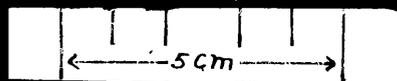


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APRIL IS THIS
AFTERNOON
REPORT OF A 3-DAY
SURVEY BY
ROBERT REDFIELD
AND SOL TAX
IN EASTERN
GUATEMALA

APRIL IS THIS AFTERNOON

Report of a 3-day Survey by Robert Redfield
and Sol Tax
in Eastern Guatemala

MICROFILM COLLECTION OF
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CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

No. 19

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APRIL 15 THIS AFTERNOON.

*Report of a 3-day survey by Robert Redfield and Sol Tax
(Edited by Sol Tax)*

1. INTRODUCTION.

The mecca of pilgrims who come from as far as Oaxaca on the West and Costa Rica on the East is the shrine of Our Lord the Most Sacred Christ of Esquipulas, in the town of that name near the Eastern border of Guatemala. The day of this far-famed and miraculous Black Christ is the fifteenth of January.

Esquipulas lies on the southern edge of the country of the Cherti Indians, the more northern communities of which have recently been described by Wisdom. To the east of the town live several communities of Pekoman Indians who are isolated from the other Pekoman by a non-Indian-speaking area stretching from Guatemala City to Jalapa. One object of the journey to the East was to visit the shrine of Esquipulas on the day of its titular fiesta; a second object, which occupied the greater part of our plans, was to survey the country through which we would pass, and especially some of the Cherti and Pekoman towns.

The area East of Guatemala City was not entirely unknown to us. In January of 1937 a one-day automobile drive covered the territory between Guatemala City and Jalapa, and demonstrated that while east of the capital there is an area of progressively less distinguishable Indian society, beyond Jalapa the Indians are again recognizable by their language, possibly costume, and presumably culture. One objective now was to trace

the race-relations situation, as far as time would permit, in that Indian area east of Jalapa. Secondly, a reading of Wisdom's description of the Chorti had suggested a tentative ethnological hypothesis: That Chorti culture, like Chorti language, is more like that of Yucatan than that of the Western Highlands of Guatemala. (Indeed, scattered data from Alta Verapaz and from Huehuetenango indicated the possibility that the Maya area might be divisible into two -- the one a belt comprising the Pacific highlands from Guatemala City west through Chiapas, and the other a relatively lowland area extending from Yucatan on the North, covering all of northern Guatemala, and including as its eastern and southern extremity the Chorti). It was therefore a second objective now to clarify the statement of this hypothesis and especially to discover the place of the eastern Pocoman with respect to it.

A third purpose of the reconnaissance was an attempt to test, in an area far removed, the conceptions we had formed of the basic sociology of the communities of the Western Highlands that we have studied. The Chorti publication had hinted that here again there was some resemblance to the more sacred and personal and less formally-institutionalized society characteristic of the Yucatan hinterland, and perhaps less resemblance to the kind characteristic in the Highlands. We realized fully that in the time at our disposal, our survey could not hope to begin to answer the question; indeed, we hardly expected to learn enough to pose it more specifically. But the problem, in the back of our minds, certainly influenced the kind of things we looked for and the kind of questions we asked.

A fourth and very practical objective was the testing of the usefulness of a schedule we had prepared for use in a quick survey of the area between Lake Atitlán and Guatemala City. - This schedule, which combines data from official sources with questions to be asked locally in towns surveyed, had been partially tested in one town of the West. We did not expect that it would be as useful in the East as in the area for which it was intended; but we proposed to try it in S. Pedro Pinula (Pekeman) and in Quetzaltepeque (Chorti) both to facilitate the collection of information there and to help us develop techniques of its application. Therefore before leaving Guatemala City for the East, we filled in those portions of the schedules requiring information from the Dirección General de Estadísticas.

3. Three Full Days

TUESDAY, JANUARY 14. With air-mattresses and blankets, gasoline lamp and camp-stove, utensils and food, we started from the capital in the Institution station-wagon at 7:30 A. M. Leaving the International highway at kilometer 17, we turned east onto the Jalapa road. After passing through the town of S. José Pinula, we stopped first at a place called San José La Sierra, an aldea of the municipio of Mataquescuintla. Attracted to a man, apparently the jailer, sitting in front of the jail, we passed the time of day with him and noted his very Indian physical appearance. To discover whether he would be called an Indian here, we stopped in a little store to buy eggs; the woman there was amiable, and since she came from Huehuetenango --even though 18 years ago-- she knew what meant by an Indian.

On pointing out the jailer, we were told his name and that he is not, definitely, an Indian. She said, furthermore, that there are few Indians in the aldea; pressed for names, she couldn't think of even one genuine Indian family. We soon continued our road, wondering who the Indians are that are known in this neighborhood to the census takers. Later we determined to ask Mr. Schwartz to tell us how many Indians were counted in that aldea last year.

We passed through Nataquecuintla, and about 15 kms. east of the town we were stopped by the foreman of a road gang and waited while a ditch across the road was filled in to enable us to pass. The foreman was certainly not an Indian. Apologizing for the delay, he explained that the road was in disrepair and that a real ditch with a bridge over would have to be made because "ahera estames en las cabafuelas". We were back in the car before we realized that explanations were due: the cabafuelas are the first twelve days of January, each one of which is supposed to predict the weather of the corresponding month. His statement didn't make sense -- and besides, the 14th of January comes after the twelfth. The answer to the second question came first; the foreman said there are 18 days of cabafuelas -- the first twelve representing the months January to December, and the following six representing them also, by half-days. Thus, as we figured it out, this morning predicts the weather of March. But he looked at the matter in reverse fashion, too: the month represented by the day of the cabafuelas determined the weather of that day; and he pointed out that the road had to be repaired because it would rain in the morning (i.e., May). "Look at the clouds coming up", he pointed out, "There is the rain. April is this Af-

terneen^m.

Driving on, we discussed ways of getting at beliefs, of which the unplanned incident of the kind that fortune had just given us was the most secure.

We lunched before reaching Jalapa, at a place called Agua Sana, above a stream. The name was given us by a little girl who kept passing and repassing the car with a gourd in which she carried water. We asked her why she didn't carry a tinaja instead to avoid so many trips; she didn't appear to understand, and after trying other words, we found that she understood not tinaja, but cántaro -- and we recalled that that is the term used among the Cherti (Widow). The girl said that her mother had the family cántaro at the river where she was laundering. We gave her a gift of tin cans, which she examined for all the world as if she had never seen one before. Perhaps she hadn't; we had the distinct feeling that somehow we were out in the wilderness. Part of this feeling came from the vast expanses of rolling hills - through which we were passing, with their great paucity of human habitations; part of it came from the notable absence of travellers on the road, contrasting sharply with the situation in the West; part of it came from the primitive grass-grown condition of a long stretch of road. Noting great areas of land enclosed by fences, we supposed that this was a region of large cattle. Land in crops was rather scarce: we did see some milpa and some beans.

We had wanted to stop in Jalapa to see the Jefe Politico whom we supposed to be Col. Rafael Torres who used to be in Selalá; but we passed through the town during the lunch hour, and went right through on the way to San Pedro Pinula. However, in the

plaza we picked up a Ladino boy who wanted to go to Pinula. From him we obtained a little introductory information about S. Pedro (From which he hailed). He said that the Indians didn't speak their dialecto much; that he himself didn't know one word of it. He was unable to tell us, then, how the races were distinguished. He did introduce us to the names of the Intendente (Berso Chu Fuentes) who, he said, is part Chinese, and of the Secretary.

In S. Pedro Pinula at 2:30 we went directly to the Intendencia. Neither the Intendente nor the Secretary was present. A mature Ladino, who said he was the escribiente and whose name was Filoberto Bergansa, said that the Intendente would be in shortly. While waiting, we introduced ourselves and began to ask casual questions. But shortly Sr. Bergansa, who had been cold and formal, began to thaw and to answer our questions not only with willingness but with understanding. So we took out the prepared schedule and (explaining to him what it was and why we wanted the information) began to fill it out. The questionnaire begins with geographical data, and only towards the end requires information about which there might be doubt as to official propriety; so as we started there was not even a question as to essentials. Before we were finished, the escribiente was contributing with interest if not enthusiasm. Shortly a Chinese-appearing Ladino arrived, and for a minute we treated him mistakenly as the Intendente. Later, while we were still working on the schedule, the Intendente -- also Chinese in appearance -- actually did come, but we hardly paused in our work for introductions. Our right to do it was not questioned, and Redfield talked to him while Tax continued with the escribiente.

While Tax continued with the schedule, Redfield then went outside where he talked with the first "Chinese" and an Indian. The Chinese (who was of course a Ladino) said that he lived in the aldea of Santo Domingo where there are "only a few Ladino families" and the rest Indians. He had been born there; so had his father; he was not sure if his grandfather had been. He professed to speak no Lengua, and said that some of the Indians speak it in their homes only. When Redfield tried to speak lengua - (i.e., giving numbers and trying to get local equivalents) the Indian who was present showed great embarrassment and appeared not to know the numbers. (Later, we assured ourselves that probably only Spanish numbers are used).

The questionnaire was surprisingly successful, and it was completely filled out by 5 PM. We did not take the time to copy lists of surnames from the cédula books, or data from the birth records (as we plan to do in the West); but the escribiente allowed us to look at the records, and we noted that the Indians (as so labelled) have a limited number of the most common Spanish surnames such as Diaz, Perea, Vasquez, etc. We were especially interested in the escribiente's explanation of how the races are distinguished: when a person comes in for a cédula, his birth record shows his race; when a birth is registered, the parents' cédula show his race, which is thus entered as that of the child. Thus, it is conceivable that people who call themselves Ladinos are known to the officials as Indians; and race distinctions are thus perpetuated through written records. The Escribiente indicated that some confusion results in cases of intermarriage; but he seemed to think that if a Ladino married an Indian we-

man legally, the children would be set down as Ladinos; otherwise they might be called Indians.

The schedule, completed, appeared to be rich in information (much of it surprising to us) and in hints and leads. Our next object was to talk to Indians, to follow up the leads and to acquire information not covered in the schedule. We therefore bade the officials adieu (giving our informant a quetzal) and left.

It was now after 5 o'clock, and time to think of a place to camp. We passed the local pond and (fortunately, as it turned out) decided to sleep in our car. While considering the matter, we passed an Indian house -- afoot, our car having been left in the plaza -- on the east outskirts of town; there was a group of three houses, built of cane and looking as though they must surely be inhabited by Indians if any houses were. We went in to ask for eggs. Through the door of the first house we saw a young woman grinding maize, and as she unquestioningly smiled and asked us to come in and sit down, we forgot about the eggs. We conversed casually and pleasantly, telling where we came from and whither we were bound, and asking about the family and about the things we saw in the kitchen. Shortly the young lady's mother (Mercedes Hájera by name) came in; she too took our presence quite for granted and continued the remarkably casual hospitality of her daughter. Before our visit was over (and it took an hour) we were tremendously impressed not only by the friendliness around us but by the ease of manner of our hosts; it was as if this visit were an every-day affair, or as if we were cousins or neighbors dropping in for an afternoon chat. If it was courtesy we were shown, it was certainly natural courtesy bred of sincere and simple pleasu-

re at our visit. As tortillas came hot off the griddle, we were given some to eat, and others "for our Journey". Every move and word was of unaffected graciousness.

Meanwhile, we found no embarrassment here, at least, in the matter of the Indian language. The mother especially exchanged words with ours "of the west" with curiosity that matched our own. We learned a surprising lot in a short time, for we went on from a comparison of words to an exchange of customs. It was with genuine regret -- personal and professional both -- that we left; and the regret was apparent on their side too, and we promised to stop again on the way back from Esquipulas. We left marbles for the children; since the young woman (Josefa Vásquez) was preparing tortillas to take to Chiquimula in the morning (she would leave at 4 AM, arrive at 7 PM Wednesday and return again on Friday) we left her twenty cents "for her road". "But we did not sell you the tortillas!" they protested. Assuring them that the money was not for the tortillas, but simply an expression of our good will and pleasure, and to help her on her way, we were thanked graciously. Information obtained in that house, we felt sure, was perfectly reliable.

East of town we found a camping place, by the side of a stream. Only later did we notice that there was a bath house there, and that the water came from warm springs. We were able to wash in warm water, and our dishwater came half-heated! While we were preparing supper, Josefa's younger brother surprised us; in some way the family had quickly found our camping-place. He said he would bring us tortillas and coffee for our supper, and left again. As we finished supper, an older brother of Josefa's (who lives in another house of the group, and who is a

widower) whom we had not met, came with his young son, bringing tortillas, and shortly afterwards the young brother returned with more tortillas and coffee. All of them stayed; and though we had planned to return to the house in the evening, we now found that conditions were again ideal for getting information. The older brother was as cordial as the others had been (indeed, hadn't he sought us out, bearing gifts? and seeking nothing in return?) and in the same casual way willingly answered our numerous questions. Again, we learned a lot, drinking coffee and smoking together; and again the circumstances were such as to give us the utmost confidence in the data obtained. Altogether our friends spent an hour and three quarters with us. The younger brother was silent for the most part and seemed almost morose; but perhaps this was out of respect for his elders -- for when spoken to, he was as friendly as ever. They all left together at 9:30, and we were elated with our luck. As we took notes before retiring, we couldn't help but feel that fortune had given us a week's production since 2:30 in the afternoon; but we knew, of course, that this afternoon was nothing less than April.....

Shortly the younger brother returned to ask us a favor: would we take Josefa and him to Jiltepeque in the morning (on our way to Esquipulas and on her way to Chiquimula) There would be Josefa, himself, another boy and a turkey, as well as her bag of tortillas to sell. Of course we agreed with pleasure.

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 15.

