that we would have what with to feed the chickens and fatten the pigs and to pass life. so he said to me. and i had interest and willingness to work with him. everything he said to me to do i did, because he was my older brother and beside he was much older than me and was already a man.

luis, tell me the story about how the old man made your father sick, the story you were telling me yesterday.

well, my father had made a contract with the man who owns the sitio where my house now is--to buy that sitio. this man was an old man. when the time came for the man to get his money and for my father to take possession of the sitio the old man refused and said he didn't want to sell. so my father brought witnesses and forced the money on the old man and got permission from the intendente to occupy the land. well, this man got angry with my father. and, well, my father likes to drink. so one night there came to our house a man-- a neighbor of the sitio my father had just bought-- and this man was very drunk. but he had two bottles of whiskey--one from which he drank and one which he gave to my father to drink---the man did not at all drink out of the bottle that he gave to my father. and when my father drank from this he felt a pain go down into his stomach and then the pain spread up to his chest, a pain such as he had never had before. and then ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a few days after my father

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died this old man got drunk and told other people that he had caused my father to get sick and die. for he was friends with this neighbor and he had given him this poisoned liquor to give to my father so that my father should get sick and die. and he said to others that whatever he wanted to do to my brother and to me he could do and would do. so i bought a pistol, for i did not know what he intended to do. this old man was named m.a. and the man who gave whiskey to my father was named d.m. --but he's dead now. m.a is still alive and he's very old but he doesn't look old. we don't talk to each other at all--he passes me on the street and i pass him and we don't greet each other at all. this old man is really a bad one. many say he's done bad to many others. (note: he's a principale and l. says he is also a brujo). but at that time frankly we were afraid because you know these men do their bad deeds when one is sleeping or put something in what you drink. during the day i was not afraid but frankly when i would go to sleep i was always afraid because when one is sound asleep many things can be done to him. and in the day time too they can do evil to you. for instance you're half asleep and they put a little fly on your upper lip and the fly creeps up into your nose and when he gets to the top of the nose inside he lays eggs--and after a few days the eggs begin to hatch and mere flies come--and then they begin to fly around inside your head--and one has terrific pains in his head and blood flows from his nose. they did this once to a nephew of mine. i saw it so i know. because these are the things they do--and they do it with permission of god which they seek--because if god does not give permission then they cannot do these things. and they feel--even as we are now talking of them--they feel it in their bodies and their bodies let them know that we are talking of them--and they say to themselves "who is talking of me now?" they want to know who is talking of them to do evil to those who are talking. because only they can do this kind of evil--when you are asleep or even in the day time--they put a fly in your nose or if not in your nose they put a fly in your ear--or they put a hair into your ear--or they turn themselves into winds or little whirlpools--(remoline)--they put the whirlpool around your body--and this is the living wind that one drinks--and this is the wind that makes "armonia" in one's stomach as well. and with thus a pain on one side or the other one dies. because who can cure you once it's done? a brujo or a patchero only. they can cure, but as the doctors say, it's very difficult to cure one of these things. you really have to operate on one to get rid of the evil--purgantes hardly work--but who here can operate? only the Brujos themselves know how. doctors don't know, because well, they put living winds, or lizards, or frogs, or snakes into you--or cutetates too--animals like lizards who have a charcha in front and rear--like a galle--^{100%} these are the only things that they can throw into you. they can also 'sacar' these. because they know how to put them in and how to get rid of them. and if a patchero

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comes to cure you they will kill him too if he's not prepared for them because they don't like anyone to cure those they have made sick.

drub }

2:30 p.m. at this point the chinaman's daughter came to tell me lunch was ready--to which i had been invited this morning---but i stayed with lui's until he ran 'dry' a little bit because he was really 'flowing'. the bottom of p.15 and the top of this page are his final 'drippings'---let's see how good the last drops are--.

repe

they, when they do evil, want no one to mix in with what they have ~~done~~ done. their usage is to make sick someone so that he should die. for this the patcheros are afraid to cure. and so if you call them when you are sick and they take your pulse and they figure from your pulse that it is an illness which a brujé has made they look off into space and they say" wait, i'll be right back" -and they leave but they don't come back. and even if patcheros do stay to cure you only some can cure you for each of them has different 'valor' for curing. and so when a patchero comes to cure you he will almost always come when it is dark--but the nruje who has made you sick is always there watching who goes in and out of the house--and when you are inside they throw small stones (arena) on the roof of the house--and when they go out of the house--they put an invisible 'mecate' across the street so that one should fall over it onto the street--but only they can see the 'mecate --no one else can.--and from this fall one does not recover--"si se betan, ya no se componen--de alli so fregaren"; and for this the patcheros avoid curing as much as possible; they're afraid; for i saw once--a patchero was in our house curing my little nephew who had a fly in his nose--and suddenly at midnight--there came a screaming from an animal on the roof of the house ---and the patchero looked up and he was frightened and he said"oh, that is he who has done the evil here; he is now an animal;" and then he said "you will see that i am right;" and he named me to go with him when he went out; and so at three a.m. we went out; but i didn't want to go because i was afraid that what would happen to him would also happen to me but he said to me" don't worry; i can make all that evil disappear with one blow--i can blow the street clear;"and so we went out and he blew and cleared the street and we came to a corner and there was an animal there sitting on the sidewalk--and the patchero said to the animal--for you know they talk to each other--and this animal was the brujé--the patchero said" please move to one side and let us pass for i shall do nothing to displease you if you do nothing to displease me and do no harm to my friend with me when he returns for it is not he who owes you anything or to whom you must do anything". and the animal moved aside and we passed by. for you know they talk to each other and understand this way. and nothing happened to me. i went with the

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patchero to hishouse and returned alone and nothing happened to me. they did nothing to me. and the sick one got better/. he got better because the patchero had gotten out all the maggots('usano' or 'queresa' or 'cresa') which the flies had left--and these maggots already had hair on them. i saw them. these usanos are cresas when they enter--little, little ones--the fly leaves a little white mountain- and these spread and grow and these are what do harm to a man. and the sick one got better because all these came out. the patchero put some remedy --i don't know what-- into the nose of the sick one--and this remedy went all up the nose and chased the usanos out--they had to look for an out--and so they came out the nostrils of the sick one---they came out of his nose and his mouth--. and soon the sick one got sick again. twice he suffered this misery. and we went to the diviner and the diviner said it was a married man, who lives above our house--but we don't know who--but he wasn't causing evil against the child because the child had done anything--but probably it was a former sweetheart of my sister--the married one--the younger one--whose child was the one made sick.--and the man was doing the evil against my sister. and so i went to my sister and asked her who it was so that i might seek him out--but my sister wouldnot say whom she thought it might be---even tho she knew that the diviner had said it was a married man, a widower, who was doing the evil. i asked my sister--but i don't know whether she knew and di not tell me or whether she did not know-- i asked out of pity for the child when the flies were eating all up---and god forbid, if they should penetrate into the brain, the child will die.

oct.7/42 p.18--life history of l.n.---m.tuman alj

632 you were talking yesterday luis of the sickness of your sobrina---what finally happened?

well, finally she got better. don victor cured her the second time. don victor put a powder up her nose and in a half hour the little animals began to fall out. and then for two hours more every five minutes they blew more powder up the nose and the flies kept falling out and soon she was all cured. this was only last year that the second time happened. why didn't we get a patchero the second time? oh. there was a patchero there as well--but he said don victor had medicines to cure h r and so we sent for don victor. (p.a was the patchero). (he was the same one as had cured her the first time. the first curing we paid p..a 25 cents. thesecond time nothing. to don victor we didn't pay anything except for the medicine--he blew it up her nose once--and then showed me how to do it--and i kept blowing it up thereafter until my sobrino was cured. yes , i saw the "usanos" the second time too. we burned them. no, no prayers or anything--just burned them with fire--in the house. there were three colors of the usanos--black, white and red. after two days my sobrino got out of bed. she was cured. and now nothing has happened to her since. if this happens again?oh, we'll go to don victor. because now we have seen that he can cure better than p.a. no we won't call in p.a again.

let's go back to the life story after the death of your father luis.

after the death of my father i thought of various things--to go into business. to pass my life i wanted to have money. when i left for service in guatemala we had lots of maize--and since it was the result of my work my mother fattened two pigs with the maize and sold them for \$5 dollars apiece--and kept the \$5 apiece so that there was \$10 waiting for me when i came home. before leaving i was here working with my brother. every day we went to work, the two of us together, he and i. and when we had two or three days to rest we traveled to suncion mita to sell pitchers and hats. and from there if we had time we would go to sanja anna ---further away---with the same kind of goods to sell. when we returned home we would go back to the milpa--the two of us, to see if there was anything to do, or if there was not, to rest a moment. and then we would come back to the house. if there was no work to be done in the milpa we would braid hats in the morning--until media dia--and then in the afternoons we would walk around, for pleasure, in the streets of the pueblo. we would thus pass the day until 5 or 6 p.m. at which time we would return to the house where they would give us food to eat. and then after eating we would go out into the street for pleasure again--until the hour of silence--9 p.m. at which time we would go home to sleep. and then the next day--we would wake up--wash the face, the hands, the head--everything--and

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then we would begin to braid hats again. then we would eat about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning-- and then after breakfast one looks to see if there is firewood--and if there is none one goes and gets some. one has to go to the mountain for this--one league distant --and so one returns at 11 or 12 o'clock and eats lunch. but while walking to the mountain one does not stop ~~with~~ braiding hats--he keeps doing it as he walks---or if the braiding is all done, one sews hats as he walks. and then when one gets to the mountain he cuts his wood and ties it together and puts it on his back and then returns home. one keeps on braiding even when he has a load on his back. the force of the weight is all on your neck when you're carrying with a tump line---so you can't life your head --so you look at your braiding and keep on braiding. and then one returns and eats lunch and then after lunch one sits down and braids again, or better, he lies down in the bed or hammock for a little sleep. and then when one gets up he puts on his pleasure clothes and goes out into the street. and if he meets up with a muchacha he likes he doesn't let her pass in the street--if she tries to cross the street, he crosses the street and blocks her passage until she listens to what he has to say. this is the custom among the naturales here.. then you talk to the muchacha. and you ask her if she has another sweetheart. and she answers that maybe you have another sweetheart of whom she does not know. and so one has to assure her that he has marriage in his mind and good intentions in his heart. and if the muchacha likes you she has to say that tomorrow or the next day she will resolve everything but if she doesn't like you she has to tell you that you should never do again what you just did--stopping her in the street. and so if she doesn't like one then one never bothers her again. oh, some come back and do the same thing again and bother the girl but not many do this. or if one has his eyes on a ladina--one goes and writes a note to her and sends it to her--if one can't write he has to find a friend to write the note for him. at first in the note you put greetings to the girl. and then after greeting her one begins to put things about 'question del amor'. everything must be well explained. and then after the note is written one seeks a little boy to deliver the note to the woman. and if one knows that his letter has been delivered he is very content for then he knows the girl has to read it or if she cannot read it she has to send for someone to read it to her. and if the woman is going to answer--she has to answer rapidly--within two or three days--. and if she answers she has to say whether she accepts one as sweetheart. the first note is only about being sweetheart. the second or third note is about marriage or just about fucking. and so if the note is favorable one goes out at night to the street corner where the patoja lives--if she lives on a street corner--or if not--one passes up and down in front of her house--to pass a few words with her--and then if she frankly has endearment for

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you she sends word out to you that you should meet her in such and such a house where you may then 'platicar' with her. no, you send her word of the house you want her to meet you. and if she has the willingness she comes and meets you there. the owner of the house has to leave when you get there. o h one has acquaintances with whom he can arrange this. and then when the muchacha gets there one soeaks with her , and puts his arm around her , and says to her that he sent her the note to arrange a marriage with her--meanwhile the man has his arms around the muchacha and she has to give herself "de tdas maneras". one has to try everything and the girl has to give everything--if she has willingness--and if she comes to the house that shows one has willingness. and after one gets up from the bed, one gives the girl twenty five cents so that she should not say anything. and after that one repeats the process night after night whenever possible. one spends much time doing this. and sometimes the girl gets pregnant. and so she has you summoned to the intendencia--and so one has to pay a pension of \$ 1 a month. when one is fucking v th the girl however she always assured you she will not summon you to the law if anything ishappeneing. for she has as much pleasure out of fucking as you do. and if the girl does not summon you to the intendente then one helps out the girl as often as he can--fifty cents now and a dollar once in a while . and when the child is born he helps out somemore--and sometimes if the girl is willing and he is willing he takes the child to his house. but one does not have to do this and can avoid it if he wishes to. the child gets the name of the woman, not of the man. if there's a marriage, then the child gets the father's name. one always tries to fuck with a girl who doesn't have a father but only a mother--so that nothing can happen to him from the father afterwards. no, brothers don't mix in. they won't bother one. just the father. he will come and beat you if the occasion arises. and then after this one goes looking for another woman with whom he may fuck. if not, he can stay with the same woman. or he may even look for a woman for his wife. but now it is difficult after one has made a child with another woman--it is difficult to get another woman. because when one looks for and talks with another woman this other woman tells him he already has a child with such and such a woman and thus has another woman--and, in sum, many difficulties arise. and so if one woman doesn't want you then you pass on to another. and he tries to get another either to marry or just to live with without marriage. and so if one joins up with another he brings her to his house to live. and if she behaves well one keeps her--and sometimes even formalizes it all by getting married--but it all depends on how well the woman behaves. and sometimes if the woman is bad--she doesn't like for one to go out--and do his job or whatever else he wants to do--just like the woman i had living with me---when i used to come here to work with you or the other doctor she would say i had been somewhere else --with another woman. she didn't like for me to go out at all. and sometimes the woman gets nasty, really bad, and when one comes home for lunch

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there is no lunch ready for him. and she shamelessly begins to scold one--and tells him he lives only in the street--and she begins to fight with him---but, oh, so shamelessly-- and perhaps one does not answer in order to avoid more difficulties ---and perhaps one cannot contain himself any longer--and then he answers her back with good reason--and if she gets worse--then one just has to beat her--there is nothing else to be done. and so one beats her to stop her from scolding any more. because perhaps what she is saying is a lie and for this one gets very angry. and then a man has to go out into the street again. like with my woman . she was so bad. i wouldbring her home a dress and she would put it on but with bad taste always and never thankful. or if i brought her a pair of shoes she would say she didn't need to get shoes from me. and she brought up the children so badly. and so if she too is angry-- since she does not have permission to beat the man--she beats the children instead. there are moments when one is content with her and moments when one is very upset with her. and sometimes she will say that one does not have maize andbeans in the house and one really has beans and maize and salt and sugar and everything--so what she says is a lie. and so maybe she summons you to the intendente. and theintendentr asks you what is going on. and you say" yes, senor intendente, i have thewoman in my house-- but i am maintaining her--i have maize and beans and sugar and salt and coffee and everything for her. yes, senor, it is true i beat her but she made me beat her because she scolded so much. " and so the intendente calls the woman and says to her" why didyou scold you man. you have no right to scold him. a man is free. he can go anywhere he pleases but you must remain in the house all the time and take care of the house, and you have no right to scold him". but for my woman this was nat right. what she wanted, oh, god forbid, was perhaps to kill me if she could.and so perhaps after going to the intendente one separates from his wife--she goes out of the house for it is his house, and he stays stays in the house. and from there an order comes that one should pay a dollar a menth for the support of his children. but if the woman does not do this, sometimes one returns to live with her again. but if thewoman does get this order for support then one remains alone--and does not join up with her again. and since my woman did not get this order from the intendente i joined up with her twice after leaving her twice. but as of the 4th of august i could not stand it anymore and so i got an official order of separation from her thru the intendente. i joined up with her after leaving her the first two times because we had responsibilities to the children, my two little girls. and i divided my ownings with her. i gave her 10 squares of milpa and 14 hats , 50 cents in money, ---she asked the intendente to have me give her this moneys so that she could go to another pueblo to live-- we had seven little children--i gave her those too-- i gave her two big hens--and i also gave her a big basket of maize i had in the house. and i still was obligated to clothes my children--and so for the fiesta on the

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24th of august i spent some 80 cents buying material for clothes for my two little creaturas and i sent them to her. but she was not satisfied with this, she wanted more. she wanted me to give her the house i was living in and that i should be left in the street without a house to live in. and so today she left for jalapa to see the political shief there to see if she couldn't do me mere harm than that which she has already done me. and so when they call me to jalapa i will have to go there too. tina went with her too. (tina (my note) is the most known of the young prostitutes in town--she is the niece of the woman luis was living with). let's see what happens--maybe they'll put me into jail. (luis laughed heartily at this notion). how do i know she went to jalapa today? one of my friends told me yesterday. he met them while he was bathing yesterday in the chorros and they told him they were going this morning. and also the children have fever---so they said. they took the children with them. maybe they re going to pinula to have them cured--because here they can't go to don victor because she was a former sweetheart of his and she wouldn't have the courage to go there with her children by me. and i too am embarassed about going to don victor to get my children cured. how would it be for me to ask victor to cometo the house to cure the children---and she wouldbe there too with the children and me. no, that's impossible. but in pinula they can go to victor's brother--virgilio--who is the doctor there--he's compadre to me and to the woman. and he has cured the children other times. and he has told me that if ever anything happened to them or to me or to the woman we should come to pinula--and he would cure us. (note: pinula is 12 miles away. jalapa is twenty miles away---and these two women are traveling on foot with two small children--one four yearsold and one 1 1/2 years old---!!--but i think they will stop in pinula to get the children cured. and if the compadre, virgilio, tells them they should go on to jalapa they will go on. and if he tells them they should not go to jalapa, they won't. yes, virgilio likes me---no we're not friends--we're compadres--sanctified of god--we're not just friends--we're compadres. for this tina went with my woman too. because tina is also god child of virgilio. and when virgilio was living here tina lived with him---oh, just for fucking, nothing more. she was about 13 years old. let's see what happens today. i'm sure that nothing will happen to me. because i will go there with the paper showing the official act of separation --and since we were never married she can't do anything to me. if anything comes of this all it will only be in interest of the children.

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i want to try to characterize my position in the interview situation with l.n. as we proceed with his life history for i think that my personality and my relations with l. are having some effect on the kind of story l. is telling me. first: l. has told me time and time again that i am his best friend here in the pueblo---not excepting anyone. he likes me personally, and we get on splendidly both when working and when just 'chatting'. l. is morose , sober, given mostly to plumbing depths instead of scaling heights in the ladder of emotion. i at first thought the was highly introverted, in the popular sense of the term introvert---but i find that he is not in the popular sense nor in the more strictly technical Jungian sense. His world is not shaped in accordance with his own introjections of that world-- he projects on to it and fashions it in part---and in turn allows the influence of the words of others to impinge heavily upon him. he is not overly self contained and is given to display, if only on the morbid scale of the ladder. he has a queer combination of sensitivity to the opinion of others of a high order and at the same time a rather total disregard of the opinion of many---for he is extremely self confident. i have little doubt that his tall stature and his favored position in the prestige ranks of both ladino and indian affairs contributes to this. he seems in part to be under the influence of a very strong 'oedipus' complex, even tho he professes much love and reverence and esteem for his dead father. his continual references to his mother, however; and his sometimes seemingly unnecessary expressions of concern for her welfare lead me to believe that her influence is far stronger than that of his father. tho he is fundamentally a 'melancholic' type (witness his telling me he has been sad these last ten years) he recovers very easily from the depths of his melancholy. he was extremely sad when we first met him-- and continued to be so--and told us many tales of the bad way in which his woman had treated him and the children---but, now that he is living with another woman--the little girl he seduced two years ago--- he is much happier. he says himself that his freedom from melancholy is due to his having a woman in his house. Now, he expresses great concern for his children when he gets in 'the groove' as it were--i.e. when he is forced to reflect on them---yet, he does not pursue the available methods for helping them--and even for getting them back from the woman as he might easily, i think, if he tried. of this i cannot be sure. but it is only when he is prodded into one line of thought that his concern for his children comes out. in short, i think his life space is composed of rather discrete areas--each of which is fairly well closed to the other. when in one of them, the others do not impinge. he is what i call the 'faucet' type. he can turn on and off various components of his personality.

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he is highly religious--yet in that same way that characterises a good many of the indians here. they have devout religious beliefs--on a verbal level. there is no incorporation of religious christian morality into their everyday behavior. for him god is all powerful and thus to be feared--but the moral precepts of his religion which bind him are fairly well limited to prohibition of incest and to abuse of one's parents. it is to be remembered that he had a very favorable childhood position; he was the youngest sibling and did not 'work' in any real sense until he was fifteen--which is unusual for this society here. he had the guidance and protection of two older sisters and an older brother. he was allowed to go to school for almost two years--and thus being one of the few 'literate' in town enjoys additional prestige from that. he has always had a woman when he wanted one--even if he had to wait a short time in between women. most striking thing of all that i find in him is that he is one of the few indians who are not afraid of ladinos and will not assume a humble tone of voice and posture when talking with them. this is a rarity here. moreover: tho he is highly religious he is at the same time considerably secularized. sacred conditions and restraints to be sure impose upon him a certain norm of conduct--but it is the 'avoidance' norm rather than any negative norm or positive norm. he does not command and forbid himself. he merely avoids--for instance he is extremely conscious of witchcraft--and believes in it--yet, is secular even about that. for instance--in the interview of yesterday--it will be noted that when don victor cured the 'flee' from his niece's nose better than the patchero--he asserts that he will not employ the patchero again--for it has been proven to him that don victor is better. yet he believes that a brujo can cause flees to grow in one's nose. he is "city conscious". he has been to service in guatemala and knows what city life can be like. he travels extensively--into san salvador as well as in the near environs of here. he knows other places, other customs. while here most explanations of behavior fall into four categories--(1) "it is a custom" or (2) "porque si"; and, on the negative side "it is a sin" or (4) "porque no"---1. is not bound by these. he tries to think and things hard. he is capable of abstraction such as most of the indians here are not. he realizes that "porque si" and "porque no" are not reasons for behavior. he makes fun of these reasons himself. while he is aware of the influence of custom and of the moral restraint of sinful behavior--he tries to analyze the "function" of a given custom when i ask him--and now he is at the point where i do not have to ask him. it may be that i have in part secularized his thought processes. i do not know--but i think i have had some influence in that direction.

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now it may seem that i am 'prejudging' him and indeed trying to write his life history for him in part. i will thus stop any further detailed characterization of him and proceed more to the point of our relations. important in this light is the fact that he calls me "doctor". he knows i am near getting my doctor's degree. i think this gives me considerable prestige with him. he never calls me "senor" or "meestair"---but always doctor. i think he would like to call me by my first name---but i think it is best that he does not. perhaps later on. as yet it is best for me, i think, not to go 'native'. i have talked intimately with him about my attitudes toward the different population elements here---and he believes me, i am sure. thus, we have a common ground of sympathy on this score and it increases his confidence. he has told me very intimate details of his life---from these i judge. of course i don't doubt that he has held back equally as many and more confidences that may yet be forthcoming in our interviews. we share common antipathies as far as certain people are concerned. this binds us closer in his eyes. very important is the fact that i genuinely like him more than any other person in town---and i don't doubt that i show it when i am speaking to him and when i am walking with him or kidding around with him. i treat him with the utmost respect and dignity---always shake hands when i meet him, fix his seat for him when he comes to my room, give him cigarettes and light them for him, put his hat away for him---all little things which a ladino would not do for an indian. i think this builds confidence in him too. he feels he can trust me of this i am sure. i think there is quite some reserve as yet---but i think that flows from a fundamental reserve in his character rather than a mistrust of me and my intentions. he knows i am not from the government---neither the guatemalan nor the american government. others are not sure of this at all. he will not discuss me and our work with others---when they ask him what we talk about he says "oh, solamente estuvimos platicando; nada mae". i asked him why he says this. he answered that it is no one else's business what we say and do here---and besides when he asks them questions they don't answer him-(i.e. the ladinos) so why should he answer them. he seems to have an almost uncanny sense for giving me the kind of material he knows i am interested in---witness the previous sessions in his life history---and how few instructions i have had to give him. he knows my gestures now---what a raising of my eyebrow, or a raising of my finger or what a particular smile i happen to effect means in our social intercourse. and i know his too. this facilitates things enormously. i understand his spanish perfectly. he understands mine. he has learned to pronounce his language words and expressions very slowly" so that you may understand, for if i speak fast you will not be able to write them clearly as i know you wish to" he told me the other day. in our sessions i provide the greatest amount of privacy---and this makes him feel secure. i also in public display my friendship for him---this adds to his security and confidence. ---so much for now.

life history luis najera--january 29,1943---my room mmt.

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in a few minutes my informant, luis, is to come and we are to resume the work on his life history which we discontinued in october. a lot of things have happened to him in the interim which i shall describe in some detail after today's session, especially those things which have a bearing on his present psychic and physical state. Initially, i may note that Luis is sick with some kind of malaria and has been so sick for over a month. In addition, he is living by order of the local jefe with the ladino woman whom he says he despises and wants to be rid of. his physical ailment and his psychic malaise intereffect each other, and tend to cause exaggerations in each other. But this we shall talk of later, after the interview. i think it may be hard to get luis back into the swing of the life history; but i am going to start it with the death of his father, even though we covered some ground after that in previous interviews. Luis is very variable and it should be very interesting to see what his variations on previous interviews may be today.

When my father died I felt very much for him, because they had hidden him and buried him, this is what I was feeling; and i knew that never would I ever see him again. I spent much time thinking about him because he was the only one whom we respected. At breakfast, for instance, when we would all sit down to eat, each with his plate, each with his breakfast, and my father wasn't there, that's when I used to think about him much. They had buried him; and what had made him die? why? this is what one feels. But after much time the feeling has to go away--after much time--11 months or one year, the feeling went away; and i went off to guatemala, to service, because i had pre-ented myself for service. and while i was there i didn't remember my father much.

tell me something about your trip to gust., luis.
we left from here in a big rain storm. it was in the month of june, during the months of rain, but we had to go because they had asked for us from jalapa. from here to tierra blanca, near here, all of us were accompanied by our families, saying goodbye to us. they brought us cooked milk, and rice with milk and tortillas and cooked chicken, everything well cooked and arranged. others brought whiskey. and we stayed for a while in tierra blanca. they were drinking, all those who had fathers and whose fathers had brought them whiskey. those of us who did not have fathers--well, my brother came along with me. i didn't have whiskey because at this time i didn't like to drink; but there were lots of cigars and cigarettes: i had a package of fifty cigars and a whole box of cigarettes. everyone was very sad--the parents for their children who were going away. we stayed in tierra blanca two hours and then we went on. some of us were very very drunk when we arrived in jalapa very late, at five in the afternoon. some were so drunk we had to carry them so that they shouldn't fall. drunk and very covered with mud, because it was so muddy and so rainy. when we got to jalapa most of the drunks had sobered up--on the road--and they arrived buenos muchahhos. we were locked up in jalapa 8 days. i had one hundred pesos when i arrived--they were still pesos chapines at the time--but i used them all up just for food in those eight days. on the 29th of june at 5 p.m. they began to examine us to see which of us was physically fit; which of us had paludismo, which of us had inflammation of the stomach, which of us had three testes--for there are people who have three testes.

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and then the next morning they gave each of us 13 pesos to get to guatemala--and they gave each of us a tamale and a cup of coffee; imagine a tamale and a cup of coffee for 150 of us --each of us. and then after eating they sent us out from jalapa, by foot, to the station jalapa. we arrived to sleep in a publico called San Saria. there we stayed. and then the next day at five a.m. we went to the station. we arrived very early. but the train--since it had been raining very much and there had been many landslides in the road--the train telephoned to the station that the people should have patience because on account of the landslides the train wouldn't arrive until 2 p.m. the train arrived exactly at two o'clock--but we hadn't eaten except what we could buy from the sellers at the station. we bought so much that there wasn't anything left for the passengers on the train to eat. two tortillas and a leg of chicken and a cup of coffee cost eighteen pesos. and we had to pay it so that we shouldn't die from hunger. the hour of breakfast had been early but the hour of lunch had been late. we didn't eat lunch, we just looked at the lunch. we were very hungry even though we had bought something to eat. we were thinking that

when we arrived in guatemala there would be things to eat for us, that they were waiting with tortillas for us; but when we got there, we got there at midnight--and what was there? nothing. we were brought to the comandancia of armas and a sergeant of the police came out and said: "lie down, all of you fucked ones, and sleep--and don't make any noise". he was only a sergeant but what a big whip he had in his hands. when we woke up the next morning we thought they would give us something to eat. but no. every one of the soldiers in the comandancia was drinking coffee but no one invited us to come and have some coffee. they didn't say anything to us. up until 11:30 we had still had nothing to eat. at 11:30 the call for us came from the fort of San Jose and we were marched over there. when i got there--i threw down my maleta and --because my stomach was hurting so and i thought i was losing my heart because i could feel it coming out of my throat--i asked a soldier where the kitchen was--since it was the hour for lunch. he told me to go thru a corridor and i would come to the dining room. i went down the corridor and came on the dining room where the artillery men were eating. what do you want here, they asked me. i answered them that i only wanted to eat since i hadn't eaten in three days. poor one, they said, sit down here and eat. and one of them offered me his food. and another offered me his food. and they gave me soup out of a barrel and meat. and it was good meat and soup for there they have plenty of soup and meat and good meat too. and pinol. and while i was eating the sergeant of police came and said "where is luis najera". "here i am," i answered "eating". they are calling you, he said. so i left the table but with a package of tortillas and four pieces of meat--and i went back--because i was full up already--and i brought the tortillas and the meat to the muchachos--and they asked me, in wonder, where i had gone to get food. they didn't eat until 5 p.m. but i, yes, i had eaten lunch--and at the right time, too. and so when i went to eat lunch with them at 5 p.m. i didn't have much appetite because i had already been satisfied. and after we ate they divided us up into companies and most of us from jalapa were in the third company. but the food they gave us wasn't enough, you know, we naturales are used to eating a lot. and there all they gave us was four tortillas apiece. but after a while we

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got used to it because the stomach gets accustomed to such things. for breakfast they gave us two francesas, at four a.m.; at 10 a.m. we had lunch; only caldo de reses, tortillzas, sopa de arroz, vaso de pinol, todos los dias it was the same food. in the evening we ate frijoles, boiled; if any meat or soup of the meat was left over, they threw that in with the frijoles; then they gave us watch and guard duties; one stays on duty until 6 a.m. the following day; then when you come back to the barracks they give you police duty, to go watch prisoners; one only had a chance to eat breakfast and then the duties started; we used to go the aviacion field to stand watch over fifty prisoners who were working there; there we would eat lunch; and we returned at 4 p.m. to get back to the cuarteles at 6 p.m. if there weren't enough soldiers to go around, those of us, or some of us who had done duty during the day were also assigned to guard duty at night; and so it goes all the year--changing off your duties, but always on duty of some kind. they gave us classes at night from 7 to 8, reading and addition--only that. at 8 we had to be ready for the roll call of 8 p.m. and after that those who wanted to go to sleep could go to sleep, but at nine p.m. it was forbidden that even half a word of noise should be heard. and so it went--one day this duty, the next day guard duty, etc--so goes one. they organized and trained some of us for the celebration on the 30th of june. we were excused from everything but training for this. i was trained for this day--for four months. you don't even have franco to leave. we used to go at 6 a.m. to the Lars field--and train till 11 a.m.--then they would give us just enough time to eat--and then back to training--and oh, what a sun was burning in these afternoons; and the instructions goes on and on and on--until the company was really in shape. even the officials used to come to train sometimes. and at this time the salary we got--the \$3 a month--didn't cover, really--because we used to work so hard and we would be so hungry and during our hour of rest merchants with bananas and oranges and arroz, and french bread and francesas would come around and we would spend our money. you could spend twenty cents in one day, that way. yes, 20 cents a day--because rice and milk costs two cents a plate, and one would eat two or three plates and some bread and some limonada--and besides some of the soldiers didn't like to spend their money and they would ask you for something to eat and you had to give it to them. and when you see we had to keep buying handkerchiefs or underwear or socks, because we were wearing shoes then--well, and these things cost \$1 or \$1.50--well, when it came time for your pay the next month one would see \$2 or \$2.50 or \$1.50. and many just didn't pay, many, many, didn't pay. in the cuarteles, they rob much. (did secundino pay you your sixty cents yet?) they rob money, --as i told you some don't like to spend their money--and they would have \$25 or \$30 saved up--and they would rob this money from these people. and once robbed it was lost for good. they never caught any of the thieves. never, not one. they used to search everyone and all his belongings after each robbery--but they never found anything. and they used to get very drunk in the cuarteles too. very drunk. they used to fight and cut each other up with penknives. those they put into jail. they used to give them ten, 15 days of jail for that; working at collecting garbage: that's all they did, collect garbage all the time. once they served their time they came back to regular service. once i was on guard duty and there was an artillery man, a blonde man, like don victor, being punished; they call it "al pie de la mula"--i.e. tied to a wall all the time--without

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being able to sit down or rest at all. they used to do this for 10-15 days--tied up all the time--no sleeping, nothing. to some of the they would give permission to sleep at night. because all of us are men, and this punishment is terrible. but if there should come a jefe and find that you, of the guardia, had let a man lie down and sleep, the jefe would put you in the same kind of punishment. this blond man had had five days of this punishment and he was really fed up with it. he asked permission of one of the guard to go to his quarters to eat a french bread. the guard gave him permission. so this man went to his quarters, took down his carabino. loaded it, took off his shoes, put the point of the gun against his chin and blew his head off, shooting the trigger with his toes. blow his head right off. all the insides of his head spilled out. in a short while the ambulance came to carry him to the cemetery. that was the end of his punishment. yes. the end. that was sad, wasn't it?

i went out to the city a couple of times on permit. sundays they used to give us franco. we went out--and one goes--and looks--in the market--or goes to find and buy something he needs--; but the first thing one does is to go get a woman. then one has a drink, maybe--and one walks around in the parks--the Parque de la Concordia--Parque Colon--studying and getting acquainted with the stores, the real big stores that they are, and when the hour of 6 p.m. comes around one has to return. but many come back very drunk.

women?--yes, one went to the bordellos. you ask and one tells you where to go. a woman cost fifty cents. yes, they were pretty women. those of us who came back drunk were put into prison. if one goes out on night permit, it's usually because he has a woman waiting for him--one goes to stay with her; some did; others not; others only went out just to 'pasear'; they went to the Aurora to see all the animals; they go to get acquainted with lots of things, with the buidings, with the airport, with the Campo Marte--and, well one only gets two days of franco the whole year. in my two days of franco i only went out to 'pasear'; i didn't go out to drink but only to eat what i thought i would like to eat, what looked good to me; and then i would come back--and i would be in good shape; i would bring back things to eat, meat, well prepared, --this is how i spent my time and money--not in drink--because i didn't like to drink at this time. they wouldnt give me more than two days franco --because there were many who were always asking for permission to leave. and once my brother came from here to guatemala to visit me. he brought me things from here: bread, cheese, topostote with sugar, tortillas with dulce and cigars. he came to see me, only--to see how i was getting along. he was there two days and then he left. when he came i had two dollars with me and i gave them to him as a gift, because it gave me pity to see him coming the way to guatemala just for me. and when he came back here he wrote to me telling me he had gotten back alright. it was near the time for my dismissal from service when he had come. everything he had brought me i shared with the other muchachos--because i had many friends from other places by this time. and they too--when their families came to visit them--the Cobanes, for example--they eat much chile--they bring very large bottles of chile--chile ground with seeds of ayote--When we went to lunch they would put so much chile in the soup it would all turn red and you couldn't see the soup for the chile. they tried to make me eat my soup that way but i couldn't. For them it wasn't really chile they were putting in, for them it was nothing more than tomatoes. that's how much they like their chile. but i only put a little in my soup. it's very strong, that chile is. and when they had no more chile, they would send out to the plaza market in front of the cuarteles and would buy very large chiles, this size, as big as my hand, real red. and when the chile came in, they each would eat three enormous chiles--without tortillas or

or anything else--they would eat them raw.

when my brother came to see me, i was overjoyed. he too was very glad to see me--even as i was very glad to see him. the first thing i asked him was whether my mother was in good health, and that if anything should happen to her he could get things to cure her right away, because i couldn't do anything for her when i was in the cuarteles so far away. and then he told me that he had plenty of maize from the work i had done and that he was fattening up two pigs for me from this maize, and that the money which he would get for selling the pigs he would save for me, and that's how it went. he fattened the pigs and sold them, and when i came back there were \$12 waiting for me, he had saved them for me. i didn't bring any money from there.

i had good friends in the cuarteles. we got on fine--we liked each other just like brothers. we slept together, we went on guard duty together -- and when we went together, we went happily because we were together; all friends. most of my friends were from other parts--not from here--the some of them were from here. they never got used to my language from here nor i to theirs from their places because it was prohibited in the cuarteles to talk in the language of your place--only in spanish were we allowed to talk. only when the family of a person came, then one could talk language to his family. but they didn't understand mine and i didn't understand theirs. i used to ask them what work they did in their places: they said they made mangas, clothes of wool,--only this, they did, they told me. they didn't make milpa. only woolen clothes. they told me that in their places you could buy these things cheap--you could buy a good manga for \$1.50. some of them wanted me to go back with them and marry one of their sisters. but i didn't want to. because my mother was alive here. and if she had found out that i had gone to an even more far away place she would have been even sadder. for this i did not go. and if i had gone, i probably would not have come back, because i would have gotten used to the place there. some of them were rich and those who offered me their sister also offered me a house for me and my wife. if i would marry her, if only i would come back with them. yes, i liked the idea, but for my mother's sake i did not go. they tried real hard to get me to go back with them, to the point of having their sister come to the garden near the cuarteles so that i could get to know hers. and she was bonita! bonita! with nice clothes of silk she was walking around. but i didn't want to stay. they were from Chimaltenango. Others were from Quetzaltenango. But it never really suited me to go with them, because they had money, and what did i have? nothing. that's what i was respecting. and so i had to keep telling them that i wouldn't be coming with them when service time was up. But we always got on very well--they liked me very much and i liked them very much. One of them was called Patriocinio Elias. He was the one who was offering me his sister.

And when time was up, we said good by to each other. The sister came anyway on the day we were leaving. She wanted to take me back with her to the house. But i came back here because the muchachos from here didn't let me go. They asked me what i would do there. I told them i was going there just for a while if i went. And when they heard this, they stole off with my maleta so that i should not go to the other place but should come back here. And when i saw that i didn't have my maleta, i said goodbye to my new friends, telling them i couldn't come without my maleta, and i got on the train and came to Jalapa and there i met all the muchachos from here. They gave me back my maleta and we all came back here together. We found an empty house in the road and there we stayed the night. And the next day we got up early and started back--and arrived in Jalapa. We had breakfast in Jalapa and then we went on to Pinula and had lunch there. And at six in the evening we got back into the pueblo here. They accompanied me to my house. They went back to their houses only to leave their maleta, and then

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they came back to my house--with oh, so much whiskey. when my mother saw me, oh, how happy she became. she didn't cry and i didn't cry. she received me with coffee and bread. my brother and she embraced me. and then the muchachos came. and we spent the whole night drinking and wandering around--and we got plenty drunk. i didn't even know where or when i woke up, i was so drunk. but when i woke up i was all right in a little while. they gave me good chicken and a good soup to eat in the morning, with chile, so that i should get rid of my drunk and compose my body. and once i was all right, i spent the rest of the day lying down in my hammock. they gave me my lunch and my supper. i didn't go out any place. i just lay there in my hammock waiting for the mealtimes to come, because i had come back with all my hair shaven off, because they shave the heads of all the soldiers in the cuarteles. i didn't go out anywhere--but my sister used to come and bring me bread and coffee; they used to give me chicken soup for lunch; and always there were coming friends and cousins--there was never any lack of people in the house at this time. They visited me, they and i content, because now i had finally arrived back and was with my mother again. This was in the month of July, within a week i was back at work in the milpa again. But one couldn't work very well. The sun was too hot. i told my brother that the sun was too hot to work, and he didn't say anything to me except that i should either work or it would be better for me to stay home if i didn't work when i came to the fields. In the month of August--the time of fresh corn--we used to go with my brother--and we would eat lots and lots of fresh corn--baked and fried and cooked--we would make a big fire in the milpa and there we would cook the elote. And we would come back from the milpa early, and bring back lots of fresh corn so that they could make atole and tamalitos in the house; because since i was so newly arrived, they treated me very well still. But after a while, i really went to work with my machete. It caused me grief to see my brother working alone, and so i really went to work after a while. and so we worked together, each of us doing equal work. We used to harvest two tarellas daily, until all the work that we had to do was done. We doubled the milpa, wooded ground for the frijoles, planted the frijoles, harvested the frijoles, dried them and threshed them, harvested the maize, gathered it, and when all the harvest was together, we put the maize on our beasts and brought it home. Then one begins to think about his trips to Santa Ana, with pitchers and hats to sell. And then we would make our trips, and bring back things from there, like a blouse for my mother, or a head towel, or, if not--then money. And if one feels like it he makes other trips--because in these months of January, February, and March and April there is very little to do here--until May your milpa work does not begin. In May you have to plant again. One makes his four or five voyages, if one has to go or feels like going, and if he has things to carry there to sell. And if one doesn't go on trips, he maybe has work here--those who can make tile, adobe, ladrillo--these don't go on voyages. they stay here and work and make money that way. But those of us who don't know how to make these things have to go on our voyages. For instance, if i were not sick now i would not be here--i would be traveling, selling things, even if it's only \$2 or \$1.50 that one makes on a trip. One comes back to his house with \$1 in his pocket, over and above what he spends on the trip. That's how one passes his life here. There is no other way to do it. No other way. One can't make a living just out of hats. He weakens his lungs in getting all day bent and braiding his hats. Your neck gets tired, everything gets tired. and the pain for the hats is really hot. or this, it's better to go out on your trips. even if the gain is small, and even if the carga is very, very heavy. but--now--after a while your head is accustomed to bearing the load.

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the foregoing interview lasted two hours. Luis gets tired very quickly now that he is sick, and while he never tells me, it gets apparent in his manner and gut of speech, so I call off the interview, when I notice this. He always seems grateful for this. --as usual, Luis talked in a low, modulated tone: expressing affect more with change in tone quality rather than in pitch or volume. The most affect he showed was when he was talking about his mother and about the soldier who had committed suicide after being punished very severely. In translating his Spanish into English as he talks, I try to preserve exactly the sentence structure he uses--and try to capture the pauses he uses rather than make the interview conform to any grammatical constructions which might render an artificial tone. After the interview, because Don Oscar and Dona Rosario were sitting outside, Luis stayed with me for a while, ate a banana I offered him and we chatted about his ladino woman and the situation in his house. Let me go back a few months and explain what has happened. When we last left Luis, he had just been summoned to jail by the jefe politico on the complaint of the Ladino woman whom he had thrown out of his house. He and his new girl friend, Chila, were summoned and both were put in jail for over two weeks. Luis was then released on the promise that he would take the woman back into his house and maintain her and the children as long as the woman wanted to go--the jefe getting very righteous suddenly about children being separated from the strict paternal hand etc. This almost broke Luis' spirit. But he came back to the house and the pueblo--and after briefly considering plans to flee to Salvador, he decided, somewhat on my advice, to sit out the storm if possible. According to him, he has not slept with the woman nor talked with her except from sheer necessity. For all these past months he sleeps in the hammock and she in the bed with the children. He says that she pleads with him to come to bed with her, but he refuses. He meanwhile asked Dona Rosario here to please take in Chila and employ her as a housemaid until he could get rid of the Ladino woman and take Chila to live with him, the girl was taken in, but meanwhile Luis fell ill. His visits here became less and less frequent and about two months ago stopped entirely. Chila has become heartbroken and angry and won't talk with Luis. Rosario and Oscar are angry with Luis because he has not kept his word about buying Chila clothing, etc. Chila, in the meantime, has left for service in other houses to earn some money, for here they do not really need her and can pay her no cash. I aided Chila with \$1 when she left this house, and she has remained grateful ever since. Both Chila and Luis are godchildren of the old cook here--and for that reason the favor was extended to them. When the harvesting of maize began some month and a half to two months ago--Luis was sick--but he went off to his milpa--taking his ladino woman, Sara, with him--to cook food for the mozos whom Luis had employed to harvest the maize. Luis did no actual physical work but directed the work. He and the woman stayed in the milpa for fifteen days and neither Chila nor the people here at the Pension believe that Luis did not and is not now sleeping with Sara. Luis insists that he has not and is not and will not. But meanwhile he is ashamed to face Rosario or Oscar--they are angry with him--Chila won't talk with him--but Luis insists he wants to take Chila to live with him as soon as he can get rid of Sara. It seems that Sara is putting on an act of being sick, but swears that shortly she will leave Luis for good and go somewhere where they will pay attention to her and where the man of the house will sleep with her. Sara's mother is sick and Luis expressed the firm hope today that she would die--casing his conscience by saying that it was moral to hope for the death of a bad person. I suspect Luis' intentions about taking Chila in afterwards--and I suspect his story about not sleeping with Sara, but I have no way of proving it. I have put these questions pointblank to him, and if he lied to me, then he did it magnificently. For I could detect none of the expected embarrassment etc. of a lying situation. Luis complains that Sara's presence is what is keeping him sick and that as soon as she goes away he will really get better very quickly. He is very down in the mouth, more morbid than I have ever known him to be, and almost without hope. He seems to have an active hatred

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for Sara, and a gradually growing dislike and uncare for the children. He says that the older one is my malcriada at this point, having quite a 'bocita' and knowing quite a few bad words. He shows him no respect, he says. I have seen him affectionately playing with the littler child the few times I have been in his house these past months --but I have no way of telling what his real feelings for them are. Although, yesterday, in our formal interview, he let out that he didn't much care what happened at this point to the children. He didn't feel as tho they were his at all. He said he would be much more solicitous about the welfare of children whom he might have by other women, naturales.

Now, Luis is no manic-depressive--; I have never seen him manic, i.e. he is in a constant state of depression--but within that depression he is very variable. He is variable not only in the amount and consistency and typology of affect he shows on occasions, but also in the actual verbalizations of his states of being and the reasons for it. I am convinced more than ever, as well, that Luis is prey to some kind of an over-holming oedipus complex, but with strange ambivalences on this as well. Note for instance that in today's interview he says that his father was the only person whom they respect--and note also, that he showed a considerable amount of genuine sorrow in talking of his father's death; but note the constant references to his mother and his considerations for her and his worry about her and how she was the one reason he did not go off and marry the girl from Chinalteng. His mother figures very largely in Luis life. I have no way of knowing, as yet, in what manner this is connected with his father's death or what the situation was before his father's death. I did not know his father, of course--but if a tendency toward morbidity can be inferred from facial set and tone of voice--and if this can be passed on to children--then certainly Luis has inherited or acquired this in a large part from his mother. While Luis brother, Francisco, is no paragon of 'smiling quiety'--yet he seems out of a less morbid mold than is Luis. But Luis and his mother tally. I know that all this is impressionistic, but I have been with Luis and his mother so very often--that the impression, while undocumented, is very strong. And I pass it on for what it is worth. Today's interview with Luis reads like a document. There is a nobility to Luis's construction of ideas --a nobility founded in the simplicity of expression and in the significance of the pauses which I tried to capture as closely as possible. All those points in the interview where I entered with questions are indicated, I think--by the discontinuity induced and by question marks at the beginning of a paragraphical lead sentence. For instance, where Luis talked about men going for women when they were off duty, and where he dropped the subject and where I wanted to hear more of this I asked him briefly about it and indicated that I had asked by having Luis begin with: Women?--I have done this for the most part with the preceding interviews as well and I think most of my intrusions are thereby indicated. We are to continue our interview tomorrow afternoon. I shall have more to say at that time.

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At this point i took out Villa's article on witchcraft in Yucatan which Redfield had sent gillin and gillin left with me. i told Luis i wanted to compare information about brujos here with information a friend had sent me about brujos in Yucatan. Luis didn't know where Yucatan was, so i took out my atlas and showed him. he expressed no interest in the various maps in my atlas except in that of the United States, and asked me questions about the army---then suddenly burst out with more life than i have seen Luis ever express before: "That's what i want to do! i want to go back to Guatemala and join up with the artillery". (At this point the peculiar trenchancy of the remark of an inspector of sanitation who was visiting here struck me--he said one of the worst things for the Indians was their service in the armed forces in Guatemala, for it gives them aspirations and takes away, when it sends them back to their pueblos and aldeas, the possibilities of achieving those aspirations and thus creates discontent). "I'm bored and tired with this place", Luis continued, and you know who has made me tired and fed up with it? --that woman of mine--she is the one who has made me discontented these many years". "And if you had a different woman?" I asked. "Then it would be different", Luis affirmed. "Suppose you had your children with you?" I inquired. "Oh, then everything would be all right. I could look at them and take care of them. And in looking at them i would be happy. They would make me happy and my mother happy, too. She suffers much because they are not in my house". "Can't you get them back", I asked? "No, I have to go to Jalapa to do that. The intendente here can't do anything. But I am going to Jalapa one of these days". I commiserated with Luis and exchanged for his story of his heartsickness a "semi-fictional" one of my own--and we soon got back to his story. I asked him whether he had ever thought of getting a brujo to make his wife sick so that she would have to turn the children over to him for care. He said he was afraid what might happen to the children (Luis seems one of these people who say "Oh, if i only could"--and then when the thing they profess desire for becomes possible, they run from it") but that he was seriously considering hiring a brujo and would tell me when he intended to go to him for aid. --the session ended

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i had just turned nineteen when i returned from service in guatemala. i began to work with my brother in the milpa. we cleared some land at this time, clearing away the monte, so that we could have a larger milpa. we were working there, and fattening pigs so that we could pass life that way. afterwards, i began to make trips with pitchers and hats, but my brother did not go. he continued to work in the milpa. but i gave him money so that he could hire mozos to help in the milpa. i would go to salvador and bring back contraband things, like that plaid cloth there, and i would go to jicaro to sell them. and that way i piled up some money--i piled up about \$25 or \$30 that way and i re-invested them in hats and went to sell the hats. and everything i brought there to sell, sold very well. with a little money, i made quite a bit because i had luck, i had luck for business. and so i arrived at having \$125, made only from my negocios alone--things i would sell there and things i would sell here. and the more i made the more i wanted to go out and make more. i went to santa tecla, guatemala, jocotan, san sonata, all the pueblos in salvador. i know them all. i used to go out and come back in 8-10 days and then i would go right out again. it was my intention to have 'algo'. and then i thought of getting married. i had my people ask a girl's parents to marry her to me. but the girl didn't wait for marriage but left the house and came with me before marriage. and i got married with civil marriage here. the girl's mother--she didn't have a father--got angry with me. she even sent out the local guard to find me and bring me to jalapa--but they couldn't find me because i was well hidden here in the pueblo. my brother was arranging the civil marriage because the girl was only 12 years old--pretty young, no? and when my brother had made all arrangements, i came back to the house and brought the girl with me. her mother gave consent when she found out i was willing to have civil marriage. if we had not had civil marriage, she would not have given her consent. and everything was arranged and i got married. i spent \$10 for the civil marriage. i was twenty two years old at this time. the mother of the girl was contented from then on. my mother was pleased with the girl, even tho she was only twelve years old. how come i picked such a young girl? because i liked her, she pleased me, and she too liked me and wanted to live with me. i was going to get married in the church, but within a year she began to behave very badly with me. i had money and she began to rob my money. first she stole five dollars. and she then asked me for \$10 more. and so we began to have fights. one year we got on well together. and then from then on, never again. she didn't know how to cook nor how to run a house; how much we tried to teach her; my mother was teaching her as tho she were her own daughter; but she didn't learn; finally my mother said to me that this girl was not suited for me. and so finally we separated. she went out, went to salvador, wandered around--didn't return to her house, went to jalapa, ipala, Chiquimula--(she lives here now); and now she wants to return and live with me; but i don't want her; i don't want to join up with her, because she's pregnant with another man's child; and even if she wasn't i wouldn't join up with her; you see, she has wandered around much and had many men; and she has many men here as well; for this i do not want her.

tell me something about your first sex experience Luis.

i was fifteen years old when i had my first woman. (Luis is smiling now). i started with old women, with old women i began to learn. i would talk with a woman and make her laugh. then i would tell her i would come to her house at night. what for, she would ask me. to use her, i would say. no, she would answer, my mother will scold you if she sees you. i am coming anyway, i would say. but i would not go that night, but then one night i would arrive. and i found her alone. outside her house. i grabbed her, and a little by force i knocked her down to the ground. and--well she was an old woman, maybe 25 years old, and it was easy. she liked it

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a lot. and from then on we would go at it, wherever we met--even in the streets--if it was real dark. no, i only knew a little about what i was supposed to do--but she taught me. the only things i knew were what the muchacho used to talk about, and so i didn't know what to do the first time. but she told me how it was. and we went at it very often. she wanted me to stay in the house with her and live with her, since she lived alone. but that didn't suit me. after a month i left her and never came back to her. my mother found out, but only after i had left the girl. she began to talk around that i was going to join up with her. my mother asked me if it were true what people were saying and i said that it was not, that it was a lie. i denied everything. then i began in with another. i would start to talk with them and that's how it would begin. it's easy. i began with this new one--and i lasted fifteen days with her--she was eighteen years old--and then i left her too. i would meet her in an empty house--at about this hour of the day--because at night she couldn't go out. it was harder with her, because she had a father and a mother and it had to be well hidden. the parents didn't know what was going on. she would spend at the most an hour with me each time. i was the first man she had. but i didn't use her much. and then she got married after i left her. she got married and nothing ever happened to me. and then i went travelling. and i would go to salvador selling, and "cachando patojas" as well, in the bordellos. and there it was easy. there are lots of patojas there. it's not hard. one doesn't have to look much for a patoja there. there are plenty of them. and one would come back from there to look for patojas here. wherever one goes, wherever he travels, he is always looking for girls. if you want good ones, o.k. if not, o.k. too. but one never stops looking. but if you can't move around freely in a pueblo it's hard to find them. for instance, when i went to service in guatemala, i didn't have a girl for five months but i finally met up with one and arranged things with her. what is there to do in the meantime when one does not have a girl? one does nothing. there is nothing to do. i was saving myself for the time they would give me franco to go out and see what i could see. but i had had lots here before i went to guatemala. and when they gave me franco the first thing i did was to get me a woman. when i came back here, the first thing i thought of was getting married. and that was when i married this maria ingracia yaque. i thought that with marriage i would settle down and 'formalizer' myself. but marriage was my perdition. that was my perdition because to this very date, i don't have good luck, i am torcido. everything i try comes out badly. yes, i can find women all right. but that Sara, she fucks me up, really. because if she weren't in my house i would be with Chila in my house at this time. perhaps i wouldn't be sick. i would be sleeping in my own house, in my own bed. and it was Sara who put me in prison, and it was in prison that i fell sick at first with paludism. that's why i don't want to even look at Sara, not even for one moment. and she is the same with me. we don't like each other for anything. she doesn't like me and i don't like her. and oh how i would like for us to separate once and for all, for good--i wouldn't bother her, and she not to bother me. i ask god to have one moment of feeling to divide us far apart--for good, so that i may be healthy again. that way i would live in tranquility. but her being with me? not for one moment does it please me or do i have pleasure to stay in my house. for that i am waiting to see what comes of all this, so that i can be tranquil in my house again. because i with her--oh, no, no. for instance, i eat--even though i have no taste for food and it fills my stomach and i am satisfied. but her you give her chicken soup or chicken--and she won't even receive it. but with her in the house one eats and sleeps--all in vain--purely all day and at night she scolds the children and they answer back--and she beats them--and they use bad words, she beats them hard.

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and i don't like it for her to beat the children. but i don't speak to her and she doesn't speak to me. i don't say a word to her, because it's better for me to keep still. because if i speak to her it will be worse. for that i don't speak to her. i don't have anything to do with her. let her do what she wants to do. if she wants to kill the children, let her kill them. i don't say anything to her, so that she should go away from me. she gets angry and scolds--at anything--at the children, at the chickens--that's how she talks to me--thru them. but i don't answer her except by being silent and 'braviandome' that way with her. she gets up at 8 am. when the sun is warm. i don't say anything to her. nor does my mother, my mother doesn't speak to her either. what my mother wants is that she should leave the house too. the day she goes, my mother and i will be content. i would even look for a house for her someplace else so that she could live there. only that i might be well again! for that my life now is sad! only because of her! if she weren't here, even tho i might be sick, at least i would be more happy. we would come and talk even more with you. like night before last i dreamed of you. i dreamed that we went and bathed together in the Chorros of Pampacaya. And while we were there there suddenly appeared Chila and her older sister; her older sister looked dead; and i climbed out of the river and said to Chila; 'let's take your sister up there to the high spot. And i took the sister under the arms, and we carried her to the high spot and then we came to the Camino Real. And when we got there there was a car there and there was an old man in the car. And we got into the car, and i began to talk with Chila. And chila said to me, why have you left me, i never did anything bad to you. And i asked her why she had bad will against me. And she said she did not have bad will but that it was her father. And then the old man said in the car, be careful, here comes her father now, and so i kept quiet. And then i heard a motorcycle coming. And a man came up on a motor cycle, and he said to me, have you any maize to sell. And i said yes. and he asked me how much. And i said i had two or three cargas to sell. At how much, he asked me. At 20 reales i told him. Very well, sell them to me, he said. And i said, leave me your sacks and i will go home and fill them up. And he left me the sacks. And then i started back and as i was coming back i passed a house with an open door and a man inside said to me, Luis, Luis, go back to the river, your friend is waiting for you. And i asked him which friend. And he said your friend, the Master Gringo. And so i started back to the river, and the river was on the bottom of a ravine, and i climbed down to where you were. Hand over hand, on a vine. And i got into the river and you said to me, 'bathe yourself'. but i didn't bring any soap, i answered you, and then you said, here, i brought soap, use this, and you gave me the soap. and i bathed myself, and while i was bathing myself, i woke up. What do you think this dream means, Luis?--i don't know, what do you think. I don't know either.

I dream of the doctor too. I dream of him often, what would make me dream of him? Would it be because i used to go around with him?

I don't know, Luis.

And i dream of you too. Do you ever dream of me?

I don't ever remember my dreams Luis. I wake up in the morning and i can't remember a thing.

Not so with me. Everything i dream i remember as tho i were seeing it in front of me now. That was the first time i dreamt of you. Would it be because we had talked together that day?

Yes, perhaps Luis.

I think it's for that.

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 Let's go back, Luis, to the second year of your marriage with the Maria Ingracia, when you started having arguments with her.

We separated after a little more than a year of marriage. She didn't have any children by me. As I told you, she didn't stay here. She went all over the world, working in service here and there. I stayed here all the time in my house. I was working--in the milpa--always working because I was maintaining my mother along with my brother, and she was taking care of the two of us. We were working, and she was running the house. There was no trouble. She knew at what hours we would arrive, and the food would be all ready for us when we came. We would come back from work and we would eat. And then the next day at 5 a.m. we would go out and work again. We would come back at 6 p.m. or 7 p.m. but everything was pleasant now, because the Ingracia had made my mother angry very often and she was not in the house any more. And Saturdays we would come home early from work, and Sundays we would not go out and work. We saved them, Sundays were for rest and the week days were for work. My mother had scolded me much, and my brother did not like me any more because of the Ingracia. Because Ingracia was muy fregada. For that, they got fed up not only with her but with me as well. And then I began to go out on trips some more. I didn't have much money left at this time, after Ingracia left. I had 45 dollars, but these I was robbed of by the son of the comandante. He was making a bed for me and a wooden trunk, and he entered and left the house with our confidence. And once he was alone in the house, and he opened my trunk where my money was and stole it all. And when I found out I went and petitioned against the two sons of the comandante who were working for me. I went to the authorities. Here they didn't pay any attention to me. So I telegraphed the president. They were ordered into prison, but for what good? My money was lost. The rural police had come and put the boys in jail. But all the money was lost, and I began to think that the wedding with Ingracia had been my torsimiento. Because if I hadn't gotten married, maybe these things would not have happened to me. And this whole trouble with Sara started at this time. I began to go to bed with Sara before I had left Maria Ingracia. And Maria got angry with me for this. Sara had been sending me messages to come to her house, because she knew I had money. I was a friend of hers in the beginning and I used to go to her house. And she was looking for other girls for me--just for fucking--at this time--which I was paying her. And she used to get them for me. Pretty good girls she would get. I had to pay her 10 cents for each girl she got for me. She would let me have her house. And her bed and everything (here Luis' eyes light up at the idea of being able to be in a bed with a woman). And because of this matter I had confidence in her. And one day I came to her house for a girl she had promised me that afternoon. And I found Sara alone. And she said to me, look Luis, the girl couldn't come--why don't you come to bed with me? No, I said to her, No, why not, she said. And I said because you are engaged to another man. No, I am not, she said. But I didn't do anything with her that afternoon. But at night I came back--and that's how it started. And we went at it and went at it and kept at it. She was a woman with three live children. But we kept at it for six years. She was very good at this time. Nice and clean. She liked me a lot. And I liked her a lot, too. But now? (here Luis laughs, bitterly, but amused by the contrast). No, I wasn't paying her anything--but I used to bring her back clothes from Alvedor. My mother and brother didn't know what was going on between us. When they did find out they got angry with me, because they didn't like her because she was "adino". But I didn't stop going to her. I kept right on. I used to go there and sleep in her house. At this time she had her mother in a different house. And in the morning I would have to get up and go

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to work. but i would have to go to my house first to get my food. that's why my mother got angry with me, my mother used to scold me, asking me why i didn't manage to get my food where i was sleeping. but sara would be sleeping when i got up to go to work. and when the harvest time of maize came around, she wanted me to give her some of my maize. i didn't give her any of my maize, but it made my mother angry that she should ask for it, sara asked me for pieces of land, but i didn't give her anything, because i wasn't working alone, the land wasn't mine alone, but sara got angry because i didn't bring her anything. finally, she got pregnant by me, we started to fight, i didn't come to her house for several days, but then i came back again, and so we went on, when the child was born we were very 'bravo' with each other, i brought her a piece of cloth to make the first dress for the little child, she burned it in front of my eyes, i didn't say anything, i just got up where i was sitting and went out, and then she sent me a message asking me to come, and i came, she asked me for fifty cents, i gave her the fifty cents, and after that, each time i came to her house she left her ten cents, the child began to grow, she got angry with me, maybe because i was 'cacahano' others at this time, she was very jealous, sara knew i was cacahano this other girl, a natural, and she got very jealous, that is what gave her anger, and she got angry with me, i didn't go to her house from then on, it was even worse with her mother, sara would get angry with her mother and throw her mother out of the house and the mother had to go to another house, she had nothing else to do, she sent for me again, and i came back, because if i hadn't come back she would have gone to the intendente, as she told me, that's why i kept coming to her, respecting her threat to come to the intendente, the child kept growing, and then sara and the child both got sick, i wasn't here at the time they got sick, i was traveling in other parts, she was really sick, and her compadre virgilio sandoval, cured her, and cured the child too, and when i came back i got angry with her because she was very jealous of what i did, and so i even went to the point of asking for the hand of another girl, thinking i would marry her, if i would be standing on a corner and sara would pass me, she would jab me in the stomach with her elbows, but i never hit her back, not even in the house, it would have been even worse in the street, sara found out i was asking for the hand of another girl, and she came one day to the house of the girl in order to say bad things about me to the mother, she told the girl's mother that i didn't have anything, that i was a desgraciado and that made me very angry, and sara told me what she had done--and she said that if i tried to marry the girl, the girl had now better go out in the street because sara would put a knife into her if she ran across her, for this the girl changed her mind, and told me she would not marry me, but it was all on account of sara and for no other reason, ingracia wasn't interfering at all at this time, and then was the whole affair with the girl had died out, i met sara one day on the street, and she greeted me and i greeted her, why don't you come and see your daughter, she said to me, it has your eyes and your hair, all right, i said, i will come, and i came that night, and sara locked the door and wouldn't let me out. (note: this is impossible, it's impossible for a woman to keep a man from leaving a house if he really wants to, moreover, doors here don't lock with keys from the inside or outside, a person on the inside can always get out if he wants to if the door is only locked from the inside and not blocked from the outside), and we began to live together again, and once again she got pregnant by me, if she didn't have two children by me, maybe everything would not be so bad now, but since she has two by me, well, what can i do? Quite, how do you know the children are yours?

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Because only I used to go to her house. (indignantly, a little, at this. (note: I doubt this very much. This woman Sara has a reputation all over town with having slept with many, many men--all during the time that Luis thinks he was having her alone).)

She told me that I was the only one who used to come to her house and sleep with her. and I believed her. and once in a while I would sit up all night and spy on the house to see if it were true that I was the only one. and at night, no one ever came there. only, maybe, during the day people may have come to her. but this I don't know. but at night I am sure no one ever came. because I used to hide in the sitio all night--every night--without sleeping--to see if anyone would come. and never knew I was hiding there. that's why I believe that the children are mine and no one else's. because she told me that too. and everyone was telling me at this time that it didn't suit me to go to her, because she was a "ladino" and had been very bad, had been a whore. and since I never believed it, that's why I am fucking myself at this time. If I had listened to the others' advice, maybe I wouldn't be so fucked up at this time. That's why sometimes I think that the whole fault is mine and mine alone. Only I had the fault. Because now that I want to leave her, she won't leave me. And it will cost me plenty. Only if I go away from here will I get out of this situation. Because if I don't go away she is always going to keep bothering me. Because she is very "fregado". She talks to herself, and lights a lot of candles and puts chile and lime on the candles--I don't know what this is supposed to mean or do. But she must know why she is doing this. I think she's trying to make it so that I should die. That's what I believe. (very serious, and then smiles, with a dostoevskian counterforming glee). That's what she has been doing. She has burnt candles at the cross.

She has done whatever she wants. But, with the grace of God nothing has happened to me.

Don't believe it, Luis. She can't harm you that way.

I didn't do anything to her, and that's why nothing will happen to me. But she tells me that she has bewitched me--that she went to brujos and had me bewitched. She says she is doing this because I had gone to a brujo and her bewitched. She says that's why she is bewitching me now. But I never thought of anything like that. I never thought of having her bewitched. I have told her to ask anyone she wants to, to bring a sabio or anyone else she wants to ask whether I have done anything to her. I tell her that I am not worried, because I have not done anything evil to her. Even the daughter of Sara, la Julia, the one who Don Victor who lives with Don Victor--even she says that I have done evil to her mother. But I am not worried. Because I have not done anything like that. I'm not one for that kind of thing.

Don't be worried Luis. Nothing can come from all that stuff.

No, I am not worried. Let them do what they want. I am not worried.

(note: He thinks the lad doth protest too much at this point.)

Let whoever wants to come to the house and examine her. But I am going to the intendente and I am going to have a fine put against her and others for being habladores and saying things that are untrue. Now that I have told my mother not to be worried. There she is in the "barraca". That's how we have to live with her. He says she will be leaving soon. I will give her maize and frijoles and a pension for my children. Only she will go away. And if she ever leaves, I'll never bother her any more again. Never! (smiling now) And even if she is the only woman left alive, I'll never mix up with her again. Never! And it's a shame that you won't be here to see me complete my word. You will have to go away and it's a shame that we shall be able to talk much longer together. When you get back to your country you probably won't even remember me (at this point I assured Luis I would) [smiling and gay now]

first time all afternoon, I don't let me know

comments on interview situation with luis of today 1.30.43

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luis came fifteen minutes late, which was pretty good considering that he came three quarters of an hour late yesterday. again we exchanged greetings and pleasantries and then began the interview with the point in his life, where, after returning from Guatemala, Luis had begun to work in the fields again with his brother. note that today i let Luis wander almost as far as he wanted, bringing him back only when we got too far afield. i had to prompt him on his experiences, but only initially, and from there he got his own steam and kept on. again, as yesterday, i have tried to indicate the points where i entered with questions. the points where i had to enter therapeutically are clearly indicated in the interview. i was strongly tempted not to buck Luis up at times, but he really got so low down in the South, i felt i had to assure him--especially at the point where he was telling me about Sara trying to bewitch him so that he should die. Luis believes implicitly in witchcraft (from which i have never tried to disembarass him) and i think he really fears that Sara will work harm on him with her strange maneuverings of candles, etc. when i stepped in with my secular tone of voice and mind about the inability of his being harmed by witchcraft, he reacted immediately and was glad to assume my tone of voice and my attitude, but i think he is not at all convinced. if he is convinced that Sara cannot harm him, it is not because i tell him so, but because he feels that since he has done nothing bad to her, she can do nothing bad to him. Luis has a sense of the paranoia i think. when he told me, almost with an exultant gleam in his eye, that Sara was planning to kill him thru witchcraft, i am sure he sees himself as the noble man being oppressed by wicked people for false reasons. it may well be that Sara thinks she can bewitch Luis--and her belief in it may engender even more fear than he naturally has--and as i have said, he believes in it unquestioningly. note that he never says that he is not afraid because he doesn't believe in brujos, but that he is not afraid because he has done nothing bad.

note the volatility of Luis' character. note how he makes up and then fights again, so frequently, with Sara. note how the sex drive keeps him coming back. i say "sex drive" here because from the rest of Luis' history it is fairly apparent that sexual gratification has been very strong in his list of prime compulsives. i do not know what he is doing at the present for a woman--if he is really not sleeping with Sara, but i would bet that he has another woman on the string, if he is not sleeping with Sara. note also that Luis cannot see his being contributory to all this trouble, even in a grandiose accidental way, i.e. having a wrong marriage, not listening to advice, etc. when for instance he said that Sara had gotten angry with him and that Maria Ingracia had gotten angry with him when he had started sleeping with Sara, he said it as though Maria Ingracia had no right to be angry with him. Luis smiles every time he mentions another woman in his life--the smile of the man who delights in being confidentially revealing about his amours--pretends that he is astounded if you know about them, but delights that you do know. note also how lightly Luis treats of marriage, for him, for instance, as a way to get even with Sara for her anger, he was going to go and get married to another woman and actually did try. note also his contracting a marriage with a 12 year old girl. This certainly was not out of any consideration that it would work out well--but because "he liked the girl". i don't think Luis is very different from any others here, the notion of courting in order to determine whether you like who a person is simply not present in the culture of the Indian here. i feel sure that Luis was driven somewhat by prestige motives in coming up with a ladino woman, 10 years his senior. he must have had at least an idea that she was a pretty lady character from the fact that she was a solicitor of girls for him. but he never even mentions these things. later he does have them, and quits them by paying the women the money he had all right. More tomorrow.

