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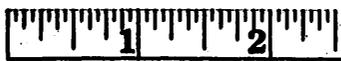
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AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF CHIAPILLA,
CHIAPAS

by

Lilo Stern

MICROFILM COLLECTION
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An Ethnography of Chiapilla

Lilo Stern

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a rough sketch map following. This I send. but you
can get on with the typing.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE VILLAGE

i. The Setting.

Chiapilla is a ladino village of about 2,000 persons. It lies in 'tierra caliente' (hot country) at approximately 1,500 feet. The dry season lasts from October to April and the rainy season from May to September. The rains vary greatly from year to year both in the total amount of rain and the dates upon which it starts and finishes. The rains generally begin at about 4 p.m. and stop at about 7 p.m. However, at times heavy rain continues throughout the night, leaving a sea of mud where there were paths and a small, swiftly running stream down the middle of the main street. People distinguish between 'un aguacero', which is a very heavy rainfall and 'un norte', which is a light drizzle only. The first type of rain is good for the maize crop and the second type tends to be bad for it. During February and March there are strong winds which create small dust storms. It is more a matter of inconvenience in that the dust gets into one's eyes and hair and into the house and clothes. It is not a serious menace as in the north and centre of Mexico, where the wind ^{swirls} sweeps up in travelling columns of soil, eroding the land.

The hottest months are March, April and May, but it is a dry heat, without the unbearable humidity found on the coast. During this season, those who can remain indoors during the hottest mid-day hours do so and mothers try to keep their small children out of the sun. Nevertheless, the men work in the fields until 3 or 4 p.m. and trader women can also be seen travelling during these hours.

~~The closest centres of population to Chiapilla are the villages of Zapotal and Totolapa, both about one and a half hours' walk along a comfortable foot-path. In the winter of 1961 a bulldozer came to widen these paths to a track suitable for lorries and jeeps. These two villages are roughly the same size as Chiapilla. Acala lies a little further off, in the opposite direction. About two hours on foot. Also in the winter of 1961, this bulldozer cleared~~

and

The village lies very close to the rivers Chucnatenco, Salado and Frio and about forty minutes ^{on foot} away - still in the lands owned by villagers - runs the Rio Grijalva. The important thing is that there is plenty of water, even though it is not utilised nearly as well as it could be. This used to be an area of cane fields and cotton plantation in the time of the large fincas, ^(a finca is an estate) before the Revolution. Now the land around Chiapilla is divided among its people, theoretically at least, and the main crops are maize and black beans. In the more fertile lands every kind of fruit is grown.

In these good lands, the maize takes three months to ripen as compared to seven months in 'tierra fria', cold country. The wealthier men of Chiapilla rent their lands to 'caseros', ^(with Indians) as do the owners of the fincas outside the village territory. These 'caseritos' are Chamulas and Zinacantecans. They pass through the village day and night going to and from their fields, which they rent on a share-cropping basis. They always go on foot, driving their mules before them. As a rule they just pass through the village and only stop to buy paletas, ^(ice lollies) or to sell a little ^{beans} maize or frijol.

The closest centres of population to Chiapilla are the villages of Zapotal and Totolapa, both about one-and-a-half hours' walk along a comfortable foot-path. In the winter of 1961 a bulldozer came to widen these paths to a track suitable for lorries and jeeps. These two villages are roughly the same size as Chiapilla. Acala lies a little further off in the opposite direction. About two hours on foot. Also in the winter of 1961, this bulldozer cleared a rough track between Acala and Chiapilla, so that it now takes about one-and-a-half hours by bus or lorry and an hour by jeep. Acala has approximately 5,000 inhabitants. From Acala to the State Capital of Tuxtla Gutierrez there is a new all weather road which was also opened in 1961.

A bus takes about one and a half to two hours, and a car can make the journey in forty-five minutes. ^{Therefore it takes about 2 1/2 hrs by bus from Chiapilla to Tuxtla} It is important to keep in mind how very recently the village has had such good communications with the outside.

Chiapilla is not laid out in the grid-pattern so common in this area. This is entirely due to its geographical position and it tries to get as close to the grid-patterns as it can. The village is built on a ridge between two rivers. It has very little flat land on the top to allow for houses and 'sitios'. ^(yards) There are only two long, parallel streets which gives room for four rows of houses. The second street disappears for a stretch, because the ridge narrows to permit two rows of houses only. There is a third street where the houses and 'sitios' are on the steep slope and there are several houses scattered singly on the slope leading down to the river. The general impression which all visitors to Chiapilla have, is that it consists of one long endless street.

The Pueblo and the Barrio

The most important division in the village is between 'el pueblo' (the village) and 'el Barrio' (there is no exact translation, it means a section or district of a town or village). The people of the Barrio are quite distinct and separate from those of the Pueblo. They are so considered by the inhabitants of the Pueblo and also consider themselves to be different.

The inhabitants of the Barrio came there about thirty years ago. They were peons working on the near-by fincas of San Jose and San Cayetano. When the fincas were taken from the owners and given to the men of Zapotal, these peons came to Chiapilla to settle there. They were given the steep slope of a hill on which to build their houses. It is not accidental, I think, that the path leading down to the Barrio passes right through one of the rubbish heaps of the village.

The peons were Indians. They spoke Tzotzil and many still speak it. According to the ladinos, they "did not speak", for 'saver ~~Hablar~~^{is understood to mean}' means to speak Spanish. They were 'pura envueltas', meaning that the women wore the Indian wrap-over skirts. These Indians spoke differently, dressed differently, ate different foods and farmed with different implements from the Chiapilltecos. The Barrio today has its own school, which they requested and which they themselves built. It has no church, but a house which serves as a chapel houses San Anonio and his nino, and another has San José the Patron Saint brought with them from their former finca. The Barrio Indians have their own religious customs although on important occasions they go to the village church.

ap.
Chiapil-
tecos

Despite this separation in location and in their own consciousness, the Barrio and the Pueblo are economically inter-dependant. The Barrio men work as day-labourers in the fields of the villagers. The young girls go as servants to work in the Pueblo. Chiapilltecos come to buy pigs and hens from the Barrio women. The Barrio men go to the cantinas of the Pueblo to get drunk. There are no shops in the Barrio and the inhabitants therefore buy all their requirements in the shops of the Pueblo. There are numerous compadre relationships between the two, with the Pueblo people as the padrinas and padrinos.

There are women in the Barrio who speak no word of Spanish and quite a number of women who still wear Indian dress. Others have become completely ladinized and have even moved into the village and have married a ladino girl or man. Between the two extremes there is every degree of ladinisation.

The people of the Pueblo look down upon those of the Barrio as 'Indios'. They are either contemptuous of them or are charitably pityful of their ignorance and their poverty. It is true that in general the Barrio people are

much poorer, although they are fast catching up and are even buying lands from those willing to sell in the village. In any case, the inhabitants of the village consider themselves to be far superior and the Barrio people believe this to be true.

Within the village proper there is a general division between all houses lying south of the square and those lying north of it. The southern half is called 'Abajo' and the inhabitants are the 'Abajanos'; the northern half is called 'Arriba' and the inhabitants are the 'Arribenos'. People living in the Arriba section consider Abajo to be a long way off (it takes about fifteen minutes walk from one end of the village to the other). One would hardly go that far at night, not even to a fiesta!

The distinction which the people make between Arriba and Abajo is a geographical and not a social one. There is no separate administration nor is there a church for each half: members of the same family live in different halves and rich and poor seem to be equally distributed in both parts, there are no offices or duties exclusively in the hands of one or the other half. The terms 'Arriba' and 'Abajo' are often used in a relative way. A woman who lives in the very last house of 'Abajo' talks of going to do some shopping 'Arriba', even though she does not intend to go as far as the square. i.e. the division between Arriba and Abajo.

People will also speak of 'Barrios' in the sense of neighbourhood: when they explain where a certain person lives they will say 'vive en el barrio de la callecita' (he lives in the callecita), or 'vive en el barrio de la Cruz' (he lives near the Cross). This is different from most Mexican populations, where the 'Barrio' is a recognisable and separate entity, with its own church and its own office attached to it.

There are three crosses at the entrances to the village. One at either end and the third/^{on} one of the paths leading from the village down to the river. The crosses are placed just before the first house and when some houses were built beyond the Cross ^{a few} ~~some~~ years ago, thus enlarging the village, the Cross was moved so that it should stand right at the entrance. There is the day of 'La Santa Cruz' which is devoted to the Cross. In Chiapilla this is not a village occasion; the 'barrio' or neighbourhood around each cross locks after it. The women put flowers and candles before the Cross as they pass it to fetch water. It is the neighbourhood that collects money for the fiesta on the 1st of May, which looks for a 'rezadora' to lead the prayers and which holds vigil all night by the Cross.

In the centre of the village is 'el parque', the village square. On one side of it are the municipal buildings. There is one room which serves as the headquarters for the Comisariado Ejidal; next to this is the prison, a small square room; and next to that the town hall or 'cabildo'. Adjoining this is 'el salon Chiquito' (the small classroom) of the school, next to which is the 'salon grande' (which is the original school building and has two classrooms).

On the second side of the square stand the church and churchyard and adjoining, is the 'sitio' and the house of the schoolmaster. This house formerly belonged to the schoolmaster's father, who was one of the richer men of Chiapilla. He does not occupy it by virtue of being schoolmaster, that is to say ^{that} it is not ^{in Chiapilla} a house destined for use of the masters. The third and fourth sides of the square are occupied by private houses. Of these houses only those occupied by wealthier men used to be white-washed, however, during the fiesta of 1961 the two beer companies of S. Mexico put up stands for

the sale of their beer for the first time. They offered to paint the houses facing into the square free of charge, providing the owners would permit them to advertise their beer on the walls. The owners were only too delighted to permit this.

The centre of the square used to consist of a large patch of rubble, with an old water tank in the middle, when I first arrived. At one time a water pipe had carried a dribble of water right to the centre of the village. It was a narrow pipe which ran along the main street so that everyone was bound to stumble over it. As long as it still carried some water this would have been tolerable. However, even after the system was finally abandoned the tubing still continued to lie around the street. Villagers told me that the pipe had continually broken down. Some said the little boys who sold water were the guilty ones; others blamed the teenage boys for the breakdowns. It was the custom for a young lad to meet his sweetheart by the river as she was fetching her water (and this still is the custom)- if she ceased going to the river and fetched her water from the tank right in the middle of the village, his opportunity of taking to her was removed.

Before the fiesta of April 29th 1961, the Presidente built a 'rotonda' for dancing in the middle of the square. He spent on this the enormous sum of \$5000 (Mex) and, although it is still occasionally used for public dances, it serves much more as a drying ground for the maize. Around two sides of the square there are a number of 'glorietas', that is to say cement benches, each one bearing the date of construction and the name of the Presidente responsible for the work. Two sides of the square have a cement paving built round about 1957: there was not enough time or money to complete all four sides of the square and subsequent Presidentes evidently did not consider it worth their while to complete it. The church, the Municipal buildings, the school and all the houses around the square are made of adobe bricks.

Homes

There are about 500 houses in the village. About 200 of these are of adobe and all of these have tile roofs. Approximately half of the adobe houses are white-washed and the remainder are not. As a general rule one can say that those who live in adobe houses are better off than those who do not. This is not absolutely true, for some poorer persons may be renting an adobe house, or they may have inherited it from a father or brother who could afford to build such a house. The remainder of the houses are mostly built of wattle and daub, although there are still a few which are built of 'caña brava' (a type of bamboo). Some of the wattle and daub houses are white-washed while many of the poorer ones are not. Again, some of the wattle and daub houses have tiled roofs and others have roofs of palm straw.

An indication of the wealth of the owner is the type of doors to the house. The most expensive are the four-part doors, which cost about \$300 (Mex). The lower half may be closed while the upper halves are left open to permit light and air to enter. After this come two-part doors, i.e. two halves which close by meeting in the middle. I have not seen the kind of doors we use, namely made of one piece of wood only with a hinge on one side and closing the entrance completely. The very poorest houses have a number of boards which they place in front of the opening. None of the houses have windows. The floor of some houses is cemented but generally there is an earth floor.

I suppose that there must be about twenty-five houses in the village which have more than one room. The second room is generally a small square space leading off the main room; it has no door to the outside and no window, so that it is quite dark. Alternatively, the second room may be of the same size as the main room; in this case it has its own door to let in air and light, the effect being rather like having two houses side by side.

I know of eight houses in the village which have some kind of sanitary arrangement. There are no septic tanks and all the existing toilets are of the simplest kind, with a roofed hut on ~~one side~~ ^{which contains a seat} and the pig-run adjoining it. In all other houses the 'sitio' or yard is used.

A large number of the adobe houses have a 'bancetta', a pavement of cement which runs the length of the house. The usual thing a man tries to do is to build the house one year, white-wash it the next year and build the bancetta in the third year. He does not always manage to do this ^{and houses are left without white-wash or bancetta for many years} of course. Houses ~~are~~ ^{may be} white-washed either outside, or both inside and outside.

Two men in the village - the two school masters - use a gas stove with calor-gas stored in tanks. These tanks are changed once in three months. All other villagers cook on wood fires. Occasionally a household will buy wood: such is the case in houses where there are no men or boys to fetch it, or in houses where bread or soap are made. Generally however the man or boys of the household fetch the wood. It is collected from the hills around the village or from special lands reserved for this purpose by the 'Ejido'. Men may bring wood on their way home from work and for many it is their Sunday job to collect wood.

The 'kitchen' of the house can also be used as an indicator of the wealth of its owner. The poorest households cook on the floor in a corner of the house. In all the adobe houses cooking is done in the 'coredor' at the back - this is a roofed passage behind the house. The fire is built at one ^{end} of this coredor, either on the ground or on a cement or adobe table so that the cook need not bend down while cooking. The fire is made between three high stones on which the pots are placed. There are a few houses which have a separate hut where the cooking is done; usually it is an old 'troje' (maize store-house) or an old house which used to be the living house before the new one was built.