We arose at 5:30. This was fortunate, for we had hardly dressed when a Chinese father and his two sons came down for their daily bath. There are several Chinese in town, married

we were told, to Ladinas. Shortly afterwards, the younger brother came with tortillas and coffee for our breakfast; and while we were packing the car, our passengers arrived. In addition to Josefa and her brother (and the commodities, including a rooster) there was Mercedes' sister's son, Juan Antonio Castro.

Again in the car we had an unusual opportunity to obtain information under favorable circumstances for survey; for in passing through the countryside there were opportunities to ask questions about things observed. Thus, while in the municipio of Jilotepeque we passed a man and woman; the man was carrying a baby on his back, and the woman only a small bag. Jokingly we remarked, in English, never guessing that this was more than a freak individual case, " In this country, the men carry the babies!" But on turning to Josefa, she surprised us by saying, "Yes, in Jilotepeque the men carry the babies, on their backs." She herself thought it was funny, and knew it as a custom different from that in her town. Further questioning showed that even when the men carried loads of pottery to distant towns, accompanied by their families, they carried the baby on top of the load while the women carried the lunch in small bags. Of course other information, concerning such matters as communal land and the *cofradías*, was more important if less amusing. Again, of course, we felt the unusual trustworthiness of information that is usually hardly obtainable at all by travelling through, and certainly not reliably.

We left our friends beyond Jilotepeque, in Ipala; again we had to promise several times to pass by their house tomorrow where the mother would have hot tortillas and coffee waiting for us. We waved to them last as they walked up the railroad tracks toward

Chiquimula.

Passing through Quezaltepeque, at about 10:30, we noted the great number of travellers who had stepped on the way to and from Esquipulas. (One who came up to us was Ledyard Smith). We picked up a Ladina woman and her two blonde little girls for the trip to Esquipulas. She said she was from Honduras (Sta. Rosa de Copán) but had been living in Quezaltepeque for 15 years. She told us that she and her sister were interested in local Indian customs, and had thought to write a book on them. Before becoming car-sick, she told us a number of things that promised to furnish leads for enquiry on our return to Quezaltepeque.

We arrived in Esquipulas at about 11:45 and after a stop at the telegraph office drove down to one of the parking places near the Church. We were much impressed by the hundreds of cars, most of them large busses, that had brought pilgrims. All along the way we had passed cars either going or coming to Esquipulas; and now we remarked not only the turnover but the thousands of people present at the time. Nor could we help but note the apparent large majority who made the pilgrimage by motor as compared with the few we had seen afoot.

We went into the Church and made what observations we could. A service finished while we were there, and several priests and a bishop, as well as the choir boys, filed out. Then hundreds of men and women (Indians and Ladinas) -- separated by sex -- waited in line to file behind the famous Christ for the opportunity of kissing the figure. We thought at first that in some manner Ladinas were separated from Indians, but investigation showed this was not the fact. We saw no more than three or four Indians recognisably from our part of the country; one man from San An-

tonic Aguas Calientes we talked to, but learned nothing. Except for what little we could observe, especially about the relative number of Indians and Ladinos and the kinds of Ladinos, and the religious and patently non-religious behavior around us, in fact, there was little we could learn. It occurred to us that to study this fiesta one would have to live in Esquipulas for some time in advance to discover what it means to local people, and then to travel with the pilgrims in one of the busses to get a real idea of why a sample came.

We drove out into the country for a quick lunch, and then (with the excuse of delivering some tin cans and a paper carton) went with a young Indian boy to his house. We had a look at the kitchen, but were not invited in; unlike the case yesterday we were not made to feel welcome, and we departed --regretting the tin cans. Even though the house was isolated in the country, perhaps the people were more used to strangers than in S. Pedro; but of course we could draw no conclusion about the relative hospitality of Pokomans and Chorti from two cases!

Back in town, we went through the market-place and could see that a number of Indians from our part of the country (for example, Momostenango) were selling there. But, again, there was little we could learn. (We encountered Webster McBryde there; he had just come on his way to Copán. He suggested that this fiesta might be a "fertility rite" and offered as evidence that "many people" said so, and especially that botanist Standley -- who he pointed out was a cautious man -- had so concluded from what he had heard. We had no special information on the subject; but in applying our general knowledge and common sense, on thinking

it over we decided it was most highly improbable).

After another quarter hour observing in the church, we left Esquipulas at about 3:30 for Quetzaltepeque again. We, too, would liked to go to Copán, but we regretfully decided against taking the day or two of time that it would consume. Our program is rather too full as it is.

In Quetzaltepeque at about 4:30, we stopped first at a refresquería to quench our thirst; a sign advertised cold beer, and it kept its promise. (The ice, we found, came from Chiquimula). Talking to the manager, we found that pilgrims begin to come through by January first, and continue to the 15th. Most of those who come turn back after a day or two there, so that during the fiesta period the traffic runs in both directions. The largest crowds are in Esquipulas on the 14th and 15th. He also told us that during Holy Week (when there is also a large pilgrimage) there is an impressive funeral procession from the Church to Calvario. The Black Christ, however, is never taken from its case in the Church.

The same bartender told us that the Intendente is a Colonel. This gave us pause, but we went to the Intendencia anyway. (We had discussed our program in Quetzaltepeque and decided that if circumstances were favorable we would fill out our schedule, even if it took most of tomorrow morning; but that if things did not break quickly, we would let it go; for we had tried out the schedule in S. Pedro and found it satisfactory, and since we could not hope to study this region now, it was not essential to do the same in Quetzaltepeque). The Intendente greeted us politely, and officially. We explained our business and interests; he asked for credentials, and we showed him a letter from Minister to the U. S. Adrian Re-

cinos. This appeared to satisfy him. He asked what we would like, but appeared not to hear that we were interested in general data about the municipio. He heard only that we were studying Indian costumbres in the West and forcefully said that there were interesting ones here. In true executive fashion, he thus "anticipated our desires" and forthwith passed us on to an Indian boy, telling him to take us to the cofradía. We surrendered easily and followed the ministril, as alguaciles are called here. The boy dutifully, and silently, conducted us to the cofradía of San Francisco. This was situated in a house much like the other Indian houses of the neighborhood. We entered and explained that we wished to pay our respects to San Francisco, since we came from towns also under his patronage. Silently a curtained cubby-hole in a corner was uncovered. S. Francisco was missing, and it was explained that it had been taken to an aldea for a velación for cabe de año (i.e., funeral anniversary). The Mayordome of the cofradía was also away. After some ineffectual conversation, we discovered that this was the cofradía of S. Francisco de Asís, and that the real cofradía -- of S. Francisco El Conquistador -- was elsewhere. We left twenty cents for candles and asked our ministril to take us to see S. Francisco El Conquistador.

A walk of a few blocks brought us to a similar house, the ceiling of which was decorated with hanging maize and squashes. We were allowed to approach the small altar, and there we looked in vain for the santo. All we could see was a bank of flowers. Explanations were soon forthcoming, and they were certainly interesting enough. The Padrino (cofrade) of the cofradía was absent, but one of the esclaves (who happened to be the owner of

the house) as well as the wife of the Padrino, were there. With them talking especially to the esclavo, we spent a half hour, and learned something of the organization of the cofradías and their fiestas. The reason why S. Francisco is covered with flowers is that it is hibernating in the dry season, and the cofradía is inactive; in the rainy season, after an interesting fiesta, connected with the coming of the rain and the planting of milpa, the santo comes forth again.

After leaving some money in the cofradía, we returned to the plaza, where we found the Intendente on a street corner. The ministril delivered us, and the Intendente immediately introduced us to a local Ladino pharmacist who had a story to tell us, the story of S. Francisco El Conquistador, he said. We invited him to a beer, but he preferred to wait with his story until we could go to his house. The account he gave us was rather more interesting than we had anticipated. (He also told us that he remembered Wisdom who had come to Quetzaltepeque for a short time).

It was now becoming dark, and we hurried to the outskirts of town to make camp on the banks of a stream -- Rio de la Conquista, it was labelled on the bridge. Our luck was not as good as last night, for we found ourselves camped in a cow-path and watering place, with obvious results. After a quick supper, we walked up to town again. There were many people in the plaza, mostly strangers returning from Esquipulas; near the telegraph office people were dancing to a miniature marimba. To one side we saw a well-dressed young Ladino talking with a local Indian. We talked to the Ladino for perhaps 15 minutes, the Indian also contributing to the conversation occasionally. Together with e-

ther information of interest, we were told that the swiss Rafael Girard had been there about a year ago investigating Indian ceremonies. We then retired to our camp and wrote up a few notes; in some way the telegraph office found us to deliver a message before we had gone to sleep.

THURSDAY, Jan. 16. We arose at 6:30 and after breakfast started our return journey, towards Ipala again. At about 9 AM we passed through the aldea of Ipala called Chaglite a few kilometers east of the town. We stopped at a group of houses to "buy eggs". While Redfield talked to a woman in one of the rear houses. Tax entered the one closest to the road, and bought three eggs. The man of the house, noticing his curiosity, asked him in; and after a moment's conversation asked if we could wait for a cup of coffee. Since conversation was our purpose, Tax asked Redfield his desires, and we accepted. Tax had vaguely noted pustules covering all exposed portions of the man's body, but had thought nothing of them. Now we went back to look at the maize harvest to see how it was stored, and then sat down with the man on the porch of the house to talk and await the coffee. A cup was borrowed from a neighbor; and another from another house. The conversation eventually turned to our kind host's physical condition, and he asked (about the pustules) "Do you know this sickness from your country?" We said now, and he answered, "It's viruela". Tax, slightly confused, said, "Hm, measles," but Redfield replied, "If it is of interest to you, that's smallpox". Now we were in something of a panic, and while considering what to do, the patient informed us that he was taken ill about two weeks ago, with fever. We decided hurriedly that we must make excuses and

get out; but just as we began, the coffee and tortillas for us were set on the table inside and the man said "pase adelante". Our panic was now complete, for we surely could not drink coffee in that house. It was a painful decision, but it seemed the only thing to do: we said, "Just a minute, we need something from the car" and went down and drove quickly away. Our discourtesy and ingratitude weighed very heavily upon us, and all the way to Ipala we weighed methods of making it up. The first suggestion was to take back a doctor, or pharmacist, to treat the patient and make our explanations; or at least to send back a doctor. But we thought the whole house might be quarantined, or that at least the man might resent our interference; so we decided not to add injury to insult. Nevertheless, we stopped at the pharmacist's and described the symptoms we had seen. We were much relieved when he told us the case was certainly one not of viruela, but of varicela which we saw in his book was a very mild sickness. (Later

the disease was small

He said there were perhaps 300 cases of varicela around, and no treatment was required. Then, sure that the officials would not make trouble for the patient, we went to the Intendencia to ask him how we could send a note to the house (since we did not know the man's name). The Intendente took the problem in his stride, and said he would investigate and surely be able to deliver our message from the description we gave. We therefore wrote a note of apology (explaining that we had mistakenly thought that he had a dangerous and contagious illness) and enclosed a fifty cent bill. This did not relieve our consciences much, since the panacea was far too easy; but there was little to do but drive on.

We were worried about our exposure to the sickness (whatever it was) and determined to visit a doctor in Guatemala City.

On the outskirts of Ilapa, we stopped at a group of Indian houses to "Buy eggs" (those bought in the small-pox house had unfortunately broken in Tax's pocket in the excitement) and had the opportunity to see the kitchen. We were not invited to stay. Our next stop was in the aldea of Gushapa (Mun. S. Luis Jilotepeque) about 4 km. east of the town of Jilotepeque; we also saw the inside of two houses, but did not talk to anybody at length.

In the town of Jilotepeque we stopped for a few minutes in the plaza, where a small market of women, resembling that of Atitlán, was in progress. We noted that women were speaking together in lengua; we also noted the laced white perrajes that all of the women wore. Again we had no conversation, and we soon went on. On the outskirts of town, at the last visible Indian house, our luck picked up again.

There was an old man working in the patio, and Tax approached him -- this time not to buy eggs, but to give some away. The man accepted the eggs with thanks, and then when Tax seemed inclined to stay and gossip, his wife came out of the house too. The man was preparing guacales (locally called barcas). When Tax asked if some squash seeds visible had come out of the barcas, they replied no, that there is squash on the fire, if he wished to see. Tax went in, and the woman said it was too bad that it wasn't yet ready so he could have some. Seeing that the reception was good, Tax then called Redfield in.

It was then, in the house, that occurred our most remarkable single experience (at least on the pleasant side). We began to

talk to the old couple; when we hinted that we might be interested in the Indian language, they seemed delighted and began to give us words. When we asked their names, they gave them to us in both Spanish and lengua (and thus gave us our first case of dual surnames). There were unbaked cántaros on the wall, and one pot still not dry or painted on the floor. The woman ran out to show us how she breaks up cow-dung for the firing. She so much regretted that the cántaros weren't baked so that she could give us each one! But she bethought herself to give us each a bowl, at least. What a miracle it was that we had come! and both seemed so anxious to please and to give us something of their poverty-stricken little household, that we thought that it was indeed a miracle. When we left (with a baroa also) there were tears in the old folks' voices if not their eyes; and by that time we were feeling about the same way. Again it was with both personal and professional regret that we had to leave; and as the couple waved goodbye it was hard for us to realize that we couldn't possibly have known these people for more than fifteen minutes all told!

It was no wonder that as we drove on towards S. Pedro Pinula we thought that the Pokomán are the very finest people of the world! We were, of course, going back to see Mercedes Nájara in Pinula. It had occurred to us from what Josefa had said yesterday (that her father is a Principal (i.e., shaman) and people come to him for cures when the children se espantan) that Mercedes was, after all, the wife of a shaman, and that we should be in a position to get information on points that we would never have hoped for. We also wanted to be sure to get other data the need for which had occurred to us; so driving along, we prepared a little list of

questions to ask.