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i took up living with sara again, when she had ruined my marriage with the other girl, sheerly out of anger: i said to myself: if she doesn't let me marry the girl then i am going to make her have another child. she was, at this time, scolding and making bad remarks to the girl whom i wanted to marry. i met sara one night at 7 p.m. and she said to me: -you don't remember me any more, do you". and i said: "sure, i do, why do you say that?";--and she said why don't you come and visit me; if i have been scolding the other girl and scolding you it's only because i like you; and i told her i would come by and see her; and i went and saw her--and when i wanted to go home she wouldn't let me. she had been angry with me because she had been living alone and not thinking about other men, and here i was running around trying to get another girl to marry me. and so after i had come back to her the first night i kept on coming back every night. and since she likes 'it' very much, in a little while she was pregnant; she was pregnant one month when i went away with Chila for the first time. i had met her by talking with her in the street; she was 17 at the time;--and we arranged things very soon--she easily agreed; at this time it was a question of my being brave with sara and she with me; we would fight and make up, fight and make up; never were we really tranquil; it was then at this time that i took Chila away for the first time; she was 'entire'; she had never had a man before; and so we went away--without her father's permission, of course; we hid out here in the pueblo, in a little house; we were in hiding for eight days; and sara was looking all over for us, especially in pampacaya, with a knife in her hand; yes, chila knew all about sara; sara wanted to kill chila; but how could she find us; we didn't go out, not once; friends brought us our food secretly; i got fed up with hiding out; and so i sent word to ramon that if would conform himself i promised i would marry chila, civil marriage; but he wouldn't agree; so i decided i would go to jalapa and see if i couldn't arrange things; so i and chila went off; but on the road we met ramon and the other daughter; and he said to chila, come with me; but i said to him: you wouldn't let me marry her here, so i am going to jalapa to see if i can't arrange it there; he said: i am going to kill you; he had an immense knife with him; i said: try it if you want to; and chila said to him: even tho you're my father i'll beat you with a stone if you hit luis; she was in favor of me and not of him. and so we separated and nothing happened; he started on his way back to jilot, because he was coming from jalapa, having already been there; and i went with chila on my way to jalapa; i hadn't gone more than maybe four blocks when i saw that he had turned around and was going back to jalapa; i have family in jalapa, and we went there; after we had been there a while, since we hadn't eaten lunch yet, i said to my family: they should excuse me because i was going out to buy some bread for lunch; at this moment a knock came at the door and the police came in and said: is luis najera here? here i am, i answered; they said: be so kind as to accompany us; very well, i said; and they said: is chila de tal here? here she is too, i answered; be so kind as to have her accompany us too; they said; very well, i said, just be so kind as to let us have some coffee, since we have not yet eaten lunch; very well, they said; and then i noticed for the first time that ramon, chila's father, was at the door--and that the police had been brought by him; and they took us to the commissariat; and there we were during the afternoon; and then they called for me to go to prison and they called for chila to go to the women's prison; and there we were in jail; but her father reclaimed chila and they brought her back here; but i stayed in jail, suffering; and they sentenced me to six months in jail for taking chila away when she was still a minor and because i was still married to la maria ingrata; and i was in jail working hard, and thinking all the time about when i

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finally would get out of jail; i thought i would never do such a thing again; i would only work hard; sara began to write me letters when i was in jail, asking me for money for her and the child to be born; i answered her that i was not working for pay at the time and could not send her money; and then she sent me another letter telling me to order my mother and my brother here to give money and maiz and frijoles and a pension to her; that made me real angry; and so i wrote her an answer saying that it was not my children or my brother to whom i would have to be ordering, but it was my mother--and i could not order her; and if she wanted to come and complain to the jefe in jalapa she should come--and that i would be waiting for her (much affect here). and then a message came to me that she was coming to jalapa, but not to complain, but only to come and visit me, because she was pitying me that i should have to be in jail; she never came; never; and then later a letter came asking me to pardon her for the ignorances which she had written me in her letters; that she had done it at the advice of the genete and that she could not come to see me because as i well knew she was poor; --while i was in prison i made friends from other places; one Luis Ramirez Cortez from Alzatate; a very good friend with me; he's secretary and treasurer of Alzate, but he and the intendente had each borrowed eighty dollars from the municipal funds and when the accountants came they found the deficiency and put him in jail; the intendente had been able to pay it back out of his salary; but Luis had not been able to --and so they jailed him; well, he was revuelto--Onot ladino or natural; he was the best friend i had there; a very good man; because when he came to prison he had a lot of money in a handkerchief; and he liked to drink very much; and so in one month he didn't have one cent left; he spent it all on drink; he used to buy me coffee and bread and sugar candies--good alimentacion all the time; and so when he had spent all his money then i began buying him things; i had ten dollars with me; i gave him three dollars; but he never paid me back; and so when i got out free after six months i asked him for my money and he said he didn't have it but he knew he had to pay me; and then when i came to the office to pay my boletos for the year, i found out that they had just sent hi to guatemala; and so my three dollars were lost; but i didn't get angry and i didn't do anything; i thought to myself that i was free and he was still a prisoner, and besides he had given me so much that my three dollars weren't really anything in comparison; and when i was just put in jail again, i asked for him and i found out that he was no longer in prison but that he wasn't in Alzatate either but was in some place called El Pino.

How do they treat you in jail, Luis?

Well, if you know any of the guards then you don't get maltreated;

How do you spend a day in jail, Luis?

Well, you get up at 5 a.m. They pick 10 men to sweep the park and the plaza; and then they need five to bring food for the troops which is made in a private house and not in the cuarteles; and five more for the prisoners food; and those who remain --stay behind cleaning up, sweeping, watering flowers and plants, washing floors; then at 5:30 or 6 we eat breakfast--after washing well--the hair and the face; from 7 to 8 we don't do anything but sit and talk; then at 8 o'clock the troops come and we are brought out to work; they bring us to the Campo de las Flores to work; and some go to a road to work; road work in the pueblo; hard work; and they bring us lunch where we are working; and the troops eat there too; ; no, we don't eat the same as the troops; for breakfast we got three tortillas and a spoon of boiled beans and a cup of coffee; that was our breakfast (much affect indignantly at the notion that this could be considered breakfast); the troops gets the same

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breakfast, except that they get six tortillas; for lunch we get four tortillas and beans and coffee: for us; and the troop gets sopa de rez, de tunco, or caldo de rez--they don't get beans; and six tortillas, ^{oranges, avocados,} coffee;---or supper:--- frijoles and four tortillas and coffee: the troops get fried beans of something else very nicely fixed up; at 7 p. . they get coffee and bread--we get nothing; only the blanket to sleep with; they close us in at 8 p.m. or at 8 p.m.:---all of us in one big room; all together; we have wooden benches to sleep on, each of us separate; if you have a petate with you, you can put that on and sleep with it; if you have a blanket you sleep with that; if not, you die of cold; they don't give you any bed covers; that's how it goes on, and many poor ones get sick; but they don't show you any consideration; some poor ones went to work without hardly any clothes; with their shirts and pants almost nothing; but you are a prisoner; and no one says: "poor fellow, he's a prisoner"; for that when one is in prison it's very sad; one time my mother came to see me and spent 8 days; i gave her 6 dollars to help her out because we were poor; and in all her sadness she lost the six dollars; she used to come and see me while i was working; there were visiting hours but only on thursdays and sundays; when she came back here she wrote me a letter asking me if i had given her the six dollars because she had nothing here; and it turns out that she lost a blouse and \$7.50 altogether; i answered her that i had given her the money; in fifteen days she came back to see me again, crying, crying as to how she was going to repay me my money; i told her not to cry for that; that she didn't have to return me my money; that she shouldn't worry about it; that god was going to help me gain my money in some way; and that besides, i had some money anyway. so she went away content; and my brother came to visit me too; and we were working, burning some rubbish at the time; they told him where i was; and he came right to me; it was about this time of the day or a little earlier because we had just finished lunch; i went to meet him when they told me he was waiting to see me; how are you, he said; fine, i said; you haven't gotten sick, he asked; no, by the works of god, i am healthy; i was really well fattened at the time; and i sat down and had lunch with him at the fire we had; and i asked him if my mother was well, if she were not sick; and i asked him how his family was, because he had gotten married; ~~this was in~~ and we got to talking and he had brought me many little things to eat and some underwear; because we had enough clothes; you see at that time, since there were not many of us, they gave us uniforms--it started some 30th of june or some 10th of december; i can't remember which; they gave us jackets with striped rays, and pants to match; and we were allowed to keep them; now they have to return the jackets because they get only jackets now; as soon as they come in from work; but they let us have our uniforms; and we were happy because there were many of us who didn't even have pants to wear; and so with the uniforms they didn't have to be mortified when they went out to work; they wouldn't put shirt on anything under the chumpe; just the chumpe, which they could button up to the neck; my brother stayed two days; and we had good talk during that time; he wanted to know if i was going to get out soon; and so he went and spoke to my defender, and he was told that i would be out in six months; and sure enough in six months i went out free; and when my time came up and they came and announced that luis najera would go free at 5 p.m. that day i couldn't wait; i went out at 5 p.m. and came back here; you told me once luis that you had spent \$20 for something in jail; yes, i paid my defender \$20 to handle my case when it came up; \$20

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if i hadn't payed him the \$20 i might still be in jail at this time. i stayed overnight the night of my release and came home here to my house the next day; and i began to work; getting the seed ready for planting; my mother was very glad to see me know that i was free; even chila was glad that i was now free; no i couldn't see her; what hope! yes, she wrote me letters in jail; she wrote me that when i came out i should come back and join up with her; and that she was not forgetting me; but that i probably was forgetting her; and i answered her that i had always had good intentions as far as she was concerned; for that we were always "cuernos"; she wrote to me, and i answered her; ramon wrote to me too saying that if i would marry chila he would withdraw charges against me; and i wrote him that i would; and he wrote me that i should get divorced from ingracia; but how could i when i was in jail; i wrote him that he should withdraw charges and that i would then divorce la ingracia; he wrote me that it was better, then, that i should stay in jail; that's what he answered me.

when i heard this from him, i hunted up a lawyer to defend me; and he began to investigate how serious was my case; and he assured me that my cause was not very serious, that it was all right; and my lawyer began to work for me; and since ramon didn't press any further charges, the case was left to the disposition of the law; then my lawyer began to defend me in all the condemnations leveled at me; and since ramon didn't do anything more my lawyer was confident that the judge's decision would be to let me go free; and that's how i went out free; but it cost me \$20. but it was worth it because i had been to think i would be sent to the penitentiary; but, by good luck, i got out; and when i came back here ramon told me that he was going to complain again that they had let me free in such a short time; and i told him "si tiene voluntad, que vaya;" but he didn't go; he had bad intentions against me, to beat me; he still has them now; and with chila too--he had bad intentions; he wanted to and wants to beat her; "es de mal genero, ramon". he is content that i have been separated from his daughter; because he didn't want me for a son in law; but i am his son in law, no matter what he wants or thinks, even though i have been only for a few days with the chila; i am his son in law, no matter what he wants; (luis very exultant here!). he doesn't speak to me now; nor will the time come when he will speak to me; for chila they have burnt candles and had the bells tolled double as tho she were dead; they sat in mourning for nine days for her, as tho she were a dead one; because of that, because of what they have done to chila, i don't speak to them and they don't speak to me; chila has liked me for a long time; for almost three years now; and what love we have for her; she doesn't forget me and i don't forget her; that's why she returned to living with me the second time; i had intentions of formalizing it with her; i thought that sara would do anything; and that's when she fucked me up; for that i am sad, sad i'm not well in my house, nor my mother, for that woman who is in the house; while she is in the house i shall have no life; only when she goes out then shall i have another life; perhaps i shall even get away from the illness i have now, --because from her comes all my illness, my weaknesses, my anger i was lying in my hammock and she is in the bed--and all of a sudden the words start coming out of her; i don't answer her; no matter what she says; no matter what she asks; i don't answer her; for that she goes around saying that she has conquered me; has dominated me plenty; but i don't answer her because i must watch myself and not soil my hands by beating her; i have often thought of beating her; but many people have advised me not to; that's why i don't bother to hit her or do anything bad to her.

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if she goes, let her go--but let her not go saying that it is because i beat her. because it's sure that she will go. she has been asking me for blankets, for bedclothes. for a bed too. for clothes; for shoes; and for a house where she can live; she says that she's going; for this, i am thinking that if it's as she says it is, no matter what it costs me i shall give her these things. i am going to give her everything that she asks for. and that she may go! but that she should not bother me more; because if she continues to bother me after that then i'm going to have her sent to jail; because she has fucked me up enough; and if she keeps bothering me, then it's too much fucking for me to bear; then--if she should leave--we shall be happier; you and i; if you're still here; even if it's only memories for you; that we have been friends; i wonder who i will have next; if chila still wants to, why fine. if not, then i shall have to look for another. because--i can't have her by sheer force; my mother, my whole family will be very happy; because now my mother and my whole family--none of them (like me because of the woman i have in the house now; all of them keep telling me to find some way to get rid of her; more for them than myself i must find some way to get rid of her; because it isn't right that they should be unhappy because of a woman i have in the house; well, it won't be long; in a short while it will happen; that's the story of Sara. i wonder what she will be saying afterwards.

Let's go back Luis to where Sara enters your house to live. She came to my house to live--for the first time a year ago last October. I was sick. When i had come back from Jalapa i had taken up with her again; i came back from prison in april and my second child was born in may; i brought her everything; maize, frijoles, dulces, cafe; everything because at that time we were pleased with each other again; and then she moved to another house; and i began to pay for that new house; i used to go there--but i did not eat there; i used to come there to sleep only; and then i got sick with calenturas and frios; and my mother was very displeased that i had begun going back to Sara again; and for that my mother walked out on me, left the house and did not come back; Sara was not with me as yet; my mother left me alone; i with my calenturas and frios; i had to buy my tortillas and coffee; and my mother said to me that i should call in the Sara and have her take care of me; and so i did; Sara had been coming to the house at night and staying with me; and then on the 1st of October she moved in for good; when my mother found out that Sara was now living there, it was worse; she didn't speak to Sara, not for anything; but Sara stayed; 11 months we were together; my mother stayed with my brother all this time; there my mother was with my brother, and there was the Sara with me; but at that time Sara was not like she is now; she was brave, but not like she is now; that's why she says the house is hers; because she lived there 11 months; that's why she now says that my mother and i don't have anything; that the house is hers and hers alone; that's the anger that it gives to my mother, and to me too; but it was my fault; why did i take her in? i should never have taken her in; i had been living with her for six years but i had never thought of taking her in as my woman for good; and i did this very stupid thing, and now i can't get rid of her; now she doesn't want to leave; she says she'll die in the house first; now we can do anything with her when she's like that; that's not possible; no i never is possible that she should die in the house; i'll be damned if i have to in order to give her what she wants so that she will leave the house; because no one is content; that she should be there with me; she doesn't do anything for me; she doesn't wash clothes; she doesn't give me food; in fact, i give her food; and if they try to fuck me up a pension or something like that i'm going to get out of here.

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what was happenin' to chila all this time? nothing. what could i do. i couldn't do anything. her father wouldn't let me marry her. yes, she was of age by now--but i couldn't do anything. (note that before he means rejoining with sara and enjoying it). sara would have complained to the authorities if i hadn't rejoined with her. i couldn't do anything with chila for that. i had to bring sara in to be able to bring up my children. i couldn't take in another woman for that.

11 months i lived with that woman without knowing; one day of being content with her. i put up with her only for the sake of my children and for nothing else. i could not do anything else. we began to fight. and 11 months after she moved in i threw her out of the house; i couldn't take any more. she kept telling me i was not the man for her; so i went to the intendencia and had her thrown out of the house; but we had to divide everything up; my work, diez cuerdas of milpa i gave her, 50 cents cash, 15 hats--all this. this was in august. she left my house against her will. she didn't want to go. but she had to leave; so i got the act up against her. i got an act saying we should separate--for legal reasons--for the bad words she was saying to me--because she didn't respect me in anything; perhaps i would go out to buy cigarettes or to my brother's house and right away she would say i was going after another woman; she was so jealous; i couldn't go out anywhere; neither in the day or the night time; for that i'm very angry and was very angry; i would come back some nights at 9 or ten p.m. and ha! she was so brave/ she would say: why didn't you stay in the house from which you just came; don't lie down here; this is not the place for you; "--or i would come and find the doors barred; she was doing much harm to me this way--that's why i separated from her. she would insult me in the streets, come after me where i would be attending; no, this woman, no she's bad; no one could put up with her; i because i am a fool--that's why i took her in; that's what everyone tells me; they say i'm a big fool and i am; Luis was very sad and dejected here--so i argued with him that he may have been a fool but that he is not now a fool for sara is in the house against his will; this has his sailing; i think i'll close the interview at this point, now that he is sailing).

it's true that now i don't want her in the house, she is there a la fuerza; that's why i am doing everything to get rid of her; i can't stand anymore; sick, with anger, with emotions--almost to the point where perhaps i shall die if it does not stop. men die of these things; anger, emotions; yes, men die of them; the worst is that i don't have the appetite to eat much; i eat very little; and add that to the bother she is giving me--ya, no! i, for that, am afligido, triste; if i were well, oh, then it would be a different; i'm a different man when i'm well; but the way i am i'm not worth a dog nor a half a cent; i only leave the house to come here and work; i don't go out any other place; i haven't the strength to sit down much and think much; how is it going to be with his woman? and the disgracia that she had to go and get sick too; she sick and i sick--and the two of us, enemies--in the same house? huh! -imagine; you here in your bed--your face upward; there in the corner your enemy of a woman--lying down--she turns her face to you and you have to see it; isn't that a disgracia? sometimes, thinking so much about this, i forget to eat breakfast or lunch; because i'm very thin now; you ought to see me without my clothes; pura esclera; that's the life of Luis Najera.

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Let's start today, Luis, with your experiences at the intendencia; how you came to be named regidor, etc.

when they first named me regidor i didn't know about it. they cited everyone to come and vote for regidores. and when i came to vote they asked me for whom i would vote: for secundino, for for myself or for luis martinez; i gave my vote for secundino; everyone voted for us because ours were the only names on the list, and so there was no one else to vote for; i didn't reckon that i would be named; in 3 days i got a letter from the intendencia telling me to present myself march 15th to receive the office of regidor. and so we came and received the office. the old ones went out and we went in; and so the picture of tata jesus passed from the hands of alejandro marcos, the old regidor #4 to the house of secundino esteban, the new regidor #4. secundino went on duty the first week; nothing happened; i went on duty; nothing happened; this went on till august and then something happened with me; i was sitting in the market and fidel the policeman called me. he told me we should go with him to make a capture; we went to the slaughter house to remove the pig neck that was being sold because the pig had the mange; we brought the meat back, went and got a bottle of gasoline and burned the meat down to the very bone; and we put in jail the owner of the pig who had been selling the meat; he left here after getting out of jail where he spent five days; he was a salvadoreñian; he went to salvador, owing much money here in the pueblo; nothing else of import happened while i was on duty;

how did you like to have others ordering you?

i didn't like it, but for the job, i had to have others ordering me. i had to order others around too; the intendente ordered me, and i ordered the commissioners, and they ordered their servants and the servants ordered the prisoners--and so it goes. For the national fiestas there is much work to do. One has to take care of everything, watch the people---it's worse when the president comes thru. Other days are the 15th of sept., the Feta. of june; one has to see to it that a lot of pine leaves are brought in; and one has to arrange them; you have to clean and decorate the intendencia; so since there is so much to do, you just have to order others; else it would never get done;

no arguments? what about with the secretary that you told me of.

well, he ordered me to come to the intendencia when i was in my house; he said to me: well luis, is your puesto in your house or here?

i don't have any business here, i said; i notice that you have a sign that says it's prohibited for me to come in the office; well, in that case it's better for me to stay in my house; oh, no; he said: we made that sign purposely for one of the regidores who used to come in here all the time when we didn't want anyone around; ---then we didn't say any more; he never mentioned anything to me nor i to him.

what happened to luis martinez? oh, they got rid of him because the road corporal complained against him in jalapa, because once luis had complained against the road corporal; the corporal informed the authorities that luis had complained against the authorities--and that a man like that was not fit to be in service at the municipalidad; so they got rid of him in may; and so the intendente named rosario as the next regidor;

Luis: tell me now in your own words the story of this last incident with sara--when she went to jalapa to complain; etc.

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sara got mad because i took up with chila and took chila into my house; she got mad because i had thrown her out of the house in order to bring chila in; two days after i had thrown sara out my mother came back; i was alone; rosario was maintaining me at the time; my mother came back, she content; and twenty days after sara left chila came in; i had been talking with chila all along, and so she came; chila was happy when sara left because then she knew she could come with me; and she came; she had to come to me at first at night, tho, because her father was watching her and would have beat her if he had caught her going out; and he would have had the police after me if he had seen where she was going; and so she came at night; in the dark, she came; she had been in my house a few hours--when--then came her father, where have ~~the~~ ~~handed~~ chila, he asked me--with his immense knife in his hand; we were locked in--and we heard him saying this; no one was home at the time except chila and i; my mother was staying for the night at the house of my brother; we could hear his wandering up and down the streets looking for chila; but my front door was locked with a lock from the outside; and the back door to the sitio was well barricaded; he could only have gotten in by breaking down the doors; and then later on in the night there suddenly came a light; it was ramon's wife with a big lamp holding the light up to my door; they can't be here, she said, because the door is locked from the outside; and we were inside all the time. (Luis thought this was a fine deception; he laughed pleasedly as he told me this). Ramon and his wife were awake all night since their house is very near we could see; but they couldn't see us; finally, day came--and my mother came with coffee; my mother knew that chila had come to my house; and so she brought us coffee; and breakfast for us to eat; and then i came to the intendencia; and there was sara at the intendencia raising an act against me; i had come to the intendencia to give testimony that chila passed to my house; i don't know how sara found out so soon but there she was complaining against me; she was crying; and in a short time she went off to jalapa; but before she went off she used to come over night to my house trying to get in--to beat up chila because chila had joined up with me; chila was not afraid of sara; sara used to go out all the time with a penknife to kill chila; that's what she went around saying; even now--she says that when she's well again she's going to go after chila and beat her up or kill her; that will cost her dear if she tries it; if she goes to another house searching for chila they'll punish her; she can't beat up chila in someone else's house; but chila is not afraid; she says if she ever meets up with sara and sara starts up with her she'll really fight sara; and sara is going around saying that chila ate from the work of sara; and didn't i give 10 cuerdas to sara? and only 10 cuerdas left for me; equally divided but she wasn't satisfied; she wants a whole milpa; but it is impossible that she should have all my milpa; when she first came to my house i had 20 cargas of maiz there; and i didn't ask her not to eat that; and not only did she eat my maiz but her mother used to eat my maiz as well; and now that we have this little bit of maiz--she's always saying how much work she did; bah, that's not work--what we have there; finally sara went to jalapa; i didn't know how she was going; whether she had money or not; 7 days after she had been there they called me to jalapa; they called me; and they called chila too; what she wanted to know, she said to the jefe, was why i had thrown her out of the house; that's what i want to know, senor, she said to the jefe,--why they threw me out of the house when there was no reason for it, but reason there was. she told the jefe that she never said anything; that she was a very humble woman, and since she had presented herself first, the jefe be leaved everything she said.

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she told the jefe that i had thrown her out only so that i could let chila in. and the jefe believed her. the jefe didn't let me say a word. he didn't do anything except to send me to jail.

sara and i were in the waiting room waiting to see the jefe; and chila arrived; and chila came in and began making fun of sara; of her old shoes and her old head towel; and chila made fun of sara in front of the other women there, saying that sara was a woman who was always fighting over men; sara got angry; we'll see what happens, she says; then they didn't say anything and we were called in; the jefe asked me: what are you th this woman, pointing to sara; concubine, i said. do you have your own woman? yes, i said. and you, muchacha, he said to chila, who is your marido? this senior here, said chila, pointing to me; and didn't you know that this man had this woman, he asked chila? come no, she said, but when i joined up with him they had been separated for some time; well, said the jefe, for having joined up with this man you shall have 10 days arrest; the jefe said to chila; and they took chila out; senior, said sara then, i want to know why they threw me out of the house. for legal motives, i said, senior jefe; if it please you, here is a copy of the act which was made in san luis jilotepeque; i gave him the copy; he read it; ah, hah, he said, what nice things the intendente at jilot. is doing; now i am going to shit on you and on the intendente, said the jefe. cabron, he said, what nice things you are doing with your children; but it's because i can't stand this woman, i said, because she has sworn that she will ruin my life for me in one way or another. and so i separated from her before she could kill me. vaya, said the jefe to sara, you go back and take the house where you were living with him, the jefe said, and you, (pointing to me) you go to jail. she didn't ask for sustencion from the jefe. if she had asked for it he might have given it to her; and so i had to stay in jail 18 days. for her 18 days. and sara came back and went directly to the house here; she came back content; and that's why she says now the house is here; because the jefe said that she should "reconoce a la casa"; but that isn't the same as saying that the house is yours. and so sara came to the house, and ting too, and they were grinding corn to maintain themselves; my mother was in the house all the time; but i told my mother to stay ther because it was her house and not sara's house nor my house. but my mother was fed up; and is fed up--because sara is malisimo. i in jail and she in my house. all the other prisoners used to say to me: "que ingrata es esa mujer"; because she went away and i stayed in jail; she says that she didn't go to complain against me. como no, i said to her, if you hadn't gone to complain against me they wouldn't have put me in jail. i came out from jail--sick. she didn't speak to me when i came back; she didn't give me food--she didn't give me anything. she says she is sick now because i am not in the house with her at all, but am there with my mind on someone else all the time; for this she says it's better that she moves; only yesterday she said to me that if i get her a place she would go right away; i will find a place so that you can get out of here, i told her. yes she has to go. we have to divide up the maize the frijoles, the avocados when i came back from jalapa i couldn't do anything; i had to obey the jefe orders. i couldn't throw her out again; the jefe is a tough one; if he wants to he has you beaten; you have to be careful of him; i didn't dare answer him back when i was in front of him; it would have been worse for me; for being a malcriado there you really got punished; so sara cervantes came to my house; and i in jail; and i came back; and i got sick; and she got sick; so what can i do? but as soon as i get a little bit better, then out she goes;

when chila came back from jail--it was about this time of the day; she sent word down to me; came and spoke to dona maria here asking her

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to give bird to chila; rosario said she would because chila was her godchild; i told her it would only be temporary, while i was arranging things; that's why i 'have pona' with dona rosario now. because i asked permission for her; and then i couldn't do anything because i got sick; i wasn't able to come and visit; and chila went from here and spent some days at don ramundo's house working; and then she went to asuncion mita; and then she came back and now she's serving the intendente in his house; i haven't spoken to chila about how she feels about me at this point; i don't know whether she likes me yet or not; whether she will come to me when i am alone; but i can't ask her until sara leaves; i have to see what chila will say; if she wants to, i will take her in again; and if she doesn't want to come back to me, then let her say so. because i with sara--no, not even for one moment; but with chila, yes, i could live. i have to find some way to encounter her and tell her this; those are my intentions.

comments on interview;

this was a spotty and sporadic interview; we were interrupted several times; luis was not in a talkative mood; i was not in a pleasant frame of mind; my fingers wouldn't work well with the typewriter; and i couldn't keep my attention on the interview; it lasted all in all about an hour and a half; luis was considerably in lighter spirits today than he has been for some time: why, i don't know; but these lighter spirits make him less seriously talkative.

perhaps because he was lying in my hammock instead of sitting in a chair while talking to me, the interview suffered--tho i had thought that if he were more comfortable we might get more data slipping by his watchfulness. but i think lying in a hammock is not conducive to strong display of affect. this may sound funny, but i think it is true.

luis is as variable as ever; note for instance that before we started the interview i had brought him a banana and sweet bread to eat and we were talking--'just in general'. it turns out that a batbero has made advances to him about curing him, telling him it's obvious that his illness results from a fright he had three years ago. luis is now ready to believe that it is in his fright, of which he dreads as recently as one month ago, that is the cause of his trouble--and maybe it isn't true at all. i disembarassed him from this notion as surely as i could--telling him it's better to have the patachero try to cure up his sarna and his paludismo--neither of which resulted from fright. i think he may have a curing session, for which i will pay, so that i may see a curing session in operation; this will probably be the only opportunity i will ever have for seeing such a session. we are to resume the interviews tomorrow; maybe tomorrow will be better.

luis, can you remember some dreams you have had? will you tell me about them?

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i dreamed once i was fishing in a river; and i was catching much fish; and my companions had gotten far ahead of me in the river where we were fishing. i shouted to them that they should wait for me; they waited for me and when i got to them they admired the fish i had caught, because i had caught so many. they had not caught many. i had caught many. then we came home; i came to my house and began to take out the fish; there were only 'bute' fish; they fried them on the griddle; they made soup of the fish; and then i woke up.

what do you think this means, Luis? I don't know--they're dreams one has when he sleeps very much.

My other dream is one of a trip I made; we were selling cantaros in Santa Ana; and when we had sold everything we had brought to sell, we went and bought things and we came back; that's all. that's a short one.

i was threshing frijoles one day; and then i stopped threshing because i suddenly saw a senorita, all nude. she was all nude; she had seized me by one arm; let's go to where i am threshing frijoles, i said to her; and then we came to the tree where i had been frightened three years before; i know that tree like the palm of my hand; and we were standing there and i told the senorita that the branch of the tree had fallen on my head; and then the senorita got dressed, in a fine dress; she was a ladino, a senorita; and then she gave me her hand and we said goodbye. that was the dream.

who was the senorita, luis? oh, that's a senorita who only I know; won't you tell me? no, that I can't tell you. yes, she's from here, but she's married; how is it you dreamed of her? i don't know how she got into my dream. is she pretty? no, not so, just regular; why won't you tell me who the senorita is?--oh, because she has a husband and he would beat me?--oh, come on luis! (whispering) it's the wife of the brother of d.O. who lives below. i dreamed of her maybe because i go to their house once in a while.

what are dreams, luis?---i don't know; maybe they come because you're very warm; i really don't know; i just dream and then they make me think; but why? i don't know. no one has ever told me; because everyone dreams; but no one knows why; what do you think?

i gave luis a brief, digested version of the dream as wish fulfillment. what do the brujos say, luis?

i was talking with one a while back and he told me that when one has a bad dream it means that some brujo is beginning to do evil against one. it means that someone is envious of you and is planning to do you evil; but i never had a bad dream? Never of killing your mother? never; never of your brother or mother dying? never; never of killing your father? never; never of fucking a woman? never; i don't dream much, only a little; one dreams of jumping or falling--and he jumps in the bed and wakes up; nothing else has ever much happened to me while i have been asleep.

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intendencia--secretario-oficina-conandancia-tersoeria-parque-plaza-mercado-ventas-verduras-gineos-fruta-zapote-nispero-ayote-elotes-maicillo-maiz-mercoche-pan-zalpores-dulce-depanela-perro-patoja-hombre-patojito-nene-nena-intendente-secretario-escribiente-tiendas-pulperias-estancos-herredia-chinos-farmacia-comedor-pulperia-bestia-herrada-herredia-mulares-mula-burro-buzra-gato-culebre-paloma-burrion-sope-gavilan-cuerbo-zacate-maiz-frijol-ma-ano-ceda-manta-atomano-cantel-corte-lino-cabeza-perolona-hombres-patican-hablan-miran-todo-piedra-semilla-tierra-ladrillo-teja-madera-de pino -de cedras-cama-medicina-candelera-atralla-reflector-libros-botes-macina-de escribir-camisas-violinet-flauta-zabato-escarpin-andalias-valija-hamaca-carto-ventana-puerta-sobrero-sobre todo- saco-pantalon-calconillo-vasinilla-capotera-

comments on interview with luis:--2.4.43

i thought i would start today's session with getting soemdreams and see if we couldn't open hitherto unopened channels in that way. but despite luis' former boasts that he could always remember his dreams, he could only recount three of them, and the, in fairly vague detail. i tried suggesting all manner of dreams to him--but none struck home--and so i deserted that tack--and thought i would 'play' with him a little. it took me nearly half an hour to explain to him what i wanted in 'word associations'--but he finally got it and the list above is what the final result of one long association---with blockage at the word marano for about half a minute. i explained in detail what i meant--and at first i would give luis a key word--and he would start to give me all the things in the category: for instance, i'd give him 'color'--and he'd give me all the colors he could think of and then say "i don't know any more colors"; trying a non-categorizing object like table didn't help--but it got a funny answer: he said "the first thing i think of when you say 'mesa' is that you want me to get you a table". but finally it hit home--when i did an association list for him of my own. and the above is the result. in the end it is obvious he started looking around the room and naming the objects as he saw them--but in the beginning this was not so. frankly, however, i don't know what to make of his associations--anymore than i do of his dreams--no affect toning in either of them at any points, except in the dream about the nude senorita:--when he told me that "then the senorita went and got dressed:--" i asked him: "was it in skirt and blouse or a ladino dress"; he raised his voice is the way he does when he's annoyed with my slowness--and said "I said she was a senorita, didn't I? therefore she must be ladino". this is significant. he has never--and i have never heard anyone else--use 'senorita' (except myself) for indian girl; this is always saved for ladino girls; the word 'don' similarly is almost always--but not always--reserved for ladino men; the word 'dona' is always reserved for ladino women.

i also tried ESP-on luis. i have a deck of ESP cards--but he didn't catch on very well--the 'primitive' may have all sorts of ESP notions of his own--i.e. brujos making girls get out of bed by mental suggestion etc--but when it came to Rhine's civilized method, it didn't even catch a glimmer from him. his scores on four tests were 0,2,3,2. but we didn't conform to instructions; it was impossible to get him to do so; i gave it up; i was only playing anyway; i tried once and scored 9. luis was my 'sender'. we spent the last hour and a half of two and a half hours chatting and getting lenguaje words--to match all the lenguaje words wisdom has in his book on the chorti; i am going to leave his life history until he opens it up again himself. otherwise it will be forced and stilted like yesterday.

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yesterday afternoon luis came to me at about 3:30 --looking as bodraggled as i have ever seen him--and as sick as he has ever been. i came outside and we sat on the ground and talked. he told me that he had spoken to a patchero the day before and that he was arranging things for a curing session. he said he's desperate because he feels he is going to die; because he has no more force or strength left in his body. i joked with him and made him laugh this off a little and then we got on to the question of the curing session. i have told him that i want to be in on it and will pay the patchero if i can be present. luis says he is going to the patchero today(2/11) and inform him that i will be present since i am a friend of luis(and luis wants me there, but luis says he is not sure whether the patchero will allow this. he says curing sessions are very traumatic because all the brujos in town come while the curing session is on and try to prevent a successful cure. they don't come inside but they all congregate outside the house--invisibly--to wreak damage. the whole family of luis will be present as well as some friends. the curing session will start at 11 p.m and last at least until 2 a.m. luis tried to discourage me from coming, but i insisted firmly with him and he promised me he would insist with the patchero that i be let in. i have my serious doubts about this. well--luis was really frightened at the idea of the session--mainly i think because he is frightened of what the brujo crowd may do. he is sure there are brujos--dead sure. he recited me three instances:--when a former curing session was going on, brujos stayed outside and threw pebbles on the roof of the house; when he was sitting in the fields with a friend-- suddenly an enormous bolder hopped out of the ground and made for him--and he just had time to dodge it--this was brujos at work; another time he was sitting with a friend(this was during the time of pastor) and suddenly an animal began to grow out of the ground--and grow, and grow-- and luis pulled his pistol and was going to shoot at the animal, but the friend grabbed him and they ran--and went and drank whiskey to forget it. now--luis is physically sick--but he is making himself even worse so with his psychic worries--so i tried to disprove brujeria to him--but to no avail; he may laugh at others silly beliefs--but he takes his own without any salt--and really believes in a frightening way. strangely--he tells me that sara is moving out either today or tomorrow(he would not have a curing session with her around)--but this seems to give him no joy. of course he is already planning which woman he will have next--and this gives him considerable anticipatory pleasure. but the fact of sara's leaving is something for which he has been waiting for so long that the edge is off of it, as far as it appears to me at this time, at least. of course luis has reported sara as leaving so many times--that i wonder whether this is another false alarm. now --in connection with sara--it seems that don victor at one time openly recognized her as his woman--had a child by her--and still speaks of her as his former senorita; we were talking the other day and someone asked him if luis najera was sara's husband: "what husband", answered victor, mockingly; "no, he's not her husband; they lived together, that's all". victor nor anyone else abuses luis in my presence because they know i'm friendly with him; but i have surprised them doing so more than once; they seem indignant at he, an indian, having had children with a ladino woman. in retrospect, after all, it is a severe come down for victor.

i don't know what will come of all this luis business; he is to come here at 4:30 today to tell me what has happened in his interview with the patchero bernavez:--and then i shall know better, this is my only chance to get in on a curing session. if it falls thru then all my knowledge is "hearsay" or from informants, but i shall have no personal knowledge of it.

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luis at he regards last night via one of his guards who
had accompanied him to jail, he---also saying that he was
in prison for fifteen days and that would be the least and
probably there would be more---at which point i am ready
to pack my bags and go back to the states. one gets filled
to the brim with this kind of horse manure justice.

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p.6 oct.9/42 slj

Luis N.

Life History

fascinating item just popped. just had a minute chat with luis who appeared in my room to ask me if we couldn't work later in the morning instead of now. i said "sure" and asked him why. he said he wanted to get a copy of his official, decree of separation from his woman, from the ntendencia. i asked him if they had already summoned him to jalapa. (His woman went there yesterday to plead before the jefe politico). he said no, but thh he wanted to get evertyhking ready in case they did summon him. i then noticed he didn't have his sandals on his feet. i asked him where they were--and was it more comfortable for him without sandals. he said no, but he wanted to get his feet ready for the trip to jalapa--and perhaps when and if they summoned him there he would perhaps have to go to work there---and he wanted his feet to be ready! i laughed, he laughed as he told me this---and then we shook hands and he left saying he would be back as soon as he could.

MENTED ON
MILL PRODUCT

saturday afternoon:

oct 17, 1942 671

Luis
life history

the rumor has almost been confirmed and it seems that the total decision of the "judge" (funny how that word lost its original meaning!) has ~~decided~~ been that luis should move out of the house (which by deed belongs to his mother) and sara is to move in and live with his mother. of course his mother despises sara and won't remain there so the net effect of the decision is of course the turning over of the house to the woman--nasty, rotten whore! (excuse the language, if anyone else happens to be reading this at any time---but it's exactly how i feel). 5 minutes later:---i have just talked with luis mother---who just came out of the intendencia---and the rumor is no longer rumor---it is fact. the jefe has ordered the house turned over to the woman. -----god, and i can't do anything. luis sent word with his mother to ask me if i couldn't do something to get him out of prison sooner. what can i do?--i'm going up to see the intendente now and see if i can't pay a fine for luis and get him out that way. 10 minutes later:--the intendente told me he thinks the sentence is comutable in money terms---and so i have just send for pancho luis' brother--and we shall send a telegram in his name to the jefe to see at what the sentence is commutable.

diary and items-- oct. 18, 1942--san luis--m. tumin

pancho najera came to see me yesterday afternoon and we had a long chat. i asked him what he thought about buying off luis's jail sentence and he said he was opposed to it. he said if we brought luis back, we would have to bring chila, the girl, back, as well--and that it would be very costly. but, more important, he thinks it's better to let luis and the girl stay in jail for a few days until luis' mother gets somewhat adjusted to the presence of the other woman who is now living in the house. he says it is too 'fresco' as yet--and if they came back today or tomorrow there would be a big fight and lots more trouble to be reckoned with. he said perhaps tuesday or wednesday we might do something but that we should wait until then. i think he is right. and so i will wait. in the meantime i feel as if i've sort of betrayed luis by letting him stay in jail---but maybe this minor betrayal will avoid larger areas of trouble for luis. from the point of view of my work it throws everything off--and i've got to start on anew informant and break him in--until luis comes back. i was wring to depend almost solely on luis but he was the only one i could work with and feel comfortable. but tomorrow i am going to start geneology with someone else---and in any event i will thus have a double check on it. the only bad feature is that i cannot get the geneology off to tax, as he asked me and as i promised him i would--but maybe by the beginning of the week i'll have it in tow. we shall see. also, of course, i have to put aside the project of the life history of luis on which we had begun. and gotten into rather extensively. but maybe when he comes back and is adjusted somewhat we will be able to take over again. all of this makes even more striking the necessity for defining and making clear the exact relationship between a field investigator and his informants. ---my personal relations with luis account, in no small measure, for the 'goodness' or 'badness' of my work here.

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about
Dec. 20, 1972

Luis
Life
History

(note: luis seems to slowly be getting back to living on peaceful--and perhaps connubial terms--with the ladino woman whom he gave two children--then later deserted for an indian girl--and then later --by order of the jefe--has had to take the woman back into his house to live; the indian girl--daughter of the man ramon, who became luis' enemy when luis seduced the girl at the age of fifteen or sixteen and took her to the mountain to live for a few months--and later got six months in jail for it---has been serving as a criadora in the pension where i stay; luis asked the senora to take her in; since luis is godson of the old cook at the pension the girl was taken in; luis however seems to have deserted the girl effectively; he is said to have said: "why doesn't she go back with her father?"; the girl was asked if she would like to go back to her father's house (the father and mother are separated) but she protested in tears saying her father sends her to the milpa and beats her fearfully all the time. but luis is gradually growing away from the girl, it seems. he protests to the contrary with me--when i put it up to him--but his protestations don't ring as true as they did a while back; luis is much of a hypochondriac about his misfortunes; although he fights against adversity in his own way; but his preoccupation with his illness, his ladino woman, and the last fifteen days of harvesting maize in the milpa--have made him more cool to the girl Chila than he ever was before, it seems. I should note that aside from children, Chila is the first indian I have seen in tears since I am here; and she is ashamed of her tears in front of me and in front of others; when they begin to flow she always runs from wherever she happens to be and hides herself till they are done. (does this society put a premium on 'tearlessness'? or is ladino premium she is observing? or are tears supposed to be only for infants?--).

san luis april 3

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i have recently come from the funeral of one of my two major informants, luis najera, aged thirty, indian, "rebel", who died yesterday of what was probably malaria and tuberculosis in a vicious combination which put him to bed two months ago: tore the flesh off his body, wasted him away: until death released him from the suffering.

the funeral started at luis' house: luis dressed in his best clothes: his hands and feet bound: socks on his feet for probably the first time in his life; a new store-bought hat by his side: his face covered with a red bandana: and the whole body covered with the white mata cloth in which new born children are wrapped, youths dressed, adults clothed: and finally the dead buried. by luis side were cigarettes and matches: toconotas with water placed at his feet (at the actual burial); a liberal sprinkling of mustard seed all over the white cloth covering: luis lying inside of a box with a new potato on which to sleep:

fourteen women and 24 men and one gringo anthro ologist constituted the funeral procession: winding down from luis house across vict's street to the calle del calvario: up to calvario at a slow pace: the procession led by the coffin and its six alternating bearers: all men in front : all women to the rear: the only sounds these of occasional plaints by luis' mother and his aunt. up to calvario and across the fields & the country: tramping over other graves: heading in one straight line for the newly dug grave of luis. at the sight of the open grave near-hysterics by the mother: seeming ready to throw herself into the pit designed for the dead body of her youngest son. the coffin was opened by demetric vicente carpenter of sorts and brother of luis' worst enemy; the toconota with water placed at his feet: the coffin nailed fast again: the coffin which demetric explained to me later costs \$5: a \$5 he was sorry not to be able to earn for having been busy at the time that luis died. a rope wound around the coffin, after the coffin had been taken off the bearing frame used by all funeral makers here. two men fown in the coffin to aid in lowering it: barely escaping being crushed by the lowering box. at the lowering of the box luis mother, his brother, his sister and his aunt baying into tears and laments : in language: his sister calling for her papaito, his mother for her son, his brother for his brother, his aunt for her luis. everyone else more than too busy watching the procedure of the lowering of the coffin to take interest in the direct mourners. the box finally lowered: all 38 indians now scramble to throw dirt and rocks upon the coffin to complete their devotions; mothers pass a handful of dirt to small children that they may throw dirt too: as soon as a thin layer of dirt covered the coffin: then the green boughs the women carried were thrown: four sticks, fresh cut branches of a tree placed one in each corner to guard from brujaeria: a candle at each four corners of the body lying with his head to the east, his feet to the west: and a fifth candle stub upon the chest part of the coffin. on top of all this a gourd shell full of the barbs of the plant called escamonal : again like the candles and the branches designed to prevent the expected brujaeria : brujaes supposedly coming, as demetric and francisco explained to me: three days after death and taking the dead man out of his coffin, and walking him thru the streets. francisco explained in much detail what he coughed to do that: because "even after death, as you know, bad things happen to people, and that is the only way to avoid it". demetric was not quite sure whether it was true: but "asi diceo todos". these rituals installed, the caving of the coffin by now working in two men: some chanting some others volunteers being ready always to take up the heavy loads all but unmovable: and power: two of luis' "supposed friends" - but who disliked him as much as he disliked them. the bottle of whiskey came out of francisco's hip pocket.

Luis N.
life
History
THUS

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San Luis Silotepaque
Brief sketch and
Pertinent Facts
about
2nd major informant
Jose Y.

Don Jose Yague:--Oct. 24, 1942--san luis matuin p.l.

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59 years old--natural--born in jilotepeque--nov. 26, 1883. father and mother born here too--both naturales. went to school four years here; 8 months in colegio in guatemala, but got sick, came home and never went back; 3 brothers, 1 sister--1 brother is older; 2 other brothers died; none of the other children went to school; father sent only jose to school; entered at age of six, then at 10 went to colegio; father could read and write too; mother could not; married when 22 years old; civil and church; wife is catarina gregoria--natural; no schooling; has two live sons, 1 live daughter; two male children died; son, isidro, went to school for three years; others did not go because "ellos no quieren, la mama no les deja a ir".

work: milpa, frijoles, arroz; cows, etc; can sew and braid hats; nothing else;

living in house are jose and wife, his son isidro and his wife and their four children; the house is composed of really two houses--composed of five rooms--2 bedrooms, 1 kitchen, 1 store room, and 1 large front room for visits'. --

jose is owner of 10 manzanas of land in paupacaya; all his sons work the land with him; 2 mules, 1 horse, 2 female horses; three cows; six pigs; two bulls; 30 gallinas; 1 rooster; 1 horse; jose is owner of whole sitio here and all the houses; gives the things to his sons when they want them;

50 cuerdas of land are for milpa; fifty cuerdas for each of his children--this includes 50 cuerdas for his ~~xxxxx~~ son in law -no payment for this; jose remains the owner of the land; the 760 cuerdas left over are for pasture; jose is going to rent 150 cuerdas for milpa the year to come--to three people; they are to pay 1 cargo en grano of maize for the use of the land; each of these renters will also take care of three cuerdas of land for jose; each of his sons have one cowapiece which jose gave to them; anything else they have, they have bought. in isidro's bed room there are two beds, one for the man and wife, and the other for the children; 3 chairs; 1 chest for clothes; in the store room there is one chest for clothing, two pots to keep beans; in jose's bedroom are two beds, one for himself and one for his wife; 2 chairs; 1 commode for 'guardar papeles'; 1 axe; 2 machetes; 2 irons; in the kitchen are three grinding stones; 8 cups; 5 plates; 2 spoons; 5 pots; 1 small table; no knives or forks; 2 glasses; 3 coffee pots; 5 batidores; then there is a little ranchita to store maize;-- everyone eats in the kitchen--the women on the floor; the children on the floor; jose and his son at the table; usually jose eats alone; if his son is around, they eat together;

jose visits all his children at least once a day and they visit here at least once a day; if they happen to come when there is food being served they eat, and vice versa; jose's two children--1 son and 1 daughter live a half block away--across the street; the houses of the children are their own--they made them; jose helped them build them; around the house the men braid and sew hats; the women wash clothes, grind maize, take care of the pigs and the

Hand Sewing
machine
No trade name
visible

There are towels, but
are not used; well
excused; have bed pans
at night: "candil" with gas
light at night; has
planters, but no sheets or bed
covers; 2 pillows;

Women do
all the marketing,
she goes to Guatemala
to buy clothes etc.
boys go to market
to get firewood

is. in Jose's
house. But this
is untrue. I
know his wife
making pills

chickens; take care of the children; the children are too small to do anything but run little errands as yet; when they get to be six years old and over, the females will strip corn husks; when the boys are seven and older they will go to the milpa with their fathers; they will also learn to braid hats; when they are twelve they will be taught to sew hats; the women here do not make pitchers because they have too many other things to do; they know how to make pitchers; when the little girls are seven years old they will be taught to make pitchers; little ones at first; then they make bigger ones, etc; two grandchildren by son Eduardo go to school; they will not go to colegio; there is no money; even if they had money they would not go, probably--'their mothers would not let them; they have 'lactina' for them; they don't want them to go because they want to be able to look on their children'; the father doesn't want them to go because 'le hace falta para ayudo para los trabajos'; can you order your children yet?--no, now, no--I can ask them a favor, but I can't 'obligate' them to do anything; at what age do you stop being able to 'mandar, un hijo'? when they get married; when they have their own women then I can't 'mandar' them any more; you can order your wife? oh, yes, all the time, until she dies. can she order you? no, she cannot.

women can order children?--yes, all children, male and fem. can you order your sobrinos? no, only can ask them for a favor; no obligation; your grandchildren?--no, only a favor they have their own parents who order them;--

666666666666
food habits:-----breakfast---:frijoles, tortillas, cheese, coffee; lunch:---the same as breakfast--but two times a week, if there is meat, they buy meat--pigg meat; chicken is eaten once a week at lunch time; vegetables such as cebollos, chile, tomato, potatoes, quiscil, repollo are eaten when they are to be bought--once or twice or three times a week; supper:--frijoles, coffee, tortillas, rice when it is available; --sundays the only difference is that fruit is eaten when it is available in the market place; --when girls are fourteen they can prepare food--; men do not learn how to cook; the six winter months--june to november there is milk to drink--and jose, his son and the little ones drink milk; cruda and cocida; the women do not; every day there is also mantequilla fresca; they do not make mantequilla lavada; pig fat is used for cooking purposes--with ajo; the women buy only for sunday at the sunday market and only for thursdays at the thursday market; there is no buying of food for the whole week for more than one day; --- some 20 cents is spent every sunday when they go to market, but this includes coffee and dulce as well; ten-twelve cents is spent at the thursday market; jose spends some 15 cents a week beside for food; isidro spends some 20 cents a week beside--; jose allots his money as follows: 2 and a half cents for a pound of dulce; 2 cents for a pound of salt; 4 cents for soap; 7 cents for coffee---

would be able to
"charge" at store but
can't now; they use the
Santitas store + the Chinaman;
Jose extends no credit in
selling - cash on delivery,
no one owes jose any money
except a friend who borrowed
\$5 - a note made, with two
witnesses, for 3 months; no
interest. Jose owes no one
any money

once a year--on the 15th of march--when jose celebrates the divina pastora of whom he has a picture in an ark here in the living room--the whole family comestogther here to eat--then they make tamales and chilate as the special dishes; jose is invited out to eat 3 or 4 times a year to the house of a friend; the occasion is usually the celebratio of some saint or other; the dates are usually the 3rd of may, 13th of june(day of saint anthony--of the mountain) 25th of august --in the house of the regidor, secundino esteban,; only three times; but each of these times one eats three meals at the house he is visiting; --the food special is chilate and tamales and whiskey; jose has no one but his family here on the 15th of march--the day when the principles go to esquipulas for holy water; all the women in the family come here to help prepare the food; when the whole family comes the tables are put out in the corridor, table clothes are spread--the men eat at the table; the women eat on the floor in the kitchen; the children, if small eat with the women; the larger boys eat with the men;--the house is decorated with pine; there is praying; candles are lit and kept burning all day--until 10 o'clock at night; the marimba is played only a little; there is no getting drunk, the men sit around all day and talk; the women do not join in this at all; they remain in the kitchen; -----breakfast is eaten at 7 a.m.; lunch at 11; supper at five p.m.; jose has a cup of coffee at 7 p.m.; ----

day cycle:

rising at 4 a.m.;--the women are up by this time too to make tortillas; jose has a cup of coffee and then goes off to the milpa; carrying tortillas and beans and cheese to the milpa; arrives at the milpa around 7 a.m.; they build a fire; heat up coffee and tortillas and eat breakfast; at 7:30 they go into the field to work; at 12 p.m. they eat lunch; --if the mozos have finished their assigned work by 12 noon they come and join jose--; eating and resting until 1 p.m.---; if the work is done early, say at 11 a.m. the mozos wait for lunch--eat lunch--and then they go home; (jose pays his mozos 10 cents a day and maintenance---- some mozos are naturales, some ladinos---they are paid 10 cents for 1 cuerda, or 1 taroja of land; if they finish this early they can start work on another and if they finish that then they get paid 20 cents for the two cuerdas; jose hires one mozo for 15 days during weeding in april; to plant in may, jose brings 5 mozos, for one day,--and plants his fifty cuerdas; at this time the mozos get paid only ten cents for the whole day; then in june for re-weeding --which takes one week--jose brings four or five mozos every day--for a week--and the mozos get paid 10 cents a cuerda for re-weeding--; in july the milpa is bulwarked--dirt piled up at the foot of the stalk to support it so that it should not fall-----this takes one week and the mozos are hired the same way as in june; in august the milpa is doubled--3 mozos, for two days, and the fifty cuerdas are

done

*paid by the
cuerdas*
*paid by
day*

in august, also, the ground is prepared for the planting of frijoles---this takes one week--and the mozos are paid by the cuerda; jose says he hires fifty mozos during the week--for the fifty cuerdas--i.e. there are fifty mozo-days paid for this week; the work is done in a week; jose does not do anything but supervise, bring his mozos water, prepare food for them; in september the frijoles are planted in five days, with the aid of five mozos every day for the five days; the last week in september the ground around the frijoles is reweeded--this takes one week--fifty mozo-days of labor, paid by the cuerda this time as well; in october there is no milpa work; in november they begin harvesting the maize and bringing it to the house; (tapiscar maize)--15 days of work, 10 mozo-days of aid--paid for by the day;--late in november or early in december the maize is carried to the house--this requires 4 days, 5 beasts 3 maos each of the four days; the maize is carried in the form of mazorka--two cargos of mazorka make 1 cargo of grano;- two trips are made each day--thus 10 cargos a day; thus 40 cargos in all-of mazorka--and thus 20 cargos 'en grano' and this lasts the whole year; there are two quintales in each cargo 'en grano'; this takes care of the pigs and jose and his wife for the year; the horses and chickens get some but not much; in december the frijoles are 'rancando'---this takes the whole month--and four mozos every day--except sundays of course; the mozos are paid by the day and hotby the cuerda; in jnauary and february and march jose had no milpa work because his ground is level and he does not have to cover it with wood and burn the wood to dry out the ground; those that do not have level milpas have to do this--it take one manday per cuerda for this;

when not working in the milpa there is always work to keep hi occupied; the animals; searching for a lost cow; fixing up the house; bringing fire wood; jose figures there are twenty days in which he does not work during the year; but this does not mean he is not making hats or doing little dispatches--he makes 9 dozen hats a year.

marriage---a boy soosa girl he likes; he goes to his father ,after speaking with the girl and finding out whether she is willing---and asks his father to please go to the girl s parents and ask permission for marriage; if there is no father an uncle fills in; if there is no uncle and olderbrother fills in; the parent sends a person to the house of the girl and asks the parents if they will please be home at such and such an hour for a little visit on the morrow; the parents answer that they will wait for the visit; the parents come on the morrow and bring either a pot of coffee or a bottle of whiskey; and some cigarettas or cigars; and if they bring whiskey then there is much happiness and they begin to talk; --the father of the boy says to the girl's parents; tal y tal fulano is my son and my son has seen your daughter and he has 'aluntad' to marry her; and i have come here to see if it is possible or not possible; then the father of the girl says that the thing cannot be resolved so

so quickly and that they will have to think it over; and he tells the parents of the boy to come back in fifteen or twenty days and that the thing will be resolved one way or the other at that time; then the parents of the girl ask the girl if she has willingness to marry the boy; if she says no the matter ends there; they cannot force her to marry the boy; before they could, but now if they try to, the girl goes to the intendente and complains and the intendente summons the parents and ask them why they are trying to force the girl to marry someone she does not want to marry; and he tells them they cannot oblige her to do so; that is the law now; but if the girl says yes then when the parents of the boy come back--and they bring more coffee and cigarettes and cigars or more whiskey and then they are told that the girl will marry the boy;(if the answer is no the matter closes there--they don't become enemies--things just stay there--no one has any fault in this); and then they tell the parents of the boy to come back in fifteen or twenty more days and to bring their principale with them and that they will have a principale present too so that the two principales will be able to witness the words of willingness of the girl and the boy and they also arrange a date when they shall present themselves to the intendencia to arrange the papers for the civil marriage; (casamiento); after this the boy has a right to come visit the girl in her house, but he may not go outside with her until they have civil marriage; when the boy comes visiting, if he has voluntad, he brings a load of firewood, or some ocote, --but usually no whiskey unless its a fiesta; when the muchacho comes the girl may platicar with him;"ya no hay pena"; the boy only stays a moment, maybe no more than two or three hours; the parents are always in the room; no, they are never left alone because(jose laughs here) "ellos hacen malo"; then the parents each seek out a principale --the principale who please you the most; me? antonio mendez is mine, because he knows how to talk and how to treat of such things; the parents ask the principale to do them the favor of coming with them at such and such a time to such a place to bear witness to what goes on; the appointed day, the principale comes to the house and he is served coffee and bread; then the appointed hour they go to the house of the girl; they bring a bottle of whiskey and coffee and cigarettes and a batidor of chilate(this night is called the'remato'); then the principale of the boys family presents the principale of the girls family with the batidor of chilate, saying they have voluntad to present it to them, and won't they please serve themselves; then they serve the chilate and everyone tifes it out; present in the room are the principale of the boys family the boy, the father, the mother and some brothers and sisters who have come along to hear, as well; they sit on one side of the room; on the other side are seated the principale for the girl, the mother, the father, and some sisters and brothers; but the girl remains in the kitchen; then the principale for the boy goes thru the same thing with the bottle of whiskey; then the father of the girl brings out a bottle of whiskey and has that passed around; then the boy's principale says to the girl's principale;" we have come here, with much voluntad and very sorry to molest you so, but the parents of the boy and the parents of the girl have expressed their willingness for

and
his
wife

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jose yaque--m. tumin--san luis--p.6--oct.24,1942
a marriage between the boy and the girl; and the sisters
and brothers are here to hear what is said; ~~then~~ --
please be so kind as to set a date when the fathers of
the children will go to the intendencia to arrange for
a civil marriage; we here await your orders as to whether
you wish it to be soon or later on; ---- then the prin-
cipale of the girl says no, it is your right to set the
date--; then the girl enters the room and the principale
of the girl asks the girl if she has the willingness to
marry the boy; and she says yes; then the principales of
the girl also asks the boy if he is willing; and he says
yes; and then everyone drinks and gets drunk and are
content; everyone stays until 4 o'clock in the morning;
then the principale of the boy and the boy's family go
back to their house and there a meal is spread for everyone
and also in the girl's house a meal is spread for the
principale and everyone else who is present; no one
but family is present--not comadres or compadres, or padrino
or madrina; then everyone goes home--at 5 or 6 o'clock in
the morning; --then the muchacho has a right to come visit
the girl but not to go out with her (laughing, again)--
because "so pueden hacer alguna cosa". Then the father of
the boy asks the principale to please do him a favor and
come to his house the day of the wedding; and the princi-
pale comes--and he stays at the boy's house--and his
wife goes to the girl's house; and she says to the girl's
mother "here I have come to bring your girl to the inten-
dencia to be married; I will only be a moment and I shall
bring her right back; the girl has new clothes and the
boy has new clothes as well; --then the principale takes
the boy to the intendencia and the principale's wife take
the girl there; then the secretary calls the girl and
boy in and reads them the marriage act--also present are
three witnesses whom they get at the intendencia; then
they sign or give thumb prints; and then they are told they
may go; then they go back to their respective houses, and
meals are served; there are no invitees at those meals
except the principale with the boy and his wife with the
girl; then the boy's father and mother go search out a
marriage padrino and madrina for the boy's marriage in the
church; the padrino and madrina answer that it is always
their obligation to serve and that they will serve; there
is no padrino or madrina for the girl; ---the boy and girl
may now live together but the most ordinary is that the
girl remains in her house and the boy in his until the church
marriage; --when they want to get 'together' the girl goes
to the boy's house to live; but this is only if they are
not going to have a church marriage; if they are going to
have a church marriage they may not 'get together'; they
may not go out together as yet; the gente ladino do, but

the gente naturale do not; (then comes the church marriage--
jose's description is less than that which Luis gave me
but does not vary from it in the major details. see the
description of marriage rites on

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are the very
mother too!

birth: when a woman feels she is pregnant, at the third month usually, she seeks out her partera; (also called comadrona); the partera comes once or twice a month to visit the woman; at the time of labor--usually very short--usually no more than a moment or may be a day--altho the e are those who suffer as much as two days; the partera comes when labor is felt; she takes care of the woman; also the girl's mother or a friend 'conconfianza' helps take care of the girl; the partera helps the woman give birth; the partera give medicines to alleviate labor; a belt is strapped around the woman to help force out the child; the partera massages the woman's abdomen to help her 'give out'; the child's umbilical cord is cut with a hot knife which cauterizes the cord at the same time; the child is not washed but is wrapped very warmly in clean clothes; the after birth (called 'compañera') is buried by the husband in a sitio near the house; no mark is left to indicate the place but it is always buried; no, sonor, it is never left unburied; one must not let the chuchus eat it; after all it's christian like the child and the mother and therefore it's not an animal; i don't know why they bury it, but the parteras say you must never leave it unburied; yes, maybe it has the same soul as the child but i don't know; all i know is that it has to be buried; -well after the child is born the woman is kept in bed for eight days; she nurses the child from the first day; the husband may see his wife and child immediately after birth; yes some go to church because they are very worried; but not many; some light candles but not many; the woman is kept in bed for eight days and then is allowed to get up but only to move around little by little in the house; the mothers help the girl out, or if there are no mothers then they hire a servant for those days; friends also come and relative too to help out; no, the man does not go to church to give thanks afterwards; a month after birth the woman may begin grinding maize again, little by little; ----if the child is born dead it is buried within two hours on a side of the cemetery--not in the cemetery--because one has to get permission to bury in the cemetery; in any event if it's born dead they don't have to pay a licence; but if it lives for a few hours or days then they have to pay to bury it; a licence costs 25cents; in any event one must inform the secretary that a death has occurred; if the woman dies at birth along with the child, then the child is buried immediately but the woman has a separate funeral and burying ground 24 hours later; if the child lives and the mother dies then the child passes either to its madrina, or if the madrina cannot handle it then it goes to the mother of the husband; she either seeks out a wet nurse and pays her every day to give milk to the child or else buys goats milk to give to the child; but, oh, senor, how difficult it is to take care of a child when the mother dies; "ah, se cuesta mucho"; before birth the woman's diet is the same; but after birth the woman goes on a special diet--soup of a fattened chicken; dry cheese; coffee; tortillas and pan francesas; after fifteen days they begin to edge out on to the regular food, little by little; and the child eats his mother's milk and also

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(?) I have since found out that Circumcision is a rarity here. Those said said (2) must have been born some place else. And in hot so some they were Indians.

"accite de comor" to help fatten up the child--a spoonful twice a day. this is bought in the pharmacy. no, senior there is no circumcision(joso didn't know what this was and i explained it to him. he says no one is circumcised, but i have bathed in the river with indian men and boys here an have seen some of them to be circumcised--must find out how this happens). -the madrina and padrino for the nacimiento is gotten two or one month before the brth; ---yes, there are some who give birth in seven months and eight months; most give birth i eight & nine months after the first time that the menstrual period stops; yes, this is rare however; some of the little little ones born in seven months live; others die; yes, twins are born to some too; well, i think it's good luck; no i never heard of triplets here; the padrino and madrina take the child two or four or five months afterwards to the church for baptism; the padri no buys the baptismal clothes if he has the 'colunoad'; the pad-rino pays the sixty cents to the priest for the baptism; (joso has 10 godchildren--paid for every one of them)-- after thebaptism there is a colebration at the child's house; not everyone has this celebration however; after the bap-tism--at which the chld's mother is also present, the padrino and madrina hand over the child to the mother so that she may give the child milk; family and friends are invited to the bulla; whiskey and tamales and coffee are served; they do not get drunk; if one wants to there is a marimba; if not, thor is not; the principales have nothing to do with births; ----the partera gets paid fifty cents and her food whileshe is here working; yes, only fifty cents for all her work; --there are three mxkuxxi parteras-- two naturales and one ladina; one natural is crisanta lopez; yes, she's old; i don't remember the name of the other; the ladina is called xxaquilina; but i don't know her apellido; crisant and aquilina are equally good; i had aquilina; when it's a difficult birth, then you have to call Don Victor to operate; i never used don victor ; but so people tell me;---the umbilical cord is buried with the 'compagnera'; -----no, senior, i don't know anything about abortions or miscarriages; i don't knpw if there are any here who kill their children; yes, it's a sin. they tell me that those in Peru kill their children, is that true? Max (I don't know. su-shep). Who told you, Jose? Oh, Peruanas used to pass here five six years ago. Now they don't pass by anyore.

there are added materials on the work with jose of yesterday which i must record. i had to wait while jose was taking care of a cow--and so i had time to record all the items in the 'living room' where we work. they are as follows: 2 small chairs of sawn wood, seats covered with cowhide; i arm chair of sawn wood; i large table, painted blue, sawn wood, drawer for papers; i small table of sawn wood, same color as large table. on this table is a very small arc, which has little doors on it; it contains a picture of "La Divina Pastora" and these words are painted on top of the door of the arc; another picture there is of San Antonio, milagroso santo del monte. still another picture is of some saint or warrior lancing some fallen foe--but i couldn't see any name attached and don jose didn't know who it was either; the arc is decorated with very fancy painted paper, and, in addition, there are real flowers, long dead, and paper flowers strwn on the inside, pinned, and lying in front of the arc, of sawn wood and painted same color is a three-candle sacrificial stand. under the table with the arc are several consor pots. on one side of the room is a ~~sawn~~ wood bench covering the distance of one whole wall and it is watched by another on the other side of the room; standing next to one of the benches is jose's marimba which he bought last year in guatemala at \$50 and \$10 for transportation costs; there are all sorts of mule and horse trappings hanging up on various pegs, and two cargo saddles lying on the floor; there are two yokes for oxen team; 3 crepe paper "chinese lamps" hang in position over the arc. on the wall over the large table is a large metal sign advertising Obrero cigarettes. there is a little sawn wood, undecorated stool under the large table. the house is of baharek--sawn wood door on to the street--and sawn wood door on to the sitio and the next adjoining house. all the rooms in the two houses have sawn wood doors. no windows. the roofs are of tile, with log and stick supports, tied with bark thongs; the floors are all of dirt. ---all of jose's children (i mean grandchildren) wear ladino clothes--the little boys wear ~~only~~ large shirts and no shoes or pants --the girls wear dresses and no shoes or sandals; jose's wife wears traditional indian clothes as does the wife of jose's son Isidoro who lives with jose. jose and his son wear manta around the house--and regular shirts and pants and sandals when they go out. i don't know whether this is regular or not; ---now, jose is reputedly one of the richest indians in town and at the same times, as far as i can determine, one of the best liked. he is not a member of any cofradia, but, secundino and others have told me that jose will probably be named a principal soon. He seems a very ~~decent~~ depository of indian culture, but ~~not~~ go into this more later when i come to talk of other things about our interview. i want to report the budget of expenses and income i got from him yesterday and then to report the budget of my other informant luis najera for purposes of comparison.

income -one year-(~~not~~)
 9 dozen hats-- \$360 (sold in august and january to traveling merchants from guatemala). with 8 cents worth of palm jose can make one dozen hats.
 16 cargoes of fr-joles \$64---sold in february march and april.

*Jose thinks he
 was 100. I asked
 him & he was rather
 sure.*

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jose says that this was very good luck to have sold 16 cargoes but that this year it will be different since the frijole crop seems to be down to a bare minimum and he may be able to sell one or two cargoes of frijoles.

5 pigs---\$25-- sold in february, march and april. jose says this happens every year--he can sell three pigs.

2 doz. cortes : bought at \$1.30 apiece, sold at \$2.10 apiece-- total net---\$4.80. jose goes to guatemala once a year and brings back these cortes which he then sells over a period of 3 montas to the indian women.

renting of marimba---\$20 a year. this is one third of the total income of the marimba for the year. the other two thirds is divided among the four marimba players, of whom one is jose's son. renting of beasts:---\$15 a year. this is scattered thrupt the year.

2 bull calfs---\$10---jose says he can sell two each year. he can not sell cows, no one will buy.

total income \$142.40.

expenditures:

\$35.30 for help in the fi lds. i estimated this from the data. jose gave me yesterday.

\$30.00 for food and clothing during the year.
 .50 contributions to cofradias, etc.

\$ 3.00 road and decoration taxes to pueblo

\$ 1.25 candles for church and fiestas.

\$ 1.00 trip to guatemala

\$10.00 medicine during the year. (jose spent \$5 in august when he was sick).