All houses are built right on the edge of the road without any space for a front yard. Every house has a sitio at the back and is separated from its neighbour by a low fence of wooden poles. Occasionally there is no fence, but the boundary is marked in some way or other. There are six houses which have the sitio enclosed by an adobe wall. A seventh is at present having a wall built. The six owners who have such adobe walls are among the well-to-do of the village. However, not every wealthy man has an adobe wall built around his sitio; the two supposedly richest men have an open sitio. The reason for the wall is not privacy but partly to keep the pigs and chickens inside and partly to keep burglars out. I think it also has some connection with the "gentility" of the owner. Some houses have a 'troje', a maize storage hut, but most of the owners of adobe house keep their maize inside the house.

Inside, the houses consist of a square room: there is no ceiling and the room is open to the rafters and the roof. There are some cement or tile floors, but generally it is an earth floor. Light enters by two doors, which are left open all day under normal circumstances - one door opens onto the street and the other opens onto the sitio or yard.

A few houses are white-washed inside and this makes them lighter. *The smallest and humblest dwellings would be approx 8 sq. metres. the largest might measure about 20 sq. metres.*

Every house has a hammock in the centre of the room. When the head of the household is at home, this is his place and when he is not there the next senior person has the right to it. Women often put their little babies to sleep in the hammock, giving it a push now and then. It is the only place in the house where the baby is quite safe if left unattended.

There is also an altar in every house. Most houses have an altar table with a cloth over it and some flowers on it. The very poor have a home-made wooden shelf attached to the wall, which serves as their altar. Naturally the number of saints and the extent to which the altar is cared

for varies with the housewife, but there are always several saints: the principal saint and a number of minor ones. I have seen as many as ten minor saints and as few as two. These secondary saints are always represented by framed pictures hanging on the wall or propped on the table. The principal saint, who is the Household Saint, may ^{be} have a larger picture or/in the form of a statuette upon the table and/is usually kept in a glass case. Pictures are ^{ie. framed photographs of a painting of a saint} more common than statuettes because they are cheaper.

I found that generally the images are acquired by the present owners of the house, i.e. by the heads of the families. There were only a few instances of the images being inherited from parents. I asked whether each member of the family has his special saint and only once was I told that one of the children had bought a certain saint and ~~she~~ would take it away with him upon marriage. Images are bought by the men or women, either at fiestas or from travelling vendors who come round from time to time. These latter sell the images on hire-purchase and come round once a fortnight to collect the installments! Most of the women I questioned knew the names of the saints they had and also knew their saint's day. Even if they could not manage a fiesta, they would be sure to light a candle and say the 'rezco' on the fiesta of the saint in their house.

Common saints were: La Virgin del Carmen, San Anonio del Monte, La Virgin de Guadalupe, El nino Dios (the Christ Child whose day is the 24th of December), San Francisco, El Senor d'Escipulas.

The altar is treated ^{with familiarity} quite familiarly in everyday life. If the child has bitten into a fruit and will not finish it, the mother pops it on the altar-table; money is sometimes kept there as well as any other odds and ends one does not want to lose. Only upon special occasions, when there is a 'rezco', either for a fiesta or for the dead, or for any other reason, is the altar cleaned up and decorated with

paper hangings, at such times everything else is removed.

Each image must be blessed by the priest before it is hung on the altar. For this a 'madrina', or godmother, is chosen and many women - particularly young girls - call each other 'comadre' as a consequence of the "baptism" of an image. If the image has been cleaned or repaired it is also taken to the priest to be blessed before it is returned to the altar.

Above the altar, hanging on the wall, are pictures of the deadmembers of the family. Unfortunately I never went into this question of the photographs of the dead: now that I think it over, it strikes me now very important it must be to the people, for they go to endless trouble and expense to obtain a large photograph of parents, children or siblings who ~~are~~ died. It is "bad" to have the likeness of a living person hanging over the altar - the person is likely to die soon. I know one woman who only had a picture showing both her parents. As her mother was still alive, she hung the photograph over the altar for her dead father and covered up with a piece of paper the side showing her mother.

Every house has a 'tinaja', a large earthenware water jar and one or two buckets with which to fetch the water. There must be one earthenware pot in which to cook 'nixtamal' ^{maize ready for grinding} (the maize) and a pot called 'la oya' in which the daily black beans are cooked. There is 'la caldera', a cheap tin jug in which the coffee is made and one or two wooden spoons. In every household there is 'la ^{pedra} piedra', the grinding stone upon which maize and other foods are ground and the 'tortilla' is made. The 'comal' is also essential - it is a large earthenware plate which is placed on the fire and upon which the tortilla is cooked. A knife and one or two cooking spoons are also necessary. This is the absolute minimum required for cooking in the very poorest house. Most houses have more pots and jugs, plates and mugs. Some households even have cups and saucers, knives and forks.

Every house has several 'petates', which are sleeping mats woven of a special type of palm leaf. These are spread on the floor at night and rolled up during the day. Very many houses have one or even two beds. The bed is used by the husband and wife, head of the household. If there is another bed, either a married son and his wife, or else an unmarried young man will use it. Generally girls and all children sleep on the floor on a mat. In their homes women take off their dress and sleep in their petticoat. The men take off shirt and trousers and sleep in their underpants and vest. When people sleep in a stranger's house or at a general gathering, they keep all their clothes on.

Most houses also have a few chairs. These are small wooden chairs, rather like the ones which are made for six-year-olds in Europe. Wooden benches are found in a number of wealthier houses and stand along the wall. A chest with a lock in which the money and other valuables are kept can be seen in all but the poorest houses. The woman usually keeps the key to it. Only very few houses have a second table. Cracks between the adobe bricks of the wall are often used to store small objects.

Quite common are picture frames which have a mirror in the centre and space for three or four photographs on each side of the mirror. Usually there are photographs of various members of the family when young, taken at a fiesta where they appear stiff and uncomfortable in their best clothes.

In many houses there is a chest in which clothes are kept. Alternatively, they are hung on some hooks attached to the wall, or else a pole is hung from the rafters with string and the clothes are slung across this pole.

The amount and quality of furniture varies greatly in the different houses. Nevertheless, all house interiors give the impression of being empty to a person used to European furnishing. There is always plenty of room to walk around and to swing in the hammock. One never finds

oneself bumping into the furniture as one may do in western-type houses. Although there are great differences in the manner in which houses are ~~looked~~^{care} after, the general impression is that they are dirty, untidy and unswept.

There are about eight or nine wirelesses in the village, all acquired within the last three years. The most popular programmes by far are the 'novelas', radio plays which are serialized novels. They are always romantic stories and the men listen to them as eagerly as the women.

Every house in the village has a sitio or yard. There are very few sitios which have plants in them. The usual complaint is that the ants or some other insect eat the young plants and for this reason it is impossible to keep any. This is true enough, but the three or four women who do have shrubs and flowers in their sitios demonstrate that with sufficient care these pests can be combated, it simply ~~entails~~^{means} a lot of trouble.

larger ~~space~~ space

Water & The Rivers

There is no running water of any kind in the village. ~~There is~~ All water must be fetched from the river. It is the job of the wives and daughters to fetch it. They use bought tin buckets, which they carry on their heads. Little girls of eight or nine are also sent to the river and told to carry half a bucket full. There are one or two old women who never learnt to carry a bucket on their head and who carry water in 'cantaros', a large pottery jar carried with a strap across the forehead. This is the 'Indian' way of carrying and can be seen in some near-by villages and occasionally in the 'Barrio'.

Fetching water is quite a social activity: you go with your friends and especially the young girls love to go. It would seem to be an exhausting, tiring business to struggle up the awkward path in the heat of the day with a heavy bucket of water on ones head, but it is often the only chance for an excuse to get away from the house and they go with

their friends and chat on the way.

Water is also brought to the village by little boys with donkeys. The donkey has a wooden frame placed on its back upon which four one-gallon petrol tins are carried. Such a load of four gallons of water costs \$1 (Mex). Occasionally a woman who is very short of money, whose husband is ill or dead, will also sell water and I have seen a number of young girls with their water-donkeys. But generally little boys between the ages of ten and thirteen do this job. They earn comparatively well, for they make as much as \$15 (Mex) to \$20 a day. An adult man working as a hired labourer in the fields all day earns \$5. I asked several people why no man sells water considering the good pay and little effort involved. The reply was always 'hay verguence', they are ashamed to do this because carrying water is a little boy's work or women's work. I only saw one very old man selling water and he did it because he was too old to do any other work and was in need of money having no children to support him.

Water is stored in large earthenware jars. The poor houses have one and the richer have two or three. The better-off families usually buy water or have a maid who fetches it, nevertheless the daughters are sent to the river at least once a day to fetch their bucket of water. A number of young women who have babies to look after and no child old enough with whom to leave the baby, buy water for a period of time. Very old people are also forced to buy it.

Nearly all the laundry is done in the river. Occasionally a woman will wash in her sitio, but always because of some exceptional circumstance.

The women carry the 'batea' (a large shallow wooden washtub) piled high with the dirty laundry on their heads to the river. They use soap made in the village together with manufactured soap powder, as well as a herb from the fields. The young girls usually spread their laundry by the river and bathe and chat while waiting for it to dry. They like

to make a day of it and take their lunch with them. Married women with their children do the same, as also do the washerwomen who take in washing. Many of the older women however, who have large families, take the clothes home and put them out to dry in the sitio. Little girls of seven or eight are sent down to the river to wash the clothes of their siblings if they cannot yet manage the larger clothes of the adults.

There are three rivers near Chiapilla, any of which can be used for washing, bathing, carrying water and watering the animals. As is natural, each household goes to the source of water closest to the house. The Rio Frio serves the people of the 'Barrio,' as it is the river which is closest to their houses. ^{village women} The ~~Chiapilitecos~~ go to the Rio ~~Chuchatenco~~ and the Rio Salado. ^{The Chuchatenco} ~~It is Guacatenco~~ which is nearest because it runs parallel to the long village street. There is a steep climb of about ten minutes from the river up to the village.

There are four 'pasos' each of which has its name. A paso is a place where the river is accessible, for it flows at the bottom of a steep slope and it is hard to reach except by way of the paths. Here the water comes, come and the girls with their buckets. Women wash their laundry and girls, women and boys bathe. The men have a special place further up the river where they go to bathe. It is also the place where the river can be forded by those who want to go to the other side and where the animals are taken to be watered and bathed.

Each 'paso' tends to be used by the neighborhood of households nearest to it.

The Rio Salado is a little further from the village but a number of women prefer to go there to wash their laundry and to bathe because the water is much warmer and therefore pleasanter to stand in all day.

The river Grijalva, although much further away is also

important to the village. It is wide and has strong currents, but on its other side lie some of the most fertile lands of Chiapilla. There are many men who cross it daily in canoes. It is considered to be a dangerous river: there is the physical danger of crossing it because of the strong currents during the rainy season and it is true that canoes occasionally capsize; and it is regarded as spiritually dangerous for it is easy for a man to suffer from 'espanto' - this is a partial soul-loss due to a fright or shock received from the river. Many mothers will not permit their young sons to cross for this reason.

There is fishing in all four rivers. It is now the custom to throw a bomb and to collect the dead fish which float up to the surface. For this reason the supply of fish is fast disappearing.

Domestic Animals

Larger Space

Hens run about freely in the sitios and go out into the street, where they are occasionally stolen; they disappear frequently enough for it to be a commonly heard complaint. At night the hens return to their house and sleep in a tree in the sitio or on the rafters of the house. I have seen only two chicken runs in the village.

Most women keep at least one pig if not more. These pigs roam about the streets, enter the houses and strange sitios. If not bathed regularly by their owner, they will go down to the river to bathe there and on the way they do much damage to the crops in the fields. There are constant warning over the village loud-speaker that such straying pigs will be shot. Very occasionally this does indeed happen. Three or four women keep their pigs in enclosures, but they seem to break out frequently. Probably the enclosures are not built strongly enough. Pigs are usually fattened and then sold and the women regard them as an investment so that they can obtain ready money whenever they should need it. The only occasions upon which a pig is killed for the use of the owner is in the case of a death in the family or of some

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fiesta in which the owner is participating. In ~~the~~ such a latter case ^{the pig may be} ~~the pig is often~~ allocated for this purpose a year beforehand. Chickens also are killed on special occasions only - they would never be killed and eaten by the owners for an ordinary meal.

Another domestic animal which is seen everywhere in Chiapilla is the dog. There are countless dogs in the streets, in the houses and at any gathering of people. During the night they spend most of their time barking and howling. The majority of dogs are uncared for, neglected and starving.

Many villagers own donkeys. Those who are traders may own six or seven, while most men are content with one donkey to fetch wood and water. These donkeys are given a little maize and for the rest are expected to find their own food. Their great advantage is that they eat anything and can be left to fend for themselves. The disadvantage is that they do not easily return home of their own accord and ~~it is necessary~~ ^{one is} continually to look for them. There are a number of stories (true no doubt) of men who spent the whole morning looking for their donkey in order to carry fire-wood and who finally gave it up as a bad job and carried the wood on their back.

The better off men have one or two horses which are used for riding, ploughing, carrying wood and to turn the sugar-cane press. They are either left in the sitio overnight with some cut 'saccate' (green maize stalks) or else taken by the little boys to the fields to sleep there. Horses are not left to wander about freely in the way donkeys are.

There are at present about 18 ox-teams in the village. Those who own oxen generally have a cart also. Most of the transport of maize, and beans, from the fields is done by ox-cart. Before the new road opened this year (1961), all commodities had to be brought to Chiapilla by ox-cart, the commonest loads being large tins of paraffin and crates of beer. During this last year the bus and lorries have been

bringing all the staple goods. Oxen are expensive animals, they cost between \$2,000 and \$4,000 (Mex). They also earn good money for they can be hired out for ploughing. These animals are, therefore, comparatively well cared for.

Large Space

The Church:

There is no resident priest in Chiapilla; the nearest one lives in Acala and comes to Chiapilla on a beautiful horse about four times a year. He then spends a very busy and profitable two days baptizing and performing marriage ceremonies.

For the remainder of the year the church is in the hands of an 'encargado', a man who was appointed by the priest many years ago to look after the church. The wife of this 'encargado' is the 'rezadora' - this is a woman who can read and who leads the prayers either at a wake or in the church services or in a 'novena'. In fact, it is she and not her husband the 'encargado' who sees that the church is opened on Sundays and other holy days; it is she who leads the prayers every Sunday for the few young girls and old women who turn up.