We stopped for lunch near where we passed Tuesday night; our hot spring was occupied by a truckful of returning pilgrims. We didn't take much time, so it was still not after one o'clock when we walked into the house. Mercedes herself was now at the grinding stone where Josefa had been the last time. She gave us the casual welcome that we had grown to expect, and we sat down to talk while she continued her work.

We completed our list of questions as informally as possible, and got much good information besides. Here we came to another simple example of how information (if one is fortunate) can be reliably obtained: we noticed that a bed of the house had its head apparently to the west, and after making sure it was west, we pointed it out to her, and asked if that wasn't pecado. "Oh yes", she replied, "But my husband is a Principal, so he is pardoned for sleeping that way, "and can do it". Thus we could be sure not only of the presence of the belief, but of a hint of something more besides. Incidentally, Mercedes told us that her husband is the only Principal in town; if this is true, of course we had made friends in a very essential house for a study of S. Pedro Pinula.

Mercedes' husband (Ignacio Vásquez by name) was away harvesting the milpa of his son-in-law Vicente Pérez; Vicente is in prison in Jalapa. Pointing out that we were going to pass through Jalapa, we asked if there were any message we could deliver; and she asked us to tell him not to worry about his milpa, for Ignacio was harvesting it, and also to give him news of the family. (Vicente is in jail because he and another boy were falsely accused of killing and eating a calf; she expected him back soon, and we agreed to find out

when that would be.)

Meanwhile, Mercedes had spread a clean white cloth on the table and had served us hot tortillas, meat, and coffee; a few minutes later her daughter (who lives next door and whom we had not met before) brought in more tortillas and another cup of coffee apiece, and two large dishes of mashed fried white beans.

Again it was with real regret that we said goodbye and continued on our way. Our next stop was Jalapa, where the official in the Juzgado de Primera Estancia told us that since Thursday is visiting-day, we could go right into the prison. Before a barred door were other visitors, and behind it crowded a dozen men in red-striped prisoner's uniforms. One of them called Vicente to the door. It must have seemed curious to him to find two such strangers calling on him, and telling him that he needn't worry because his father-in-law was harvesting his milpa and that cousin Josefa with her brother and cousin had gone to Chiquimula to sell tortillas and a turkey and a rooster and that all was well at home. He thanked us, and when we left a package of cigarettes, he asked how much they were.

While Redfield went to the telegraph office, Tax returned to the Juzgado to discover that Vicente's sentence was finished, but it would require 8 or 15 or 20 days to get the necessary papers to free him. Surely no longer than three weeks? Well, not more than a few days. This information is to be transmitted to Mercedes by letter.

Then, after filling with gasoline and beer -- the car and ethnologists, respectively -- we continued west. We stopped at one house a little out of town and looked in at the kitchen; we had no idea wther it was Indian or Ladino, but suspected the

latter. Then considerably farther, at a place called Llanitos of the aldea of El Paraíso (mun. of Jalapa) we stopped for a longer time in the house of one Visitación López. The house was as poor and primitive looking, and the furnishings as sparse, as any house of Indians we have ever seen. We could not determine of course whether this man is an Indian or Ladino; but it occurred to us that having his name and address, perhaps the census office would tell us how he was counted. In this house we gave away eggs, and observed the furnishings.

Beyond Mataquescuintla we made our last stop at a roadside house, this time again buying eggs, and continued our observations of material culture. Now it was becoming dark, and we hurried to reach Guatemala City (having wired in Jalapa to the Pensión that we would arrive at 8 o'clock "with hambre"). It was quite dark when, more than half way between Mataquescuintla and S. José Pinula, we were stopped at the roadside and handed a bag full of about twenty pounds of tortillas which we were asked to give to "3 muachos" who were digging sand a few kilometers down the road. We went on and on, ticking off Kilometers, and were becoming worried that the tortillas would wind up in Guatemala City, when we spied a fire ahead and determined to drop the tortillas there at whatever cost. Sure enough, there were men working on the road, and we handed the bag to the foreman. He took it hesitantly, as we explained it was their bastamiento; his hesitation, plus the observation that there were many more than three men, caused us, however, to explain more fully -- and when we mentioned sand, the foreman said the food must be for the three "from Jalapa" farther on. So we took back the bag, and to our relief eventually found three men by the roadside to whom we could give the bag; but this time

we did not ask too many questions.

Without further incident, we arrived at the Pensión at exactly eight o'clock, very tired and dusty but also very buoyant of spirits. We knew that we had finished a fortunate expedition of three very full days, and with carnations decorating our city clothes, we went into the dining room to enjoy the fruits of virtue. 3 days felt like the 6 months we had learned they are counted in the East.

3. Sources of Information

For purposes of reference in Section 4, the following symbols are given for the informants and observations situations that are the basis of the Findings:

- A. Ladina store-keeper in S. José La Sierra (Mataquescuintla) who identified a Ladino of Indian physical appearance.
- B. Ladino road-gang foreman about 15 km. east of Mataquescuintla who told us about cabañuelos.
- C. Little girl at "Agua Sana" a little west of Jalapa who first indicated differences of Spanish words, West to East.
- D. Ladino boy of S. Pedro Pinula who rode with us from Jalapa and gave us first information about Pinula.
- E. Filicerto Bergansa, Ladino escribiente of S. Pedro Pinula, who supplied all of the information to fill out the schedule for that town, and other information besides.
- F. Chinese-appearing Ladino of aldea Sto. Domingo (S. Pedro Pinula) who talked to Redfield outside of Intendencia; included in the situation; an Indian who was embarrassed in matter of Indian Language.
- G. S. Pedro Pinula Indian family in their house; informants Josefa Vasquez and her mother Mercedes Hájara who gave us much information there the first day; also, children
- H. S. Pedro Pinula Indian family in our camp; informants Josefa's brother, --- Hájara and son, and younger brother --- Vasquez, who gave us much information the first eve.

- I. S. Pedro Pinula Indian family enroute to Ipala; informants Josefa Vísquez, younger brother ---- Vísquez, and Mss Juan Antonio Castro, who gave us much information the second morning.
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- J. Ladina (Hondurensan) enroute from Quetzaltepeque to Esquipulas, with two young daughters, who told us something of religious customs of Quetzaltepeque Indians.
- K. Pilgrims en route, and people in town, market-place, and Church in Esquipulas on the Fiesta day observation of whom furnished our chief data on the fiesta meaning.
- L. Kitchen of house of unnamed Indian (?) east of Esquipulas.
- M. Ladino owner of refresqueria in Quetzaltepeque who told us a little about the Esquipulas pilgrimage and about the local Intendente.
- N. Col. ----, Intendente Of Quetzaltepeque, who introduced us to O and R but gave us no information.
- O. Indian boy ministrillo of Quetzaltepeque who took us to P and Q and told us a little about his job.
- P. The cofradia of S. Francisco de Asis in Quetzaltepeque; informant: wife or Mayordomo who gave us a little information. (Indian).
-
- Q. The cofradia of S. Francisco El Conquistador; informants: wife of Padrino and especially an esclavo of the cofradia who gave us much information. (Indians).
-
- R. Ladino pharmacist José María Moss of Quetzaltepeque who gave us a traditional story and other information about S. Francisco El Conquistador.
- S. A Ladino in the plaza of Quetzaltepeque who with an Indian bystander gave us a little information.
- T. House in aldea of Chagüite (Ipala); informant: man of house who gave us a little information and maybe smallpox.
- U. House observed (inside) west of Ipala. (Probably Indian).
- V. Ditto, aldea of Cushapa (Jilotepeque).
- W. Market-place in Jilotepeque during market.
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- X. Inside of house of Indian family on western edge of Jilotepeque; informants: Fernando Yaq' or Xawan and his wife Andrea Peres or Maq'ole tuk'ux, who gave us a good information in a short time.
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- Y. S. Pedro Pinula Indian house (same as G); informant Mercedes Nájara, who gave us much good information on the last day.
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- Z. House west of Jalapa. Only a woman home; probably Ladina; no information beyond observation of kitchen.
- AA. House in Llanitos, El Paraiso (Mun. Jalapa); informant Visitación López (race?) who gave a few words of information.
- BB. House W. of Mataquescuintla; observed kitchen, etc. Man (race?) gave sparse information.
- CC. Legajos of the municipios of S. Pedro Pinula and Quetzaltepeque examined in Guatemala City (courtesy Sr.G. Schwartz, Director.

4. Findings.

A. The Municipio of San Pedro Pinula

Geography and Population. The municipio of San Pedro Pinula is in the Department of Jalapa just east of the Capital municipio. It is a large municipio (1500 caballerías;E) the boundaries of which join those of El Jicaro, Cabañas, and San Diego to the North, Jilotepeque to the east. Chaparrón and Monjas to the South, and Jalapa and El Progreso to the West.(CC). Virtually all of the municipio, judging from Urrutia's map, lies above 1000 meters in altitude; the town itself has an altitude of 999 meters (E, and sign on road) and the highest point in the municipio is 5600 feet (CC.) probably in the aldea of la Cumbre, east of the town bordering the municipio of Jilotepeque. The climate is locally considered good; it was indeed cool the night we spent in town, and we saw no mosquitos.

^{town} The ^{town} itself is about 20 kilometers almost due east of Jalapa, and about the same distance west of Jilotepeque. A fair dirt automobile highway connects these three towns and continues in both directions. A poorer road leads South to Monjas and the main

road to Salvador (Official Auto map). There are no other highways through the town. The town in 1940 had a population of 1,727 (E), an increase over the census figure for 1921 of 263. 60% of the people are Ladinos and the remainder are S. Pedro Indians (E). The Ladinos are of "ancient" origin (G); the only old date in the town is 1702 when the church arch was built (GL). The large Ladino population possibly accounts for the fact that the public buildings are larger and finer than in towns of corresponding size in the West. On the outer edges of town, where most of the Indians probably live, the houses are chiefly of rather open cane walls and with straw roofs; towards the center of town the buildings are of plastered adobe walls with windows, and with tile roofs, and are presumably inhabited for the most part by Ladinos. There is a fountain in the plaza, and running water in some of the houses (E); families on the East side of town use the water of a warm spring nearby. There is an electric light plant municipally owned (E), and indicative of the progressive and perhaps Ladino character of the town is the fact (E) that homeowners who have not built sidewalks are assessed 25 cents a month to encourage such improvements.

The rural areas of the municipio are divided into aldeas, 23 in number (CC,E) ranging in size from 30 to 280 families (CC,E). The total rural population in 1940 was 11,136 (E), an increase over that of 1921 of 2612, or about 31% as compared with only 11% for the town. In contrast to the situation in town, the people in the aldeas are in the great majority Indians. This is indicated first of all by the 1921 census figures, which gave a total of only 993 Ladinos of the 9,988 people in the municipio; if 60% of the urban population was then Ladino, some 880 of these Ladinos lived in town, and obviously only a few were in the aldeas. Whatever the inaccuracy of that esti-

mate, or whatever the shifts that have since occurred, the general picture still is similar. Six of the smaller aldeas are 100% Indian (E) and in most of the others there are only a few Ladino families; in only three small aldeas are there from 1/4 to 1/2 Ladinos (E). The best estimate available, summing the information from E, indicates that in all of the aldeas there are no more than 115 Ladino families out of more than 2,000 outside of the town.

Of the Indians in the aldeas virtually all are S. Pedro Pinula people. In one aldea (Pinalito) just west of town there are four families of merchants from S. Andrés Sajcabajá (Quiché) and in La Cumbre, bordering Jilotepeque, are a few families of Indians of that municipio who keep their identity as of Jilotepeque (E).

A fact not noted in the Legajo (CC) is that eight of the 23 aldeas are divided into, or have dependent on them, from one to three caseríos each (G); just what this means, we did not determine. We were also told (I) that much of the rural land consists of potreros, or cattle ranches; these do not appear in the legajo, and beyond the fact that they are privately owned and for the most part by Ladinos, we found nothing out about them.

Language and Education. Spanish is, of course, the language of the Ladinos, and it is the tongue most commonly heard by the Indians of town as well. Indeed, all Ladino informants (D,E,F) not only expressed complete ignorance of the Indian language, but claimed that the Indians rarely speak it and one of them (E) estimated that only 25% of the Indians know
 low.

They indicated that the Indians are "ashamed" to speak it in public, and indeed in one case (F) an Indian did show embarrassment in the matter. Furthermore, in one case (F) a Ladino who represented at least the second generation of residence in an aldea, Sto. Domingo, where half of the residents are Indians (E) had apparently not heard enough of the Indian Language even there to be able to speak a word of it. Nor did we hear any lengua in public places. One is therefore led to believe that the Indian language has all but died out in S. Pedro Pinula. This is, however, not at all true. Judging from our experiences with one large family of town (where one would suppose the Indian language to be weakest) it is spoken frequently enough in the home, and without embarrassment (G,H,I,Y,). It is likely that such elements of the language as numbering have been lost (F,G) but there was little difficulty in supplying other words on request.

After some confusion, one Ladino supplied the name of the Indian language, Pokéman (E), but the Indians were never found to recognize the term. Judging from all information supplied by linguists, the language is Pokomán; our amateur tests certainly indicated a close relationship to the highland tongues of the west. A few of the words we tried out that are substantially different from Cakchiquel:

Horse -- coajú (G,H)

deer -- ke or Kex (G,H)

tortilla -- wieq (G)

Tenemaste stone -- kum awax qa koral (Y)

Grandmother -- yam (H)

Grandfather -- man (H)

Moon -- qatut (H)

It is also true that we met no Indians who did not speak Spanish well; the statement of a good Ladino informant (E) that 100% of both Indian men and women speak it well was borne out by casual observation. Observation was confined to too few situations, and too few Indians, to permit a conclusion on that evidence alone.