\$.75 palm for hato.

total expenses---\$82.00. this leaves some sixty dollars surplus. jose says this gets spent in all sorts of ways. for instance, he bought the marimba this year. then sometimes there is extra money needed for a sickness. an animal gets lost. new saddles have to be bought. the house needs fixing. extra clothing. expenses for his grandchildren, etc. jose insists that last year was an exceptional year--and that usually he does not have money left over--but on the other hand has money in his pocket all during the year. by the end of this month he will have earned at least \$5 more from gillin and myself.

now i have just looked over the budget i got from luis, my other informant, and i see that i do not have comparable data. i am going to leave a page open therefore for luis' budget which i shall get from him anew when he comes out of jail. --and now i want to get on to other things concerning the interviews with don jose. i got to working with him as follows. when luis was sent to jail, i waited three days hoping he would be back. but then i received a letter from him telling me he was in jail for fifteen days--so i delayed no longer and walked down to jose's house and met him there for the first time. gillin had worked with him and, if i remember correctly, was much satisfied with him. gillin had originally gotten him thru the recommendation of the intendente. jose was very cordial to me--and we chatted for quite a while--about gillin and my work and his work--etc. then i told him i would like to work with him for a few weeks. he asked me what had happened to my other informants. i told him that i was now

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going to work with pedro any more and that luis was in jail-but that even if luis weren't in jail i would want to work with him anyway because the 'doctor' had said he was such a good person to work with. this pleased him and we made arrangements to meet the following day. i came to his house--he greeted me cordially--we chatted a while--and then i began to work with him completing the geneology which i had almost completed with luis--and in addition checking on everything luis had told me. the work went along very well. jose and i got to be fast friends --and soon he was calling me 'miguelito' and i was calling him jose instead of 'don jose'. we have now gotten to the point where he calls me 's-u jiel'--my language name and i call him 's-u shep', his language name, we greet each other "nak pa a watch" and "sh-a-jo-yun-ki-yah"---and use as much language as we can together. from geneology i went to linguistics and worked two days with him on conjugations of verbs--and have quite a little data on that in a notebook which i am not going to transcribe. i got enough language so that i could chat around a little bit with other indians and with jose--and so that i could compare my material with pinulans and other indians to note similarities and differences. from the linguistics we went to work on 'race relations'. i spent a morning with him on this -but found out that the direct interview just does not work on this topic. for all the confidence he has, he still seems very reticent to talk. it may be that i am conscious and aware of differences of which he is neither conscious nor aware. from the first morning's work on this with him one would gather that the only difference between ladinos and indians is their skin color. later chats with jose proved that he doesn't believe this at all. he is well aware of 'group differences'--in character, behavior, outlook on life, economic status, attitude toward children and education, opportunities, etc. i am not going to report them as yet--because i want to make more sure of them and get some of the contexts in which these differences seem to jose to stand out most clearly. but i have found him a delightful gentleman. he is polite, kind, serves me milk mid-mornings, is a gracious host and in some ways is even a better informant than luis, whom i have found remarkably satisfactory. jose, for instance, knows Spanish conjugations and tries as hard as he possibly can to give me the exact equivalents in language. He is highly respected in the community--had married off and buried both sons and daughters--and thus knows the 'rites' around these. he is often called to the cofradias to participate. his opinion is weighed heavily with the indians. i have yet to hear anyone say anything bad about him. he owes no one any money. he does not go prancing off with other women, as far as i can determine. not that this makes any difference to me--but i note it because it seems to be part of the old pattern of familiar behavior rather than the new. i am not sure but i think that promiscuity and prostitution, adultery etc--are spanish influences. it may be that jose is just too old. he is fifty nine--yet he is alert, active, alive. i shall find out about this in part later.) an interesting incident occurred the first day of work. it came time to pay him. i asked him how much gillin had given him per day. he said twenty five cents. i have been paying informants 20 cents a day --but was stringly tempted to pay jose 25 cents in deference to what he had formerly gotten and in deference to his age etc. but i figured it might get around to my other informants that i was paying jose 25 cents. so i flipped a coin. (incidentally

Jose came to
see me the day I
went to the city &
Dear greeted him
with "Don Jose". But
Dear calls him only
his ch. I think "Don"
to Jose is in deference to
his age.

jose had never seen or heard of this custom before--and thought it was very funny)--jose lost--and so i pay him 20 cents a day. (my coin is not two-headed, either!)--it was all taken in good grace. i am on extremely friendly terms with him in general. i asked him why he called me 'don miguel' in the beginning and said i did not like it--he said he used 'don' because i had more in my head than he had. (i wonder whether this is the reason ladinos are always called 'don' by the indians. i doubt it seriously. it seems to me that there is just not enough familiarity between indian and ladino for a ladino to call an indian don (i mean that between ladino and indian the ladino does not 'respect' the indian and so always uses his first name with out 'don' or merely yells 'muchachos'. on the other hand i have never heard an indian call a ladino by his first name. 'don' or 'senor' is always used. ladinos, on the other hand call each other by their first names. age differences are respected however--and a younger man will almost always use 'don' to an older--while an older man usually calls a younger by his first name. but i think the use of the first name to ladino by ladino is based on the 'age-respect' principle; while the use of first name to all indians is based on the 'lack of respect, regardless of age' principle. i have heard ladinos address indians merely as 'senor' without any name--but this seems to be for those indians who are not acquaintances. usually nothing is used, except 'vos'. (talking about 'vos' reminds me that carlos' insistence that the ladinos have to say 'vos' to the indians because they don't understand 'usted' is all wet. i use 'usted' and they understand it. and, further, all the ladinos say 'vos' or 'tu' to each other.). --- i want to report another item in the interview situation with jose. when we got to talking about brujaeria and brujos yesterday jose showed and reported verbally all the traditional stories about brujos and showed all his fears. he said he feared them because they could do one harm at night--solo por gusto. i got the reformer spirit working and decided i would see if i couldn't secularize Jose--the only result is that jose thinks that i am immune to brujos because i know their secrets and because i can do some 'brujaeria' (hypnosis) myself. he says for a man of his temperament(he reports himself as a man of soft and timid spirit) he still fears brujos and won't take any chances with them. i tried to explain to him how powerful, 'belief' can be--but with little result. he would see, to understand that when one feared something, or believed something was going to happen, he might very well think he actually saw the thing happen even if it did not occur 'in reality'. but this fine distinction didn't get across--so i have shelved my reformer spirit for the rest of the year; another interesting item--when we got to talking about procedures at birth and jose obviously didn't know everything that went on (he has never seen a birth!)--i asked him if we couldn't call in his wife. he said, oh, no--she wouldn't tell me anything and it would be embarrassing for her and for him. i don't know the basis of this at all but maybe i'll find it out from my cook when i go to live in el camaron next month.

oct. 25, 1942 p. 5 don jose--m. tumin--san luis

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his wife
uses the same
ones, too

other items: i let jose try to type on my typewriter--and helped him spell out his name. he said he couldn't see the keys very well without his eyeglasses! he is the only indian i know of who has eyeglasses. there may be others. i have heard and seen of none--tho of course people won't go around reporting that so and so has eyeglasses. but i shall find out. it seems unlikely that there would be more than one or two others. what would they use them for? they can't read for the most part.

other items: jose is owner of two lots of land, composed of 29 manzanas apiece. the first one he bought in 1924 from his father--for a price of \$150. i was surprised at this and asked him why he had to pay his father and was it customary etc. he said it was not customary, but his father was an old man at the time and needed the money and couldn't work the land. so jose bought it from him. so i asked jose if his sons intended to pay him for the land he had transferred to them. he said maybe they would in the future, and if they did he would transfer titles to their names, but that as yet neither his sons nor his son in law had paid him--and "no soy yo mal genio; por ese no vendo cosas a mis hijas". that much is true. he has never sold anything to his sons but always gives it to them--free. loans them his animals free etc. on the other hand i don't think jose meant to call his father 'mal genio' merely because he had paid the old man for land. evidently for jose the father's age was the mitigating factor. he said he earned the money to pay his father through his 'inteligencia' and 'trabajo'.

item: back to brujos. he protested that he did not know any brujos. then i put on the 'scoffing act' and so he said that if i knew the names of some then someone must have told me, and it was probably luis. i insisted that luis did not. then he said that i had 'divined' who were brujos--because i had the intelligence to divine such things. i insisted that i had not divined at all but that i had learned from others. he refused to believe that i had not divined who were brujos. he says that men of high intelligence can tell at once from looking at a person who is of 'mala fe' and who is of 'buena fe'. incidentally, he also named me a brujo--a name i already had. --on this brujeria business and my attempt to 'secularize' jose it pops into my mind now that there is an interesting thought process and 'identification of word with thing' which jose follows. here's how it works. jose asks me if i know any brujos. i say, yes, i know who are called brujos. then he says "oh, there are brujos?" and i say "only they are called brujos but they don't know any brujeria". then he says or thinks "if there are men who are known as brujos, then obviously there is such a thing as brujeria". it seems that the notion of 'false naming' doesn't penetrate with jose. i would try more but i don't think it's worth while.

item: in linguistics session with him we got on to words for 'bad things'. he wouldn't pronounce them. like luis, he insisted on writing them. he will say the spanish equivalent but not the lenguaje. luis too.

item: one day while we were working angel fiarova, the only ladino in town who can talk lenguaje, passed by, and seeing me

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sitting there with jose, he said 'con permiso', didn't wait for the 'permiso' and walked in and sat down without being asked to sit down. here one waits! to be asked to sit down. i thought he was being rude but after he had bothered us for a half hour, even tho jose seemed visibly displeased i didn't say anything. then the next day when we were working on 'race relations' in the morning we got on to the question of who was more 'mal criado'. he insisted the ladinos were. i asked him what did it mean for a man to be mal criado. one item he mentioned was that one didn't have 'education' and 'cortesia'--and without my asking for an example, he said: "for instance, that angel, who walked in yesterday without permission and sat down without my asking him to sit down". he continued "an indian never does this; he always knocks and waits for permission, and if permission isn't forthcoming he doesn't sit down; they have been well educated in this respect by their elders".

another item--but not related to jose. the neighbors around jose's house know i am learning language with him. now when i pass by they salute me with 'ka-ti' instead of 'adios' and when i say 'ka-ti' back to them they die laughing. this is a little different from the indian woman who walloped her child for when she caught her talking language with me. also almost every indian man i meet and talk with will talk language for me and teach me a few phrases--and with obvious delight that i am learning their language; there are a few who still seem very ashamed(?) to talk language with me. but yesterday i was talking with two indian men and i said "how i would like to be able to talk language well with you so that the ladinos could not understand us". they both laughed very heartily and said "oh, of course, ladinos can't understand anything we say when we talk in language". i think that the willingness to teach me language is an index of the differential reception and confidence. i don't know for sure. but it seems to me that it is.

another item: in talking with jose about sending children to school--he kept on repeating that it was the indian women who were at fault mainly--they didn't want their children away from the houses--and they did not send them to colegio even if there were money because they didn't want their children at a distance from the home. he said this was the case with his wife and their children, none of whom had gone to colegio and only one of whom had gone to school. i asked him whether the men wanted their children in school. he said he doubted it--because they wanted their children to help them with work in the fields and around the houses. but he said the women were worse on this score. i am beginning to suspect that there is a differential receptivity to contact influences as between indian men and indian women. the maintenance of indian clothes, the far greater use of language, etc--are some indices of this. the factors to account for the differential receptivity are present, at least in part:--i.e. men are in 'contact' with ladinos. women are not as much. men hang around the city hall and square; women do not; men go to service in guatemala; women do not; this hunch i shall try out in detail in camaron and when i come to sample families here in san luis.

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WITCHCRAFT; SICKNESS; MEDICINE

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The following are notes on sickness, medicine and curing which were secured from an Indian informant (3 years of schooling; 50 years old; comparatively economically secure) and from the Ladino druggist-doctor in San Luis. The information was secured in comparison with the materials in Wisdom's The Chorti. Where the material seems to be unorganized, it is allowed to remain so since it is in this order (with prompting) that the informants rendered it.

With regard to Indian names for parts of body: the following information was gotten from informant Jose Y.

heart: located left center of body; Pok: dru q'jal ma
lungs: located upper thorax; Pok: na ka ta lem
stomach: located just below ribs; Pok: chi-nu-kush
liver: located underneath ribs; Pok: a q'un ka sa
intestines: below stomach: same pokoman name as that for liver
cerebrum: located in the head; is comparable to bones and eggs
informant knew what pig brain was like and describes human brain from that; Pok: sa-lul; cerebrum is "to think with"; t
senses: there are five: sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch;
Pok: ka-sentide; no relation to cerebrum or nervous system; thought to be self sufficient.
nerves: to give force to the body; without nerves we couldn't use our muscles; (nerves: Pok: pan ka wo kel)
blood circulation: the body moves the blood around us so long as we are alive. (blood: Pok. kik)
death: the blood gets cold all of a sudden and stops moving; and then we are dead and dry up; we die because the heart stops beating and the soul isn't there anymore and then there is no more blood.
wounds: blood is replenished with food in 15-20 days and then come back to normal.
food: passes into the intestines and the good remains in the form of some kind of spirit which nourishes us and gives us force and the bad part passes off as excrement. (excrement: Pok: sa)
(urine : Pok: am)
urine comes from intestines too; informant does not know process whereby it is manufactured;
kidneys: located above hips; informant does not know what they are for.

Parts of
body

Death

Body
Processes

Diseases

Pokoman word for sickness is ki mik; the types of illness listed by the Indian informant are as follows: calentura y frio (chills and fever); pain in the body; pain in the head; pain in the stomach; colic (a stinging of winds in the chest); fright: which induces a loss of a appetite and a loss of desire to work; malaria, attended by fever and loss of appetite; viruela: fever and accompanying excretion of little granules from the body; "tos-ferina" (chiflador)--cough, especially children's;

Types of

air (aire) diseases: dizziness, pain in stomach, in chest, in liver in ~~shabixix~~ lungs, in bones, in teeth; eye trouble is not caused by airs but comes from inside the head; toothaches come from your nerves after airs have gotten into your nerves; informant adds that perhaps all diseases come from airs because when one is sick wind runs thru your bones. people get sick quickly and gravely if they don't take care of themselves; if you have a cold and go bathe and don't take medicine and go to work, then you get real sick. Men get sick more than women because the go out and work and do a lot of exercise and get wet with sweat; women don't go out of the kitchen so they don't get sick; children get sick quickest of all; for instance, when a child is nursing, the mother may leave him and if she isn't back when it is the hour to nurse, then the child gets indigestion (se empachar) and gets fever and diarrhea. Hours to nurse are not necessarily regular, but you can't leave a child more than three hours without nursing. Children usually nurse every half hour or every hour, day and night, for two years. (Note: the informant is a man who apparently does not know much about what the women do; he did not know anything about childbirth); if you nurse more than two years the child gets very sick, his nose bleeds, but nothing happens to the mother; the woman's milk is good, but the child is now eating and shouldn't nurse any more; if he does he'll have hemorrhages when he grows up; a woman may nurse two children at the same time without damage.

Susceptibility
to
disease

A heavy man gets sick quicker than a thin man and the sickness is heavier and the man dies sooner because of his heaviness; young people are less susceptible and have more resistance and more life than an older person. At 30 years of age men and women are strongest in their resistance to sickness; at 50 and over they are weak. Informant (just 50 years old) says he is much weaker than he used to be; physical beauty does not matter more does good or bad behavior, except that good people have more resistance than bad people because God looks after the good people and punishes the bad people. One should never go around talking about how nice his child is or what he is going to do with them because the child will die very soon that way, just from being talked about or from what an envious person may do. It's best never to say anything about your children. They'll make out better and live longer that way. If others talk about your children, it doesn't matter. Susceptibility to disease believed to be determined at birth, but you can also get sick from carelessness. Overwork and too much exercise makes a man sick; he wastes his life that way. He throws off his life in his sweat.

Sweat is a part of his life that he is throwing away; it is not bad to sweat a little bit; a sweating man gets sick quicker than others; you sweat away your life and get older sooner; your "time" comes sooner. Hungry men get sicker quicker than others as well.

A blow to the intestines or the chest or ribs is most dangerous: i.e., a cut in those regions, because the doctors can't cure that.

A cut on the head or extremities is not serious. A drunken man is more susceptible to sickness than others because he is more careless about his food. A blow to a drunk man is more serious because the whiskey makes fire in his body and makes him more sick.

(Pokoman terms: to get sick: u-toh, or, ya-wan-roh (sp. enfermarse);
to cure oneself: q'emem-wim; (sp. curarse)
to get better: hin chi major; (sp. mejorar)

Indians get sicker quicker than Ladinos because they go out to work and expose themselves. There are more winds (aires) outside the house; the ground is wet; feet get wet and cold, and the chill penetrates the body.

Winds (Aires)

Winds: one breathes them in, or they hit the head and leave something cold and the cold gets in and makes one sick; this may happen thru the ears but not thru the eyes; an aire can get inside one thru his mouth while he is talking. One gets sick from aires because there are "aires enfermizos"; any cold wind is bad; if one is sick and goes out into the wind then the wind hits the body and one gets calenturas and frios and the sick man gets sicker.

Only children get sick from fright from thunderstorms; some can get cured of this fright by praying to god; some get better; some die.

Frights

From frights from large snakes, men women and children get sick; then a curer has to go and pray where the person was frightened; if you don't do this you will die of fright sickness; there are no medicines for this fright sickness in the pharmacy.

Other frightening animals: a bold bull or cow, or a barking dog, or a drunken man with a knife or revolver frightens women and children. All frights are curable only by a curer (parchero)

(Pokoman terms: espantar: yon j'ik; espantado: yon j'i nak;
espante: hin shi yon je (I frightened myself)

Women are more weak and get frightened very quickly: by the sight of blood, by the sight of men fighting, by a hurricane storm, earthquake, sudden falls or tumbles, children's cries. Results of frights are sometimes delayed for years. Symptoms are lack of hunger, lack of energy, loss of weight, a desire to eat only fruit, and won't eat tortillas. If the spot where the fright occurred cannot be localized, then the household saint, or, failing that, San Luis in the church, must be appealed to. But it is always better to do it at the spot of the fright.

Magical Elements

Wizards (brujos) can throw frights into your body through your dreams at night or in the day. When one is frightened he has to have a parchero give him spirit medicines, the best of which are agua florida, agua colonia, etar, balsamit de aire; these are all mixed up and one drinks the solution to get rid of the

Winds

the aires that have entered the body. When one is in a frightened condition, one is very susceptible to all things, and aires enter very easily; and then if a other fright occurs on top of the first, it is almost sure that one will die. Children die quickest of fright, even quicker than women. Women die quicker of fright than do men because they are weaker. A young man of 18-40 is more resistant than men of other ages.

(Pokoman term: aire: tiewu; aire de espanto: mal-tiewu)

The term aire de espanto is used to distinguish it from an unarmful wind. In language the term for aire de enfermedad and aire de espanto are the same.

Aires ~~pasarse~~ from one part of the body to the other through the blood. Aires and frights are not contagious or transferable, except by wizards (brujos), who, in their wisdom (sabiduria) can pass them on. Menstruating women are very weak and have very little resistance. Such women say they may not have intercourse at this time and men must respect this. The informant here says he never had intercourse with a woman during her period. The menstrual blood is bad but not contagious. (Other informants agree that it is bad to have intercourse with a menstruating woman because one catches gonorrhoea (purgacion) from her at this time).

Every fright has an aire with it. But perhaps not all disease have aires; the worst of all is the one thrown by the brujo because this is not curable a plain fright aire is curable. Women get fright at the sight of a burning house or any sudden fire in the fields. Burns of the body do not produce frights. There is no aire associated with the evil eye (mal ojo). All evil winds are cold winds. Calentura, heat, fire in the body do not associate with aires. ~~A~~ Fire in the mouth comes from fire in the stomach, caused by indigestion; one has to take cool drinks to get rid of the fire. When one has indigestion in general one has to take a purgative to get rid of the bad in the stomach; this drink washes out the intestines. Fire from the body may go to one's head and cause fire in the head; this can be cured with holy water or with washing the head with agua sanativa which one buys in the pharmacy. Fires in the body cause inflammation of the kidneys or vaso (abdomen); you have to take cool drinks to quench the fire. Fire in the body also causes chills and fever. When you have fever with inflammation of the kidneys or abdomen, you may sweat it out.

Swellings are not caused by frights or winds; their cause is unknown and one eventually dies of the, Drying up comes from fright which is not cured. But one has to be sick before the drying up comes. Then one must cure his fright quickly.

Congestion comes from much fire or much ice (hielo). The stomach closes up and one can't defecate or urinate. A clogging of the nostrils comes from catarrh. Congestion of the ears is from coughing too much. Congestion may be removed by heavy sweating, but one must put cotton in his ears, for instance, when so so that winds should not get into his ears. Dysentery comes from much fire. Boiled fish and cool drinks are good for this.

Diarrhea comes from fright, say the parcheros. When the body is frightened it won't absorb food and throws it all off so one defecates everything.

Fire in
bodyOther
Diseases

Hemorrhages: informan says they're simply "por gusto" and not really sickness, except that the cerebrum may be broken the blood flowing out. A silver coin held to both sides of the forehead will stop the flow of blood.

Sneezing: comes when one is talking about you.

Hijillo,
The disease
of the
dead

Hijillo: only the dead person has hijillo. It is not an aire. If you look on a dead person, the hijillo comes out of his body and into yours. Then your wholebody gets chilled. A person infected with hijillo may pass it onto a man with weak blood. The man gets sicker gets cold and pains in the body. Ice is hijillo and freezes the body. One parcheros can cure hijillo in the following way: A parchero takes two candles (white ones) and goes to any dead person who has not yet been buried. Lights one candle at the head and one at the foot. Lets them burn a while. Then puts them out and takes them to the sick man. Pulverizes the candles and rubs the wax all over the sick man's body to warm up his body. They you buy agua manzanilla--warm it up and take it in order to sweat. Then you put on lots of clothes. Do this twice and you sweat out the hijillo.

Evil
Eye

Evil eye: one has the evil eye from birth. The eyes are very strong, the blood is also very strong in the man, woman or child with evil eye. No animals have evil eyes. When a person with evil eye looks on a small child he causes the child to have body pains and shivers. Only parcheros can cure evil eye. He rubs eggs (3 or 4) on the whole body; candles are burnt before a saint. The child is wrapped up in clothes; then a herb called guda is taken, and one or two beads of coral are mixed in, the this is mixed into water, and the head is bathed with this potion.

Then the child drinks a little of this solution. This is done twice: the 2nd time 6 days after the 1st. And that's the cure. Only children of 1-2 years of age can be infected with evil eye. Young animals such as calves and mules can be made sick with evil eye. Animals can be cured by tying a square of red genera cloth around the throat of the animal; the cloth is kept here till it falls off by itself in 5 or 6 months. This is used as a preventive as well as a curative for animals. As a preventive for children you put a red shirt on them and around the neck of a little girl you put a string of red coral; and around the wrist of a little boy you put a string of red coral beads; or just a plain piece of red cotton can be tied round wrist or neck to ward off evil eye.

Hijillo

Hijillo (again); sick men and women are sure to get hijillo if they go to funerals, so they don't do so; any sick man gets sicker. Catarrh and cough are especially bad in this regard and any other diseases when ice (hielo) is the causative. A healthy person will generally not contract hijillo. After one goes to a funeral one should not look for twenty four hours on a small child because he will give the hijillo this way. No matter how healthy a very young child may be he will contract hijillo if he looks on a dead person. Hijillo may be washed out of one's clothes simply with soap, and cold water. No other cleansing before or after

attending a funeral is necessary.

Evil eye

Evil eye again: if you know who threw the evil eye, you go to the person; if it's a man he takes off his shirt or jacket and wraps the child in it and rubs his hands over the child's head and face and rubs the child's body with

Curing

two eggs. The jacket or cloth is left on for fifteen minutes; and the child should get cured that way. If it is a woman who has the evil eye, the woman comes and rubs eggs on the face and head and body of child and takes it in her arms and cuddles it for ten minutes. Then she takes out one hair from each side of the head and one long one from the top of her head and ties one around each wrist of the child and one around the neck. The hairs are left there all the time till they fall off.

The following is a report from the informant who gave the preceding information on sickness: it concerns a fright he had and what he did about it.

Report
of
incident
of
contraction
and
cure of
fright

Jose got thrown from a horse about fifteen years ago; he was hurt physically, and got sick about a year later. He dreamed about the horse throwing him. Hereafter he lost his appetite. This lasted for fifteen days. So a parchero was summoned, and rubbed six unbroken eggs all over his body. The purgante of chicken and vinegar was bought in the pharmacy because Jose felt hard things in his stomach and chest and felt winds there. He woke up feeling very weak. Parchero rubbed his body with holy water -- on his head -- and had him drink a little. He sent out and had 6 light candles bought and parchero went to church to light them and pray for Jose. (Juan Acosta was the priest, but he died six years ago). All this candle business was before the egg rubbing. Four days after the purgante, another medicine was made of holy water and something else. This was rubbed all over Jose's head and again and again he drank a little of it. The eggs which had been rubbed on his body were then buried in the spot where the horse had thrown him. A little of cacao seedling was also buried with the eggs. There at the spot the parchero prayed that "In the name of God, the sick one should get better because the medicine has been made and applied", and after that Jose started to get better and in one month was all cured. This cost him a fee of \$1 to the parchero and 25 cents for medicine, and 6 cents for candles and one twenty cent bottle of whiskey, plus the cost of chicken and meat and a fish served to the parchero. Present at the curing were Antonio Mendez, and Jose's two sons, Eduardo and Isidro. Also the wife of Jose, and the wives of his two sons, and Jose's daughter. Jose served food to all but ~~only~~ whiskey to the parchero only.

The whole routine was as follows: Jose gets sick, a hardness in the stomach and loss of appetite are the symptoms; his sons and his wife go to the parchero without consulting him; the parchero came at 9 a.m. and asked him "what do you have"? Jose answered "I have a pain in the stomach or maybe I'm sick with fright because I've been dreaming about the horse that threw me". Parchero answers: "It's quite possible that you are sick with fright. He said this after he had taken Jose's pulse. Then he added: "But don't worry, we'll make medicines and cure you". Then he told Jose he would cure him four days later and he told Jose's wife to buy six candles so that he could go to church and light them. At the appointed day he went to church at 4 P.M. with Antonio Mendez, Jose's friend. He prayed there for three hours. He came to the house at 7 P.M. and was served coffee and beans and tortillas. He stayed till midnight, talking with Antonio and Jose's sons. Then at 12 midnight he came and rubbed the eggs all over Jose's body, and rubbed holy water on forehead and head and said prayers in the dialect.

sickness--7

jucaaa

Report
cont.

Then he put the eggs in to a ~~mark~~ container and with Antonio went to the spot where the horse had thrown Jose; but first he and Antonio drank some whiskey at the house. They buried the eggs and juacal and cacao with Jose had bought at his instruction. Then they lit a once cent yellow candle Jose had also bought on instruction and waited for two hours till the candle burned out, drinking whiskey all the while, but only, as Jose put it, "to take the chill off". They did not get drunk. They came back at 2 AM. Then they ate chicken and coffee and chile and salt and tortillas. Everyone ate--women and all, but the women ate in the kitchen. They gave Jose only coffee and bakery bread to eat (pan francesa). They stayed till 5 AM talking, and then went home. They didn't come to see Jose the next night, but four days later came at 6 AM and gave Jose a purgative (did not take his pulse because he did not have any fever) of castor oil, white honey and a little agua florida, agua colonia and star (all this bought from Avram San chinelli the druggist-doctor and prepared there). Antonio was sent to the druggist with specific instructions as to how the potion was to be prepared. Then he left at 7:30 AM telling Jose to advise him how he was getting on. Jose defecated about 7-8 times by 5 PM and then felt better. He stayed in bed for 4-5 more days and only after that began to eat tortillas again. The parchero told him he could eat a little (??) husicuil or potatoes, but not much. And in ten more days Jose got up and was walking around and eating everything. Jose payed him after he had gotten the urgante. He didn't come back after that day but Jose sent him word that he was feeling better. The fright never came back. Jose wonders where it went to. Jose now rides the same horse and crosses the spot where he was thrown. What would he have done if not cured by the parchero? He would have gone to the "adino doctors, Don Vicotr or Avram. He goes to them now when he gets sick. He doesn't go to percheros anymore for such things as colds or fevers.

Incidental items from same informant:

- to cure eye trouble: rub egg all over body; leave it there for a day; this is not a certain cure;
- to cure ear trouble: when you can't hear then a piece of cotton dipped in warm "pimiento de albajaque de monte" should be inserted in ear and left there till the ear cures.

Herbs

- maltuerso, is a good medicine for pain or wind in the stomach; it is cooked with water and drunk while warm.
 - calawal is a superior medicine for winds in the stomach; it is cooked with water and drunk while warm twice a day. This is used when all other remedies have failed. Informant says it is "known all over the world; it is very famous".
 - criolino : is used to kill "gusanos" (little fly's eggs); should be used only externally;
 - guaco: is used for pain or wind in stomach. it is cooked with water and drunk while hot; this is better than maltuerso but not as good as guaco.
- These four herbs were hanging in the kitchen corridor of the informants house, the criolino in a bottle.

The following are notes taken from an interview with the Ladino druggist-doctor of the pueblo on various items relating to sickness and medicine, and the Indian customs in curing.

Inguente verde, with no specific medicinal value, is the most popular medicine among the Indians. Rubbed in any spot where there is pain; used in massages and even for internal pains. All Indian curers used to give it internally to patients, and many died as a result, so that now it is not given internally. Substitutes for inguente verde which the Indians use are maiteca de cerro (hard) and carbonate de cobre.

The most popular essence used by the Indians are agua florida, agua fananga, agua colonia and agua de la Reine. For fright, the most popular essence is agua de azahares. All the essences are mixed with etar and balsamito; the druggist says they do have positive medicinal value for pains in the stomach. They are taken internally.

For pains in the stomach, the parcheros use mostly these two classes of essences. Next in popularity are the salts: bicarbonate, magnesium sulfate, sulfate of soda, rhubarb, magnesia, calcinada and cremor. For intestinal pains, they also take suchiles. As muscular tonics, they use aluzema and romero; for a purgative in viruela and sarampion they use caña fistula; to control vomiting and inflammation, they use manzanilla; to produce a sweat they use pericon; for indigestion they use water with sugar or canela; as an excitant they use nuezmoscada; for nourishment and to produce a sweat at the same time, they use cevada; to reduce a swelling, glinasa is used; for eruptions, they use sarsaparilla.

For children, the Indians buy purgatives, but in such small quantities that they are of no value. Mana, a soft purgative, is needed in doses of at least five grams, but the Indians mostly buy only 1 gram at 2 cents. Most of the purgatives the Indians ask for, says the druggist, are very harmful.

The most popular pills, taken usually for indigestion, are pildoras de vida, de Ross, de indigestion, de Reuter, and aspirel.

The most popular oils are aceite de comer, almendra, castor, agugenax, verde, and rosado, and chiso.

Aceite de comer used to be made solely of olive oil but now it comes manufactured often of cottonseed, cornseed and ajonjoli. In many cases this is also sold as aceite de almendra, because it is very expensive. Aceite de comer also goes by the name of almen dra, and frances.

Aceite rosado: is a mixture of ancusa root with aceite de comer.

aceite agusena: is aceite rosado perfumed with clor de melisa.

aceite verde: is aceite de comer with chlorofila.

aceite nervino (to calm the nerves) is really aceite verde.

aceite chiso: is really aceite rosado and nothing else. The performance of the parchero with the aceite, as described by the druggist, is as follows: fill the bottle half full; walk around the table; fill the other half; then hold the cork up to the sun in direct line with the sun's rays; Indians come in and ask for this kind of preparation, as dictated by the brujo, and insist that no person with the name of Juan or Juana shall be present at the time

sickness---9

for children with lombritis, the usual prescription is
 aceite de vermifugo made as follows: essence of apasote 10 drops
 eucaliptos 20 drops
 menta 1 drop
 ricino 30 c.c.

for adults the dose is as follows: apasote 30 drops
 menta 1 drop
 cloroformo 30 drops
 eucalipto 60 drops
 ricino 30 c.c.

For enteritis which most Ladino and Indian children suffer from: Indians use the indigestion pills. Victor the pharmacist says it is curable with bismuth and castor. Some people use aceite de comer, castor and verde. Indians call enteritis mistakenly as "empacho". They also use metallic mercury because they believe that empacho is a little ball in the stomach and mercury will dissolve it. The use of this mercury is prohibited by the Department of Health but the Indians manage to obtain it from merchants near Salvador.

With regard to "hots and colds" the following data is interesting: aceite estomago, is supposed to be hot, and is supposed to be helpful in nourishment and building a good stomach. aceite almendra, mixed with castor, is cold, and is good for colds. The castor and almendra are mixed together to counteract the "hot" castor. If mixed with any purgante it is hot. If taken alone to counteract green stools which Indians believe to be the symptom of enteritis. Aceite chiso is taken to avoid brujeria, for children and adults. Aceite rosado is used for colored stools. The usual purgante is composed of aceite de castor, white honey and spirit of menthol. Victor says this is given to recently delivered mothers four days after delivery, and they won't use any other thing, no matter who advises them.

Referring to the metallic mercury once again, Victor notes that many die from its use, but many more die from the so-called empache which they try to cure with the mercury. Victor says that ~~malnutrition and bad milk~~ malnutrition and bad milk from a nursing mother are often the causes of the so-called fatal empacho.

Lombrisis: vermifuge is most generally the medicine used here; also semencentra and pastillas de Santonino. The Inspector of the Health Department gives this out. ~~India~~The Health department thinks it comes from eating dirt and too much sweets. More children than adults die of this. Swelling of stomach is the most obvious symptom.

Paludismo: quinine is the most common medicine. The Indians give too little quinine and hence make the malaria chronic instead of curing it. The Indians rarely use injections, but prefer the tablets. (They are much cheaper than injections). Most of the Indians with real malaria get it at the coast.

pneumonia--- is generally called pulmonia by the Indians, and is applied indiscriminately to all pains of shoulders and back. Coughing with fever is the symptom believed in. First cure used by the Indians is jarave de tolu and jarave de pegecuana. The latter in strong doses is very good.

The following are comments on other common diseases in San Luis written for the writer by the druggist-doctor.

PIE RA EN TERRELA.

Es la infección de los órganos genitales que sobreviene después del parto, causada por las causas que se ven por el ~~xxxx~~ tr. ~~stococo~~.

Síntomas.-Un cierto doler, falta de apetito, dolor de cabeza (a veces) de los fríos, aceleración del pulso, Los lóquios típicos del ~~xxxx~~ dolor, vi útero blando y doloroso,---- fiebre.

Los partos no recurren más que a los purgantes, cuando va de al estómago y recurre al médico cuando va a un caso severo.

La causa es el faltar de cuidados higiénicos y las desastrosas condiciones de los partos, que se ven de china, que al oficio, y solo por culpa de los indurados por vivir en la suciedad es que los partos no son el ciento por ciento.

SARNA. enfermedad contagiosa, caracterizada por vesículas pustulosas, que causa mucha comezón. Producida por un parásito llamado sarcoptes.

Curable con poseid. de H. Leitch.

Los indios creen que es enfermedad de la sangre, y lo primero que toman es purgantes y cosas interiores que creen buenos para la sangre. Cuando dejan a los niños sin curarles las ocasiones la muerte.

GONORRAGIA.-GONORREA O PURGACION

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Afección de origen venéreo, determinada por un diplococo con el nombre de gonococo.

Hoy curable notablemente de los Sulfamidil.

Empiesan curandolos con montes, breheta de crucito, cocimiento de un monte llamado tres puntas, agua de tinta, ect. Hoy otros que criminalmente creyendo curarse de esa manera buscan mujeres negras, pues dicen que de esa manera la gonorrea se le trasmite a la negra y ellos quedan curados. Son poco los que recurren al Sándalo, Copaiba y otros medicamentos que si la curan, y menos al Sulfamidil y al médico.----

Dicen que hay dos clases de Gonorrea, de mujeres y de humor, creen que puede venirles una gonorrea por tener un humor fuerte.

INFLUENZA.

Enfermedad de caracter epidémico;

Es esta la enfermedad que en tiempos

de epidemia, causa mayor mortalidad entre la clase indigente, por el descuido en tratarla y por las condiciones higiénicas de sus viviendas.

Usan para combatirla, limonadas, Flor de Sauco, Flores de Rosa. Tilo, Violeta-Borracha. -Cebada, -Aspirina. Antipirina. Valeriana, todo muy bueno para esta enfermedad, pero la usan empiricamente.

Viruela.-Gracias a la Sanidad, hace ya muchísimos años que no aparece, solo ligeros casos sin importancia de Varicela

General information on curing among the Indians:

There are three classes of "medical people" for the Indians: the parcheros (herbalists, diviners, masseurs); (2) parteras: midwives; and (3) parcheros-brujos. All parcheros are said to be brujos because the capacity to divine is thought to belong strictly to the ~~parahabb~~ brujo.

The chief functions of the medical people are to determine via pulse taking if there is or is not fever present in the body; to question the patient to determine if fright is involved; to divine from two eggs whether there was fright and it is operating; and to cure, of course, in techniques to be described in short order. Divining is done chiefly with 3 grains of white maize or black beans which are dropped in a glass of water and the future is told from the way in which they rise and fall.

Magical disease is recognized and distinguished from plain disease caused by fright by the fact that the latter is localized while the former travels around in the body. The magical people do not include any rain makers (informant says all rain makers are in Rome, Italy). There seems to be a disproportionate amount of celibacy among the magical curers.

Chief techniques for curing magically are as follows:

The chicken technique: a small chicken is taken and his feathers stripped; he is cut open while alive and his innards are taken out right away. The warm bloody flesh of the chicken is parted into three parts and these parts are tied onto the two wrists and the back of the neck of the sick person, and left there for twelve hours. This is especially used in case of strong fevers. The chicken meat is supposed to absorb the fevers. A small duck or a small bird may be used in place of chicken. Another technique involving the ~~use~~ use of animals is to have a live duck or bird passed all over the body of the sick person, and the let free. If the bird dies, it is a sign that the fever has left the body of the sick man and passed into the bird. All during the ceremony the parchero prays to God to have the illness leave the body.

For diseases caused by fright a common technique is to strip the bark off a copal tree, put it into a vessel in which a small fire is burning, the vessel is then put at the foot of the patient's bed, and in this way the spirit of the fright is called up by the copal.

Another technique involving the use of flies eggs is the so-called "pulling": A substance (apacina and criolin) is burned in front of the nose of the patient who inhales the smoke. The smoke is said to be poison for the gusanos (flies eggs) and the flies eggs fall out and drop into a vessel of fiery ashes which the parchero has ready for the occasion and the gusanos burn to death.

Vomiting is another technique used by the curers; when a person can't eat, he is given a "gomativa" (nauseant) called epicacuano (an herb). This herb is toasted, then ground into powder and mixed into a cup of coffee. Then the parchero puts a chicken feather into the patient's throat to induce vomiting till the stomach is cleaned.

the bad things. The parchero examines the vomit and says the bad thing has come out but that maybe something has stayed behind. If the patient continues to feel bad, the process is repeated in 3 days. Then if the patient is well he is instructed to eat chicken.

A technique for nourishing (magically) a patient who won't eat is to get some polvos de pimiento and put it inside of specially baked cakes (pan francesa) and put coffee on this and then tie all this on to the wrists and the stomach and left there for six hours. Chickens are also used in this way. So are the eggs of chickens: they are broken on the top of hot pan francesas and used as poultices. Tortillas also are used by puring canela or polvo pimiento inside of an opened tortilla and tying the tortilla on to the wrists and stomach or neck as an alimentation poultice.

Tobacco is a commonly used vomitrix: the patient chews the end of a cigar, and swallows a piece to induce vomiting.

Magical massaging is done with tusinal, the fat of a pig, to relieve pains or fever because pig fat is considered cooling. The massage with the fat is done to force out, in 5 minutes of heavy massaging, the fever from the body. This is also done once a day, for two days, to force pains out of the extremities. If this doesn't work, the body and head are bathed with agua sanativa.

There are two bonesetters in San Luis--one Ladino and one Indian. The bonesetters ~~put~~ candle wax on their hands and snap the bones into place; they then make splints of carrizo wood and bind it with cloth. If a plaster cast is to be made, they make a ~~cast~~ juice of the bark of palo deamate, suelda consuelda, white anona leaves, anona de verana leaves, and the leaf of achote as the binder. The process of massage is repeated every 8 days and the cast is changed every 8 days.

A female surgeon called Crisanat Lopez, uses a splinter of glass to open swellings caused by granos; makes a slight hole and squeezes out the pus or the granule; then applies vaselina afinicada or moliento to "draw" and puts cotton on top.

Divining of evil eye in children is done by putting (breaking) 1 or 3 eggs in a glass of water and then peering into the water where the face of the guilty person is revealed. These eggs are then used to rub the body of the child--one for the front and one on the back.

The following are notes made in comparison with Wisdom's text on sickness and medicine among the Chorti Indians:

p.333. Sickness and death are likewise often attributed to evil enemies or people one has harmed or wronged, and such individuals are thought to resort to wizards and other types of magicians to effect harm on the person. In San Luis, wishing may cause evil, it is believed, and if it does not work, the Indian may burn a candle on the doorstep of the church or at a foot of a saint, but only on Thursday nights, at midnight, or at the end of the month: the last day of the month. As among the Chorti, it is stood upside down with the wick end pointing toward the Devil. Thursday is said to be the Devil's Day in San Luis, and is especially malevolent when the sun is strongest. If an individual is himself applying evil magic against another, he is supposed to do it at noon on Thursday but brujos are supposed to do it at night, and only they at night. After this performance at church, the individual is supposed to go to Calvary Cross at 12 noon and burn candles upright, then turn them over asking for the death of the person against whom harm is intended; and then he must stay until the candles have burned out and keep praying for evil against his enemy. As with the Chorti, if the performer is wishing for good, he sets the candle right side up with the wick pointing toward God. In evil making, no thrusting of cactus needles into a candle is done in San Luis.

The material on magical poisoning in the Chorti text does not apply in San Luis.

Sorcerers are greatly feared; the manner in which a man becomes a sorcerer will be found in the interviews attached, and should be read there for the context in which the emergence gives them special significance. Some material will also be found in an attached disquisition on Witchcraft in General. Indians never openly admit they know who is a sorcerer, but questioning in private reveals that most of them know at least some of the supposed sorcerers and suspect many others. There are no known women sorcerers in San Luis, but there are women capable of mild magical curing and forecasting.

It is said that brujos do harm only "per gaste" - "just for the hell of it" on occasion. One of their favorite reported tricks is to watch for lovers going to meet their girls; then the brujos change themselves into the girl's form and hold a conversation with the lover and make him lose his senses and send him wandering in the bush. But this is only slight and the man wakes up the next morning and may not know what has happened to him.

Wisdom reports four methods (p.337) used by sorcerers to inflict harm, the first of which is not reported in San Luis, i.e., being maltreatment to an image of the intended victim. But the other three methods: appearing in the guise of a familiar animal (In San Luis, the animals most familiar into which brujos change are monkeys, cats, snakes and frogs) and throwing harm at the person at short range; or burying candles and copal; or sending sickness and death by prayer alone; brujos in San Luis also are supposed to be able to plant little animals in a man's drinking cup or bottle so that the man, at night when thirsty, ingests the animal, which then grows inside of him and causes him to be sick or die. Brujos are said to operate strictly at night.

The material on p.340 on copal and wax applies to San Luis.
The material on p.340 on prayer likewise applies to San Luis.
The material in the first paragraph on p.341 (on animals, etc) applies to San Luis.

The material starting bottom of p.341 and ending the chapter likewise applies, except that brujos work only in the night time.

and men who are doing evil on their own, without being wizards, work in the day time. But the hours noted by Wisdom as being the ones thought most propitious to magic are so considered in San Luis as well, with the additional fact that the last day of the month is thought very propitious, in addition to Thursdays and Fridays.

Turning to Wisdom's material on medicine, compare the materials on p.12 and 13 of the foregoing.

Of special significance is that the material on the flower of the amate tree, cited by Wisdom (p.353) is identical, detail for detail, among the Pokoman.

The material on p.354--to end of first paragraph p.355 does not apply in San Luis.

Material of second paragraph p.355 does apply.

Material 3rd paragraph p.355 to bottom of page does not apply.

Every detail mentioned on p.356 applies in San Luis.

Material in section on Remedies (p.357) till top of p.359 applies.

P.359: material on animals and animal parts applies; the milk of a black cow is supposed to be good for inflammations of liver and kidneys as well, and should be drunk with salt at the time of nursing. No deer horns are used in San Luis. None of the other material on p.359 from there on applies.

Material bottom p.359 (on snakes) applies--snake is also eaten to relieve itching body, but the head and tail are thrown away.

The cure for venereal disease is the same. The jute is used as described; the hog lard poultice for bad eyes is not known; what is used is to have whiskey or rose water thrown into the eyes. The honey of the wild talenete is used as described; the heart of a saprow is used as described; the use of the live black frog is not applicable to San Luis; black frogs are said to be poisonous. But green frogs are rubbed over the body 4 times a day for two days in case of erisipelas. Then brought back and thrown back into the river. The disease is said to pass from the patient into the frog because the frog is very "cold". Cobwebs and spiderwebs are used as indicated, but also used to close wounds.

The material in last paragraph p.360 is unsure in San Luis.

The use of lime is had as indicated, but is not mixed with hog soap but with criolin. Neither adobe mud or salt and water are used in San Luis (1st paragraph p.361)

2nd parag. p.361: it is held in San Luis that the smaller the dose the better; a little is thought curative; a lot is thought injurious. Footnote 31 on p.361 applies, with the exception that the salt is used only to refresh the stomach.

Material on numbers (p.362) is unclear in San Luis. There seems to be some such special tendencies.

Footnote 32 does not apply in San Luis.

There are variations on the story in footnote 33 (p.362-3).

The concaste tree is thought to have special properties in that it is believed that a pig trough made of the wood of this tree will make the feeding pigs grow fatter more quickly. But the story about the discovery of the efficaciousness of the concaste tree has no counterpart in San Luis. A man bitten by a rabid dog is snatched immediately to a hospital in Jalapa; formerly they followed the practice of throwing water on the man all day. A dog bitten by a rabid dog is treated by cutting off the tip of his tail and ears, and feeding him sweets.

During curing of stomach disorder or fever, only pan francesca, toasted tortillas and dry cheese are eaten for 2-3 days.

sickness--16

No comparative materials for data on pp.363,364. One item however states that when one is perspiring during disease, fiery brands are put under one's bed and lemon leaves are burned and the smoke of the lemon leaves is said to remove the sweating.

All of the material on p.365 is inapplicable to San Luis except for the item that juicy limes are cut in half and the open side laid against the penis to increase the urine. Immersion in water is said to be able to produce this effect too. The material on p.366 down to line 13 is inapplicable in San Luis. The items on the color yellow, yellow maize apply in San Luis. Moreover, the yellow flower of palo pito, mixed into beans, is said to be a soporific. The other use of plant opiates ((under a child's pillow) does not apply. In San Luis scissors or keys (4-6-8) are put on a child's head (the scissors) or in a woman's belt (the keys) to avoid evil.

All the material on pp.367-to end of chapter apply in San Luis. Special notes; in exemplification of this material, read that putting limes on penis to aid urination when you don't need it will cause very "cold" excessive urination. But illness cannot be induced by wrong medicine. It is also said the toasted, ground penis of a raccoon caught in the act of fornicating, ground into a powder and put secretly in the whiskey of a person one desires, is a very strong aphrodisiac. Other aphrodisiacs: kill the ligamonte bird on a Thursday; take out the penis and toast it and grind it and put it into water to be drunk by the desired person. The aphrodisiac effect is said never to wear off. "Solo se mantiene puteando".

According to official ^{government} accounts witchcraft in its various forms: healing, causing disease, harming of milpa and like phenomena: no longer exists in San Luis Jilotepeque. Yet, there is not one Indian household nor one Indian person in the entire pueblo unaffected by the ramifications of the belief and/or the practice of witchcraft. It operates as one of the most effective articulations of the individual into the general culture pattern and of the culture pattern into the separate lives of the individuals who compose the culture.

The anthropologist seeking to uncover the extent of and the significance of witchcraft in San Luis is confronted by the considerable difficulty of legally imposed silence and secrecy on the matter. Questions to Indians, when not "en confianza" bring the customary "a saber" answer. Yet one need not press hard to begin to unpeel the superficial layer of pretended ignorance. One learns soon that he can kid an Indian into admitting at least that "the people say" there is witchcraft, though he himself will disclaim any personal knowledge of it, either present or past. Repeated arrests of wizards and people presumed to be in association with them makes it unwise for any Indian to admit, at least to a non-Indian, that he knows anything himself about the practice of or even the belief in sorcery.

It is to the point here to indicate that though legally forbidden it has not been driven far beneath the surface of apparent culture. Jokes about brujeria will always bring laughter from the Indian. They themselves typically do not joke about wizards and their works, for it is believed that wizards have ways of knowing when and who might be talking of them, and, if offended, might cause evil things to happen to the talker. But, if, for instance, when in the company of Indians, should the occasion arise whereby in good humor one can say "Pero, no le puedo hacer, no soy brujo", one will be amply rewarded with general laughter and comment from the Indians. And, in the case of sickness or death of an Indian, the question "Was it brujeria?" will almost always bring the answer "Asi dice

la gente" or a more detailed answer involving the person's own opinion and the reasons therefore.

Detailed field work with the Pocoman Indian of San Luis brings the anthropologist to the somewhat bizarre conclusion that there exist concurrently ^{with} (1) a set of common beliefs concerning sorcery and sorcerers and (2) sharp disagreements and contradictions from individual to individual ~~concerning the parts and leads of sorcery~~. For instance, most Indians in San Luis agree that brujos, or wizards, can cause harm; yet, they disagree sharply among themselves as to whether these same wizards are to be considered evil persons or good persons; whether they can cure as well as cause disease; whether they are of God or the Devil; whether they are special creatures, endowed at birth with special powers, or whether they are ordinary people who have learned the trade of the wizard from other wizards; whether women sorcerers are as effective or less effective than their male counterparts. Most Indians, further, will agree that there are certain avoidances which must be strictly observed to keep from being subject to the workings of sorcery; yet there is sharp disagreement from individual to individual as to what preventive measures must be taken in case a given avoidance has been violated or ignored. And, though there be agreement, at times, as to the proper avoidance and/or preventive measures, there is again disagreement and contradiction as to the relative efficacy of such measures.

Though the people of San Luis themselves view sorcery differently from individual to individual, there are certain ~~structural features of~~ ^{STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF} sorcery which the anthropologist, as participant observer, notes as something akin to "social fact" on the one hand and "culture pattern" on the other. As Durkheim used the concept of social fact, it came to characterize those "things" which, while of the culture, in the sense that any complete description of a culture would have to include them, were yet external to any given individual within the culture and exercised a compulsive

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force on individuals within the culture. So too with sorcery in San Luis. Sorcery is an ever present, low hanging atmosphere. It compels behavior in conformity with the accepted generalized notions of what the consequences of failure to conform might be. It directs behavior away from certain avenues, and leads behavior into certain paths when initial false steps have been taken. It thus producing a generalized uniformity of behavior by which the society as a whole can, in part, be characterized, it takes on the aspect of a culture pattern. It is one of the major threads in the general cultural tapestry, weaving its way thru other minor and major designs for living, changing and being changed as it winds its way from center to periphery and back again.

But fact and pattern are, ultimately, structural concepts. And we best may understand sorcery in San Luis when we understand, concomitantly, its varied particularisms and the roles which they play in various contexts where they are operative. The picture, then, which we shall here here try to render of sorcery among the Pokoman of San Luis will include structural and functional features.

It is in place, first, however, to indicate the manner in which the data which will later be presented were secured. I personally was unable to secure admission into any sorcery sessions during my rather long stay in San Luis. As I understand from most of my informants, sorcery sessions when concerned solely with the doing of evil are not public matters. The rites and procedures are carried out alone, in the night time, in secluded spots or in central but obscure points by the wizard himself, operating either on his own initiative or at the behest of one Indian who wishes to do harm to another. All the Indians I questioned, including some who were considered to be wizards, insisted they had never seen actual witchcraft-being performed when it was evil-doing which was on the agenda; but they

admitted readily to having been present at curing sessions, either as patient or interested friend of family member. Since the officials are more interested in arresting curers (for their curing activities can be verified) than they are in arresting wizards (whose wizardry could never be demonstrated satisfactorily in a court of law) it seems reasonable to me to assume that when my informants told me they themselves had not ever been present at an actual evil-making occasion, they were not lying to me. This is true, of course, (if true) of all my informants except those who were known as wizards. Only one additional factor might throw doubt on the veracity of the contention of the informants that they had never been present at an evil-making session. This is the fact that one of the universally accepted avoidance procedures among the Indians is to keep one's name free of any association with evil-making sessions. Retribution is swift and societally justified, and often takes secular forms which, while less frightening, are often far more efficacious and final. If one were to contend then that fear of having his name involved in evil-making sessions were greater than the fear of official involvement arising from his participation in curing sessions [an involvement for which he negatively expresses something in the way of disdain when he speaks of the curing sessions rather openly] than it must be agreed that the veracity of the informant has, in the instance of his declaration of non-participation in making evil-making sessions, been indirectly impugned. But, on the other side of the scales, we have to take into account the fact that people speak with considerable familiarity and in considerable detail of the techniques of curing and the rites surrounding the curing, while they speak only in the vaguest of terms and with great unsurety as to the means and rites employed in the making of evil, and, in addition, indicate that their information ^{on the latter,} is hearsay. Of course, this may be but another manifestation of the desire to avoid having any personal involvement in any evil-making session, But I have no further evidence by which to test the

[and whose assistance they usually bring]

latter contentions, and must thus leave it to the reader to judge on the evidence already presented, and to weigh the report accordingly. I was personally never present at a curing session, either; in curing sessions, the curer's permission for everything must be asked by the patient or his family. Members of the family and friends may be present; but they are always members of the Indian group. My major informant, himself sick on occasion, and he himself resorting to curers, tried in vain to secure me admission to such curings, but was always informed by the curer that it was impossible. We shall discuss later the implications of this rejection of the anthropologist as a member of the outgroup; but for the present we must indicate that the rejection on various occasions was due to my ultimately not being an Indian. This "not being an Indian", as we shall see later, ~~is~~ at times a critical index of the affect-meaning of various activities, when it is used as a measure of admission or non-admission to such activities. But I have been present with sick people, reliable informants in most ~~instances~~, immediately before and after curing sessions, and secured what I consider to be reliable and lengthy data on procedure and performance of curing. The body of generally accepted notions of curing is as open in San Luis--among Indian and Ladino alike--as are recipes among American housewives. The anthropologist is fortunate in this regard. From the general public notions, one has a method or tool of thrust into more private aspects of curing. I would take general notions, and, when interviewing either at length and formally, or merely informally, would intrude semi-leading remarks into the situation, and in almost all cases was richly rewarded with either affirmation or contradiction or modification of the notions I posited. I spent many hours of many days with three informants specifically on matters of curing, and devoted countless informally constructed interview situations to the topic of sorcery and curing. Again, with these same three informants, I spent many hours of many days specifically on the matter of evil-making and evil-makers. I was able to compile a list of the people known to be or suspected of being sorcerers of various capacities; and was able during my stay in San Luis to check this list and its accompanying data with

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literally hundreds of Indians. Sometimes the opportunity was unexpected and almost for that reason more gratifying and trustworthy; for instance, the name of one of the suspected witches or wizards would come into an informal conversation (and this occurred frequently since some of the wizards, at least, were also principales, or religious leaders); on the mention of the name, I would ask "Oh, you mean the brujo?"; the reply almost invariably would be "Yes, that's the one"; or "How did you know he was a brujo?": and the entree was thereby established for a discussion of brujeria and brujos, which entree I would customarily take full advantage of until it became evident that the wiser thing to do would be to switch the conversation of the moment. This happened on numberless occasions, and, as other anthropologists have no doubt found out, it is these beliefs and notions volunteered by one's informants which give the anthropologist a greater feeling of certainty and security as to their veracity, and, at the same time, expand wider and more deeply into their more remote meaning than do information of the same subjects which one "pries" from his informants. When, however, over a period of time, one finds his formal interview situations bringing forth essentially the same data as that derived from the 'volunteer' and informal situations, one thereby has an index of the reliability of the informants with whom he works in formal situations, ^{+ of the sincerity & memories} among ~~between~~ It may also be argued that there is a possibility that such uniformity ~~between~~ a host of informants argues for deliberate and arranged falsification. Yet the details of the data secured and the number of informants involved were too great for such an imputation to be given credence. The last possibility I see is that all of my informants may have been similarly deluded about witchcraft: a possibility which I welcome: for, perhaps in no other facet of culture more than in witchcraft does the Thomas and Zansiecki contention that "What men believe to be real is real in its consequences" have more application.

Perhaps my most reliable and trustworthy source of data on sorcery was the life history of one of my three major informants, a young man of thirty, who

died of tuberculosis two days before I left the field area. This man, Luis Najera, was considered the closest thing to what we would call a "revolutionist" of all the Indians in town; the only man, Indian, in the history of the pueblo, who managed to secure a Ladino woman to live with over a period of years; the only man in town who would on no occasion take "guff" from the Ladinos; the supposedly most secular of Indians by all the informal criteria I could use; yet, by those very same tokens: i.e. by the token of being so totally "on the margin" Luis was the man, who in moments of crisis and disease, seemed more prey to witchcraft notions than any other Indian I knew in San Luis. Luis got sick some three months before I left the field situation, and we spent considerable time during those months talking about his illness and his notions as to why he was ill; he made desperate efforts to render secularized explanations of his illness; yet, when it came to the question of either curing himself or dying, Luis embraced totally every possible variant within witchcraft-explanations of his illness. He varied between fright and "aire" as the most seeming of explanations, but resorted to cures by magical curers for every imaginable kind of evil which a sorcerer with evil intent might wreak upon him. His secularism of the surface and his old sacred ways of mind blended into a neat combine of imputing to his Ladino wife, [who may or may not have believed in the efficacy of wizardry] the evil of having hired a brujo & wizard to cause him his illness. He demonstrated, also, in attributing impersonality to his "punishment", the manner in which religion, society and magic blend into a gestalt which analysis into its parts would render meaningless.

The importance of all of the above lies in the fact that Luis considered me his best friend in San Luis; the person, the only person, on whom he could rely for financial and spiritual aid in times of crises where both types or either type of aid was needed; the only man, in short, who, by reason of being even more marginal than he himself, could understand the problems of his marginal position. And it was to me that Luis turned in full confidence and in full detailing of his ailments and his opinions on their likely causes and probable cures for them. Since it was well known by most Indians that I was a close friend of Luis, it was to me that

She often threatened Luis with witchcraft and also accused his of having witchcraft worked on her, but I have no way of knowing whether he was merely trying to frighten her or actually believed in witchcraft

i.e. He sometimes phrased his "punishment" as comes to all who have committed folly in my eyes of God

other Indians came for news of Luis, of his progress, of the cures being effected; and it was to me that his family turned during his illness for financial and spiritual comfort; and it was to me that his family turned when it came time to bury my best friend among the Indians; and, lastly, it was to me that the family felt compelled to give explanations of the various preventive and avoidance measures which they performed at his burial and at his wake, that sorcerers might not pursue him even to his last resting place. This was an opportunity which the double-man anthropologist could little afford to ignore; and the opportunity was not ignored. It paved the way for discussions with other Indians, which were rich in detail and coloring. I exploited the opportunity to what I considered to be the very limits of decency. I was thus able to add depth to extension in my dimensions of information on sorcery in San Luis. Individual depth needs wide-scale extension for verification of its reliability as a measuring rod; wide-scale extension needs individual depth for determination of its significance. I was fortunate in being able to secure both. ^{Very few general} statements concerning sorcery will be made in these pages which were not tested on both counts. ~~Statements concerning sorcery will be made in these pages which were not tested on both counts.~~

Yet, some statements must necessarily be made concerning beliefs about sorcery which have a frequency index of 1. They represent individual beliefs held by individual Indians with which not other Indians concurred. The fact that they are individual beliefs is important; yet their full importance cannot and could not be indicated until life histories of the people making statements of such beliefs were taken; for, I believe that we can understand the significance of individual variations upon a general cultural theme only when we have determined, from intimate life history data, the interpretation-compulsives of the individuals concerned.

It is well to keep in mind that though there is perhaps a necessity to make an analytical distinction between magic, religion, superstition, and science the actual beliefs, practices and personnel of all of these four facets of the culture of San Luis Potosí blend into a seemingly incongruous yet working whole. In many instances, as we shall show later, it is believed generally that magical efficacy achieved thru manipulation cannot be attained without religious efficacy achieved thru supplication and scientific efficacy achieved thru direct application of pragmatically tested means to achieve desired ends, nor without proper caution and magico-religious treatment of supernatural subjects which form the context of superstition in San Luis.

Let us treat first of the personnel. The religious leaders^{wh} of the Indian aside from the Catholic seminary-trained priest who conducts masses and performs baptisms and weddings, consists of six of the oldest Indian men in town: three representing the northern side of town and three representing the southern side: the two sides being divided by what is called the Calle del Calvario, the main road in town, serving as carroad east-west and leading directly outside town to Calvario, a white cement building, tin-topped, which sees most ceremonial use during the Easter^w week celebration. Of these six old men considered as the religious (and secular leaders as well: for it is to them that Indians go with minor disputes which they do not wish to bring to the attention of the Ladino officials) leaders, two are ^{generally} known as makers of evil and as curers. Their functions as religious leaders are kept separate from their functions as magicians by the separateness of the occasions on which they perform the various functions. Yet, whereas there seems to be no magical content, i.e. no manipulation of forces, in their religious roles, there is a good deal of supplication and special prayer needed in their magical performances. No magical performance, as far as I know, is considered complete, whether it be evil making or curing, unless at some time during the performance the maker of evil or the curer visits the church and lights his candles to the appropriate saints and makes his supplications to the saints. These prayers are considered special knowledge ^{usually} attainable only once one has achieved the age of

the "old man" (considered to be between 50 and 70) and has undergone a rigorous though informal learning of the prayers from former wise old men. Some Indians feel that all of the principales are capable of evil-making and of curing, but that they do not choose to use their powers. Most Indians feel that this is not so, insisting that one has to be born with the special powers which the magicians are imputed to possess. The principales themselves, of course, cannot be questioned about this; questions I did direct to them concerning brujeria got the knowing smile and the "a saber" answer to which one gets so quickly accustomed when dealing with the Indians. I suspected, though I never could muster evidence either affirmatively or negatively, that all of the principales then functioning were magicians as well. But I know that ^{in San Luis} there is no necessary connection between the role of principal and that of magician; for, one of my three major informants, a 60 year old Indian, who was also slated to be a principal on the death of one of the then effective principals, was not and could not be a magician. It is impossible to offer brief critical proof of this contention, but anyone reading the life history of the man and knowing him as thoroughly as I did get to know him over my months in San Luis would, I feel, affirm my contentions about him. Further evidence of the contention that there is no necessary connection between religious leadership and magical specialization is lent by the fact that the majority of the known magicians were not religious leaders, and that at least presumptively, a good many of the religious leaders were not magical specialists. What may be contended however is that the religious parts of the magico-religious ceremony imputedly involved in either evil making or in curing are considered by the people to be special tasks or abilities which they as non-special people cannot perform. So that it may then be said that religious specialization and magical specialization are parts of the magicians' role, without there being necessary connections between them. But here we must distinguish another sense of the notion of necessary connection. For, it flows from what we have said above that it is necessary to be religiously specialized in some degree before one can successfully perform the magical specializations. So, while in this latter meaning or sense of the notion the religious specialization is a necessary condition though not a sufficient condition of magical specialization, in the strictly logical meaning or sense of the word

"necessary" there are no necessary connections between religious specialization and magical specialization.

We may perhaps arrive at some further understanding of the nature of the personnel involved in witchcraft in San Luis if we examine for a moment the man who was considered far and wide as the most efficient curer in the area, and as a very efficient maker of evil when he chose to so perform, though it was said that he rarely functioned in this role.

This man was called Miguel Felipe. He was a young, average looking person of about 30 years old. When he had been in service as a military recruit in Guatemala City as a young man of 20 and 21, he had been made assistant to the dispenser of medicines in the pharmacy and as general medical aide, with menial assistant's tasks to perform. It seems that during his stay in the barracks, he picked up a smattering of medical knowledge. He learned something of the application of patent medicines for common diseases of a non-serious nature. It further seems that even in the barracks he was consulted from time to time by fellow soldiers as to the "best medicine" for certain ailments. (This information I got from an Indian who had been in the barracks with Miguel). When he came out of his period of service, he went back to the aldea of El Barrial where his house was located and began to cure sick people on a small scale. It seems that his record of "cures" was substantial and in a few years he had an enormous "practice" which included Ladinos as well as Indians. Miguel's father had died when Miguel was a boy and he lived alone with and supported his mother. But nearby in the same aldea lived an uncle, Pedro Felipe, with whom I had long talks about Miguel and his practice. Pedro himself was a self-appointed and self-annointed religious specialist, of whom more will be said when we come to expand the information on religion. Pedro told me that his nephew Miguel was really a famous man; that his curing abilities (and his evil-making abilities) were "resignaciones" or gifts of God come down to him at birth. Pedro, who had considerable religious prestige in the aldeas of San Luis, paid far more deference to Miguel and his powers than Miguel would probably have paid to Pedro's. The most amazing thing to Pedro was that Miguel, at his early age, was also becoming a religious specialist: could handle the prayers that were supposedly the

special capacities only of old men such as Pedro himself, who was close to sixty years old. He insisted that Miguel had learned the prayers by himself: that no one had taught him: that it was the "resignacion"(gift, special ability, etc) of Miguel which enabled him to do this difficult feat. (It is in point here to indicate briefly that I tested as fully as I could the extent of specialized knowledge or ability involved in the recitation of special prayers and found that the matter comes down largely to one of belief in your own powers; the prayers are not specialized--they are not even standardized; I had Pedro recite some prayers for me and checked on them on several occasions to see if he would recite the same words each time; he did not; furthermore, translations of the prayers from the Indian dialect to the Spanish, which I effected as completely as possible, reveal that there is no specialized vocabulary used whatsoever; yet, most Indians, including my aged major informant, who was probably the most intelligent of any of the Indians I knew, firmly believed that the ability to memorize and recite the prayers was a very difficult and specialized feat).

Now, it is impossible to say from the data I have whether Miguel himself "believed" himself a special person, or whether he was merely a very smart and business-wary Indian, who knew his people and knew how he could make money out of ouring. Certain things point to the latter conclusion: especially the fact that a few years ago Miguel donned shoes and never walked around without shoes from that date on. For an Indian to wear shoes is an act so unapproved that it brings the shoe-wearer the utmost in ridicule and scorn from the Indians. Yet, one of the first things that Indians would tell me of Miguel when they talked to me of him was that he wore shoes; and this they told me almost reverentially and with a great deal of pride, it seemed, the attitude reminding me of the way small town products talk about one of the local boys who is now "pitching for the St. Louis Cardinals" or something similar to that. He was the only Indian I ever heard talked about by other Indians with pride and estimation for his non-Indian acts and behavior. Miguel, I think, must have been aware of what the probable reaction to his shoe-wearing would have been when he decided to wear shoes for the first time. And, it seems then likely to me

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that this type of heightened awareness of probable group reactions to one's "different" behavior indicates a shrewd mind able to participate actively within its own culture yet performing acts generally totally disapproved by that culture. I have seen Miguel at various gatherings of Indians. The few times I did see him he was always surrounded, like some visiting celebrity, by a flock of the local Indians, Miguel obviously the center of attraction and always dominating the moment. I tried several times but without success to talk personally with Miguel. I had felt that a personal interview with him might reveal considerable to me as to Miguel's own attitude toward his work and his people. It is to be regretted that I was not able to. Ladinos whom I asked about Miguel's own attitude toward his curing assured me that Miguel knew he was a "faker" but was smart enough to capitalize on the ignorance of his people. I do not mean to offer this as evidence either way, but I do wish to present it as part of the possible evidence which may throw light on the matter when and if further, more critical, evidence is mustered.

Miguel's general popularity with the Indians is indicated by still another evidential occurrence. From time to time the local druggist, feeling this his own semi-legal curing practice was being hampered by Miguel's large trade, would complain to the authorities and Miguel would be brought in by the police and occasionally punished or fined. On one such occasion when Miguel had been sentenced to 10 days at hard work, it is reported by the commandante himself, the man who had sentenced Miguel, that the first day on which Miguel was to begin his work, he went up to see to it that the project of trench digging which he had assigned him was being worked, and found Miguel sitting on the ground chatting amiably with a group of his Indian admirers who were performing for him the work which he was supposed to be doing. Not even the religious leaders among the Indians have such favors done for them, and the religious leaders are, with the evident exception of Miguel Felipe, at the top of the prestige ladder in Indian society in San Luis Jilotepec.

Miguel, in the last few years, has widened considerably the area over which his curing services are performed. He travels extensively, by local standards, and, according to report (though I myself could not verify this personally) is held in high repute wherever he goes, oftentimes by Ladinos as well as Indians. Indians have remarked to me about the deferential treatment accorded by Ladinos to Miguel in other municipios nearby to which he travels.

In addition to widening the geographical extent of his practice, he has also added to his own repertoire of curing and evil-making by the art of divination as well. He is reported by various Indians to be able to predict age and reason of deaths to come, success or failure in business, occurrence or non-occurrence of events, outcome of pending births and the like. His reputation as a diviner was beginning to grow noticeably when I was in situ. The techniques he employs in divining seem to be sufficiently related to accepted methods of sacred sanction and sufficiently secularly oriented and successful to form the necessary "right" combination of sacred-secular which is the prerequisite of success with the Indian in such matters, as Miguel seems to have learned fully by this time.

That he is considered a special person by most of the Indians may be documented even further that the documentation we have already adduced. For, in San Luis Indian society a man without a woman or a woman without a man is looked upon as queer, abnormal. There is a certain rational rationale to this attitude toward celibacy held by the Indian, for, the economic basis of life literally demands joint cooperation between a male and female. But aside from this rational element there is a strong constituent item of sheer "custom", the origins of which or the function of which we need not examine at this time. Suffice to say that the "fact" is that it is considered queer for a man not to live with a woman or a woman with a man. Yet Miguel is known to have no woman and is thought never to have had one. Yet, the fact of his celibacy is never voluntarily commented upon as it is in many other cases of just "ordinary" men, and one elicits this item of information only on questioning and encounters considerable

difficulty in keeping that topic alive in a conversation. You ask an Indian about it--and he will tell you that it is true; but he will immediately drop the subject as though it were even less remarkable than the state of the weather at the moment. When you press more questions, you get repetitions of the basal fact, but no comments are voluntarily offered as to whether it is queer or not, as they are in the cases, again, of "just ordinary men". You ask whether it is not queer for a man to be without a woman and the Indian will ask you why you think it's queer. You then cite, perhaps, previous conversations with the same Indian in which he had voluntarily offered his opinion as to how queer it was that another fulano de tal was without a woman, and the answer comes back: "Oh, but that's different"; and that is the furthest one can get--or at least the furthest I was able to get--on this matter with the Indian. From it all you derive the solid notion, undocumentable by rigorous evidence as it may be, that Miguel is considered a very special type of person. Only with this general hypothesis can you account for the differential and deferential treatment accorded to him by the Indians.