In addition, there is a voluntary committee of men who take it upon themselves to see that the church is kept in good repair, or at least in some sort of repair. These men are all poor and come from the same 'barrio' (the same neighbourhood). During the year I lived in Chiapilla their energies were directed towards building an outdoor toilet at the back of the church yard. The padre had requested this so that it might serve him on his rare overnight visits. By the time I left they had got so far as to decide where it was to be built, where they were going to get the money from to buy the adobe bricks and who they were going to ask to make the bricks. The padre may look forward to his new super-toilet in two years' time I guess!

There are five Saints in the church and I could not find out where they came from nor who paid for them. This

is due to the general lack of interest and knowledge about church affairs. The principal saint and patron Saint of Chiapilla is San Pedro Martir; next to him on the altar stand La Virgin del Carmen, La Virgin Purissima, San Antonio and San Pedro Apostol. Each figure has a glass case to protect it from dust.

Each Saint has a committee of women appointed to look after him or her. The women serving the saint are called 'hijas' (daughters) of the saint. Thus there are 'Las hijas de la Virgin del Carmen', 'Las hijas de San Antonio' and so on. It is their duty to see that the statue of their Saint is kept clean, that the candles and flowers are renewed and that the respective ^{Día del Santo} ~~Día de Fiesta~~ is properly celebrated. The village in general is little concerned with these saints. The Presidenta of the committee usually has to meet the expenses out of her own pocket, sometimes helped by one of the other 'hijas'. She considers this to be her 'devocion' - she is "serving" the Saint.

The Patron Saint, San Pedro Martir, is quite a different matter. He has no permanent committee to look after him, but every year a special 'junta', or committee, is appointed in order to celebrate his fiesta in a fitting manner. His fiesta lasts a whole week and by tradition the first four afternoons are the responsibility of individual villagers. Four men either volunteer or are appointed by the 'Junta' to take charge of one afternoon each. They bring flowers to the Saint, pay for the marimba to play for him outside the church and let off plenty of fireworks. The two days before the fiesta are celebrated by the 'Junta de Solteros' and 'Junta de Soteras' - the committees of unmarried boys and unmarried girls. The final day is that of the 'Junta Grande', which is in overall charge of all the week's celebrations. Several sub-committees are appointed (usually much against their will), one to white-wash the church, another to clean it inside, and so on. San Pedro is known to 'castigar' (to

punish) those who refuse to "serve" him. *insert 21A*

I always had the impression that no one was particularly interested in the church. I was mistaken in this, for this year the village gave San Pedro an electric light plant, a great effort on the part of the ^{people} village as it means a promise of three years regular contribution by each household. If one were cynical one could interpret it as the priest's vanity in wanting his church to look pretty with the electric light. Nevertheless, the villagers understood it as being for San Pedro with the priest as a kind guide who helped them to make sure the present was a worthy one. Several families gave silver candlesticks and last year one family gave a huge picture of the Virgin de Guadalupe to the church.

In a small vestry, where the padre sleeps when he comes, lies an image of Christ before the Crucifixion with His Crown of Thorns and some very realistic wounds. He is carried in procession around the village on the evening of Good Friday together with images of Joseph and Mary: As there is no Joseph in the church, San Antonio is dressed up as San José for the occasion, so that Mary may go properly accompanied.

The third great Church occasion in Chiapilla is at Christmas. In the Mexican tradition the birth of the Infant Jesus is staged. The Child first wanders around the village searching for a 'posada', a resting place, and then is carried to another house for its "birth". Throughout the year the Infant Jesus sits upon the arm of La Virgen del Carmen in the church, but on the 24th December He is removed from there and is "born" in a crib at the end of the village. From there He is taken in procession through the pueblo and placed in a crib in the church. A new dress is made for the Infant every year of the most gorgeous and expensive material. It is a very great honour and privilege to hold the Holy Child for a few steps on its way to the church. 'Quiero ^(s wish to hold the Child in my arm) abrazar el Niño Dios' is the way Chiapilltecos put it.

Although no one is much concerned with the church throughout most of the year, everyone is very concerned about the

The year I was there Jesus had been asked to be responsible for one afternoon of the Fiesta. He declined the request because it would not have left him with sufficient money for the new house he planned to build. Some time after this he went on an outing with all his family. On the way home the ox-cart overturned throwing all the passengers down a steep hill. His little boy broke his leg. This was interpreted by some as being 'castigo' of San Pedro for refusing to serve him.

San Pedro could also prevent people from leaving the village. I was seriously advised by an old lady that I explain most carefully to San Pedro why I was forced to leave the village. If I did not do so I should find myself having to return. When Alberto was in hiding near the village after killing Arturo, I heard stories of that the hands and feet of San Pedro had been tied to prevent his leaving the neighbourhood and escaping. When I looked in the Church I found no bands tying the Saint's feet, but it may have been done to the images in private houses.

Church Fiestas and Church celebrations.

The Cabildo

The town-hall opens for business every afternoon when the Secretary turns up with the key to unlock the door. He comes at about 3 p.m. and the Presidente arrives at about 5 when he is back from work in the milpa. There should be a quorum of the Presidente, the Judge and Secretary and the Sindicato, although all of them are not always present. The Policeman is also present and acts as a messenger. The assembled company chats comfortably about village affairs until a case comes up which has to be dealt with. It is generally a quarrel between husband and wife who want to leave each other and everyone tries to persuade them to remain together for the sake of the children. The Secretary/in^{is} charge of Registers and enters the Births and Deaths which are reported to him. He also answers all the letters with which the State and Federal Government offices overwhelm the Presidente. Generally they want statistical information, which the Secretary gives them - more or less conscientiously. The Presidente also sees to any public works that may have undertaken and, of course, it is his duty together with the Judge to investigate cases of killings, or at least to write out the papers for the superior Court of Justice correctly.

The prison cell is stuck between the Town Hall and the Comsariado. It was always easy to see when anyone was there because there would be a crowd of people round the barred door. One morning there was a huge hole in the adobe wall of the prison and the prisoner had escaped. After that it could not be used for a number of weeks as no one could be found to patch up the hole. Besides, the Secretary once explained to us in the privacy of the cabildo, that the lock was not really secure, only apparently none of the ^{prisoners} ~~men~~ put into the prison had discovered this as yet.

The Comisariado Ejidal

This is the office of the Ejido Committee: it opens twice a week or more often when necessary. The Comisariado, the Secretary and the Treasurer come along regularly and also chat until there is some business to settle. It is generally concerned with disputes about land and boundaries and fences between the Ejidatarios and with the collection of the contributions. This takes very long because the Treasurer is slow at writing and bad at arithmetic and there is never any change available. Despite all his painstaking notes he was \$500 short at the end of the year.

At one end of the square in front of these buildings, a group of young men played basket ball every evening, trained by one of the masters. On Sunday afternoons they would have matches with visiting teams and dancing afterwards. On other Sundays they would visit neighbouring villages to play return matches there. I do not know whether this fostered good relations between the villages as it was supposed to do. It may equally well have helped to deteriorate such relations as had previously existed, for there were the inevitable disagreements with the referee - the losing team coming away positive that it had really won the game and that the referee had not been fair.

The School

When I arrived in 1961 there were four school teachers in the village. One master taught at the 'Barrio' school; one taught the First Year class; a mistress took the Second Year and the other mistress took the Third and Fourth years together. At the end of this year Chiapilla had managed to get a fifth teacher. They managed to do this partly through influence and partly by registering more children.

I estimate that there must be about 500 children of school age in the village, of whom about 250 are registered. The teachers have to go round the houses at the beginning of the school year to register the children and parents often

hide them when they see the teachers coming. Being registered still does not mean that they go to school: of those who do go to school very few come every day all day. Parents need their children at home. The men want the boys to help them in the fields and the women want the girls to help them with the housework, the errands and to look after siblings. The few parents who send their children to school regularly are either well-off or are really making a sacrifice.

I guess about 100 children arrive at school every day, but they are not the same 100 every day. Those parents I spoke to, were at a loss to know what their children did learn at school - after two years many still could not read or write nor do simple sums. The teachers on the other hand complained that if they used any kind of discipline upon the very unruly children their parents withdrew them from the school.

In Chiapilla both schools are Federal Government supported and the teachers are comparatively well paid. The village is exceptional and fortunate in having two teachers who have made the village their home. Generally teachers come from the larger towns and hate to go to the small villages. They spend as much time away as they can and try to get a job elsewhere as soon as possible. They look down on the villagers and take no part in village life. The two young mistresses are like this and both are continually trying to get an appointment elsewhere. They take no interest in the villagers nor in village affairs.

There are few literate persons in the village: the older men are practically all illiterate but even among the younger ones very many cannot read or write. Many of those who say they are literate can do little more than write their names. Even the school teacher makes spelling mistakes.

Most villagers with whom I spoke about this agreed that school would be a good thing if the children were taught properly: 'uno se defiende mejor', (one can look after oneself

better.) They realise that in the modern world it is a great asset to be able to read and write. They have learnt this from bitter/^{personal} experience when the Government Bank, which buys their maize, has made mistakes and underpaid them.

Commercial Facilities:

Billiard Rooms

There are two houses in the village which have a billiard table. A small sum of money is paid for playing: generally young boys from thirteen to eighteen go there and also a few married men. These billiard rooms remain open as late as eleven or twelve until the last customer leaves. Occasionally a few men play there during the daytime and on Sundays there is a group of older, better off men who play for heavy stakes.

The Grinding Mills

There are three maize grinding mills in the village. For a very small sum of money the 'mixtamal' (cooked maize) is ground to a fine meal ready to make the tortillas. This grinding had to be done by hand in the past and women would get up at 2 o'clock in the morning in order to have the tortillas for their menfolk by 6. The grinding stone is still used a great deal and is the basis of all cooking and of all recipes, nevertheless, it is no longer used for grinding maize for the tortilla. If a house is too far from the mill or the housewife wants maize ground when the mill is not open, she has a small hand-grinding machine which is still much easier than grinding on the stone.

There is one mill 'Arriba' and two are 'Abajo'. The first mill serves all the women in that part of the village and the other two take turns in grinding because there is insufficient work for both. The usual hours are 4 a.m. to 7 a.m., so that the women can make the tortillas for their husbands to take with them to work, and then from 12 noon to 3 p.m. for the tortillas at lunch time.

Paletaria:

There is a plant which makes ^{water ice} ice-cream, which was bought ^{new} by the owner two years ago and he is still paying it off. He makes 10 and 20 centavo ^{water bottles} /ices, which is the only thing which he is able to sell. He also uses the refrigerator to cool beer and soft drinks.

Gaseosa Plant:

There is a very old-fashioned plant for making soda water drinks. Its great advantage is that it sells at half the price of the manufactured soda drinks. A woman with her young son bought it off the previous owner a year ago and they only work it twice or three times a week.

The Cantinas:

There are at present four 'cantinas' in Chiapilla and one in the Barrio. The 'cantina' is the place where beer and 'trago' (a spirit distilled from sugar cane water) are sold. Generally no one keeps a cantina longer than about 10 years so that there are a number of people who used to have one and then gave it up. The reasons I have been given for this are the late hours, having to cope with drunks, the difficulty of collecting debts from those who borrowed in order to get drunk. Obviously there must be a good profit attached to the business despite these disadvantages.

At any one time there are always three or four 'cantinas', ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in the village, whoever the owners might be. Every 'cantina' has a small motor to generate electric light, so that the ^J ~~cantina~~ is lit by one light bulb inside and one outside the door. Customers spend much time sitting or lying on the bancetta, or in the street outside the 'cantina'. Others sit at the three or four tables which are in the room. These days a 'cantina' must have a record player, upon which the favourite tunes of the customers are played for the price of \$1 (Mex). Plenty of light and music

are considered essential for any fiesta, for being gay and for having a good time - and of course drink!

Of the five cantinas open at present, there is one which has been going for over 20 years. The owner, Don Miguel, is proud to be a 'cantinero'. He sells bottled beer, refrescos (soda water, coca cola) and trago or aguardiente. He will sell for consumption on or outside the premises. He has a pretty young daughter who serves at the counter and this is considered a great advantage to the business. Recently this cantinero has added a little shop and sells the same type of goods found in other stores: tins of food, sugar, coffee, candles, cigarettes, etc.

The cantina is one large room, half of which is devoted to the cantina and shop; the other half serves the family as a living room - there is a hammock, an altar and at night the two daughters sleep there on the floor.

The second cantina is across the road. The owner has had it for about 5 years now. He too has two daughters who serve at the counter and also has a shop together with the cantina. It is not quite so popular because people say that there they rob the men when they are drunk. This cantina is not open every night as is that of Don Miguel.

The third cantina, which belongs to Filbert, is a poor man's place. It serves as a molina (grinding mill) during the day and opens only on days of fiesta and on Saturday nights. However, Filbert sells aguardiente to anybody who comes in for it during the day. He takes his cantina to ranches and neighbouring villages. gramophone included

The fourth cantina is really 'la paeteria', the ice-cream shop. The owner, Octavio Vila, bought a large ice-making plant run on a paraffin motor and makes water ices only because, he says, no one is willing to pay the price for cream ices. He also sells beer and bottled soft drinks with the great advantage of selling it ice cold from his refrigerator. Cold beer and ice-cold soft drinks are much appreciated.

The fifth cantina is a full-time one, opened two years

ago. Nothing besides beer is sold there as yet, ~~but~~ ^{the} owner is a barber as well and cuts hair on Saturdays and Sundays. He comes from a rather wealthier family and bought himself a super radiogram which does seem to have attracted customers. In addition, a cantina always gives ~~a lot of~~ ^{much} credit at the beginning in order to attract customers, which means in fact that customers are drawn away from other cantinas. No trago is sold here.

Just when I left a sixth cantina was opened. The owner was a man who had, in fact, been operating illegally for the past year. He sold illegally made trago which is both cheaper and better. He ~~was~~ finally forced to open officially when the soldiers came to be stationed in the village at the beginning of January 1962. Although everybody in the village knew Juan was selling illegal trago in his house, no one had had the authority or the power to make him open legally, i.e. pay taxes.

I will deal with the 'Barrio' cantina when I describe the 'Barrio'.