We did not get the latest figures on literacy. In 1893 the census counted only 581, and in 1921 only 572, "literate" inhabitants of the municipio; since it must reasonably be supposed that many, or most, of these numbers were Ladinos, it appears that literacy has not gone hand in hand with ability by Indians to speak Spanish. However, the number must have increased considerably in recent years; for the number of schools in the aldeas has apparently been increasing.

There are two schools in town, one for boys and one for girls, each with four Ladino teachers of corresponding sex. 131 boys and 96 girls are now registered, and only 4 girls do not regularly attend. These schools were founded at the time of Barrios (E). In 1940 there were also six schools in five aldeas, some dating back to the time of Barrios (CC,E). In all except one case (an Indian woman) the teachers are all Ladinos. The total school registration in the municipio is 582 (340 boys, 242 girls) all but 63 of whom attend regularly. Since this condition has apparently been present for many years, the number of literates must have swelled considerably since the 1921 census. It is indicative of the more recent growth of the schools that two new ones have been established in the aldeas in the past months (E); but even now country schools exist only in the largest aldeas or in smaller ones with extraordinarily large proportions

of Ladinos (CG,E).

Indicative perhaps of Indian sophistication, and contributing to it, is the fact that they enter military service voluntarily "because they like it". (E). There are now about 50 Indians in cuarteles, ten of them serving locally and the others in larger centers (E). ^{No local} Ladinos are in military service (E). In addition, since 1936 or 1937 (E) there has been a company of "voluntarios" whose instructor is a Ladino Lieutenant and whose other officers, excepting some sergeants, are all Ladinos. In the company are 117 Indians and 8 Ladinos. (E).

Economics. The municipio appears to be primarily agricultural with an important hat and rope industry (CG, E). By far the most important crops are those of the milpa, maize, beans, and squash, but in addition some rice, coffee, fruit, and potatoes are grown (CG). Statistics of the Dept. of agriculture on the number of growers and the amount of acreage of various crops are not available for this report. From observation and conversation (G,H,I,Y) however, we get the impression that the milpa is not only economically and socially of prime importance, but that as far as maize is concerned, the municipio is self-sufficient. The fact that milpa labor and rent are paid in maize and that maize-products are taken for sale to distant parts (see below) is some evidence pointing to this conclusion. It certainly appears that this is not a municipio that (like some of the West) depends upon some other cash crop or industry to furnish money to buy maize. The other crops appear to be minor, and perhaps confined largely to large Ladino land-holders. The industries, likewise, appear to be -- even when almost universally engaged in-- sources of income to care for consumptive needs other than maize that must be purchased.

Some considerable part of the land is occupied by potreros, probably cattle ranches; how large these are, we do not know. We were told (I) that almost all are owned by Ladinos, only a few by Indians. Parts of these ranches are, however, set aside for milpa, and many of the Indians grow maize in them.

Of the industries, hats are by far the most important, and are grown not only in town, but in most of the aldeas (CC, E, G). The strips that are later sewed together to make the hats are made only by Indians (E) but the hats themselves are made by Indians and Ladinos equally. It was estimated (E) that 75% of the people regularly make hats, and that the work is done uniformly by both sexes. The same source estimated that only 25% of the people are engaged in the second industry-- rope and rope-products; here again it was said that Ladinos and Indians engage equally. Rope is said to be made only by men, however, although tenedores for horses (reins?) are made by both sexes. (E).

Other industries mentioned (CC) are mats, pottery, candles, and cheese made in a few aldeas. They appear to be very unimportant; for example, there are only 7 cheese makers scattered in four aldeas (CC). Information on these industries was not volunteered locally, and we obtained no further data. Indeed, when we asked about pottery, we were always told that it is made in Jilotereque (which is true).

The town is the site of a market on Thursdays and Sundays; the latter is the most important. We could not get statistics on the number of vendors because no market-tax is collected, since "it is held in the open." (E). Only during the annual fiesta is a charge made. However, it was estimated (E) that some 500 vendors make up the Sunday market. The same source told us that both men and women, and both Ladinos and Indians, sell. The chief products

sold (E) are pitchwood, maize, and panela, by Indian men; maize, beans, coffee, fruit, and vegetables, by Indian women; and salt, coffee, and panela by Ladinos. How the manufactured products are disposed of, if not in the market, we did not determine.

In the town also are three large general stores and four small ones, three pulperias (liquor dispensing stores), five butchershops, four blacksmiths, three shoemakers, 2 tailors, and two barbers. All of these stores and artisans are Ladino, (two store-keepers Chinese) with one exception: there is an Indian barber. There are three pulperias in the aldeas; no other shops besides those in town were mentioned. (E).

A notable lack is in bakers, and we were told (E) that people tend to bake their own bread or (G) many small bakers sell to a few clients each what they bake at home. This is notably different from the pattern in the West. The number of blacksmiths also is proportionally greater than in the West; this may be due partly to the larger number of horses in Ladino- and cattle-country, and also partly to the fact that some agricultural tools, like machetes, are made by blacksmiths (G,H). In contrast again with the Western highland, the butchers sell both beef and pork products (E).

Land. That the municipio as a whole recognizes its rights to a certain land-area is indicated in the fact (E) that there have been boundary disputes -- now settled -- with both Jilotepeque and Jicaro . That the Indian community, as opposed to the Ladinos (or perhaps the large ranch-owners among the Ladinos), recognizes rights to certain lands is indicated by the fact that for some time there has been a dispute between Indians and Ladinos over land which was brought to the President's attention

the day after our arrival (El Imparcial, Jan. 14, 1941). We were told (E) that "an engineer is now doing measuring to give land to the Indians." We did not determine whether this new Indian land would be distributed among certain Indians or would become communal.

About a third of the land of the municipio is communal (E). This is all farm land, and anybody has the right to ask at the Intendencia for the use of some of it; however, Indians do not bother to ask, and just use it (E). Some of this communal land, at least, is dispensed through the cofradia in the aldea of La Cumbre (I); it is possible that only in that aldea do communal lands exist, or that if others do exist, they are given out through other institutions, for in the three other cantones where cofradías were said to exist, the land is all owned by private potreros (I). In the aldea of La Cumbre, there is no private Indian land, although the Indians of the aldea own land privately in other aldeas (I), having obtained it by purchase.

Indians who use the communal land of La Cumbre are required to pay to the cofradia a fanega (load) of maize for each eight or ten tareas (a measure corresponding to a cuerda in the West) used. This maize-rental helps pay for the fiestas of the cofradia. (I). Indians also rent private lands belonging to potreros, presumably in other aldeas; the rental of such land is apparently cheaper -- one fanega for twenty tareas or, in lieu of maize, the building of a fence two tareas in length. (I).

Labor. It is probable that the work of the milpa tends to be done by the members of the family of the milpero rather than by hired labor. At least in one case, even though an emergency existed, there was an unwillingness or inability to hire labor for the harvest (Y); this could not be explained on

grounds of lack of money, for we were informed that payment for such labor would be maize of the harvest itself. The amount of wage we did not determine.

We found out nothing about labor in general, or about wage levels. From the estimate (E) that only one fourth of the Indians pay their road-tax, the rest preferring to work it off, it is possible to infer on the basis of general experience that cash wages probably do not differ greatly from those of the West; for if wages were much higher than 16 cents a day, the Indians would be expected to pay the tax (which comes to ~~that~~) while if they were very much lower, the proportion paying would be even smaller. All of the Ladinos pay their road-tax (E), an indication of the same kind of economic difference between the races that is general in the West.

Government. Municipal government is dominated by Ladinos. The Intendente is a Ladino from Jutiapa and the Secretary one from Quiché; the Escribiente and the Treasurer (a woman) are local Ladinos. The Síndico is also a local Ladino, but before the change in 1936 there were two síndicos, one of them an Indian.(E). All of the foregoing officials are appointed. There are eight regidores, all elected by popular vote of all citizens, to serve (as does the síndico) for two years. The first four regidores are Ladinos, the last four Indians. There are also eight Auxiliares in the Intendencia: these are usually Indians, but one of the incumbents is a Ladino.(E) . These auxiliares are also elected for two years, and are not to be confused with the Regidores Auxiliar one of which is the official in each of the aldeas.(CC,E)

There are no officials called Mayores or Alguaciles:

instead, there are semaneros or sirvientes, who are all young Indian men. There are forty of these servants, and they vol-
unbear for their positions and many are turned away. The reason given (E) for the popularity of the job is that the men are exempted from their road tax and ornate. Since they serve one week in eight, being attached to particular regidores, this explanation is hardly sufficient; for the road tax requires only two weeks' work and the other costs only a dollar a year. The servants serve only a year, unless they wish to continue another and are satisfactory to their chiefs.

Before the Intendente change, there was a Ladino first Alcalde and an Indian Second Alcalde; neither office is any longer in existence (E). Contrary to our immediate sup-
position, we were assured that even then (as now with the Intendente) only the Ladino alcalde heard court cases, even in Indian disputes.(E).

Since 1936, when the institution originated, there have been eight successive Intendentes; the first was the last of the Ladino Alcaldes, and the eighth is the incumbent, who has now served for two years. We did not inquire the reason for the rapid turnover, but it is reasonable to suppose that here as in towns of the West the new institution had rough sledding during a long period of adjustment.

The Intendente is the justice of the peace, and without advice from the Regidores hears and decides cases that come under his jurisdiction legally (E); while in the office we witnessed the beginning of what was apparently a domestic-relations case, and indeed the Intendente was alone with the litigants. We did not determine the duties of the other

officials (excepting the Secretary, Treasurer, and Escribiente).

Only the three latter officials and the Intendente are paid, and compared to officials of towns of similar size in the West, they are highly paid. Indeed, the government buildings and the general appearance of the center of the town are superior to those of small pueblos of the West. Although we were repeatedly told (especially E) that the community is poor, comparing unfavorably with the western part of the country (the reference perhaps being to the rich coffee areas) our impression was to the contrary. The municipal budget (paid out of local receipts) is \$3000 a year (E), of which \$1200 is allotted to salaries, \$500 for public works, \$600 for school maintenance -- salaries of teachers being paid by the central government -- and \$50 for the annual fiesta.

Material Culture. The better houses in town are of plastered and whitewashed adobe bricks, and tile roofs. These houses, probably inhabited for the most part by Ladinos, are not apparently different from those in other parts of Guatemala. We did not enter one of them. These houses, following the usual pattern, tend to cluster near the plaza. The poorer houses, on the outskirts, have vertical cane walls and thatch roofs, saddle or pyramidal in form. The walls are higher than in similar houses of the West, and the roofs more sharply pitched (?). There are no windows nor special smoke vents.

If the inside of the one house seen (G,Y) is typical, there are no tepancos. Furnishings consist of benches, and notably a circular gourd-carrier suspended from above; wooden tables; sloping chairs of the style used in Yucatan; a grinding table and its companion water-stand; and beds of cane boards laid

on a frame supported by legs implanted. The fire is made on the earthen floor, the utensils being supported by three stones recognized by the term tenamastes. We were told (Y) that some houses have raised fire-places, but they are rare in Indian houses. A three-legged grinding-stone (known by that name) is used, although the tilt of the supporting frame or table would appear to make the legs unnecessary. The hand-piece is called a mano, the term brazo (like metate) not being recognized. Both parts of the grinding apparatus are similar to those used in the west. A pottery comal, similar to those of the West, and a water jar, called cántaro, of a deep red glazed ware, are used. The pottery was said to come from neighboring Jilotepeque. Coffee is brewed in an enamel-ware pot; enamelware plates and cups, and metal table service, were noted. Hour-glass water gourds, guacales, and small gourd dishes (as for the serving of salt) are used.

We were served seated at the table, on a clean white cloth spread for the purpose.

We discovered little about the foods used. It is apparent that maize-foods, prepared of ground (presumably lime-cooked) soft grain, are very important. Tortillas were the only examples made in our presence (G,Y) and judging from experiences (G,H,Y) they are commonly eaten at least for supper and breakfast; tamales of various kinds, typically longish in form, are also made. Both tortillas and tamales are probably similar (in form and making) to those of the West, although the apparent practice of preparing a whole batch of maize-dough before beginning to form the tortillas is more reminiscent of Yucatán. Fried mashed beans, like those common elsewhere among Ladinos, are made; the kind served us were white beans, uncommon in our previous experience.

Meat is served at least in small pieces; chickens and turkeys are both killed by strangling; the latter, at least, with a string; the method of killing a turkey by cutting its tongue is unknown (Y).

The only intoxicating beverage said to be used (Y) is aguardiente; but formerly chicha of panela was made and drunk.

Agricultural tools are the hoe, the blade of which is always bought in the store; the planting stick (makan) which has a flat metal point or blade; and the machete, the short hooked blade of which is either bought or made by local blacksmiths and hafted at home to a straight handle some eighteen inches long. What is called the machete in the West is here called a corvo; this is bought in the store and is much less common than the other G.H.