If we now ask ourselves the reasons for this deferential and differential treatment we come to the ^{first} ~~conclusion~~ ^{notion}, documentable on other levels as well, that sickness and curing are areas of the culture in which all the life spaces of all the Indians are partial occupants; and further, though not spectacular in their occurrence or manifestation, they are at once so long-time in standing and so ever-present in the active awareness of the Indians, that one feels comfortable in asserting that they are much a secondary institution (in the Kardinar sense of the word) as is poverty. Indeed, the two most generalized and most often repeated complaints which one hears during a stay in San Luis consist of (1) "You know, senor, we are poor because we are Indians"; and (2) "You know, senor, we are sick and without medicines". Poverty, on most scores, is more basal and primal ~~and~~ plea than is sickness; but sickness [↑] makes up in the sharpness of the awareness of itself which it forces on people for what it lacks in universality as compared with poverty.

And, though the Indian is somewhat "get-rich" conscious on a very modest scale, he is far more "prevent-disease" or "cure-sickness" conscious from day

I explored as much as possible the homosexual implications of Felix's illness, but confounded by a society which apparently knows nothing of homosexuality, I got entirely nowhere.

to day; from year to year; from birth to death. It may well be indeed that the general fact of widespread disease--real or imagined--is as heavily a constituent element in the determinative scheme of ^{many and as} as/core-vital activities as is his humble economic status and its correlated and consequent relations.

"There is no real way of testing this as yet, or at least not within the limiting conditions under which the solitary field worker must pursue his investigations, but I offer it as the notion of a field investigator who was in active contact with the living culture over a period of months. I think in addition that the fact that I have a tendency to see things as immediately and ultimately and sometimes exclusively economically "determined" makes this conclusion of mine, intra-systemically, more trustworthy.

Now, given then that --whatever the exact role of widespread disease and concern for it-- it does play such a heavy role in the culture and society of the San Luis Indian, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that any individual ~~who~~, within the framework of acceptability as far as indigenous understandings are concerned (i.e. being an Indian, in part; thus, for instance, the druggist a Ladino, who performs indispensable services for the Indian as far as his sicknesses and diseases and their cures are concerned, has considerable prestige but of a quite different sort than that which is accorded by the Indians to Miguel) ^{is} ~~is~~ able to manipulate the outside world in such a way as to cause it to press less heavily upon the people who feel the weight constantly, and who wish to feel it less, would be considered a very valuable creature. Add to that the fact that notions about causes and cures of disease are, for the average Indian, very fuzzy and unsure, and, in times of illness, complicated by all manner of insecurities arising from beliefs in supernatural etiology; and add further the ability of Miguel to ~~convince~~ the people of the Indian group--by effective actual demonstration--(which whatever its rational consequences--leads, in all cases, to belief in his powers as a curer)--; and we have certainly two of the most important factors we need to satisfactorily explain the differential and deferential treatment accorded to Miguel by the Indians.

There is however still a further element, if not further elements, which must here be considered: with special reference to Miguel Felipe and with general reference to the differential and deferential treatment accorded magical specialists among the Pokoman Indians of San Luis. ~~Waxmayxuxlixthixxstimonixxixs traditiwxuxl historixul-funxtionxixstionxixstinxuxthexreassuxitxentoxixxthexdeterminxtion~~ ~~axpxuxstixgxxxxx~~ We may perhaps best call it the element of prestige by strangeness. I think it not unlikely that we find this element present in prestige systems in all cultures of the whole human world. The thing that is strange, that is different, that is inexplicable is set off from other things; special note is made of it, as we would of a talking dog, a four eared child, a man with wings. But as we can well see immediately, the mere fact of strangeness is not a sufficient reason for accordance of prestige, at least not for positive prestige as we here understand it. For a thing may be strange and notorious, strange and undesirable, strange and repulsive; as much as strange and prestige-full. This distinction is vitally necessary when dealing with San Luis Indians and their modes of estimation, for in their limited world-views many things impinge upon them in strange fashions from an outside world which they too little and too late are coming to know; but the treatment accorded these strange items differs from item to item and from person to person. The magician, then, in San Luis is of the culture, yet, at the same time, not of the culture. He is different from all other specialists and his specialty is different from all other specialties more than any of those other specialists or specialties are different from any other one of them. For, according to most of the other Indians, everything else in the culture performed by specialists,--except magic--can be learned. But you are either born a magician or you will never be a magician. From birth you are set off; until you die you are considered as different and someone to be deferred to. Unlike the religious specialist--who perhaps of all other specialties in San Luis is considered most esoteric in his craft--there is no roughly fixed age at which one may begin to acquire the skills of magic; there is no orderly procession of training by which one learns the craft; there is no set procedure. From birth you either are or are not

For a full functional explanation of the why of the deferential treatment of magicians by the Indians in San Luis, we should have to explain the why of the strangeness of the supernatural in general for most people of the world in whatever culture, and then apply the ~~specific~~ general explanation in its specific referent within the culture of San Luis. Suffice it to say for now that parts of the supernatural world are strange matters for the Indians of San Luis; and they are strange to them in a decidedly different way than those parts of the supernatural world wherein dwell their objects of religious worship, such as the saints.

The strangeness of the supernatural world of the magicians differs from that of the saints in that ~~the~~ firstly, there is a generalized formula by which part of the world of the saints may be controlled by all ^{people} with a ^{magic -} certain degree of certainty that ^{of} the rightness of the formulas is conformed to and believed in, there will be no untoward events occurring. But the world of strangeness in which the magicians operate is a world where specialists are required for all events within that world and there is no implicit guarantee of the rightness of the workings of the formulae previously used by either the same magician or other magicians. In the world of strangeness ⁱⁿ which the magicians operate, ~~in~~ there is need for an initial act of reaffirmation of faith in the efficacy of the magician's formulae with each new resort to magical works; and there is no feeling of certainty, as there is in the case of the saints, that tried and true formulae will bring tried and true results. It may well be---though I cannot more than suggest this---that the reason ^{for it} why religious acts are almost always involved in magical performances is precisely to lend to the magical performance a degree of tried-and-trueness which provides the comfortable security ^{mainly} which a predominantly religious performance provides for the Indian, and which the/magical act, in only its magical components, does not provide. Part of the reason for this difference may be understood, if one understands fully, as I do not, the psychological dynamics of the verbal explanations which Indians give you for their respective beliefs in religious phenomena and in magical phenomena. The ultimate referent in the verbal explanation of the belief in religious phenomena ~~is~~ usually is "That is what my father and mother taught me"; the ultimate referent in

the verbal explanation of the belief in magical phenomena--i.e. in the existential reality and efficacy of these phenomena--is "I have seen what wizards can do; I have seen cures effected"; it seems perhaps in order to posit the hunch that there is a circular reinforcement of strangeness in the world of magical strangeness--whether it be evil making or curing; whereas, in the world of religion, though equally inexplicable ultimately for the Indian, a feeling of psychological rest is achieved by the culture and handed to him as part of his culture-right which he in turn reinforces. We may compare the former--i.e. the ^{reinforced feeling of the} strangeness of the magical world--to the ^{feeling aroused by} nonsense jokes popular in western civilization--where the hearer is forced to laugh at the termination of a joke far more incongruous than the original conditions in which the joke is laid. For instance, we may cite the story of the group of pigeons who habitually nested in the upper outer reaches of the Art Institute in Chicago, who agreed one warm day, that they would all meet at the Board of Trade Building for lunch; at a specified hour; all of the pigeons but one arrived on time, and only after two impatient hours of waiting did the tardy pigeon finally show up; when asked why she had taken so long, she answered: "Oh, it was such a nice day, I thought I'd walk". Still another enlightening comparison might be offered to ~~such a film~~ the feeling with which one leaves such a film as Wuthering Heights, where the last act of the movie is one which is the ultimate in strangeness, bringing together all implied other-worldiness insinuated into the film, into a finale of events so far removed from this-world-understandings that one leaves the theatre not questioning but simply shaking. A last comparison perhaps more enlightening may be made to Franz Kafka's unfinished and presumably unfinishable novels--ignoring for the purposes in hand the allegorical loom on which the strange threads are woven; in these novels one gets immediately involved in a combination of this-world and other-world occurrences, handled naturalistically, so that by juxtaposition, the other-worldly facets are made even more other-worldly, while the this-world elements are tinged, by that same juxtaposition, with the indigenous queerness of the other-world.

I do not intend these comparisons for anything but comparisons by which some further understanding may be given of my understanding of the feeling which I impute to the Indian when he is dealing with the various parts of his supernatural world; I have lain these comparisons because I can muster no other verbal device which more clearly exemplifies what I wish to convey. The discussion of strangeness was begun in an attempt to explore some of the elements involved in the prestige accorded to practitioners of magic, in general, and specifically, to Miguel Felipe, the magician of San Barrial. We found it necessary, as the reader must have noted, to explore the culture pattern and its dynamic as well as the individual in order better to understand both the pattern and the individual operating within it.

We may perhaps be doing an injustice to the recentness of Felipe's arrival on the scene, and the possible influence of recentness in the induction and reinforcement of the feeling of strangeness discussed above by talking in terms of pattern. But it seems to me justified to use a concept which while ordinarily connoting something established and secure, does theoretically include designs of living which may lie unevoked for long periods of time, only to manifest themselves when a fortuitous (i.e. unpredicted and unpredictable) combination of events gives to that pattern an actual *raison d'être*. Within the memory of the oldest man in town, such a successful and popular magician as Felipe had never before been known. In the absence of any written history of the Indian group and its customs and beliefs, we may ^{provisionally} reasonably conclude (since other types of evidence such as folk songs, or folklore or myths or legends are likewise conspicuously absent) that Miguel Felipe as a curer is a decided novelty in the curing tradition to which the Pokoman Indian is and has been accustomed. There is a decided point to the stress which we are now laying upon the novelty of Miguel Felipe. For, by partial reason, at least, of the novelty of the man's type and thus by partial reason of the special circumstances which must be considered when considering him, we cannot but help form the notion that some of the aspects of the witchcraft focus in San Luis have, as a result of Miguel Felipe, been brought to a point of visibility which might never have shone forth under a different combination of circumstances on the one hand, and would almost surely never have come forth had no such novelty occurred.

There is a way of testing the truth value, in part at least, of the proposition that had no such novelty as Felipe occurred we might almost surely not have had the good anthropological fortune to witness a concatenation of events within the witchcraft focus such as the presence of Felipe did elicit. We may test this against the type of "old-line" curer, taking as our example the second most popular curer in the area, a man who as far as I can tell fulfills all the traditional notions of what a curer is like. If we can show, as I think we can, that the specific factor of Felipe and his specialness caused a considerable variant in the traditional pattern of the magician, all other things for the purposes in hand being considered as equal, we will thus have demonstrated with a relatively high degree of ^{reliability} ~~probability~~ the truth value of the proposition above. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~

The second most popular curer in town is an old man named Bernavez Sanchez, tall and husky, but stooped, wrinkled, toothless, about 60 years old. What, we may ask, are the substantial differences between him and Felipe? Firstly, we should note that Sanchez, in conformity with the general expectations is an old man and is reported not to have begun practicing witchcraft until a few years ago; this is in conformity with the traditional pattern: for it is also reported that of course Bernavez was born with the gifts of curing powers and could have practiced any time he chose, but that as everyone expects of the wizards, he waited until he was fairly old. Now, Felipe, on the contrary is young and has been practicing his craft from a very young age. It is hard to say what caused him to go into curing at such a young age, or what gave him the daring to attempt to break thru the traditional pattern expected. One can at best guess. But the fact remains that he did. And there is nothing that I can see within the pattern of witchcraft or within the pattern which witchcraft forms with other minor designs within the general culture which could be posited as even a necessary, much less a sufficient condition for the departure by Felipe from general expectations. I am forced to conclude that the reasons must be sought for in the particular blending of the personality of Felipe with his culture, without making statements either way about the weight of determination which the person or the culture exercised.

The theoretical point which flows from this is that in this instance it is not reasonable from the evidence already in hand or evidence which foreseeably could be mustered to contend that "if not Miguel, then another": i.e. the general theoretical contention which is summarized in the conception of culture as superorganic and totally determining under all circumstances, with the role of the individual minimized to a point where for all theoretical purposes he comes to be as important as a grain of sand in the determination of the tides. In the large, history knows no certainties; in the small, culture is not a self-correcting machine, ~~with inherent~~ ~~adjustment mechanism~~. *with hindsight or foresight*

What other differences, then, we may ask, can be found to obtain between the old curer, Bernavez, and the new curer, Miguel? We may note here that Bernavez employs in his curing a repertoire of medicines and techniques which are fairly standardized, without any significant departures from such a standardized procedure, no matter what the illness with which he is dealing. Eggs on the palms of the feet to draw out the illness from below, eggs rubbed on the pulses of both wrists and the back of the neck to draw out the illness from its higher reaches, alcohol rubs for fevers, aspirin compound tablets in cases of chill, the usual oils (of which we shall talk in some detail later) in children's illnesses; but Miguel is known for a combination of novel medicines and preparations in his cures; he employs the mountain herbs imputedly of medicinal value, as do other old-line curers, and he employs the patent medicines easily bought in the local pharmacies, but he also has a reputation for using new medicines, the properties of which only he is supposed to know in given illnesses. Whether such novel introductions have any medicinal value over and above that of the old-line medicines, or whether they are simply another manifestation of the a-customary trend which Miguel exploits purposely or non-deliberately, I do not know. The fact important for the present discussion is that there is no loss of prestige as a curer for Miguel due to his employment of novel methods, but, quite to the contrary, there seems to be an adding and increase of prestige for him. It seems, then, from this and other instances, that Miguel has "broken the ice" as far as having a fairly radical

departure from customary procedure not only accepted but highly approved by the people. When we realize that this is the case in the instances of a facet of culture such as sickness notions, where insecurity runs high, and where the expectancy would be in the direction of rejection of anything new (except, we might add, in cases of extreme insecurity where in desperation everything new might be desired), we must surmise, at least provisionally, that the personality of Felipe (and the accretions and concomitants: in the form of techniques, means, and other novelties which have caused imputations of new qualities to Miguel which he had no need of proclaiming for himself) has had, among other causes, or factors, a considerable influence in the diversion and alteration of a general stream of custom which had had long time standing and rather solid guarantees in the affect components of the various currents in that stream.

Leaving, for the moment, the question of other differences between Miguel and other curers, we should ask, now, whether the innovations which Miguel has introduced and which seemingly have been accepted, will be demanded in the future by Indians of the other curers. We have one index that this, in part, has already occurred. We find this in the growing number of people who resort to Miguel as their curer in place, we must assume, of resorting to the other, older curers. It was impossible for me to discover with statistical accuracy whether the number of curers in operation in San Luis at the time I was there was greater or less than the number of curers in earlier days, and whether the number of patients per curer was greater or less. Roughly estimated, however, it seems that the society of San Luis has sustained roughly the same amount of specialists in medicine for a considerable period of time: or, more accurately, that it has sustained roughly the same percentage of curers to population for a considerable period of time. Perhaps I alone had anywhere near an accurate estimate of the number of magical workers in San Luis society, since I was not limited in my investigations by membership in any given barrio or division of town and I was not restricted in my questioning by fear of having witchcraft performed on me. And, thus, taking sectional estimates from various people in various parts of town, and comparing name lists I formulated, and comparing response to questions as to number

of magical operators in former years as contrasted to the then present time, and, lastly, judging all this in light of approximate population figures for previous and present times, I came to the provisional conclusion that the society had sustained a relatively stable proportion of specialists in witchcraft to the general population. This I needed to ascertain before I could determine whether the influx of patients into Miguel's practice was a function of a diminished proportion of specialists. Now, it may well be that at least a part of the added number of patients whom Miguel treats are people who resorted to magical means of curing under the influence of the prevalent notion, held even by some Ladinos, that Miguel was better than even the local medico empirico. That is to say, it may well be that a part of Miguel's new list of patients is derived from that bulk of people who had formerly resorted only to the local medico empirico but who, as I have suggested before, either in desperation over their illness, or dissatisfaction with the secular methods engendered in part by the promise which rumor and gossip and recommendation gave to the curing powers of Miguel, decided to resort to Miguel. It may also be that concurrent with the rise of Miguel to curing status San Luis experienced a sudden rise in the sickness rate. ~~xxxxxxx~~ I have no way of knowing the extent or the etiology of such an occurrence, if it is so. One thing does throw the light of improbability on such a contention: namely, that the last few years in San Luis were not considered years of heavy sickness by the people or by the local druggist, thru whose doors, ~~insistently~~, almost all instances of illness usually pass in review in some fashion or other. The people's estimate may be said to be rough and inaccurate. All of that it is. But in light of ^{the absence} other means of corroboration we must accept such informal estimates for the time being. Moreover, rough and inaccurate as the estimate of the people might be, it seems not unreasonable to contend that where disease is of such high visibility and of such vital importance to the gossip life lines, ^{and possessing in general a negative affect component} as it is in San Luis, what the people believe to be true is not merely a function of their wishes nor of diseased imagination. I checked further with death records for the ten years prior to my visit to San Luis and found, in a fairly stable death rate, further partial corroboration of this point. And, all this added to the partial corroboration of the medico empirico and the

informal estimates of long time Ladino residents lends a relatively high degree of probability to the proposition that there had not been, since the rise of Miguel to the status of curer, any significant rise in the illness-rate which would account for any substantial proportion of the number of patients he was reputed to have under his care at any one time. Now it must be admitted that my evidence as to the number of patients he was treating was pure hearsay: and the fact that it was hearsay from many people does not lend added credence to it, to be sure. What does lend credence to the general contention we are trying to establish is that with no sloughing off of former curers--a new curer, Miguel, came onto the scene and was able to acquire a number of patients reputed to be higher than any other curer, and a success considered to be much higher, and, consequently, a reputation and promise of more patients still --from that reputation--in the future. If, as we have indicated before, not all of the patients whom Miguel treats can be accounted for by 'normal reasons' -i.e. reasons within the general trends of such facets of magical curing-- then we must conclude that at least a part--possibly small and possibly considerable--must be attributed to the special attraction which Miguel continues to exert: and that in this part--either small or considerable--a new series of curing methods and techniques and items has been added and accepted--and a new type of curer thus accepted: an event which in the memory of the oldest men in town has no precedence.

We have labored at some length here to establish at least partially the truth value of the general proposition we made initially and here repeat concerning the influence of given individuals upon the culture stream in whose currents and eddies it is contended by some they must either sink or swim--; for, in treating not only of a facet of culture such as witchcraft, but indeed, in dealing with other facets where the expectancy of considerable weight of the individual in the deflection of the stream might presumably be either greater or smaller, we shall have to consider in each case the possibility of the role of the individual or individuals, ~~with~~ because of and not dismiss, ~~from~~ previously held theoretical considerations, that possibility.

(See here my review of Kroeber's Dress Fashions monograph).

Aug 21-
Luis N.
Religious -
Magical
aspects of
Maize
planting

one of the interviews with Luis was directed at discovering the religious, magical and pragmatic facets of the maize planting process here in Jilotepeque. the process is something as follows. 732
sometime at the end of April or the beginning of May the mayor domos of the cofradias go around to as many Indian houses as possible and collect as many centavos as possible from each. the usual donation is one centavo. this money is given to two principales, who, with these funds as their traveling expense accounts start the three day walk to Esquipulas. There they pay money to the father in the church of Saint Esquipulas to hold a mass, to light candles to Saint Esquipulas, to pray to Jesus Christ for benediction for the crop to be and for good rains to come so that the planting can start. the priest gives them holy water which is carried back by the principales and their ayudantes--as many ayudantes as want to volunteer are welcome. they stay in Esquipulas two days and then start the three day walk back, or, if they have beasts, of course, use them. dropping or spilling of the holy water will supposedly be bad luck for the future, but Luis says that no one really knows since they have never known the water to spill. when they return the house of the mayor domo is ready for a 'velorio' where chilate and sucuz is served. Luis says there is no drinking because people don't have enough money to buy alcohol, but, says they would drink if they had money. at the 'velorio' which is held the night of the return of the principales, the holy water is distributed to whoever wants it, even tho they may not have contributed beforehand for the trip. this water is given out in little bottles which are the supposed to be kept as good luck charms in the houses of the farmers. the morning after the 'velorio' the principales go to the church here in Jilotepeque and explain to San Luis and San Miguel what has happened and finish off the necessary prayers for benediction. that day the cleaning of the milpas starts, in preparation for the planting. then two or three good storms are let to go by, and then the planting starts. in planting Luis says that those who wish, and that includes almost all, say little prayers. one of the prayers reads: "dios que hecha su benediction para que nasquar la siembre del maiz que es estaniendo". the planting will start only when there's a full moon --and usually occurs at the end of May or beginning of June -- there is no planting by the light of the moon but only in the daylight. Luis adds that in planting

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there is usually exchange of mutual aid so that a man's whole milpa can get planted in one day, and thus have his corn all grow equally. after the planting, there is only the process of weeding until the stalks have outgrown the natural limits to which the weeds can grow and then comes the harvest.

note: Luis insists that no magic is practiced in planting or before planting, that no men of special qualities come out to the fields to perform magical rites, or anything of that sort. I did not have time to press the issue or to dig in further, but, since this process forms such a heavily constituent element in the lives of the people here, and, the report of the process seems so skimpy so far, I shall continue further with it.

Magie,
Divining,
Superstitions,
Luck -

this report concerns an interview held this morning with our informant pedro vicente. it took place in our new house, out on the patio. on gillin's suggestion it was oriented at getting more material concerning beliefs in magic and superstitions in the area, as well as at the topic of the local curers.

I started off by asking pedro whether there were people in the area who could cure diseases beside doctors. he answered that there were many among them who could cure. the 'many' turned out to be five. they are, in order of ability at curing:

1. miguel felipe ~~xxxxi~~ - single-32 years old-lives in barrial.
2. jose agustine--29030years old--lives in santa anna.
3. pablo agustine--55 years old--lives in jilotepeque
4. bernavez sanchez--55 years old--lives in jilotepeque
5. maria diez--50 years old--lives in jilotepeque.

miguel felipe is considered the best because according to those who have been cured he knows how to cure the best. when someone is sick, a member of the family goes to get miguel who charges only ten cents for a visit. i asked pedro how it happened that a man so young was considered the best curer. he answered that 'they say' that miguel has been having revelations about curing in his dreams since he was 18 or 19 years old. how does a man become a curer? well, he starts curing sick people in his own house first according to what's revealed to him in his dreams. according to pedro, everyone who has been cured by miguel is still living. not one of his patients have died on him if a cure was effected when they went to him. he treats mainly 'despanta' and 'calentura'.

i next plied pedro with all manner of questions concerning beliefs in luck--how could you change your luck--how could you know if you were going to have bad luck, etc. i suggested to him that in the states you could go to a prognosticator and discover what the turn of affairs would be for you. this prompted him to answer that there was a man living in savana grande who can predict the turn of events for you. you go to him and pay him 10 cents, telling him you have a question you want to ask of him. the man (whose name pedro could not remember) explained to him his manner of telling fortune. he takes 7 grains of maize and ~~puts them in~~, ~~the~~ drops them in 'una media botella de agua', stirs up the bottle of water; and then if the maize fall to the bottom of the bottle you are going to have bad luck and lose money; if they rise to the top and stay there things will go well with you. pedro went to this man once after he had lost some money in santa catarina in some business he had. he had been told that people were robbing him but he didn't know for sure. so he went to this prognosticator and paid him ten cents. the man performed the rites, and the maize rose to the top of the bottle. after that, pedro asserted, he has lost no money. no, he wouldn't go again, because it's too far from here. it involves a day of travel each way, and "anyway, if money is lost, it's lost".

pedro insisted at first that there was no one here who could tell fortune that way, but then later said that miguel felipe could. he performs exactly the same rites that this other man does. no, pedro did not think it strange that the two of them should do exactly the same thing. where did miguel learn to prognosticate this way? a saber! people say it came to him with his birth. yes, many know that miguel can tell fortune and many go to him, give him 2,3,4,5 cents. they tell him they want to ask a question because they know miguel can answer their questions.

miguel is coming here for the fiesta, but, added pedro, miguel now wears shoes. why did pedro mention it? well, because it's only in the last two years that he wears shoes, ever since he returned from service in guatemala, and people talk about it some. pedro hasn't seen him without his shoes since. yes, many indians 'talk' about his wearing shoes and think he should not be wearing them. they say he won't have money to buy another pair later, so why wear this pair? various people say it's a shame, but pedro doesn't think so. after all, if you can, says pedro, it's your choice in the matter. no, his trade in curing has not dropped off. those that 'talk' about miguel are those that don't visit him or have not been sick and needed him or those who have money. "those that have money don't like others and those that aren't sick don't need others". no, miguel is not rich. he has to work in his milpas as well as work at his curing. his milpa is small. miguel is single. no, says pedro, he has nothing to do with women at all. on the question of women he's 'muy ~~de~~ cado, muy honrado'. as far as pedro knows he's never had a woman and no one knows whether he visits women outside. he lives with his mother and she takes care of cooking etc. for him. (at this point i had an idea that miguel might be homosexual and asked pedro whether miguel "no quiere a las mucheres pero solo a los hombres". pedro didn't understand. he had never heard of such a thing. but he had heard of women who only liked women, and didn't like men. yes, i said, we had such people in the united states. did pedro think that miguel only liked men? perhaps, said pedro. but women go to him for curing; and, among us indians, it's all the same whether you have a woman or don't have one. but didn't pedro think it was strange for a man of 32 not to have a woman? no, not particularly, but pedro added that every time miguel travels anywhere he always has two young boys with him of about 18 or 19 years old--maybe they're cousins of miguel but pedro doesn't know for sure. but these boys always travel with miguel and he never leaves them out of his sight and they never leave his side. whenever miguel buys whiskey he buys whiskey for the boys too. miguel is coming in for the fiesta tomorrow. only for pleasure, but will cure someone asks him. he's a 'muy buen muchcacho, muy amable'. yes, he's very intelligent, but can't read or write, except that pedro thinks he can sign his name. yes, you have to go to barrial to get him if you're sick, but he only charges 10 cents a visit because 'he knows we're poor'. even though there are 3 who live in jilotepeque who can cure most people seek out miguel because the others can't cure well but miguel can.

it came out then that jose agustine can prognosticate the future too. he uses exactly the same technique that miguel and the first man do. how did he learn? like miguel, it came to him with his birth, from God. God gave them the power. how do you know when god has given it to a man? well, he doesn't learn his powers from others. then it's understood that it's god given at birth. does miguel have anything special about him? no, except that he has 'ojos alegres' and that's very rare. no, you can't pick him out from a crowd except by his white hat. you would have to know who he was otherwise before you could find him among a group of men. he has no special markings. pedro expressed much surprise (and i don't blame him at my fabricated story about being able to spot a 'curer' in any crowd in the states, without knowing him beforehand. i fabricated this to try to get pedro to match it, if there was anything to match, but nothing resulted).

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we then turned to the subject of superstitions here. (it should be noted however that i turned from this subject only because pedro seemed exhausted with the topic. there are many points, of course, yet to be pursued). i first suggested to pedro a superstition we have in the states, concerning black cats. pedro laughed and said they had the same thing here. if a black cat walks in front of you or turns around in front of you, you will die in a short time. yes, this is sure. everyone in front of whom a black cat has walked or turned has died in two or three months. no, there is no way to avoid it except to go to church and pray to god. no, there are no men at all who can do anything for you under those circumstances. miguel can't, jose can't, no one can. no one can help you except god. almost all people here believe in the black cat evil, because after all a black cat is not just an ordinary animal, he's evil. no they don't kill them when they see them because the cats have owners. Lola Tovar, for example, a Ladino woman owns one that has the most fierce eyes! all the indians avoid this house if they can help it. they're afraid of the cat. yes, pedro is too. the moment you see a black cat you're supposed to cross yourself and say 'por le señor de la Santa Cruz, nuestra nombre, del padre, del hijo y del espíritu santo. amen'. (at this point pedro pulled out a little booklet called a compendio put out by the catholic church, containing the lord's prayer, a version of the ten commandments, the credo, and some catechism. pedro asked me to read it to him. i read the lord's prayer and other things. he could recite the lord's prayer but very badly. when i asked him to explain some of it to me, he said he couldn't he knew what it meant once, but didn't remember. he did not understand most of the words in the ten commandments either, or in the credo. his pronunciation and grammar was really viciously wrong. I am glad to have discovered that because i have trouble understanding him a good part of the time, and i always think i am making errors in grammar and pronunciation. pedro said only a few people knew what the ten commandments meant, but more knew them before when the priest explained them, but they had forgotten them).

pedro volunteered the next superstition after i had fabricated a series of fancy ones that we supposedly believe in the states. superstition #2 concerns a dog. if you have a bundle on your back and put it down to rest and a dog comes up and urinates on it, some say you won't sell anything at all from your bundle. others, but only a few, say it's good luck. pedro doesn't know because he doesn't believe in these 'chuchos'. after all, what is a little chuchos. there are so many of them. but there are many people who do believe in this. most say it's bad. no, you can't avoid it, they say. except some say you can go to church and burn candles to your saint. but you can't very well do this if you're on the road.

superstition or belief #3 concerns woodpeckers. woodpeckers (pajeros carpinteros) are sent by god as messengers to warn you of calamity during the day that they appear. if you see a woodpecker in the morning pecking away, before you go to your milpa, you know that some 'desgracia' is going to befall you, that you will cut yourself with your machete, or that something is going to sting you or 'puede culebre'. this woodpecker is sent from god to warn you. yes, pedro believes in it because one day, at 4 p.m. when he was cutting his second milpa, he cut his hand with a machete (he showed me the scar) and that very morning before he had gone to work a pajero had appeared to warn him that something would happen. now when pedro sees a pajero in the morning he doesn't go to work but stays home a day to let the evil pass. ladinos and naturales alike believe in this, and stay home if a pajero appears to warn them in the morning.

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(notice luis' method of verification of things of which he is unsure--this appears thruout later sessions with him as well)

Magic
and
some of
its
implications

T: Can brujos do anything for you when you are going after a woman?
 L: Yes, the brujos have ways of getting a woman you like out of a house even tho the doors are closed. the woman will be sleeping soundly. the brujo rubs some herbs on his body and comes to the window of the woman's house--and there mutters some 'oraciones' --the woman will get up without knowing what she is doing, get the key to the door, unlock the door, and come outside and meet you and go anywhere with you that you want. then you can do anything you want with her, and she will return to her bed without knowing what has gone on. but in the morning when she wakes up she will know from the feeling in her body that she has had intercourse with someone but won't know with whom. ----No, I've never been to a brujo. why? because it's bad--they can do only bad, can't they. and god sees our pecadillos and doesn't like them. if you get a woman willingly that's a different matter/ that's all right. but against her will? no, god sees everything. ...no, my mother never used a brujo either, but she believes in their power. how do brujos get their power? it's not earthly. you can't learn it here. it's god given--"la resignacion que trahen ellos". ----yes, i knew one brujo but he's dead.(luis was obviously covering up all the time during the brujo questions--he pretended to think hard about whether he had ever known a brujo, for instance--but watch what happens in later interviews.). He was killed one night in his bed--macheted terribly(here Luis obviously sympathized with the brujo)--and he was the only one in his house--he was against those that killed him. he was macheted to death by two picaros because he had thrown aigres into these picaros and they killed him. his name was policapoc miguel. lived in pampacaya. he was very old--about 70 when he was killed---some 15 years ago.what else can brujos do? well, they can either at night or at 12 noon stretch an invisible lasso (bejuk) across the street--and they can attract the person they are working against to walk up this street--and he wakes up--doesn't see the lasso of course because it's invisible and he falls over it and falls onto the street and dies soon after. ...what kinds of aigres are there?---aigres vivos --the brujos blow them into the stomachs of people. all brujos can put and take out aigres from your stomach.(watch this change later--and note the later remarks on who cando what)--no, ordinary people like us can't take out or put aigres into a stomach. que esperanza! how could we do it? we don't have the resignacion.no, brujos don't look different than other people. you can't tell them apart from other men. ..yes, there are ladino brujos. but most of the brujos are naturales. ..yes, an indian can go to a ladino brujo if he wants to.no, as far as i know there are no ladinos who visit brujos. ... how much does a brujo charge? well, before you had to pay 500 national pesos to have an aigre thrown in. now you have to pay 2-3 dollars...how do the brujos live? well, they work on their milpas as well. ..yes, there are young brujos--only 15 years old one of them.(this proved to be a deliberate falsification later)--the oldest one is now about 60 years old. ...how many? there are about 5 or 6 indian brujos in this pueblo.--there are about 5 ladino brujos here too.---yes, there are more indian brujos in the aldeas. .. yes, there are woman brujos too but they haven't as much power as a male brujo. the brujos know each other well--of course--because they go out at night and meet....no, they don't exchange their secrets. ...yes, the brujos like each other because they have the same resignacion/(this changes drastically later too). ..well, they do most of their work at night--yes, the indians are afraid of brujos--if you go up to a man and threaten that you are going to a brujo and have an aigre blown into him he respects you thereafter. he can't avoid the aigre--no, only god can prevent it, but you can go to another brujo afterwards and have the aigre taken out with herb remedies. ...whom do the indians fear most--the government or the brujos? ---the brujos,

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well, take me for example --i respect the brujos more--(tengo mas respeto)- bec use the government can't kill you por gusto but any brujo who wants to can kill me por gusto---how do they kill? only by throwing aigres in your stomach--or a hair--a woman's hair or a man's hair--in your ear--and you have pains in your ear. --or they throw toads and frogs into your stomach, you can always tell. a toad pain pulsates. ~~xxxx~~they also throw snakes in. a snake pain winds around and around your stomach.how do they get them in?--well they only put small ones in--and these small toads or snakes grow inside of you. well, they put them in a glass of water you drink. in the daytime you see them if you look.....yes, i always examine any glass of water i drink. in the night, however, when you are sleepy and reach out for a glass of water how can you see what's in your glass. the brujos have more power than the principales,certainly. yes, the principales are afraid of the brujos too. But the brujos never "se meten" with the principales for "ninguna cosa" because --well,"ellos no se gustan" But the principales don't like the brujos. Oh. they'll talk to them all right --but that's all. why?--well, after all there isn't a good thing about brujos. they're all evil aren't they? yes, of course(laughing) the brujos can throw aigres into the principales but they don't because they respect them. yes, they can throw aigres into the intendente if they want to, too but they don't because they respect the intendente too. No, you'd have a very hard job getting a brujo to throw an aigre into the intendente. It would come out very badly at the end. For instance, suppose he throws an an aigre. the intendente gets sick. a doctor comes. he discovers he can't cure the aigre because doctors can't get rid of aigres. well, the intendente investgates and really investigates/ then there is plenty of trouble. and they will put you and the brujo you hired --both of you--into jail.

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this interview took place in our new house at the north end of the village. for obvious reasons--i.e. reasons which will appear obvious in the course of the report--i am not including the name of the informant. (note to john: your father's middle name. note to redfield and tax: ask john--he will understand).

this interview started with my going over each major point in the Villa memorandum on witchcraft for comparisons and contrasts. you will note that material which is recorded in the first part of the interview is contradicted in part in later sections of the report. about mid-way thru the session --when, i had gotten the name of a brujo from my informant thru the device of asking about patcheros and who they were and what they could do and--then springing a leading question "has he thrown many aigres"--to which the informant answered "no, but he can if he wants to"--there was an embarrassing halt in the flow of the conversation. the informant realized that for the first time he had disclosed a name which he had insisted before he did not know at all. it was rather a tight moment, but i tried as best i could--by giving him a long intimate talk about my relations here in the pueblo to assure him that anything he told me was strictly confidential and would go no further than the two of us. it took much talking on my part--and, finally, the informant started to waver. he said to me: "if i tell you the names of the brujos i know you won't go and tell them that i told you they're brujos, will you? because if you do they will throw aigres into me and then i'm done for. you've got to promise me that you will make sure that they never find out i told you". i promised him, of course, and, after a few moments he whispered the names of the brujos he knew to me--after making sure that all the doors and windows of the house were locked tight. he was terribly afraid that the brujos would find out he had told me and make him sick. i feel sure however that he was reassured, for, after that he spoke with ease to me--and even went so far as to promise me that he would try to see to it that the next time there was a healing session conducted by a brujo he would try to gain admittance for me. i asked him if this was at all possible and he said that if he told the people i was o.k they would accept me and i could come and visit the healing session. i feel that the 'ice is cracked' on one of the most important facets of indian life here. after all, the brujo business is agreed secret among the indians. it means jail if discovered practicing witchcraft. it is the most powerful instrument of social control that the indians have over each other as far as i know--even tho it seems to have been little practiced of late. but the fact of its presence and its readiness for usage on request is the important psychological concomitant of the whole matter. note, for instance, in the previous report how luis najera told me that if a man threatened another with hiring a brujo to throw an aigre into him that man would have much respect for the one who delivered the threat. note, also, that there is an inverse relation between the things which seem to have importance in the 'old way of life' and the willingness to talk of them. all our informants to date have always said, when asked who were the brujos--and asked in a million different ways--"who knows. i know there are brujos but i don't know any personally, and i can't give you any names. because i don't know any. every indian responds in the same way to this question. but at last i think we have gotten somewhere beneath the surface of the question. what its import will be only later work will tell. i am going to report in these following pages as close to the verbatim as i could get--and i think i got it all--and, in the same order i got it. i will not try to organize it--for i think the organization that flowed was evidential of the restraint the informant was imposing on himself. let us see how it appears when all written down.

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all brujos can cause and cure evil and disease.
patcheros can't cause disease or get rid of an ailment.
brujos can't harm animals.
patcheros can only cure despanta and calentura.
brujos are old and young.

there are women brujos and patcheros.

men patcheros can be brujos too but women patcheros cannot. (this was the beginning of the breaking point as you will see).

how do they "sacar an ailment?"--with 'montecitos (little trees)'--which they boil in water and then they ask questions of the sick one. they make the sick person drink the boiled juice--well boiled--of the montecito. only the brujos know what kind of montecito you have to use. how does the whole process start?--well, when you feel sick you call a patchero or brujo. the curer takes the pulse of the sick one and decides whether an ailment is at work. then, if they decide there is an ailment they get their 'montecito' and have it boiled and begin to ask questions of the sick one. typical questions are:

1. what do you feel in your body? where is the pain?
2. have you quarreled with anyone lately?
3. have you argued or struck anyone lately?
4. have you gossiped about anyone?
5. if you did argue or strike or gossip why did you do it. por gusto no te lo ha de veras hecho, pero no tenga peine. you will be cured.

also it will cost you money. pero te curo. (Note that the informant could recite the conversation between a brujo and his patient as though he had memorized the conversations by heart. After being present at many of them, it seems a regular ritual which everyone must perform when dealing with a brujo. for instance, you will note in later conversations that the informant says and then the wife "tiene que decir" or "tiene que escuchar". it sounded like children setting rules for a game: viz: "now you must be the robber and I must be the cop and I must chase you and you must run, etc.")

Then, if the sick one has money he says "all right, cure me". (I was trying to stick to the outline of villa so I returned to the matter of question asking. it turns out that the wife is also asked questions: "where have you been lately". the woman has to say: "in ninguna parte". then the brujo says "why did they do this evil to the sick one?" and the woman has to say "tiene que escuchar"--"quien sabe porque?". then the brujo, if he is satisfied that the woman doesn't know anything says to her "vos me vas a traer tal remedio". (note: this is the first time I have heard the form 'vos' used here. the jefe of policia hacienda of jalapa, an amateur linguist and archaeologist told Jack and me one day that this form is used often around here but it is the first time I have heard it used. note also the use of the very personal 'tu' instead of usted.) "si", dice la mujer, she goes to the pharmacy or--wherever she can get the remedies that the brujo has asked for. if she can get it from us, she gets it. if it 'monte' or 'montecito' which the brujo has requested, she brings it back. the brujo then (here the informant used the word patchero interchangeably for brujo--and this was the second opening point as will be seen later) says to the woman to go into the kitchen and grind up the monte and boil it--but boil it well. how does she know how to prepare it? well, he gives her very specific instructions. --yes, mother, father and friends and children can be present at the curing if they want to. but no questions are asked of them--well, then, the wife is also asked whether she has been with another man of late; or is it because of her that an ailment was thrown into her husband? had she been promised to another man before she married her present husband? (I don't quite know why but the informant was reluctant to reveal the kinds of questions that are asked of the woman. I suspect it has something to do with his own personal family life and perhaps with a brujo session in which he may or may not have been a participant. now that the ice is

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broken on the first part of this material later interviews with the same informant may bring greater ease--but i must also be prepared for reluctance of an even greater order than before if the informant regrets his decision about telling me names, etc--and decides that it is better not to make the same confessions again. in the meantime i am doing all i can to work up a personal friendship with this informant since he now seems the most promising of all we have worked with so far).

the brujo also asks the sick man whether he gets on or has gotten on badly with people around. (this was in response to a question concerning how far back into the man's life the brujos go with their questions). the brujo asks whether he got on badly before? "onganaste vos a alguna patocha?" and the sick man has to answer yes or no. if he says yes the brujo says "por eso estes pagando". if he says "no" they continue the questioning until they discover what seems to be the reason for the presence of the aigre. yes ---"que esperanza"--of course there always a reason for the aigre even if the sick man insists that there is not-- but in the end, really, who knows except the man who has had the aigre thrown and the brujo who threw it. yes, if they discover who had thrown it, they will try to get that man to come-- i.e. the sick man will try to get him to come to his house ---but with the intention of killing him--and if they can they kill the man--i.e. the sick man will kill him or maybe the other man who threw the aigre will kill the man who was sick. what do other people say about this? they don't say anything. what shall they say? yes, of course it's right to kill a man who threw an aigre into you. and the families? yes--a son has a right to kill a man who kills his father(I was after the feuding question here--but couldn't get anything to come out, as you will see)---but there are no cases of it that i know of.--- no, of course not--no indian will tell on any other to the officials--not even the family of the dead one if they know who killed him--"que esperanza!" of course they have to go to give testimony when the death is discovered but they'll never tell why he was killed. --no, there hasn't been a killing here in the last 14 years. well, last year a man killed himself accidentally while hunting. well, before Ubico was president they used to kill each other but not since. now everything is prohibited--punales, navajas, pissoles--prohibido! cantinas? prohibido, musico? no ay. but before? let's say this room is a cantina. over there is a marimba. we're all drinking and dancing. one man hits another. the other pulls his knife--and there, you have a dead man....which was better? before or now?--now, of course. you can walk a street alone and they won't kill you for your money. before it wasn't safe. if they saw you with money they'd rob and kill you. ..which was a more happy time? before, of course. because the cantinas were open. for instance, in this last fiesta you saw very few drunks. but now the music is gone. you can't play a marimba in the streets or in the plaza unless you have specific permission from the intendente....yes, there was more money before too. yes, this is one reason why it was happier before. and now you can't buy liquor after 9 o'clock at night --except thru the windows of the stores. ...why aren't the indians happy?--because there is no money. before we had regular peso notes. you could buy anything you wanted cheap --at regular prices. but now what do we buy? nothing! before you could sell for good prices. but now? you can't. for example, you could sell a good horse before for 3,4000 pesos. now? you can't get more than \$20. (i next plied the informant with questions about the absence of indian clothes etc. here and their presence in the west. he said it was because there are no materials here and there are materials there--and furthermore, the old men there knew how and know how to make indian clothes--telas de lana, manchas, chibas. --and they have taught the young one. but the old, men here seemed to know only how to make straw hats--and that's all----note: see the end of the report that follows this one--the interview with the commandante).

(back to the topic of brujos)---(i must note here that the landlady came in a few minutes ago--and i asked her offhand whether she knew any ladino brujos, for as you will see later, my informant said there were 5 ladino brujos in town. she said she didn't know but thought that only the indians had brujos--and off hand she named one that my informant also named--she said she would find out more for me. now--something is fishy here. if she came name one off hand like that and feel confident that she can find out others what kind of 'ice have i cracked'. it could seem that my enthusiasm of a few minutes ago is unfounded. but why the hesitancy then on the part of our informants. the question of brujos with the ladinos, is to be sure--except in official circles--a matter for joking. but if they know who they are?--then where's all the mystery. well, we'll see what the landlady reports).

here the informant is continuing:

if the sick man gets well with the first boiled solution --all well and good. if not, the remedy is changed until the aigre is vomited out. .. are there any words they utter in the process? yes, the brujos say: "nombre de dios. que se componga el enfermo con esta remedia que le voy a dar".(i must reiterate my impression that the informant seemed too sure of what goes on with brujos and curing sessions not to have been present at more than one). if the brujo can't cure the sick man then the man, if he can afford it, gets another brujo. each brujo has his own separate remedies.yes the brujos drink 'guarda' while they are curing. the dueño of the casa has to pay for the guarda. only the brujos drink. but only a little. they don't get drunk...no, two brujos can't cure at the same times. but sometime another is present as spectator. they don't help each other. they may talk to each other but they don't "quieren" to each other---well, yes, they are jealous that one man has a patient and the other doesn't. -----(it was at this point that we got into a discussion of who could cure--and then--who were the curers in town--and then from there the leading question which brought out the fact that one of the curers was also a brujo---the informant after the session which i reported at the beginning of this report--told me the names of six brujos--two of whom are brothers, only three of the brujos seem to practice, and some are more potent than others. they range in age from 26 years to over fifty years,--the most potent one being some 30 years old. he is not in the pueblo at this time but is working elsewhere. the most potent brujo however is not a patchero(correction--only five brujos). the least potent brujo is a patchero as well. the best known brujo--is a patchero. there is a woman patchero but she is not a brujo. the ages of the five are 26,28,30,50 and over 50 for the fifth.)--yes, said the informant there are woman brujos as well but they don't practice. they have the resignation but they don't use it. why? because they're women and se respetan.(this word respetar seems to have any number of meanings). "ellos no tienen valor he hacer los.". how do they know they have the resignation? because their mothers tell them. here's how they tell for instance. the child is asleep and the mother is asleep. the mother feels an animal creeping over her body. she strikes out to hit the animal and the child begins to cry at exactly that time. that's how they know. for instance-- x's mother-(x is one of the brujos)- is comadre with my mother. they were talking one day and i overheard x's mother tell my mother that one night she was dozing in a chair and x was asleep in a hammock. the mother suddenly felt a monkey climbing over her 'haciendo el carino' which displeased her much. she struck out. and at that very moment x began to cry and wail. that's how they knew x was a brujo. he was only one year old or less at the time. but he and his brother as far as i know have never thrown aigres. --- (the following is the 'straightest dope' i could get on the division of labor in witchcraftery)--1. brujos who are not

1. patcheros as well can only throw aigres.
2. brujos who are patcheros as well can rid one of aigres as well as throw the,
3. the patcheros who are not brujos cannot throw or rid one of aigres but can only cure calentura and despanta, etc.
4. brujos know they're brujos also because they 'so tantean' that they're brujos.
5. there are no marks or signs by which you can tell one brujo from another or from other men. if you don't believe a man when he tells you he's a brujo "well, you don't believe him".----(now back to the informant talking)

if i want a brujo, i'll go to xx--(the 30 year older who is working elsewhere) he told me himself he was a brujo. he can take his hands off and put them back on if he wants to. how do i know, he told me so himself.---you would like to see that, you say?---oh, he won't do it in front of others. only when he's alone. --how do i know for sure then? because he told me so personally.----this ended the session. we pledged mutual, secrecy on the things we had told each other, and walked out into the street arm in arm. i, of course, am going to follow this up as closely as possible and get in on a brujo session if at all possible. i have my doubts but we shall see what later weeks will bring. i must confess that there is a mixture of affect apparent in the informant about the question of brujos. one the one hand--when 'god' is in his soul for the moment, all brujos are bad. but, in the very next breath he speaks of them reverently (some fear) but also with pride of them and of their powers--and, of this last one--xx--the 30 year older--with a great deal of affection. he seems particularly proud of the fact that the brujo 'condescended' to tell him--an ordinary man--that he was a brujo and could take his hands off. the question of attitude toward witchcraft here is not at all clear, as far as i am concerned, at least. the threat of its usage seems far more potent a thing than any actual widespread practice of it. like in Yucatan it seems to operate as a form of social control over gossiping, lying, slandering, cheating, etc--but is not institutionalized to the extent that the villa report would have us believe it is institutionalized in yucatan. the major differential, of course, seems to be the government attitude toward it--forbidden and severely punished here--tolerated and more there. one gets the impression after three weeks here that government policy has had a tremendous influence over the lives of ladinos as well as indians. they speak here always as tho there were two eras in guatemalan history--before and after ubico. before ubico--killings, widespread drunkenness, chaos in the social order, etc---after ubico--and the threat of severe punishment that the law carries with it about many things which were formerly permitted before ubico--there seems to have been a gradual retreating of the indian and the ladino as well--tho much less for the latter to be sure--into the shell of a small nucleus of indian life which is not forbidden as yet. to be sure, ubico has not forbidden the preservation of indian customs--but--the mandates of the government have operated tangentially to exorcise a good many of the former customs and to supplant them with the ladino way of life. the presence here, for instance, of an intendente--who, in a Rotary Club spirit--has introduced such things as beauty queens of the fiestas--(note that all whom i asked insisted that the beauty queens have lost their former suitors because to the indian boys beauty queen means associating with ladinos, dancing with them, going out with them--and, as one ladino put it seriously--being contaminated by them. the fiesta was the most apparent evidence of the 'lack' (?) of indian life and spirit. it was 'dead from the neck up' as far as the indians were concerned except for the velorias--which were also quiet--and the endless rosarios--which seemed terribly sad affairs. while, for the ladinos it was a lively affair--jack and i put drinks to bed--saw them all over the place--all ladinos. i saw only 1 drunken indian thru out the whole affair, yet many had whiskey breaths. where then were these people from the coast who

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were supposed to have spent all their hard earned money of months before
on a whiskey orgy here during the fiesta. i saw none of it--and certainly
looked for it. to be sure, we didn't stay up all night--but we were
up sufficiently late to see the beginnings if there had been beginnings.
one looks in vain for the expression of repressions here, and one wonders
whether or not repressions have not become incorporated into a general
silence and lack of activity and a semi-moroseness on the part of the
indians. as tax reports in his monograph on towns of lake atitlan there
seems to be almost a total absence of community life for the indians here,
and also for the ladinos, but not the same extent. the pool parlor here
is a favorite meeting place of the ladinos--and one or two of the indians,
who never have enough money to play pool, however. the indian women, to
be sure, come up numberless times a day to the pila for water and stay
there many minutes, gossiping, chatting, exchanging news--washing their feet,
and, incidentally, almost, drawing water into their pitchers. but the indian
men? one rarely sees them except when they are serving the intendente and
then their most frequent occupation seems to be that of sweeping the mercado
or the plaza or pulling weeds out from the cobblestones in the streets.
something has happened to indian life as we are accustomed to imagine it
to have existed. laconic brevity characterizes the display of affect here
as far as i can see. it seems to me at this juncture that there is an
almost total absence of 'life-satisfactions' for the indians as we are
accustomed to think of satisfactions and the display of them. it may well
be that the indian--given few aspirations over and above raising enough
corn and beans to feed himself and his family--and being able to achieve these
aspirations--finds his satisfactions in the correspondence between the
level of achievement and the level of aspiration. it does stand to reason,
psychologically referred, that dissatisfaction is a function of the
extent and meaning of the disparity between the level of achievement and
the level of aspiration. it is only in the more secularized of the indians--
secularized one would almost say in a bad way--that one finds a core
of dissatisfaction that eats away at the spirit and brings on an obvious
moroseness. but, of course, i have not worked with many indians as yet--
and so my ideas about the population in general are purely hypothetical
at the moment based on projection and extrapolation from three or four
cases--which i know in greater detail--and, on a form of 'mass observation'
as it were. but i think there is a way of getting at it. i am going to try
this sampling of the town on indices of secularization--and--after i have
weighted as best i can i am going to pick out cases from the sample
representative of various degrees of secularization and work more details
with them. if redfield's hypothesis about personal disorganization being
a concomitant of secularization is correct--one should find in the cases
of those who rank highest on the index of secularization (if we weight it
properly) those who are the same time the most disorganized--and, if not,
one should be able to discover what factors in the process of becoming
secularized offset the tendency toward personal disorganization. at least
we may arrive at a refinement of the major hypothesis in the process.
there is one major difficulty i find in the work here so far --and that
is that two major questions present themselves all the time --and, as
yet, they are joined only in theory--i.e. the question of race relations
and the whole social psychology as well as sociology of race relations--
and, on the other hand--the question of the general nature of the accultur-
ation process undergone and going on here in jilotepeque. they are joined
to be sure in the consideration that the nature of the relations between the
races may be a potent factor in determining the rate and degree and nature
of the acculturative process--for instance the presence of a well liked
intendente--and an enlightened one--may be a strong factor in moving the
indians out of their 'old ways' into the 'new'. but one has the task
first of estimating the real nature of those relations before one can say
with any degree of probability what its effect on the acculturative
process may be.

7AA of course when we are dealing with the question of personality disorganization we have a concept which is by no means clarified to the point where indices have been set down which can be used ~~far~~ by all investigators. redfield, for instance, gives few if any indications of 'how we know when a man is personally disorganized'. this, i think, is one of the major faults of the book. but there are ways of at least noting adunbrations of such disorganization--as for instance when luis burst out to me the other day "I" bored and tired with this place and want to go to Guabala and be a soldier". These are impressionistic measures to be sure --but can be formed into statements which can be answered by other people--if they feel like answering them. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ mead, for instance, in her "changing life of an indian ~~xxxxxx~~ tribe"(?) gives a very convincing picture of a series of people who seem totally disorganized as far as their old way of life is concerned and as far as their ability to accept the values of the new culture into which they have been placed. that flows mainly from her literary ability--the ability to record in an aesthetic and poetically meaningful fashion what she sees with the eye of the anthropologist. i think the cue to the matter--or one of the cues at least--lies in discovering what the edges of each culture are--and where are the margins--and then discovering what people are on the margins. it is this service which redfield renders most effectively in the 'folk culture of yucatan'. one almost gets a feeling that he is walking across geographical boundaries of 'culture'. and cannot the various dwellers along the way ---and, passing from one set of values into another--can note who stay on the boundary lines. here the matter seems much less simple than that. after all the pattern to which the indians are getting 'acculturated' is by no means clear cut european. as jack notes, for instance, many of the artifacts of european house type,--are absent here. any of the characteristic of european city life are absent here. many of the "secularly constituted" belief systems are absent here. one is confronted with a 'backwoods town' aware of the existence of the larger world, yet, on the one hand too poor, and, on the other, too "isolated" to do anything more with that big city life than profess knowledge of it and share in some of its benefits--and, at the same time--consider itself a part of it--failing to recognize itself to be only a country cousin outhouse of a pennsylvania railroad lavatory. so--we must get a baseline here of the "really operative" values of this ladino part of the culture here--and as sharp a baseline as possible of "what" was "Indian"--and then we can begin to answer questions. the point is ---shall i concentrate on finding out what is"--as my first task and the "What was" later? i think i can spend my year most profitably doing that. well, we shall see.

Witchcraft:

CAPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

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Name: Pedro Miguel Scento

Age: 36 ; Race: Natural; Health: Kidney trouble

Birthplace: San Luis July 10 (doesn't remember the year-but has birth certificate)

Education: None; Read: No; Write: No; Signature: No ;

Birthplace of parents: F: San Luis; M: San Luis; Grandm and gf: San Luis

Age of parents at ban's birth: f: 32 m: 31 ; at xxx's death: 45f m: 50

siblings: 3 sisters, 4 brothers; the sisters and 1 brother older; 3 brothers younger; only 1 sister and 2 brothers living; younger brother in puerto barrios; others living here;

children: v-12yrs; v 5 yrs; v: 3 yrs; e- 3 months; the 12 yrs old will go to school next year; working with pedro now;

marriage: no, living with woman; 13 yrs; woman 32 years old; natural; born here; has family here
illegitimate children: none; lived with another woman, natural for 1 year 3 months; never had a woman before that;

work: obrera of tiles; straw hats; sells cantaros which his wife makes; 2 months of no work;
income? doesn't know---has own milpa--1 vara of frijoles and maiz; expenditures: doesn't know

service for government? : 4th regidor auxiliar; was sirviente for 3 years starting 5 years ago; was an infantry man in Guatemala 12 years ago; the service is bonita; yes, if i could i would return with gusto to the army; yes, i would like to be regidor municipal--i am 'dad' for qualquier servicio; wore shoes there; yes, if i had money i would buy shoes now because it's better for your health; no, never wore shoes after Guatemala;

church goer? once a day when here; member of cofradia; yes, of santa cruz--15 months; would please me much to be mayor domo if i had a big house; goes every 4 or 5 days to the cofradia to visit mayor domo and the santos;

lived outside pilot: never; where have you been: ipala, pinula, jalapa, san salvador, Guatemala, santa ana, san sonata; chalchuupo; tikisaya; aguachapan; san julian; santa tekalas; isalka grande; san juan avisalka; juayuyo; metapan; jutiapa; progreso; suncion mita; santa catarina; chaparon; gualan; zacepa; chiquimula; san jose larrado; isquipula; quesaltepeque; san jacinto; jowotan; san juan comotan; santa ilena; las cruz; the trip to san salvador lasted the longest--12 days on the road, one day in salvador. never in the west, except in Mixco on commissions;

would you like to live any other place; only in Guatemala; because its a better place than this; there are more facilidades para passar la vida;

do you leave the pueblo: 20 times a year; to buy or sell; in Mita, Jalapa; once a year to Guatemala and Salvador para wánder petates which he gets in the San Juan avilsalka, Salvador.

ever received a letter: never; never sent one;

always worn ladino clothes: always;

what do you eat: tortillas, frijoles, cafe; rice, meat infrequently; pork twice, beef once;

choice of food: there is no food finer than tortillas and frijoles and a little meat.

you can't buy anything else, even if you had money; but i wouldn't buy anything else; same food practically in Guatemala;

ever been in jail: never;

ever throw or had an augre throw: never had one; never; has seen curings six times;

jose agustine and miguel felipe were the patcheros;

fear brujos: yes, of course, because everyone says they're bad; --(bernavesanchez is a brujo--so people tell me; anatasio mendez was one but he died; salvador cervantes is another; luis manuel; the latter two are the best; luis manuel is supposed to be able to take his head off; I've never seen it, but how can he, well, maybe he can; salvador cervantes turns into a woman every night; the both of them can turn into animals at night--into dogs, or cats, or snakes; both can throw and saaar aigres; aigres are blown in on drafts of air; purgantes to sacar an aigre;

yes. before, the brujos could throw lassos across a street and make a man fall and die but now no; but those who could are not living now and there are none who can; yes, before they could snakes and frogs in your stomach but now there are none who know how; well, when i was young they told me so, and i knew this old brujo who died; -now, there are brujos who are patcheros as well but there are patcheros who are not brujos; yes, there are brujos who can't get rid of aigres or animals; no there are no woman brujos as far as i know; ; there is one woman patchero--maria viudo de liez; how do people know they're brujo ; people tell them or they themselves feel that they're brujos; they're separate from us who don't know anything, like me for example; like the patcheros, brujos are brujos at birth; the first time? well, they start with their own families and are able to cure sometimes; then they know they're brujos; then they begin to cure; yes, maybe if the man is very intelligent and can read and write he can learn how to throw and cure aigres from another man.--the curing process starts with the pulse taking; the pulse taking decides whether the disease has been thrown in or whether it's just a fever; then the brujo tells the family which medicine he needs to cure the sick man; the family and friends may be present; everyone drinks if there's money; they do not get drunk; the brujo tells the sick man not to worry; that he's going to get better; the brujo asks the sick man what he feels; the sick man advises the brujo what he feels;--the brujo can always diagnose from the pulse and the description of the pain what animal is in the stomach; there can be frogs, snakes and lizards; the brujo asks the man: do you have any enemies; or did you gossip about any one; who told you the thing you gossiped; if you did do those things, why did you do them? because --por gusto they did not make you sick; then the sick man has to say--yes, i did this or that, because yo tengo mis coldras--i.e., soy bravo; ; then the brujo says: it's because of that that they have done you evil; --then the brujo asks the man whether he has money and if he has money he says he will cure him; then the brujo asks questions of the woman--because sometimes there are women who cohabit with men other than their husbands and those extra-marital suitors try to get rid of the husband by killing him with an aigre; the woman has to answer that she has not been with anyone since she's married; the woman has to tell the truth? why? because the brujo is asking her and if she has been with someone it will appear obvious to the brujo that she is lying if she says no; then if the woman says she has done something bad the brujo says that it's for that that they have made her husband sick; nothing happens between the husband and wife--because what is past is past, and now she is living with her husband; the woman has to promise she won't go with any other men; they may or may not ask questions of other members of the family; --the brujo tries to discover whether anything much further back in the life of the man could be the reason for the evil now-- whether he fought or argued or gossiped with someone long ago; then they send to the pharmacy for some class of purgante--sal-ingles, or sulfatasol; yes, they look for montecitos sometimes, too-called 'rudas'----they grind the montecito--they buy a octavo of aguardiente and pour it into the ground up montecito-- and pour the whole thing into a colador--and then the enferme drinks it--; they do not say anything to god about the medicines; the medicine is supposed to either produce vomiting or defecation; if it's an aigre you can't see it when it is discharged; if it's an animal you can see it; it looks just like the ones we see around except that it's dead; they either throw it away or bury it afterwards; no, the animal can't revive; if the medicine doesn't work then they have to look for other medicines; the man is supposed to get rid of the animal or whatever it is in three hours; if he doesn't they they look for other medicines or repeat the same medicine; other medicines if it's a fever--but the same medicine if it's an aigre or an animal; --if the brujo can't sacar the animal or other thing the man is sure to die; no, you can't try another brujo, the first one has to do the trick; once i saw a curing session -jose agustine was curing--and the animal wasn't rid of until the second dose; yes, i saw the animal--it was a largatijo--one of the little largatijos you see running around here; it looked exactly the same except that it was dead; yes, when the animal is put in it's a little one--put in something you drink and that's how it gets in your stomach; in your stomach it grows; --yes, if the animal doesn't come out the man dies; --for instance, this old brujo i was telling you about--anastasio mendez--dies because he couldn't get an animal out of his stomach; --he had a frog in his stomach--yes, he was a brujo but he couldn't get the animal out;

no, he couldn't call another brujo to help him because he was a brujo himself. and tell me--in throunited states do you have brujos too? yes, i said, we have people there who can call back the dead to talk with their families; do you have any here who can do that? well, said pedro, almost none -but they say that bernavez sanchez could do it before--in the middle of the night--could call back tthe dead to talk with the famil, if they 'tuvoeron valor' or with his alone if the family did not have 'valor'. But now he can't do it--because they say he's lost it because he 's so old; ---no we don't have anyone who can read the stars or use diving sticks;

---no, now there are no women brujos but before there was one--a real old woman who dies about 12 years ago--she was called maria gregorio; yes, she practiced her trade; yes, she was very good in her trade; yes, there were many who went to her; no, as far as i know there are no ladino brujos; among t e ladinos they may know about them but nong us, we don't know; yes, a ladino can come to an indidan brujo for curing; there was an old woman--but she's dead now--who had an aigre--and she was cured by a brujo who was an indian; --oE, the brujos are much more powerful than the principales because the principales--what can they do--they pray to god every morning and night--but, they can't do evil to anyone; but the brujos can do evil to anyone they don't like; oh, iBn afraid of brujos more than the government because if i don't do bad the government won't id anything to me; but, if i'm just sitting and thinkin to today and soe no doesn't like me -eve though i haven't done anything wrong--he can have an evil thing done to me; --you see, i id on't know anything, and i have respect for everyone because they might not like me otherwise and might throw a brujo against me and do evil to me; there's one muchacho who doesn't like me and i don't like him; i'm afra9d he might do evil to me but he doesn't know anything so maybe he can't; that's the same with me; that's vassilio lopez; well, he doesn't like me only because his wife now is the woman i had before i the one i have now; everyone eie ntown likes me; no, a natural can't have an aigre thrown into a ladino--among themselves they can; but we can only thrw aigre into one an ther; --no, if a ladino wants to fight with me all i do is retire; there's no use in my fighting him; no, it' not because the government likes us los , because, really, the government likes us more than the ladinos because it's only the indians who go into service in justacala and the ladinos stay behind and have pleasure here; no, it's just that they'll throw me into prison if i fight; callas treats indians and ladinos alike--and will throw ladinos into jail for fighting too; --yes, the brujos like each other--they're like brothers; yes, they can work together and cure together; --8 or 9 or 10 .m is the best hour to throw an aigre--it is the hour of silence; 10 p.m. is the best hour to cast an aigre; 10, or 11, or 12 p.m.--because then there are no people in the streets; --yes, here too they used to be able to make a woman come to you without her knowing what she was doing--only bernavez san hez, however--the old one--now he can't do it;(notice how pedro covers up all the time with 'ahra a no pur de' etc)--he could get a woman out of the house at night and have her go with you wherever you wanted and then return her t her bed--nd she would know in the morning that something had happened during the night but she wouldn't know with whom; no, a brujo can't make a girl change her mind about not wanting to marry a man; yes, women can throw aigres into men and men into women, if they want to; --yes, brujos can make you go to sleep--suppose you're sitting here, for example, and they're outside--they can put you to sleep and then do evil to you in your dreams;

--this ended the interview--it had started in the morning--but i had to discontinue it at 11 a.m. because i had a severe headache. I had pedro come back at 3p.m. and we continued the interview. as you will notice it ended up with something entirely different than i had intended it; but, when we did get on to the question of witchcraft, and, when surprisingly enough, pedro seemed willing to talk about it, i could not for o the opportunity, pedro started out and kept on covering himself up--by saying--'so the people tell me, but i don't know myself for sure; he insisted at first that he had never been at a curing session bt as the interview reveals, he slipped and told me of one he had been at; from then on all i had to do was look incredulously at him when i didn't believe 'that he didn't know something i asked him' and, a more fertile response was almost always forthcoming. the session on witchcraft reveals, i think, ore about xxxxxx my first informant on witches and about pedro than it does about sorcery. yes, pedro was afraid--he said so himself--but in not half the morbid and almost terrified way tht the other informant revealed himself to be.

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now while i was in the pueblo i had occasion to talk with luis, my informant--who has been ill for some time. we got on to illness and from there to brujeria and curing; and the subject of when i was going to get into a curing session was brought up. some interesting--very interesting --data came out of our discussion. i shall sum

Magic
to
Witchcraft
&
Sickness

it seems that one nicolas agustine, a tambor player in the indian processions, went with the cofradai to the santa catarina festival on nov.25th; the cofradai arrived after a long march of several hours; and they were all pretty hungry; the musicians kept playing while food was being served; and, by the time the musicians had stopped playing the food was all gone; this nicolas commented on the fact that they had forgotten to serve the musicians five days later he died of pains in the stomach; everyone is sure that someone present at the time who heard the remark and thought he was being insulted caused brujeria to nicolas and made him die; it is the speed of the death which impresses the people, luis tells me. why else should a man die so rapidly when he wasn't even sick before--unless it was brujeria?--it turns out that the nicolas died was december 1st. at least this was my guess. it was a lucky guess; when i mentioned to luis that five days after nov. 25th was december 1st, he shook his head in surprise--and said--as if at least part of the mystery had been cleared: "Oh, of course: the first of the month is the best time for brujos to work; it's the most dangerous day in the month; why? --he doesn't know--but it is said that the first and the fifteenth and the last day of the month are the worst days; brujeria has the best chance of working on those days; and, this fact added to the speed of nicolas' death made it all the more convincing to luis that brujeria had been at work. "What precautions can you take on these days to avoid the added danger" I asked luis. there are several. One:--you don't sleep much; you try to stay awake as much as possible. does he try to do it? yes, and if he isn't too sleepy he tries to stay awake all night; on these three nights. (my note: is there any possible relation between the all night vela of the cofradai on the fifteenth of each month and this belief in the evil of that day?)

el camaron p.55

then: you stay out of the streets if possible; then: you prepare a cross of garlic and hang this over your bed; you also paint a cross of 'inguate verde' on the wall over your bed; these two crosses keep away brujos. are any people more susceptible than others? yes, small children are very susceptible?--why? because their resistance is that much less--and brujos take special joy in making small children sick; they can do it so much more easily than if it's an adult; what kind of precautions can you take?--you wrap the small infant in the skirt of the woman; wrap the infant well--cover him completely--for those nights and any other nights on which you fear brujeria--and the child has an added measure of protection that way. do brujos have to get permission from anyone to do harm to a person? yes, they must consult with the king of the brujos--address unknown--to get permission; if the king refuses permission, the harm cannot be done; if the brujo attempts the harm anyway, the king will cause harm to befall him; can brujos do harm to your milpa? no, only god can do harm; why should god do harm to the milpas? because he is sick of suffering for our sins so much. how does he do this harm?--he sends hurricanes to ruin the corn stalks. is there anyway you can assuage god's anger?--yes, by putting holy water in each corner of the milpa. how do you know if you're sick from brujeria, or just plain sick?--oh, you can tell; you always get a sentido if it's brujeria; are you sick from brujeria, luis, or just sick?--oh, i'm just sick; i have a bad cold and can't get rid of it; how do you know your enemy ramon is not doing you harm?--oh, i can tell; every ramon has wanted to do me harm i have had a dream about it--and i have known. i have had no such dreams about this sickness. so i know i'm just plain sick.