All these cantinas are registered as 'refrescerias', that is to say, establishments selling soft drinks, beer being included in this category. The reason is that there is a lower tax payable upon a refresceria than upon a cantina. Aguardiente, if made and sold legally, is taxed by the Federal and the State Government Government. This is the main reason why illegal trago sells well. However, the reason why illegal making and selling of trago is rather risky, is due to the fact that there is a monopoly of trago making in the State. The monopolist sees to it that the 'fiscales', armed tax inspectors very similar to a police force, are sent around regularly and that they make a very careful and thorough search. Because ~~trago~~ ^{the} ~~manufacturer~~ manufacturer has a monopoly, he charges high prices and his liquor is not of good quality. The home-made trago is better and, of course, much cheaper - half the price. It is very easy to make trago - this is the area

sitting around chatting, or if some of the family have gone to bed. Most customers come in and chat a while before making their purchases. Children are used a lot for shopping and must be attended to as well as a grown up, for if they do not like the treatment they receive they will refuse to run errands to that shop and their mothers will send them elsewhere.

The shops compete with each other by lowering the price 5 centavos (about $\frac{1}{4}$ d.).

During the last two years four new shops have opened, so that four out of the eight are new.

Some of the shops use scales, but the quantities bought are so small that it is usually not worth while weighing. The majority of women buy just enough for one meal. If I arrived at a house to visit, the housewife would send out for some sugar, just sufficient to sweeten my pozol (drink of ground maize and water). Coffee is bought when the water is ^{already} boiling, sweets are bought singly as are biscuits, chiles, aspirin and so on.

In addition to the official shops, there are a number of houses which sell small items such as cigarettes, cheaper home-made cigarettes, sugar, petrol. One unregistered store sells cotton, needles, trinkets, dresses for baptism, etc. It does not pay taxes because it is run by two genteel old maids who have been established for so long; they are too respected to be asked to pay.

Clothing

The men and women dress in the same way that ladino peasants dress all over Mexico. The principal difference between regions is usually to be seen in the men's straw hats. The shape of the hats also indicate a difference in generations. In Chiapilla the older men wear the wide-brimmed, high-crowned straw hat, while the young men wear lower crowns and narrower brims. The old men wear their shirts and trousers a little looser than the young ones, but the difference is not great. The city fashion of tight clothes for men has not reached Chiapilla.

For work men wear their oldest clothes and often special

work clothes are bought. Shirts are made of blue denim and these, as well as underpants, are the only men's clothes which ^{can be} are brought ready-made (although made in the village, not factory produced). Shirts and trousers are made to order within the village. In the evenings the young men change into newer, clean clothes and for fiestas or special occasions all the men put on their best clothes which are kept for this purpose.

Trousers are baggy, narrowing a little at the ankle. Shirts are worn over the trousers: there are only two or three men, who have lived in towns for a number of years, who occasionally wear the shirt inside. This fashion of shirts outside the trousers is also common in country towns and the reason may well be as claimed by my informant, that in this way the pistol remains hidden. Men wear long-sleeved shirts, no ties are used. Hats are always worn and often kept on indoors. The only man who goes around without a hat is one of the schoolmasters who comes from the coast. Most men wear no shoes or sandals on ordinary occasions within the village, nor do they wear them inside the house. Those who can afford the cheap rough sandals wear them to work, because the soil burns the feet at midday and because the way to work is often full of stones. Most of the very poor own no footwear whatever. A few of the wealthier men put on shoes, without socks, on their visits to the nearest large town.

Little boys are dressed in exactly the same way as grown men. Up to the age of three, four or five they run about in a shirt only, occasionally with a hat on their heads to protect them against the sun. As soon as they get trousers they have them made in exactly the same fashion as adult men. They also wear long-sleeved shirts and a hat.

None of the men wear dark colours. Trousers are light blue, light green, beige, fawn, in fact any of the pastel shades and are made of cotton drill for work and of a material called 'casimir' for best. This cloth seems to be a wool and cotton mixture. Shirts are often white, or otherwise any pastel

colour. Straw hats are white or natural straw. Men's shirts and trousers are washed and ironed.

There is more variety in the women's dress. The main ^{is} distinction/between old and young, rich and poor.

Three basic styles are worn. The old women, say 55 and over, wear a square-necked, short-sleeved blouse with an embroidered band around the border of the neck and sleeves. A slightly gathered skirt of any colour, but most often dark because of their age, which reaches just above the ankle. They wear a waist petticoat beneath the skirt.

Women in the middle-age category, about 40 to 60 wear a white blouse, cut a little differently, it is rather fuller than the other type and has no embroidery round the edges. Their skirts reach just below the knees and are fuller and of gayer colours. Again, a waist petticoat is worn.

All young girls and young married women wear a dress with a wide skirt, for narrow skirts are considered improper. Each girl has her own individual style, but all dresses are low-necked and sleeveless. Below the dress the girls wear a shoulder-strap petticoat. Only a few wear brassieres and these have been to towns outside Chiapilla. For fiestas they like to have a transparent cloth with a different coloured shiny satin petticoat beneath. These party dresses/ ^{are worn} for every day when they are old. Women rarely have dresses made specially for work in the way that the men buy work clothes. What was formerly the best dress is relegated to second best and so on.

More women go bare-footed than men. There are only about ten women whom I have observed wearing sandals upon all occasions and these women have come from other villages, or have spent many years living elsewhere. Older women never put on sandals, the middle aged and young married women wear them upon special occasions only. Young girls always wear sandals when they go dancing, although I have seen several boys dance without footwear. The majority of women go about their daily duties in the village bare-foot.

Women always wear a 'rebozo' when they go out. These are black or dark brown shawls of cotton or artificial silk. Only when the young girls go to a dance do they go bare-headed. Some of the more elegant young girls wear a net veil to church rather than a rebozo as do the others. The rebozo is worn any number of ways. Young girls often wear it over their arms in the way we carry an evening stole. Everyone wears it to protect the head from strong sun or from rain, but there are countless ways of covering the head with the rebozo. The young girls manage to look attractive with it and the old women manage to make themselves look worse than they do ^{already} ~~in any case~~. Women carry their babies in the rebozo, wrapping it around themselves and the baby so as to ease the weight off their arms. Within the village there are only one or two women who carry the baby on their backs Indian fashion. The rebozo is also much used to cover small things a woman might be carrying, whether it be a food purchase, a gift or some borrowed article - no need for all the curious neighbours to know what one is about. Generally women carry all heavier object on their heads, leaving their hands free. The poorer girls often use part of their rebozo to serve as a pad to soften the load. In a way a rebozo is rather like the hat used to be in England; it used to be unheard of for a woman to go out without a hat, in the same way a Chiapilteca cannot go out without her rebozo.

All baby girls have their ears pierced at birth. An older experienced woman does this for the mother. From then on the child and woman wear earrings most of the time. They adore trinkets of all kinds and even the poorest girl has her earrings and bright glittering necklace to go to a fiesta. They are cheap, factory-made trinkets. Young girls use powder and lipstick for dancing at night only. Once married, Chiapiltecas do not use make-up. The few married women who make-up during the day all come from San Cristobal.

Older women wear their hair in two plaits with a centre parting. The plaits are either allowed to hang down, or else they are plaited with a brightly coloured shiny satin ribbon and tied round the head. Some of the poorer young girls still wear their hair in this fashion. Most of the young girls have by now had their hair cut and permed with a cold permanent wave. The result is a huge black frizz of which they are very proud and in which the lice breed even more easily than in the long hair. This/^{is}so because it is so difficult to get a comb through the frizz. Once a year, just before the village fiesta, two or three hairdressers from Acala come to set up shop temporarily. Most girls have their^{hair} done at this time, although a few go to Acala to have it permed there. Very many little girls from the age of three upwards are made to undergo this ordeal as well in the interests of beauty. They usually scream throughout the process. Once a girl marries she no longer cuts her hair and allows it to grow and wears it in plaits. This is no fixed rule, it is just custom and the exceptions to this are women who come from outside the village.

Hair is washed whenever a woman goes to bathe. 'Bañar' means to bathe in the river, to wash all over and to wash the hair as well. This is pleasant in the hot weather but does not seem to get rid of the lice. The hair is washed with ordinary toilet soap and is combed with a little brilliantine to make it nice and shiny. Shop bought, factory-made combs are used, but at the same time mothers use the old-fashioned wooden combs with very narrow little teeth on their children for de-lousing. De-lousing is a sign of affection and women spend much time going through their children's hair. They also search for lice in each others hair, friends, comadres, sisters, mother or daughters. I have also seen women go through a man's hair but never a man doing this service for a woman.

Little girls are dressed differently from their mothers. Up to the age of three or four they wear a short frock only;

the majority wear no knickers up to this age. As they grow older their dresses become longer to reach below the knee and they wear full-length petticoats. The main difference is that girls dresses are simpler in style than that of adult women. Only children of the better-off families have shoes.

All kinds of materials are used for dresses: they may be made of cotton or satin or artificial silk or organdie and bright patterns and colours are preferred. All cloth is always sold in 'cortes', that is to say in ready-cut lengths.

The general appearance of women as they go about the village is unexempt and scruffy, especially after they have had one or two children. Dresses are torn and hair is uncombed. The young girls are hardly recognizable when they dress up for a fiesta.

OCCUPATIONS

The only people who practice a full-time trade in the village are the two carpenters. One comes from San Cristobal and the other was born in Chiapilla but spent many years away in various towns. There is one man from Venustiano Carranza who is an 'albañil' (builder) and who does not sow milpa.

The school teachers might also be regarded as full-time professionals in as much as they receive a monthly wage sufficient for them to live on. Of the four teachers in Chiapilla the two young girls have no other occupation besides teaching. The two masters, who live with their families in the village are both 'practicantes'. That is to say, they give injections and are consulted by the villagers in case of sudden illness: they diagnose as best they can and give prescriptions; they also keep a stock of medicines which they sell to their patients at a good profit. In addition to this service and to their teaching, both school masters own land on which they grow maize, beans and fruit. They do not work on the land themselves, as do all the other villagers, but know enough about agriculture to supervise their hired labour efficiently. I believe that one of the masters does a little trading in maize as well.

The village policeman and the Secretary of the 'Ayuntamiento' (village council) also receive regular salaries and work daily. However, they receive such low pay that both of them work in the milpa ^(maize field) in the mornings and attend to village affairs in the afternoons. Other posts on the village council and those of the 'comisariado' (Ejido-governing committee) are honorary.

All other men and women who know a trade exercise it part-time. The men are farmers first and foremost and the women do housework.

SPACE

One of the most commonly practiced trades is that of dressmaking or tailoring. Men make men's and boys' clothes, while women make women's, girls' and boys' clothes. Only

the better off people can learn tailoring ~~or dressmaking~~ or dressmaking. The poor cannot afford to buy a machine and usually cannot pay the apprenticeship. Most of the richer fathers buy their daughter a sewing machine so that she should learn: the girl then has the machine placed in the house of a dressmaker friend in the village who teaches her for a small fee. There must be well over thirty dressmakers, young girls and women. The price for cutting and making a dress is anywhere between \$3 (Mex) and \$10, ^(Mex) depending upon the type of cloth and upon the style required. A number of women buy cloth and make up children's clothes and underwear which they then sell in the neighbouring villages of Totolapa and Zapotal and on the surrounding ranches. The Singer treadle machine is the most common - it is often bought on hire-purchase.

Young men learn tailoring either from their fathers or are apprenticed in the same way as the girls. A man may spend one or two years ~~only tailoring~~ ^{full-time} but he knows how to sow milpa, and sooner or later he will plant his plot of maize. He still has plenty of time for tailoring when there is no work to be done in the milpa. The charge for a pair of trousers varies between \$10 (Mex) and \$25. ^{Max}

Some men are part-time hairdressers: there are about five or six in the village who work in the evenings or on Sundays. They have to buy a hairdresser's chair, a mirror, combs and scissors. For this reason, it is only those who have some money and who can afford to buy the equipment who can exercise the trade. They learn it either by helping and watching an experienced barber or they learn from their fathers. All men and boys have their hair cut short, they do not go in for extravagant styles the way the men in the towns do.

There are no blacksmiths in the village. Horse-shoes are bought ready made in two or three sizes and most men nail them onto their own animals. Those who do not know how to do this ask a favour of their friends or relatives.

Adobe bricks and clay tiles are also made by

Chiapiltecos. There are four adobe makers who make the bricks during the dry season when there is no work in the milps. ^{For the same reason} This is ~~also~~ the housebuilding season ~~for the same~~ reason. Little equipment is needed for the adobes are dried in the sun. An oven is necessary for tile making and as far as I know there are only two tile makers, who share one oven between them. They come from the same family.

There is a ^{SPACE} telephone in Chiapilla which is attended to by the daughter of the village 'cacique' ^(boss). Through his connections he managed to have the telephone moved from the town hall to his house. The telephone is very temperamental as are the operators at the other end of the line, which is at Totálapa, at Zapotal and at Acala. At times they all speak together and other times no one seems to be there. When the telephone is in order one has to shout at the top of ones voice to make oneself understood, so that half the village street receives the message as well as the person at the other end of the line. This young girl operator receives a government salary for attending to the telephone ^{which she} ~~do~~ in between her dressmaking and household activities.

During the dry season a bus arrived more or less daily in the village. The owner and driver are not Chiapiltecos but occasionally they employ a man from Chiapilla to help out as "conductor" for a week or so.

There are a number of ^{SPACE} things which are not generally sold in the shops but which are sold by little girls, the 'vendedoras', from house to house. Bread is carried round twice a day, once in the morning for breakfast and the second time in the evening. Fruit is taken round as are all kinds of vegetables such as tomatoes, cabbage leaves, beans, 'calabaza', or 'yuca', or sesame seeds ^{and} or melon seeds. 'Empanadas' are made of a light pastry which is filled with a sweet milk jelly. Cheese and milk when available are sold by vendedoras. 'Tamales' may be sold from door to door in the evening. The little street sellers are generally

girls between the ages of four and thirteen. After this they are considered to be too old for the job and refuse to go out, saying 'tengo verguenza', that is to say they are shy to go out selling any longer.

The little girls are usually the daughters or nieces of the owner of the goods, only occasionally is a little girl "lent" to sell in the street. If she is "lent", then her mother is paid a percentage of her sales. The girls learn to bargain well and give correct change without any trouble.