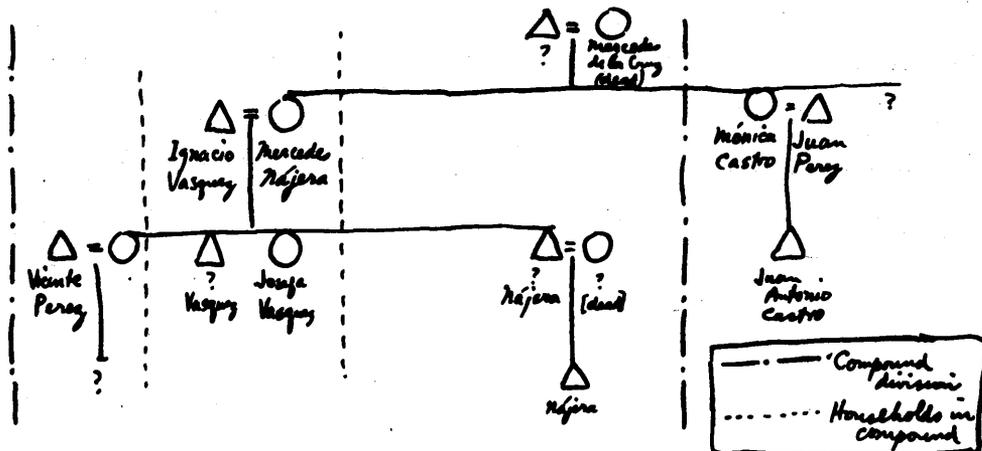
What little we found out about the technology of the milpa indicates that it is similar to that of the West except that, of course, the planting stick rather than the hoe is used in planting. Before planting, the cornstalks are piled up and burned (cnaporro) (H). Storage of maize is on the cob; it is known (Y) that in low country maize is stored in the grain, in clay granaries; but here "the men have no time for it".

We were told (E) that Indian men wear Ladino costume, but that they formerly wore white calzoncillos (drawers) tied on back with a drawstring at the waist, and a white shirt hanging loose; this old costume was said to have gone out at the time of Barrios. However, we had ample opportunity to see that many men still wear this "old" costume at least for work; and we were told (H) that some Ladinos wear this same costume at work.

Women wear wrap-around skirts of the jaspé type and designs common in the West. We were told that they are brought from Salamá (E) or from Guatemala (G). The skirt is bound with

a woven belt also said to come from Salamá (R). The women wear sleeved blouses of white factory-cloth; they sew them themselves (E).

Social Organization. The family that we came to know (G,H,Y,I) consisted (as far as we found out -- we only identified the people with whom we had contact) of the following:



In the one compound of houses that we visited, there are three households; in one live the parent couple and their two (or more) unmarried children; in the second, a married daughter with her husband -- in prison in Jalapa -- and children; in the third, a widowed son with his family. Each of the households has its own kitchen; who is the woman of the kitchen in the house of the widower, we did not inquire.

We found out (G) that there are many cases of matrilocal residence; we suppose cases of patrilocal residence to be in the majority, but of course have no more precise information. The surnames that we obtained (G,H,I,Y) are all verified; but we got no explanation of their irregular descent.

Since Josefa Vasquez appears to be at least 18 or 20 years

of age, and is attractive and without obvious impediments, it is probable that marriages do not occur extraordinarily early in life. The man, or his family, always pays for the marriage feast, even when he subsequently lives at the girl's house; There is a marriage vela that lasts a night and a day, or in the case of very poor people, only the night (G).

There are no double surnames; that is, there are no lengua surnames besides those shown above. (Y).

The Indian term for grandfather is mam; for grandmother, yam; for father, only papá is used, and for mother only mamá (H). The only term for uncle, likewise, is tío, and in the case of Josefa's brother and his brother's son we verified this, but went no farther (H). The only terms used for siblings are hermano and hermana; in the case of the relationship of Juan Antonio Castro and Josefa Vásquez, we were told by both (I) that in lengua they call each other hermanos, but in Spanish they are primos. This is an instance in which the kinship terms are Spanish but the classification is Indian.

We saw evidence of nothing but good-will among the three families of the Nájara Vásquez compound. We were entertained by (and became friendly in) the parent household, but eventually each of the others voluntarily contributed to that hospitality. In so contributing, it was apparent that each is a separate economic unit but that they are in close communication and willing to co-operate. Another evidence of co-operation is that (Y) the members of one household were harvesting the milpa of another in the absence of the owner. An evidence of communication and co-operation of relatives

farther removed (and in different compounds) is that (I) Josefa on short notice obtained for Juan Castro a ride with us. If they had before planned to go together to Chiquimula, the case is different, but also indicative of co-operation.

The division of labor, as far as we observed it, is fairly obvious and expected. Women work in the kitchen, bringing water, grinding, cooking; the men work in the fields. Industrial sexual division has been noted above. Women and men both market; on the road women carry their infants -- on long trips on their backs as in the West, in town probably more frequently in their arms or on a hip(H,I).

Religion. The patron of the community is San Pedro(June 29th) but everybody -- Indians and Ladinos -- seem to agree that the annual fiesta is for Candelaria, Feb. 2-5, and in a newspaper article (Imparcial, Feb. 6,1941) reports that "San Pedro Pinula... ha venido celebrando año tras año, su feria titular de Candelaria durante los días 1,2,3,4, y 5 del mes de febrero? The general impression we have is that San Pedro may be the patron of the Indian community and Candelaria of the Ladinos. In the church there is both a San Pedro and a Virgin of Candelaria. In the one cofradia of town, known as the cofradia of San Pedro, there are said to be duplicates of all of the santos in the church (G) thus including both S. Pedro and Candelario. We were told that the personal of this cofradia changes not during the fiesta of S. Pedro, but during that of Candelaria (E). Therefore if, indeed, the Indians' patron is only San Pedro, they have apparently adapted their ritual to a Ladino fiesta.

The cofradia of S. Pedro is one of several; but it is the only one in town (E,G,I). All of its eight members are called

Principales (E) or at least the head man is (G) and the others are referred to as guidadores (G) at least in some contexts. The eight members come from various aldeas, and are all Indians (E,G); the head man at the time of our visit was one Chico López Cruz of Agua Sana (E). The Personal changes annually. Since the cofradía house is in town, and is otherwise uninhabited (G) it is possibly a community house. It may, however, be owned or rented each year by the head of the cofradía, in which case the santos would be moved annually. We do not know.

There are cofradías in four aldeas (I): La Cumbre has that of San Nicolás; Aguacate that of S. Marcos; Sapote that of La Virgen Pastora; and Ste. Domingo that of the same name. Santo Domingo also has a church. La Cumbre is the largest aldea of all, in population, and is one of the most purely Indian; its cofradía, as noted above, has special functions with respect to communal lands, and appears to be very important. The aldeas of Aguacate and Sapote are both small, and also predominantly Indian. That of Santo Domingo, however, although medium in size, is about half Ladino in population (E) -- and indeed apparently has many more Ladinos than any other aldea; that probably accounts for the presence of the only (?) aldea church, and it may be that the cofradía there is at least partly Ladino.

In the plaza there is a cross; at least some probably 3 (I) of the exits of the town there are elaborate crosses; in the corner of the house (inside) there is a framed altar with a cross (G,Y) . It seems highly probable that the cross is more important than in the West; but we obtained no more data on the subject.

There is a functionary probably a shaman, who is called a Principal. We were told (H,I,Y) that the head of the house of our informants, Ignacio Vásquez, is a Principal, and indeed that he is the only one in the town (Y). We found that the Principal is employed at least for milpa ceremonies and to recall victims of fright (I,Y). We were told (H) that when the milpa canes are burned in preparation for planting, a Principal is brought to do the praying, and (Y) at planting, time, rituals are done by the Principal both in the Church and in the milpa. The Principal prays in the four corners of the milpa "To keep out the wind (aire or aires?)" and at an altar in the center of the milpa. He prays facing East, and uses candles. (Y).

When a child se espanta, the Principal lo saca (I). The Principal must perform the cure while the patient sleeps; he goes to the hill (cerro) with a white rooster and hen, casados, and buries them alive in a hole he digs in the side of the hill. The notion apparently is that the chickens enter the hill to fetch the spirit of the child, the loss of which, through a fright, is the cause of his sickness.

About other rituals or ceremonies we obtained no information. For the fiesta (which one?) santos from other towns are brought (I). We were told that during Holy Week there is a Crucifixion, that there used to be a Judas-effigy in the celebration, and that meat is not eaten. There is both a church and a Calvario in town (I). The bread-and-honey complex of the West is not known.(Y). Baptism is done by padrinos; if the parents are rich, they may hire a Principal to take the baby to see S.Pedro

where candles are lighted and prayers recited.(I).

Beliefs. We obtained data on two pieces of folklore familiar to us from Western Guatemala, and in both cases obtained quick and certain response. The first concerns the power of women. We asked (H) if a man would ever cover himself with a woman's skirt; the informants were shocked, said that would be peacdo, and that the man would vuelvo mudo. They also said that a woman's perraje can be placed on a bull's head to tame him. In answer to further questions, we were told it is muy peacdo for a woman to step over maize; and the informants added voluntarily that a woman cannot step over a hat (made for sale) or the palm with which hats are made, for if she does, the man would lose his dicha (luck?) for the sale of the hats.

Noticing (Y) that a bed in the house had its head apparently to the west, we found on questioning that it is believed to be a sin to sleep with the head to the West, but "Since my husband is a Principal, he is pardoned and can do it."

Both of these beliefs, of course, are like those of the Western highlands. In addition, we found (H) that the moon is identified with La Virgen Santa Teresa (but is also gatut in lengua).

Race Relations. A distinction between Indians and Ladinos is recognized officially and unofficially by all. This distinction is based partly on language, although this is minimized by the Ladinos (see above); partly on costume (also minimized --K); possibly partly on surnames, although all are Spanish in origin; probably chiefly on tradition and participation in one or the other community. A good source for the purpose (K) told us that

when a father comes in to register a birth, the authorities judge by his classification as shown in his cédula whether to put the child down as an Indian or a Ladino; and then when a person comes to take out a cédula, the authorities look him up in the birth records to see if he should be classified an Indian or a Ladino. Thus, if there is no other way to tell, a person's race is determined through official records, and depends on the race of his parents. It was admitted (E) that difficulties arise in the case of mixed-bloods, and that they are resolved often by giving an illegitimate child the race of his mother and a legitimate one that of his father.

However, it seems clear that in S. Pedro Pinula recourse to records is infrequently necessary; for a Ladino is probably commonly known as such both by his family and by his non-participation in Indian society. Otherwise, we would hardly have been told that the first four regidores are Ladinos and the others Indians; that the sirvientes in the juzgado are always Indians; that members of the town cofradía are Indians; and for that matter we would not glibly have been given population estimates in terms of races.

Actually, there are probably few borderline cases; and in all but these, the races are readily distinguishable on one or another of the partial criteria mentioned. The difference in the racial situation here and in the West thus appears to be in degree only.

Whether there are marked physical differences between those known as Indians and those known as Ladinos (except perhaps in extreme cases, as of Chinese) we could not determine.

Also, whether there is a desire or tendency for Indians to pass into the Ladino class, we do not know. It is certain that the social, and probably cultural, distinction of the races or classes is marked; it does mean something to be a Ladino or an Indian. After all, the Presidente did take steps to settle a land dispute between "Ladinos and indigenas."

There are intermarriages between the races (E); these are for the most part unions of Ladino men and Indians women, of which there are "many" (H). In such cases, the children wear Ladino clothes -- the difference in costume is more marked among females than among males, for only Indians wear wraparound skirts -- and are Ladinitos (H). There are also cases of Indian men living with Ladinas; "some" cases in the aldeas of Aguacatán, and one in La Cumbre were recalled (H). In the last, a girl named María García, of a Ladino family of town, lives with an Indian named Juan Pérez in the aldea; she washes his clothes and makes his tortillas; she went there young and learned her domestic duties from her Indian mother-in-law (H). The informant on this subject (H) said, "We are all mixed up," and again, "We were all baptised in the same pila" -- meaning, of course, that there is or should be no difference. He did admit that there is a social difference, however, and indicated that it is a vertical class difference, when he told us that the Ladinos in town are less civil than those in the aldeas; those in town just say (to Indians) "dise" instead of "Buenos días".

It is certain, nevertheless, that economically, at least, the races overlap; not only do the Ladinos work in the same industries

as Indians, and sell in the same markets, but some of them work in the fields and even wear the Indian-style work-dostume. (We can be pretty sure of the last because we asked (H) a leading question that should have produced the negative response that we fully expected, and we received the contrary instead.)

A glance at Intendencia record books showed that most Indians bear surnames of the most common variety: Perez, Lopez, Dias, etc. which may indicate that they obtained them together at one period

B. Quesaltepeque

Introduction. Our information on Quesaltepeque is much sparser than on S. Pedro Pinula; our time was shorter, we failed to filled out the questionnaire, and we achieved no close social relations with an Indian family. Indeed, virtually the only first-hand information we gained was on *cofradia* organization and ritual. However, since Wisdom has considerable information on this town, what we did find out can no doubt be fitted into the picture later.

Certain differences from S. Pedro Pinula can be noticed from examination of the Legajos (CC) of the town municipalities. Quesaltepeque has greater extremes of altitude (2034 to 6000 feet); sugar and sorghum are mentioned as crops only of Quesaltepeque; mats rather than hats seem to be Quesaltepeque's most important industry and in addition soap and alfinique (sandy) are mentioned. But on the whole, the general similarities are at least as obvious. Each municipio has just 23 aldeas and they appear to be about the same size, Quesaltepeque lacking only examples of the largest aldeas. The crops grown are similar, and most of the industries

common to the both places. In both places aldea names are mostly Spanish; Quesaltepeque has a few more apparently non-Spanish place names. Quesaltepeque is apparently more backward educationally, having only two aldea schools; and census records (1893 and 1921) show a somewhat smaller proportion of Ladinos in the later year and a smaller literacy rate in both years. Quesaltepeque municipio is (1893 and 1921) about 10-12% smaller than S. Pedro, but about the same proportions live in town and aldeas.