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El Camaron
an aldea of
San Luis Silabogano

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El Camaron is an aldea or hamlet lying some 12 kilometers away from the pueblo of San Luis Jilotepeque, and subordinate to the pueblo in the political organization of the municipio. It is the most distant of the 15 hamlets surrounding the pueblo, and access to it is most difficult of all the other hamlets. It is inhabited entirely by ~~Indians~~ ^{INDIAN SPEAKING}, a condition unique to El Camaron, for every other aldea has some admixture of Ladinos. Some 457 people in all make up the population on El Camaron on which data is to be presented, but there are three or four other households of five or six people each on whom data was not secured. This, in effect, means a total population of about 480 people.

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The hamlet is located in semi-mountainous terrain, the houses being widely scattered up and down the sides of two steep inclines facing each other across a ravine which constitutes the chief water supply of the hamlet.

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Agriculture (chiefly corn and beans) ^(MILPA) constitutes the major economic activity of the residents of the hamlet. Some subsidiary economic ventures such as soap making, rope making, sugar cane, pigs, poultry and poultry products and fruit growing are engaged in.

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The general culture pattern of the Indians of the hamlet is very similar to that of the Indians of the pueblo, with whom they share linguistic identity as well. The major differences seem to lie in the fact of greater Europeanization of the ways of the pueblo Indian, and noticeable differentials in behavior caused by the presence of Ladinos in the pueblo and their absence in the hamlet.

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The Indians from the hamlet and the pueblo are more alike than is any one of the pueblo Indians like any of the Ladinos of the pueblo.

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SUMMARY FIGURES ON EL CAMARON

The following figures represent data gathered on 92 households personally visited. In each instance the figures were secured from a person in the household, in most instances the man of the house.

1071 92 households contained 457 people: a rough average of 5 people per household.

1072 In these households, the average age of 81 men from whom data was secured was 38.2 years. The average age of 87 women was 33.5 years.

The birthplaces of 91 men and 92 women were as follows:

| | Men | Women |
|--------------------------|-----|-------|
| El Camaron | 81 | 75 |
| Pueblo of San Luis | 6 | 8 |
| Other aldea of municipio | 3 | 7 |
| Other municipio | 1 | 2 |

Data on the type of house for 96 houses was secured. It is as follows:

181

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Sapling frame: straw roof | 19 |
| Sapling frame: tile roof | 18 |
| Mud walls: straw roof | 7 |
| Mud walls: tile roof | 23 |
| Part frame, part mud: straw roof | 3 |
| Part frame, part mud: tile roof | 18 |
| Frame/mud: straw/tile | 4 |
| Corn stalk walls: tile roof | 1 |
| Corn stalk walls: straw roof | 1 |
| Frame/corn stalk: tile roof | 2 |

The birthplace of the male and female heads of household were:

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| | Male | Female |
|--|------|--------|
| Camaron (both parents) | 38 | 43 |
| Pueblo (both parents) | 9 | 8 |
| Other aldea (both parents) | 3 | 3 |
| Other municipio (both parents) | 1 | 1 |
| Father aldea: mother Camaron | 9 | 5 |
| Father Camaron: mother aldea | 10 | 12 |
| Father Camaron: mother other municipio | 3 | 2 |
| Father Camaron: Mother pueblo | 10 | 6 |
| Father pueblo: mother other aldea | 1 | 1 |
| Father pueblo: mother Camaron | 1 | 5 |
| Father pueblo: mother other municipio | 1 | 1 |
| Father other municipio: mother pueblo | 1 | 0 |
| Father Camaron: mother unknown | 3 | 0 |
| Father unknown: mother other municipio | 0 | 1 |
| Father unknown: mother other aldea | 0 | 1 |
| Father unknown: mother unknown | 1 | 3 |
| Father other aldea: Mother pueblo | 0 | 3 |

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87 men had a total of 438 siblings, (alive and dead) making an average of 5.14 siblings per male head of household.

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82 women had a total of 451 siblings (alive and dead) making an average of 5.5. siblings per female head of household.

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In the 92 households, there were 59 married couples; 24 couples living together but not married; 4 households in which a first spouse was dead and the live spouse (man or woman) was living with another mate but was not married to the second. There were no households containing people who had been married for a second time. Data was not available on the marriage status of 5 of the households.

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In the 92 households there were a total of 373 live children and 49 dead children, totalling 422 children in all. The average number of live children per family is 4.05. The average number of all children (live and dead) per family is 4.58.

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241
89 households depended on farming of milpa for the major portion of their income. The total amount of land farmed by these 89 households was 3631 tarellas (cuerdas; 1 cuerda = .114 acre) making an average of 40.8 tarellas or 4.6512 acres per household. and a total in acres of 413.934.

36
Of these 89 people, 16 owned their own land to the amount of 880 tarellas or 100.32 acres in all, making an average of 55 tarellas or 6.27 acres owned. 73 of the 89 people rented their lands or used the lands of other people, to a total of 2751 tarellas or 313.614 acres in all, and an average of 37.7 tarellas or 4.1978 acres. (These figures include one man who rented 30 tarellas and owned 30 tarellas).

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Of those who do not own their land, 5 used their father's land; 4 their mothers'; 7 their wives'; 3 their uncles'; 4 their fathers'-in-law; 2 their mothers' in law; 2 their brothers' -in-law; 1 their godfather's; 1 his stepmother's; 42 rented or used land belonging to people outside their family; 1 used land belonging to his father as well as land belonging to another person; 1 used two separate plots of land belonging to his sister and his wife. For land belonging to a member of the family, the two brother-in-laws, one of the uncles, and the one stepmother received rent. All the others were rent free.

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The total amount of unowned, rent-free land was 1081 tarellas. The total amount rented, with rent paid in cash was 1024 tarellas. A total of \$34.50 in rent was paid, making an average of 2.96 cents per tarella, or 25.96 cents per acre.

There were 677 tarellas for which rent was paid in produce, or in work, or in some combination of both, the total, converted to cash values (\$1.80 a wargo of corn; \$5 a cargo of beans; 10 cents for a tarella of work or a day of work) being \$48.30, or an average of 7.13 cents per tarella or 62.53 cents per acre, or well over twice the amount per acre paid, when rent is paid in cash.

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For 77 people on whom data was secured, the average distance they had to walk to get to their farm lands was 5.6 kilometers.

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In sharp contradistinction to the pueblo, no one in El Camaron makes pitchers for sale; in only 20% of the households is there a person who can and/or does make pots for household use; only 1 man makes straw hats for sale (he is not a native of El Camaron); only 58 of the men can and/or do make hats for their own use.

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Of the total of 457 people in the survey, only 11 were literate, to some degree or other. Only two of these 11 could write a letter if it had to be written; all could read a little; none had more than four years in school; all the literates were male. The literacy percentage comes to 2.43%.

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281
In the 88 houses for which data was gotten, 452 people make a total of 386 1/3 trips per month to the pueblo, making an average of 4.4 trips per house and .85 trips per person per month to the pueblo.

The foregoing data is provided to give an introductory summary of some of the more pertinent bare facts about the aldea of El Camaron, on which a body of data is about to be presented. The data appears first in the form of a general comparison with the pueblo on most of the major points on which data on the pueblo is available. Following the summary section, there is a body of day-by-day notes and minor summations of notes, in chronological order (as of the order in which they were taken in the field). The general index for these materials will contain references to both the summaries and the body of field notes, so that cross reference may be made. Further comparison with the pueblo may also be had in this fashion.

i am leaving for the pueblo tomorrow to cover the fiesta there on monday and tuesday; there will also be several indian weddings and at least one igdahn baptism--at which indemesio is to be the godfather. so there will be lots of picture taking and note taking. but before i leave i want to try to sum up a little bit what i have accomplished since i have been here; what i have learned; what i want yet to learn before leaving two weeks hence.

i spent my first day here 'building rapport'; it had partially been built before--but not in any positive way. most or all here knew that the 'gringo' from the pueblo was coming to live in the aldea for a month --sating at the house of the regidor; but not many or perhaps none at all knew the purpose; and even indemesio wasn't very sure, i think. i had a host of visitors on the first day and i think i favorably impressed the population: cigars and cigarettes and jokes etc. helped somewhat. my second day here i started the census of the aldea; it is constituted by 95 or 90 large index cards; within 7 days the census was complete; and in addition i got 4 genealogies from which to get some notion of the way kinship works here. other time spent was ~~1/2~~ half day on summing up the census; ~~1/2~~ half a day being sick; 1 day typing up outline of caste hypothesis and problem and sent off to redfield; 1 and a half days attending the new house building; half day at the house of the gonzalez talking about indian ladino relations; half day with pedro felipe; half day visiting 3 indian households--drinking coffee, chatting, etc; 2 half days at home, typing up notes, adding to census data with people who hadn't been home when we came around, etc; that makes the fourteen days i have been here; this is the half day typing up notes--what i am doing now. now, during these two weeks i have grown rather familiar with the way an indian family spends its time and what it does with its children; the proximity to indemesio's living quarters--our constant visiting back and forth; my being served meals by frau yaque; my playing with the 3 girl children they have; our nights of paseo together--all these have given me a pretty clear idea of the day by day cycle of the indian family; i shall get pretty exact time measurements later--since i want to fit in a time budget with a money budget--as one item to be compared as between aldea and pueblo indian. i think there will be striking differences. in addition, hanging around with the indians--formally and informally--has given me a pretty good picture of what the aldea indian is like in comparison to the pueblo indian; i have been able to notice affect expressions, tenacity of life, general ease or anxiety of deportment; in addition i have seen indians at their height of cooperation (the house building) and at their height of social distance (the argument about who bewitched them here at indemesio's house); i have spent almost all my nights--at least 1-2 hours of each night just sitting and chatting with any number of indians who come here to visit; i have ministered to them when they were sick; i have been invited as guest to their houses; i have eaten meals in company with them; i have seen how the indian undergoes a very rapid change in behavior when the ladino is around and i have seen him slip back with a sigh of relief into his own ways once the ladino has gone; i have seen indians eat humble pie as well as show extreme pride (celestino perez--and his recantation of his refusal to aid me; luis miguel's admiration of his house, pride in his fellow indians, etc). also--the indian here boasting about the health record of the aldea as compared to other sections of the municipio; an aldea consciousness which the pueblo doesn't even have for his neighborhood much less for his pueblo).

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i have seen the indian grow angry--i have seen him mockings; i have seen him mostly laughing and having a good time, even when working hard. i shall not list more ' i have seems' but merely say, al fin, i have been with the indian here in a good many of his day by day life-situations.

now--the first thing that strikes me in contrast to what i have known of the indian in the pueblo is the lack of anxiety which characterizes the indian here. i don't know how to measure it; if i did i probably would; i suppose one could rely on indices such as incidence of witchcraft and attitude toward witchcraft and sorcery; constant complaint; constant aggression; or at least steam-letting in some fashion or other to an extent which would make the observer tanteear that there was something more than is "normally" afflictive there; these are some of the indices by which i measure it or calculate its existence in the pueblo indian; i think my best proof for myself (the probably not for others) is that I, who have deliberately trained myself these last two years to note anxiety in all its forms and shapes wherever and whenever it occurs--have somewhat sensitized myself to this special behavioral facet--I, with this training, seem to see it all around me in the pueblo. it emphasizes itself in a certain shiftness of the indian which i do not find here. the indian there is whispering constantly. here they don't whisper; they have no one except me to keep their secrets from; there are no ladinos around to hear anything; they talk in language when they don't want me to understand; they could do the same in the pueblo--for no ladinos (with one exception) understand language--yet, they whisper instead of talking; indians there when they came in to talk with me never sat comfortably--except for my major informant--and he only because he had complete trust in me; here, where they have as much reason to fear as they do in the pueblo--if i am to be feared--they lie in my hammock, sing tunes while i play my shepherd's pipe--(very limited number of tunes, i must confess--laugh and joke with me--and are totally at ease; in the more formally structured interview situations--such as when i came around for census taking--in only maybe three or four cases out of the whole idea did there seem to be anxious concern about what i was doing; in the pueblo, if i even so much as ask a person how to say something in language he finds all manner of reasons, usually, to avoid answering me--and wily try to walk away as quickly as possible; i use that as a criterion. in the pueblo the ladino--thru the government and thru acquired drives which the indian has acquired--invades indian life rather fully; the language is the only thing of any major kind of the native yet remaining to the indian undisturbed by the ladino; he wants to keep that language; he doesn't want the ladino to have it; he doesn't want the gringo, in many cases, to have it--for who knows if the gringo isn't going to spill it to the ladinos afterwards?--that i am trusted i think far more than any other ladino in the pueblo i think i could document. i am the only one invited to cofradias. i get invited to particular houses; i take walks with indians--no ladino does that; i give cigarettes and medicines to indians; no ladino does that; these gestures of mine certainly contribute in some measure--no matter how small--to building up a certain amount of confidence in me which they do not have in other ladinos; i shake hands with indians--a ladino will never do that; yet they mistrust me--i know it--i can't deny it; even my major informant do--why then won't they get me into a witchcraft or curing session?--almost any indian could get in to these, i imagine; if i can't get it because i am still the 'outsider' for all my differences.

Acas Pueblo

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from ladinos. yet here in the aldea a few nights ago they publicly argued a case of witchcraft--knowing all the while i was present;

don't think they would ever do that in the pueblo; they will talk about brujeria in the abstract there--i can get my informants to tell me what 'they say' about brujos; i can get my informants to tell me of their experiences with brujos; but these are my two informants who at the same time are probably, my closest friends in the pueblo; and i certainly among their closest friends; but to try to get anyone who is not close to me to talk even in the abstract about brujeria is to try to induce him, almost, to shattering one of his saints. i mean only a simile--not an analogy, here. let me make a comparison using analectics. the people in the pueblo remind me of the lower officials of the castle in Kafka's "The Castle", but with a convolution that is essential: namely, a total disorderliness about full time striving after wind, whereas the people in Kafka's The Castle were orderly--even tho it was wind they were striving for, for it was fated from the first they were not to achieve it, the indian here is about the closest to the working population in "The Lost Horizon" i have ever met. The comparisons are bad, I know--but they're about as close as I can come. I have never seen such an industrious, seemingly at peace, almost totally self sufficient, stable and seemingly integrated group of people as there are in this indian aldea. og, the indian in the pueblo

works just as hard if not harder. but that's as far as the comparison will hold. The indian there in the pueblo is seemingly at peace--but it reminds you of the 'peace' that seems to be that of the man who after being beaten over the head a thousand times quits for striving for something which you deliberately make seem appealing--and then deliberately or undeliberately remove the instrumentalities for achieving--says, as you lift the rod for the 1000th and first time "oh, go ahead, what the hell's the difference". that constitutes one of the major attitudes; another attitude toward that beating is expressed by some of the indians; it may be expressed perhaps by the words: "you better beat for all you're worth now, you scoundrel, for someday i'll have the whip and will be doing the beating". this is a rare attitude; my young man major informant has it--it's the attitude of the radical now struggling outwardly as his sworn enemies are letting him have it"; a third attitude is that which must be that of the little boy trying to fly from his fence top to the ground below--but each time coming up with a terrific new bump on his head as his wings fall him; but never failing to say as he lands harder and harder each time: "oh, how nice it would be to fly!". and the compensation of the language; it's like the little boy who after being beaten by a brown eyed little boy says: "oh, maybe you're stronger than me but i've got my father's blue eyes and your eyes are brown"--, well, maybe these examples only serve to confuse rather than to clarify. let me try to be more directly precise and less analogical. the indian in the pueblo is subject day by day to all manner of subtle and non-subtle temptations toward a different kind of life than that which his ancestors led. he is money minded; he is 'nice clothes' minded; he is 'society minded'; he is adventure and travel minded; he is in some ways literary minded; he sees the ladino as his master--as the person who knows how to make money--as the person who having money can spend it for comforts, for furbelows, for frills and flounces and ruffles; the indiana must figure that it must pay to be a ladino if the ladino is obviously the richer and the more comfortable of the ladino-indian comparative diad. so the indian tries and tries and tries--but he never has a pushing off place; except in very rare cases he's bound by that milpa and by his travels with pottery; somehow or other he just can't seem to get started. he piles up a little cash reserve and then spends it either on a drunk or more frequent visits to his extra-curricular woman;

or a disease comes along and he spends his reserve trying to cure himself or whoever in the family is sick; or he gets robbed or swindled by loaning the money or part of it to a dead beat; if he's block headed and stubborn he keeps on trying; keeps on piling up one cash reserve after the other; how--the ladino doesn't recognize his industriousness with anything but abtuse contempt for his being "a pure work horse"; there is no satisfaction to be gained from that corner; so he turns back on to his fellow indians to see if he can't get some sort of prestige and recognition and intimate response from them; but the only real matrix of prestige left in the indian way of life is the religious system and its confradias and the officeships of the cofradia; so he ties himself up a little bit with that but that takes him even farther way from the ladino lifeway that seems so comfortable than ever before; he's the mule between the two loads of hay never taking a full bite out one load because he's afraid the other might be just as good or better--; so he takes a small nibble out of the one he can reach--then tries like mad to stretch his tether so that he can reach the other load of hay but tho it seems so tantalizingly close he can never really dig his teeth into it; again a poor illustration--but only an illustration; the indian tries out the indian prestige system; finds that it is a very limited system; each year it seems that less and less people come to the cofradia; and really only one group of people have any prestige and those are the principales--but oh--who can bother to learn all the prayers and devote so much time to the religious celebrations; it's more fun hanging around the pool parlor at night of going off into the bush with someone else's woman, if you can get away with it; or even just hanging around the street corner lights and gabbing; and being active in the cofradia means money and work and time--and no recognition from anyone in particular except the other workers in the cofradia--and they're just as poor slobs as you are; so maybe the indian gives up after a while and decides he'll be just a milpero and nothing more; he never really 'can go home again'; he's erased the psychological roads which he might have retraced earlier; it's "in his blood now". but there's nothing he can do about it; he wants what he can't get--and he's constantly on the margin of that wanting and that inability to get. he becomes ugly and illtempered and quarrelsome; he begins to suspect others around him of conspiring against him; his kid falls sick or he falls sick and he's sure someone is up to some foul witchcraft; he begins to sink beneath the weight of the wanting and the inability to get and their consequences; he decides he'll make a last show of it; he imitates everything he possibly can; he always wears a jacket; he picks up erudite forms of speech whose meaning he is very unsure of; he hangs around the intendencia when he has time; he begins to get a reputation for being a 'good muchacho' because he runs errands very neatly and always is very servile; he even treats his fellow indians--when they are prisoners--as if they were dogs to be ordered around--for don't the ladinos do this?--and they like it if you're brisk and snappy and curt. if he's wise he sees after a while that this conduct only serves to make him odious to the rest of the indians and hasn't gotten him anything except 3rd assistant office boy status with the ladino. and no thank you's at that, either! -- i could go on and on-- and someday i shall--and trace out the imaginary workings of the various 'type minds' among the indians in the pueblo. the point of this is that i could not write this of the aldeia indian, the first logical step--and every indian is aware of it, it seems-- if he wanted to try to move up, as it were--on a different scale of values than that which his fathers knew and which neighbors still observe--would be to move into the pueblo.

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now in all my census records of each family of this aldea i don't think there's one case of an indian from here having moved into the pueblo; to be sure, some have moved off to chiquimula--nearly aldeas there--but as far as i can determine--it was not to 'better themselves' but out of some r agency--like acquiring lands that a father in law, newly acquired would give them; the fact is that the aldea gets more densely populated each year--and i think my census records will reveal that more people in the last two generations have moved into the aldea than moved out of it; move into the pueblo? what for, the indian asks you? so that i should have to buy my firewood and my horse and animal feed and walk several hours each day to my milpa and have people bothering me all the time? these are the exact answers i get when i pose the question of changing residences to the indian here; oh, it's nice to go into the pueblo once in a while to frink a little and visit with friends and walk the streets and maybe buy some cigarettes or something in the market; out of all the reasons for going into the pueblo which i got when asked each person who visits the pueblo why he goes; only one said "to pasear"; every single other answer was "por alguna necesidad"; por ejemplo?--por medicinas, o por dulce y cafe o sal, o por cualquiera otra necesidad precisa" the indian here just doesn't seem to want anything more than he has because he hasn't been exposed day by day to the temptations which afflict the pueblo indian; in short he hasn't acquired desires; from anyone but his neighbors and his family; one case to the contrary; the one drunkard i have seen in my two weeks here; the one person who regularly goes to puerto barrios to work to earn money; no one on his age level talks to him; he deserted his wife; he says he doesn't like it here (tho he always returns here, because people don't like him; why don't people like him? he doesn't know; others do know--and tell me after he has left: it's because he is very offensive to everyone he speaks with; he speaks in a loud voice and is illmannered. (sic) he sat with me for a full hour--when there must have been 6 or 8 others visiting me at the same time--all about his age; for an hour he complained about how people didn't like him; for an hour the rest of the people said not one word to him. they laughed at him when he left; he left on some wanderings the day afterward and hasn't been back since as far as i know--and i've inquired; and people here know if someone is at home or is away, they say he's away. if i have asked one i have asked fifty different people whether they like it better here or in the pueblo as a place to live; the answer has been unanimous here; i point out all the shortcomings of this place; the scarcity of diversity of food; no concerts; no stores; no streets--they have two advantages to mention for every disadvantage i bring up as far as aldea life is concerned; the lack of molestia, the handiness of the milpa, the handiness of the firewood, the presence of family, the quietness--the retirement of the aldea (i mention this to them as a handicap--they mention it as an advantage); yes, senor, here we are poorer--the life is harder; but here we don't need as much; everything in the pueblo is comprado; here no, everything in where we can get at it. a few have even gotten so bold as to say to me "and besides there are no ladies here"; not many, a very few, maybe four or five, they are at once the ones who are holdest and at the same time those who seem to have most confidence in me!--they are also ones who on their own age levels seem to be the most secure people--with the most prestige; indomasio, rerdridge gonzalez, rafino lopez, luis miguel, juan damian. --now my drunkard friend--sabatiano--he kept saying also he could read and write--he would show me--and what a shame that i could not talk with him longer, for he could tell me more of anything than the others--since he could read and write and they couldn't--i've never had such impressive--the impressionistic proof--of anything--

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i want to report now on the kinship material i have gotten from here. i shall report only differences from that derived from pueblo geneologies--for the basic system seems to be the same. i shall try to analyze the differences at the end.

1. it is specifically emphasized here that one treats his older brother with the same respect shown a father--and while the reference term for older brother remains gwass, the vocative becomes tat instead of ha-ho. now there seems to be a double vocative system employed here which i did not get from the pueblo: one set of vocatives is used in salutation, the other is used in conversation. thus, to greet an older brother you use tat (an older brother does not answer your salutation, it is said!) but when you ask him a question you end the question with ha-ho. this applies to all cases where i have reported the use of ha-ho (as of the pueblo) people here specifically say that ha-ho is not ever used in salutations, but only in conversation. an older brother uses sun to his younger brother --or uses m'u and name. he does not use ha-ho to his younger brother even in conversation.

2. 3 out of four informants were sure and ready about the difference between wikan and tio. wikan is to be used only with your mother's brothers (older or younger). your wikan is not your tio. he is your wikan. tio is only for your father's brothers. you do not differentiate between your mother's and father's sisters. behavior toward wikan and tio is different. you may not joke (chasear) with your tios ever. you may joke--and everyone does--with his wikan. the "why" is not known. but it is sure that this is the behavior. it is said that a child is always "molestando" his wikan --for some favor or other. this is not so with your tio. it may be that this "molestando" is the basis for the chasea relationship with your wikan.

3. the term wikaj for sobrino was not offered. my offering it brought out agreement that it is used - but only for your sister's children. it seems to be the reciprocal of wikan.

4. the terms for third generation : i.e. FFF, or FFM, etc. were not known; when i offered them, they were recalled. but they say that it is so rare --indeed they know of no cases where one knew his FFF that the term just isn't current. in the pueblo all my informants gave me the term--but, they too say that one never knows his FFF etc. It was thought here that one's FFB or FFS (i.e. siblings of grandparent) should be treated either as uncles or as grandparents; but it was not sure; it seems that while the normal kinship system does extend that far, there are rare instances of it being in practice. i think this is due to the fact that this aldea was settled within the last 2-3 generations, most of the original settlers coming from the pueblo--and coming singly rather than as families. it was also unknown how to treat the children of the siblings of one's grandparent. i.e. FFBs or FFSs, etc; i think the same reason obtains. one just doesn't have these relatives around to 'treat' referentially or vocatively. The same unknowing about how to treat relatives applied for spouses of FFB and FFS etc.

5. 3 out of four informants could not give anything but descriptive terms for HBW WFW WSH HSH. But i worked two more partial geneologies this morning and got rather definitive answers from the two women. WSH is the same as in the pueblo. HBW is the same as in the pueblo. For WFW and HSH (both female and male speaking of course) all my informants agreed that they thought it was nonsense to treat said relatives as tho they were additional wives or additional husbands. This latter had come out in the pueblo. You call your WFW either exactly that--i.e. ma-wishkiel-wa curada, or you treat her as though she were your wife's sister and call her ma-wishman. You call your HSH either

exactly that 'i.e. ma wahl ma cunada or you treat him as though he were your husband's brother and call him ma gwetcham. this info tallies with what ths l out of the previous four had given me. Thus 3 out of six were able to give me lenguaje vocative and reference terms. 3 out of six would only give descriptive terms; all six agree that "sale feo:" to treat anybody but your real wife as your wife or anyone but your real husband as your husband.

Now I have discovered what I am sure is a mistake in my pueblo geneology material: I reported there that a woman treats her HS as waluk and is treated as waluk in turn by her HS. i.e. a woman also treats her BW as waluk. This is wrong. Waluk is strictly a male term. A man treats his WB or his SH as waluk. It is not used any other place. There seems to be no lenguaje term for a woman's HS or BW. The spanish term cunada is used exclusively it seems (with the lenguaje affixes-- i.e. ma-ti-cunada). The vocatives remain the same.

6. FBSW, FBdH, MBsW, MSdH etc--i.e. what we call first cousins' spouses are treated as cunada and cunado --reciprocally.

7. Almost without exception (tho some say they do not observe it) one becomes primo hermano with the children of one's baptism padrino. Several baptisms just poured here in the adlea (i.e. they went into the pueblo for the baptisms)--and I questioned them all on this--they all (three of them) agreed that this new relationship now obtained. As I have reported before I never got this in the pueblo. It also turns out that now that you have new first cousin's you treat their children as you do the children of your other primos and primas: i.e. if they are of the same age as you you treat them as primos; if they are younger you treat them as sobrinos. It is reported that you may not marry your primo or prima if it is direct--i.e. Fbs etc. You may NOT marry your indirect primo or prima--i.e. your padrino's children and anyone else you classify in as your primo or prima. Brother and sister may not marry. Uncle and niece may not marry. The reason given for this is interesting--tho I don't quite understand it; they say "How can I marry my sobrina; it's my own child!"; nothing further is forthcoming on this. You may marry a deceased spouse's sibling--but this shows lack of respect. The same obtains for a spouse of a deceased first cousin. You may marry a deceased sibling's spouse--but again this shows lack of respect.

8. I have reported in note 1 here that an older brother does not answer a salutation from a younger brother. He does, in a way, he simply says E--which means "I have received your salutation". But an older brother may never offer a salutation and should not answer more than E to his younger brother or sister. A further note on the use of ha-ho should be added: You may use ha-ho to anyone of your age level in conversation. It may never be used except in joking with older people. It may not be used to an older brother except as indicated before. It may never be used with your wife's family except in obvious joking.

This ends the list of differences between the geneology system here and that in the pueblo. I find the same unsurety about terms here as I did in the pueblo--but more so here when it comes to third generation terms. People know them when I prompt them, but cannot offer them. I have indicated the possible or a possible reason for this. It is my impression, further that women here (2 out of my six informants were women) seem much more sure about family terms than do men. They seem more family conscious, so to speak. I cannot account for the relative greater surty about the use of wikan here than in the pueblo, nor for the lesser surty about the use of wikal. The greater surty and greater respect for older

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brother and sister here is probably due to the fact that the family remains geographically united longer than the family in the pueblo. The multiple household group here is not really in existence--but from my census survey of the aldea it turns out that the family group--married sons and daughters etc--all live nearer each other than they do in the pueblo; the neighborhood--at least the immediate neighborhood here--is also the family. relationships hence need to be more sharply defined and maintained, it seems, than in the pueblo where as far as I can tell, tho it is said to be desirable to live near your parental homestead once you have gone into housekeeping for yourself, yet--the fact of relative crowding of the streets and scarcity of house sites except on the edges of the pueblo force apart--or at least have forced apart in this last generation and are doing so even more with the current crop of newly weds, the family group which here in the aldea, because of the abundance of housesites, i.e. of empty land, can maintain itself as a fairly integral geographical and social unit. The land situation here seems to be such so that this integral unity of the family groups can probably be maintained for two more generations. In two more generations the pueblo will be far more fractured as far as family unity is concerned. The pueblo and the aldea are only fairly different at this point on this score. In two generations they should be very different--if I am right in using availability of house sites as a criterion. I cannot account for the absence of the treatment of your WBW or your HSH as your own wife or husband --just as I cannot account for its partial presence in the pueblo. I haven't the slightest idea. The behavioral consequences are invisible to me--if there are any in either case. I would have to live with an indian family for months probably before I could get at this. I have lived nearly three weeks in very close familiarity with the indian family here. There has been only one constant visitor; the wife of the brother of the woman of the household; her husband - i.e. the brother of the woman of the household is also a very frequent visitor--but not for such long periods as the wife. the senora here tells me that she comes here because her own mother's house is far away from here--and since she has a baby who is not even a year old yet--she comes here to grind her maize etc--and lets the young daughters of the senora take care of her baby. There has been a lot of visiting at night--but it has been mostly to me--whether this went on before I came I do not know. Indemecio--the land lord here says he never had so many people coming here before. Now--in going the rounds of the pueblo--it was rare that I came across a house where there was not at least one visitor--a daughter or a daughter in law--etc; and in many cases there were more than one. Men do not visit except on fiesta days and sundays; they also visit sometimes on days when they know someone is to be at home--and they come to pass a 'rato'--i.e. one, two, three hours. women seem to do much more visiting. they help in the house they come to grinding maize, watching children, going for water--etc. every social visit in some way becomes economically profitable to the host in some way or other, it seems. with men visiting at night this is not so; men just sit and gab; sometimes they just sit; offering of food to visitors is not frequent; it seems. when it is I who am visited--refreshments are served--but only to me, usually. Now, when I talk of visits I mean deliberately intended visits; people just drop in--often--it seems--gab a little, leave. since relatives live so close to each other--visiting would be a sort of useless apertenance; there seems to be constant interchange of short contact periods back and forth between the proximate households. you don't announce even the more deliberate visits here. (except the formal ones--for wedding arrangements, etc). you simply drop in and spend a few hours. Family gets with

it's being coincident with neighborhood reinforces it as a primary group sociation structure and preserves it as a primary group far beyond what we ordinarily consider the average time span of effect of the primary group; i.e. --where when you get married you move away from the household--your own family group gives away to a new family group and to your secondary institutions memberships; here in the absence of secondary institutions--and in the absence of moving away from the house of your birth and childhood--the family looms large. it is the first and last fact of your sociational life here. this obtains not only for the immediate family but for the extended family as well--since people here rarely seem to move out of the aldea. at the same time--the fact of family writ large is a disturbing influence. it is said here for instance that it is better to marry out of your family--no matter how remotely connected the familial relation may be--because there is more respect on both sides of the marriage equation if you are not a 'familiar'. familiarity in its strict connotation breeds both respect and lack of respect at the same time; the ambivalent effects produced seem to balance off the strictness which either, unchecked, might evoke. relationships of respect are codified in the kinship behavior and terminology; yet joking relationships, preferred marriages out of the family, constant social proximity--these loosen the strictness of the respect called for. there seems at present to be a balance and equilibrium--which may or may not last. i do not know. i cannot say for sure of course that there is not much family fighting and arguing. i have instances of fights between brothers; between brother in laws; between half brothers; but from just ~~knowing~~ soaking in this aldea for three weeks i get the impression that it's about as peaceful/a community as you might hope to find anywhere on earth. it even had that reputation during the years of lawlessness and feuding and murders before the Ubico regime. El Barial, on the contrary, a nearby aldea, had a reputation for being 'wide open'. The why of the difference is unexplained by the people here. It just 'was'. I am inclined to think that the fact of Family with a capital F had an influence here. I do not know if El Barial has family as large as it is here. I would hunch that it does not.

el cameron--nov. 28, 1942-- 7 p.m.

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is going to be as much in the form of a diary entry as a letter to you-- so if i seem to ramble off with myself in parts--abruptly terminating and beginning anew conversations--you will understand. i am finally here--in the bush, so to speak--and even literally closer to the truth than i had anticipated. if the pueblo was 'wild' this is positively pre-historic. but since the pueblo in no sense was 'wild' i am forced to admit that this must be slightly more 'civilized', speaking euphemistically, than during the stone age. we left san luis this afternoon at quarter to one--and spent four rather pleasant but tedious hours traveling here; indemesio was a good companion, but i cannot say the same for the mules who brought us here--and the roads! lord, why did men ever pick a place like this to live--when anything that resembles a road is a mere aperture in a mountain side--a slight embankment on the side of a cliff--a footpath thru solid rock; a clearing thru brush; these are the roads; yet--considering the natural difficulties which the people have had to deal with--they may be said to be magnificent; indemesio informs me that up until october of this year the roads were much worse; but he ordered every man in the aldea to do three days of road work--and, 300 men days of labor put the roads in at least passable condition.

i have had my first introduction to aldea life thru the food; it started off on schedule: tortillas and fried beans and coffee for supper--indemesio's wife promises a treat of --guess!--eggs! for breakfast tomorrow. the house in which i live--which was indemesio's--(he moved into his kitchen) is about three sizes too small for me. i have to stoop to enter and keep stooping until i lie down. i shall probably end up this month the living marvel of stoopness. the aldea is spread out into all four winds--and it seems like it would take a good two days just to walk around and touch each house. my ambitious plans for a census and a map sort of fade--but the census at least--and at least a rough map--will have to be done. indemesio says it's a good two hours walk from his house here to the furthest to the east and a like distance to the furthest to the west--and since we are about due north--orienting the aldea on that axis--i can see i am in for some good hiking. i think the choice of indemesio as my major aid is in some ways fortunate and in some, unfortunate: to be sure he is the 'boss' around here; but it is precisely for that reason that it may not be so good: he is the one most in contact with the pueblo and that will mean that i am getting a watered out view of the aldea. but we shall see. i must note that indemesio says that he prefers aldea life to pueblo life--because in the pueblo everything is 'comprado'--bought; whereas here one can find as much firewood and animal feed as he wants--without paying for it; he says only one woman in the whole aldea makes pitchers; only a very few men make straw hats; no one goes on travel with pitchers; they deal in pigs and agricultural products on the Zacapa market. for the most part, because there, in contradistinction to Jilotepeque or Jalapa, the goods can be sold; further; there is some formal religious organization here; there is one principal, and he designates a mayor domo for a cofradia which reunites twice a year, the 15th of march and the 20th of october; the two festival times; the first is to pray for rain for the crops; the latter is to thank god for the rain he sent; indemesio says that seven years ago he initiated an aldea reunion on the 25th of july--what he calls a 'misa de rogacion'; everyone in the aldea chips in a few pennies and they send the principal off to equipulas to get some holy water blessed--when the principal returns there is a general praying and fiestas; this has gone on for the last seven years and seems, according to indemesio, to have taken good hold and has promise of lasting; he says this is the fiesta of santiago as well; there is, according to him, no other general reunion of the aldea during the year for religious purposes; he once in a while calls everyone to the open air national school house (there used to be a school here--it lasted for eight years) but that this is for strictly secular purposes; at first blush it seems as though indian culture of the old type has moved off into the pueblo and become encysted there--the major religious reunions, the remaining native crafts; the remaining social organization seem to be much more on the go there than here--but remember that this is 'at first blush' there should be some interesting effects in years to come from the fact that the newest generation has had no schooling--but the middle generation--i.e. fathers and mothers--has had, in part, at least--some schooling. what happens to a society when it grows illiterate

at alternate generations? indemesio reports that those who can read and write deny it when asked--he says it is the 'tontoria' of one; i am inclined to think there is fear of official bother that makes them deny it; it is reported further that there are a substantial number who speak only pokoman--and do not speak spanish; this seems to be, then, more true of here than of the pueblo--for there is a reported very small percentage who do not speak both in the pueblo; i suppose i can in some way either get total or sample figures on this during the course of my stay here; indemesio further reports that while most people here rent their land--they pay cash rent instead of rent in kind to the owners; he says this is different from the general practice--and, for him, better; he pays two dollars for 50 cuerdas of milpa; his milpa is rather far from here--in a place called los perez (not the loz perez which is the aldea near the pueblo); there should be a very small cash income for the average man here as compared to those in the pueblo--for there they sell pitchers and straw hats and derive cash from that; here agricultural products and pigs are their source of cash income;

i have somewhere or other in the three hours i have been here picked up three little indian boys as house friends; they are now sitting and lying on the bench against the wall--marveling(?) at this new fangled 'city' writing machine which i am banging away at; they just wandered in and sat down about an hour ago--starting by crawling up on the floor in a corner near where i am--and now that indemesio and his two assistants--who seem like the two male aids in kafka's the castle--have left--they are occupying the bench on the south west wall. i suppose they will stay here the rest of the month; indemesio has two lovely little girls--both of whom speak a good spanish for their age--they must be about 3 and 5 respectively--; i have given them candy and played for them on my 'flute' and we are fast friends; they are nowhere near as bashful as most little girls in the pueblo, the little girls in the pueblo are nowhere near as 'bashful' as big girls, and the latter in turn are nowhere near as 'bashful' as their mothers; all of which leads me to believe in part that the culture demands shy, retiring behavior on the part of women; now all they have to do is put party dresses on, instill the concept of 'romantic love' in the culture--and we have a full blown society of culturally approved wall flowers.

i can see already in part what the effect of physical environment can be--comparing the pueblo with here; here you don't go out at night except to the nearest houses--there is no lighting of the roads; there are no street corners; so you stay home; after eating supper, take a "stroll" around and then proceed to fornicate and go to sleep--when you live close to the 'earth and the sky' you begin to have a respect for some of the theories which press home the influence of the fact of earth and sky--when all else is not present--on the lives of men and women. indeed! what else is there to do?--in the pueblo at least the opportunities are present. here there are not even opportunities, it seems, for night 'life'; but i must not prejudice my view so early. there will be time.

the house types seem essentially the same--tho the influences of acculturation in the pueblo are noticeable in the form of two doors, windows, and furniture in the houses; this house--which i now occupy--and which indemesio says is the best in the aldea--has one door--no window--dirt floor--no furniture--; where he dug me up a table and a bed i don't know; he could not get me a chair, however--for in all the aldea there are no chairs; i am having one brought from the pension tomorrow; indemesio talked also about deer hunting and fishing with a net--there is a fish net here in this house; it seems that it is not unusual--in fact is a rather usual economic activity of the people here; my hunch that it went on in the aldeas, despite official rulings to the contrary, seems capable of justification--we shall see.

as i pause for a moment i can hear indemesio snoring next door--since the houses are really joined--and my bed is next to the wall where his bed is--i suppose i shall have the pleasure(?) of listening to him and his wife indulging in nightly connubial juncture; by the second or third night i shall move my bed to another

good morning! if it hadn't been for the chickens and the one awfully conceited rooster who started in their heraldic trumpeting at some ungodly hour this morning, it would have been a perfect night. I fell asleep somewhere between 8:30 and 9 p.m. last night--after reading a few pages of Romeo and Juliet by candlelight---Shakespeare is magnificent for taking me totally out of my actual physical environs and putting me, almost immediately, in those of his works. the chickens and frau indemesio gridding away at her maize this morning constituted my reveille call---; indemesio was soon around with a cup of coffee; and then his wife came around with a breakfast of fried eggs and tomatoes, tortillas and coffee; supplemented by my orange and pan de maiz which I bought for three cents from a little girl, I am now rather well-crammed --and aside from a little malaise due to restraining natural functions until proper shelter is built around the excusado which indemesio made for me--all is well. washing is a crude process here--what without a basin; I have decided I shall not shave all month--but will let those peach fuzzes bear fruit for a month; I would bet 5-1 that indians don't wash in the morning; somehow or other they work off the sleep; but they all look very much unwashed--and certainly uncombed.(both of indemesio's little girls have lovely dimples--I can see we are soul mates).

I am now working outside in the 'corridor'; bed is made, and somethings emptied from the valises; when another table is brought I shall empty the rest and tidy up the room. I can see I am going to do most of my work and living out here--for inside there isn't enough light to even pick fleas from your socks or pubescence--depending on your fancy of the moment. unlike jilotepeque it is foggy and damp here in the morning; but I suppose the late morning sun is the brightest and will clear away the fog and the damp; jilotepeque is visible when it is clear--and from certain points in the aldea it is said you can see the streets of the pueblo.

I have realized that in a way I picked a bad month to come--for at the beginning of this month the harvesting of maize is begun and that will mean men will be away from the houses; but since I cannot cover many houses in one day in any event--guided by indemesio I can allot the time in deference to the presence or absence of the men.

indemesio informs me that the principal of the aldea is due to pay him a visit this morning or this afternoon; since it seems that my room will be visiting quarters, in a way I shall be blessed --not only with the principal's visit but with all others; in a way, of course, it will be a curse; there will be little chance for privacy in interviews, I see--unless it be with indemesio himself--; again we shall wait and see.

indemesio is highly pueblo conscious, in a way--conscious of his authority as the regidor of the aldea--and the position seems to carry the same weight here as does that of intendente in the pueblo; indemesio is 'boss'--and if he is nasty and brutish, I suppose life would be nasty and brutish for the men; but he seems pleasant enough to start with; I wonder how his fellow aldeanos take to him; I suppose I shall really never know since they will probably not speak frankly on this inasmuch as I am under his 'recommendation'; the word peon is used here--to designate men who are to do work on the roads or any other public works that the pueblo asks for; there seems to be no affect attached to it--as far as I can tell at this point; but I don't know that either, as yet. in talking yesterday of vagrancy, boletos, etc; I find that last year there were two cases from this aldea of vagrants who were jailed for thirty days; this year there have been none; it seems men prefer to pay their 'ornate' tax of fifty cents every six months but work off their road tax--since they get the same pay--i.e. they work off about 12 1/2 ¢ for every day of the 6 days they work--and that is just about the standard and prevailing rate of pay here in this area; indemesio pays his tax--both road and ornate--but he says he is thinking of working off the road tax in the spring instead of paying it.

if I am observant and unintrusive I should get a good picture of the daily routine of an indian family--while I am here this month; unless the yaques temper their life in accordance with my presence; I think after a while they

may behave as though i were not here; but of course never completely so. i have gone on what i call my vitamin b diet; i had the good sense to bring several hundred vitamin b tablets with me--but in the pueblo--because we had greens and fruits i did not have to resort to them; now here i am employing them with the same regularity as i employ my toothbrush--breakfast, dinner and supper.

i have made arrangements to make a walking tour of the aldea tomorrow--and will make a rough census of the houses and their locations, water supply, etc.--and then will follow that up with a detailed census within the days that follow; today--since people will be visiting here, i shall stay around--and in that way perhaps get to know more people--and differently--than if i walked around on an officially conducted tour.

what i find rather strange is the fact that indemesio talks mostly spanish to his wife and his children and indeed with his friends--at least those who have come to visit him since i have been here; now this is no doubt partly in deference to my presence; but he did it last night when he was in the other room and i in mine--and the fact that the two little girls talk to each other only in spanish is an indication to be sure that they have learned that in preference to the language.

indemesio's house and house site is really doubled--for about 25 yards away is a house and sitio occupied by his mother; but indemesio keeps his heavier animals there--two mules and some pigs; indemesio supports his mother entirely; also, on the east flank of the kitchen he is building another temporary shelter where he is going to move the cooking equipment so that the kitchen where he and the family now sleep (one small bed--necessarily one person sleeps there and the others sleep on the floor; or maybe the wife and the very smallest child (still nursing) sleep there; indemesio in his hammock and the little girls on the floor; indemesio's mother was born here; but indemesio's father was from Incarnacion, another pueblo; after marriage they moved here, which, according to indemesio, is not the custom--for the custom is patrilocal residence--but he can't explain why; i shall get him to ask his mother about it.---

i can see that the distance between houses is no barring factor as far as guests are concerned--for peering over my shoulder at this moment are one man and his little daughter who live down the road--and two little boys from nearby houses; they of course can't read a word of what i'm writing--and i have a strong temptation to curse them out as i write--but then what for?--if the situation gets oppressive later on i shall of course ask indemesio to keep people away while i am typing. last night, for instance, it was with the greatest difficulty that i got rid of the three little indian boys who were 'visiting' me when i wanted to go to sleep; i informed them, but they neatly answered that they weren't sleepy as yet; it took a harsh word from indemesio to send them home, is this to be my nightly labor from now on?--of course i am quite a 'curiosity' here; a type-writer for the very first time in the history of the aldea; a gringo for the very first time doing anything more than passing thru the aldea; (there were some here on occasional passing-thru to a nearby mine, it seems, a few years ago),

from this point it seems that the people here (judging by clothes and their condition of disrepair) are noticeably poorer than those in the pueblo--even tho the pueblo had its ragged ones, to be sure. indemesio reports that people here are poorer--little cash income; the fact that they do not make pitchers or other pottery here is said to be due to the fact that they do not know how; to be sure, one generation of women not knowing how means that the trade is effectively lost from them on; unless someone moves here who does know how and re-creates interest in the trade; indemesio says men do not make straw hats because they are lazy; he accounts for his own failure as well as that of others in these terms. ---it seems that both men and women go to the pueblo occasionally--women to the market and men to the military lists--other points of travel include san jose in the department of

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chiquimula--which is about as far from here as jilotepeque; zacapa--which is further--but is a better place to sell your stuff; jalapa, on occasion. in general there is an impression however of much greater retirement and isolation from any generalized day-by-day contact with either the pueblo or these other places.

an interesting item--started its way yesterday while i was in victor's pharmacy. we were joking about brujos and patcheros--and it turns out that miguel felipe, the young patchero-brujo from el barrial, near here, has gone to salvador for a month stay; victor's daughter did not know how long he was going to be gone; but last night when indemesio's two aids were here they said, when we talked of taking a picture of all the residents of the aldea: "it is a shame that miguel has gone to the other state for this month"; i inquired gently and found out it was this miguel felippe of whom they were talking--and that he had gone to salvador for a month; and the manner in which they said "it is a shame" makes me think at this point that the man must have prestige here to some extent; now--he is well known all over the pueblo and municipio as the best curer around; that must mean that he is known here for the same reasons; which means that curing and perhaps bwnjeria flourish here as well as in the pueblo; i have never seen this miguel except on august 25th--at the cross on the carroad leading to pinula-- he was the only indian wearing shoes and he was surrounded by a group of seemingly admiring indians. something in the man's makeup and abilities makes him a natural focus of attention; the fact, of course, that he is the only curer rather regularly arrested--by colonel s. of all people--must add something to his attractiveness; i may have the good fortune to speak with him yet before the year is out; i should thereby get some picture of what constitutes a 'leader', so to speak; at least one kind of a leader.

ilalio mendez; this is the name of some sawed off indian who is one of my present 'admirers'--who insisted that the letters i type were not the same as 'castilla'--and so i had to convince him by typing his name, since he said he could read--and he has identified his name which i have just typed: smart boy! i think i'll get his family data now--if i can--while he is here. now that i have just come out of the room where i went to get my card file and pen, he has gone, some other time.

elijio mendez, one of indemesio's three assistants, has just gone off to the pueblo--on indemesio's sawn-colored mule--to inform them there that the one peon they requested for road work is not available; indemesio says that all who were asked last night say they are sick; this generalized condition of illness serves well--true or false. indemesio is now getting a haircut from a neighbor; i don't think i have ever seen quite so ragged or dirty a person as this neighbor; the pigs themselves probably scorn him--; but one could ask "why should he be clean"?

a bird's eye survey of the aldea--now that the sun is out more brightly--reveals that most of the houses in sight are built on the summits of slopes--where a clearing has been made on a little plateau; some of the houses are carved out of the mountainside, literally--i.e. they have dug inward--cleared a flat piece of land and built there; the mud they use here for houses seems differently colored; it is closer to coffee colored than anything else; in the pueblo it is more brown dirt colored; each house seems to have attached to it a small--mounted on sticks--mud walled, tile or straw roofed cow shelter for maize and beans; indemesio has one here in the sitio--and all others visible from here do likewise.

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some things about the trip yesterday should be noted:--it seems that each aldea has at least one sheltered cross at the road leading out of the aldea going towards the pueblo; it may be that there are others on other roads, but this i do not know. --these crosses, in the absence of church, images, etc: serve i should presume as the center of all communal devotions when and if they do occur; as we passed the cross at los amates yesterday, there were some indian men women and children coming home from the milpa: two little boys carrying simple wild flowers went over and put some on each of the two crosses in the shelter; the indian women passed the cross at first, then one of them turned back, came over and bumped her forehead against each of the crosses, and redecorated them, moving the flowers, which the boys had put there, to positions of higher prominence on the crosses; the men did nothing; the other indian woman did nothing this differential behavior is not understandable to me--although i suppose one could simply say that one woman feels more bound to do this than the other--and the men do not feel bound at all; the fact that the woman who went over and paid her devotions was carrying a load --tumpline supported--as were all the others--removes as an explanation the possibility that the loads they were carrying prevented them. the question still remains why one woman and two boys paid devotions and four men and one other woman did not.

indemesio and his ragged neighbor barber are now preparing some sort of shelter to hide the excusado from view of neighboring houses; the neighbor is now in different clothes, equally as ragged but they seem to have been washed at some time in the near past. --indemesio's house is the only one in view which that is whitewashed; the fact that he is probably more in contact with the pueblo than anyone else here--and probably more pueblo-conscious by that reason--may account for the whitewash--which, as far as i can tell, is purely adornment; it seems to serve no utile purpose whatsoever; in the back sitio here there is elevated beyond reach of pigs and chicken a platform with a thin layer of dirt where some dead plants seem to be the relics of former planting; since the rest of the sitio and the house site are placed on rather solid and unearthened rock--with no patches of soil--it would seem that this is the 'garden' of indemesio's house.

when i left the pueblo there were two men at work--prisoners--five days worth--for having cut down a beehive from a tree--on some unplanted and wild land; some enemy informed against them--'particular'--not official--and they were summoned and jailed; everyone is laughing at this--because everyone knows, they say, that everyone else cuts down 'colmenas' when they find them, and they cannot understand why these men should have been jailed; indemesio says he would cut down a colmena quick as a flash if he saw one; he thinks it a rather severe injustice against the two men, he says the people who informed must be really "bruto gente".

i should note here--that there is a great deal of stirring in the pueblo and in the department capital over the 'forcible' collection of contributions to the department fiesta--and the demanding of three hands of maize from everyone in the aldeas--the failure to give receipts--etc; people have been being called to the capital every day this past week--the intendente is there now--and it is on his shoulders that most of the complaints are falling; for presumably two thirds of the maize collected passed to his house personally; and men who did not comply with his requests were given summary 5 day jail sentences at hard work; it seems someone got a petition up against him--an indian--with a lot of signatures--sent it off to the president--police came around investigating; and now the rumpus is really starting; someone very literate wrote a letter which was printed in Liberal Progresista; it also seems that some of the signatures on the petition against the intendente were faked; segundo esteban is one of those who (the traitorous bastard) insists his signature was faked and that he had nothing to do with the complaint, if ever there was a bootlicking indian here is he.--he'll potz before i even so much as give him another aspiring much less loan him money.

I have had my first intimation of aldea-centrism in a later conversation with indemesio which I started off by asking him what people did here in the absence of a church. indemesio said they had nothing here, really, except the crosses--and they weren't very much--but in any event "we here are better catholics than the people in the pueblo". I asked him why. he said "well, it is not something that really should be measured in money terms, but we here pay more for our devotions"; he added that a misa de rogacion is made three times a year--each time it costing \$5 to the aldea; .5 is collected and the principal is sent off to the church at squipulas and then when he returns the mass, for which he has paid the father in squipulas, is repeated in part here; this occurs on the 15th of March (the coming of winter), the 25th of July, (the 'insurance' for the continuation of rain--started seven years ago by indemesio) and the 15th of October (the passing of winter for which thanks is given; note that in the pueblo this occurs --or at least occurred this year-- on the 20th of October). Indemesio said no other celebrations are held here; sixth of January is ignored, August 25th is ignored insofar as local celebration is concerned, tho he says many go to the pueblo for that day, bringing the matter around to devotions again, indemesio noted that it cost him last year some 4-5 dollars for his devotions: for he fattened and killed a pig and gave a general fiesta for the people on the 25th of July, the celebration having been at his house, and he being thus duty bound to so perform. he says he visits the church very rarely when he goes to the pueblo (it used to give him a headache to go inside but now it does not!) there are no major images in the aldea--he has a small one of the Nino de Atocha (this--or at least a photograph (made in Germany!)) also graces the household altar of the Penona at the Pension and that others around have small images, but nothing to speak of; I note with some interest the tendency to measure his devotions in money terms--and his depreciation of his image because it is a small one; apparently it is not as sacred for him as a large one might be, tho this I do not know for I have not yet seen how he manifests his attitude in actual devotions to it, if indeed he even performs those devotions. indemesio says that women are not better catholics than men-- they are both the same; tho, he adds, there are many --well, a few (he revised it) who do not believe at all. he could mention (or would ~~not~~ mention) no names, but he says there are those here who do not believe; he says that not many people do much about their religion here; I am beginning to believe even more that the physical presence of a place of worship plus physically tangible idols are a necessary in the religion of the Indian here, if it is to be sustained at any active course.

some revisions of former observations must be made: indemesio has three children aged 8, 5 and 3; the 8 year old is out somewhere these last two days performing a mission for indemesio; it is the five and the three year old one who are my companions here; the young child I hear crying inside is "de otro dueno" says indemesio, smiling; there has been a rather young woman around these last two days as well--who is her dueno, I do not know but will find out. indemesio does not make as many visits to the pueblo as I had imagined at first; he goes on duty only once a month; he and his three assistants make the monthly rounds, i.e. each of them making the official visit once a week--so that between the four of them they cover a month. if emergencies arise, then of course, more visits are made--but indemesio says these are rare--his recent visits to the pueblo were in answer to summons to appear in jalapa to be questioned on the matter of assessment of maize and money which I have mentioned before. indemesio got 'posada' coming back at the house of a friend in La Cumbre, midway between Pinula and Jilotepeque

I get more and more impressed with the manner in which illiteracy lends itself toward a most rudimentary and totally confused world view. I talked of the war and of foreign lands with indemesio--could there be anything quite so unistructed in the face of available instruction--as indemesio shows himself to be?

of course this notion of 'availability' must be tempered with the recognition that actual contact is necessary; the children from here have no chance now to go to school; to go to the pueblo would be utterly out of the question; and to send them there to live would be too costly--in the double barreled way I have previously mentioned: i.e. loss of their help here and paying for them there. even when there was school here--for 8 years--ending some 9 years ago--it seems that not all the children of school age went; I have just had a long visit from two indian lads: rodrigo morales, age 22, and aged 24, both of them were of school age or close to it when the school was here, but "nuestros padres no nos hecharon a la escuela, y por eso no podemos ni leer ni escribir". rodrigo and his brother support an blind father and an aged mother; they had a hundred cuerdas of land between them--which they divided separately into two lots of fifty apiece--and they work them separately; they do not make straw hats; they are not married, tho they say it is easy enough to get a muchacha to go into the field with you during the day; at night it is impossible; their fathers do not know and do not know how to make straw hats, hence they never learned; their mother did not and do not know how to make pottery ware; they were both in military service already; t has forty cuerdas of land; they say there is no exchange of mutual aid on milpas here; one pays 10 cents a day and maintenance for any aid he needs, and a man with forty cuerdas of land needs much aid; they seek out those who, not having much land, have time to aid others for pay; they note that one of the main differences between here and the pueblo is that people here have substantial pieces of land to work whereas in the pueblos most have very small lands; 40 cuerdas is the average here it is certainly much above what I estimate to be the average 25 cuerdas in the pueblo; when they go into the pueblo for the 'liste' or simply to 'pasar' (and they say not a few go in on sundays to spend a few hours there) they go to church; they say there are no cofradias here; apparently indemesio is more anxious to give status to the three reunions in which he plays; it seems, a large part; they confirm that one sells his frijoles and maize in the Zacapa market and Chiquimula market and Jalapa market in preference to jilotepeque, since in jilotepeque they cannot find buyers, whereas in Zacapa it is easy; the jilotepeque market is not used for buying goods either; it seems the people here have a much more limited diet than those in the pueblo; there are no fruit trees of any mention here; nor vegetables; nor meat (except venison and rabbit --shot illegally but shot!--and an occasional cow slaughtered); the fact that they should mention without prompting, as even did indemesio when I first talked with him--that the diet is different and far more simple here, is, I think, indicative of the fact (1) that it is different and (2) that they are conscious of the difference; I myself can temporarily testify to the difference; tho I must be careful not to make a comparison between the pension and indian life here--but to make the comparison between indians there and indians here. one thing is sure. there is a market there to which goods are brought from all over. there is no such market here.--a visit from a mesclado from tierra blanca--who somehow or other had heard that there was a gringo with medicines here--took up most of the rest of the time between 3 and 5 p.m. which it is now. letters have just come from the pueblo--and I made my first mistake of giving the carrier only three cents--which I shall rectify when I see him next; along with the letters came "Crime and Punishment" which I ordered from "Ichenberger when I was in the city; ah, glorious; the day has passed rather neatly and comfortably--I think I have made headway; I gave rodrigo and his friend cigars to smoke, shook hands, invited them to come visit me any time, told them why I was here, they promised to help me learn the language and said I could come visit them any time I want to; all of which bodes well; indemesio comes around often to lie in my hammock and chat; I think things will go well; tomorrow starts the formal work of the census and we shall see.

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these have been a hard and tiring two days of census taking. we have scrambled up and down the mountain sides; puffed and sweated in the burning hot sun; but it has been worth it, i think. indemesio and i have put in long days--these last two days--and we have covered some 43 houses, but of those 43 several remain undone for either the men were not at home or no one was at home. for the most part, if the men are at home, their reception we get is fine; indemesio feels constrained for some reasons not to explain why we are there; he greets the people as do i, but lets me take up the burden from then on--except to help out with answers--which often he knows far better or at least more readily than the people themselves--and the questions are for the most part about their families. indemesio has an amazing fund of knowledge about all the people in the pueblo--for three or four generations--with his own generation as the middle; in one house yesterday we were given chilate to drink--evidently it is not made only as a ceremonial food here; for yesterday was no ceremony--either public or private; other out of the way details have been noted in each case on the index card for each family: i have been getting the following data for each house:--owner, age, birthplace; mate: age, birthplace; marital or concubinage status; children--ages and birth places; children married and living out of the house; all siblings of man and wife--; parents of man and wife; the residence and birthplaces and deathplaces of siblings and parents; location size and ownership or rental of milpa; if older sons are at home, their milpas, if they have them; literacy or illiteracy of all; ability to make hats and pottery, and if made, for what purpose: use or selling?; house type--roof, walls, sawn lumber doors, etc, windows; presence of religious images or pictures or altars in houses; number of visits per month to pueblo of every member of household; any other details which strike me at the time; i have several over all impressions at this point, but i do not want to record them until i get done with the census, which will be in two or maybe three days; only one untoward incident has occurred: two houses nearby sent word up while we were out that we should not pass by to get any data from them; indemesio calls them 'brutos'--and in this afternoon's walking around mentioned it to everyone who would listen--telling all that he thought these people ungrateful for "when i was in guatemala didn't i see with my own eyes at least one hundred of this gringo s paysanos who are aviadores and are guarding our country now that there is a war?" everyone agrees readily with him; i have given him more fuel--telling him there are over a thousand 'gringos'--which makes his indignation grow even more; indemesio and pasquale morales, the military commissioner are the two most vivo types i have met in the aldea so far: most everyone else has been extremely friendly and helpful, evensome women have warmed up to us when we have come around; women here may be less talented than the women in the pueblo (there is only one woman here for instance who makes pitche)--but they are more directly incorporated in the male labor--there being very few who do not work the milpa with their husbands. the aldea is spread out all over--up and down the mountain sides and the ravine sides--; i must note here that each little plateau is sort of a family reunion ground. there is heavy patrilocal residence here; all the sons seem to build houses within 50 yards of their father's house; daughters move off to the residence sites of their in-laws; existence here is at rock bottom; the food is the plainest possible; i am keeping a meal by meal record; one has to walk way the hell down the mountain to the nearly dry river below in the ravine--about 10 minutes down and 20 minutes up--to get water; it is no joke; everyone seems perfectly at home here; they probably can walk around the mountain blindfolded--even the roads would be a proflime even for a mountain goat; i would become utterly lost were it not for indemesio who knows every house and every road in the aldea; we work from 8-6, with two hours off at lunch--and those two hours are much needed to rest up; ; we were talking today with pasquale morales about speaking spanish etc.

indemesio was commenting on those who cannot speak spanish well; we discussed the advantages of knowing spanish; indemesio got indignant at those who use the word 'imposteros' for those who use spanish instead of lenguaje around the house; indemesio uses only spanish to his little girls, and almost exclusively spanish to his wife;

i get the general impression that the aldea was built up some two-three generations ago by drift offs from the pueblo; the data i have been getting testify to this rather heavily; everyone also adds to my credence in this when we talk of grandfathers, etc--by saying, "como eran de antigua, fueron nacido en el pueblo"; indemesio indirectly confirms it by saying that the population has grown much since he was a boy; other people mark the growth of population in the aldea; marriage brings women into the aldea rather regularly; death of a parent also may bring members of a family here; other reasons appear only slightly;

milpas are spread out all around the place--usually within 2 leagues of the major groupings of residences; the aldea proper itself is a badly eroded ravine--mountain; mostly bare rock by now; very little soil at all; houses are mainly baharek and tile roofed--with a godly prominence of frame (i.e. branches) and paja as the variant; chief industries are pig and chicken raising, milpa; contacts with pueblo seem more frequent than i thought; the 'lista' is what is most heavy factor in bringing them to the pueblo; marketing is second purpose, as far as i can tell. pleasure is last purpose.

major incident: two nights ago--a drunk stumbled up to the house; i had a pack of visitors; he flopped on the ground near my table out in the corridor; introduced himself; no one spoke to him, tho he is a life-long resident of the aldea--about 25 years old; began telling me how he was going back to puerto berrios because no one here liked him; kept repeating it over and over; didn't talk to any of the other people here; he finally left, assuring me it was a shame he wasn't staying longer because he could give me lots of data--(he is one of the few literates in the town); when he left those who were here confirmed that they don't talk with him because he is very offensive to most people; here is my 'discontented lad'; i wonder what i can do with him; (very few from here go to berrios to work, but at least some do);

i have found out that single incidents are sometimes convincing proof of field theories: e.g. today--trying to straighten out the mess that is pasquale moralez' family--caused by his having children by two women, and his second wife having children by another man, and by her being the owner of much milpa, etc--it turns out that her son in laws do not pay her for the milpa she has given them to use (she retains title, but her step children do why? indemesio said, as tho it were the most natural thing in the world to understand (and i think it is part of the 'proof')--"her sons in law support her daughters, don't they? but her step sons do not; therefore they pay for the use of the milpa";

the manner in which pasquale and the woman and a son in law and a step son--all of whom were present--agreed with indemesio's explanation was for me the most convincing of proof that that's the way things operate; i wish i could get more things 'in context' like this; i would feel far more sure of them; that's the trouble with anthropology; you have to wait to have situations pop; in other disciplines you can create your test situations.

i smell brujeria here; getting family data, the use of 'brujos' appeared; i purposely slipped in pronouncing it--said 'brujo' instead; much laughter from all (in exactly the same tone as that used in the pueblo where i know there is brujeria;); then the very same question as pops in such questions in the pueblo: "habran brujos aqui?"--with the same feigned innocence as i get in the pueblo; it's here all right; i would bet on it; i wonder how i'll get at it; i like the indian here more than i do the indian in the pueblo; he seems

much more the independent creature; the non-servile creature; the self-contained creature than does the indian in the pueblo; the absence of ladinos is my first guess as to the major factor; the physical isolation yet vicinal and social visibility is another factor; the greater solidity of the family seems even another factor; this is a magic mountain in many likenesses; i can see where the indian prefers this to the pueblo---if he has not acquired the secondary drives derived from ladino life;--most of the indians here seem not to have acquired them; this is all impressionistic, to be sure---yet i have a strong hunch that the indian here is content because he hasn't things to make him discontent; his behavior reflects it--(again a hasty judgment--but having only the status of a hunch so far);

there seems to be not a little contact with chiquimula--san diego, cabana, aldeas nearby;--a goodly number of families come from there originally; a goodly number of daughters have been married off to men there; some men have migrated there; this is not true, as far as i know, of the pueblo.

cane sugar seems to have been an important crop here in the past; not now; presses are all over the place; but they are in disrepair and disuse; i think the land dried up on the men; the recent law cannot have had its effect as yet; it takes longer for the effects of a law to filter here than it does in the pueblo; note that men fish with nets (forbidden!) and hunt deer and other game (forbidden); they do it--and are now anxious to go fishing for the past heat wave has warmed up the water considerably; almost every house has a fish net;--not in the pueblo;--(the nearness to the river --must be taken into account, of course).

i have started giving out medicines; i have told all i have medicines but have told them i have only aspirins and purgatives; somehow or other i feel more like giving them out here than i do in the pueblo; this is probably due to the fact that in the pueblo it became a total nuisance.

i estimate literacy at about 1-2 % from my data so far; i person in some 40 families is recorded as literate;

i have the only excusado in the whole aldea; indemesio says he won't use it when i leave; he'll close it up; it's uncomfortable to sit and dedicate rose! suggestion about writing history of civilization in terms of the presence or absence, and nearness to or distance from the house site is not so facetious at all!

there is a great deal of mistrust of me as yet; i seem to have conquered indemesio's--and that in part has conquered that of others, especially since indemesio comes around to each house with me; but some men are obviously frightened when they give me answers to the questions; my opening statement to the effect that i am making a map (sic!) of the aldea should reassure them if they know what "mapa" is; indemesio does--others do--i guess some of them do; most of the time it's rather easy to get started; they ask "paseando"? i answer "andando para conocer a la aldea; estanco tomando datos para cada casa--quien vive alli, quien es dueño, donde esta la milpa, etc?--puede usted darme esos datos para aqui?--" Ah, pues no que querria saber?--and we're off; other times of course it is not so easy; but it has been far easier than i thought it would be; but the distrust when it is present is strong; indemesio falls against it, but that doesn't remove it; a few cigars, a few language words, always shaking hands--these

help.

Indemesio has not yet returned from the commission he went on early this morning --and it is now 10 o'clock--since it seems that he shall probably not be going out this morning, I want to use this time to get some things down.

We spent yesterday morning checking back on some of the houses where the owners had not been present on our first visit. We got most of them--and in addition got some new ones which we had not yet visited. The attitude is very favorable for the most part. People only want assurance that "nada va resultar despues de estos datos"; then they talk rather freely; of course they can't understand for the most part why I put names down twice and sometimes three times; i.e. record a name when it is a sibling, a child, and then in its own right when I come to the house where it is the master of the house. People here have a fear of seeing their names written; and when it is written once--that to them seems quite sufficient; but I had an interesting thing happen last evening and this morning; last evening a man came here to tell Indemesio that he wouldn't be home today if we were going to pass his house and so we might as well get the data from him now; we did; the same thing this morning; an old bugger came up to say that he was going to his milpa to harvest his maize and that since he wouldn't be home, we should get his name down now; I got his data down well enough, trying to assure him at first, however, that nothing would result. I don't blame the people for misunderstanding and mistrusting; how can they possibly understand that people are actually paid to go around 'studying other people's customs?--- the man who was here last evening talked for quite a while with Indemesio --and mostly about me-- Indemesio has become a regular Katarina Ivanovna around here; all the things I tell him become exaggerated a thousand fold and he invents supplements, gets to believe that I told him so, and then tells other people: examples: I mentioned yesterday how I had offered to give a class in English when I was in the pueblo, but that the students wouldn't join together; well, Indemesio now goes around telling people that I want to give a class in English here but that not enough show willingness; they won't join together; a few will and a few won't, he says: this is an obvious fabrication: I have been with him all the time; he hasn't asked a soul; and since there are maybe 5-10 people in the whole aldea who can read and write--and at that, poorly--the thing is an utter idiocy--but so his mind works; he seems to derive a sort of special prominence as a result of my living here; he now assumes my attitudes; assumes my manner of speech in part; he assures his fellow Indians in my presence that he is indispensable aid to me---all this with due reverence to me; the question of making a map of the aldea, which I use as my reason for going around to all the aldeas, has taken a neat turn as well; I showed Indemesio the map of Guatemala which I have; he now tells everyone he sees that I am here to make a map such as the engineers in Guatemala make; and that such maps when colored sell for \$1--but that I am not going to sell mine; I am merely making mine here so that I can go back to the states and teach the people there what the aldea here is like; in short, Indemesio is pleased that El Camaron is getting on the map. He pretends that the purpose of my studies is crystal clear to him; he takes great pains to explain it in precise detail--most of which detail is utter nonsense--to his fellow Indians; I am sure my visit here is one of the crowning points in his life.

We worked at some length most of yesterday--for about 4-5 hours on his family; we were joined after the first hour by his wife and two relatives--; the thing that strikes me most clearly is that they are unsure about how to treat their relatives; their explanations vary; one insists on one thing; the others deny it; they argue; arrive at an agreement--and then when I ask it in another manner, they repeat the whole process, and usually arrive at different conclusions; I shall write this all up in detail when I write up the kinship system--as I derive it here. But I should note that my major impression at the moment is that they are unsure of themselves. These same two relatives had come with another object; one's animal had gotten into the milpa of the other, and they had come to Indemesio, as regidor auxiliar, to help straighten out the matter; both were very quiet and polite to each other, and presented their cases; Indemesio was a regular Solomon--he uttered that after all they were vecinos of the same aldea, that they were related to each other, and that, as Christians, they had the duty to settle disputes peaceably among themselves without going to the indendente if possible; very neatly, he added that since animals are animals they could not be responsible for their acts, but that we as Christians must help each other when such a thing as a violation of another's land occurs; he added that since they were vecinos of the same aldea they also had the obligation to help each other out when one was in need; "Cuando tengo necesidad y no tengo que me falta, tengo que molestar a mis vecinos, porque somos vecinos, verdad?"; "Ah, si pues". This attitude is expressed in the pueblo.