'Paletas', the water ^{lilies} ice-creams, are sold by ^a little boy in the street. He is engaged to work by the owner of the 'paletería' and is paid according to the quantity he sells. Sometimes a poor mother will send her little girl round the houses with one or two eggs which she wants to sell in order to get some urgently needed money. A hen may occasionally be carried from house to house and offered for sale, or a small quantity of maize or beans on a plate.

^{S P A C E}
Apart from these goods which the little vendedoras sell, there are adult women who come round with their wares. A very common article is lengths of cloth. Women traders come from Acala and from Chiapa with cloth, petticoats, underwear and trinkets, which they often sell on hire-purchase. There are those who come round with salt or sugar or coffee and who sell a few centavos cheaper than the shops.

Chiapilla also has its women traders who walk to the neighbouring villages of Zapotal and Totolapa and visit the ranches within four or five hours walking distance. They take fruits which grow in the village and are not available on the ranches. They also take candles, soap, bread, tomatoes in fact whatever they can find and think will sell. Some are married women who like to earn a little extra and there are a few young girls who accompany an aunt or sister-in-law or grandmother and do a little trading on their own account. But the majority are old women or widows: women who have no one to support them and need to earn some money. It is hard and tiring work because the goods must be carried on the head and the day is always hot and paths are dusty. These

women are pitied, as are all traders, for their life is considered to be hard and unpleasant.

There is not, as yet, the idea of the trader who merely buys and sells and ^{therefore} earns, doing nothing himself. The only ones who are possibly thought of in this way are the large ^{maize} scale/traders, the 'acaparadores', as they are called. In general traders are welcomed and liked. It is only a very short time ago that traders were the ones who brought news and gossip from the outside world and who also brought goods and articles much needed by the villagers.

There are also a few men traders, who carry fruit and vegetables up to San Cristobal. They set out early in the morning with three, four or more donkeys and reach a large finca, called 'La Laguna' in the late afternoon. There they spend the night and go into San Cristobal early the next morning in time for the market. They walk on the way up and ride one of their animals coming down. Sometimes quite young boys of ten or eleven are sent if their fathers cannot go.

There are a number of ^{S P A C E} Chiapiltecas who earn some money by baking bread. The same women do not make bread every day: generally a woman will bake three or four times a week. It may be that a particular woman will not bake for weeks or even for years. She may give it up for a while because she is bored with it, or because she is doing some more profitable work or because she has too much to do in the house. I suppose about thirty or more women know how to bake but only about twelve will be baking at any particular time. On a particular day there may be six or seven baking.

A certain amount of capital is needed in order to buy the ingredients such as eggs, manteca (pork dripping), sugar and flour. Most women who bake also own an oven, which is expensive to build. A few women borrow the oven of a neighbour or relative, but this is never a satisfactory arrangement and usually gives rise to quarrels. Like the dressmakers therefore, only better off women bake.

A woman always has help when she bakes. If she is lucky she has a daughter to help her, otherwise she may ask a younger sister or daughter-in-law to help but in that case she must give some return, either in money or in kind. Failing this, she will hire a little girl to help for the day of baking. The ~~xxxxxx~~ bread is sold from door to door in the village, little girls are the sellers and they are paid according to the quantity they sell. Some women send their bread to neighbouring villages or ranches and the trader woman who takes it receives 10% to 15% of the sales price. Another possibility is that a woman bakes on order. These orders are for bread for fiestas, funerals or curing ceremonies.

According to my calculations the bread maker has a very small profit. This does not matter to her as she does not calculate her time in terms of money. Nevertheless, if she feels the profit falls too low she will say that it is not worth the effort she spends on it. Usually she does not calculate exactly what she earns - she has an idea that she must be earning something but is quite capable of continuing to make bread when in fact she is earning nothing on it. Needless to say, not all women are like this, there are one or two exceptions who know very well what they are about. A good informant of mine, with whom I calculated the cost and gains in bread-making, told me that formerly one could earn more by making bread. This is because the price of bread had ^{w_{as} 30} not gone up in recent years, whereas the cost of the ingredients (eggs, flour, fat) had risen.

Villagers talk of 'pan' (translated as bread), but it is not loaves of bread, nor rolls as we know them. They make small sweet yeast buns with or without eggs, which sell at 10, 20 and 50 centavos each, according to size and ingredients.

^{S P A C E}
The slaughtering of pigs and sale of pork is entirely in the hands of women. Usually a man, the husband or son, does the actual killing, but the remainder of the work is left to the woman and her assistants. Again, if she has a daughter

or daughter-in-law who will help she will use them. If not, she will employ one or two women. Meat is not carried from house to house for sale: an announcement is made over the village loud-speaker that 'la Señora Perez' has slaughtered a beautiful, fat sow early that very morning and that all customers will receive the most courteous attention. These villagers who want meat will then go to the house and pick out what they want.

A certain capital is needed for slaughtering. It is necessary to possess a table on which to cut up the animal and from which to sell and also large cauldrons in which to reduce the pork fat to dripping. It is not necessary to have sufficient capital to buy the pig before slaughtering, for the seller of the live pig is generally willing to wait for her payment until the next day, when all the meat has been sold. Nevertheless, all the women who slaughter pigs regularly, come from the better-off houses. Slaughtering 'regularly' means about once a week or once in ten days: during the year I lived in the village, there were about ten women who slaughtered, but again there were many more who knew how to slaughter, who had done it before, who might take it up again in the future, but who were not slaughtering just at present.

As the weather is very hot, the meat goes bad if left over-night. It is therefore important that it be sold on the same day, for no way of preserving pork is known. For this reason a woman who intends to slaughter tries to make sure that no beef is being killed on that day. If two women happen to slaughter on the same day it is not so serious, but if it happens that three pigs are killed, then much of the meat is lost. There is no organized system by which those intending to slaughter ^{or to} inform each other.

Every bit of the animal is sold including the brains, the ears, the bones, the trotters, the intestines, etc. 'Chicharones', which is the crackling, are always made and generally 'tamales' are made. These are made of maize dough filled with a little meat, fat and spices wrapped in palm leaves and cooked in water. They are sold for ~~for sale~~

supper in the evening.

The profit to be made from a pig lies mainly in the amount of fat which can be reduced and sold as 'manteca'. 'Manteca', or dripping, is a basic ingredient in all cooking and frying. No other fat is used. It is sold by the 'cuarto' which is a liquid measure - the contents of one small standard beer bottle. Part of the profit of slaughtering lies in the way in which the meat is cut up. The meat is not weighed but is sold per piece. If the pieces are skilfully cut so that they are a little smaller than they should be, a profit is made. If, on the other hand, they are cut a little too large, then the profit is lost. There is no difference in price for various cuts of the animal.

S PACE

Very many women know how to make candles and a number who do not make them commercially make such candles as they need for their own use in the home. All shops sell candles and the owner's wife or daughters make them. They are simple but tedious to make. The wicks and the paraffin or wax are bought in bulk: the wicks are cut to the desired length and the wax is melted; the wicks are hung from nails which are fixed at regular intervals on a circular frame - it looks rather like a wheel which hangs from the rafters. The melted paraffin is poured over the wicks so that a little remains adhering to it, it is then poured over the next wick on the wheel and so on until the full circle has been completed and the wax is poured over the second time. This continues until the candles are of the desired thickness. It takes longer to make candles in hot weather because the wax will not harden and the candles tend to bend over instead of remaining upright.

Señora Vila's candles are famous for burning over a few moments after they have been lit, while those of Pomciana are excellent for the same price.

I was probably the only person in the village who used candles for light. The villagers buy them for religious purposes only: they are used to put before the house altars

and in the church; candles are lit at any 'rezó' and at funerals - every 'doliente' (visitor to the deceased) must bring at least one candle. 'Veladoras' (nightlights which burn for 24 hours) are not made in the village, but are sold in the store and are much used for the altars.

The most commonly used light after dark is a home-made one. Any small bottle with a screw-on lid will do. A hole is made in the lid and a piece of old string which serves as a wick is inserted through it, reaching to the bottom of the bottle. The bottle is then filled with paraffin. Most houses keep this burning all night as a night light. Many houses have old-fashioned paraffin lamps with a high glass tube protecting the ~~home~~ flame.

There are about twelve gasoline lamps in the village. The lamps are very dear (about \$200^{Mex}) and the gasoline is expensive too. Owners hire out these lamps for \$5^{Mex} per night: they are hired for occasions such as dances, fiestas and wakes, all of which are held at night. The cantinas and billiard rooms are lit by one gasoline lamp when they are open at night.

About four women make and sell 'javon de bola' (soap). It takes a team of four or five women to make it and is rather hard work, for it has to be ground on the grinding stone and then kneaded into balls. The 'cevo' (beef fat) has to be cooked the night before so as to be ready for the next day.

The helpers are paid per day and are given several cakes of soap to take with them at the end of the day. These are considered as part payment. They also receive their food throughout the day, as is the custom for anyone who works in the house of another for whatever purpose.

The 'cevo' and a tar compound, which are the principal ingredients, are bought in San Cristobal and brought down to Chiapilla by a returning trader. He does not bring them as trade goods but does it as a favour to the soap maker. She

presumably repays in the form of a gift. The mixture is boiled over a large fire for several hours until it is reduced to a semi-solid consistency. When it has cooled it hardens and must be ground on the stone before it can be kneaded into soap cakes, which are made in the form of balls. Each helper is engaged for a specific job: thus one is asked to come and grind and others to knead the balls of soap, another to stir the cauldron, etc.

The smell of the fat being boiled is terrible and naturally the soap smells rather bad as well. However, it is considered to be the best soap for getting the dirt out of the men's heavy work clothes. The soap is sold to the shop-keepers, who then sell single cakes to the villagers.

For the making of soap some capital is necessary as well. The fat has to be bought and the helpers must also be paid. A large copper cauldron is required for boiling the mixture. Therefore the four women who make soap ^{in the village} are again from well to do houses. As in the case of the bread-makers and the pig-slaughterers, there are more women who know how to make soap than are actually practicing the trade at any particular time.

Washing clothes is the work of the poor. It requires no capital and no training. The laundry is given to the washer-woman together with the soap and she takes it down to the river. To say a woman takes in washing is equivalent to saying that she is very poor. Old women who have no means of support do this work, as do young girls who want to earn some pocket money or who have to earn to help their family. The clothes are not ironed, but are returned dry at the end of the day. Older washer-women suffer from rheumatism and what I take to be arthritis, because of the long hours they spend standing in the cold river.

Tortilla making is a poor woman's work for the same reason that washing is. No capital is required, for she receives the maize before making the tortillas and she does not have to learn a skill she did not already know. Before the grinding-mills came to Chiapilla many more of the better off families would have their tortillas made for them. But now tortillas are only sold during the annual fiesta when many visitors come to the village, or to the odd bachelor, or to a woman who is ill for a time and cannot make them for herself and her family. 'Tostadas' are toasted tortillas which are prepared for men who go off to work and are away from home for a week or longer. A woman may have to make 100 to 200 to supply her menfolk while they are away. If she can afford it she will pay to have them made.

Drinking chocolate is served at any fiesta which follows a baptism or a marriage. It is made by adding hot water to bars of soft chocolate. These bars are made by grinding the chocolate beans with sugar. The longer the mixture is ground on the stone, the smoother is the chocolate and the better its taste. This grinding is hard work and is again a job done by poor women. The chocolate and sugar are provided and they must contribute the time and the effort. Some women are well known for the excellence of the chocolate they make: 'saven tantear' - they get it just right. Personally, I much preferred to eat the chocolate bars rather than drink the beverage, but this was a luxury which only I could permit myself. I never saw a child given such a bar to eat as a treat; children were given shop-bought sweets, or more correctly, were given 5 centavos to buy themselves a sweet.

Quite a number of the better-off houses had a maid. The usual age for a girl to serve as a maid is between twelve

and eighteen, or up to the time she gets married. Occasionally a widowed or divorced woman with one or more children may be employed, but this is rare. The principal work of a maid is to fetch the water every day, to do the laundry and to make the tortillas. She also sweeps a little in the house. She eats all her meals at her employer's house and may or may not go home to sleep. Such a girl earns between \$25 (Mex.) to \$30 a month, ^{about \$1 per day}. A very poor mother may send her daughter of seven or eight to 'abrazar piche' - meaning to mind somebody's baby - to carry it about all day and to keep it amused and safe from harm. Only daughters of poor families go as maids. Those who are a little better off will go to work for the day, either making bread, or soap or go trading.

Another part-time occupation is curing. There is no rule about who is to become a 'curandera/o, nor is there an apprenticeship which is obligatory before practice is permitted. The only test of a curandero or curandera is whether he or she can effect cures. The commonest expressions used about them are 'save' (he knows), or 'tiene gracia' (he has the gift). Both these expressions are ambiguous, because 'save' also means to know witchcraft and 'tiene gracia' is connected with a gift of God.

There are two women who cure with simple remedies and with prayers and everyone in the village is agreed that they are "good women". Both are midwives as well. They examine their patients two or three times before the birth of the child; it depends on the mother. There is another woman who cures, but she is known to be a witch, and she is also a midwife. There are various other men and women in the village who are able to cure certain ailments and not others, and there is disagreement about whether they are witches or not.

~~A distinction is made between causing an illness and curing it, although frequently the same person can do both.~~ There is also a distinction made between an illness which

can be cured by medicine or herbs and ^{or} illness which a doctor can cure on the one hand, and an illness which cannot be cured by doctor or herbal specialist because "it is not that kind of an illness". It must be cured by a curandero or curandera as the cause is spiritual and ^{not} physical. Neither midwives nor curanderos/~~of curanderas~~ ask for payment: when asked they say that the patient should give 'lo que quiere' (the amount he wishes to give), but there is a proper price which every villager knows and pays. The curanderos/as come to the patient when called. Frequently Indians are summoned as they are thought to know the art of curing better.

Marimbas

There are two marimbas in Chiapilla. It is an instrument which can be played by a minimum of three men and a maximum of five, depending on ^{its} the size. That is to say the marimba is made of two parts: if one part is used then three men play it; if both parts are used there are five men. In addition to the men playing the marimba, a trumpeter and a drummer are needed. The whole team is then called the 'marimba'.