It was quickly apparent upon talking to the people (J,N) that Indian culture is more clearly distinguishable in Quesaltepeque than in Pinula, and this impression was easily confirmed (P,Q,R,S). The Ladinos seem to be impressed with the esoteric character of Indian religion and obviously set themselves apart from it; in this general respect, Quesaltepeque is much more like Western Guatemala, than is Pinula. We did not determine whether the Indian Language is more commonly spoken here; the difference in that respect is certainly not very marked, and all of the Indians (O,P,Q,W) with whom we spoke seemed to speak Spanish well. Of course we know (Wisdom) that the Indian language here is Chortí rather than Pokomán; one Ladino (R) had to think carefully, and made several wrong tries, before he could say that.

The town of Quesaltepeque presents the same general appearance, in physical features, as Pinula.

In material culture, the Indians do not differ markedly from those of S. Pedro. Except that houses are different, and that the fire is built in a circular clay poyo rather than between tenemaste stones, everything else appeared similar

Our examination (P,Q) was much less complete, however. The men wear the white draw-string drawers and outside white shirt; we were told by a youngish man (S) that when he was a boy many of the older Indian men wore a wool garment corresponding apparently to the cotton of the Lake region.

On other aspects of the culture, such as social organization or marriage, we found out nothing. On the political organization we learned that there are eight ministriles, Indian boys corresponding to sirvientes in S. Pedro and alguaciles in the West, and that they serve under six regidores who are all Ladinos. These ministrillos, also called semanarios (S) work for five weeks at a time under one regidor, and then rest while others work under another regidor. The regidor himself appoints his boys; they must serve and whether they wish or not; but many like to serve and there is at least one case in which a boy has served for two years. (S). Some ten or twenty years ago Indians had to be captured and forced bodily to serve as soldiers in the cuartel; but now they like such service very much, and volunteer. (S). According to this informant, many things have changed since he was a boy; in general, the costumbres among the Indians are menos now than they once were.

Cofradías and Rituals. Only on the subject of religion did we acquire any substantial information. There are a number of cofradías; two of these are in town and the others (of undetermined number, but including San Nicolás, San Antonio, at least one Virgin that is associated with a Niño de Atoche) in the aldeas (Q). Those in town are San Francisco de Asís and San Francisco El Conquistador, of which the latter is the more important (P,Q).

S. Francisco de Asís has its fiesta on October 4th, in accord with its calendrical day; but El Conquistador, which celebrates its fiesta ending November 19th (J,Q,R), appears to have no connection with the Catholic calendar of saints. There is no S. Francisco in that period of November, nor in April, when (J,Q,R) on the 25th there is another ritual.

Except for El Conquistador, each of the cofradías is headed by a Mayordomo, and has two esclavos assisting him. San Francisco has, instead of a Mayordomo, a Padrino, and five esclavos. How the cofradías are supported, we did not find out, except that maize is contributed by private individuals, Indians and sometimes Ladinos, who bring it as gifts; these are called tenancias. (Q).

The santos of the cofradías (except El Conquistador) are taken to private homes of Indians (also Ladinos?) in town and in the aldeas when they are needed for ceremonies. One occasion in which they are so used is the ritual that takes place a year after death (velación para cabo de año). (P,Q). El Conquistador never leaves its place in the cofradía house (Q), where it leads a curious existence:

The titular fiesta of San Francisco, celebrated by the whole town, is from November 9th to 18th (J). This festival is apparently connected with the cofradía El Conquistador, for a week later that cofradía has its annual fiesta in which it changes hands. (J,Q,R). The santo, like that of S. Francisco de Asís (P) is kept in a framed altar at one end of the cofradía house; it is much smaller than those of the cofradías of the west (Q). The house is owned by, or rented or borrowed for the

year by the Padrino; in this case, it happens that the real owner of the house is one of the esclavos of the cofradia (Q), and it also happens that the santo did not change hands at all last year (Q,R) either because "nobody else wanted it" (Q) or because a good enough new man was not to be found (R) or both. The incumbent is an Indian of the aldea of Palmillo (R).

Following the fiesta of the change, the santo is completely covered with flowers and is not visible until April. During this period, and apparently from the time of the fiesta, the house is decorated with ears of corn, squash (mostly the curved variety) and other produce suspended from the rafters in thick profusion (Q); we were told (R) that the best products of the harvest are given to the santo (for this purpose?) and that in return the cofradia prepares chilate of maize and chocolate to send to the donors. This was called primicias (R). During this period, also, only the Padrino -- who lives with his family on the site -- is present at the cofradia; the esclavos have nothing to do during these months (Q). In this case, one esclavo was there, but only accidentally because he owns the house and presumably lives there or nearby.

On April 25th there is a fiesta that marks a change in the cofradia. This ceremony is held "to bring the rain" (Q) and only after it is over do the Indians begin to plant their milpas. We were told (J) that a turkey is torn apart on that date and thrown into the river at its source nearby. This river, according to a sign on the bridge in town is the "Rio de la Conquista"; the stream rising near the town has no name on Urrutia's map but it soon flows into the Xutaque.

In the cofradia, on April 25th, meanwhile, the table in front of the altar is decorated and a ritual is held. Except that a toad which has been caught alive is kept under the table, we found out no more about this ritual (Q). We shocked our informants (Q) by suggesting that the toad might be killed after the ceremony; it is "de los angeles" and is freed. We were also told (R) that toads are kept under the altar all year.

After this ceremony, or at the time of the ceremony, the santo of the cofradia is uncovered, and is then kept uncovered until the change-fiesta in November. From May to November, the cofradia is "active;" The five esclavos during this period do "nueve y nueve" -- that is, they are on duty for nine days, changing the "leaves" which form the adornment during this period, and then rest for nine days, and so alternate a procession from the outgoing padrino's house to that of the incoming one; (J,Q,R) this procession goes up to, but not into the church (Q) before passing to the new house. The procession and or fiesta includes a vestige of a dance with two Indians dancing with cayitos in hand and with a bull made of mats. (R)

An old legend (R) explains the relation of this santo and fiesta to the Conquest, for which it is named. Before the Indians had been conquered by the Spaniards -- who had a difficult time of it -- the Spaniards noted that on April 25th the Indians went at midnight to the source of the river. Some of the Spaniards, who had learned Chorti, dressed like Indian and when April 25th came, they hid at the spot where the ceremony was to be performed. Together with the santo (Francisco El Conquistador) they covered themselves with pine needles and

waited. The Indians finally came and began to dance with rattles, drum, and flute. Suddenly the Spaniards appeared and began to shout, saying that they were gods, and shooting rockets. The Indians thought they were indeed gods, and knelt before them and were thus conquered by fanatismo. They named a Padrino to care for the santo, and thereafter it changed hands every year on Nov 19th .

We were told (M,R) that for the period of his service, the Padrino must not sleep with his wife; in general, the Ladinos seem to have the impression that this Padrino must be very virtuous and (R) that if the rains fail, he is blamed. It seems clear on the whole that this is a pagan rain-making ceremony, especially since the santo involved is apparently not even of Spanish or Catholic origin. The ceremony in April opens the rains, and milpa season; the cofradia is active, and the santo working, during the rainy and milpa-growing season; at the harvest, the best fruits are given to the santo and that is the time when the rainy season is closed again and the santo and cofradia become inactive. People in all cases talked about six months and six months; but obviously the periods are 7 months (rainy season-active cofradia) and 5 months (dry season-covered santo).

C. Municipio Differences

It is apparent that in the Chorti and Pokomán areas the Indians tend to differ by municipios in much the same way that is characteristic of the Western Highlands. Information is too scant to permit of more exact comparison; but we encountered sufficient examples to warrant the general conclusion. In industry, for example, there is the fact (which may or may not

have environmental explanations) that S. Pedro Pinula is the great hat-making community, while neighboring Jilotepeque specializes in pottery (CG,E,G,I,X) and Quetzaltepeque in mats (CG). What Ipala (between Jilotepeque and Quetzaltepeque) specializes in, if anything, we do not know.

The women's costume differs also from municipio to municipio. In Pinula jasje wrap-around skirts and sleevestailored blouses are worn; in neighboring Jilotepeque the wrap-around skirt is checked (much like in S. Andrés Semetabaj) in three different ways, and the blouse appears to be the same as in Pinula; but in Jilotepeque there is a characteristic long white perraje (W) not noted in Pinula. In Ipala, evidence points to the use of a sewed skirt (not wrap-around) and of a white huipil (not sleeved); these we observed in Cuzapa, which we were told (I) is inhabited by Ilapa Indians but which the census indicates is in Jilotepeque; however, we were told (I) that this costume is of Ipala.

We noted also a difference in Indian houses going from Pinula to Ipala. In Pinula all those observed were of cane; in Jilotepeque most of them were of cane, but there were a few of mass adobe. In Ipala all those noticed were of mass adobe. The difference in the way the fire is built will be noted below; it appears to be rather a regional than a municipio difference.

Of course the differences between Pinula and Quetzaltepeque, in terms for officials and in cofradía customs, etc., can hardly be interpreted without much more data; and besides, the towns are too distant directly supply evidence for this problem. But the differences in non-material culture between the neighboring towns of Pinula and Jilotepeque must be given special

weight. In Jilotepeque we found (X) the institution of double names (Indian and Spanish); a man's name is Fernando Yaq' in Spanish and Fernando Xawan in Indian (Pekoman); his wife's name is Andrea Perez in Spanish and Maq'ele' tuk'ux in Indian. We are certain that at least one only S. Pedro Pinula woman never heard of such an institution (Y). The second custom referred to is the manner in which infants are carried by their fathers, on their backs, in Jilotepeque when the custom is considered a strange and joke-worthy anomaly by Pedranos (I); we take their word for it only that the mode of carrying is common in Jilotepeque, for we witnessed one case.

The conception on the part of Indians that towns properly differ in customs is apparently present. In the matter of maize storage, an informant (Y) recognized such a difference, and again in the matter of meat-fasting the same informant mentioned that in Esquipulas the people eat meat all through Holy Week. Of course our informants (I) took for granted the general differences in houses, costume, etc, noted on the road.

D. Regional Differences

However much the Shorti and Pekoman towns may differ from one another, it is apparent that they have very much in common when compared with the Western Highlands. Elements of material culture noted, such as the raised grinding stone, are common to all of the kitchens we noted beyond Jalapa. We noted the central cross in the plaza in S. Pedro, Jilotepeque, the aldea of Cuzapa, and Quesaltepeque; it is very likely a universal trait. There are crosses at three exits of both S. Pedro

and Jilotepeque (I) and, according to Wisdom, at the exits of all Chorti Towns. The sweat-bath is universally absent, as far as we could discover; and one informant (Y) could not even understand readily a description (confusing the trait with a Ladino custom). The Indian men's work-costume is the same throughout the area. All over Indians speak Spanish and at least in Pinula Quesaltepeque they seem willing to enter Jungado and military service. Nowhere is there evidence of an elaborate Indian political organization.

Yet with all of these similarities, there appear to be regional differences. Possibly they are Chorti vs. Pokomán differences. Obviously we have no data to answer such a question, but on the one hand we have Wisdom's statement to indicate that the Chorti towns are relatively uniform in general culture, and on the other we have indications that Pinula and Jilotepeque (Pokomán) differ from Quesaltepeque (Chorti) rather strikingly in religion, at least. It is entirely possible that S. Pedro Pinula has a rain-making *cofradía* comparable to that in Quesaltepeque; but it is not likely that in such a case we would not have heard of it. In Quesaltepeque all of the Ladinos talked to (J, M, N, R) mentioned right off the strange and interesting costumbres of the Indians; in Pinula, not a word of such. We also talked enough about *cofradías* to our Pinula informants to have brought out such a phenomenon. It seems further unlikely that we missed this point in Pinula because we know that the local Indian *cofradía*, S. Pedro, celebrates its important fiestas at times when the seasons do not change; of course this *cofradía* also has no apparently-

pagan santo either. Thus there appears to be a striking and far-reaching difference in Chorti and (at least) Pinula religious organizations.

There are minor apparently-regional differences as well. Such is the use of the term Padrino among the Chorti (our information checking with that of Wisdom) for the head of the cofradia as well as for the shaman and godfather (Wisdom); in Pinula, the term Principal is used for the cofradia-head and the shaman, and Padrino is reserved for the godfather. Likewise, the term esclave used in Quesaltepeque is apparently not used in Pinula. The differences in terms for servants in the juzgado have also been remarked.

A difference in house-type, going on an East-West axis through the whole region has also been noted. We did not note carefully enough other points in this respect (such as form of roof, or the house-type changes from the Mataques-cuintla area -- where the adobe houses have smoke-holes on the west walls to the Pinula area where the walls are of course open). We did take pains to try to trace changes in the form of the fireplace. This problem is a little complicated by the fact that Ladino (or perhaps better-class Indian) houses tend to have built-up fireplaces in probably the entire region east of Guatemala City; when examining a fireplace in a kitchen, the refore, it is well to know whether the owner is Ladino or Indian, and in the region from Guatemala City to Pinula this is not possible from observation alone. Nevertheless, it appears probably that in respect to fireplaces there is a line to be drawn to distinguish an area where tenemaste stoves are general from an area where the griddle is set on permanent

circular masonry structure in which the fire is built. This line, it appears, runs somewhere between Jilotepeque and Pinula; since McBryde reports seeing tenemastes in a kitchen at the very cumbre east of the town of Pinula, it is likely that the municipal line there is also the line of demarcation for this trait. In a house west of Jilotepeque (X) the fire was built between tenemaste stones; but the owners explained that they had just moved in and still had not built their peyo; they indicated that other houses all had built-up fireplaces, and since they seem very poor, it is likely that (since they were accustomed to such) such is the case. These people did not know the term tenemaste, which is corroborative evidence.