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but there it isn't along neighborhood in-group feeling that one appeals; one appeals to the fact of mutual membership in the same "race". here where neighborhood is so important and so tangible, it is to neighborhood that one appeals; furthermore, there would be no appealing to the fact of the same race membership here; because there are no others of different races here (except for me); one feels he need to emphasize the community of anything but neighborhood and "christianity"; christianity is emphasized as to distinguish between men and beasts; "los animales no saben que se hacen"; it is apparent that to be a "christian" means you are a "human"; animals are not christian by this token. The fact remains that the matter was settled by indemesio and the men; indemesio is to go out and assess the "perjuicio" and the men will abide by what he assesses as the damage; indemesio of course revealed his consciousness of his importance, by adding that in the last analysis in case the thing could not be resolved they would have to go to the intendente.

Frau yaque is a very pleasant woman; she is helping me get over my terrific dislike of indian women; she does everything possible to make me comfortable; she is a little puzzled by my desires for boiled water, etc.--she conforms readily and pleasantly; she made me fried bananas this morning; i had bought the bananas yesterday; she confessed it was the first time in her life she had ever made bananas in that way; one keeps getting the impression from such factors as this that food habits are by far among the most stable and lasting of all cultural items, and that, further, people here hardly explore the range of possible alternatives open to them; the fact that they don't explore in a way reveals that they don't have 'effective contact with new ideas; in the absence of effective contact, it is fairly easy to understand why they don't explore; supplement the absence of contact with the absence of the 'habit of mind' called the "explorative"--and the fact of the tenaciousness of culture becomes clarified even more.

word gets around the aldea like mad--; everyone in the aldea knows i am here and taking a census; people always remind me that i have been to their child's house or their uncle's house, etc; in this way i get a more complete picture of the family interconnections; but i also get to understand that i probably don't urinate but that it is noticed by someone and the word passed along.

felipa, the 5 year old daughter of indemesio came running to me yesterday with a small pitcher in her hand--saying "now i too can carry water from below--though i must use only a small pitcher"; the eight year old girl, chavela, carries water regularly with her mother, but in a cantaro slightly smaller than that which her mother carries; even the little three year old girl; martina; is brought along sometime and she carries a very small pitcher of water up the mountain side. i was delighted with felipa's delight at being 'incorporated' as it were into the female division of labor.

i must note in passing the very interesting fact that you become first cousin to your padrino's (baptism) children after your baptism; i shall mention this again in my writeup of the kinski system, but the fact was a thunderbolt for me; nothing like that as far as i know exists in the pueblo; i am getting the impression that it is difficult to say what kind of things are retained here in comparison to the pueblo; certain facets of the old culture are more alive in the pueblo; some are far more alive here. i can't generalize as yet. it would seem at this blip that family ties are far more alive here.

i am amazed at the magic that a smile, a handshake and the offer of a cigarette go; the world is yours for those three--almost; and i actually feel pleasant here; i did not in these last few weeks in the pueblo; i actually feel like shaking hands; i do not have to 'remind' myself, as i seemed to have to do when i was in the pueblo.

i have noted else where that the matter of dreaming is beginning to annoy me considerably; it is the compulsion i feel to understand my dreams that annoys me more than anything else; what also is amazing is that almost without exception my dreams concern my life in the states; of course, the matter for the dreams comes from memories in the dream-day, for the most part; i think this is rather effective demonstration that my whole affect-life and my whole orientation is "a fuera de este lugar" --this work has import then for me not in its geographical setting, but rather in its import later--at a more distant clime. it is rather good demonstration, too, that i have not in any effective or affective way "gone native". i note with pleasure the fact that i am much less self conscious than i was in the pueblo or at home; my beard grows and i am a rather horrible sight; the process i know is that of having tuned down to the level of expectation here; there is no 'competition' as it were; i don't have to appear trim and neat; i wonder sometimes whether the indians remark after i am gone on how 'bearded' i am; i sometimes have trepidations about that; but it does not effectively bother me at all as it did sometimes in the pueblo; there i had to keep up appearances for i was in 'ladino society'; i really wish i could lose self-consciousness on petty items; yet i get or have gotten such a pleasure out of being neatly and well dressed that i think i shall always be concerned with this.

the facetious treatise i wrote on the "Romantic Love Concept among Chickens" gets documentation all the time; chickens prove themselves amazingly human at times; on a rather low level of human behavior; the brutish indian is very much like the chicken, i must confess; a more apt comparison i think would be between european serfs and chickens; but the indian always reminds me of european serfs--especially of those whom silone writes about in his novels; even their manner of talk is so strikingly similar; what could produce this similarity? geographical and climatic conditions, for one thing; long custom of suffering for another; tradition of 'serfdom' for another; the very simplicity of life for another; etc. i wonder if silone in writing of his people saw them as universal symbols of ideal-typical people like that all over the world. the agricultural way of life--the need for close attendance to the soil--"sanfina tierra" as one man put it yesterday--this it seems to me produces a different mental life--way than the fact of factory work, office work; work has already been done i know on "work attitudes"--"work personalities"; someone should really do it up--"the agricultural mind"; the "factory mind"; the "office mind"--denoting first what specific effects the kind of occupation produces--then, what particular combinations result when this 'mind' is brought into contact with various kinds of environment--you could almost have a controlled experiment. ananicki, lasswell, others have started it; the real job is yet to be done; will i ever have the ability and insight to do it? i should indeed consider it a worth while life work. at this moment i haven't the slightest idea how i would start. of course, one would have to also work on the problem of what kinds of work interest what kinds of basic personality types; what kinds are suited to what kinds; this is the whole business.

p.15 of vocational adjustment--but so far it seems pretty much of a sham: Of course a guy with a good high IQ can learn how to make out an order book; but that's vocational adjustment on the 'minimum' so to speak; vocational adjustment now is aimed not at bringing out the highest capabilities of the individual but at finding out if the individual is suited to the job; when the orientation is shifted away from "the job" and on to "the individual" then there will really be a science of vocational adjustment. we are 'business' oriented in this mad world: the real job is to find out "is this individual suited to this job, or can he do something better--a better job, and thus make a better self of himself"?--at present we are only concerned in industrial research of this sort to find out if this individual can live up to the requirements of this job"--this is the minimum/ of which i talk. the implicit ramifications for myself are interesting: i have not yet really found what i am 'vitaly' interested in and best suited for: except in a large way; i know it must be some kind of intellectual work; i know that it must be work in which self-discovery has as much room as discovery of the things after which i research as well; i know i am not interested in nicety of detail, tho i am interested and delighted with preciseness of formulation; i am interested more in synthesis, system--; i am plagued when research involves minuteness of detail, unless that minuteness of detail stands out as apparent from the beginning in its relation to larger generalizations which can be made with safety and precision only when one is sure of these details; of course if the minutiae are not apparent in their connections, it means that i have not defined the problem well; but even if the problem is defined, i am much more at ease if the rough spade work is done by some idiot, since most spade work can be done by an idiot: pedro's counting the number of men with shoes, the number of women with lading dresses, etc.--but all this is so much conceit and laziness, for one thing. a man should be able to work like a hollerith machine: put everything in its proper place, turn the cranks of his mind, and out comes at least the factual summary; that's the first step, of course, in system building (i.e. after definition of problem etc)--but a man should be able at least to do that before he goes on to anything else. ----what in hell am i doing on this topic here in el camaron?----how i do flit about! does it all mean i am a 'light horse harry' or am i just so damnably un-self-disciplined?

it has been some time since i have sat down to sum up the progress to date and to record wayward items but these have been days full of work this one week that i have been here and there has been little time to sit and write; the census has occupied most of my time; and this last day and a half has been full with summing up part of the census data and with being in full time attendance at a magnificent demonstration of community mutual aid; namely: a house building, at which some fifty men and some ten women worked a day and a half; i shall describe this in detail a little later. i want now to record some important items in the province of my general rapport with the people here. first of all it should be noted that my house has become the community center; i get visits during the day, if i am home, from two and three men at a time, who swing in my hammock, smoke my cigarettes, instruct me in language, and spend a pleasant 'rato' with me; at night it is even moreso; then there are sometimes as many as fifteen people here in my corridor; i play my shepherd's pipe for them; we joke and kid; they watch me type with amazing curiosity if i happen to be typing out here; most go home by 8 or 8:30; after that a few dribble in to the house--and sit down and gab with me; they bring me presents of cane stalks and bananas; invite me to their houses; ask me if they can do anything for me in the pueblo (and not a few of them have refused money for doing errands for me, saying it is a favor and not a job.) indemesio, my landlord, comes in at about 9 p.m., usually with his wife, and we sort of sum up the day at that time; i find out names of people who have been here; i get leads on what is to happen the next day or days; i find out the 'whys' of certain things i did not understand. loose ends are thus usually tied in before i go to bed, with only one family had i been having trouble. they had sent up word for me not to come to their house to get my census data; yesterday it seems that one of the sons (there are two old sons and one father) asked one of indemesio's ayudantes whether it was governmental order that they had to give me data; the ayudante assured them it was not; the son told the ayudante that he was going down to the pueblo with an escrito against me charging that i was forcing him to give me data, which is a total lie; indemesio had told me that they had asked me not to come down to their house i let it go at that, figuring that it was good luck to meet up with only one family reluctant. there might have been many more. but there were not. but it seems that the whole community has been rather effectively ostracising the man and his two sons and their wives these last few days. indemesio has gone around telling everyone about the 'brutos' that these men are and how they bring shame to the aldea with their reluctant behavior, especially since my paysanos were valiantly defending guatemala city against invasion. everyone seems to have agreed with indemesio--for it seems that the family has not been too well liked in general anyway; the two sons are 2 of the 11 in the aldea who can read and write a little. indemesio told me last night or rather yesterday afternoon about the fact that one of the sons was going to present an escrito against me. i didn't say anything at the time, except to smile; about a half hour later his father came up i.e. the father of the son who was going to go to the pueblo against me--the same father who had refused to help me with data)--greeted me very cordially; accepted the cigarette i offered him (i knew who he was) and then said he would like to give me data on his house because we had not passed his house and no one had supplied the data; i pretended as tho it were quite in the run of things and very willingly accepted the data; other men were present--and we joked for a while--during and after the taking of the data; it was all quite jolly; he gave me data on his household as well as on the household of one of his sons; he said the other son would be up wither today or tomorrow to give me the data on his house. last night indemesio told me that the son who was going to the pueblo was also going to complain against indemesio and the regidor militar as well; with whom he has had run-ins before. i knew something had to be done. i asked indemesio to please send a note down to the boy asking him--

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--not ordering him--to come here this morning with his brother and his father so that we might thrash the thing out. the situation had to be broken one way or the other, it was at a head. i didn't want any run ins with the officials in the pueblo--and i didn't want indemesio and the other regidor to get into hot water on my account. well, of course indemesio 'asked' the people to come up--but his asking is tantamount to an order; not only did he ask the two brothers and the father--but he asked the regidor militar and a few other neighbors as well--so that by 7 a.m. this morning we had quite a crowd of men out here in my coridor. i came out--gave out cigarettes--greeted everyone; only the boy didn't come over and shake hands 'good morning' with me; his father who had been up here the night before did; the other boy--i.e. the other brother of the complaining family--did not come. the boy started it off by asking what had they done that caused them to be summoned at 7 a.m. to my house; indemesio started it off; but was obviously pretty hot headed about it--since it seems these people have always been causing him trouble--so i took it over and began to explain to the people what had happened; pointing out how it was impossible to say i had forced anyone to give me data; asking the father if he had come here of his own free will or whether i had forced him--and he of course responding that he had come of his own free will; the son was a little harassed; indemesio asked him if it wasn't true that he and his brother were going to present a petition against me and indemesio and the regidor militar--pusquale morales--for supposedly forcing them to do something that wasn't a government order. the son said he was not going to present a petition; he was merely going to the pueblo to find out from the intendente (who, by the way, is probably in jail himself for malfeasance in office) if he had to give me data or not. (the intendente would probably have told him he had to, even tho he does not have to!). we talked very quietly back and forth--and finally he came out with "well, i didn't want to give you data because how do i know you're not from the government and here to do some malicio against me"? i reasoned with him--showed him that the regidor would not let me be living in his house if i were here to do malicio; that i was here only to study the customs and the language; that the malicio i did do was to give the poor people medicines here and to chat with them and to be friends with them; that was my malicio; then i tried flattery on him and it worked; i said to him "you can read and write, can't you?"--he said he could. i went in and got out wisdom's book on the chortl and said to him "now here is a book written by a friend of mine who was with the chortl in jecotan (they all here know jecotan) for three years and wrote this book about them; now look--" and i showed him all the pictures in the book--which, thank the lord, are all perfectly harmless--and a very one crowded around to look--they saw pictures of men with the milpa tools, pictures of women grinding maize, carrying their children, etc. and i said to him--"that's what i want to get from here--that's the kind of malicio i want to do here"; that clinched it; he shamefacedly said "well, i didn't know; it wasn't my fault; anyway, my wife told me i should give you data; and how was i to know?"--i said "let's settle it now-- if you want to be friends with me, i want to be friends with you; if you don't want even to greet me when we pass you don't have to, and i will understand that you don't want to have anything to do with me; and i will regret it, but that will end it". the father came over and asked me to come down to his house to platidar with him anytime i wanted; everyone started dissolving; this was already after 8 a.m. indemesio had been helping out all during the confab by saying how i was here to teach them english if they wanted to learn etc. (which is untrue of course); and how i was "buena gente, well recommended by la nina Chaila (my landlady)" etc. etc. i sat down to eat breakfast--which frau indemesio brought in--when everyone started disappearing; the reluctant dragon went in to confab with indemesio. he came out in about 5 minutes and sat down near me and in a very bashful tone said "and will you teach me english too?" i nearly cried.

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it was like old scrooge being touched to the quick at last with christmas spirit. i hastened to assure him i would whenever we had time; i wrote out a few words in spanish, english and language for him; the use of language--written for the first time in his life at least--charmed him and made him laugh and in a few minutes he no longer felt humble and was restored in his ego--but not very friendly with me; he assured he he would be up tomorrow morning to give me the data on his house and that he wanted me to come and visit him any time i wanted; we gabbed for a little bit, smoked another cigarette--and all was hunky-dory; i felt like singing--it was such a good feeling to get rid of an unreasoned hostility; for some reason his brother did not come up; but now that the father and the one son are with me--the other brother won't dare do anything, i am sure; they will bring him into line. the settling of the dispute with me also seems to have settled the dispute between the father and the regidor auxiliar, and they shook hands after the battle was over, and walked away side by side--talking to each other for the first time in months; i understand, during the 'battle' my boy rodrigo morales came up and gave me three bananas as a gift again and asked me to come spend a 'rato' in his house tomorrow for tomorrow is day of fiesta--it is the patron day fiesta for zacapa --and people here seem to observe it in part; for others intend not to go to work tomorrow. in the pueblo i doubt seriously that they observe this; but since the people here are about three quarters of a day nearer Zacapa, and, indeed, use Zacapa as their main market for goods to be sold, it seems they fall in line with the fiesta days there.

4:30--I have just had a long long chat with indemesio--and certain things must be rectified; the other brother of the complaining family was here this morning; but he didn't speak at all; so i didn't know he was present. indemesio says he has a reputation for being malcriado. ever one knows him as malcriado. it seems he is still 'peaved'--or so says indemesio--but then indemesio tells me that he has been one of my visitors here on several occasions; i can't figure it all out--but i suppose it will clear up sooner or later. i want to record before i forget something which ind. just told me. it is about curing and healing. it seems that two or three curers in the pueblo are the ones used by the people here; indemesio says there are no local curers; one has to go to the pueblo to summon a curer when someone is gravely sick; i have the names marked; two of the three mentioned by indemesio are also the two most respected in all the pueblo. the third is rather far down on the 'hit-parade'. a regular fee of \$1.50 is charged for a curer to come here; but it involves a lot of trouble and other expense--especially in the case of the curing of a fright; i asked indemesio if he ever was sick from fright and this is the story he told me: "I was sick only once with fright--not so very long ago; i was making a trip and had good clothes on and was carrying a lot of money and was carrying clothes belonging to another muchacho. there was a patojo traveling with me--and we came to a clearing and i decided to clear a patch of ground to sleep on; i told the patojo to get firewood and make a fire; he went out and got firewood and while i was making the clearing somehow or other my clothes caught fire--; there was a river nearby and i ran and jumped in and put out the fire but damaged my clothes and the clothes of the person who had loaned me pants; i beat the patojo for his carelessness but didn't think anything more about it; then 5 nights later i had a dream--and in my dream the fire took place again, and i did every thing the same; then, i saw a real fat lady in my dream--she is some lady i know from tierra blanca--but i don't know why i should have dreamed of her--and she said to me "you have had a fright"; and i said "no i have not had a fright"; she said "yes you have had and you must go to the spot where you were frightened and burn two candles there"; i woke up and was a little bit scared--because you get sick with fright; and the lady had told me i had had a fright; and maybe she is the owner of the land we

were camping on; so i went to an old lady here, the mother of julian morales; oh, she's dead now; i went to her because i was in good with her and besides she was a comadrona and perhaps could tell me such things; i asked her what my dream meant; she said that i had had a fright but that i didn't have to go to a curer to get myself cured; since i had dreamed this by myself i could go to cure myself as well; no, i didn't have to pay her anything. she told me to go to the spot where i had been burned and to bury two small needles and some salt and two pieces of cacao, and to light two candles on the spot (presentes) and to rub four eggs on my body and i would be cured and never dream about it again. and i went and did this--and to this day i have never dreamed of it again. that is the only sickness from fright i have ever had."

this story so closely ties in with the way jose yaque was cured of fright on the spot where he was thrown from his horse--that one can begin to generalize that the practice of exorcising or burying the evil fright on the spot of the fright was part of the curing tradition here; even the eggs and the cacao are similar; i am inclined to think, of course, that indemesio must have heard of manner of curing fright before--else he could not have by sheer coincidence--arrived in his dreams at such a similar curing process. but it is neat that here in a very retired aldea and there in the pueblo the curing methods should be so similar; the fact of the use of pueblo curers here is one of the reasons, of course. note also the fact the indemesio goes to a comadrona to get a dream explained, the fact that she was a comadrona gave her the prestige for dream-interpretation in indemesio's eyes; he says not many people went to her; she is dead now so i can't follow it up; indemesio says her sons know nothing of this sort of thing.

reading and writing ability seem to have prestige here in the aldea; but in a funny sort of way; a person does not have prestige merely because he can read and write; but if he is bueno muchacho as well--then he is all the more bueno muchacho because he can read and write. indemesio tells me that i had my disputants a little mixed up; the people of the family who were reluctant at first are a father, valentin; two sons named eduardo and jesus; and a son in law named catarino; the son in law catarino and the son jesus and the father valentin have become amiable; the son eduardo remains out of the pale as yet; but it is interesting to note that the person who spoke for the family was the son in law, catarino; indemesio says that some people hew to their family prejudices, and if one member of the family se noja against some outsider the whole family will join in; but he says this is a sign of bad training; he says it is more usual for the persons interested directly only to participate in disputes; there is no necessity for a family as a whole to adhere to one of its members' prejudices. now catarino can read and write; but in indemesio's eyes he is not bueno muchacho--thus indemesio says "it's a shame that he can read and write, why isn't it that a good boy is able instead of be?" then he told me of his experiences in the cuartales with this catarino--and how the colonel who was in charge had said the same thing about catarino; i asked indemesio why catarino was so afraid of the government; his answer: "a saber, mira, el puede leer y escribir"; then, laughing, he adds, "talvez es por eso!" certainly the men in the aldea who seem most respected are not the literates; the natural leaders seem to be rofino, illiterate; pasquale morales, illiterate--but regidor militar; luis miguel, illiterate--but kind as the day is long; indemesio--illiterate--but regidor civil--and the seeming leader in community affairs; he was the actual leader in the housebuilding which i shall describe later; he gave signal when signals had to be given; he initiated work projects; he shouldered the heaviest of burdens; indemesio is a big husky indian--the tallest and the huskiest in the community. i wonder if this has anything to do with it. he is very gruff with his children, yet they are not afraid of him; he has a nice joking relationship with his wife; the only person in the whole

aldea with whom he does not talk is his brother in law by a half sister; his brother in law guadalupe is said to have made trouble for him in the pueblo--with the result that both the b-i-l and indemesio had to pay a \$1 fine; since that time they have not talked. of all the 90 odd houses we visited indemesio refused to go only to the house of guadalupe; yet he could give me all the pertinent data on the house of course; now indemesio's half sister (same mother but different father)--was grinding maize at the house of her mother--who is also indemesio's mother of course; yet indemesio did not greet her nor she him when we entered his mother's house to chat with his mother two days ago. i do not know if he speaks to her; indemesio is pretty gruff with his mother as well. he seems to preserve almost the same attitude for her as he does for his own children; of course this is an economic burden on him--i.e. supporting his mother and that may be part of the reason. the question of support of elders is interestingly varied here; indemesio for instance completely sustains his mother; yet, we came to the house of an old lady who lives all alone; a small house of paja and striplings; she has three grown sons in the aldea; they give her not a thing; she gets her living by going to neighbors and begging tortillas from them; she sort of martyrishly accepts the fact of their non-support saying "it all depends on what kind of family it is; in my family my children do not wish to aid me; other children do aid their parents"; indemesio got somewhat righteously indignant when we were at the house of the old lady; he said he thought it a shame that the boys didn't support their mother; after all, he did support his mother and children have an obligation to support their elders; i asked him if the aldea residents didn't somehow show their preference in such matters; and he said that they didn't; it all depended on the family; he does not speak badly of the sons involved except on this matter; it seems that even the family may be family here--yet it is easily fracturable and not too much public reproach descends on the heads of these who fracture family relations; in this sense our society would seem to emphasize family more than they do here; in our society sons would be compelled by law (if i remember my dependency laws correctly) as well as be harassed by 'public opinion' into supporting an aged parent who could no longer earn a living. the female is in a bad spot in this respect--more so than the male here; an aged female--if her husband is dead--finds herself totally dependent on the good will of her children. children, however, remain under the power of the father until they are married and self supporting--and i think my census figures will show that they get, in the main, their land from him--the title remaining his usually (the formally transferred for purposes of libretta) until he dies. now in the case of this old woman the children did not get land from their father--for if they did the title would be in the name of the mother--by inheritance procedures customary here--and she would not be dependent on their good will; evidently the husband rented his land as well. it seems that land ownership ties in in this way with family control. those are correlatives which i had not thought of until just now. it is something to be investigated. i realize now that the female aged is not in any worse spot than the male if land ownership is involved; i haven't run into a case here where the children have left the father to go shift for himself; but i have run into the control situation where the land of the deceased husband is in the name of the still alive spouse--and she either rents the land to her sons or receives support from them for letting them make milpa there or hires a mozo to work the milpa for her--or, having land, and, if still young, is able to remarry on the basis of the land attraction; there seem to be a few cases as well where the man--wifeless and landless--(well, this is the same but from the man's view point) has remarried a woman--and incorporated her within the family--i.e. may not have remarried her but takes her as his woman--and has her land to make milpa with. i get a feeling that it seems far more dignified for

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for a man to marry a woman and incorporate her into his family, then it is for a man to be effectively incorporated into the woman's family. A case in each instance will serve. The man called Nicolas Mateas is recently joined with a woman for her land; all manner of disparaging remarks about whose land he works etc are made. in addition he moved into her house, not having had one of his own. it is impossible to give objective measurements of anything we might call unease etc. for the man, but at least i can report that the man behaves as tho he were conscious of the superior status of the woman. now, on the other hand--pasquale vendez had a little land--married for the second time a woman with much land--brought her to his own house to live; she partitioned her land among him and his sons and son-in-laws. but she moved into his family. no one makes disparaging remarks. pasquale is quite the master. nicolas on the other hand behaves --r at least so it seems to me--as tho he were a landlord who had taken over for the mortgage--but felt very uneasy about it all; better still he reminds me of the husband of katarina ivanova in crime and punishment. i can think of no more apt. comparison. if nicolas is also a drunkard that completes the picture.

dec .8, 1942

i have just spent two hours or so at the house of julian moralez, a blind man, with several grown sons and daughters; hissons are the ones who bring me presents more often than anyone else. (half a dozen bananas this morning). he came (i.e. one son--rodrigo) to the house this morning after inviting me last night; he came to 'caminar' with me; we went to his house; i got the census data which i had not been able to get before because no one was home when we passed his house; i got the data--all complete and we spent a pleasant hour and a half talking of everything from the warts to the possibilities of antonio goubnad coming down here to "weigh tortillas and beans". we got talking about race problems. i softened the tone of the race situation in the states in an effort to see what i would get from these people; i told them for instance that it was prohibited to deny a man a job for reasons of color of his skin or his religious faith: the answer--spontaneous --from three of them: "Oh, no! here it's so different; a ladino passes and he says "there goes an indian"; or he is always in some way saying that we are indians and he is ladinos". this came out of my telling them that this was the only country where the word ladino was used, after they had asked me if there were ladinos in the states. i explained to them that we don't use the word ladino and that the most part of the people there don't make a difference between black and white and red but that if a man is a man he is so treated; they seem highly conscious of the fact that a difference here does exist and that the difference is verbalized and that behavior falls into the two racial categories. i suppose they will never stop treating me as tho i were ladino--but certainly they accord me differential treatment than they ever have done to ladinos before. indemesio assures me that no ladino was ever received the way i am received by the indians.

this is about an hour later. i have been chatting with the same people--they 'caminaron' with me to the house here. some very interesting and exciting data turns up. they inform me that for sure in the ~~linda~~ called Incarnacion, where there are about half indians and half ladinos, there are at least six families where the male is ladino and the female is indian, or vice versa--and that there ladinos and indians live together, eat together--work together, drink together. this is certainly a surprise and calls for a serious revision of the major hypothesis i have developed here if it is true. i am going to Incarnacion in January then--for at least two weeks--to see what are the circumstances there that allow for such racial mixture when it does not occur in the pueblo. i asked the four boys here if they would marry a ladino woman if they could find one

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who pleased them and who would marry with them. All of them said they would. I asked them what would their fathers say. They said their fathers wouldn't say anything. And would the people here accept the ladino woman and be friendly with her? Oh, yes. And what would the Ladinos say? Oh, they would talk and make fun of the ladino woman and of the Indian man. Because the Ladinos are 'jodidos'. And in Incarnacion how do they treat each other? Oh, they get along like good neighbors. They don't talk about each other. What kind of Indians are those who are married to Ladinos? Oh, they're Indians who can talk very good Spanish and know how to explain very well in Spanish. They don't speak Lenguaje at all. And how do they live--like Ladinos or Indians? They live like Ladinos, those who can afford it. Those who don't have money live like we do. We wouldn't maltreat one of them who married one of us, but they would talk about and maltreat one of us who married one of them and they would maltreat the one of them who married one of us!

I want to note something about expenditure of time here. "Everything proceeds at a leisurely pace--there is always time", so to speak. For instance, Patricio Lopez met us as we were going to the house of the Gonzalez this morning at about 8:30. They asked him where he was going. He said to get some firewood--but that he would join us for a 'rato'. It is now 10 minutes to one and Patricio has just left! The 'rato' turned into almost 3 hours! Also--Juan came here at 11 A.M. to get the fishing net of Indemesio. That was some two hours ago. Juan has just left with the fishing net! "Evidently 'there is always time', if something doesn't get done today it gets done tomorrow equally as well. This seems to apply to all tasks except agricultural tasks which require exact or near exact time. For instance men know full well exactly how many days after planting they should go and harvest. They know the days on which they planted; and they have the harvest time in mind--and that acts as a compulsive and as a directive on their work.

I tried out the kinship terms on three of the four boys here this morning. I worked their genealogies in part with them. Here are some of the results. Mother's brother is wikan. It is not uncle, i.e. it is not tio. Tio is only your father's brothers. All of parents' siblings, female, are tias, however. This wikan business gets reinforced. Another feature of the wikan term--it is only with your wikan--of all your parents' siblings that you may 'chansear'. You have to treat your other tios and tias with the same respect you treat your father. You may not either chansear with your older brother. (This seems to apply only when you are a youth; Indemesio says he can chansear with his older brother--Indemesio is 40 years old; The three lads here this morning--none of them over 24--say they may not chansear with their older brothers. Similarly you may not chansear with any of your in laws. But a father-in-law may chansear with his conuagros. This is different than I got in the pueblo. You may chansear with your grandfather and grandmother. They do not get the respect that your father and mother command, with which latter you may never chansear. All primo hermanos are treated as brothers--vocatively--and socially; you may chansear with any primo, even tho he be older than you. If he is much older--you may not. The age principle doesn't hold--because you may chansear with your grandfather! Also--all three boys confirm that you become primo hermano with the children of your baptism godfather. Two nights ago a man Simón Mendez informed me that he does not observe this--that it is not for everyone. But the majority I have asked so far seem to observe this inclusive kinship process.

The use of lenguaje is very heavy here compared to the use of Spanish. In the houses (with the notable exception of this house of Indemesio) lenguaje is used almost exclusively--even when I am around. I shall have something interesting on this later when I report a fight on "withcraft" that occurred here several nights ago.

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before i go on to other things i want to report a dditional confirmation of the wikan business; there were here several nights ago two brother-in-laws to settle a dispute about some land. we got to talking --and i asked them somethings about their geneologies. let us call one of them A and the other B. A's sister is married to B. Now, both of them and Indemesio as well agree that B's children may chancear with A--but that A's children may not chancear with B. A is wikan to B's children, but B is not wikan but tio to A's children. But when i asked for reasons for this they did not offer it in terms of wikan and tio relationships. They merely shrugged and said that that was the custom. Apparently the relationships are kept clear--and tho they may not nominalize them--yet they feel them and when asked, they can abstract them, and then tell what behavior is appropriate to the abotracted relationships.

since i have been here there have been two major disputes brought to indemesio to settle. One of them is the incident directly above--i.e. two brothers in law, the animal of one of whom entered the milpa of the other; they came to indemesio for him to assess perjuicio; perjuicio was assessed at 50 cents and the matter settled. no harsh words--nothing. everything went all right. i have reported this in part previously. the interesting thing is that indemesio talks in spanish when settling disputes and forces the others to talk so, it seems. For--now to report incident no 2.--the case of accused sorcery --all during the two-three hour argument Indemesio used spanish only--the others used lenguaje and spanish--it is impossible to say that their emotionally toned language is lenguaje for they got as heated in spanish as they did in lenguaje; despite indemesio's use of spanish thruout, when the disputants were yelling at each other--they used mostly lenguaje--(tho some of their strongest epithets were pure spanish!) but when talking to indemesio--they used only spanish. Now here is the incident. It seems that a certain Pedro stopped the sister of Fulana one day in the bush and was apparently trying to convince her to come into the bush with him. Fulana's older sister, Maria came along and started to bawl out Pedro, saying she would report the incident to her mother if it ever happened again. (pedro is married to a other woman--Pedro is 20 years old). A few days later Maria, the older sister began to have earthquakes in her stomach every three days and to fall to the ground in a faint on such occasions. People around began telling her that she was bewitched. Finally someone told her that Pedro had gone around boasting that he had bewitched her. It seems he boasted to some of her neighbors and to his own older brother, or so they say. Maria asked Indemesio to bring Pedro to his house so that he should be forced to speak the truth of the matter in front of the regidor. When we passed Pedro's house to get census data Indemesio informed him that a woman was complaining against him and that it would be advisable for him to come up to the house that night as the woman had requested. Maria brought her husband and Pedro's older brother and one other neighbor as witnesses to the fact that Pedro had boasted that he had bewitched her. They went at it hot and heavy--all the witnesses swearing that Pedro had boasted and Pedro denying it. Pedro more than hinted that Maria was going into the bush too often with too many men and that for that reason she was having these earthquakes in her stomach. There was almost physical violence at this point. Indemesio could do little to control the fracas. The most violent witness against his brother was the older brother; but Pedro did much to discredit his testimony by accusing him of being witness merely because he and Pedro had been arguing for days over the settlement of a piece of land which Pedro's mother had left to the two of them jointly. Maria's husband threatened Pedro that if in three days he did not lift the spell he had cast, that then he was going down to the puebio and complain to the intendente against him. Pedro told him to go--and do what he pleased--and that he would be sure Pedro would have a complaint to make against him if he complained against Pedro. This dispute lasted about two hours. Then

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maria and her husband and her neighbor went off and pedro and his brother went at it hot and heavy--threatening each other with going to the intendente etc. indemesio was trying to assure them that they would both get it in the neck if they went to the intendente and that it was better to settle the matter here, but even tho they both agreed that it would be better perhaps to settle the matter here they arrived at no agreement--and it seems that pedro's older brother is going down to the pueblo. indemesio could not settle this dispute either. some things are notable. (1) indemesio's use of the official language when acting in official capacity; (2) a dispute involving witchcraft--an ancient facet of the culture--being brought to the secular authorities--and being openly exposed to all present--for there were lots present to listen to the dispute. i get the impression that there is witchcraft here all right--and firmly believed in, as far as its efficacy is concerned--and even with the younger generation (pedro--20 years old!) but that it is not held so terribly and awfully as in the pueblo. redfield's reasoning on the differences between witchcraft in the villages and that in the towns seems to hold here, in part: there is far more insecurity in the indian's life ways in the pueblo than there is here; he is far more afraid, or so it seems to me, than is the aldea indian here; yet the aldea indian considers it a very serious offense here; when i say he does not hold it so terribly and so awfully as the pueblo indian i mean that it does not enter in so strongly and with such active presence day by day or night by night in his life as it seems to do in the life of the pueblo indian. he considers (i.e. the aldea indian) it very serious offense; probably the worst you could commit; but its incidence seems to be far rarer than in the pueblo; of course it may be that since i am 'not naturale' i don't get close to the ~~star~~ real story; but indemesio talks pretty frankly with me; after the whole dispute we talked quite a while; i edged on to the question of previous incidence of witchcraft; indemesio says he knows of only one other case of witching in the last six months; and he thinks it may have been all a joke; it concerns a young fulano who was returning home one night and suddenly there leaped out from the bushes two enormous creatures--with swollen heads and enormous mustaches etc. they so scared fulano that he has had a fright now for six months; and still wears a bandage around his head because his face all swelled up from fright! note: the people who scared him had enormous swollen faces; the result of the fright was a swollen face for him! --Indemesio laughed at this and said it was probably two boys--and he thinks he knows who they are--who put pumpkin shells on their heads just to have fun; he says they may be brujos but he doesn't know; he thinks probably it was more joke than brujeria; and, even if it was brujeria, note how indemesio jokes about it! if it was real brujeria--i.e. if indemesio was convinced it was a case of sorcery--i don't know how much different would be his attitude toward it; for, in this case of accused sorcery involving pedro and maria, indemesio seemed relatively unconcerned with the bewitching; he was more anxious that they should not go to the authorities with it; evidently witchery must be thought to be an ability fairly generalized; for indemesio insists that pedro is not a brujo regularly but that maybe he can perform sorcery; i don't know about all this; maybe my idea of a few sentences back about it being held very seriously here doesn't apply at all. if there were serious sacred sanctions or taboos around sorcery why would the indians go off to a secular and unsympathetic authority to complain about it?-- i must revise the idea of sentences back--and leave the matter in the air--until i get more cases to report and to analyse.

~~813~~ 187

i must report also a personal item here. a few days ago, for the firsttime in a long time, i lost my temper. it was with indemesio. we had been going around to the houses for the census data, and i was trying to get a picture clear in my mind of the relationships between the families we visited. everyone had a daughter or son or father scattered in some other house. on each family card i was trying to record with whom the household head was affiliated. it was difficult for me to recall which pedro mendez (there must be 9000 of them here!) was which; yet all things, of course, were clear in indemesio's mind; we came to one house and i could not recall with whom the head was affiliated; i asked indemesio and instead of telling me specifically he made fun of me for not remembering some fulano of the day before; i lost my temper and raised my voice and would have hit him in a moment if i hadn't grabbed control of myself just as my fist was doubling. i can see why he thought it rather stupid of me not to remember; yet it was not particularly stupid from my view point--and, in his laughing at me--and making the job even more uncomfortable than it was--i got angry. it hasn't happened since-- but at least i know my temper is boiling down below on occasions and i have to watch it.

some interesting data turns up on burial customs. we were talking--ind. and i--about how they bury here. i asked him if they buried in coffins. he said emphatically no, too some people did. i asked him why. he said that people say its a sin to bury in a coffin. for, after all, the earth gives freely of its products--the milpa with maize and frijoles--and doesn't ask for boxes to produce its goods in. so, man must reciprocate and give his body back to the milpa or the ground without making it difficult for the ground to absorb the man by putting him in a box. he doesn't know of any coffin burials that have occurred here. he says he has asked his mother how she wants to be buried when she dies--and she says she wants only the potato and nothing more.

it turns out that there is one 'evangelista' in the aldea. this is a widowed woman of quite an advanced age, Dominga Maroquin. She went to Los Amatees quite a while back and returned seven years ago converted. Los Amatees seems to have a reputation for being a hot bed of 'evangelistas'. it is reported that she has not tried to convert anyone here. Indemesio is very critical of evangelistas. he can't see their not having any idols to worship or any saints to worship. he says: "what do they worship? they all get down one behind the other and the only thing they adore is the ass of the person in front of him!". He adds "and they all treat each other as tho they were brothers and sisters; they call each other brother and sister. what's the purpose of that?" He tells me that when he was young and single and was in Chiquimula once 2 women evangelistas came up to him and asked him to come into the service and embrace the faith. he asked them what it was and they told him. he told them that he would become an evangelista if one of them would go to bed with him, since he felt a strong urge for a woman at the time. they assured him that one of them would after he had converted; but he said he didn't trust them; he wanted his woman before he embraced the faith, but his woman wouldn't embrace him until he had embraced her religion. so he didn't become evangelista. he only laughed when i asked him if he would have converted had one of the women conformed to his wishes.

incidental item: 20 years ago when the price of chile was high, there used to be a good deal of chile raising here--for it is very good soil for it supposedly--and travels with it to Guatemala. but not now. people here--in contrast to the pueblo--rarely use chile with their meals. it is not at all used in the household here. i have had this confirmed by others.

~~874~~ 788

i want now to record in some detail a house building i witnessed for some hours on two consecutive days--dec.6 and 7th--sunday and monday. i took many pictures--of all the participants in various stages of work and play and eating and cooking etc--and had a long chat with the man, luis miguel, whose house was being erected. i arrived the first day--sunday about 1 noon. there was an immense gathering of men there--of all ages--half of them eating, the other half waiting their turn to eat. i snapped some pictures of the men eating, and then just sat around and chatted and observed. after the first crew had eaten, the tortilla which served as plates were filled with pork again, and the other crew--mainly younger men and boys sat down; indresio yeque said "let us all who have eaten go and bring more water". everyone took his canatro--which he had brought with him from his own house--slipped the line over his shoulders--and went down for water. as soon as the second crew had finished eating they too shouldered their canatros and went down for water. in about a half hour the first crew was back with water. they each walked into the half constructed house--where there was an imense pile of soil (i later estimated it at 300 cubic feet) and poured their water into the dirt. two men were standing knee high in mud already formed and as the water was poured, they mixed in the dirt to make mud--with the use of hoes, otherwise used in the milpas. water bringing kept up all afternoon until 4:30, at which time the men quit for the day. now, let me give some technical details, each trip for water (i timed them later) takes 30-40 minutes. a 20 year old lad brought his water in 38 minutes; a 55 year old man brought his in 38 minutes; a 12 year old boy brought his in 35 minutes; a 40 year old man brought his in 37 minutes. the most trips made by any one man during the day was 13 trips. work had started at about 8 a.m. men had dribbled in until 10 a.m. work had stopped at 12 for lunch--and resumed at 1:30. there were 48 men and boys present and 8 women. the 8 women were an aunt of Luis, a cousin of Luis, a daughter of Luis, a daughter in law, Luis wife, and 3 neighbors from nearby. there were a good number of Luis relatives among the men but there were also a good many particulares. the process complete is somewhat as follows. two years ago Luis started the work on his house. he had to gather the major supports first--trees stripped of their bark: this some one weeks for the men. then two men spent three days getting the smaller uprights; then 2 men 2 days for the small horizontals; then 3 days for one man to get the vine bark; then 3 men spent 8 days getting the paja for the roof; it took 10 men two days to put the roof together; it took two men 3 days to put the side framework in; this gives us so far 69 man days of work; this completed the framework which had been left standing for two years because there wasn't 'lugar' to put the rest of the house together. some two weeks ago Luis son started gathering the dirt; it took him 9 days to gather 300 cubic feet of dirt. a week before the Sunday of the house building Luis went to each house in the aldea informing the men that he wanted to set up his house the next Sunday; he said that no men may refuse this request for aid, but that some had refused and that of course if they ever came to him asking for aid he would refuse them; some 49 men responded; and since most of them were from different households, this effectively represents one able bodied representative from well over one half of the aldea in toto. many more women would have come but only 8 were invited to help in the cooking. the women arrived the day before--i.e. Saturday--at 7 in the morning and spent until 9 at night grinding maize for tortillas; and philate and females; cooking pig for pig tamales and for fried pig on the second day of work; they worked all the second day as well--arriving earlier than the men and leaving a little earlier; they worked half day--i.e. from

7 a.m. to one pm. the amount of foodstuffs used was 8 modias or 128 pounds of maize; 1 pig; 2 lbs of coffee; 6 lbs of dulce. on the first day (only lunch is served to the workers) the men had tortillas and tamales and coffee; then at 4:30 or so they all had chilate; the second day for lunch the men (and I) had tortillas, coffee and fried pork; chilate was not served nor were tamales made. there was considerable chilate remaining it seemed. indemesio tells me that frankly you don't get enough to eat when you go to help build a house; for lunch the first day he had only 6 tortillas and 6 enormous tamales--but he is used to eating 12-15 enormous tortillas at home along with an enormous helping of beans for each meal. but he says that one cannot complain for the housebuilder spends considerable money as it is in feeding some 60 people.

at the end of the first day only the water had been brought to make mud; the task of plastering the walls had not been begun; so on the second day--i.e. monday, some 35 men and boys came back; all the women were present again; they all came at about 7:30--and started to bring water to refreshen the mud; then at about 9 o'clock they started to plaster the walls; all the mud was inside the house; and the work of plastering is done from inside and out. crews line up inside and out of each wall--while the younger men and the very oldest carry the mud from the inside to the men on the outside and hand it up to the men on the inside as well; everyone is utterly covered with mud; there is a tremendous amount of joking and kidding, mud throwing, laughing at each other's begrimedness, --but everyone works extremely hard and without rest. the mud is slapped on (after being mixed well with straw so that it should adhere) with the hand and punched and patted into place--and then made smooth on its outer and inner surface with a leveling and planing action of both hands. to reach the higher spots a scaffold--of a large tree and a smaller yoke are set up--one end resting on the ground--and men work on this--shifting it as they find it necessary; everyone gives the diligence to the work that you might expect if only it were his house; everyone seems v. tally concerned that the house shall be well built; luis the owner and his son seem to work the hardest; they cut hay or straw, they mix more mud, they run here and there helping out, doing errands, etc; but there is no one bossing anyone else; everyone seems to know exactly what is to be done; everyone seems to have his appointed tasks; there is no formal direction whatsoever the work is characterized by a spontaneity and gaiety such as i have never seen among the indians before; i have never heard so much laughter and joking before; and indeed i have never seen so many indians together before except at a cofradia in the pueblo; this is what is so striking about these communal aid projects among the indians; they seem absolutely spontaneous and undirected; yet the work gets done quickly and efficiently so it was with the cofradias i have witnessed; when the redecoration of the cofradia house takes place; no one directs, yet everything seems to get done; it seems that man and boy and woman alike are so well incorporated into the work division and are so familiar with the tasks to be done that no one has to direct anyone else; i commented on this to indemesio and to luis and both of them told me that it was very natural, for each man working knows that some day he will want help on his own house and he will want it done as efficiently as well. the house was all walled by 11:30 and men then made somewhat futile efforts to clean themselves of the mud--and sat down to eat; with a "ja-le-re-dios (dios se lo pago)" the meal was ended and men went to their houses; the owner did not thank the men for the work; i suppose it just is assumed that a man has a duty to help his neighbor when asked. conversation with luis reveals the following additional items. his old house is ten years old and is collapsing; that's why he decided to erect this new one; he is going to knock out the mud

~~811~~ 790

walls and take off the paja roof and make new walls and a new roof later on when he has more time; i asked him why he didn't put tile on his new house roof; he said he did not have enough money to do so; tiles cost one half cent apiece and his house would have required 1000 tiles. so he used paja. he hopes some day to put tile; the sitio of the house--i.e. the covering of the corridor is of tile; but there are only a few hundred tile used there. i was curious to see if i could get something on a new house ceremony which i could not get in the pueblo--and it came out: after the house is dry (15 days from day of plastering) luis will go down to the pueblo and seek out a principal; (i asked him why he didn't use the principal in the village here and he said probably the principal wouldn't have time--but this was a stumbling reason; i think there is some other reason; i think luis has more faith in the principales in the pueblo). he and the principal will go to church in the pueblo and burn six candles in the church--he doesn't know to which saint--that is up to the principal; prayers in language will be said; luis doesn't know the prayers; that is why he will seek out a principal; then he and the principal will come to luis house here in the alde; the principal will arrive at noon--have lunch; spend the day visiting; have supper; then, at 7 p.m. two candles will be lit; at 12 midnight the principal will begin saying the prayers and this will continue for several hours; the prayers will be for the welfare of the new house and for the welfare of luis family in general--again's always before i have found it) the prayers will be that 'nothing should happen'--note that i have not yet run across positive affirmation in the religion; it is always prayers of negative avoidance (atare employed); luis will have beforehand invited two families as his 'convidades' (???) to help him celebrate the occasion; the families will be present all the time that the principal is present and they will all sleep over in luis new house. i.e. whatever sleeping is done, for the night prayers usually last until morning--at which time the principal is given breakfast and his 25 cent fee and he returns to the pueblo. the 'convidades' (??) are there to help the woman make tortillas and other foods; and the men are there to run errands for him. i don't quite understand the whole process; but i am going to try to be present when luis has his new house ceremony and then we shall see. luis says that children of his own are forbidden to run errands during the time the principal is present; that is why his 'convidades' run the errands.

let us give a technical summary. in part, the house's dimensions are as follows: rear wall--32 spans @ 8 inches a span--or 21 1/3 feet long; side walls are 25 spans or 16 2/3 feet long; front wall from side to door is 10 spans or 7 feet--; door is 4 1/2 spans or 3 feet wide; from door to other side wall is 16 spans or 11 feet long; from flier center to highest center point of roof which is alsoed is 23 spans or 15 1/3 feet; from floor to top of main supports of house is 11 spans or 7 1/3 feet. door is 5 feet high; total number of man days of work was 150; total number of woman days of work was 20; if luis and his son had worked alone the job would have taken them 75 days. the saving of time is enormous. i must again comment on the spontaneity and the good humor and the apparent full competency of each man working; the little boys tried to outdo each other in who could bring water faster and who could lift heavier loads of mud to the older men; everyone jokes and laughed; men offered to help with heavier work when it seemed that others were tired; everyone buried himself in mud without the slightest complaint; everyone was good mannered, industrious, helpful. i would like to witness a housebuilding in the pueblo and see what happens there.

300 mitered
 dirt on the
 walls
 about 500
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 8' pies with
 callabans
 2 fire for water
 6 grinding
 stones

has
 but alone
 for every one

i have just spoken with indemesio to try to check on some of the details, luis gave me the word is 'cunvidados'--but i can't find it anywhere in the dictionary. the new house ceremony is slightly different; indemesio says that luis will use the principal from here; i told him what luis had said to me about the principal here and indemesio scoffed and said he would use the principal here; yet luis was firm in that he would not; well, we shall see; 4 men will go to the pueblo for the lighting of candles there; one man will carry a censor pot; one man will carry a load of pine needles with which the aldea cross and every other cross between here and calvario in the pueblo including calvario cross and the cross in front of the church, will be decorated; the other two will be luis and the principal; there they will buy candles and burn candles in the church and then return here; the rest of the ceremony is about as i have described it before; chilate will be made and served; indemesio seems pretty firm on the notion that 8 women and seven men may be present at the new house ceremony and no more; he says if there is only one woman in the house then 7 from outside are invited; if there are two, then 6 from outside are invited; and, for the men, 4 go to the pueblo and three stay behind. i asked him if they use more or less on occasion and he says, "well, you could, but they don't". the principal of the village is coming tomorrow to visit me--and, says indemesio, to tell me of the fifteen different devotions he performs here alone; he also wants me to take a picture of the altar in his house; if he gives me fifteen devotions and language scripts i'll take 10 pitturas for him!

items to be added to description of house building:

1. luis ate alone--after everyone else had finished. when i was invited to eat, luis wanted to put my plate and cup off to a side in a clearing; i asked him if i might not eat with the rest of the men; he said that i could, of course; he just thought i might not like to.
2. i estimate that about 300 cantaros of water were brought. they are the large size cantaro--but i don't know their cubic contents but will find out.
3. there were four fire with cauldrons going all the time; there were two *tortilla* fires, with comal on each, each holding eight tortilla cakes. there were six grinding stones working all the time; 4 outside and 2 inside the house.

--things to be gotten--20 sample budgets from here; description of wedding, death, birth, baptism, first communion; list of household goods--maximum and minimum; morales and patricio's brother, marcelino should be good comparisons; as much female data as i can get from frai yague; lots more on brujeria and curing; talks with the comadrona if possible; (note: indemesio says a man under no circumstances is permitted in at a birth unless it is a very difficult birth and then a doctor or curer is called in).

isolated notes:--patricio and juan tell me that they have chicken about once every two-three months; about 2 eggs a week; (fried or boiled); meat about two-three times a year.

played m.c for 8 Indians tonight-- and what a night club! they go for the corniest of gags; you couldn't get away with the humor in a three piece band tavern on halstead street; but they didn't stop laughing from 6 p.m. until fifteen minutes ago when they went home to go to sleep. mixed in the gags with a little bit of the old maestro's music--a couple of bars of kentucky home, swannee river, ohma yicroel, white cliffs of dover and bei mir bast du schon; passed out cigars--and we had a regular stag fiesta here. gags about indmesio's appetite, about how pigs eat shit and we eat pigs, innuendoes about who is sleeping with whom--and all bust bloomer buttons from laughing. was good 'rapport building' however; put the old oats to three who hadn't given me census data yet and they all promised to come tomerrw and give me the data. couldn't very well refuse me.

- mixed in a little anthropology--and found out some interesting things:
1. indemesio's oldest daughter is not his daughter; she is his godchild; her mother died in childbr th; he took her, legitimized her,--now she is completely one of the frily--completely equal inheritance rights; if she had not been legitimized she would have been first cousin to the children of indemesio, because of his being padrino of her. he says lots here have adopted children that way; named five for me; pasquale has two of his own!--i guess it's widespread. my census data doesn't reveal this because i wasn't aware of the facet when i went around asking child data; can't very well go over every house again, but can get names of most in the aldeas, i guess. indemesio insists that adopted children have equal inheritance rights before the law.
 2. it seems the intendente has really been sacked; wondermet at what kind of intendente we will have next; i suggested that maybe a miracle would happen and an indian be appointed intendente; that would be good, i suggested because then you could joder a los ladinos en vez de ellos jodiendo a ustedes; oh, no, was the answer, we wouldn't joder a los ladinos; but at least it would be better for us; i was duly reprimanded for my unwise suggestion.
 3. in joke, theoretical problem came up as to what would happen if there were no laws; everyone agreed that they would all be killing each other in a short time; couldn't say why they weren't doing so now--except for the felt restraint of the law; but all felt sure they would be out killing each other in a short while.
 4. it seems there is an indian evangelisto in the pueblo--named Jesus agustine; brother of the most famous evangelisto in los amates, agapito agustine by whom dominga from here was converted seven years ago; it seems that old man agustine could read and write and left a series of evangelisto brochures when he died which the children seem to have studied and been converted in that fashion. they didn't speak deprecatingly of the evangelisto's.
 5. indemesio and pasquale--the two regidores--put on a show for the others telling how hard it was to be regidor, how much time you lose and how the job becomes especially hard when the people don't cooperate; they commiserated with each other all over the place; no one said a word, it was an indirect form of reprimand even at those present.
 6. animals get put in poste here--if found in a milpa and no one claims them, poste is in sitio of indmesio's mother next door; animal stays there for one day; if no one claims him he is sent down to the pueblo and there it costs money to reclaim; here it costs no money to reclaim animals.
 7. perjuicio case came up--between two present--settled in very short order by indemesio.
 8. two Indians in los amates msc eted each other to bits yesterday; both in jail in pueblo; no known reason.
 9. none of the eight present tonight had even been to a cofradia celebration in the pueblo; we aren't invited, they said; i told them others than invitees always went, yes, but we're very far away; it isn't worth the

no music in the whole aldea except for two harmonicas and a couple of broken guitars; someone in the aldea knows "jalisco" because i heard him whistling it today; indians here chronically are songless; i asked them what tunes they like best before i started to play my pipe; "pero como no concocimos a ningunos canciones?"; no foot tapping, no whistling, no keeping time with music when i played; may be either my playing or their lack of 'musicality'; probably both.

indians here have their own names for star formations; Cassiopeia is known as the "seven little ones"; other formations have names; tried explaining light distance to them and couldn't get it across until i used my flashlight to explain, offering to race indemesio--he against the light; they understood than i think.

former all-indian secretary of pueblo--i forget his name--is long remembered; everyone says it was fine for them then; he explained everything to them; never lost patience with them; why did he move? ah, the ladinos have the power; and maybe he's getting better salary where he is now; he's in jalapa, they say. admired him for his fine necktie--his good clothes--!(acquired drives?)

question of who managed to get rid of intendente came up this afternoon when a ladino, of chiquimula and jilotepeque--salomon ortiz guzman, passed here for a few minutes; indemesio noted with pride that the ladinos didn't have the courage to complain, that it was indians who had originally complained against the intendente; the ladino readily agreed--said indians always have more 'valor' in such cases than ladinos. much comment on how when indian principales from chiquimula arrived for visit to president in capital, presidente paid special attention to the indians who were dressed like indians--i.e. manta etc and ignored the well dressed indians. embraced a fat indian principal; made public declaration that the indian is a real vivo; when he travels with his pottery, for instance, or other things, he is performing three jobs; one: keeping his eye on the road; two: braiding straw hats; 3: figuring out the sales he is going to make; indian is vivo, says the president, and doesn't get enough recognition; indemesio and the ladino readily agreed that the president is 'all right'.

indians here attribute a lot of influence to the moon; terrific windstorm all tonight; it is said to be due to the moon; have to get data about agriculture and the moon--planting in full moon days etc. so much for tonight--tzu shlafen mütz ich gen!

just remembered last item: how they tell time here; 9 p.m. lights go out in pueblo; pueblo is visible from here; during the day--sunrise--seasonal variations; hunger pangs--indians don't eat between meals--so they know! have strong temptation to let my watch run down and live without clock; throw away my calendar--etc--; when the old bitch next door begins to look good to me i'll know it's time to go home! pee! corny!

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this is again one of these days, somehow or other get sick again with a bang yesterday afternoon; and still feel like the wrath of god, but it's better out here than inside in that damp cold hut of mine, and while i haven't even the energy to light a cigarette (i wish that were true!) yet my fingers itch to be working and not wasting time, but, oh, how that ambition to work hard disappears in the presence of bodily illness. i don't doubt but that the dirt here has something to do with it; beans and rice and eggs and tortillas and coffee; and nothing else--unless i have fruit brought up from the pueblo. lord, it's enough to try the strongest of men, yet look how these indians flourish or even less (well, they don't flourish; there isn't a fat indian man in all of jilotepec--and they die like flies).

an event of yesterday is rather precious and must be recorded. i was sitting here talking with pedro felipe, the principal of the aldea, and we were chatting about his cousin, miguel felipe, the most hated curer in the area; at about 11 a.m. came riding cesar and rafael and alejandro mares--here on some sort of commission concerning a prisoner, found with unlicensed liquor, who lives in the aldea here. cesar is secretary of the pueblo; rafael is register and is now functioning as intendente now that parky has been jailed for malfeasance; alejandro is the prize bootlicker among the indians; they came here--(the lord knows why three of them were necessary) and sent the son of the prisoner down to indomestic's milpa to summon him here so that they could ask some questions. i had quite forgotten how rude and uncivil ladies are to indians in these two weeks i have been here but within a half hour of their being here i came into full realization of it; they ordered here and there; they dispatched here and here; they were gruff and impellite to everyone but me, when they treated with the usual deference i get in the pueblo. pedro, the principal, retired when the three people came and i walked over after greeting the new comers and apologized to pedro for the interruption and asked him if we couldn't meet again today--an interview which i shall report in detail later. the three of the pueblo people and i had lunch together here; and then we sat around and waited for indomestic; it takes at least an hour each way from his milpa; indomestic came and they tried to squeeze info out of him but just couldn't. he pretended to be as helpful as he possibly could but i knew better. i never realized the differential treatment being accorded me quite as fully as at this moment. i shut up like a clam, of course, since it was none of my business, after a while--when it was apparent they weren't going to get anything--they went away--many salutations to me, thanks, brasses etc--and the usual curtness and gruffness to the indians and even to alejandro who apparently was along as some sort of office boy and tender of horses and he is probably among the four or five wealthiest indians--and certainly one of the two or three 'alongs' to the latine life way.

when they were safely out of ear shot, pedro came back and indomestic was here in my hammock and the son of the prisoner was here. indomestic began to complain in a good natured way how they had accused him of his milpa sale per gusto. i readily agreed with him and added some vitriol of my own about the impetuous and presumptory way in which they had behaved while here. indomestic said to me "i don't understand; while they are here you act very nicely and friendly with them when they go away you begin saying 'baboseras' about them, how come". i threw the question right back at indomestic asking him how come he behaved exactly the same way? he got up and went to the others present agreed with me. i explained in some detail my necessary subservient behavior while here in the fields. i think they understood all of them.

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a long discussion was then opened about ladinos and indians; they really poured forth; i had the feeling that this was one of the rare times when despite my obviously not being an indian they nevertheless consented to treat me not as a ladino either; but as some stranger from another land who, for some inexplicable reasons, was 'on the side' of the indian rather than of the ladino. now let me make something clear. i am not 'on any side' really. i resent injustice and i resent it heartily. but i also dislike the indian as a person. when i resent ladino injustice against him, i am resenting the injustice--and not the fact that it is ladino against indian. it may be said that i am then on the side of 'social justice'; but then for me social justice varies in different conditions. and, above all, my personal feelings for or against the indian don't necessarily bias my view of the field situation. i am making doubly sure of this in testing out hypothesized differences between ladino and indian in terms of differential social participations. for all my prejudice one way or the other it can't make me put down that an indian doesn't go to church if the indian does go to church. it can't make me say that a ladino is red skinned if he is not. it can't influence me to say that ladino girls won't dance with indian boys if they do dance with the m(que esperanza); it is out of such observable facets of social behavior that i derive my notions about the field situation. of course, in documenting my notions or in testing my hunches it may be that i may, because of bias (as in the case of luis and his ladino wife) tend to give more weight to one piece of evidence than another. but in any event i shall present the evidence that makes me come to conclusions and then others can judge for themselves.

(one thing i am sure about at this point: if you want good field work done here don't send down a guatemalan ladino unless he comes under different colors. a person known as a ladino just doesn't stand a chance of getting anything from the indians. it is only with the greatest difficulty that i convince the indian here that i am not from the guatemalan government--and they know i come from another country!).(the situation may be different in mexico because of the differential in government attitude toward the indian. but here you stack the cards against yourself--almost hopelessly--if you send a ladino, who is known as a ladino and admits he is a ladino, to try to work with the indian)

i spent most of the rest of the afternoon trying to sweat out what ever bug had gotten into my system--but with no luck. i got up at 5 p.m. to chat with some people who were visiting in ensaie--and then at 6 was in bed, feeling like a crushed spider. it was one hell of a night; and i woke up feeling no better; but i went to pedro's house as i had arranged anyway--and had a two hour chat with him, let me try to describe pedro in part. he is a man of 55 years of age--looks his age--very thin and not too short; he has the most fearful rheum of the eyes i have ever seen; his lower eyelids are swollen and sort of turned outward--and are an ugly vivid red (yes, i know full well what Freud would say!). he speaks a very poor spanish--very poor--about as bad as any i have heard here; as will be seen from the report of my interview with him he is slightly delusional about his powers and his change of aster; and the fact that he is the only religious functionary in the aldea (aside from the revolving mayor domes) makes him even more so. up until two years ago he was living in the aldea of el barial, near here, but came here two years ago when his wife or second woman apparently deserted him for another man. he left three kids and his woman there, and moved here. he is

sustained here by his brother in law, the brother of the woman whom he left, he has milpa of his own--15 agerdas--and a house of his own--a little ranchito of paja and striplings; but he sleeps in his unmade's house and apparently keeps his little ranchito only for devotions or for retirement. I can't find out much about the attitude of the people here toward him/ he apparently thinks highly of the people here, but I have a vague feeling that they don't think highly of him; of course the way to find out is to find out whether people from here go seeking a principal from the pueblo instead of using their home product when they need a religious functionary. the fact that Luis, the owner of the new house just built, insisted that he would get a pueblo principal for his new house ceremony, instead of using Pedro, because 'maybe Pedro won't have enough time' is significant I think, especially so since it is obvious that Pedro does have enough time. Now of course Pedro is the chief official at the winter and summer devotions held here, that shows that he is respected as a religious functionary, but whether he is held in as high esteem as the others in the pueblo is something which seems doubtful to me. The 'particular' services which Pedro performs here seem to be limited to going to 2-3 houses during the year when they want candles lit with special ceremonial devotion. such is the case on the 15th of each January and the 3rd of June. the fact that only 2-3 people in the whole aldea call him in is evidence either that the rest employ someone else, or, what seems more likely in the face of what has been told me, they just don't employ anyone at all. Pedro says he gets no money for his 'particular' services --since it is 'a favor to God' and he is a servant of God; he says he is called in because the people don't know the 'parlamenta' in language. He does get his food however wherever he is called in. Now I have been very much interested in language texts of the prayers which it is reported that only the principales are capable of uttering since others just don't know them. I had a hard job getting Pedro to dictate a text to me: "tengo verguenza los rogaciones en lenguaje" he said to me, laughing somewhat ashamedly. But I finally got him to consent (yesterday--before the ladinos came)--and I got it down as best I could --i.e. a text of prayers he says on the 15th of March, the rain prayers, i.e. I must confess that what I could not make Pedro understand was that it was difficult for me to transcribe language if he spoke quickly, what I have recorded is at best a sort of fly-on-the-wall transcription; and I can't vouch for the accuracy of the transcription; I did get Pedro to tell me the gist of everything he had said--i.e. in Spanish--but sometime he explained to me in other language words--which I don't know at all of course. I have just counted the words in the prayers there are 57 Spanish words--not loan words--but Spanish words--and 67 language words. I don't think we have to worry about whether one language word stands for a total phrase; from what I know of the language it does not; in fact Spanish seems far more inflected, for one thing and more synecdochical, if I may borrow a word from a different frame of reference. There are 3 Spanish loan words through the prayer. I suppose there's no sense in making a distinction between Spanish words and Spanish loan words; because when a man speaks language here, whenever he uses what is certainly a Spanish word he gives it a different pronunciation than if he were speaking all Spanish and had to employ the word. The thing that strikes me most about the prayer is that it is indeed very simple. I can translate a substantial part of the language. The prayer starts out by calling on our father Jesus Christ to bless this holy water; we are bringing (or going to get) holy water so that we may worship the patron saintly eyes as it was the custom of 'ambros anterior' to do so; let this aldea of el camaron retain its power; let our planting be good; let our milpa come out well; leave us our children to help us.

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leave us our wives to say the rosarios for us. let us gather enough money so that we may make the trip for holy water. let us get good work so that we may sell our medias of maize and earn money; not for any sickness but to pass the life; i shall go to the major door of the church inescupulas; there with the 'licensia' of Senor of "scapulas i shall pray to "Cristo Reine San Pedro Home pa-la-tia-jan crucificado Jesus Cristo" so that we may sanctify the winter; may our holy water be blessed by the angels in heaven with the permission of 'nuestra maria santisima". (there is one last sentence i can't decipher). Now I don't pretend that this is exact in any way; but it's approximately the prayer that is said; the language words are by no means complicated or esoteric for the indian, as far as i can tell; there is no special formulation as far as i can tell; i have heard any number of indians pray the same way in spanish; and i know that the language words are not unknown to them. What i can't figure out is why the indian thinks that the prayer is something he has to learn especially; most indians never even hear the prayer, said in language by the principales; they are always said in a very low whisper and even if you were close to the person saying them you wouldn't hear very much; since the principales are almost always on their knees in front of an altar when they pray, this adds to the difficulty; of course it's a little far fetched to say there is deliberate retaining of the people in ignorance so that the principales may remain principales; but even pedro today--for all his egoism--says that people could learn the prayers if they wanted to but they don't because there is 'poco interes'. it may well be that pedro has hit on exactly the answer; if we could prove that the number of principales is limited because no one else is interested--it would be reasonable demonstration that the religion of the indian is not too meaningful in his life, in its formalized aspects--if, at the same time we could show that in former days there was much striving to become principal. this latter i have no way of knowing. what i do know is that in recent years the mayor domship was limited to one year so that all those 'who were anxious to be mayor domos' could have a chance. now what the charnabout being mayor dome is i don't know--unless it be that it is one of the few ways that an indian can really feel important in the community.

From pedro i find that there are four community celebrations held here in the aldeas; (either major celebrations for the indian which are held in the pueblo are not too poorly attended by the people from here as far as i can find out). The four celebrations are the 15th of March--the opening of the agricultural cycle; the 3rd of May, or the day of Santa Cruz; the 25th of July--the special additional prayer for rain begun here 7 years ago by Indomio Inque, my chief informant--it seems with the notion that if one prayer for rain is efficacious it doesn't hurt at all to make two prayers; so tells me Indomio, at least; the 15th of October--or the thanks to god for the winter and the rains and the prayer for well being of the later milpa. Let us see what we have on the one hand 3 festivals directly concerned with the all important thing in the life of the indian: i.e. the milpa, and one festival concerned with the only available external formality of the religion: i.e. the crosses. Here in the aldeas the church is simply not effective as a religious item in the life of the indian; it is simply too far away; the crosses at each aldeas--and some have a few and not just one--are in some way active and effective duplicates for the indian of the church which is not available to him. There are two other dates which, says Pedro, are celebrated in some houses here; they are the 3rd of June, the day of Saint Anthony; this ties in with the milpa; for, as far as i can tell, Miraculous Saint Anthony of the Bush, as he is called; is the patron saint of the milpa too; and the bush is almost as important to the indian as is the milpa; isn't his milpa a bush land before he

clears it; and doesn't the all important firewood come from the bush; the other 'particular' festival observed in some households is that of January fifteenth, when, it seems, if there has been sickness in the house, a principal is called in to pray that the sickness should leave the site and never come back. Pedro is already hired to do this in a house in nearby Los Amates on the 15th to come, but he says sometimes he gets called in here as well.

Now what has the Indian seemingly sloughed off here in the aldeas that he still retains in the pueblos? Most important in the Catholic calendar of course are Christmas and Easter; in the pueblo these are celebrated (Easter much more so than Christmas if I am to believe what has been told me); The monthly cofradia reunions; there just isn't anything of the sort here; ask an Indian here "why not?" and he shrugs his shoulders and says "a saber!". I am inclined to think that at least two factors enter in here (and Lord knows how many more) (1) all large images were called in from the aldeas many years ago by the government and ordered to be put in the pueblo church; now, since the reunions each month is to celebrate the patron saints and you can't celebrate your patrons without having them present; this may be one of the reasons; but (2) this also enters in another way; the matter of keeping Indian religion a going concerns in any formal way depends very much on the untiring work and initiative of the functionaries; now, let us assume that the aldeas had no images for the last 25 or 30 years; it also never had a principal until two years ago; so: lack of image, lack of functionary, and hence lack of any initiative gives us part of the answer; and, when we see that when a man did get initiative and did go to work to sponsor a festival--i.e. Indemecio, seven years ago, with festival of 25th of July--it took and hold, I think we are justified in insisting provisionally that personal leadership in this matter is all important.

(excuse me--i'm going to take a nap).

(excuse me again: I thought I was going to take a nap; it's quite impossible; it's those chickens again; they're a pretty good index of how I happen to be feeling; if I get angry with them and throw stones at them, I'm not up to anything; if I laugh at them or am only mildly annoyed, everything is under control.)

to continue: in yesterday morning's interview with Pedro I mentioned before that we talked some of his cousin, Miguel Miguel Felipe, the noted curer from El Barigil; in the beginning of my notes on this aldeas will be found a short item in reference to this Miguel; I find now that he had not gone to San Salvador but merely over to Chiquimula for a short stay. Pedro tells me that this Miguel is really good, he's young and well liked wherever he goes (except by government officials). Pedro says that he and Miguel work together. When Miguel can't cure totally then Pedro is called in to pray and see if this won't help! (notes first the secular--then the sacred--or is it then the religious?) Pedro adds however that Miguel now has also learned how to pray in language--he knows the "parlamenta"--and doesn't really need Pedro. How did he learn it? He's very vivo. He learned it by himself. He once taught him (doesn't this bear out the contentions about religious specialists and learning of prayers?) It's in his memoria. His uncle. He's only a youth but his life is very favorable now, for now he has much money from his curing and he used to be very poor; but his prices are so good, and so many people are sick and he has so much medicine for curing, that now he makes a lot of money. Yes, now too he has a house. And he has a very fine house. He began really curing when he was about 20 years old but he has really been a curer since he was a very small child. He learned at first thru his uncle how to use medicines of the bush and now he can use medicines of the pharmacy as well.