The difficulty is, of course, to get all the seven men together at one time. There is little point in booking them too far in advance for something is sure to have happened in the time between the booking and the date upon which they should perform, so as to prevent one or two from coming. On the other hand, if one leaves it to the evening before, they say they have no time to practice and therefore refuse to play.

One of the marimbas belongs to the Flores. It is played by three brothers and one nephew, with three outsiders. This marimba has been in the family for thirty years at least, although it has not ^{always} ~~been~~ played during the whole of this time due to the ups and downs and quarrels of the family.

They have an instructor coming from Zapotal every now and then who teaches them new tunes.

The second Marimba belongs to Mario Estrada and the team who plays it are not related to each other, except for the brother-in-law of Mario, who plays the trumpet and is also their instructor. This is the better marimba at present because they practice more regularly. Their drawback is this brother-in-law, who is rather temperamental ('delicado') and takes offence very easily so that the marimba is put out of action because he refuses to come.

The Flores charge \$15^(Mex) per hour and Mario charges \$16 (Mex). Each player receives \$1 per hour. The marimba gets \$2, the instructor gets \$2, each instrument gets \$1 (the drum and the trumpets of which there are two in Mario's marimba) and one \$1 for the "expenses". An hour does not mean an hour of 60 minutes: it means two 'tandas', each 'tanda' consisting of two pieces, so that an hour means four pieces with an interval after the first two. It takes about three quarters of an hour to play.

A marimba is engaged to play at all dances - dancing to gramophone records is not possible in Chiapilla. At baptisms, weddings, birthday parties, the marimba also plays, even if there is no dancing. It is frequently called out by drunks to play for them in the cantina, or to serenade outside the house of a sweetheart. I have seen the marimba² called out^{of their beds} at midnight and have also seen them called from their work in the fields at 11 o'clock in the morning.

There is also a Band in Chiapilla. It is quite a famous band, not so much because it is good, but because it is the only one in the area. The band always accompanies processions: it may be accompanying the bride and bridegroom from the church to their home; it may accompany the god-parents from a baptism to the house of the god-child; it always accompanies the Christ Child on its way to Church on

the Christmas Eve fiesta. Much depends on the amount of money spent on the occasion, for the band is much dearer than the marimba and plays for a shorter time. There are about 10 men in the band, all playing brass instruments except the drummer.

There are about five Albaniles (masons or bricklayers) in the village. They sow their milpa as every one else and during the dry season they are engaged by those who want to build a house. They earn \$20 (Mex.) a day with meals included, while an ordinary labourer earns \$5 to \$8 daily. *without food*

Generally the albaniles work in their 'barrio'. Those who live 'Arriba' are employed by the 'arribenos', while those who live 'Abajo' work for the 'abajenos'. There is no rule about this; I think it happens like this because an 'abajeno' is likely to know the albanil who lives in his part of the village and prefers to ask him rather than an 'arribeno' who is a stranger.

There are several men, and a number of young girls, from the better-off families who have learnt how to give injections. They will visit the patient and give an injection for \$1 (Mex.). The preferred and most popular way of taking medicine is by injection, and there have been one or two deaths because of poisoning presumably due to a dirty syringe. In general however this is a convenient and successful way of giving medication.

Slaughtering Beef: During the year I spent in Chiapilla there were three men who regularly slaughtered beef for sale to the villagers. These three men arranged it between them so that two should not slaughter on the same day. To kill

beef is a much more serious undertaking than killing pork, for one animal might cost between \$700 and 800 (Mex), while a pig is a matter of \$200 at the very most. It takes two or three days for all the meat to be sold, so that much of it has to be salted. It keeps fresh for one day only: the remainder is treaded with lemon and salt and hung up to dry.

The man who wishes to slaughter rides out to ranches to look for a suitable animal. After one, two or three days he returns with one. It happens quite often that these are stolen animals which he has bought up cheaply. Generally such stolen animals are from a distant ranch or village for it would be too dangerous if it were from near by, despite the fact that they are immediately slaughtered.

Most of the work of killing and cutting up the beef is done by men and generally there is a helper, whether he be a brother, cousin, or hired man. The wife or daughter does the actual selling. The same ^{rule} applies about cutting the meat into small pieces. ^{applies to beef as to pork. It has to be just the right size if a good profit is to be made}

The hide is sold in San Cristobal, where it is cured. There used to be a tanner in Chiapilla, but he had to leave because he and his son were accused of killing a man.

As in the case of the pig, every part of the animal, including the blood, is sold. I do not know what profit is made out of the slaughtering and selling of cattle.

This has been a description of the appearance of the village and of its people. It is a small ladino village situated in hot country; it has been comparatively isolated so that there has been little outlet for ~~all-pria~~ its principal crop which is maize. The village has a money economy and is by no means self sufficient. It is dependent upon the outside for many of the goods and foods it needs. Most of its inhabitants are farmers who depend upon maize for their income. For this reason land is of vital importance. Its cultivation and distribution among villagers is the key to an understanding of what happens in the village. It will be a main theme in this account.

CHIAPILLA

LILLO STERN

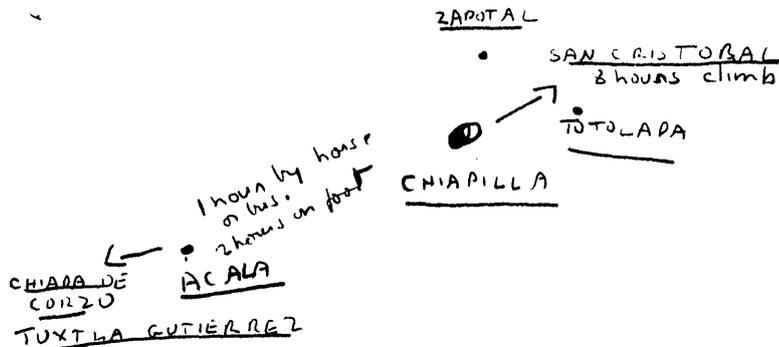
Check dates from Montagu's historical notes

A CHRONOLOGY

I

- 1877 Capital of State of Chiapas transferred from San Cristobal Las Casas to Tuxtla Gutierrez.
- 1911 Armed rebellion by the rich of San Cristobal and an attempt to march upon Tuxtla Gutierrez. Battle of Chiapilla when rebels were defeated.
- 1977 Arrival in Chiapas of new Governor. Introduction of reform laws such as abolition of all debts of the peons; liberation of peons; new tax system
- 19. - 19?? Mapaches in Chiapas; sudden raids upon Chiapilla.
- 1921 1st re-distribution of land in Chiapilla; formation of Ejido.
- 1930 Arrival of Barrio Indians
- 1932 Road between Chiapa de Corzo and Tuxtla Gutierrez
- 1932-1936. Persecution of Church in Chiapas. Burning of El Senor del Pozo.
- 1933 Approx. 1st re-distribution of land in Chiapilla
- 1937. Second re-distribution of land in Chiapilla.
- 1943 Third re-distribution of land in Chiapilla.
- 1950 Rough track opened between Chiapa and Acala on other side of river to Acala .
- 1958. Very rough track between Acala and Chiapilla. Suitable for lorries in dry season.
- 1961. All weather road between Chiapa de Corzo and Acala .
- 1961. Track opened between Acala and Chiapilla, Suitable for bus.

Rough Sketch



THE PAST

II

History is not as important in the lives of the Chiapilitecos as it is in so many other societies. Or, maybe it would be more accurate to say that tradition is not so important for them. The Chiapilitecos do not incorporate historical events into a tradition. They do not justify their customs, actions or fiestas in terms of past happenings. They do not say "We do this in such a manner because our fathers taught us to do it in this way", nor do they say "We do this because it is the custom to do it this way", nor do they have any myths or tales to explain such customs as they have. The most a Chiapiliteco will say if asked is "This is the way we do it". If asked what would happen if they did not do it, they say 'dicen es malo' (it is bad).

The people are conservative in the sense that they carry on doing things in the same way they have been used to and do not strive to innovate; but they are not conservative in the sense that they stubbornly cling to their old ways. If a new thing or method is introduced and it is shown to their satisfaction to be advantageous, they adopt it, provided it means no extra work or expense. In other words, they do not reject innovations on the sole ground that it is different from custom.

Chiapilitecos do not talk of the past spontaneously, nor recount traditional tales, nor do they teach their children of the ancient heroes and deeds of valour. Indeed, I have not heard anyone reminiscing except when I have specifically asked them about the past. In general the villagers live now, in the present - their thoughts are neither upon the future nor in the past. If the past is mentioned, it is usually as a result of some particular incident which has shocked the village; a killing, or a run-away couple for example. Then the older people say that these things did

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not happen formerly, things were better in the old days 'habia mas respeto' (there was more respect). What they mean is that there used to be more order in the village, which may well have been true. That things were better generally does not seem to be true to me: economically the villagers are certainly better off today and from the genealogies I can see that run-away-marriages also ^{or usual} happened.

There is one exception to this generalization: it is a spinster lady who continually talks of the past, of how much better it was, remembering people, dates and incidents and bringing them up upon every occasion and insisting that everything has deteriorated in the village. She lives in Chiapilla through no choice of her own, only remaining there to look after her aged mother. This lady of about seventy, is the daughter of a man who used to be wealthy and the 'cacique' (boss) of the village (approx. 1900-1920). He, or his brother, or cousins, were Presidente for many years and they were in charge in the village. For this reason, I believe that it may well be true that respect for the authorities in these pre-revolutionary days was a reality.

I said that history is not important in the daily lives of the Chiapilitecos and I explained that I meant history in the form of a tradition which justifies and sanctions present behaviour. This does not mean that historical events have not enormously changed the life of the village. They have certainly done so, but they have not on that account been remembered.

There are only three events in the past which are frequently remembered spontaneously, or about which people talked very readily when I brought up the subject. It is interesting that all three were disasters, one can even say "traumas" for the village. They are, therefore, remembered not because of their historical importance as deciding events in the history of the village, but rather because of the shock they produced in the minds of the villagers.

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The first of these remembered events was the coming of the Mapaches. Mapache was the name given to bands of Revolutionaries roaming the countryside in the ^{decade of the} early twenties, burning, stealing and looting. These rebels (in respect to the Government then in power), were undisciplined and the situation was much worsened by the fact that their leader, General Tiburcio Fernández, expected all men under his command to find their own food, clothing and arms. Taking advantage of the general disorder in the State, there grew up in addition a number of robber bands, who did not even have a political ideal with which to justify their looting. Of all this background the Chiapiltecos know and knew little. What they do know is that the village would suddenly be invaded by a group of horsemen who would loot, burn, kill and rape at will. Their only recourse was to flee to the 'Monte', i.e. to hide in the mountains. All my informants agreed that these raids were sudden and unexpected and that the church bell was rung as a warning for everyone to flee upon approach of a band. They also agree that all the adobe houses were burnt, or at least that all the contents would be piled high, petrol poured over and the whole thing set alight. Many of the small wattle and daub huts were also burnt and the owners hung in the street before their homes. People were so hungry that at times they were reduced to eating earth. I could not find out if the raiding parties were always the same, whether they were mere robber bands or genuine revolutionaries. It is unlikely that they were Government troops from Tuxtla, because there is no mention of troops being sent from Tuxtla to this area. All those who could, fled to San Cristobal las Casas or to Chiapa de Corzo, which were large towns (comparatively) and able to defend themselves.

This state of disorder could not have lasted for more than three or four years and, despite the total destructions and the deep impression upon the minds of the villagers, it was not the cause of any important change in the fortunes of

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the village. This is to be explained in the following way: the peons themselves had little property - a few chickens and pigs, which they would carry with them into the mountains when they hid; the wattle and daub huts were soon rebuilt, it takes five men two to three days to build such a hut. There were not more than four or five ^{who lived in} houses of adobe, ~~in which~~ ^{lived} men of property. Those who had not removed their money and valuables certainly suffered and all ^{the inside of} their houses ^{were} burnt. If their cattle and horses were not stolen by raiding bands, they were stolen by other villagers! These men certainly lost much, but it must be remembered that they were only four or five in number and did not contribute to the prosperity of the village in general. The most important source of wealth could not be destroyed - the land. This remained and once sown it takes only three months for the maize to ripen. Therefore, despite the terrible destruction, wantonness and disorder of these years, these did not have the same drastic long-term consequences which the Revolution had in other parts of Mexico. The fact that the villagers took no part at all in the fighting and had no Revolutionary ideals contributed to the speedy rebuilding of the village once order had been restored in the State.

The second incident, which has remained fixed in the minds of the villagers and about which I was frequently told, took place twenty years ago. Five men were killed on the same day in the village. At the wedding feast, after the church ceremony, the groom, his brother and father were killed by another man from the village and his son. The two killers were themselves killed during the night.

The third incident was that of the killing of a brother and sister and their nephew, all within 15 minutes, in the same house. The killings were due to a quarrel within the family and the killers were close relatives of the deceased.

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These three are the only frequently mentioned incidents of the past. I have rarely heard people reminiscing of their own accord, either about their own lives or about village life generally. I should point out that, during my year in Chiapilla, there were few old people, that is to say persons over sixty. Naturally it is the older people who talk more of the past rather than the younger ones. The few I was able to talk to seemed to have extraordinarily poor memories and happened to be persons of low intelligence, or were already feeble-minded. I was told that in the two or three years before my arrival quite a number of old men and women had died, who, I was assured, used to love telling of the old times and remembered perfectly what had happened in the past. ^{Despite this} Nevertheless, it is correct to say that the Chiapillitecos are not interested in, nor concerned about, their past.

The lack of historical sense which I found in Chiapilla may be due to the fact that it has been in its present site for less than a century. Reference to the village can be found ^{at the end of the 18th Century} ~~as early as 1733(?)~~ in a report prepared for the Bishop of Chiapas, in San Cristobal las Casas. The inhabitants are described as being orderly and well-behaved people and there are reported to be 300 inhabitants.

I was unable to find any more records of Chiapilla prior to the 20th Century, because whatever records there may have been were burnt when the Mapaches set fire to the Palacio Estatal (Headquarters of the State Government) in Tuxtla Gutierrez, in the 1920s. In Chiapilla itself, there are no records previous to 1900.