On the other side of the line, in the kitchen in S. Pedro Pinula that we came to know (G,Y), the tenemastes were used; they were recognized by that name, and there were indications (H) that beliefs concerning these stones similar to those of the West are known. We were told that we should not sit on the stones. We were told (Y) that built-up fireplaces are used in S. Pedro, but only (or chiefly) by Ladinos.

Following the road East from Jilotepeque, we saw no more tenemaste stones; fires in that region, all the way to and including Esquipulas, are built in the circular structures (L, P,Q,L,U,V). In Esquipulas and Quesaltepeque we particularly noted that in restaurants functioning obviously only during the fiesta, the temporary fireplaces were of the same type; some of them were gray and cracked, obviously of poor quality for temporary use. If the culture trait were not very well established there (to the degree that stones are never used) it seems reasonable to suppose that at least some of the restaurants would have

have been satisfied with stones alone.

West of the line mentioned, the situation is not so clear -- due possibly to the complication of Ladino custom. Evidence for S. Pedro Pinula (Y) has already been cited; a brief stop at a house just west of town showed tenomastes. Then west of Jalapa (Z) we found the circular poyo again; but the housewife (the only one home) appeared to be a Ladina. Farther West (AA) tenomastes only were in use, and the man gave us two words for them: tetuntas and tenomastes. West of Mataquescuintla (BB) we again found the stones. Therefore, even if there is no hard and fast line, it is obvious that the type of fireplace universal in the East fades off and disappears well before the Capital is reached.

A second regional difference to which we paid some attention has reference to the form of what is called the machete. In the Western highlands, of course, the implement called by that name is a factory-made long knife with short handle attached. Among the Chorti (Wisdom) and in S. Pedro Pinula (G,H), the machete denominates a relatively short blade in the form of a right angle that is home-hafted with a long handle bound to it. The blades are either imported or made by local blacksmiths. What is called a machete in the West is here a corvo (no matter what it's curve. Put another way, in the West only the corvo is known; in the East, both the corvo and the hooked instrument. Where the line should be drawn, from East to West, we could not determine; but that it is close to Guatemala City is a probability, for in a house west of Mataquescuintla (BB) we saw the stump of one of the hooked- implements (used for digging

around beans, the owner said) the original form of which was called by some other name than machete. Knowledge of both implements may thus extend virtually to the Capital (where we have never seen the tool carried) but the use of the term machete for it rather than the long knife may stop somewhere near Jalapa.

A Mr. Berkowitz, owner of the Casa Blanco hardware store (who has been in the business for some 25 years) reports that these hooked implements are made chiefly by Wells in Birmingham, England (that the Collins equivalent is not popular); he calls it the calabose (the term also used by the informant -- BB?) and says that it is sold, and used, throughout the Departments of Progreso, Santa Rosa, Jutiapa, Jalapa, Chiquimula, Baja Verapaz, and in parts of Zacapa. This means, of course, that it is an implement of Eastern and of Central Guatemala.

Another important material-culture difference between East and West is, of course, the metal-pointed planting stick; but we did not study its distribution, beyond noting it in the Pokomán and Chortí (see also Wisdom) area.

Not the least interesting of the regional differences is that in the distinction of the races, Ladino and Indian. West of Guatemala City, of course, the races are commonly distinguishable by language, dress, often surname, and by culture. It is also generally possible to distinguish by physical characters. East of the Capital, these criteria apparently disappear. The diary of the trip made in 1937 chiefly for the purpose of noting distinctions of races from the Capital to Jalapa is not now at hand; but from data collected then it is possible to observe that these criteria (especially surname and language -- in the use of Spanish) are still probably

used in Santa Catarina and San José Pinula, but in Mataquescuintla these marks appear to non-existent, and there and in Jalapa a man's race is known only traditionally. This was verified to some extent, and the boundary pushed westward, by our experience in San José la Sierra (A) where a woman from Huehuetenango indicated that there are virtually no Indians there when the census officially recognizes many; we could get little light on how the races might be told apart from this woman who, of course, knew what we meant by Indians as opposed to Ladinos. Other experiences in the region (Z,AA,BB) demonstrated that whatever distinctions the census takers use are not very obvious.

However, beyond Jalapa, the situation approaches that of the West again; for the Pokomán and Chortí still use an Indian language and still are partly distinguished by costume, and still have an Indian culture. These facts have been sufficiently treated above. Differences within this area we could not study.

The Mataquescuintla-Jalapa region is thus something of vague-race no-man's-land, where Indian culture may not be a recognizable entity, between two areas where there are obviously both Indians and Ladinos.

E. Western Highlands vs. Yucatán

In a number of respects the Chortí-Pokomán area seems to resemble Yucatán more than it does the Highlands of Western Guatemala. This does not mean there are respects in which the contrary is not as evident. For example, houses are not apical. But even in many respects in which this area resembles Western Guatemala there is an approach away from what is characteristically highland to a more median condition. Thus, the uniformity

of Yucatec culture is directly opposed to the variability of Indian culture in the highlands; and in this respect the Eastern area resembles the highlands; but certainly municipal differences are not nearly as marked. Thus also, the specialisation economic of municipios and pre-eminence of commerce are marked in the highlands and almost non-existent in Yucatán; and while again the Eastern region partakes of the character of the Highlands, specialisation is relatively minor (the communities tending to be self-sufficient except for some manufactures) and trade less visuous and markets smaller and consisting much more of local vendors than in the highlands. This in spite of the fact that the general topography is hardly different from the Highlands and certainly doesn't approach that of the plain of Yucatan.

Wisdom's report no doubt furnishes much more data for discussion of this problem than are available to us. However, it is possible now to say that the Pokomám as well as the Chorti have many resemblances to Yucatan. In S. Pedro Pinula we could make a short list of obvious household elements including the use of the term mano for the handpiece of the grinding stone (but not metate, as among the Chorti and in Yucatan); the raised grinding table; the amassing of much maize-dough before beginning to bake tortillas; the circular gourd carrier; the sloping chair; the digging stick; the short white pants and outside shirt; the framed altar with the cross; the use of a white table cloth. The cross in the square and crosses at the exits of towns and milpa-planting ceremonies with use of the four corners of the milpa and their relation to the wind may also be mentioned as traits resembling Yucatan and not the Western Highlands. In Quesaltepeque we were

also able to say that ritual life responds, as in Yucatan, to the season and the individual; witness the use to which the *cofradía* El Conquistador is put, and the taking of santos from the *cofradías* to private homes for family ceremonies. In the West, ritual life is much more formalized and does not so directly answer social and personal needs.

Needless to say, there are a great many specific traits common to the East and West of Guatemala and not shared by Yucatan; the general method of agriculture, for example, or the belief that one must not sleep with his head toward the West or the conception of female power. There are also a number of negative traits shared by two of the regions, such as the absence of Yucatecan apsidal houses and earth-ovens in Eastern and Western Guatemala, or the lack of sweatbaths in Yucatan and Eastern Guatemala. But of course to begin to number and weigh traits in detail, is beyond the possibilities allowed by the data at hand. It is sufficient to note the likelihood that this area of Guatemala may be culturally as akin or more akin to Yucatan than it is to the Western Highlands.

F. Waste-basket

1. Note description of the Cabafuelas by a Ladino near Mataquescuintla (B), and the reverse use of the concept.
2. Jilotepeque and Pinula and Esquipulas and probably other towns of the area have Calvarios as well as Churches.
3. Hanging crate in house near Jalapa (AA).
4. In Jilotepeque, a guacal called a Bárea (X).
5. Pottery fired with dry cow chips in Jilotepeque; vessels drying, and before burning, already red in color even before blaze applied (X).

Footnotes

1. The Chorti Indians of Guatemala, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940
2. Sol Tax, Diary, C. I. W. Ms., 1937
3. Robert Redfield, Primitive Merchants of Guatemala, Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations, Vol. I, No. 4, 1939; Yucatan, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1941, Pp.
- 3ol Tax, Culture and Civilization in Guatemalan Societies, Scientific Monthly, May, 1939; World View and Social Relations in Guatemala, American Anthropologist, Vol. 43, No. 1, 1941.
4. We are indebted to Sr. Guillermo Schwartz, Director General, for his kindness and cooperation.
5. The census of 1921 gives, for 1893, 3,511 Ladinos and 2,113 Indians; for 1921, 5,087 Ladinos and 3,187 Indians. The proportion of Indians in the total population was roughly three-eighths, slightly higher in 1921 than in 1893. Results of the 1940 census, not available, may of course possibly show a sudden great diminution of Indians.

Jan. 14, 1941
Date visited

-1-

S. Pedro Pinula Jalapa
Municipio Dept.

A. GEOGRAPHY
Legal Source
 Altitude: G.O.¹ 324-550 977 metros (Cajon road)
 Area: 1500 Caballerías (excit.)
 Mun. maps: ✓ new - Honduras-made
 Town maps: ✓ -
 Date, author

Bounding Municipalities:

Jicaro, Cabanas, S. Diego, Jilotepec,
Chapanon, Moyas, Jalapa, El Progreso

Founding dates:

1
 very de (cent)
 Mun. Town Others

Historical or other notes:

¹
 Founded 1702 according to legend on church. That's when arch of church built.
 Pinalito has famous baths "Los Chorros"

B. POPULATION

Category	Name ¹	Fam. lites	Per-sons	Ladinos	Indians Number	Indians Kinds	School	Government ¹
Pueblo	S. Pedro P.	327	1518	60%	40%	various not	various mixed	
Aldea	Agua Mecate	83	406	5%	95%	"	Mixed (various)	R.A.
"	El Aguacate	171	528	5%	"	"	Mixed	R.A.
"	El Cujíte	75	341	4 or 5 families	"	"	-	R.A.
"	Agua Santa	65	278	25%	75%	"	-	R.A.
"	Corralitos	42	241	10%	"	"	-	R.A.
"	Quezacoquilt	32	176	5%	"	"	-	RA
"	St. Domingo	101	522	50%	"	"	Mixed	RA
"	El Cujíte	42	234	33%	"	"	-	RA
"	Pinalito	63	328	15%	"	various families	-	RA
"	Riscos	32	174	5%	"	"	Mixed	RA
1. El Sotillo	San Mateo	136	709	4 families	"	"	various mixed	RA
"	Agujitas	50	205	-	100%	"	-	RA
1. Chayistón	El Sango	63	353	-	100%	"	-	RA
1. Santa Ana	Plancha Cruz	64	303	-	100%	"	-	RA

Check if cont'd to P. 1a or P. 1aa

↓ Data from Legajo¹ in Census office in Guatemala City.

Municipio

B. Population (Cont'd)

Category ¹	Name ¹	Families ¹	Persons ¹	Ladinos	Indians		Sch. ¹	Gov. ¹
					No.	Kinds		
Aldea	S. José	72	363	—	100%		—	RA
"	Caruzal Grande	217	1070	1 ^o familia			Mixed	RA
1. Capital 2. Infancia } "	Totón	112	605	10 familias			—	RA
1. Mucanderos 2. Pabocoyra 3. San Mateo } "	La Ceba	156	753	2 "			—	RA
"	El Ingenio	30	161	—			—	RA
"	El Sapote	62	273	10%	90%		—	RA
"	Pie de la Cuesta	52	263	1 familia			—	RA
1. La Laguna 2. El Cedral 3. La Piedad } "	La Cumbre	280	1253	1 "		1 ^o de Hoyos	Mixed	RA
"	El Durazno	39	193	—			—	RA

no 34

* Today President
made 2 schools
of this one.

Source of local data EscrituraRemarks: Ladinos Ladinos recientes
Distribution, antiquity, classes

Local Indians: _____

Foreign Indians: Hoyos use on codens. San Juan + taxes lev.
Dist., antiquity, customs, gov. rel. cont.

S. Pedro Pinula
Municipio

Municipio Statistics

	<u>Population</u>		
	1893	1921	1940
TOTAL	7,984	9,988	12,863 ^(English) _(Maya)
Urban		1,464	1,727 } <i>English</i>
Rural		8,524	11,136
Special			

	<u>Age</u>	
	1921	1940
Under 7	4,881	
7-14	1,797	
Over 14	6,310	

	1940
SPANISH	
English	
German	
French	
Italian	
Other non-Indian	
Quiché	
Cakchiquel	
Man	
Pocomán	
Queseché	
Other Indian	

	<u>Race</u>		
	1893	1921	1940
Ladino	1,188	993	
Indian	6,786	8,995	
White & Mestizo	-	-	
Other	-	-	

	<u>Literacy</u>		
	1893	1921	1940
Illiterate	5,777	7,535	
Literate	581	572	
Only Read	-	-	
Read-write	-	-	
Unknown	-	-	

NOTE

Note relations of estimates, P. 2, and official 1940 figures.

Note local explanation of population shifts from 1893-1921-40

8524 $\frac{126120}{25572}$
5440

1464 $\frac{11}{263.0}$
76.0

1464
60
2984

Municipio

G. Commerce and Industry

KIND OF Business	Number of shops in town				KIND OF Business	Lad-ine	Loc. Ind.	For. Ind.	TO-Ind. TAL
	Lad-ine	Loc. Ind.	For. Ind.	TO-Ind. TAL					
Tiendas	2 China (lat. up) 1 Lat. (small store)				Carnecería	5			5
Palperías					Marranería				
Estancos	3			3	Barberías	1	1		2
Panaderías	each makes for himself & few sell to others				Herrerías	4			4
Bastrerías	2			2					
Zapaterías	3			3					
Telares									

3 in aldea

Industries: 2 hats in El coyote, Agua Santa, Corralito, other aldea & in town
 Esteras, sombreros, garces, alfarería, candelarias, charras (men aldea & Dignach)
 Special Trades: 75% of all make hats -- each class, some 75% 25% make rope, etc.
 No. & race for each: Only Indians make hat strys... in everything... sexes equal... Only men make rope... machines for horses made by men & women.