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pedro says that miguel can cure calentura and frio but cannot cure frights. only in the pueblo can the curers heal fright illness--it is said by pedro that the curer sexto agustino is the best for this. pedro says that he thinks that miguel cannot rid aires from a person, nor can he make brujeria. i asked about miguel's curing powers in a different way: i went over every possible pain^{one} could have in any part of his body--and it seems that miguel can cure all such pains. i don't think pedro knows what miguel can do--or else is unwilling to say. for instance, everyone else i have ever talked with about miguel says he is a brujo as well as a pichero, yet pedro insists he is not. naturally, he would deny it to me about his cousin; others, who have no family connections with miguel, say that miguel is a brujo as well. now i asked pedro if he could arrange to have miguel come up here and talk with me where we wouldn't be disturbed as we might be in the pueblo. he was a little reluctant at first--and then i said i would pay miguel for his time. this produced a more favorable response and pedro has promised that when he sees miguel sunday he will tell him. i think pedro is convinced that i'm not from the government. this may help. tho it seems that miguel is a much wiser bird than all the others around here put together--and he may be over cautious, he has had too many run ins with the law already and may stay away for fear of another. this ended our first morning interview--for the ladies arrived at this point.

the following morning--yesterday--(for it is now dec. 12) i went to pedro's house at 9 a.m. as we had agreed upon. the altar was all newly decorated--new flowers, new crepe paper (or so it seemed) and the floor was strewn with new pine needles. pedro greeted me very cordially, ran out to his cousin's house to get me a chair. i pretended to admire the altar and his little rancho and his picture of the senior of esquipulas--and then offered to take pictures of his altar as i had promised. i took two time exposures--and then tried to take a picture of pedro kneeling in front of the altar as the he were praying (no hesitation on his part to imitate the gesture at all) but couldn't get focus on it, so didn't take it. went outside and snapped two closeups of pedro as well--but don't think they'll come out because i forgot to take off the time mechanism which i had adjusted for the exposures in the house. pedro was reluctant to let me take pictures of him--but when i assured him it would be nice to have a picture of the servant of God as well as the altar at which he serves, pedro consented. we came back inside and we started to chat. i asked pedro to tell me a little about his life--how he had come to be a servant of God etc--and the following is the report of the interview. everytime a question appears it is mine. the interview did not flow smoothly--pedro is not garrulous by any means; he talks in very modulated tones, understands and speaks spanish very poorly, sometimes perseverates on a phrase five or six times, changes his mind often within two or three minutes--in general seems very unsure of everything but his own powers as a servant of god. but let us on to the interview. "My wife--my first wife--died about twenty years ago and i joined up soon after with another woman called Margarita Vicente, the sister of Felipe Vicente, my cousin. i lived with Margarita for about fifteen years. Once i had gone on a trip to the coast to sell some eggs and i came back and found that Margarita was pregnant. i asked her if it was certain that she had another man. She said it was certain. So, since i don't like to argue or fight, i left her and my three children i had by her in El Serral and came here to live. --to serve God and the people here. Who supports me? My cousin, Felipe, gives me food and takes care of me. (my note: pedro works 15 cuerdas of maize himself). Oh, yes, i'm acurru with Felipe even tho i left his sister. Do i like it here? Oh yes, because the i'm buena gente and the people here too are buena gente. Almost everyone in the aldea came to help build my rancho

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for me here and i like it here/ it is 8 years now since i have been serving god. how did i know i was to serve god? well, i had a dream one night that a man--maybe a saint or a god-- gave me two candles to put on my altar. and then he gave me that censor pot to put on my altar. this was all in esquipulas that my dream took place. no, i was sleeping in el barial but in my dream i was in esquipulas. the saint asked me to please receive the candles and the censor pot and to serve god. and so i received them. and he told me i should go serve the people and go serve the patron San Luis.

Why did I pick this idea?--because the people here are people of devotions(son gente de devotiones). yes, there are more devotions in the pueblo but there are other padrinos, other principales there. (my notes: this is the first time in all my months here that i have heard the word padrino used for principal. wisdom doesn't use the word principal at all, if i remember rightly. he uses only padrino. if padre uses the word spontaneously it must be that he thinks in these terms-- and since most of his religious nomenclature and vocabulary seems to come from the principales in the village or the pueblo--it seems then that they too must use the word --. but if they do they do so among themselves because they always use the word principal with me). yet, padrinos and principales are the same. i learned the prayers and everything from spending much time with the principales at all their devotions, when they went to esquipulas i went too and that's how i learned. who are the best principales?--oh, there are many. i can't remember any of their names (sic). they change principales there every year. it's not like that here, i am the only one here, nobody else can be a principal. they don't know how. what can i do? oh, if i die this idea remains without a padrino. they can't say prayers like i can. why? it's because they don't want to learn. there is 'poco interes'. oh, if they wanted ten they could easily, but there is 'poco interes', muy poco interes: who is the best particular servant of god here? don indemio--he makes the most devotions and serves god the most. he has made two devotions since i am here, 2 rogaciones for the winter. who else? jose lopez has made 2; simeon mendez has made 2; domingo perez has made 2; vicente lapez has made 2; pedro lopes, 1; felipe vicente, my cousin, 1; joselino perez, 1. that's all. does that come out to fifteen? yes, that's right. there are fifteen devotions that have been made since i am here. what are the days on which devotions are made?--the 15th of march, the 25th of july, the 3rd of may, the 15th of october, the 15th of jan, the 3rd of june, are the days we make devotions here. (i had to prompt him on these dates with the data he had given me the day before) no, we don't celebrate the pasqua here--only in Intermecion where there are ~~resaderos~~ yes, all women. no, they're Indians and naturales, both. there we have no resaderos at all. no, we don't celebrate the 25th of august here. we go to the pueblo to celebrate the patron. there is a missa there. who is better servant of god, the priest or the principal? oh, the priest. why? because he can make a mass and the principales can't. oh, no'. (padre laughed at the incongruity of the idea that principales could make a mass) they can't make masses, they don't know how to read. how could they make a missa?--yes, if they could read then maybe they could make a mass. what are the saints?--agents of god or representatives of god, or gods; they're representatives of god, that god left here. what if one should break? oh, no. we couldn't make other; yes, they're of wood but they are now "consecrated" and have power and are blessed; the priest blessed them. who is the most powerful saint in jilote?--oh, san luis the patron. why? because he is the oldest. there are others of him, yes, he's the same person but the biggest one that doesn't go out of the church is more powerful than the two who go to the cofradia.

who is next powerful? san marcos, because they celebrate him on the 25th of april. after him? the 'salvador del mundo' who is crucified on the cross there, no, this isn't jesus christ. this is only the salvador del mundo and nothing else. next? san miguel, they celebrate him the 29th of september. next? jesus nazareno. we celebrate him the day of the holy week (el dia semana santa). this isn't jesus christ, no, this is another jesus. who is jesus christ? he's what we call god. no, god had no sons, who is the holy spirit? that's the sun, that's whom we call the holy spirit. what is the moon? that's "nuestra maria" the woman. the stars? they're the principales of the sky. the earth? god made it when he made the world. how? i don't know but when he formed the world he made the earth too, the sea? god made that too. he left us that too. after death? the spirit goes to heaven, yes. the body? that remains in the earth and becomes earth again. how many days for the spirit to go to heaven? i don't know because here they still pray for the spirit one year after the death of the person. the novenario? that's to help the spirit go to heaven. yes, maybe it gets there in nine days. so they say here. no, the principales don't become santos! no, i won't. (a very self pleased laugh at the nation!) que esperanzas! how does one become a saint? a saber! how did the saints get to be saints? a saber. but for example, the senior de esquipulas he was crucified and became a saint. that's why the santa cruzes are miraculous. (milagrosas). the senior left a 'retrato'--yes, he left it--in esquipulas--that's a copy of it i have there on the altar (the picture is a usual representation of the crucifixion, with various virgins ministering to christ on the cross). In esquipulas--have you ever been there?--well, you ought to see it--there is a man crucified on the cross--yes, a real man! oh, no, it's not of wood. it's a body! no, i don't know if it has blood and flesh. maybe it does. who crucified the senior? the males, the judies, so they say. why? because they didn't like him. when? oh, i couldn't say--a long time ago, so i couldn't even say approximately when it was. maybe when the world began/ are there jews now? no, there are no more jews. no, of course not. el senior buried them all on 'el sabado de gloria'. no, they weren't animals--they were real men women and even children. you can see them if you go to esquipulas. all of them were very bad. --what language did el senior speak?--oh, he spoke the idioma of the naturales, the idioma of naturales (sic). they say he understood our language very well. who says not the naturales say so. no, they say he didn't speak castillano. they say he wasn't a ladino but that he was an indio and spoke our language. but they say he can understand the resarico in castillano as well. hey? i really don't know. who was god's mother? they say maria was his mother. and his father? jesus. the senior was born the 25th of december. no, i don't know whether his mother was pregnant. i guess she was if she gave birth to him. what is the immaculate conception? oh, that's the 'virgo'. (my sister 'virgo' is a generic term with pride for all female babies, etc--as will be seen in a short while). why do we celebrate it? because el senior left many virgins and santos in the world. what happened to jesus after he was born? i don't know. did he make the world then? oh, yes, then where did his mother and father live before? a saber! how long did it take to make the earth? they say he did it in 24 years. yes, he formed the sun and the moon and the stars in the meantime. the padres? oh, they're men all right but they don't have signs like we do and they know how to manage (manejar) god. no, i don't think they'll become saints afterwards, the senior papa!--oh, he's the same papa. they say he lives to east of here in some place. no, i don't think that's in this country, it must be in another country. i don't know how they call the other country. i don't think anyone knows. who placed his saints? a saber! maybe god placed

him. yes, he's a man. does he eat maize? oh, i don't think so because he probably eats other kinds of 'aliments'--because where he lives the people are of other kinds, and i think only the poor people eat maize and frijoles. the santo papa poor? oh, no he must be very rich. who pays him his salary? that i couldn't tell you. yes, he is the major priest. they say he orders all the priests of these five republics. no; i don't think there are priests in any other countries. just these five republics. what five republics? guatemala, honduras, salvador, mexico, nicaragua and costa rica. you say there are six? well, but then costa rica may be of another 'potencia'--but then people from costa rica come to equipulas to pray, so maybe there are 6 and not 5 in this 'potencia'.

The virgins!-- there's the virgin de concepcion. and all the other women saints. no, men are saints--not virgins--but the women are virgins. they're the avegades for the women. just like san luis is avegade for us--so is san pedre, he is poderoso too. so is san il de fense, he is poderoso too. he lives in ipala. what is a virgin? are there any virgins in el camaron?(i couldn't resist this question!) oh, no the women here are not virgins--na, none of them--only the little girls up until the age of 7--they don't have sins before that age--but after that age they begin to have sins--they talk back to their parents and annoy them. that's when they begin to have sins. (kentucky's unstat. definition of a virgin: any girl below five years old who can run faster than her brother--what ideal-type similitude!--incidentally, and seriously, i find that the word 'virgin' is of totally different connotation among the indians than among us--and even among the ladinos the strict sense of the word virgin is misunderstood--a virgin for them is simply the female correspondent of the male saints). what are the worst sins?--oh, for a woman of 14 or 15 to have a child without marriage--because then she doesn't have a chance to get married. (my note: i couldn't get pedre to 'slew' on this at all; the following list of sins was all suggested by me; he couldn't offer any himself. the estimates of their evilness are agreement with leading questions of mine; i simply couldn't get him to make comparisons on the extent of their evilness either. he just doesn't seem to be sin-conscious--or at least wasn't with me!)

rebar, mator, seold a parent--yes, these are bad sins. fornicate with a sister? yes, that's bad. yes, it's about as bad as killing. fornicate with a parent? yes, that's about equal to killing. fornicate with an animal? yes, that's bad--fuf a christian to go at it (tocar) with an animal, that's very bad; (note: it is generally believed here--and i have asked many on this--that intercourse sexually between men and animals will result in a breed of a mixed creature--part animal and part human. almost everyone knows someone who has seen the product; a few even have seen men with horns, with tails, etc. this is true of the people as well as of beasts, and is true of ladinos as well as of indians. of course it's true of a great many semi-instructed people in the states as well).--but it's not as bad as to go to the bed with your mother. (this last was a voluntary offering of pedre--without any prompting on my part). to make witchcraft? well, i don't know if that's a sin. who are the brujos? are they of the devil? oh, they have had in them, maybe they're of the devil who is the devil? oh, he's the Jew. yes, i guess the brujos are Jews too, but they change into all forms of animals as well. no, i've never seen one. (at this point i knew pedre was lying because he laughed the same way people in the pueblo and other people here laugh when you ask them if there are brujos; then when you tell them you know there are brujos, they put on a ridiculously unclencher and undignified pretense of amazement--and say "hahra brujos" pedre went that the whole is like to the letter)--they say there are many in the pueblo--and some have 'em. but i've never seen them. no; i don't know any. you say there are? really? hahra brujos (the usual laugh) anyone brujos del? (now pedre goes serious again) oh, they can kill a person. how? yes, they can throw winds and things into you.

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no, i've never thrown any winds or done any harm to anyone. (note: now either this last remark is very significant or not significant at all. it all depends on whether my interpretation of pedro's affect at this point is correct. i seemed to see him as showing more-affect--a combination of righteous indignation and anxiety to clear himself--than he had shown all morning; moreover, (although this next may be due solely to his poor understanding of spanish) i had asked him "y nunca le hizo mal a usted otra persona?"--in response to which i got the above about his never having done any harm or thrown any winds. i now repeated the question--and got "no, no me ever made me sick in all my life. oh, yes, i've been sick in bed with fevers and chills, but nothing worse than that. how does one learn brujeria? oh, you don't learn it--it comes from birth, from santitas that Dios gives you. maybe some learn it from others too. but i say that it comes from birth, from God. then why are brujes bad if they get their power from god? a saber, i don't know senor. "

at this point it was obvious that pedro was very tired--and i wasn't particularly a powerhouse of energy at this point either. it had been a very tiring interview. pedro was glad when i closed my notebook and with a sigh said 'ya nos platicamos mucho'. i thanked him profusely--etc. i had been feeding him cigarettes all morning--for which, after the first, no thanks were forthcoming, but at least it kept him going. i have learned that if it seems you will keep offering cigarettes, an indian will stay night and day with you)--i made ready to go--and then realized i hadn't noted the contents of the altar--the i have two pictures of it--there are two bottles of holy water on either side of two candles which are on either side of a picture of a crucifixion which pedro bought in esquipulas. light colored munita paper or wrapping paper serves as the cloth for the table of the altar, a table supported by four palitos. there are fresh flowers and paper flowers strung across the wall above the altar which itself is covered with the same papers as cover the table. the canopy is framed of palitos--and supported some three feet in front of the table to where it extends--it is decorated with the usual red and green and other colored crepe paper--with cut-out designs. i learned at this time that pedro lights a candle for a few minutes every morning at 7 a.m. and every evening at five p.m. there are two small candle holders on either side of the canopy uprights--which uprights are covered with some unidentified wild leaf. pine needles are the ceremonial carpet in front of the altar, on which is also the usual clay censur pot. pedro makes his own candles from wax which he buys. he says he buys 20 pounds of wax a year--out of 20 lbs. of wax you can make 350-400 small candles or about 200 large candles. wax runs from 20 to 30 cents a lb depending on the market. evidently pedro must sell these candles to people for whom he makes devotions and to others for their own devotions. pedro says he does not pray in the morning or at night when he lights his own candles. he just lights the candles and lets them burn in a few minutes. just before leaving i found out that pedro is going to esquipulas on january 6th to make one of his annual visits to the senor there. he says this is the day of the sanctification of jesus, the day of the 3 kings of the orient. he makes three other trips during the year: just before the 10th of march, the 25th of july and the 15th of october.

this ended our interview. with many thanks and handshakes (note that pedro gives you the back of his hand to shake--i have to try this out on the principales in the pueblo and see if they do the same--no one else here or in the pueblo has ever done that with me); i left pedro, promising to come visit him again soon. now several things stood out in my mind as a little most striking for me was the total confusion of the catholic festivals and the catholic hierarchy of saints, virgins, etc--confusion as far as western observance is concerned at least.

the significance of even the story of the immaculate conception seems unknown. only the grossest details of the crucifixion are known. the time perspective (i.e. Jesus made the world--and in thirty years) doesn't conform as far as I know with anything in the new or old testament. (while in the pueblo I had an interesting version of the story of creation. this was given to me by an old indian of 55 years of age as well. he said that in the beginning Jesus was the first person to have a finca; and he had a mozo named adam who used to work the milpa for him; and adam had a kiethen but didn't have a woman to make tortillas or to help him make children. so he asked Jesus and Jesus made him a woman--and then Jesus made the rest of the world.) the notions of logical contradiction doesn't seem to enter in Pedro's thinking: for instance: brujos at first are very bad--and only do evil; then, later on they turn to be agents of god or given the sentido by god--and god can do only good--how to explain this? a saber! also: Jesus made the earth and everything else; but where did his parents live before? a saber! I don't know whether it is a notion of contradiction that fails to enter or whether it is merely a failure to analogize; after all the Indian seems to take these notions as literally true; they aren't symbolical or analogical for him; now, then, they are also surrounded with sacredness --insofar as it is the priest who has told them--or at least originally came from some priest--and in turn they concern the objects most unquestoned in the Indian's life--i.e. his god and his santos. very well; in order to see contradictions the Indian would have to make analogies to his own life: he would have to submit the stories to rational criticism in that fashion: thus he would have to ask himself for instance: "How could I possibly have made the earth if I had a father and mother before --if they must have had a place to live too--so there must have been earth before me!"--but this is really rather sophisticated thinking for the untrained Indian--and so the logic remains logic for the anthropologist--but remains sacred truth for the Indian--i.e., truth with sacred sanctions.

what impressed me about Pedro as well was his almost complete failure to show any affect at all during the morning--except in that one flash about brujeria--all the rest of the time he spoke in a soft, slow voice--completely monotonal--laughed occasionally to be sure--but then in a very modulated way. his world about him seems very secure. he is sure of remaining partially publicly supported the rest of his life; he is the only religious functionary in the aldea; he has prestige, food and shelter all for the simple performance of very simple tasks. he seems to earnestly believe in his religion--and to take it very seriously and on a rather full time basis, which most Indians do not in any verbalized conscious way; it may be that I gathered this impression because in a way I forced such behavior on him; I made him verbalize. in effect, I don't quite get the point of his constant repetition about being a servant of god--unless he feels unsure that people will believe him. I don't see in these verbal assertions the positive affirmation that I do see in other western civilization priests. the fact that he entered into the field only 8 years ago may be partial reason for some insecurity about being accepted. the fact that he is here only two years--and indeed must compete for acceptance with principals of long standing and of high prestige in the pueblo may cause these perhaps anxious verbalizations about his role. I don't know--but that is the impression I derive at this point. he makes me think of that old man Karamzov had suddenly --by some queer convolution--turned priest--he would have behaved about the same way. I spend so much time on Pedro because he is the only full time religious functionary in the aldea--and as such represents --(or at least should represent) (the I don't know if he does or not) -- a fairly important facet in Indian aldea life.

it seems i was rather silly to pick this month to come to the aldeia. december is harvest month--and i had that well proven to me this morning when i went looking for people to work with and everyone was in the milpa or off somewhere else working. it may be that next week it will not be so bad; but even at the beginning of the month when we were doing the census we had a real job finding people at home. there is really nothing to do at this point --i can't work with frau yaque--she is busy all day--and while she will answer an incidental question i know she won't sit down and talk with me for any period of time. before i left last week to go into the pueblo i thought i would sum up--and did get some summing up done --but not as much as i would have liked--and not as well as i would have liked; it turns out that it is just as well i did not; i think i had better immerse myself at least another week here before trying a summing up; the only trouble is that there isn't anything to immerse yourself in, really; the facets of the life here are so simple and few--and articulate into each other so very clearly, it seems to me, that one either grasps it almost from the very beginning or doesn't grasp it ever. continued residence here might give you an added number of minutiae as you went along; but the major items of living show themselves everyday and in everyone of the inhabitants; there is a monotonous regularity of routine in each man's life and in all men's lives here. i have seen what they do when they go for 'diversion' in the pueblo; i purposely followed and observed 3 indian bucks from here who were in the pueblo for the fiestas; they simply walk around--look--talk a little among themselves; if they have 10 cents between them they buy a bottle of whiskey, and finish it off quickly; sometimes one of them may have a few pennies to buy an item from the merchants selling 5 and 10 cent store items; most of them buy a two cent pack of cigarettes; they walk in and out of the church; they do not offer devotions; said one of them to me: "No, i just come in here to look; no (and this somewhat ashamedly) i don't pray; oh, i believe all right, but i never prayed before--and my father never made me and he doesn't pray." when they come into the pueblo they are dressed in their best clothes--i.e. they slip a pair of pants over their manta work clothes, (if they have an extra pair of pants) and tie a red neckerchief around their necks--and put on a cotton jacket if they have one. most of them get posada in the house of don beltran--a latino in town--who lets as many of them sleep in his coridor as want to; and lets them put their animals in his sitio; he also sells them liquor; when they come into town they stay together--i.e. a group of camaronians will always stick together during their permanencia in the pueblo; if one comes in alone--he is pretty lost--unless he has friends in the pueblo--or a relative; i witnessed this with my boy juan--who simply walked around all day; came to visit me a half dozen times; always said how much fun it was to be in the pueblo; this--a half dozen times as well; and the what "fun" news having i couldn't recall unless it is merely the change of physical surroundings that provides the diversion for him. older men who come in usually come in for some business--and leave as soon as they have transacted the business; it is the younger blood who come in for 'paseo'; i have run across an interesting case of 'paseo' outside of the aldeia; when i was in the pueblo the mail officer gave me a letter written by one of the men here--to a woman in sacapa--which had been returned because the woman could not be found in the barrio given as her address; now a few days previously i had wanted to go visit this man--and had asked his son if his father were home; he told me that his father had gone to sacapa; when i inprudently asked "what for"--there was a moment of embarrassed silence--and then the son said "como asi"--; indemesio was present but didn't help out later either--; i gave the letter to indemesio to give to the man--refino lopez, by name --but

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indemesio said he wasn't going to deliver the letter because "there was funny business in that household"; he then explained to me in a low voice so that his wife next door should not hear that the letter was to an extra curricular sweetheart of rafino's--whom rafino goes to visit very often; that is why he goes into zacapa so often, he said; this business of extra curricular sweethearts is not unique with rafino either, it seems; and it is not something that one keeps quiet about--at least among males;--when we were going into the pueblo last Sunday--we met on the way a man and two women and a child from nearby los perez who were taking the same route as we for a few kilometers; indemesio chatted with the man whom he knew--but didn't even greet the women; when the other party had turned off indemesio said rather proudly to me that he had had three children by the woman who was no living with the man; the woman was one of the two who were accompanying the man; i asked him whether this was before or after marriage; "Oh, well after i was married"; i asked him whether the man knew; oh, yes, the man knew all right; and then why didn't indemesio greet the woman? oh, you don't greet women you have known if they are with their men and they don't greet you; if you meet them alone, then, it's a different matter and you salute them and they you; but when they are with their men it is respect not to salute any other man; i asked indemesio whether his own wife knew; oh, yes, she knew--but that didn't mean anything; now this is another balance the culture seems to have, it seems to me: on the one hand even setting eyes on another man's woman is subject for controversy; you simply do not enter the house of another person unless the man is at home; it is prima facie evidence of intent to adultery; for, after all, men have nothing to say to women and women have nothing to say to men; men and women don't 'chat'--; relations between men and women are either of sex or of work--nothing else is considered reasonable, it seems; but--this strictness seems to be alleviated by societal condonance and even promotion of extra curricular affairs--if you can get away with it; i.e. it is permitted for married men--or attached men--but not for attached women; on the other hand, a woman who has had other men is not depreciated to the point where she can't get another man later on to live with; a wife will fight with a woman if she suspects that woman of having an affair with her husband or mate of the moment; a husband will leave his wife or woman if he finds out she has slept with other men during the period of their joint housekeeping; but if a man is discreet--picks a woman not of his neighborhood; or else a decidedly unattached woman of his neighborhood it is a subject for boasting by him with his friends and acquaintances. i thought this was true only of the pueblo but from what indemesio tells me it seems to be pretty much the pattern here as well; i wish i knew whether this pattern was a native i.e. instinctual drive articulated thru the indian culture pattern or whether it was articulated thru the ladino pattern; certainly in the pueblo the ladino pattern at least gives "tacit sanction" to the indian for the same kind of behavior; and, while here in the aldea they know pueblo life first hand it is difficult for me to say that the pattern is reinforced or sanctioned by observance of the ladino upper class pattern. in any event the 'balance' is there, the society maintains its equilibrium that way; the family might otherwise be easily shattered--at least much more fragile than it is at present.

there is still much talk--here and in the pueblo--about the recent jailing of the intendente for his malfeasance with the maize; the indians almost to a man stress the fact that it was indians who had 'valor' to complain against the intendente; that the ladinos were scared stiff and didn't do a thing; that is the truth of the matter; the ladinos talked a great deal about the injustice being done them when they were 'taxed' money for the jalap fiesta; but it remained for several indians who had been imprisoned for not bringing in their three hands of maize--and then later

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were used--in their prison labor time--to bring two thirds of the maize collected from all the aldeas to the house of the intendente for his personal consumption----it remained for them i say to send a teleg am to the president which started the investigation which finally resulted in an enormous number of people being summoned to jalapa to testify and in the final jailing of the intendente. the fact that the indians here cite the fact so often seems indicative to me that the indian siezes eagerly on every item which accords him or his people a prestige which otherwise is never granted; i am also impressed by the fact more and more that the indian is as 'indian conscious' as is the ladino 'ladino conscious'; both groups are highly aware, it seems, that the major crosscutting in their society is that which separates ladino from indian, no matter what factors mitigate this difference--there remains the fact of consciousness of this as the basic difference in society; this is supplemented with an identification of the ladino with the 'rich' and the indian with the 'poor'; the social status distinction (buttressed by false notions of blood differences --on both sides of the caste(?) line)--gets reinforcement additionally from the fact that the ladino is the economic superior as well.

there is here in the aldea apparent and real tranquility of life--as long as contact with the pueblo and the ladino is lacking; there is a reorganization of sociation patterns and personal behavior the moment a ladino enters the picture; this is true of my entrance here, as well, but i think in a much more attestuated form than in the case of ladinos from the pueblo; i have the incident of the visit of cesar and rafael last week as a case in point; in the pueblo there is tranquility--but it is mere apparent than real; the only real tranquility of life and self sustaiment which i have found i have found among the indian principales--old men all of them--quite firmly wrapped up in making a living and in keeping the old indian religious customs alive; there is bit of anxiety among them to be sure about the dying off of the indian life way; they deprecate the tendencies of the younger generations to go toward the ladino life way; but for themselves they seem to find self sufficiency in the old life way. here--in the aldea--such self sufficiency is not limited to the old men; true, the youngest of the boys here are 'inquiet'--they seem restless and eager for some sort of 'newness'; but this is true of unmarried and unfamilied men; it seems that a woman and a child really settles the aldea man; one can't say, i think, that this is a natural process of growing conservative matcheable by the same thing in the states: i.e. or e.g. a radical growing quite conservative once he has a wife and a family and a job; for them youn have to explain why the same isn't true of familled men in the pueblo; now to be sure you may ask how i can prove that it isn't true; the real proof would be in a series of intimate life histories; these are impossible to get; the proof in the face of this must necessarily be less substantial; it is based on such considerations as (1) the fact that the indian --once he gives up the indian way of life--(and here objective indices such as change in clothing, in verbal patterns, in recreational patterns, in security patterns: i.e. witchcraft, vanderlunt, hanging around the intendencia etc)--has no other effective life way into which he may incorporate himself; he simply can't become a ladino; economically, socially, linguistically--the cards are loaded against him. true, from all this i can only theoretically gather that the indian should be discontent and anxious and restless; and--when i get that

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impression every conversation i have with an indian in the pueblo--and have never once gotten that impression here in the aldeas, i am ready to believe my impressions now, when i first planned to come to the aldeas--i had no idea i would find anything like this contrast; to the contrary, i expected a great deal more restlessness here than i had found in the pueblo; i expected that the indian--since he knew of pueblo life--yet could not even have the small share of it that the pueblo indian has--would ~~seem~~ be far more discontent than the pueblo indian; i find on the contrary that men here--and women here--like it here much better; they seem genuine about it; i have never heard complaints about how hard they have to work to get a living; they say it is hard; but they do not think it is unduly hard or unfair; on the other hand the pueblo indian seems to think--seeing the pueblo ladino idle away as he does--that something somewhere is awry; why should he have to work so hard for so little when the ladino with precious little work seems to be able to get by so handily?-- the aldeas indian seems quite tied up in his milpa work, in having children, in performing certain negative avoidance rituals, in--well, there seems to be nothing else. i sat and watched indigenas yague last night as he came back from the milpa--and wondered to myself; here this indian--works like a beast most of the months of the year; the only tangible result is to get food so that he may work some more and raise children to help him; and to raise two or three pigs each year to give him some cash income; i wondered if he ever thought 'to what avail'?-- and then i realized that most of the people in the states of the lower economic classes lead almost exactly the same kind of existence; they work hard only to have food and children; an occasional movie and a drunk and a family outing; --there seems to be an utterly different sort of mental horizon for other people; my life for instance is different; for me to be sure there must be a tremendous amount of self satisfaction to be found in my work--because i have chosen work which fits in with what i consider to be my role in the world; the fact remains that i have exerted i think far more choice in my work than the indian does about his; this is so to be sure because my training and my culture or my society have made it possible to extend the limits of the alternative possibilities in my life; the 'limiting condition' are far wider than those of the indian or those of the lower economic classes; but--my work is not all of my life by any means; while--when working--and even viewed from the outside it is a very integral part of my life, yet, in a way it is secondary to and only complementary of my major goals in life--my work is a means toward an end-- toward a series of ends; the indian's work seems almost an end in itself; or at the most it has only one end toward which it is a means, i.e. economic sustenance; now, i have never viewed my work as a means of gaining a living; when there have been a series of jobs from which i might have selected--i have never picked the one which gave the most income merely because it gave the most income; the psychic satisfactions have been prime considerations; --now, i am laboring this in an attempt to arrive--if only by contrast--at an understanding of the way in which the indian achieves his dream of self satisfaction here; i think it boils down theoretically to a case of the relation between levels of aspiration and levels of achievement; if you want little and you get little you are not discontent; if you want a lot and only get a little and there seems to be no relation between what you are doing and the possibility of getting more you grow discontent; how you then revise your levels of aspiration to meet your levels of achievement i don't know; the indian here seems at the point where he is not even yet discovering that he is hitting his head against a stone wall; i am now referring to the pueblo indian; he is always talking about what he will do when he gets some money together; but the work he does never helps him get money together; his lack of literacy, his inability to function as a real commercialist--these militate against him; yet he keeps talking about what he will do when he gets

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money together. everything for him has a cash value; his services, his goods, everything; here in the aldea that is not the case; it is said for instance that in only four houses in all the aldea can a visitor buy a cup of coffee; people just don't want the money--in light of the bother; indresio said you couldn't buy a cup of coffee for five cents anywhere in the aldea except here at his house and in three other houses; people just won't sell it to you; "no quieren pista"--he says; buxeti--men here do errands for me in the pueblowhen they go down; all but one refuse to accept money for this; they will take a cigar or a package of cigarettes from me---but they say they won't take money; it is a favor they are doing for me and nothing else; in the pueblo--favors always have cash values--always!--if they don't have cash values they have barter values; you know that if you help someone you have an economic demand on his services at a later date. here in the aldea I am told they don't "exchange" loans; but you don't refuse someone help if he asks you and if you have the time; it is considered that you are being 'honored' if someone has the voluntad to ask you to help him out; I don't think this goes as far as money loans--but I do know it takes in help in the milpa; it takes in certain other things--more understandably so--like serving as godfather which costs a man at least a \$1 each time he serves; land rentals are extremely low when the owner is a man in the same aldea; when it is a man out of the aldea you begin to see differentials; immediately; the fact of family looms large in the economic scheme; you don't pay rent to your father in law or your father or your mother; you don't pay rent to your padrine; fathers don't sell things to their sons and vice versa; in the aldea fathers do sell things to their children; children do buy land from their fathers; this is not universally true there of course; but there is a higher percent incidence in the pueblo I am sure than there is here; I haven't comparative figures from the pueblo yet; I do have figures from here; when I get comparative figures from the pueblo I can talk more assuredly. it may be that I am wrong. I don't think so--at least not on this score.

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 cash value; his services,
 that is not the case;
 houses in all the aldeas
 just don't want the
 aid you couldn't buy a
 the aldeas except here at
 le just won't sell it to
 -men here de errands for
 one refuse to accept
 a package of cigarettes
 ney; it is a favor they
 pueblo--favors always have
 cash value; they have
 someone you have an econom-
 here in the aldeas i am
 don't refuse someone help
 it is considered that you
 luntad to ask you to help
 money loans--but i do
 tes in certain other
 ing as godfather which
 rves; land rentals are
 the same aldeas; when it is
 differential immediately;
 ionic scheme; you don't
 ther or your mother;
 rs don't sell things to
 hers do sell things to
 their fathers; this is
 there is a higher percent
 e is here; i haven't
 do have figures from here;
 do i can talk more assured-
 nk so--at least not on this

my boy juan decided he would not go to the pueblo today; he says he
 doesn't care if they punish him for not being in at military call--
 and besides he doesn't think they will because someone will answer for
 his name when it's called; he says he's been absent many times and only
 been punished once, and the punishment is only three days' work--so it
 doesn't matter. now--juan is about the most idle person in the aldeas as
 far as i can determine, he has only 25 cuerdas of milpa--but is reputed
 by his brother in law indamesio to be neglectful of them, juan is always
 hanging around here; he's also one of the few people in the aldeas who
 can be depended on to be available for a day's work for pay when a mozo
 is needed. juan is 23 years old--married about two years ago (only civil
 marriage he says--so it's not really marriage; note also that one does
 not havea padrino if it's only civil marriage), i worked part of his
 geneology with him to check on certain items in my kinship system i have
 from here; then i took his budget --; of a total '34 income a year
 juan spends \$12--i.e. \$1 a month--i.e. 10 bottles of 10 cent whiskey--on
 whiskey--aguardiente. he thinks this is very funny. juan is married and
 has one kid; his wife is almost always here at the house as well; but she
 works and comes here to leave her kid in care of the children of senora
 yaque. of all the people in the aldeas juan is the worst smelling and
 the dirtiest i have yet seen or come in contact with. this may be because
 i probably have more personal contact with him than with any of the other
 males in the aldeas. he is a slouchy type; seemingly dead with inertia;
 rather stupid, i think; now--we gotto talking; i popped the usual
 question about whether he likes it here--and to my surprise got a negative
 answer. no, he doesn't like it here; he'd like to go someplace else --
 he'd like to go where no one knew him; very far away; maybe guatemala
 or salvador or honduras--but as long as it was a place where no one
 knew him; why doesn't he go? because it needs \$15 to make such a departure
 did he ever have fifteen dollars? no the most he ever had at one time
 was \$4 cash. what would he do in another place? he would look for work and
 maintain himself that way; what kind of work? oh, he'd like to negociar;
 he'd like to buy a stock of cositas and sell them; if he had more money
 and was still here what would he do? oh, he'd buy a good stock of eggs
 and sell them and make money that way; and what would he do with the
 money. oh, he'd put it aside to buy things when he needed them. what
 kind of things?--dulce, sal, cafe, ropas. anything else? yes. if
 he could make enough money he'd like to buy himself a beast--either
 a mule or a horse but preferably a mule to help him in his work and to
 ride around with as well; what would he do first? buy a mule or go off
 on his trip?--oh, he'd guess he'd buy a mule first; it 'cuesta mucho'
 go off from here; but then he couldn't really decide what he would do--
 buy a mule or go off; wouldha come back if he went off somewhere? oh,
 no, he'd never come back once he left; would he leave his wife and
 child? oh, yes--; and without worry for them? of course; why should he
 worry about them, someone will take care of them. and if his wife came
 after him?--he'd go further away where she couldn't find him? what's
 the matter, juan, don't you like your wife? no, i don't. are you bored?
 yes, i'm bored with her and with the life here; how long has this been?
 oh, two three years--before i was married. why did you marry then?
 porque ai--does he think he will ever get to go away? oh, yes, he's
 sure that someday he'll leave in the night, alone--and his wife will
 find him gone the next day. he'd like to know what other places are like;
 he'd like to wear shoes like mine so his feet wouldn't be cold when
 the wind blows; he'd like to live in a big city where there were lots
 of people and where you could negociar well and make money; what would
 he do with the money? oh, he'd save it for necessities. ---from this
 point we just went around in circles--and i had had almost two hours
 worth of him--so i left him. but somethings come out of this that strike

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me as significant. Juan is afflicted with two rather contradictory sets of acquired drives; (1) to achieve some measure of success and status here as a negociante; and (2) to hie himself off far away from here-- here--a place where the knowledge by everyone of everyone else's intimate life--success, failure, etc--seems oppressive to Juan. Now--both sets of drives require a cash fund which Juan has never even managed to secure in half part in his life; I doubt that he ever will; but the important point is that one set of acquired drives is oriented toward broadening out one's world horizon, so to speak; the other is to guarantee more security and comfort within the present horizon (with means not indigenous to Indian culture as far as I can tell)--; and both sets require cash-- all important cash--to even begin realizing. In these respects Juan is about as close to a pueblo Indian imaginable. He is the only case of this sort I have yet run across here; there may be others; Juan says he doesn't know anyone else who feels like him--but he guesses that maybe there are others; I guess so too--but I would limit them to the very youngest of the new generation of youth--i.e. the teen ages and slightly above; I noted yesterday that I thought the acquisition of a family and children killed off in good part some wanderlust that might arise; here is an exception; I don't doubt that men here--and in the pueblo--are bored; bored stiff; the mere fact that people from here go into the pueblo for what seems to be only a change of physical environment--a change in the view and the air, so to speak--I think amply testifies to this contention of boredom. But to match this boredom there is a sort of resigned fatality of attitude which the Indian here in the aldea seems to have which the pueblo Indian does not seem to have; note that Juan insists that he would not move to the pueblo if he could move; the pueblo doesn't hold any charm for him particularly except as a temporary change from here; for permanence he wants a place "far far away where he can have anonymity" now we have to ask ourselves whether this is so much idle chatter or whether it is really so difficult to pick up stakes and leave that more do not do it; for, it is reported that only one person in the whole aldea picks himself up and goes--but he always returns; that is my drunkard friend of whom I have talked previously--the one who works in Puerto Barrios, but no one else does this; Refino Lopez excursions into Zacapa very often to sleep with a girl friend; and probably others do the same--here or in the pueblo; but no one really picks himself up and leaves; in the pueblo it is relatively the same; a good body of Ladinos in the past have hied off; but very few Indians are said to have done so. Now--is it possible without too much difficulty? what are the hindrances? one's family. I don't know what paternal or maternal or consanguineal affection is like, really-- Juan seems to have none of it as far as deserting them is concerned; yes, he likes his daughter very much--and would like to have more children--but at the same time would leave them flat if he could; I can't explain this ambivalence except to call it ambivalence and let it go at that; 2--money. An Indian with \$5 cash could live fifty days on the road; in fifty days he could be to Salvador and back three times or more; the trouble is that \$5 is a very large gamble for the Indian; the Indian doesn't have the gambler's spirit as far as I can tell; he doesn't "invest" on a long term basis; \$5 is a fortune to him--it can do so many things in the present; and what if his fifty days should result in nothing? what would he have? nothing to show for his \$5. If he uses it here--it means new clothes, lots of cigarettes and liquor; these are immediate tangibles; the Indian can't envision future investment profits. His horizon is not adjusted to that angle; of that I am sure; the Indian may not keep books--but he's a shrewd article when it comes to measuring whether something is worth the effort; the many conversations I have had with them about what they would do with money if they had it--reveal that they'd invest in something immediately tangible--that would show results.

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most of them would buy a beast--a mule or horse--to help in their work--and to rent out to others to make some cash thereby; after that they would invest in costas to sell and make some more money--and then buy more beasts or buy more costas and make more money. the indian is a conservative man; yet he shows what we would call economically irrational behavior--and i mean economic here--in the strict sense of the word--in the marshallian sense of the word; for instance: the indian spends very much needed money on liquor and on extra-marital women. these bring no money returns; these are not investments; these are items in what is i think erroneously called prestige economics or institutional economics; they don't represent the satisfaction of economic desires; they represent the satisfaction of socio-psychological drives--inherent or acquired; yes--of course--economic drives in the last reduction are articulated in an individual's psychology; they represent psychological wants; psychological wants give birth to economic activity; but--within the system of economic play--within the market so to speak--we take "wants" as a given --and then measure economic acuity in terms of the return on investments of money for the satisfaction of those wants. thus--if the indian is a conservative creature he is also a non-calculating creature in a large part; he combines a great deal of acuity in certain aspects of his life with a great lack of it in others; (to say that this explodes "economic man" as a working concept is, i think, nonsense. "economic man" is a convenient fiction for measuring market activities of populations of people. it is a convenient ideal type--; it serves to order market phenomena better than any other major concept of which i know.). i think that it is interesting that the lack of acuity comes in in precisely these life spheres which are oriented acquiredly--i.e. behavior which is not 'indigenous' to the indian; behavior which is spawned in latin culture, i think, and presents attractiveness to the indian;--or, in the indian's failure to achieve them--offers --as counterformations--certain substitute activities or compensatory activities as the 'way out'; drunkenness for example; extra marital playing around for another; wanderlust for another; the first two are immediately accessible to the indian with small cash reserve; the third--wanderlust--because it represents a long time investment and a radical break and the indian is above all not a radical) from what he and his fathers and his grandfathers have known and done all their lives--is a counterformative activity which remains yet on the verbal level for the indian.

839 8/13

This is the second day I have been back from El Camaron; the Christmas fiesta is over here in the pueblo: at least as far as the religious elements are concerned; an official ferado has been declared as of until Jan. 12, but that means that official offices and the schools are closed; everything else seems back to normal. Before going on to summing up my month in the aldea certain little items must be recorded:--

(1) I have reported previously that the aldea too had its marital troubles as far as wives arguing with men over their extra women was concerned; it seems that my host, Nemecio Yaque, has not been free from this either. We ere talking a few nights ago about the affair Rofino Lopez is carrying on with a woman in Zacapa (a woman who used to live in El Camaron)--and we got on to Nemecio's affairs. It seems Nemecio used to have a woman in Zacapa as well, but does not now. I asked him if he and his wife had had arguments about it. Yes, they had; and what was the result?--nothing, he said, because he scolded his wife for scolding him--showing her that she always had plenty of corn and beans to eat and clothes to wear; what more did she want?--To him this seemed a perfectly satisfactory answer to the matter; and, it even seemed very amusing to him that he had gotten off in this fashion. Other people were around while he was talking about it. He had no shame or embarrassment about it.

(2) One of the people who was around was Rodrigo Gomez: a young lad of 24 who has already seen service in Guatemala. We began to talk about the son of Rofino Lopez who had gone to the pueblo that day to try to volunteer for service in Guatemala (I had sent along a letter of recommendation to the Comandante and the boy was accepted); it seems that that day also three boys had been summoned for service from the aldea; one had fled during the night; no attempt was made to capture him; merely another recruit was summoned; these three were watched over all night by the military commissioner and two aids; and then in the morning the three of them were brought in to the pueblo guarded by two husky muchachos from the aldea, one of them being this Rodrigo Gomez; (error: his name is Morales); Now this 'guarding' is really not guarding; no one is armed and if any of the recruits should choose to flee, he could do so safely; he would have to stay away from the aldea for a day or two and no more; why the guards are kept I don't know; Pasquale, the commissioner and Nemecio the regidor say it's necessary; it's not 'orders' but it's necessary; I asked whether Geronimo, Rofino's son, has gone along with the other three; Rodrigo said that he hadn't; that it was better for him to go alone; why? because he was much more vivo and presentable looking than the others--and, if he came in with them--it might make a bad impression on the comandante; beside, it would be better for him if he didn't pal around with the three recruits but found people from somewhere else as his buddies for theyear; after all he wasn't the 'type' of the other three; he was 'better'; I had known before of course that Indians make distinctions among themselves; but I had never seen it so clearly manifested in a behavioral context as on this occasion;--and the basis for the distinction was a novel one: the "social presentability" of a person in Ladino society. Of course the special situation must be considered; but we know now that there is a reorientation of behavior pattern allong this line when the Indian meets Ladino.

(3) Rodrigo and others present began exchanging stories about their years of service; Nemecio told a long story about an altercation he had with the police one time in Guatemala; the story itself is unimportant;--but the motif of the story or the moral is interesting. It turns out that Nemecio lied like a thief when he got into trouble;

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everyone thought that was very funny; everyone agreed it was quite necessary; Rodrigo framed a little saying: "between every two tortillas of lies you sandwich a little bit of truth; you can always fall back on that truth to get out of trouble if questioned; but if you tell only the truth you'll always get in trouble; you must have a lot of lies to go along with the truth". The unanimous answer was one of hearty agreement; No., I have heard from officials here with whom I have talked that the Indian is a skilled liar when it comes to official altercations; I have always tended to pass this off as so much more 'Ladino' 'desprecio' of the Indian; the Indian admission of this principle of behavior seems to document the 'ladino' contention in part. Now--Indians lie to me regularly, of course; even my most 'trusted' informants will lie to me; but they less so than others with whom I have perhaps only casual conversations; the lies are of several kinds: (1) to hide economic resources; the Indian wants to give the impression of being poor on most occasions whether he is comparatively so or not; I don't know why the Indian wants to hide his economic resources, but he seems to want to do so; I ran up against this sharply in the getting of budgets from about a dozen aldea indians in the last couple of days; Getting budgets that anywhere near matched was like pulling teeth; of course the Indian doesn't keep books--and probably forgets a great deal; but there were some obvious cases of lying as well--which I uncovered only because I knew pretty well the total number of possible sources of earnings and expenditures of the Indian in the aldea; without this knowledge I would have had data that wasn't worth the paper I wrote on. I have found this in the pueblo as well--with the few people with whom I have had budgets taken; secret items of expenditure and income crop up accidentally; you have to work long hours with an informant to get at them; money spent on a woman outside of the home, fines paid for malfeasances or violations of laws: It was some weeks of working with Luis, for instance, before I found out that he had paid a \$25 fine as well as his five months in jail for his affair with Chila last year. The first budget he had given me had completely eliminated this item from the budget; it had not even been mentioned; when we did his life history and when I checked a little with his brother later--it came out; when I put it to Luis he admitted it -but shamefacedly. Perhaps later I shall attempt as 'Ernie' did with the 'Arahumara' to classify and typologize the kind of lying I get here in San Luis. It should reveal the affect toned facts of culture.

Now there are a lot of other little items about El Camaron which I might record; but instead I shall go on now to a general summing up of my stay there--and if the items seem to bear significance as documentation I shall bring them in; if not I shall exclude them.

Let me state now that I would have stayed a few days longer in the aldea but for the existence of two facts: (1) the Christmas fiesta here which I thought I ought to cover; (In the aldea everyone agrees that nothing goes on); and (2) the sleepless nights; the nights were really torture for me; the insects simply drove me mad; and would not let me sleep; my feet look like a pock marked battle field; I have had to extract several families of niguas from my feet; little sleep at night doesn't conduce to good work during the day; the two just don't go together; I had originally intended staying until I got twenty budgets; I got some 11 budgets; I can get more from the men as they come into the pueblo from time to time.

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Now the pueblo indian leads a relatively simple routinized life on the technological, social and cultural levels; so does the aldea indian, to be sure, and, if anything, it is even simpler and more self contained and self sustaining; but the pueblo indian leads what I think is a relatively more disturbing and complex psychological life than does the aldea indian; The fact of geographical retirement is an important influence; even more important, I think, is the fact that the aldea in which I stayed was all Indian; there was not one Ladino--nor even one person who was said to be a cross or a mixture; I do not know what the life style is like in other aldeas where Indian and Ladino live side by side; but--with El Camaron under my belt, so to speak, we now have the two polar ends of the contact continuum within the jurisdictional limits of the municipio of San Luis. It is significant that #1 Camaron is the largest aldea of the municipio--and the only one where there are no Ladinos; it is perhaps the furthest away and the most difficult to reach of all the aldeas; yet it is the most populated of all; some of the reasons for this I have already described in earlier pages; they do not seem to me to account for this combination of density of population and retirement. Of all the aldeas #1 Camaron is also nearest to Zacapa--which seems to be a market very frequently used by the people of the aldea--for their eggs and pigs etc--a market more used for selling purposes than is the pueblo itself; for people all seem to say that you can't sell anything here in San Luis. The presence of Zacapa (a day away by foot and beast) may be one reason for people taking up residence in the aldea; but I doubt that it is important; perhaps the reasons that the people themselves give; i.e. the presence of lots of firewood, ocote, and nearness of milpa and lack of bother from others; may really be the sufficient reasons--if we also add to that two things: one--the increasing birthrate in #1 Camaron; and (2) the just dead weight of tradition or habit of living in your birthplace as long as the minimum's of your life are available; I have checked birth and death records for #1 Camaron in comparison with other aldeas and the death rate seems much smaller, the birth rate for some reason much higher; compared with the pueblo #1 Camaron is as antiseptic as a hospital; its death rate is much much lower than that of the pueblo; people are conscious of this health record; it is mentioned often; not only by the aldeans themselves but by Indians and Ladinos in the pueblo; for some reason--probably water supply or some such thing which I can't possibly find out--nearby #1 Barial--i.e. nearer to El Camaron has an extremely high death rate; it is a place reputed for the amount of sickness among the people; I think the figures from my census will reveal a disproportionate amount of old people still alive in #1 Camaron. When we consider that the aldea was settled perhaps not more than 3 generations ago and that everyone says that there is much more 'juventud' now than there ever was before--that the aldea grows every year in numbers of people; I think we begin to have some understanding of why the aldea is at once the most retired and the most populated; It is only three hours away by foot from the pueblo (a terrific three hours of climbing and descending very steep hills with very bad roads) and men seem to make the trip to the pueblo rather often: as do women: for church attendance: la liste; the market; Yet the record of people migrating from the aldea to the pueblo is relatively insignificant; I think I have two cases of it in all of my 95 families from the aldea: at least in this last generation and a half; I got sibling data on every adult in each household: including place of birth, residence and death--and it seems that people simply don't move into the pueblo; they get born in #1 Camaron and they die there; if there is migration it seems to be northeast to the department of Chiquimula. There is much more evidence of that directional movement than there is of movement into the pueblo. In this light my conversation with Juan (p.67) is significant.

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I think at this point I am looking for too complex motivation for a relatively simple thing: let us take the major facets of indian culture: there is really only one: work in the milpa; it is the all important thing in his life; in terms of this the aldea indian seems to have it all over the pueblo indian; his milpa is nearer; it is usually larger; probably (tho i don't know this yet) the average rent paid is much lower; these considerations are all very important for the indian; this should i think explain perhaps a good deal of the "reasons" why the ndian stays put in the aldea. We must ask: what has he to gain by moving into the pueblo: really, unless his acculturation horizon is ladino-oriented (and this is usually only true as far asi can find out with pueblo indians; at least far more so true than of aldea indians) the pueblo has noth ng really to offer him; as the aldea indian says: everything is compaado in the pueblo: your firewood, your coote, your household utensils, etc.--we shall see later that this is rather true; we shall also see later that the division of labor and the specialization in labor is much more highly accentuated among the pueblo indian than it is among the aldea indians. Add to all this the important consideration that the Indian is not a creature of "bohemia"; he is not the initiating type; the searcher after newness; true, as a youth it seems he feels a certain amount of unrest and a desire for movement and new places, new people; but he learns he can satisfy this in part and still maintain his home base; (Rofino and Zacapa; pueblo indians and their travels; Nemecio going to guatemala to visit people from the aldea who are there in service;); above all, the indian knows that his bread and butter lies in his milpa; he has no other way to makea living except working for others and this isn't halfas sure as making your own milpa; his lands are or were his father's lands before him, in somecases; in any event he has learned his work on his father's lands; they are close at home; while he is highly conscious of and fairly well incorporated into the cash nexus --there is always the milpa as his most solid base. This is a general consideration, i think, which applies to indians who--no matter how ladino-minded they might be---unless the chances for getting partly into the ladino life waycan be done at the same time that no risk of too great consequences is involved;--they willnot move into that life-way. The indian in the aldea--in el camaron specifically--removed as he is from day by day contact with the ladino and ladino temptations-- finds it easier, i think, to accept the fact of milpa life as the almost sum total of his life--than does the pueblo indian. there is no one to bother him; his family is nearhim--and they serve more as help than hindrance in most cases; women go to their mother's house or their sister in law's house--if nearby--and spend a rato--leave the baby to be minded by younger daughters in the family visited; the routine goes on day after day, year after year; does the indian get bored? only--i think--if hehas things which seem different at hand or probably accessible; ladino goals do not seem to be effettive goals for the aldea indian; they do seem to be so for the pueblo indian; at least for a good part of the pueblo indian population. i have explained why i think so already; in my testing of the hypothesis about caste relations, i am going to start by seeing what are the social participations and what are the acculturation orientations of the indian; this should either prove or disprove my notion asof today.

perhaps the personal feelings of an anthropologist as he tries to put himself in the place of thepeople he is studying are not good proof of anything; the anthropologist is after all of a different mold, culture, temperament, interests, etc. but let me offer for what it may be worth my own feelings of difference in the life i led in the aldea and that i lead in the pueblo. most important of all

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i think is the fact that i immediately felt far more psychologically comfortable in the aldea than i do in the pueblo; i immediately felt as tho i were in a place where i could just simply relax--; i didn't worry about my beard, my clothing, my bathing--and after a while i even stopped inwardly complaining about the food; now--here in the pueblo i am in contact with ladino society--which is oriented toward city society--and i have to keep up appearances, in part; now the indian in the pueblo doesn't have to live up to appearances: there is no compulsion--but it seems he wants to try to 'appear'; his changing clothing habits; his hanging around the plaza; these and other items serve as indices i think that he has acquired at least partially some of the ladino drives: fancy clothes(usually gaudy by our standards) fancy habits of speech(improperly used) fancy manners; utterly different from those employed by indian with indian; these are fairly ample testimony i think. now--on this last item: manner of speech and behavior with ladinos: i have reported the incident of the appearance for a visit in the aldea of two ladinos from here: and how the whole social-psychological field was re-oriented in a brief moment: i see the same here in the pueblo: i have been noticing some of my aldea indians when they come into the pueblo; i note how they talk and behave with me here and how different it is from the way they talk and behave with me in the aldea; i had ample occasion to observe this the 4^{1/2} days i was here for the dec.14 fiesta; they simply aren't the same people; i brought this up when i got back to the aldea after the fiesta here; i asked them why they treated me differently; they told me it was because i was with the other people--those who dress better and have different lives--and so they have to act differently when i am with them; when i am in the aldea or when i am in the aldea indians would merely drop up to my house: flop into the hammock--or slop onto the ground--no formality, everything informally structured; this is especially true of my landlord neme cio; but when he has come to see me here he is the polite, subservient indian that i know so well here in the pueblo; his hat in hand--standing deferentially until i invite him to sit down; formal mannerisms of speech; no joking around; no dirty talk(and oh, i got plenty of that in the aldea); no cracking jokes or deprecating the ladino as goes on in the aldea; it just structures all differently.now, to be sure, i am living in a ladino owned pension; even with my doors closed--the indian behaves that way; he simply is a different person with ladinos than he is with indians; this i think demonstrates clearly at least the ever consciousness of a fact of basic difference that the indian maintains; and a consciousness of inferiority, or at least a felt inferiority; the ladino doesn't change his ways when indians are around; except perhaps to be slightly more surly and impolite with them than he is with fellow ladinos; the way in which the ladino looks down and the indian looks up is apparent under these circumstances; is there felt resentment? --yes, i think there is; how does it manifest itself?--that is something i shall talk of much later. but--there is the additional fact that the indian in the aldea can effectively retire from any contact with circumstances which produce this feeling of looking up and being looked down upon; the pueblo indian effectively cannot; he has ladino neighbors; he can't walk a half a block without meeting a ladino--whom he will have to greet or make way for on the sidewalk; the aldea indian can come home after a few hours in the pueblo--and he's his own boss; he has his prestige back again; he's master of his house and his lands; his wife makes his food; his children run his errands; he doesn't have to salute anyone, make way for anyone, be polite to anyone in the formal way that the pueblo indian does have to do; i think in short that the aldea indian can effectively relax his tensions--any that do arise

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from his contact with ladinos or other disequilibrating forces: --effectively relax them more than the pueblo indiana can. now i don't want to give the impression that the pueblo indian is forever under this type of tension producing contact influence; he has his house where he is boss; and he has his friends and his own indian society; but the contacts with the ladino are far more frequent and lasting than are those which the ~~the~~ aldea indian has to deal with; now--i have been going along on the assumption that contact with ladinos produces tension: how do i know?--i think it shows itself in several ways: (1) by analogy with comparable situations--in our own culture for instance: you go to the office or to your school--you are constantly in contact with people with whom you must maintain a certain amount of formally structured relations--polite greetings, minor or major annoyances, doing this or that for others --using Mr. and Miss and Dr. and Professor--; when you come home--you can take your shoes off--literally or metaphorically--throw your hat onto the rack--and just "relax"; i have seen my indians take their shoes off and throw their hats on the rack and relax after a session in the pueblo. in school, or at your office---you talk a different language; the language of the world with which you have mixed and must continue to mix for a while: when you come home that changes; if you are given to anglo-saxonisms you can use them; if you are given to familiar talk, you can use it; and you do use it; so too with the indian: he comes home and he doesn't have to talk spanish and most of the time he doesn't; he talks his language--; those who continue to talk spanish are usually the pueblo indians--and only a small part of them--(tho i think a far greater percentage than in the aldea). now it is said that when a culture begins to disappear, the language is the thing that holds on longest; why?--well, for one thing, certainly, it is probably the earliest acquired habit of the person or of the persons in the culture; it is their basal heritage of their culture; it is difficult for those not raised in a bi-lingual household to feel this effectively (tho of course you can document it on the societal level without resort to any personal incident); but for those of us who were raised in a bi-lingual household--we know how very difficult it is to rid yourself (even when you want to) of falling back into your bilingualisms every once in a while--especially in situations which --by reimmigration bring back the whole of former hours, or experiences. what has this all to do with the indian?--i think this is the point. when we relax--we relax into motor habits and habits on other speech levels of behavior which are most firmly set within us; when you're not on 'social guard' so to speak: if you are accustomed to berping, you berp; if you are accustomed to flautate y u flatulate; you eat with your knife; ; bueno--these are indices that we are relaxing; now what do we relax from? we relax from tensions; the word relax has no meaning otherwise, as i see it; can't we judge retrospectively then in any individual circumstance--or any type circumstance--that if we see a person relaxing, we impute that there have been tensions previously from which he is relaxing?--let us analogize to the indian; we see him coming back to the aldea and behaving in what i call the "relaxful" manner; the manner to which he is most accustomed:--his own native tongue; his joking around; his informal behavior; his use of curse words; his bossy tone of voice to his wife and children; his feeling at ease:--or seemingly so. why does he relax this way? tensions before? yes, i think so. where do the tensions come from? the contact with necessarily formally structured situations in the pueblo, i think; i see both his formal behavior here and his informal behavior in the aldea and i judge it to be so. the same goes for me.

Now I see nothing faulty about reasoning by typology as I have been doing. If there are faults it is simply that I haven't really made my typological situations 'more or less the same for the purposes in hand'; i think i have. we shall see later/

Now in attempting to describe aldea life one finds himself at a loss as to where to begin; everything seems to go around in a routine circle; perhaps then you can really begin at any one point in the circle and arrive at all the others; starting with the milpa is as good a place as any; western man may not live by bread alone, but the Pokoman indian comps very close to living by maiz alone. The milpa takes up the indian man's time perhaps an effective 300 days a year; weeding, planting, feweeding, harvesting, second planting, reweeding, second harvest; then the cycle begins again; in between--or in the days when he is not in the milpa he is at home resting; or in a market selling his eggs or his pigs(tho he usually does not have to bring his pigs to market; the market comes to him in the form of cocheros who travel in from chiquimula; he is fencing off his banana patch the keep the animals out; he is helping a neighbor build a new house or buidling his own; he spends maybe 35 days a year in the pueblo; there are no insitutionalized facets of recreation for the indian except going into the pueblo and getting drunk if he has the money to buy liquor or else going into the pueblo and wandering around; or going into zacapa to visit a girlfriend; indians (except a few here) don't play athletic games; they don't read; this applies for all indians; there is no indian as far as i know --either in the aldeas or in the pueblos--who have a reading habit; the indian here is pretty purely and simply a work animal; he fancies himself a christian as compared to his work animals; yet there is very little difference; oh, to be sure there are frills of cultural indulgences (indicative of discontent in many cases) which the animal cannot indulge in; the animal cannot go sneaking off to another woman; the animal cannot --as far as i know at least-- hold conversations with fellow animals for any sustained period of time; but in the major facets of life--work and reproduction--the animal and the indian are very close kin; the indian here has no music, no literature, no dancing, no native trades--except hats and pottery (and these are work skills rather than artistic ventures)--and in the aldea the indian doesn't even have these; the art of pottery making is gone--effectively from the aldea; only one woman makes pots to sell; she has been living in the aldea only for 8 months; only one man makes --no, two men make hats to sell; one is the military commissioner who does not do milpa work himself; tho he directs his sons; and the other is his ayudante who comes into the pueblo perhaps 3-4 times a week;--aside from these three exceptions--the two most important specialized work skills of the indian have disappeared from the aldea; they flourish in the pueblo; they form an important part of the economy here; in the aldea they do not; pigs and eggs are the main cash products there; --the indian in the aldea is not a comerciante; he does not travel except to zacapa (1 day away) or chiquimula (a few hours away) to sell his eggs; his life is more stable and close to his milpa and his home than is that of the pueblo indian who spends perhaps four months of the year on the road with pottery and straw hats;

One would tend to think that where there is one large center of culture contact with in an area the hinterlands tend to move in closer with that center; become gradually depopulated or de-isolated in accord with the influence exerted by that center. but such has not been the case with el camaron, as far as i can determine. el camaron has been built mainly out of pueblo migrants; movement has been out of the pueblo and into the hinterland--rather than out of the hinterland and into

the pueblo.

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I do not have comparative budgets from the pueblo by which I may estimate the amount of income derived from sale of handcraft or agricultural products; i do have these from the aldea. a comparison on this score will have to wait until i get the budgets from here. i do think it is significant however that --as far as i know now-- the indian in the pueblo depends on manufactured items: i.e. hats and pottery--for a large part of his cash income--while the aldea indian depends on agricultural products: eggs and pigs for the major part of his income. it is significant i think because the dependence on pottery and straw hats is an older facet of the culture of the indian than is the dependence on agricultural products: as far as i can tell. one would expect the reverse: i.e. one would expect that the aldea would be the site which clings to the old while the pueblo indulges in the new: but--the fact that the pueblo is the older residence site than is the aldea accounts for this, i think. note that in the aldea most men can make hats for themselves and that most women can make their cooking pots (tho they cannot make cantaros--tho some of them say they used to be able to)--; why the indian has discarded these two trades in the aldea, i do not know; people give reasons such as:--the absence of the proper kind of soil; the 'laziness of one' for the failure to continue making pots and pitchers and hats for commercial sale; i don't see the aldea indian as any more lazy than the pueblo indian; they are both very industrious people for the most part; i don't see, therefore, the 'laziness of one' as a satisfactory reason; nor do i see the absence of the proper kind of soil; i think this is a specious reason; i have asked around and it seems that the proper kind of soil could be secured easily enough; something else does arise however which strikes me as possibly of significance; in the aldea of el camaron you cannot for the life of you buy a cup of coffee at more than 4 of the 96 households in the aldea; people just won't bother to make you coffee; they say they just don't want to be bothered; they don't want the cash; i don't know on what basis they calculate that it is not 'vale la pena' but they seem to so calculate; the situation is different in the pueblo; almost anything will be done for a cash price here; cash is very, very important; the indian will sell everything from his sister-in-law to his shirt if he calculates that the cash price offered is sufficient; (he, only facetiously of course, will sell his sister in law; this is my fabrication, exaggerated, for purposes of making an explicatory figure of speech). what lies behind the aldea attitude that it is not 'vale la pena' i do not know; the people themselves merely shrug their shoulders when you ask them and keep repeating that it is not 'vale la pena'; i think perhaps the retirement from the pueblo where cash is the dominating force in the life-way of the economic activities of the indian more so than for the aldea indian--may account in part for this. we must not forget that the indian primarily stresses the fact that everything in the pueblo is 'comprado'; this he offers as his first reason why he would rather remain in the aldea than move to the pueblo. we see then the aldea indian somewhat moves backward in economic type time when he retires from the aldea; he retires from the heavy influence of the cash nexus, as compared with the influence which it seems to exert over the pueblo indian; on the other hand the aldea indian moves forward in economic type time; discarding the sale of pottery and straw hats, which the pueblo indian still retains; What else we may ask does the aldea indian have or not have that the pueblo indian does not have or has?--On this matter, religious participation and offering of devotions, attendance at church and formally structures religious participation loom large. I would venture

*This is
comprado. The Pueblo Indian
is more of the cash
consciousness of the
Pueblo Indian*

to say that effectively the indian is losing whatever formal structure there was to his religion; in the aldea there is no cofradia; there are four main devotionals offered during the year and these are not universally participated in; there is no monthly reunion of a cofradia; there is one principal, and it seems that he is not too well accepted as a principal of any significance by the people in the aldea; some of them seem to have faith only in the pueblo principales and summon them when the occasion demands the specialized participation of a religious specialist. (on this see my interview with pedro felipe). a good many people in the aldea have altars and images of saints in their houses; they light candles on certain occasions; they think that a person is not really married unless he has had a church marriage (there were no exceptions to this; in the census taking--everytime it was brought out that a person was married only civilly it was stressed that they were really still 'solteros' and not really married; the indian is highly conscious of a difference in church and civil marriages; i do not know how this obtains or fails to obtain here in the pueblo); yet--for all this--i have a feeling that catholic religion--or at least the indian variant on it--will remain an effective life force in the aldea indian life longer than it will in the pueblo indian; it is difficult to offer reasons; but i see the aldea indian as a religious devotee who neither overstresses nor understresses the importance and role of his religious devotions; he incorporates them rather automatically; in the pueblo there seems to be a desperate effort on the part of some to hold on to their formal structure; i think they will be the first to fold up as far as meaningful religious participation is concerned; with others in the pueblo there is a tendency to overemphasize the importance of religion; they see it as a force which will enable them to negatively avoid ill-occurrences; i do not say that the aldea indian is more positively affirmatvie of his faith than is the pueblo indian; but it seems he is more calm, less hysterical, less given to spectacular indulgences which are accepted entirely or rejected entirely, i think; the pueblo indian seems to feel that without saints there can be no religion; the aldea indian pays little attention to his saints; they're in his household but they don't demand the active attention which the pueblo indian seems to feel that his saints demand; from all this i get the feeling that while the aldea indian has sheared off a great deal of the formal structure of religious devotion which yet obtains in the pueblo--that, nevertheless--he will effectively remain a religionist in years to come when perhaps the pueblo indian will have discarded (i.e. not purposely so--of course--but effectively so--no matter what the genetic process)--his religion. anthropologists to come in several hundred years will be able to tell better than i at this point.

Witchcraft and sorcery: I have noted before that i judge that there is much less of this in the aldea than there is in the pueblo; there seems to be a far higher incidence of this in the pueblo; now we must ask--what about the emotional carriage of witchcraft?--i think that it carries far more emotion freight in the aldea than it does here; i think perhaps because it is believed to occur so often and because it is as ever present in the beliefs of the pueblo indian as is his belief in the efficacy of purgates--that it loses its emotional weight--at least in comparison to that which it bears in the aldea; where--as far as i can find out--it is believed almost anyone is capable of witchcraft--yet incidences of it are very, very rare. the most disturbing thing that occurred in my whole month in the aldea--as far as 'public opinion' informally, sampled is concerned--was the occurrence of one accusation of witchcraft by a woman against a man.