The original village of Chiapilla used to be on the banks of the Rio Frio, where the cemetery is situated today,

about one mile from its present site. This is the story told by the villagers and there is much evidence to confirm it.

The report for the Bishop of San Cristóbal, mentioned above, describes 'el Pueblo de Chiapilla' as being near the river, which is precisely where the cemetery is today. In the center of this cemetery there remains standing a high wall with an arch in the middle, which looks like the entrance to a church and a little way off there is another piece of high wall standing in a field. Lastly, there is the fact that the village, until recently, was called 'Pueblo nuevo de Chiapilla' - the new town of Chiapilla.

I do not know who founded the new village, whether it was survivors from the old Chiapilla or new settlers. It is, however, remarkable that I found no one who claimed to come from a real Chiapilla family. By this I mean, no one who said that his father and father's father and all his ancestors had been born, had lived and had died in the village. In all the genealogies that I noted, I did not come across one adult (25 years and over), whose grandfather had been born in the village. Frequently I found that the father or mother had immigrated. I was often told that so and so's father was an 'Indio' and had arrived in the village 'tunco', which means with short trousers of the kind worn by the Zinacantan Indians. ^{This word} It indicates that many of the immigrants

^{most probably} came from Zinacantan and not from other Indian groups in the neighborhood. ^{because} the Zinacantecos are the ^{most} ^{group} only Indians ^{to wear short trousers}

Those who came to settle in Chiapilla came from one of three types of background: those who were Indians and spoke a different language and wore different clothes upon arrival; ^{Those who were ladinos and came from the rancho having been where they were} peons or workers there; and those who came from near-by towns or villages. These people who came from towns to settle in Chiapilla had generally been to Chiapilla as traders before deciding to remain there. They and their children are still 'mas vivo' (livelier) than other villagers and all the shop-

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keepers and wealthier men in Chiapilla have parents who came from towns, or have themselves spent some time in a town. When asked where their parents or grandparents came from, those with ancestors from ranches or Indian villages will answer grudgingly and depreciatingly, while those who claim descent from a town-dweller will say so proudly.

I met few people who were proud to be Chiapiltecos. They would either explain that they lived there but were really from such and such a town (even though it was in fact their parents who came from there), or they would say that they would like to leave the village if they would be able to do so and ^{were amazed} marvel at the fact that I should come and live there voluntarily.

The immigration into Chiapilla continues. During the year I was there, one Indian family moved in and also several men from the surrounding ranches. It is important to point out that there was never a large group ^{which came} coming to settle in Chiapilla at one time; there was never a group that came ^{bringing with it} together and already having its own customs and traditions, (However, see "Barrio" below). Rather it was that families drifted in separately, or, more precisely, one member of the family would arrive and the others would gradually follow. This constant dribble of immigrants still continues.

At the same time people were and are continuously leaving Chiapilla. There is not a person in the village who does not have some relative (first or second degree) living elsewhere. Emigrants are generally young persons. (~~however see "Barrio" below~~) One reason, of course, is that of a girl marrying an outsider and going to live with him. Unmarried young girls may go to work as a servant on one of the ranches or in a town. Young men leave to find work on neighbouring ranches or go to one of the towns in the State. They generally leave because they are bored or in search of adventure. Usually the men go further away than the women. Young men or women who have quarrelled with

their spouses often leave the village. It is, of course, much easier to leave the village in these days of easy transport, but the genealogies show that the previous generation left in the same way and for similar reasons. A number of men have left because they killed a villager or because they were afraid of being killed.

It is difficult to say whether those who leave the village have left permanently. In fact one cannot tell until they have died. There are a few who have been away for over 20 years and I assume these have left for good. Many however do return after one, five, or even ten year's absence. It is obvious that the majority of the population remains living in the village but there is, and was, a constant flow of persons entering and leaving.

The population of Chiapilla has grown since the beginning of the Century and is still increasing. This has been mainly due to the high birth-rate, although immigration must have played a part.

There is undoubtedly a high birth rate in Chiapilla. It is true that the genealogies which I took were a chance sample and not a statistically random one. I have instances of couples with one, two and three adult children only - but I also have a good number of couples who have or had eight or nine adult children. This means that the number of children actually born to the couple was greater, for the infant mortality rate was and is high. Most persons above the age of twelve have at least one dead sibling.

In order to get some idea of the number of children born to a couple in the past, I would ask older persons (40 and upwards) how many siblings they had. This method is not very accurate because people tend to forget dead siblings, especially if they had died before the birth of the informant. It is only the mother who remembers all the children alive and dead. If one wants to know the total number of children of a woman one must of course wait until she can no longer have any children. This is especially so in Chiapilla where no kind of birth control is practiced. ~~It means that only women over 45 can be asked if one wishes to enquire into the increase of the population~~

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Physical Appearance

At the beginning of the Century Chiapilla consisted mainly of wattle and daub huts with palm thatch roofs. I guess there were approximately 150 of these. There were about four or five adobe houses with tile roofs. I do not know when the church was built, but one old lady of about 80 remembers it being built when she was young, so it must have been somewhere round the turn of the Century. During the time of the Mapaches (~~early 1920s~~) many of the huts in the village were destroyed and all the adobe houses were burnt. The town hall suffered the same fate. Some time in the late thirties the town hall and ^{local jail} ~~prison~~ were built and the first small school was also constructed. I do not know when the first Federal teacher was sent to Chiapilla, but I guess it was at the beginning of the 'thirties during the ~~xxxxx~~ time of the great ⁿ National Campaign for Rural ^{educational program} Teachers. An additional classroom was built in the 'forties and in the 'fifties the village square, 'el parque', so essential to every Mexican population, was laid out. The wattle and daub houses were, throughout the period, being replaced by adobe houses and by now about half of the houses are of adobe. Nearly all the new houses being built are of adobe bricks and tile roofs, although I have seen a few new houses being put up of wattle and daub by the poor people. An important change in the last fifteen ~~xxxx~~ to twenty years is the appearance of horses and oxen. It is perfectly true that the "gentry" and the ranch owners ^{now} had plenty of mules, horses and cattle. However, the villagers had none. Today many families have one or two horses and there are about fifteen ox-teams in the village. It is only about ten years ago that oxen began to be used by the villagers for plowing and that ox-carts appeared. This meant, of course, that paths wide enough and flat enough for such carts had to be made. It also meant that the men had to learn how to handle the animals and many are still afraid of them. I do not

think that the villagers have yet learnt how to take proper care of these animals.

The Church

Previous to 1922 the most important town in Chiapas was San Cristóbal Las Casas. It was the capital of the State and therefore the administrative, judicial and political centre. It was the seat of the Bishop and thus the ecclesiastical centre and in addition it was the commercial hub of the State.

The capital was removed to Tuxtla Gutierrez much against the will of the Coletos (the inhabitants of San Cristóbal).¹ The city remained the seat of the Bishop and it was a long time before its importance as a commercial and trading centre declined.

In 1911 an attempt was made to return the capital to San Cristóbal. The wealthier men of the city, many of whom owned land in hot country, organized a force which consisted mainly of unarmed Indians. These had been induced to join the rebellion by all kinds of promises, amongst others new lands and greater freedom. The Bishop Cresco Jiménez, whose lands bordered upon Chiapilla was one of the leaders in this attempt.

The poorly organized force marched down from San Cristóbal and met the Government troops and Tuxtla Volunteers at the entrance to the village of Chiapilla. In a brief encounter the Coletos were completely routed.

Chiapilltecos remember little of it and tend to confuse the incident with the period of the Mapaches six or seven years later. The villagers took no part in the fighting between the unarmed Indians from the hills on the one side, and the well-armed government troops on the other. What is remembered, is that there were so many dead Indians, mown down by the well-equipped troops, that they had to be piled up and burnt instead of being properly buried. The Chiapilltecos consider this act to have ^{been} worse than all the killing of the battle.

continue with new paragraph

¹ the current nickname for those of this city. "Coletos" ~~mean the~~ ^{mean the} ~~villagers~~ ^{villagers}
Tuxtecos are known as ^{los} conejos, the rabbits.

Jacket common in the 17 + 18th among elegant Spanish people. From ^{the} cola, tail of the back of the jacket.

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More is remembered of the time when the Church was severely persecuted in Chiapas, as in the whole of Mexico. Older women remember how the priest came and gave secret services in private houses and how they had their children bap**t**ized secretly at night. There was even one hidden wedding during this time. There were, however, two public incidents, which concerned the whole village rather than individuals alone.

The first of these was the order received by the Presidente from the Governor of the State that the Saints of the church were to be burnt publicly. The Presidente of Chiapilla was placed in a very awkward predicament. If he did not obey the Governor he would, in all likelihood, have been called to Tuxtla and there put into prison for disobedience to the Governor's orders. If he did burn them, the whole village would turn against him and he would surely be in danger of his life. As he was a s**h**rewd man, he found the following solution (according to his version of the story): he called a meeting of all the important men of the village and put the problem before them. Between them they agreed to hide the actual Saints of the church and to take some old broken images which were lying behind the alter and burn

these publicly.

The true images were smuggled away during the night, two of them being buried in a field and the other three were hidden in the house of one of the wealthier villagers. It was in this house that the priest held secret services when he came. The Presidente thus had the best of two worlds. The Governor of the State sent him a congratulatory telegram when he heard the news that the Saints of Chiapilla had been burnt; and the villagers were delighted with their Presidente because they knew he had not burnt their Saints.

At about this time there occurred another incident connected with the order for the burning of the Saints. It did not directly affect Chiapilla, but did make a great impression upon the people there: About three hours' climb on the way to San Cristobal there used to be a large estate with a chapel next to the ranch house wherein there was a very miraculous image. It was an image of Christ Crucified on the Cross, called 'el Señor del Pozo' - he was given this name because he was said to be visible in a small pool in a wood near this chapel.¹ The image became an important centre of pilgrimage, with people coming from great distances in order to pray for a miracle to help them in their distress; and miracles were granted to the faithful. Especially at Easter, which was the Saint's day (as ^{it is} the image of Christ on the Cross), streams of pilgrims would pass through Chiapilla and seek 'posada' (a night's hospitality) in the houses of the village. Round about the year 1934 the Governor of Chiapas sent a band of armed men with orders to burn down the Chapel and the image. I have been unable to discover whether the order was in fact carried out completely. It is certain that the chapel was burnt and today only the walls remain standing. A new altar has been put in and the charred images of ~~Joseph and Mary~~ ^{the two guardian angels} stand beside a photograph of the original image. What happened to 'el Señor del Pozo' remains a mystery. Many say it was

¹ This is the local version. Señor del Pozo is a well recognized, formerly authorized saint with different background. - ? check old MS.

not burnt but that the raiders took the image with them and that it is now in one of the ranches on the coast, in the home of the officer who carried out the orders of the Governor. Others maintain that it was indeed burnt.

Pilgrims still arrive to visit the chapel, although now it is a centre for local pilgrims only. On Easter Friday crowds of people come from San Cristobal, Chiapilla, ^{and} Zapotál to bring candles and flowers to 'el Señor'. There is a small group of men and women in Chiapilla and San Cristobal who are devoted to 'el Señor del Pozo', who collect money for the rebuilding of the chapel and who go to visit the Saint every Friday, bringing him fresh flowers and providing the altar with a clean cloth. There is one man who has dreams in which he receives orders to rebuild the chapel and who goes round the village trying to get support for this holy work.

During this same period, i.e. the time of the persecution of the Church, the estate of the Bishop Orozco Jiménez, which used to border upon the village, was confiscated. The bishop's whole estate, the ranch house and his house in the village were given to the village. The houses were promptly ransacked and burnt, so that no one profited from the electric ^{light} plant and the beautiful furniture in the houses. This bishop ^{seems to have been} ~~was~~ a remarkably intelligent and educated man and his estate ^{was} ~~seems to have been~~ a model of modern agriculture: it was mainly planted with sugar cane and he had built brick irrigation ditches, such as I have seen nowhere else in the area. His campressing mill was run by water power and was also foolishly destroyed. The villagers could have profited greatly from its use. The irrigation canals are still in use, but because of thirty years' neglect and lack of repairs they are beginning to crumble.

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The important changes which have taken place in Chiapilla since 1900 are due to two factors: (1) the expropriation of the large landowners and the subsequent re-distribution of the land among the villagers, (2) and the improvement in communications between Chiapilla and the rest of the State,

that is to say the building of roads. To my mind all the changes can ultimately be traced to these two causes.

Both the re-distribution of land and the building of roads are measures that have primarily economic consequences. The fact that these ~~steps~~ ^{measures} were taken can only be explained in political terms. These measures were taken by the Federal Government and were in no way due to the initiative or efforts of the Chiapiltecos. The consequences of these measures, that is the subsequent changes, can be mostly attributed to the villagers.

The Re-Distribution of Land.

Prior to 1930 Chiapilla was entirely surrounded by large estates. Very little land was owned by Chiapiltecos and such land as did belong to villagers was in the hands of a few men who might be called "gentry". These were men who came from San Cristobal las Casas, or Venustiano Carranza, of comfortable means although not nearly as wealthy as the owners of the surrounding estates. The latter might own as much as 1,000 Has of first class land, much of it irrigated, while those I call "gentry" would have owned about 200 Has.

There were never more than three or four of these "gentry". They were they who ran the village, serving on the Village Council as Presidente, Secretary, Judge, etc. This "gentry" mixed socially with the ranchowners, in that they would visit each others houses and drink together. In the years before the re-distribution of the land to the peasants the situation was as follows: the large ranches which entirely surrounded Chiapilla were owned by men from San Cristobal, or Comitán, or Venustiano Carranza. It was the custom for them to own a large house in the State capital of San Cristobal, where their wives and families would live provided with all the amenities such an important and large town (compared to the other towns of the State) could offer. During the three or four winter months (approx. November to February), when

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the climate becomes very cold and disagreeable in San Cristobal and when the schools have their holidays, the families would come down to hot country which at that time has pleasantly warm weather. As soon as the real heat began ^{the} in/hot country they would return to San Cristobal. The ranchowners would spend much of the year on their ranches, supervising the work, and rode up to San Cristobal occasionally to visit their families. They were thus alone on their ranches for long periods of time and would naturally ride into the village of Chiapilla to relieve their boredom, finding company and diversion there.