MARKETS: Thurs. Sunday Days
 Av. no. venders taxed maximum day no charge
 What do local Ind. vend? not many dulces Av. tax receipts maximum day 500 in Sunday
 What do Lads. vend? fruits open & closed in Annual Fairs cape (retail antiche)

sexes about same in products

women: fruit, coffee, maize, beans, vegetable

men & women

D. LAND

Municipio Land boundaries: Jilotapeque - frohble, now settled; also with Jucos
 Former extent, disputes, etc.

Communal Lands: 1/3 communal; farm land; anyone may ask for it, but Indians don't
Extent, location, quality, who uses
others an engineer now measuring "to give it to Indians -- to split through whole"

No. small owners² _____ No. large owners² _____

Chief crops¹ coffee, maize, avoy, mango, beans, potatoes, fruit

No. Manzanas cultivated² _____

TOTAL	_____	_____	_____	_____
Maize	_____	_____	_____	_____
Beans	_____	_____	_____	_____

Municipio

E. GOVERNMENT

Official	Race & Origin	Term dates	Duty-period	NOTES (Pay, history)
Intendente	Lad. (Guajira)	(2 yrs)		35 ⁰⁰
Secretary	Lad. Guicho	(2 yrs)		25 ⁰⁰
Escribiente	Lad. local	(3 yrs)		15 ⁰⁰
Tesorero	Lad. ?	(9 yrs)		15 ⁰⁰
Receptor Fiscal	(Favora)			
Receptor Sanidad	(Favora)			
Receptor Electrica	(receptor) (Favora)			

Sindico	Lad	Local	15 of March	2 yrs.	used to be 27. then - one Indian
1° Regidor	Lad		"	"	} elected by popular vote. all vote for all
2° Regidor	"		"	"	
3° Regidor	"		"	"	
4° Regidor	"		"	"	
5° Regidor	Ind		"	"	
6° Regidor	"		"	"	
7° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
8° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
9° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
10° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
11° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
12° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
13° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
14° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
15° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
16° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
17° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
18° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
19° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
20° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
21° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
22° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
23° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
24° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
25° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
26° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
27° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
28° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
29° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
30° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
31° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
32° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
33° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
34° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
35° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
36° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
37° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
38° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
39° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	
40° Auxiliares	Ind		"	"	

Source of data yes List in juzgado? Notes:

used to be alcalde lad. & alcalde indigena (1-2). Old alcalde 12 was 100 Indian, 6 months.
 INTENDENTES: There 7 intendentes; the present one has been here 2 years.
 No. since 1936, and history of office

Municipal Budget obtained? _____ summarized? Appendix I
 DEMANDAS: State of records 66 Actas Economicas
 Ordered copied? _____ By whom? _____ (Appendix II)
 VIALIDAD: Proportion, by races, of these paying: _____
 Labor all pay. 25% of Indians pay

* People volunteer in droves for saving of tickets.

Municipio

F. COFRADIAS & FESTIVALS

Cofradia	Race	Offices	Fiesta date	Notes (Novenas, etc.)
Patron S. Pedro			29 de Junio	
Candelaria			2-5 Feb	

Cofradia S. Pedro			Change every year (at Candelaria)	Cofradia		
Office	Incumbent	Race		Office	Incumbent	Race
Principal	Chico Lopez Cruz	"				
"	Vicario	"				
"	Alferez	"				
"		"				
"		"				

Priest Jalapa
parish headquarters

Masses 5
No. in past year

G. INDIAN COSTUME

Men: Ladino clothes

Women: shirts of Salama (Tot. type); blouses the women sew of manta (with slams)

What costume changes recalled? men changed from calzoncillos with cord tying in back; other this a hanging shirt. changed in time of parson
Pictures of old costumes: no any
Describe if available

H. SURNAMES (Appendix III)

(Append table from collection made from Cedula book, birth records, etc., with number of each in sample; distinguish Ladinos, Local Indians, Foreign Indians).

I. GIVEN NAMES (Appendix IV)

(Append table from sample of birth records taken, showing proportion of names apparently taken from the Saint of the birth date; Distinguish by race and origin).

Municipio

K. MIDWIVES (Appendix V)

(Append table with data taken from birth records, showing race and origin of midwives and of delivered woman)

L. EDUCATION (in town)

School (Race & sex)	Date founded	Race of teachers No. & sex of "	Registration (by race-sex)	Attendance
Varones	Tinie 7 Barrios	4 Lad men	131 (50%-50%)	131
Niña	" "	4 Lad women	96 (50%-50%)	96
(rural schools)	Guisiltzayua, 2 schools from	1 Lad "	43	43
	Tinie 7 Barrios	1 Ind woman	22	22

all others have Lad. teachers

*In municipio, 340 boy 242 girls registered
311 " 208 " absent*

USE OF SPANISH BY INDIANS (Informants: _____):

Sex	Less than 1/3	1/3 to 2/3	More than 2/3	(Check proper places)
Men:	—	—	100% <i>15% talk Spanish "abundant"</i>	
Women:	—	—	100%	

Local Indians speak more or less or the same amount of Spanish as in the following (all of the bounding) municipalities:

Municipio	More	same	less
Jicaro	—	—	—
Cabeña	—	—	—
S. Diego	—	—	—
Jilokoyua	—	—	—
Chapala	—	—	—
Mojos	—	—	—
Delicias	—	—	—
El Progreso	—	—	—

MILITARY SERVICE: Where do locals attend Lista? _____

How many Indians _____ Ladinos _____ attend?

Indians come voluntarily for service, because "like it". Ladinos don't

How many Indians _____ Ladinos _____ are in

Quarteles this year? Where? *few, 10. 50% all told, all Indians*

VOLUNTARIOS: Is there a local company? *yes*. If so, how many

officers or Ladinos some sergeants are Indio

Indians 117 Ladinos 8 new registered? Race of

Instructor Lad. Puerto Rican. How long has company existed? 1936 on

Quetzaltepeque Chiquimula
Municipio Dept.

Date visited _____

A. GEOGRAPHY

Altitude: 6,011¹ Local Source
(am. 20W)

Bounding Municipalities: _____

Area: _____

Mun. map: _____

Founding dates: ¹ _____

Town map: _____

Date, author _____

Mun. Town Others _____

Historical or other notes: ¹ _____

B. POPULATION

Category	Name ¹	Fam- ilies	Per- sons	Ladinos	Indians		School	Govern- ment ¹
					Number	Kinds		
Villa	Quetzaltepeque	285	1247					
Aldes	Pozos	105	592					R.A.
"	Salpate	61	276					R.A.
"	Nochai	67	313					R.A.
"	Guatelon	121	578			Mixed		R.A.
"	Zacualpa	38	218					R.A.
"	Palmilla	123	553					R.A.
"	S. Nicolas	105	497					R.A.
"	Rio Grande	87	403					R.A.
"	Yerba Buena	73	385					R.A.
"	Palmas	74	234					R.A.
"	Cublatas	127	779					R.A.
"	San Jose	57	313					R.A.
"	Estanzuela Vieja	83	407					R.A.
"	" Arriba	53	250					R.A.

Check if cont'd to P. 1a or P. 1aa _____

↓ Data from Legajo in Census office in Guatemala City

B. Population (Cont'd)

Category ¹	Name ¹	Families ¹	Persons ¹	Ladinos	Indians		Sch. ¹	Gov. ¹
					No.	Kinds		
Aldes	Padre Miguel	76	355				-	RA
"	Yocén	36	149				Yaras	RA
"	Sta Cruz	73	374				-	RA
"	Encuentros	66	284				-	RA
"	Llano Grande	45	235				-	RA
"	La Peña	53	272				-	RA
"	Chiramay	47	142				-	RA
"	Pedregal	83	309				-	RA
"	Potrillo	82	309				-	RA

Source of local data _____

Remarks: Ladinos _____
 Distribution, antiquity, classes

Local Indians: _____

Foreign Indians: _____
 Dist., antiquity, customs, pol-rel.serv.

Quezaltepeque
Municipio

Municipio Statistics

<u>Population</u>			
	<u>1893</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1940</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	7,258	8,253	
<u>Urban</u>		1,140	
<u>Rural</u>		7,113	
<u>Special</u>		-	

<u>Race</u>			
	<u>1893</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1940</u>
<u>Ladino</u>	1,264	872	-
<u>Indian</u>	5,994	7,381	
<u>White & Mestizo</u>	-	-	
<u>Other</u>	-	-	

<u>Age</u>		
	<u>1921</u>	<u>1940</u>
<u>Under 7</u>	1,658	
<u>7-14</u>	1,497	
<u>Over 14</u>	5,098	

<u>Literacy</u>			
	<u>1893</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1940</u>
<u>Illiterate</u>	5,386	6,291	
<u>Literate</u>	340	304	-
<u>Only read</u>	-	-	
<u>Read-write</u>	-	-	
<u>Unknown</u>	-	-	

Mother-Tongue

	<u>1940</u>
<u>SPANISH</u>	
<u>English</u>	
<u>German</u>	
<u>French</u>	
<u>Italian</u>	
<u>Other non-Indian</u>	
<u>Quiché</u>	
<u>Cakchiquel</u>	
<u>Man</u>	
<u>Tecunan</u>	
<u>Quiché</u>	
<u>Other Indian</u>	

NOTE

Note relations of estimates, P. 2, and official 1940 figures.

Note local explanation of population shifts from 1893-1921-40

Municipio _____

C. Commerce and Industry

		Number of shops in town						Number of shops in town			
KIND OF Business	Lad- ine	Loc. Ind.	For. Ind.	TOTAL	KIND OF Business	Lad- ine	Loc. Ind.	For. Ind.	TOTAL		
Tiendas					Carpenteria						
Estancos					Marraneria						
Panaderias					Barberias						
Bastrerias					Herrerias						
Zapaterias											
Telares											
Industries	¹ <i>Articles general in aldea ; hats, arcilla, alfareria, jabonera, candelaria, papales</i>				² <i>Alfalfa, male alfarpiga, olla, rest conchas in Salsipuedes, Soap in Baculapas palmilla</i>						
Special Trades:	No. & race for each _____										

MARKETS: _____ Av. no. vendors taxed maximum day _____
 Days _____
 What do local Ind. non vend? _____ Av. tax receipts maximum day _____
 What do Lads. vend? _____

D. LAND

Municipal Land boundaries: _____
 Former extent, disputes, etc. _____

Communal Lands: _____
 Extent, location, quality, who uses _____

No. small owners² _____ No. large owners² _____

Chief crops¹ *Coffee, cane, banana, ~~beans~~ beans, rice, manilla, fruit*

No. Mansanas cultivated² _____

TOTAL _____

Maize _____

Beans _____

Municipio _____

E. GOVERNMENT

Official Race & Origin Term dates Duty-period NOTES (Pay, history)

Intendente _____

Secretary _____

Escriviente _____

tesorero _____

Asesor Fiscal _____

Asesor Sanidad _____

Concejal _____

1° Regidor _____

2° Regidor _____

3° Regidor _____

4° Regidor _____

5° Regidor _____

6° Regidor _____

Auxiliares _____

Mayores _____

Alguaciles _____

Source of data _____ List in jugade? _____ Notes: _____

INTENDENTES: _____
No. since 1936, and history of office _____

Municipal Budget obtained? _____ summarized? _____ (Appendix I)

DEMANDAS: State of records _____ 66 _____
Actas _____ Economicas _____
Ordered copied? _____ By whom? _____ (Appendix II)

VIALIDAD: Proportion, by races, of those paying: _____

Municipio

F. COFRADIAS & FESTIVALS

<u>Cofradia</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Offices</u>	<u>Fiesta date</u>	<u>Notes (Novenas, etc.)</u>
<u>Patron</u>				

<u>Cofradia</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Incumbant</u>	<u>Race</u>

<u>Cofradia</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Incumbant</u>	<u>Race</u>

Priest
parish headquarters

Masses
No. in past year

G. INDIAN COSTUME

Men:

Women:

What costume changes recalled?
Pictures of old costumes: Describe if available

HI SURNAMES (Appendix III)

(Append table from collection made from Cedula book, birth records, etc., with number of each in sample; distinguish Ladinos, Local Indians, Foreign Indians).

J. GIVEN NAMES (Appendix IV)

(Append table from sample of birth records taken, showing proportion of names apparently taken from the Saint of the birth date; Distinguish by race and origin).

Municipio

K. MIDWIVES (Appendix V)

(Append table with data taken from birth records, showing race and origin of midwives and of delivered woman)

L. EDUCATION (in town)

School (Race & sex)	Date founded	Race of teachers No. & sex of "	Registration ^a (by race-sex)	Attend- ance

USE OF SPANISH BY INDIANS (Informants: _____):

None	Less than 1/3	1/3 to 2/3	More than 2/3			
Men:	---	---	---	(Check proper places)		
Women:	---	---	---			
Local Indians speak more or less or the same amount of Spanish as in the following (all of the bounding) municipalities:			Municipio	More	same	less
			-----	---	---	---
			-----	---	---	---
			-----	---	---	---
			-----	---	---	---

MILITARY SERVICE: Where do locals attend Lista? _____

How many Indians _____ Ladines _____ attend?

How man Indians _____ Ladines _____ are in

Cuarteles this year? Where? _____

VOLUNTARIOS: Is there a local company? _____. If so, how many

Indians _____ Ladines _____ now registered? Race of

Instructor _____. How long has company existed? _____

APRIL IS THIS
AFTERNOON
REPORT OF A 3-DAY
SURVEY BY
ROBERT REDFIELD
AND SOL TAX
IN EASTERN
GUATEMALA

MANUSCRIPT NO. 19

MICROFILM

NEGATIVE

NO. 1694.19

END