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which i have already reported in some detail; note that the case seemed to be considered of such importance: either personally or to the social welfare of the aldea, or both: that it was brought out into the public--and the accusations and answers made in front of the regidor--with any number of other people present: and, more importantly, with the 'gringo anthropologist' present: something, i think, which will never occur here in the pueblo; i have only dim hopes of ever getting near a witchcraft situation in actual operation here in the pueblo; the general feeling seemed to be that it was very important for the whole aldea to bring the matter into the open; the situation also served to expose previous picadillos; each person's sins of years and years before were thrown back and forth; no one involved was exempt from this exposure: not even the witnesses for each side; whether witchcraft accusation sessions function this way in the pueblo i do not know; i do know however--or i think i know--that people simply don't hold open accusation sessions here; witchcraft is kept strictly underground in all its processual development except when it comes to the anti-body: ie: the curing session. at that time it seems that for those present there is a general opening up on previous sins, picadillos, etc. but up until that time witchcraft remains a matter of whisper, comment, rumor, etc. no one would think of bringing it to a secular authority: in the aldea it was brought to the secular authority; it so happens that in the aldea the secular authority happens to coincide with the man who is perhaps most respected in all the aldea: the regidor combines both roles, i think; yet the way the case was explained to me by spectators and by the regidor: it was felt that it was important to bring it to the regidor of the aldea: the word 'regidor' was specifically mentioned time and time again: it was felt that he was a necessary party to the matter; the regidor is after all a purely civil and 'acculturated' authority--a secular authority above all; the case was brought to him even as cases of perjuicio in one's milpa by another's animal are brought to him for adjudication; as far as i know, there is no instance in the pueblo where the barrido regidor is called in or consulted on such matters here; in this respect, then, i think the people of the aldea at once combine an attitude far more secular and far more sacred; than do those of the pueblo; witchcraft is considered much more dangerous to the social body than it is in the pueblo, as far as i can tell (here in the pueblo it seems only a matter of person-to-person damage and harm and consequence: there seems to be no imputation of larger social effects); yet at the same time it is resolved in a manner far more secularly-oriented than it is here in the pueblo; what is one to conclude from this ambivalent appearance? i frankly don't know.-- we must also note that whereas in the aldea it is believed, as far as i can tell, that almost anyone is capable of witchcraft, in the pueblo it is exclusively a matter of specialists in the profession; why? i don't know. how it got to be that way? i don't know. perhaps it indicates that there has been a diminution in the belief in the esoteric nature of witchcraft for the aldea people; after all--when it is believed that almost everyone is capable of performing a certain task which was formerly considered a matter of specialists--i think it indicates that the facet formerly specialized now loses its prestige in part as far as any individual is concerned; the fact that it seems to carry far more social import in the aldea than it does in the pueblo may fit in with this:--if, after all, everyone is capable of evil; then it behooves the body social to set up certain social and public safeguards against that which everyone can, with malicious intent, perform. where it is a matter of spec-

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ialists--and precious few of them at that--it is only individuals who must be watched and protected--and only the specialists against whom any given individual must protect himself; there are no larger social consequences. does this mean that the aldea is more 'secular' than is the pueblo? i don't know. these are the facts of the matter, as closely as i can determine them at present. what labels we put on the 'facts'--i.e. how we conceptualize them--is a different matter. one can contend for both the greater secularity and the greater sacredness of the aldea behavior--using different criteria in both instances: on the one hand we can say that when it is a matter of touch-and-go person-to-person contact it represents the desocialization of import of personal behavior--something supposedly characteristic of a society in transition from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft; on the other hand, some contend that reintegration of the spirit of gemeinschaft indicates a further advance in secular society along desired lines. other indices that aldea society is 'gesellschaft' are sadly lacking; but then this is a case of comparison between the pueblo and the aldea--and not between the aldea and Chicago, USA. I frankly don't know how to label the 'facts'--and at this point i don't particularly care. The picture is as yet too incomplete. I would rather work for the present to find out what are some more of the accompaniments and correlates of aldea societal life, in contrast with pueblo societal life--than to make theoretical assumptions as to what i 'should' find. when i have in hand what i 'have found' i then can offer documentation or corroboration or refutation of existing hypotheses about what 'should be found' in such instances.

Division of Labor:--I have already described the pueblo division of labor in some detail--noting all the indian specialists that there are in town. I have a comparable list from the aldea, and it is interesting to note that there seems to be much more specialization of labor and growth of particular specialties of western culture type here in the pueblo than there is in the aldea. In the aldea there are 3 midwives: all women: one young, two old one; the fees they get are much smaller than those paid the midwives here in the pueblo. there are three castrators of pigs in the aldea: they are unpaid. there is one chicken castrator in the aldea: a woman: unpaid. there is only one man who sells honey, and he does it only as a personal favor. there are three women who make copal: (as far as i know there are no copal makers in the pueblo: the trees aren't available, as they are in the aldea.). There are three tile makers in the aldea: prices for tile there and here are the same. There are some lasso makers: but they sell only again as a personal favor; note: that there are 5 people who can make lassos in the aldea: only three people can do so in the pueblo; like the pueblo it is reported from the aldea that those who really made a business of making lassos, redes, etc--have died off--and that the trade in it now is only very incidental. The same applies for the pueblo. This concludes the list of specialists in the pueblo aldea: with the exception of the religious principal and the makers of cane sugar dulce: who are specialists only in the sense that they have the machines which they bought--and are not really work specialists; everyone in the aldea can grind cane sugar and make dulce; everyone knows how; In the aldea there are no specialized carpenters, roofers, housebuilders; shoefixers, limemakers, etc. Everyone is at once seemingly more self sufficient than those in the pueblo when it comes to making items whose raw products are at hand: and at the same time more dependent on a foreign market: i.e. the pueblo or the nearby other trading centers: chiquimula etc--when it comes to cases

of things whose raw product bases are not at hand; but these are for the most part esoterica; the fact is, i think, that the pueblo indian is at once more incorporated into what we traditionally think of as a western type of division of labor and more dependent on the market functions--that is the aldea indian. the economic level doesn't obtain here, i think--because i think that the aldea indian and the pueblo indian probably operate with the same or approximately the same amount of cash in proportion to their desires and basic needs. but--when it comes to esoterica--so called--the pueblo indian is more susceptible to such wants--and occupies himself with acquiring those things he wants--much more so than does the aldea indian, who, as far as i can tell, lives about as close to the earth and as little on cash income as it is humanly possible to live; when we see that the average budget of the indian family in the aldea hovers between 20-25 a year in cash income and expenditure--our contention does not seem so radical or ill-considered. Note for instance that each family in the aldea makes its own lime--to soften the maize in cooking, etc; here in the pueblo it is bought; note that when you build a house here you use a roofing specialist in many instances; there are no such things there; here when you want an article of furniture made from wood, you go to your carpenters; in the aldea you simply go out and whittle away at a couple of trees; here when you want fish, you buy it if it is available; in the aldea you take your net (illegal, to be sure) and whip off to the river, if the water is well warmed, and catch yourself some fish; here if you want bananas you buy them; if you don't have them in the aldea--in your milpa, etc--you simply don't eat them; here you buy vegetables and cheese etc; in the aldea if you don't have them you simply don't eat them--except in very rare instances; the fact is that desires are far higher here than they are in the aldea, as far as i can determine; and here the market and the stores are always at hand: goods are visible, tempting; other people indulge; in the aldea none of these unwitting propaganda devices are in operation. the aldea indian lives much more simply. this applies for food consumption, clothing habits, frills like cigarettes, etc, could it be different? yes, i think it could. note for instance that almost everyone in the aldea has a tremendous number of chickens which are good egg layers; yet the number of people who eat a half dozen eggs all year is rare; the number who eat a half dozen chickens is even rarer; people in the aldea insist that they have tried to raise vegetables such as huiquill, radishes, cucumbers, potatoes, etc: but that they just won't grow. I checked on this with people here and with more frank people in the aldea and they say that they probably would grow there but that the 'perza' of one prevents one from exercising the necessary effort and diligence which these crops would require. perhaps the most flagrant example of this is the question of raising chile, which even now brings a fancy price of \$20 a carga in the market. (it used to be fifty dollars). i had a long talk with several people in the aldea as to why they didn't cultivate this crop: they could really make money out of it. they all agreed that it's a very good money crop--and that they could and did used to grow it; but that it requires a great deal more care and patience than they feel inclined to give to a crop; i think the factor of the matter is that the indian simply won't give up his raising of maize as his main staple of income or of food for any consideration. the maize complex is so ingrained in the life of the indian: that it would require more than lessons in agricultural economics to make the indian convinced that he could live better and perhaps more easily if he changed his work habits. the indian--like most of us--but more so than most of us--is a creature of habit: first, last and always.

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this applies of course to the pueblo indian as well as to the aldea indian--and perhaps it is even a more serious stricture against the indian here than in the aldea; at least the indian in the aldea just doesn't indulge in time and energy consuming work--except the very most basal--no matter what the 'pay off'; but here in the pueblo he does: -pottery travels is perhaps the best example: --8 days on the road to come back with a dollar and a half in his pocket--when, with proper care, his milpa could yield him that much and more with much less effort. This matter of what the milpa 'could' yield is of course my estimation, based on talks with agriculturalists in the area who do make their milpas yield profitably'---the indian here and in the aldea --at least is aware of these possibilities in his milpa--; whether he is actively and effectively aware is a different matter; in the aldea it seems that he is actively aware to the extent that on being questioned he will admit certain of these contentions; he is not effectively aware to the extent that he will be in experiment with them--nothing in his life-way pressed him to experiment. In this respect he is more 'conservative' than the pueblo indian. His conservativeness arises in part from the fact that effective contact with the 'new' is not present for him to the extent that it is present for the pueblo indian; so too, of course, effective contact with the new is precluded from the life of the pueblo indian to a greater extent than it is from the life of the pueblo ladino is only by reason (and what an 'only'!) of illiteracy and greater force of tradition. This is circular, in part, to be sure; i.e. we say that the indian is more traditional because he is more tradition bound; I haven't quite been able to decide for myself whether the circularity is inherent in the definition of tradition to which we are accustomed or whether it is sloppiness of my own formulation or whether custom is circularly reinforcing; I think perhaps it is the last of the three alternatives which seems most feasible: the way in which custom circularly reinforces itself here has been gone into at some length in previous discussion of the way the indian trains his sons the way he himself was trained, complaining against the lack of opportunity at the same time that he almost deliberately cuts himself off from whatever avenues of escape from lack of opportunity the society does present to him as an achievable goal or as achievable goals.

Several other facets testify to the greater conservativeness of the aldea indian: the presence of Family with a more emphasized capital F than in the aldea pueblo seems to be one of these; one special item: the inclusion of baptismal children as one's own primo hermanos ---something which as far as I know does not exist in the pueblo---is ample testimony of this; other items add to the evidence--the closeness of sibling and children's housesites in the aldea--maintained in part in the pueblo, it seems but not nearly to the degree that it is maintained in the aldea; in the aldea it serves as a greater economic function than it seems to do here; there is mutual household dependence; the multiple family functions there effectively; it tends to shatter far more easily here; further: the rather greater surety about certain matters of kinship naming and calling in the aldea than in the pueblo --as far as one or two generations above and below Ego are concerned are also testimony to this; laterally, there seems to be as much unsurety and vagueness in the aldea as in the pueblo; (this 'vagueness' is of course in part a function of the informants with whom one works, to be sure: it is also, of course, partly a function of the family system as it actually operates in the society and as it is effectively within the mental and psychological

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grasp of any one of the inhabitants. i have already accounted in part, i believe, for the unsurety as far as more than two generations above or below ego are concerned; people just never have known their relatives at that remove: either here or in the aldea--and especially not in the aldea where at that remove in time--the aldea was founded; not by whole family groups it seems--but by individual whirl-offs from larger families in the pueblo proper: whether they were malcontent or unable to get along--or for what reason they came to the aldea and settled it--i do not know; but the fact remains that they did. what would have been the consequences had they moved into the aldea as entire families instead of splinter offs from larger families i do not know; the conjecture might be interesting--but at this time not fruitful particularly.

other things--which at best are only informally documented--testify to the greater conservativeness of the ~~pueblo~~ aldea: i think now of such a thing as courting habits between the youth: it seems that in the aldea one is much more dependent on his parents as go betweens--; that there is much less of boy meeting girl--except always in secret--that there is less individual solution of the matters beforehand by the youth: than there seems to be in the pueblo. of course: in the pueblo--compared with ladino practices: the indian practices are antique; but compared with aldea practices they are less conservative. again: the number of splintering offs from families seems much less prevalent in the aldea than it does in the pueblo; note that only 1 person in the aldea really goes to cuerto barrios to work; two others go some times; yet--here in the pueblo--the number ranges from 2-300 each year who go down to the coast for several months a year to work; putting the figure at 250--we get a percentage of 10% of all the people--male, female, etc--who go to the coast from here; in the aldea, taking the upper figure of 3 people, --3 out of about 450 gives us less than 1% who do so; as far as figures on actual desertions are concerned: i do not have accurate figures from either place: i do have stories: in all my census taking in the aldea only two men are reported as having deserted their families; one of them was an unmarried boy--who just wandered off; i don't know what figures are in the pueblo but again stories would seem to testify that the figure here--and the percentage here is much larger.

i have already mentioned clothing habits as one index of greater conservativeness and less ladino-mindedness of the aldea than of the pueblo indian--but it is worth while to point this out again:--note that the indian in the aldea almost without exception wears manta for shirt and trousers: a few have 'city' pants which they don sometimes when coming into the pueblo--but only slip on over their manta underdrawers; most do not; again most men in the aldea do not have jackets; a goodly number of men in the pueblo do; only two women in the aldea have ladino dresses which they wear instead of the indian skirts; i have already reported the very large percentage of indian women here--over and under 14 who wear ~~indian~~ ladino costume:--now--however--an interesting difference crops up in the aldea in regard to women's wear: there: there are maybe five girls under 14 who wear indian clothing: almost universally the youngerpatoja is dressed in ladino dresses of very simple cut and cloth: but here in the pueblo there is a much higher percentage of indian girls under fourteen who wear indian clothes: in this respect--(since we have been using the opposite criterion) we must judge the pueblo as being more conservative than the aldea; it will be said: i do not think so--except as it indirectly obtains: in part girls here get indian costume at an early age if their parents can afford indian costume for them: parents here can afford things better than parents in the aldea because they are

more commerce-minded in their economic efforts than are the aldea indians; but again we must not forget that in their commercial efforts they use as their selling items certain goods which are indicative of greater conservativeness in the persistence in their manufacture than that which we find to be true for the aldea indian; or--we may contend that an ancient facet like pottery and hats--has been taken up anew into a new commercial system and made an integral part of a more secular economic life for the pueblo indian; but in any event it is clear that the picture is not clear cut by any means--on all the major and minor indices--as to who is more secular and who more conservative (and I use conservative here instead of sacred, as the contrast with secular, because I don't think that the contrast of secular-vs. sacred applies as fruitfully as that of the new vs. the old--without imputing to the old any 'sacred' sanctions. It may be true that sacredness of an item gets reinforced in the muscular and nervous system of the individuals who hold that item sacredly; in this sense it at some times coincides with the 'habitual'--in that some of the reinforcement is the same in both the habitual and the sacred and sometimes that which is habitual is also sacred; but in the case of the aldea indian as compared with the pueblo indian it seems to me that the reasons for the greater conservativeness of the aldea indian on those scores we have indicated is not that there are more sacred sanctions surrounding facets of the life way--nor are there moral sanctions particularly: I think perhaps it is an indication of the changing culture--as indeed the indian culture here is changing: that there are so few sacred sanctions on important facets of the life way; there are so few moral sanctions as well: indian society here is highly secular in the regard that efficiency is a criterion of practice more so than moral considerations of sacred sanctions:--it is non-secular to the extent that it is unwilling to experiment for the most part with new 'efficiencies'; now sacred as I understand it--applies as an attitude of mind which we surround certain of our habits and certain of our material items of culture which we employ--by reason of which attitude we do not call rationally into consideration those practices and the employment of those items:--now--true--the indian wouldn't for the life of him consider seriously an argument as to whether or not he should give up his milpa: unless!--and there is an unless--and this is the joker in the pile of cards--for where there is an unless which is actively functioning; and this unless does function--then, the insistence on the sacred character of the practices or items cannot be fully sustained; the 'unless' in this case--as far as the milpa is concerned: is 'unless you can show him a way which will surely provide him with his maize and his frijoles, as surely as his own making of milpa so provides him. this 'unless' becomes effective when other items of the 'new' have effectively taken hold of the indian: I refer now to the three indian comerciantes mayores in town: who make the major part of their living from this commercial trade they exercise between here and Honduras and Salvador--and their barber shops, in two of the three cases. True--they all have milpa--but they don't work their milpas hardly at all--they hire mozo labor. In these cases I am inclined to think that they make milpa for the same reason that almost every ladino in town--no matter what else he does--has 'terrenos'---; these 'terrenos' function as the economic base of subsistence living; employment over, and above work on the terrenos is so much gain over and above subsistence living. it is true as the aldea indian insists that in the pueblo everything is comprado --as compared with the aldea; but as compared with the city; or even with the ladino in the pueblo--the indian lives on his own efforts; comprado items are relatively insignificant as far as his

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basal subsistence is concerned; the indian--here and in the aldeas; is first and last a milpero--; with rare exceptions. On the one hand we need to emphasize these exceptions to demonstrate that the culture is changing; on the other hand we need to de-emphasize them and emphasize the greater numerical incidence of pure milperism to demonstrate that at the same time that the culture is changing it is a very stable and hard put thing. Culture change and culture stability--here--and all over the world to be sure--are prime facts. They can be demonstrated here; we have in part done so.

I should like to digress even more at this point--on to a theoretical dispute in the field of social theory--or theory of society, at least, which is current. I am now referring to the Malinowski view on what constitutes acculturation: Malinowski of course insists that when two societies come into contact--or when two cultures come into contact--we don't have merely the effects of one upon the other; the new culture formed out of the two--or imposed by any one of the two--is something new--must be considered as a new product; a new gestalt. In one sense of course this is universally correct; it is logically infallible according to the logic of gestalt. But; and I think there is a large but which must be raised: when I view the situation here in Jilot. I see Malinowski's contentions holding only at a minimum. I am now referring to what seems to be the general direction in which Indian culture is changing, and perhaps the only way it can change. Here Ladinos simply don't give ground in their habits; almost without exception--whatever change in customs occurs in the society and its subsocieties here is in the Indian life way--and, the optimum desideratum of such change is exact duplication or as exact as possible--of the Ladino way of doing things. Now it must be remembered that I am not talking about what the original Spanish and Indian bases were like. There is no doubt that the Spaniards took over a great deal of what was Indian, even as they forced upon the Indian--and the Indian accepted willingly in part: a great deal of what was Spaniard. But--taking, let us say, fifty years ago as our baseline: given Spanish or Ladino life-way as one, and the Indian life-way as the other--I think it is unquestionable that Ladinos simply do not budge an inch in the direction of the Indian. The Ladino movement is city-ward--more and more--if only shamefully--taking over the western city habits--clothing, food, conversation, family conduct, etc. It is to this--in reality--that the Indian is also conforming--for the Indian if he is to be accepted as a functioning member of Ladino society here--and of the nation as a whole--needs to--in fact can do no other--than to accept the Ladino life way as the way to be followed. Ladino and Indian do not trade here--when they come into contact; the Indian borrows or has forced on him--by actual decree and force--or by compulsion of his psychological goals--the Ladino ways of doing things; as the Indian gradually moves upward toward closer and closer reach of the Ladino ways; the Ladino is constantly moving ahead at the same time (no valuational implications in 'upward' and 'moving ahead'); he is constantly trying to come as close to the city way of life as possible; it looks to the outsider anthropologist like a race between a new Achilles and a new tortoise: the tortoise: the Indian can take steps only half the size of those of Achilles; the Ladino; or to put it better--it is like trying to reach a point by moving half the distance between yourself and that point at each new move; it is theoretically impossible to get there; this figure distorts the actual situation because there is no regularity of movement of the Indian, his paces are not measured, and he is nowhere near as close to the Ladino as the figure would imply; but--if we add to the fact of reaching the point the further consideration that for each step one takes toward the point the point itself moves ahead let us say a

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step and a half we have some rough approximation at a figure of the actual situation. the ladino society moves ahead' in space-time toward the goal of conformity on all counts with city life; the indian in the pueblo moves ahead in time-space toward the goal-- (there can be no other: for the ladino won't accept compromises on this--and the whole prestige system of the nation is centered around the preferred ladino type--the indian moves in the direction of the prestige and rewards; moreover, the economic payoff comes with incorporation into the ladino way of economic activity--without any compromise with what is now indian (the originally 'milpa' may have been what the spaniards borrowed from the indian))--of complete conformity with ladino ways--it seems to be an all or none proposition as far as acceptance by ladino of indian as a partner in national or local society is concerned; it is the ladino who accepts or rejects the indian; it is not the case that indians partially accept ladinos and ladinos partially accept indians; the social scale is oriented vertically--ladinos look down on the indian and upward toward city life; indians just furtively look upward at the ladino--setting their eyes not on the lowest class ladino behavior but on what is euphemistically called the 'sociedad'; for the non-sociedad the indian has contempt; for, here, economic poverty and lack of good family name of old--make the ladino about as close to the acculturated indian as it is possible to imagine.

thus--using only 50 years ago as the base--we cannot say. with malinowski that the culture resulting from the contact of these two cultures is a new product in the full sense of the word of a 'new gestalt'; the goal is always what the ladino society is at any given moment in time-space; the goal is never something which is constantly being reformed by contact of ladino and indian; the goal gets reformed constantly--to be sure--but it is only by reason of contact of ladino with the lifeways of his city brethren and sisters. the malinowski strictures doesn't even apply as far as this latter contact: i.e. pueblo ladino with city ladino--is concerned; for there again the city ladino doesn't give ground at all to the pueblo ladino; the city ladino looks across the continent to New York, Chicago, etc: as the way which he considers desirable; two days in guatemala city --and a slight knowledge of what guatemala city was like in the past--and the skeptic is convinced. (how interesting, for instance, the reporting in the newspaper from the city of yesterday--that from now on--people are not to use 'puro' for cigar--but are to say 'cigaro'--and are not to use cigar for cigarette but are to use 'cigarillo';--the reason? the paper said that this will bring guatemala in closer conformity with english speaking practices.) Now--i don't know the situation in the west; it seems to be different; very different; redfield reports that the ladino is the bilingualist there; there he has adapted himself to indian culture in this regard; here? indian tongue is low class and low prestige value; there is only one ladino who is bilingual as far as the indian dialect is concerned; he is because he grew up with indian boys; played with them; yet it is a frill in his life; doesn't serve any purpose: economic, social, etc. But there are very few indians who are not bilingual--indian dialect and spanish--poor as they may be in the latter: they have had to learn the latter to get on; why have the indians had to learn spanish here and in the west the ladinos have had to learn indian? I don't know; but those are the facts of the case. If we could in some way discover--what it is that makes the two situations of acculturation so different from each other--we would really know something about the science of society.

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i have already talked in part about the economic life of the aldea indian in comparison with that of the pueblo indian, certain other things are worth mentioning; e.g.--most people in the aldea make their own soap;--they kill one pig a year and use the soap which almost everyone knows how to make; again, tho a good number of people buy their dulce from the stores in the pueblo, a goodly number as well buy from the local caneros. i spent some hours witnessing the process of bringing sugar cane in from the fields and grinding it in an iron trapichi bought in chiquimula--then cooking it, then pouring it into molds and letting it cool and harden--and then porting it off; the workers all were in some way or other members of the same family; either by blood or by marriage; men from all over the aldea were invited to bring whatever sugar cane they had to be ground if they wanted to;--other's men beasts and personal services were hired at 10 cents a day for the man and 20 cents a day for each of his beasts; again--like in most joint affairs conducted by the indian there was no one bossing, no one directing; everyone seemed to know so well what he was expected to do and how he was expected to do it that in all the hours i was there i heard only one command issued--and that was by a father to his little boy who had come along--to stop playing so much and to go feed the bues some more zacate/. all existing ready cane in the aldea was ground, cooked and made into dulce in six days. perhaps ten men are required for the whole operation: one to drive the bues around the ring; the other to feed cane into the press; another to keep stirring the cooking juice; two others to keep feeding fire wood into the immense oven; two pouring dulce into molds and aiding in small items of work; three young men to bring the cane sugar in from the fields; in addition to these there were the other men outside the family who were bringing their own cane in constantly and helping out all the time. like the housebuilding i witnessed which i have already described, the cooperation went on without a hitch. one never really knows how the word gets passed around that there is grinding going on--unless one stumbles on it by accident; i was ready to go to sleep one night: when --at about 10 p.m. a man came up to my landlord's door and in a low voice said something to him very briefly and then went off; my landlord had promised to go out with me on the following day; as soon as the man had left my landlord called over the partition that he wouldn't be going out with me because he had to help out with grinding cane sugar the following day. that was the only way i found out that the word was going around. now--in contrast to the pueblo where people seem to exchange what they call 'lomo'--i.e. unpaid aid in exchange for aid from their aider on a later date;--in the aldea there is no exchange of 'lomo'; one pays for all assistance he gets--(except in family cases at times)--with the one exception of housebuilding, as far as i can tell. work has a cash value. in this regard even more so than in the pueblo which seems otherwise far more cash conscious and cash eager than the aldea people. another cooperative economic enterprise consists in deer and rabbit hunting; a few in the aldea have rifles or shotguns; groups of five and six go out together, with only one having a firearm; the others help to bush the animal down, into range of the rifle carrier; and then the meat is divided among all who participated; some men go fishing together; but this is purely individual enterprise as far as division of spoils is concerned; most men have rather closely woven mesh nets weighted with plumb at the bottom--; the fisherman waits for a dark night--when the water has been warmed up by several days of previous hot sun--then goes down to the river--and with his casting net brings home some fish for his family; fish is not sold; it is frequent also it seems that a man going into the pueblo will carry his fishing net with him and--on the way back--since he must cross the rivers--he will stop to fish for a while--to bring home a fish or two for supper.

we may sum up briefly the differences between the economic life of the aldean and that of the pueblan by saying that the life in the aldea is more self sustaining; life in the pueblo is more cash oriented and cash conscious and desirous; it may not be more dependent on the market in any strict sense of dependence, but it occupies itself with the market and uses market facilities more than does life in the aldea; life in the pueblo on the economic front also occupies itself more with commercial travels than does that in the aldea. there seems to be a higher plane of living (not standard) in the pueblo than in the aldea; in a sense the standard of living is also higher in the pueblo, as well, but this is almost as yet por fuerza as compared with the aldean. one sort of feels that if you took away the ladino, the pueblo indian would then discard his jacket and his pants, slip neatly into his manta calconillos and diet wholly on beans and maiz. in contrast with this stress, life in the aldea seems on some counts to be more secular;--no exchange of aid without cash value; failure to consume agricultural products, choosing to sell them instead; shrewder calculation of effort expenditure and its money worth; --other specific differences have already been noted.

we have as well also noted in part some of the distinctions in the social organization of the aldean indian life as compared with that of the pueblo; we note the presence and function of family with a larger capital F in the aldea than in the pueblo; the multiple family group seems to function in the aldea as it does not in the pueblo; family cooperation seems more rigid, adhered to than in the pueblo; behavioral implications of old--of the ~~ganancia~~ kinship namings seem more firm in the aldea; the kinship system seems more firmly in mind; there are more ancient facets;--i.e. including padrino's children as one's own primo hermanos; the family functioning more as an economic unit than in the aldea; we should note also the tendencies in some cases for family to function as a disorganizing influence; proximity in living quarters produces discord; arguments over inheritance of lands left in joint tenure produces splits in the families; (see report of brajeria session); families do not necessarily stick together on enmities, and in some cases, arguments may arise over these enmities; arguments and displeasure; note for instance the case of indemesio and his mother--and the presence in the mother's household of the wife of a step brother of indemesio with whom he does not talk or visit; families may desert each other; there is a brittleness present; note the case of the woman with several sons--all living in the same aldea as she; yet letting her live in absolute poverty and letting her beg at neighbors' houses for food; not extra marital playing around on a seemingly accepted scale and the reduction of the family to its sheerly economic ties in some instances: rafino and his zacapa woman; indemesio hushing his own wife's protests against his playing around by pointing out to her that she always had enough maiz and beans on hand from his work; the tendency for far fewer people to marry--either civil or church marriage--in this generation than in former generations and the belief that without marriage, joint living is more brittle and very easily broken up--and, indeed, some insist, with full justification and with no remonstrances morally forthcoming against either partner. note also the terrific suspicion implied in it being forbidden for a man to enter the house of another when the man is not present; it seems that society is on tenterhooks when it sets up these precautions; note that you secure your marriage partner almost sheerly thru preliminary deception of the parents; open courting is strictly forbidden; prostitution is known and practiced in the aldea;

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incorporation of the child into the division of labor begins at a much earlier age in the aldea than it does in the pueblo, it seems; note that the little girls of 5 and 8 in the household at which I stayed were practically full time workers; the older girl cut firewood, helped in the milpa, picked berries and fruits, ground corn, etc; the littler girl had all the burdensome household oficios: feeding the pigs and the chickens, drawing water at great expenditure of time and energy, cutting simpler firewood; tending the mules; grinding corn. even the girl of 3 years old had her oficios. I don't think this applies in the pueblo; the child seems to have a few more years of childhood and play here; the aldea child is an old man at a very early age; he seems to be much more allowed in adult company than does the pueblo child; he may sit in on conversations of elders (he may not speak unless spoken to, however); marriage seems to be earlier in the aldea than in the pueblo; the callowest of youth seem to have households of their own and women of their own men and women get to be grandparents at the age of 35; in short the child seems to be more the man and less the child--and hence more the member of society than is the pueblo child.

society as a whole is more integrally knit in the aldea than in the pueblo; there is an aldea consciousness which I do not find in the pueblo; everyone knows everyone else; the largeness of the pueblo, in comparison, prevents this in the pueblo--the extent of familiarity with everyone else here is amazing; from a most any spot in the aldea you can see what is going on in almost any other sitio in the aldea; arguments can be heard whenever there are any; when you want to tell a neighbor something you merely scream over the ravine and you are understood and answered; all trails from the houses lead into the main roads and all the main roads lead into each other; the aldea knows only two divisions: and these are not socially significant: they between the three geographic parts of the aldea: two major ravines trisect the aldea; families are identified by which side of which ravine they come from; this is only for purposes of giving directions; most of the time merely telling the family name suffices; everyone in the aldea seems to know who the parents and siblings and sometime even the grandparents were of everyone else; and where they came from originally; what they were like; how much land they own; whether they're buena or mala gente; everyone seems to know with whom everyone else is playing around--or if he is playing around or not; humor and gossip may be queens in the pueblo; they are absolute dictators in the aldea; but there is more substantiality to them there than here, it seems: for there it is much easier to verify--by sight and by repeated stories from more than just one source;

Disputes in the aldea are usually settled among themselves with the aid sometimes of the regidor municipal; all formal government operations are brought home effectively by the regidor and obeyed fairly well by the aldeans; except where it is convenient to disobey them; last Sunday for instance when the liste for men over 30 and up to 50 was called; the military commissioner from the aldea reported to me that most of those for whom the liste had been called stayed home because they were afraid they were going to be put to work on the roads in preparation for the president's visit; they'll take their three day punishment rather than put in a week of 'voluntary work' on the roads; others seem to ignore the liste when they feel like it; people answer for each other when their names are called at the liste and thus avoid being punished--or accept their punishment of three day's work if it comes; tho they feel confident it will not; if we can make a distinction between respect and fear, we may assert that the aldea Indian is very ~~xxx~~ fearful of the law but scarcely respectful of it; living in the aldea gives them anonymity with officials in the pueblo; it removes them from need of service either as regidores ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ auxiliares for the intendencia or for the

comandante. it makes their contact with official ladino government much less frequent and much less direct; at the same time the regidor functions fairly effectively it seems in case of perjuicio and other disputes involving the social welfare of the aldea: a consideration (i.e. the social welfare of the aldea as a whole) which seems to have no counterpart in the pueblo--neither in the immediate community of the barrio nor in the larger community of the pueblo proper. consciousness of kind is perhaps greater and lesser at the same time in the aldea than it is in the pueblo; in the aldea the lesson that one is first and foremost an indian is not brought home to him time and time again by reason of his contact with the ladino; yet by the same token i.e. by the token of the absence of this contact the indian lives in an all indian atmosphere and there is no day by day strengthening and intensification of in group feeling he is immersed in his all-indianness of his surroundings so that consciousness of his status as an indian must be forcibly brought home to him when he does come in contact with the ladino in the pueblo. there seems to be some consciousness of community leadership in the aldea which does not function in the pueblo if only because in the pueblo there is little if any pueblo-consciousness, in the face of consciousness of racial heritage being far more prominent. in the aldea it seems certain affairs must be initiated by certain men for them to be successful; certain houses seem convenient gathering spots for those who do visit in the day or night; at the same time that there is a sense of community leadership there is a sense of community leveling among all the inhabitants: what with everyone being possessed of the right to participate in almost everything that goes on; social distinctions are made--but along informal lines: who is more vivo, who is more intelligent, who is the better milpero, etc; in the pueblo one gets social distinctions among the indian: not as far as who is the better leader is concerned (except in religious affairs) but who is the richer, who is more the ladino: the distinctions are at once depreciating and freighted with envy in the pueblo; in the aldea they seem made largely for purposes of more effective organization and conduction of aldea life. in the pueblo of course, in addition, one gets the ladino view on the various indians as a factor of which the indian is conscious and as a factor which thereby in a way effects the indians own estimations, either in accordance or in counterformation; in the aldea you have little if any of this; the man who is probably most accepted by the ladinos: i.e. the regidor for the aldea is at the same time a man who has probably the greatest prestige among the indians there as the best worker, a natural organizer of secular and sacred affairs (the principal calls him the best catholic) a man indispensable at house buildings ---where he informally leads the work and provides the signals for go and stop of the work; it does not seem strange to me that at the same time this man--and the man who probably has the next greatest amount of prestige in the community--and the man third in line: are the three richest men in the community: the three most secularized men in the community by almost any indices except those of literacy and formal education; the three most respected men in the community; the three men at whose house most of the visiting goes on whenever there is visiting; somehow or other the man who is closest to the heart of the indian is at the same time the closest to the norm of the ladino:--this obtains in the aldea. In the pueblo almost the reverse situation applies. those indians who are in favor with the ladinos here are almost universally in disfavor with the indians; they are distrusted; they are in part envied and hence fearfully respected on some counts; they are split off from the indian society in large part; yet they

are most accepted--as far as indians ever are accepted--by the ladinos. why this contrast should prevail as between aldea and pueblo i do not know--unless it be that what one must do to get acceptance by the ladino in terms of growing close to the ladino norm of behavior in the pueblo is pretty much at variance with what one must do to incorporate himself meaningfully in the old life way; also: there is far more competition for these status roles in the pueblo than there is in the aldea--in the aldea it is not a question of being accepted by ladinos; at the same time it is true that those who are best accepted by the indians would have the best chance, as far as i can judge, of being accepted by the ladinos if they had to petition for that acceptance; whether in the process of so petitioning they would become as odious to the rest of the indians as it seems some of the indian youth who are ladinoized here are to their fellow indians--if only out of fear and envy--i do not know but i would conjecture yes. of course in the pueblo there are exceptions: but these apply to older men--in their fifties rather than to the younger generation who are somewhat formally incorporated in ladino society or ladino government at the same time that they manage to keep one foot in indian life--and effectively se--thru such media as intendete organized cofradiaas, family connections with principales, being children of fathers who were formerly highly respected, etc. that they would like to make a clean break from all this--i have no doubt--one partial life history that i have and several long interviews with several others reveals this to me. i don't think that this applies to the aldea leaders. Note also that the aldea leaders are men of 40, 45 and 55 respectively; note that those who find most favor with the ladinos here are all young men just under or over 30 years of age; indian leaders here--if we may heuristically designate such--are of two kinds: these ladinoized bucks and the oldest men among the indians.

probably the greatest difference between the pueblo and the aldea as far as attitude toward the ladino out group is concerned is the greater variety of attitudes which one finds in the pueblo and the bases of these attitudes; in the aldea as in the pueblo the major crosscutting is of course between ladino and indian; but in the pueblo there are all kinds of ladinos for the people; in the aldea it seems that a man is either indian or ladino and there seems to be something for them inherent in having one 'blood' or the other which forever and clearly distinguished; the aldea indian is conscious of the semi-ladinoized indian in the pueblo; there is no one in the aldea who is thought of in this regard as far as i can tell; no one is said to be trying to go ladino in the aldea; in the pueblo this is said of many; in the pueblo the indian enters into rather different kinds and more kinds of contact with the ladino than does the indian in the aldea who for the most part only contacts with the ladino either officially or very informally and without any real social conatual effects when he comes visiting the pueblo; as a result, i think, of the larger number of contacts and the larger variety of contacts which the pueblo indian has, a larger number and a greater variety of attitudes toward the ladino spring up; distinctions between kinds of ladinos--more than just between the buena gente and the mala gente among them--are made by the pueblo indians; whereas as far as the aldea indian is concerned it seems he will go no further in his distinctions than this broad categorical cutting of buena and mala gente--which, for the most part, is unanalyzed as well--except insofar as they verbalize pleasure at being more politely treated by the buena gente.

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on the other hand, in the pueblo--once you get the indian to treat of the ladino as something more than a non-indian--he will make distinctions for you almost as varied and as numerous as those which he makes for his own people : habladores, picaros, malcriados, vivos, trahajados, ricos, jodidos, fregados, pretenciosos, etc. for the most part. to be sure, the indian feels, i think that as far as the ladino is concerned the best ladino is the dead one: but once he has to admit that the ladino, like the negro, will probably continue to live as long as he, he will make distinctions in ladino types. in the aldea i could not get this: try as i might. like the negro-white relations in the states--as far as certain extremist attitudes are concerned: --for the pueblo indian and the aldea indian alike there are just 'bad niggers' or 'good niggers'; this applies for the ladino's attitude toward the indian as well; yet the pueblo ladino is analytic of indian types in the pueblo and in the aldea without distinction between the two places; on the other hand, as i have noted, the aldea indian differs in his analysis by reason of its greater simplification from that of the pueblo indian as far as the attitudes verbalized toward the ladino is concerned. Now whether in coming years it will be easier for the aldea indian to remove all distinctions(if ever such a millennium occurs) by reason of the fact that he believes almost without exception only in the one major differentiation, i do not know; it would seem not; it would seem that the aldea indian when he comes into the variety and number of contacts with the ladino that the pueblo indian now has will become more analytical of ladino types; the fact further that the indian in his behavior(i.e. the aldea indian) in the presence of ladinos does not show the incidence of refusal to accept inferior status that the pueblo indian shows on occasion and in several important ways is interesting to note. i think felt inferiority by the pueblo indian as far as all ladinos is concerned is lessened by his contact with the poorest of the ladinos who are about as close to the indian as a ladino ever gets; his contact with such poorer ladino is constant; and since this poorer ladino--at least in the pueblo--seems as conscious of his status as ladino as is the haughtiest of ladinos among the sociedad, it would seem that this aids the pueblo indian in away to mitigate felt feelings of inferiority; now, the aldea indian meets aldea ladinos(not in el camaron but from other aldea) who live side by side with the indians--on about the same economic and social levels--and he seems to get along fine with the indians; there seems to be no attempt of imposition of a felt feeling of inferiority or superiority by a good number of aldea ladinos; thus by this token the indian knows buena gente from mala gente among the ladino; but his contact with the pueblo ladino--which is almost always official and with upper class ladinos--imposes the felt feeling of inferiority which he seems to accept--without too much affect.

I have already discussed in part the role of witchcraft in the aldea in comparison with its role in the pueblo. I have noted that incidence of witchery is considered more in its respect to the total social welfare in the aldea than it is in the pueblo. I think by the same token its greater individual character in the pueblo is expressive of the greater insecurity and the greater number of undissolved tensions of the pueblo indian. And--in documentation further--i think the reduced role of religion in the aldea--and its spectacular heightening in the pueblo--may be adduced. I say 'spectacular heightening'--for religion and religious demonstrations in the pueblo almost always involve a 'show', a 'circus' as it were; music and processions and images being it seems, indispensable. Of course there seems to be a base of con-

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tinuous and unspectacular religious devotion--mainly by women--rather than by men--and certainly unrationalized and unrationalizable--except in a negative avoidance chain of reasoning--that goes on in the pueblo---and does not go on in the aldea. The indian in the pueblo seems almost desperately in need of the saints to intervene between him and god; he is almost ununderstandably respectful of the church as a physical object--at the same time that he desecrates that very physical object. it should be made clear that the indian has about as little understanding of the significance of catholic ritual (and this is the contention of the local priest as well as of myself) as has the veriest goat. yet he observes the ritual--devotedly sometimes; one wonders how the indian gets to be such a religious creature in his adult life--until he sees little children --on their own--going into church, kissing the frocks of the saints and the virgins, crossing themselves--kneeling down--lighting candles. in the aldea this simply doesn't apply. Note that in the aldea 4 devotions are made a year: i have already listed them:--note that august 25th--the name day of the pueblo is observed only in the breach by the aldeans: some come into the pueblo--a good many, in fact--but from what i can determine it is more a holiday than a holyday. This is true of a good many pueblo indians as well, to be sure:--but for the pueblo as a whole --the pueblo indian, that is--the august 25th celebration is still very much of a holy day--when compared with the manner in which it is treated by the aldea indian. note that the aldea indian has cut his devotions to three which almost directly are related to the newly planted crop--and the fourth to the patron saint of the mountain. note also that the aldea indian--at least in el camaron--inaugurated and accepted a new devotion day:--only some 7 years ago--this on the initiative of the regidor at present, who, as he told me, thought that if one day of devotions for the crop would do the crop some good, it stood to reason that another day couldn't possibly do it any harm. the personal sponsorship of the holy day by this regidor was in large part accountable for the success with which the day was accepted by the aldeans, as far as i can tell. but the fact that it was also related to the all important milpa was in no small measure contributory to its success as well. the indian in the aldea doesn't light candles at his altar except on very special occasions: maybe only once or twice or four times a year: at the new house ceremony, or a wedding celebration or the curing of a fright or a brujeria illness. the indian in the pueblo seems much more the constant devotee to religion large and small. why, we may ask ourselves. well, for one thing certainly the ever constant presence of the church as a physical object and a house of worship--the physical presence of the saints (tho this is equalized by the saints and the altars which aldea people have in their houses) must be taken into account as an influence. Out of this--certainly is also derived the custom of visiting the church which the indian probably gets from his mother and father when he is small--an influence to which the aldea child is not exposed nearly as much. Thirdly, the presence of reunions and the open practice of devotions by other indians stands as a reminder in part to the indian of the ways of his elders. But--over and above these traditional and customary influences i see the greater religiousness as an expression of greater insecurity on the part of the pueblo indian. Now the reasons for this are on three levels of exposition or explanation: analogy, theory and direct testimony.

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the analogy is with my own behavior or that of anyone else who in moments of insecurity--no matter what the secular training has been before hand--feels in some way compelled to resort to supplication in or dependence upon forces whose weight or influence are never demonstrable--but whose presence somehow or other recommends itself as real or at least really necessary in such moments of crisis or insecurity. The reasoning by theory derives from the evidence which bases this analogy--from my own or other's behavior:--; the reasoning by direct testimony i have already in more than one place referred to--the answer given to me by indians as to the why of their religious devotions;"So that nothing bad should befall us". Why is it that the pueblo indian seems to need more safeguards against evil befalling him than does the aldea indian? Can anything but a felt feeling of greater insecurity (plus the other traditional and customary reasons i have already mentioned) constitute a satisfactory--the partial-- explanation. And why this felt feeling of greater insecurity? Perhaps mainly because the indian is day by day exposed to newer and newer facets of life for which his childhood ill prepared him--except in certain gestural and attitudinal response patterns:--and perhaps because the greater incidence of disease--real and imputed--leave him on that margin of uncertainty which produces the consequent negative avoidance behavior. The childhood training of the aldea seems to fit him more psychologically stable for his life later--if he remains in the aldea-- than does the life of the pueblo indian child--who--while he learns essentially the same things as the aldea indian child--needs to learn much more --needs to learn, indeed, a whole new attitude orientation on some counts: he needs to be receptive--without becoming dis equilibrated--to new things and new customs and new habits and new ways of doing things---and this his childhood does not teach him. He learns to fit himself into the indian pattern of life--efficiently-- as far as the basic and ancient facets are concerned; but his indian life is at variance with the demands of the larger society in which he lives: and for these he has no equipment; or very little. it is a really sad spectacle to see indian boys dressed up--as it were-- in flashy belts and flashy neckerchiefs--and flashy sandals (with which latter they can scarcely walk)--sitting around on street corners--day and night--coming down to the three a week concerts--dancing with each other in the darkness of the unlit areas of the plaza-- following the light and the music and the gatherings of the ladino world like so many moths--for whom too close contact with the flame which sheds that light will burn severely; the fact that they come--and that they dress so--is testimony that they have already been burnt--but like the feeling of the scorching; they dare the gods to burn them more; and the gods will; that is sure here. In the aldea no such thing as this is to be seen; no such thing occurs; there are no ladinos --no ladino dances, balls, concerts, bingo games, gatherings on street corners, discussion with open doors---none of these. one indian is as alike as the next as it is humanly possible to be alike your neighbor at the same time that you are different. The indian in the aldea of el camaron--mor over--is a rather healthy animal compared to the pueblo indian; they have indicated that death records reveal this; the reputation the aldea has also reveals this; but in a sense we must cut beneath all this and see something else which i think is fairly fundamental talk with the local doctor-druggist (ladino to be sure) and my own observations make me think that there is as much imputed disease as real disease. Note: an indian gets sick: if he thinks it is brujeria--plain medicines simply don't help. he 'knds' that. he needs counter witchcraft in the form of a patchero.

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his 'disease' perhaps only very minor at first (for brujeria disease seems more a matter of kind than of intensity; i.e. the most severe diseases or feelings of illness are not by any means necessarily brujeria)--grows aggravated under days and days of non-attention or futile efforts at curing with mountain herbs; by the time a patchero is called in (who usually employs good drug store patent medicines)--the disease--is well under way; the cold is very severely aggravated; or the flies in the eye or the nostrils have really made themselves a neat egg-house; or the fright originally--now has grown aggravated with psychic inducement toward aggravation; it is aggravation convinces the indian that he is a sick man; it convinces him further of his helplessness in the face of witchcraft; it makes him all the more insecure--and weak in body as well;--so--starting with the simple fact of a greater incidence of disease due to--probably such factors as poorer water supply, more damp weather;--greater gatherings of numbers of people--especially crowdings in the church--in the plaza etc---: the pueblo indian reintensifies whatever differential effects might have been resultant of the small natural differential. Contrariwise: there is a very small incidence of disease in the aldea; and very little worry about it, it seems; men have colds and get feverish--but they don't start thinking someone made them sick or that they ought to go to bed;--they work off a cold--somehow or other--with the aid of baths in the river--getting rid of a good many of their colds--or so they report:--i myself know of and have seen some cases where apparently the bath in the river was one of the things that did help rid the man of his cold; bueno: little incidence of disease--less belief in witchcraft: start with these:--we get no reintensifying or self stimulating pattern of disease beliefs as we get in the pueblo. We get neither the insecurity that arises from physical debility nor from psychic wonderment and fear in the face of that debility: the aldea indian keeps a steady keel. that this has an influence on the children in the house seems indubitable. the indian child in the pueblo is always face to face with disease and its psychic counterparts--brujeria, hypochondria, paranoia etc:--his own and that of his parents; He learns at a very early age to say "we are poor; and we are sick"; strange, is it not, that i have heard this so often here---and did not here it once in the aldea? it is the institutionalized verbalization of the psychic base here. the psychic base seems absent in the aldea. by analogy again--the mere fact of illness produces, i think, insecurity;--wonderment when it next will fall. add to this the complements of mutually reinforcing belief in man's own powerlessness; in the need for the saints; and--in the unconquerable and scarcely avoidable power of the brujos; and we have, i think, a picture of religion, witchery and disease making a complementary pattern: arising from, in part, and in part contributing to--a basic insecurity pattern.

Again the anthropologist must add his own reactions--merely as a sensitized human--to those which he can document directly. I repeat I went to the aldea having absolutely no idea I would find the situational contrast I think I have found. Why is it then that in short order I felt this basic difference: the pueblo indian more sneaky, more whispering, more timid, more the gesture child; the aldea indian open, aboveboard, laughing, gay, content. The pueblo indian basically on the margin; the aldea indian rather wholesomely incorporated?--This is really an argument which says "believe me, it's true"; but in a sense the isolated anthropologist; is always saying that: except that he adduces what may be called demonstrable evidence--more or less so--in other instances.

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but my notions are not above being suspect: especially since it is undubitable that i came away from the pueblo and into the aldea with the half formed hypothesis that a caste situation existed in the pueblo:--in part i have made out a stronger preliminary case for my hypothesis by showing--if i have indeed shown--that the absence of ladinos--as the basal factor--in the aldea--is inductive of a kind of behavior or life style for the aldea indian which differs almost radically from that of the pueblo indian. in truth, this difference of which i speak: i.e. an insecurity pattern for the pueblo indian and none for the aldea indian; does not directly concern itself with the caste hypothesis, except as we may be later concerned with the psychological effects of a caste situation or whatever type of relational situation we do find existing: and, further, in truth, this insecurity pattern as a result--at least genetically--if not functionally so as well--may coexist with relational situations between ladino and indian which are far from caste situations. unlike factors may have like concomitants or correlates without it being said that the correlations are spurious:--we know too little about the typology of possible basic security systems to insist that these and these alone are the correlates of these and these social situations alone: and it is unlikely that final or semi-final formulations will ever take that form:--it is more likely that we shall find that out of a welter of seemingly almost contradictory relational situations, there will arise a few basic security patterns; fewer, far fewer in number than the actual number of social situations from which they derive.

if i have shown that there is the greater insecurity of the indian in the pueblo--we must ask how it can be demonstrated that such a factor as contact with the ladino is among the responsible contributory factors. here we must use the method of elimination (which never brings final formal proof, to be sure--but approximated it as closely as possible when this type of analysis is the only one that presents itself initially)--we must ask ourselves: what is the basic difference between the pueblo i am studying and the aldea i have studied as far as the basic social organization is concerned. the first and certainly the most important is the presence of ladinos in the pueblo and their total absence in the aldeas. now--how this factor works its effects is a different matter: but i think that we must realize that if we eliminated all else--and left but the relations between ladino and indian in the pueblo--we would have a basal factor responsible for a great deal of the difference between the life style of the aldea indian and that of the pueblo indian:--let us phrase the situation this way:--does contact with the ladino have effects? yes: that is incontrovertible: what else has more effects?--i.e. as far as producing differences between pueblo and aldea indian: when we think over the various differential facets: the presence of the church, the market place, the stores, the community life of the ladino, the traditional attitude of ladino toward indian--which needs reinforcement when the ladino is a small-town boy with little else to bolster his non-existent prestige except scorn of the indian:--when we reflect on these--and realize that these are all facets which derive from the presence of the ladino--we may well undertake as our major proposition or our first rough, basic hypothesis the contention that the contact with the ladino is among the most important producers of differentiation in the life styles of the aldea indian and that of the pueblo indian.

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may i here add a word to a dispute which will perhaps be off the main track of this discussion but which fits in at this point. it has often been asked in what way social psychology can contribute to anthropology and vice versa:--let us answer the first. it should be apparent that thruout all my field notes: in attempting to interpret behavioral items i have seen i have referred them to two levels of explanation, for the most part:--the one which seeks to find explanations in customs--on the customary level:--things written larg fitting in with each other or disorganizaing each other:-- 2dd:-- i have had constant reference to theories developed in the social psychological laboratory: notions of relations between levels of aspiration and levels of achievement, notions about basic security patterns, notions about child training and the manner in which it obtains and secures effects, notions about the relations between tension systems and observable behavior; notions about the relations between verbal behavior, observable gestural behavior and motivations behind the two; notions about the effects of primary group feeling and its contrasts and comparisons with those brought in by the secondary group; notions about the relation between such things as disease and its psychic correlates; in a sense i have i think woven back and orth between the two levels of explanation; i have at once used psychological theory to account for formation of group custom as well as at the same time used theories of society and social relations to account for the imposition of individual patterns of behavior on given individuals in the societies i am studying. i find i can do without neithe of them and indeed not without both of them. explanations--or perhaps the understanding which i myself privately derive: tho my verbal formulations may emphasize one or the other: are due to operating on both levels. anthropology and social psychology meet one another and mutually aid each other as far as i personally as a field worker am concerned. this could be gone into in much greater and far more specific detail: citing incident after incident: but i think my field notes--or a reading of them --will point this up--without any specific references on my part.

with this i close my report on el camaron: i have deliberately left out new things i have learned about pokoman indian life--where i knew that they existed in pueblo and aldea alike--but that i had not yet gotten the data from the pueblo; i have deliberately included most of the differences i have found: not so much in specific detail as in conceptualized summary; i purposely stressed differences, so that when the time for final summing up comes: i will not tend--as i do now--to see the basic facets of indian culture totally similar --since there are differences and important differences in what may appear to be only surface items of the culture--but which, when examined more closely, seem to touch to the heart of the life styles of the various varieties of pokoman indians to be found in this area. if it seems i have struggled to demonstrate differences perhaps then i have struggled:--one starts with a feel for a thing and tries to work his way to accurate formulation of that feeling: with demonstrable evidence, repeatable observations, etc. this is the manner in which this has been written. i offer it at present as a provisional summary of el camaron aldea life--in comparison and contrast with the pueblo indian life.

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Food Preparation and Storage

Food preparation and storage in San Luis (Both Indian and Ladino) is essentially the same as that reported by Wisdom for the Chorti Indians. A point by point comparison with Wisdom's material reveals that there are only minor deviations. Those are as follows: (the page numbers refer to Wisdom's book).
 p.90 : In San Luis the totoposte is sometimes eaten with sweets.

p.99: Growing and processing of sugar cane is strictly a Ladino affair in the pueblo and the immediate environs of San Luis, but in the aldea of El Camaron there is considerable manufacture of sugar cane by Indians, essentially in the same manner as Wisdom reports for the Chorti. In the immediate neighborhood of San Luis there are only 5 Ladinos who have presses.

p.103: the explosion of cane stalks is said to be done simply "for fun" and no other purpose.

p.104: footnote 24: the only defecatory plants used in the manufacture of sugar cane in San Luis are the mozote de caballo and the caulote. The others reported by Wisdom are not used.

p.105: Chicha, in San Luis, is not made from sugar and maize, maize and honey nor pineapple juice, but from maize alone, nor from honey alone. It is made from sugar cane juice and from sugar and water, and from sugar cane juice and pineapple combined.

p.106: there is a variation on the way of making cheese, in addition to the one reported by Wisdom. This consists in allowing milk to stand in an open vessel for 8 hours; the top is then skimmed: then 20 drops of the cuajo of the cow is added to the skimmed portion; this is allowed to settle for four hours; it is then taken up into the hands and ground on the grinding stone with salt added. It is then wrapped in banana leaves for storage. The milk product remaining after the coagulated cheese

has been taken out for grinding is boiled for four hours, with salt added; this is then strained through a cloth and the cheese product called "requezon" is obtained. The milk (second curds) which still remains/is fed to animals and is said to be very good for them.

~~xxxxxx Stalks of seed rice are not tied in pairs or bundles for drying, but apparently are stored without going through the drying procedure.~~

p.108: Not liquid lime but plain lime is used as a preventive against weevils in storage.

p.109: The bean weevil is reported as green rather than gray and the cacao worm as red rather than white.

p.109: Coffee is reported as lasting two-three years without spoiling if stored in the bean.

p.110 The highland technique of low benches in the maize store houses is not found in San Luis; it is likewise reported that not storage ceremony is performed.

p.112: Totonostes are said to last a month; shupes, 4 days; dry cheese, a year; raw meat is hung for six days in the sun but kept in the house during the night; it is salted while drying in the sun: it is said to last two-three weeks; fish are only dried, but not split open and salted; no spicing of meats is done; chicha is not used in preservation of meats; the meat is not covered with spices; ~~xxxx~~ shupes are sold only fresh and not preserved.

p.113: oranges are ripened 15 days; mangoes, 6-8 days; zapotes, 6-8 days; avocados and chuctes, 6-8 days; limes, 15; sapodillas, 8 days;

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The following is a set of additional notes on food preparation in San Luis; they consist, in the main, of special ways of preparing dishes.

1. atol de tres cocimientos: (both Ind. and Ladino):-
toast the maize; boil it with wood ashes; grind it; put in milk and a rasher of canela and sugar and cook again; ~~then strain it through a fine cloth~~ with a few eggs and salt; then strain it through a fine cloth.
2. atol de maiz cocido: (Indian and Ladino); cook and grind the maize; put in anise and sugar; cook it again; then strain it through a filter.
3. atol de elote: (Indian and Ladino); grind the corn without cooking; then mix in water; strain it; cook it with a little milk; put in a little canela and sugar;
4. atol de shugo or atol agrico: leave maize soak in water twenty four hours; grind it and then soak it in water another twenty four hours; then strain it and cook it; put in a little sugar and a lot of salt; put in toasted, ground semilla de ayote, then strain--and drink, sometimes adding a little powdered chile on the surface. (Indian and Ladino)
5. chilate: cook maize a half hour; grind, stir with water, strain, then cook until tender and thin; it is eaten with chunks of dulce. (Indian and Ladino)
6. maize coffee: toast one pound of coffee on the comal; grind it; put in a pound of maize cooked with a few pinches of lime; grind in the maize with coffee; boil, and add dulce when ready to be drunk. (Indian and Ladino)
7. frijoles sancochados: (also called caldo); cook beans with water and salt for an hour; then grind, add salt, serve; or else, do not grind, add garlic, and serve. (Indian and Ladino)
8. frijoles blancos: boil one hour; wash in cold water twice; cook another hour with chunks of pork and salt; add garlic, onion and culantro, salt, and serve. In the process of cooking the bean ~~peels~~ come off and these are strained out. (Ind. & Lad) Ladinos add a spicing of pimento, onion, garlic, tomato, chilequato.
9. frijoles fritos: boil beans all day; allow to settle; warm up when ready to be fried; then grind, and fry it in pan with lard, onion and salt. (Indian and Ladino)
10. tikukas de frijoles fritos: fried beans wrapped in a tortilla and baked. (Ladino only)
11. tikukas de pescado: clean the fish, mix in a spicing of onion, garlic and piquant tomato, fold into tortilla and bake-- (Ladino only)

12. tamales de elote: grind elote fine, add salt, lard, sugar, make into a paste; put into boiling water and cook for two hours; (ladino only)

13. tamales de carne de coche: cook maize with lime for half an hour; ~~mix with water~~; grind into paste; put into water and strain; then mix with lard (2 lbs of lard for every media of maize) and salt; then cook in boiling water for two hours; make a paste or sauce of chileguaco, ajonjolín, tomillo, lard, garlic, onion, pimienta de castilla, chile pimiento, 2 pan francesas, pepitoria, safran and tomato: strain; cook with continued stirring; then cut up raw pork into bits and stir it into the simmering pot; form the condiments (with maize) into paste; roast some banana leaves; wrap two pieces of meat and two spoons of the condiments in the banana leaves; ~~wrap with~~ vine, put into boiling water for two hours; tamales of chicken are made the same way. (ladino only)

14. toaste: maize paste, salt added, toasted in oven for an hour. (Note: Indians do not use ovens in San Luis: i.e. they do not cook in the ovens they have; hence any menu which calls for cooking inside the oven is Ladino only).

15. orchata de arroz: put rice in cold water for half an hour; then grind and mix with canela; then strain, add sugar and essence of vanilla. Most of the rice, if finely ground, passes through and it is then eaten as a fresco with marquettes. (Ladino only)

16. Orchata de ayote: toast the semilla of ayote on comal; grind, mix in canela, strain, add sugar and cold water. (lad. only)

17. piñol (to eat): toast crude maize, grind it with garlic, onion, and pimienta de castilla; then mix in with boiled venison; add a fried onion. (Ladino only)

Final note: Both Indians and Ladinos toast food in ashes or on a griddle, boil food, roast on a spit and fry, but only Ladinos cook in the oven.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

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Memorandum on Proposed Program of Field Study

The field program here proposed is conceived of as primarily orientated toward providing me with training in anthropological field methods and techniques. With this objective in view, I have selected a situation of acculturation as the problem province within which my work and study will tend to be focused.

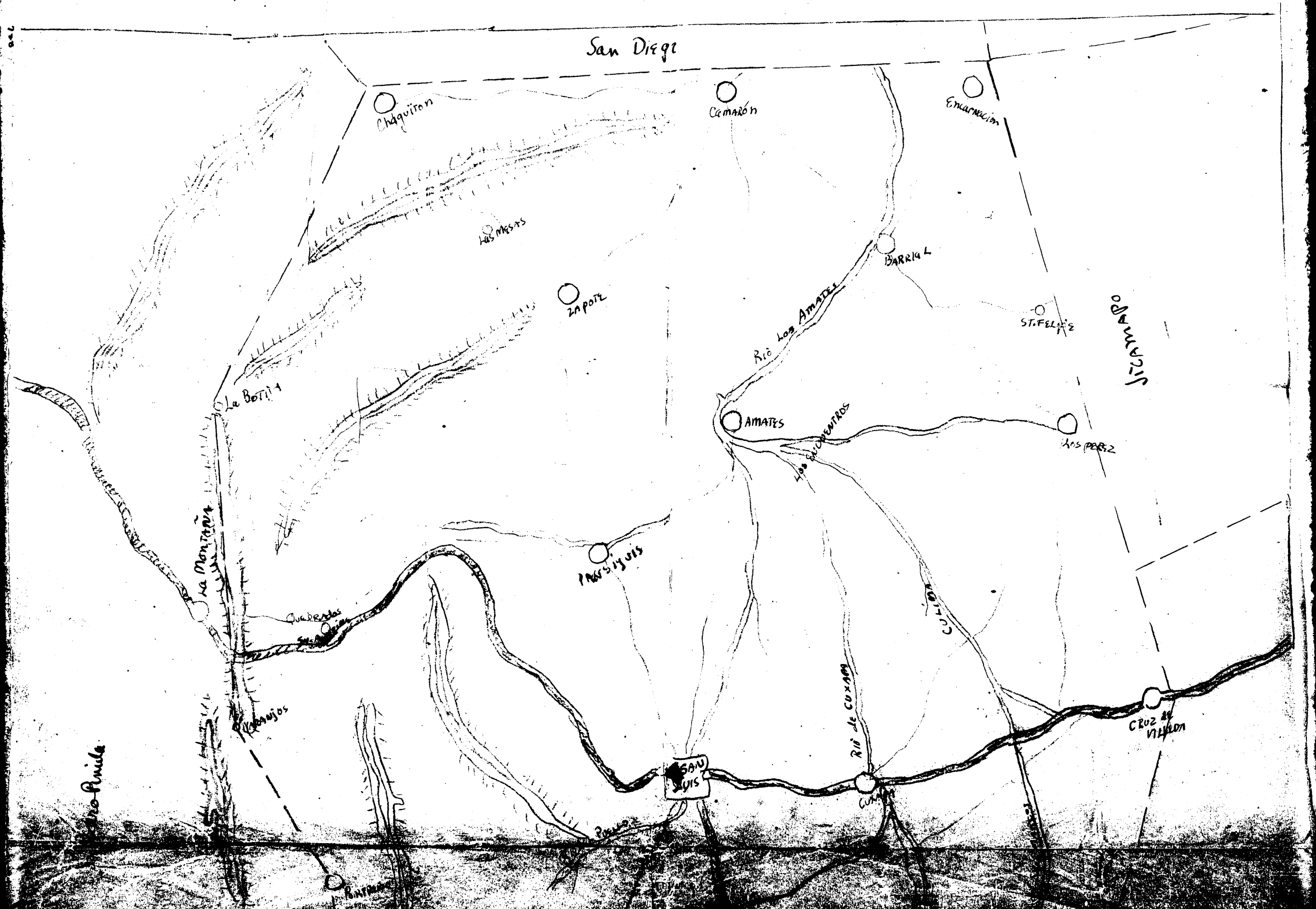
The general area in which I propose to work is Guatemala, specifically among the Pokoman peoples. A memorandum of Dr. Sol Tax suggests certain interstices in the available ethnology and ethnography of Guatemala on which suggestive and critical evidential light may be shed through study of the Pokoman peoples.

The main problem is to investigate the nature and degrees of acculturation between Ladinos and Indians in the Pokoman area. To the west of Guatemala City, even in such nearby towns as Mixco and Chimsula, Indian culture and language are clearly recognizable. Eastward from the city, in an area of some 40 miles including such towns as Santa Catalina Finca, Fraijanes, San Jose Finca and Jalapa it is reported that no Indian is spoken at all, no distinction in costume is observed, and the number of people who are called Indians is small. This situation is observable as far east as San Pedro Finca, at which point and eastward from there on, clear distinctions once more begin to appear between Ladinos and Indians, with language differences again clearly notable. This area of depressed Indian culture between two areas of relatively marked maintenance of native understandings and behavior will constitute the focal point of the proposed study in differential degrees of acculturation.

Now, while the answer to questions of the "why" of different degrees of acculturation within any given area or between areas is to be found, at least in part, in the history of the region and the contacts of its peoples, the ethnologist can provide a picture of the acculturation situation in action; canvasses and report the extent of acculturation; the cultural correlates of different acculturation situations; the nature of person-to-person relationships under such situations.

It is to these problems, with specific reference to Ladino-Pokoman relationships, that I wish to address my work and study in Guatemala.

The perspective proposed here is (1) at my own expense, to spend the early summer weeks of late June and July in Mexico and Guatemala acquiring proficiency with the language and general rapport with the area; (2) when such proficiency has been acquired it is then proposed that, with the consent of Dr. John Gillin, I put myself under his direction in his work in the Pokoman area; (3) to carry on, thereafter, for the period of the fellowship, with my own work and problems which will, in the main, be joint and supplementary with those on which Dr. Gillin will have broken ground.



San Diego

Chiquitón

Camarón

Encarnación

Los Mesas

Zapote

Rio Los Amates

Barril

St. Felipe

Carretera

La Botija

Amates

Los Perez

La Montaña

Pasajitos

Quedados

Rio de Cuxam

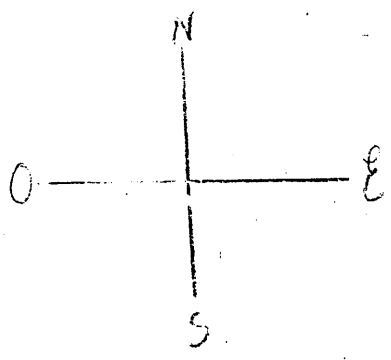
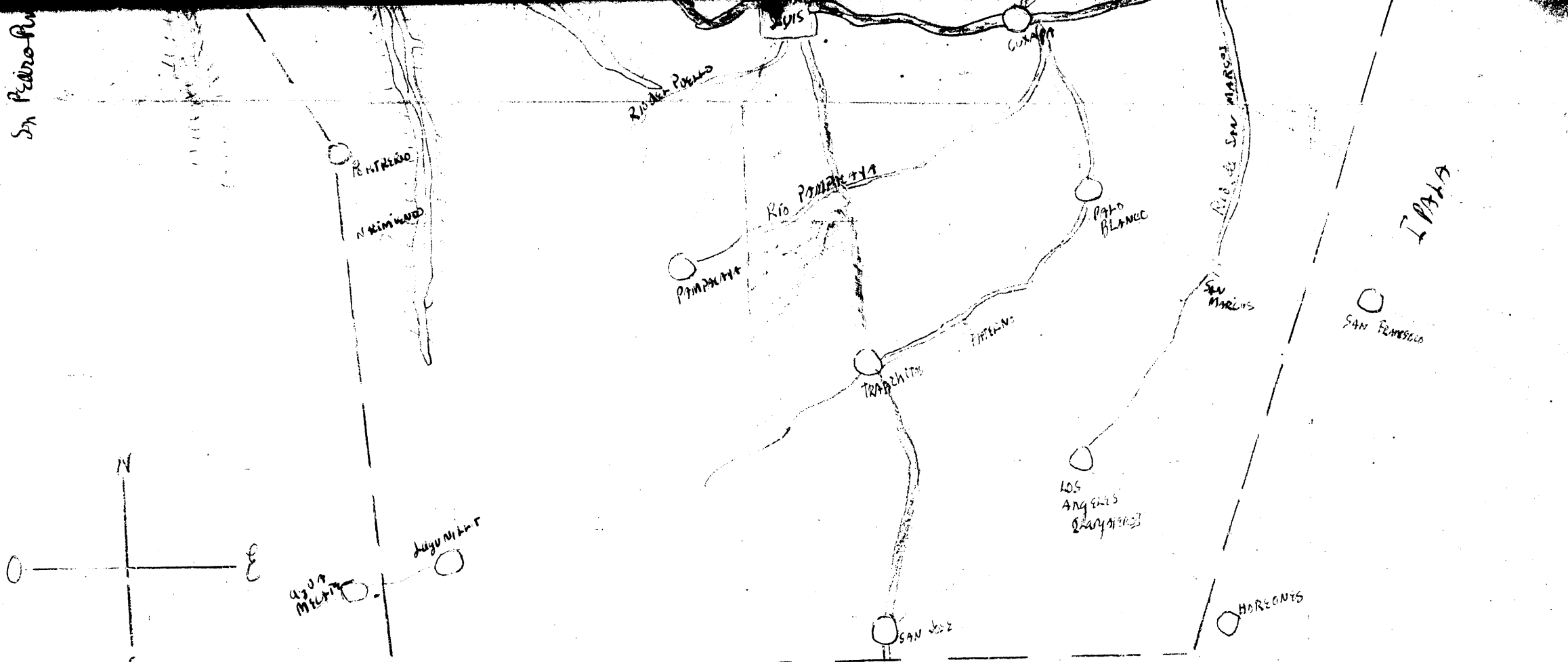
Carretera

San Juan

Rio de Cuxam

Cruz de Villón

Carretera



CRONOL.

□ Cabecera Municipal

○ aldea

○ Caseríos

Mountains

RÍOS

Car Road

Camino de herradura

Pueblo huasteco

| NOMBRES | DISTANCIA DE SL | HABITANTES | FAMILIAS | CLIMA | INDUSTRIOS |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------|----------|----------|----------------------------|
| Jilotepeque | | 2700 | 694 | calido | canteros, sombreros, pdem. |
| los perez | 9 kilom. | 561 | 163 | templado | filtros, p de m. |
| el camaron | 12 kilom. | 350 | 94 | frio | lazos y redes |
| la encarnacion | 10 kilo., | 344 | 75 | calido | dulces |
| palo blanco | 7 kilom. | 270 | 79 | calido | ollos & comales |
| los trapichitos | 8 kilom. | 250 | 58 | calido | dulces |
| cuxapa | 1 kilom. | 218 | 55 | calido | dulces |
| el barrial | 8 kilom. | 190 | 36 | calido | smb. de pita, redes y mata |
| los amates | 6 kilom. | 150 | 48 | templado | " " " |
| los angeles | 10 kilom. | 134 | 49 | alido | " " " |
| lagunilla | 4 kilom. | 122 | 31 | frio | aparajos, ceros de abeja |
| pampaosaya | 2 | 118 | 22 | calido | canta. y ollos de barro |
| la montana | 8 | 112 | 20 | frio | sombreros de palma |
| san jese | 10 | 106 | 40 | calido | " " " |
| pansiguis | 3 | 97 | 43 | frio | dulce, queso, mantequilla |
| chaguiton | 16 | 72 | 13 | frio | ----- |
| Total | 666 | 5,784 | 1470 | | |

jilot. Jan 12, 19

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DEPTO. DE JALAPA, GUATEMALA, C.A.

PRASADO por V.O. Studer
 Pintado por Bonifacio Chang

**SAN LUIS
JILOTEPEQUE
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GUATEMALAN
PUEBLO**

M.M. TUMIN

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