Most of these ranchowners had a mistress in Chiapilla. They might buy a house in the village for a young girl and establish her as a mistress, or they might spend the night with any young girl they fancied giving her parents a suitable present of money. There are many villagers today who are the children of such a ranchowner and a Chiapilteca. This second family, or alternatively, the illegitimate children by several women, were not usually supported by the ranchowner. However, they were recognised by him and are generally proud to ^{be} carry their father's name. He may have given them presents from time to time, helped them to find work, etc. Especially if these illegitimate children dated from before the marriage, they were often taken into the home of the ranchowner to serve the family: the boys as majordomos or supervisors and the girls as housekeepers or servants. The wife would recognise them as her husband's children and the legitimate children would recognise them as sisters and brothers.

The villagers were very poor. They lived in wattle and daub huts with palm thatched roofs and would rent land on a share cropping basis from the estates, or they might be employed directly upon the estates, particularly at harvest time. Surrounding each ranch house on its estate there would be 10 to 20 huts in which lived those peons who were tied to the estate and others who chose to live and work there. I

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do not know whether the peons were much abused in this area. There was an advantage for a man to live on a ranch for he would receive house and land free, but in return he would be obliged to work for the landlord. As land was so short in Chiapilla, this would have been an important consideration.

The first land to be re-distributed to the villagers of Chiapilla came from parts of three ranches. They took possession in 1921 when ~~has were given to~~ men. No plan of individual holdings was made, nor are there any records of the amount each man received, nor of the way in which different quality lands were distributed.

I cannot understand how it came about that land was distributed at such an early date, for even today, forty years later, there remain large estates in the State of Chiapas. The agrarian reforms were first set out in the Constitution of 1917 and the first Governor with serious intentions to carry out these reforms arrived in Chiapas in 1920. It was not and still is not a simple matter of taking the land from the landlords and giving it to the peasants. The land has to be asked for and it is unlikely that the simple peasants of that time would know the complicated and lengthy procedures necessary for such requests, when even today they have difficulty in this respect. Besides, the landlords could and still can find any number of objections and difficulties to delay the re-distribution for many years.

There is one possible explanation: I have said that the ranchowners who owned the lands around Chiapilla had their houses and families in San Cristobal and their sympathies were, therefore, with this town. I have also written of the attempt to seize Tuxtla Gutierrez in 1911 and the setting up of San Cristobal as the State Capital with a Governor appointed by that city. Most of the ranchowners of the area around Chiapilla were deeply involved in this attempt, one of them was even a leader. It would, therefore, be understandable that the new Governor in Tuxtla, fearing another attempt of this kind, would

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try to reduce the power of the ranchowners who took part in the insurrection, by depriving them of their land. However, this is only a guess of mine, I do not know what actually happened. I do know that if the powerful landlords lost part of their lands, there must have been some other interest at work, besides that of the Chiapiltecos. They alone could never have won against the landlords.

There were two further distributions of land taken from neighbouring ranches: one in 1937 and another in 1942. There is an application for a further distribution, although it is unlikely that this one will be granted.

Thus, during the last forty years, all the large estates around Chiapilla have been divided up into small parcels of land and given to the villagers in the form of Ejido land.

One of the surprising things to me, was the difficulty I had in obtaining accounts of the distribution of these lands. No one ever mentioned it to me of his own accord and upon being questioned they had difficulty remembering all about it. Yet I should have thought it would have been an important moment for them. They were given land of their own to farm for the first time in their lives, without having to pay for it. I am at a loss to understand why this should have made so little impression upon them. I can only think that in practice the change did not make too much difference to their lives, work or income. Rather the change has come about gradually since the formation of the Ejido. It may well have been that the peasants received the very land they had been renting and took the contribution towards the Ejido to be as bad as the rent they had previously paid.

The re-distribution of land had two long-term effects of a political nature. The first was that the gap between the rich and the poor of the village decreased, or rather a peasant middle class grew up; the "gentry" as a socially and economically superior group disappeared. I have already said that this "gentry" had ruled in the village. As far as

I can gather, theirs had been a mildly despotic paternalism and their authority was based on their unquestioned and unquestionable social and economic superiority. When the marked economic difference disappeared, due to some of the peasant villagers acquiring more wealth, the Presidente, namely the man who ruled the village, began to be the ruler of his equals rather than a ruler of his inferiors. There remained no basis for the authority of the Presidente - the basis of economic superiority had disappeared, the Office itself had never alone been a basis for respect and obedience. The equals of the man who held the office of Presidente in the village saw no reason for obeying their equal. Whether a Presidente was obeyed or not became entirely a matter of his character. The disorder in Chiapilla increased and has remained to this day.

This point is vital in understanding ~~of Mexican politics~~ ~~generally~~ what happened in Chiapilla, and I believe it is vital in the understanding of Mexican politics generally. There is no respect or reverence for the "Office". Respect and obedience is accorded to the holder of the Office, to him personally. This is directly opposite to the many societies in which the "Office" is held in respect although the incumbent may be despised. Politics must be understood in terms of personal adherence to a leader, and not in terms of political institutions.

I wish to make clearer this process of the growth of the "middle class of peasants" and the disappearance of the "gentry". Those I have called "gentry" were not a gentry in the sense of the former English or French gentry, nor in the sense the ranch owners were. They were not a self-perpetuating class in Chiapilla. I have already said that they were immigrants from the towns who had bought moderate amounts of land and who kept a small herd of cattle. They lived with their wives and children in the village and did not send their sons to San Cristobal or Mexico to be educated as

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did the ranch owners. The children, therefore, grew up on the land and knew only of village ways, although they were conscious of coming from a home which was superior to that of other villagers. This "gentry" had none of its land confiscated during the re-distribution because the amounts they owned were too small. It was, therefore, a matter of circumstance and of individual character whether the wealth accumulated by the father was retained by his children.

I have in mind four cases: Narcisso Gordillo had no surviving sons and only three surviving daughters. These he sent to San Cristobal during the period of the Mapaches. They never returned to live in the village, nor did any of them marry a man willing to look after her father's property. It gradually deteriorated and since the father's death his family have had no more influence in the village. Manuel Flores was killed while still quite young. His five surviving sons farm the land he left, but none of them is exceptional or ambitious in any way and the family have become one of the "middle class" of the village. Celin Carcia was succeeded by an able son, who grabbed the best of the inheritance for himself, but understood how to improve it and he died recently a wealthy man. During his life ^{his son} he had held most of the important Offices in the village. Ekzeziel Velasco was also killed and upon his death his wife sold all his property and moved from the village with all the children.

On the one hand then, the former "gentry" became part of the new "peasant middle class" and on the other hand some of the peasants who had received land moved into this "middle class".

Not all the men who received land became wealthy, it was a basis from which a man could start. It then depended upon particular circumstances and individual character as to who would remain poor and who would become a "middle class peasant". Many of the Ejidatarios sold their land for one reason or another or have remained to this day with their

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original holding, farming for their own subsistence only. Those who have prospered have done so either because of hard work, or because of good fortune (in their crops or their livestock), or because they had many sons who remained to work with them, or because they managed to get more than their fair share of good land during the re-distribution. A number of well-to-do middle class men, who have a shop and own an ox-team, had fathers who immigrated as poor peons from the rancaes, or who came from an Indian village.

The distribution of the land to the peasants thus provided opportunity or the pre-requisite for improved economic conditions - it did not determine them. Some of the recipients have improved their conditions greatly (from the economic point of view) while others have remained in the same state of poverty.

SPACE

The second political consequence of the land distribution arose from the manner in which it was allocated, that is to say, the Ejido System. Land was not, and is not, distributed to individual peasants. Under the Ejido System an area of land is given to a group of people who form a co-operative. It is a co-operative in that the group is collectively responsible for all the land it receives in certain respects, and that there are collective rights in part of the land. For example, certain areas are reserved for grazing and wood. At the same time, ^{each} individual holds his own plot of land and is granted certain rights of cultivation and usufruct. These rights are dependent upon certain conditions laid down by law. For example, an Ejidatario may not sell or rent his land, he must cultivate it himself, etc. It is the Ejido, that is to say the co-operative, which is collectively responsible to the State that all its members observe their obligations. This at any rate is the theory and intention and it has influenced the organization of the Ejidos. There are other provisions, among them compulsory contribution of money and a majority agreement as to its expenditure, which all tend to make a

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group of the Ejidatarios, a group which has common interests as against those who are not ejidatarios. For the first time the peasants found themselves united in a group, having conscious aims and interests which tied them together.

I have been careful to say that the Ejido is a GROUP of peasants. It may include all men of a village, but it need not do so. It is quite possible, as in Chiapilla, that part of the inhabitants are Ejidatarios while some are not. In such a case there arises a clash of interests; those of the Ejidatarios, as against those of the non-ejidatarios. In either of the cases, i.e. ^{whether} ~~if~~ the whole of the population or only part of it is in the Ejido, a second authority is created. It is that of the Ejido Governing Committee. Thus in one and the same population there will be the Local Government Committee (Presidente, Juez Sindicato, etc.) and the Ejido Governing Committee (Comisariado, Secretario, Tesorero, etc.). This is precisely what happened in Chiapilla when the Ejido was formed at the time of the first land distribution in 1921.

It is obvious that the political situation changes enormously when a village no longer has a single body which holds sole authority, but when a second is created which is also given much authority. In fact, part of the power which used to belong to the Presidencia was transferred to the Ejido, for the Ejido has the right to settle all internal land disputes, that is, land disputes between Ejido members. It is evident that in an agricultural village, a large proportion of the difficulties and problems will be directly concerned with land. If most of the villagers hold their land within the Ejido, these problems will come before the Ejido authority and not before the Presidencia. More important still is the fact that the Ejido disposes of free labour contributions from the Ejidatarios.

In these small and poor agricultural villages, there is little money income for the Presidencia, and the income is

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in the form of services, every villager having an obligation to give some of his labour to the community. This used to be the case and the school, the church and the town hall were built in this way. However, the Ejido also requires voluntary labour from its members. If a man is both an Ejidatario and a community member, he owes service to both. But this he considers excessive. He gives his labour to the Ejido, for there all his economic interests lie and he considers that he receives some kind of return (grazing rights, wood, etc.). The Presidencia offers ^{him} no visible ^[only general improvement in the village] return and in addition has not the power to enforce his voluntary labour. It can thus come about that the Ejido has more authority in the village (in the sense of getting things done) than has the constitutional local government authorities, i.e. the Presidencia.

The most important consequences of the re-distribution of land from the large estates to the peasants ^{thereby} have been:-

- 1) the increased wealth of some of these peasants, who have formed a "peasant middle class" and a consequent increase in the economic activity of the village and a growth of the village economy;
- 2) as a result of the appearance of this "peasant middle class" the Presidente had to rule among his equals and could no longer rely on wealth as a basis for his authority. Respect for his own person was the only basis - as many Presidentes were not personally respected there was and continued to be such disorder in the village;
- 3) an authority which challenged the power of the Presidencia was set up within the village; ^{i.e.} the Ejido Governing Committee;
- 4) a group with common interests was created within the village a group which could and did act politically.

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Improved Communications:

Chiapilla has by tradition had its closest connection with San Cristobal Las Casas. Even today it is still referred to as 'La Ciudad' (the City) by the villagers and traders who have gone there are said to have gone up 'el Cerro' (the Mountain). The nearest other large town is Chiapa de Corzo on the Rio Grijalva.

The changes which have occurred since the beginning of the Century have all had the effect of turning Chiapilla away from San Cristobal and orientating it towards Chiapa de Corzo.

In order to reach San Cristobal from Chiapilla one must follow a steep, tiring path for eight hours, continuously uphill. This path can only be used by horses, mules or donkeys. ^{It takes eight hours on foot or on horseback} ~~It can, of course, be travelled on foot.~~ It is impossible to use any wheeled vehicle on this route. One might say that Chiapilla was orientated towards San Cristobal despite this obstacle, and there were very good reasons for this.

At the beginning of the Century San Cristobal was the Capital of the State of Chiapas. This meant that the Governor and all the people ~~involved~~ ^{of} in the Administration, both civil ~~and~~ military and judicial, lived there. It was the seat of the Bishop, the city where any wealthy man had to have his house. There was much wealth in San Cristobal and it provided an inexhaustible market for the hot country products grown in Chiapilla. San Cristobal lies in cold country, where the soil and climate only permit low yields of maize and none of the great variety of fruits and vegetables which flourish in hot country. San Cristobal was not only the market for the products of Chiapilla, but the whole area ~~far~~ beyond the village sent its harvest up to San Cristobal.

Chiapilla would send to San Cristobal such fruits and vegetables as melon, water melon, mango, jocote, tomatoes, chile, zapote, chico zapote, zapote negro, manzanilla (pea nuts), mamay,

all varieties of bananas, oranges, each in their season. Maize would also be carried up, mainly by the Zinacantecans who at that time, as today, had large mule trains. It seems that only very few Chiapiltecos were traders. They preferred to sell to the traders who passed ^{from} ~~from~~ Acala and ^{to} ~~from~~ the Zinacantecans. 'Panela', made from sugar cane, was a product regularly taken up the mountain to supply the aguardiente factory. Much cotton used to be planted around Chiapilla and this too was carried up 'el Cerro'. From San Cristobal would come women bringing bread, cloth and other manufactured articles which could be sold in the village. Any article of luxury, such as crockery, cutlery, furniture, etc. required by the ranch owners or the "gentry" would be sent down by carrier (on man's back). It is a curious thing, that at that time and right up to this day, the lowland traders take goods up to San Cristobal returning empty, while the Colettos (name given to the people from San Cristobal) come down to hot country carrying their goods with them but return without loads. Apparently this was the ^{custom} ~~rule~~ in the past and of all those who still take fruit to 'la Ciudad' I know of one man only who carries goods both ways.

Apart from the fact that San Cristobal was a market for Chiapilla's products, it was also a place to buy goods cheaply. I have been told by several informants that they would walk up to San Cristobal once a year for the fiestas of one of the Saints and at the same time buy new clothes there.

Anyone who had any business with the Government, with the State or Federal Tax Officer, with the Judiciary, had to go to 'la Ciudad'. Prisoners were taken there and the occasional police or military detachment which reached Chiapilla came down the Mountain.

In addition to this was the fact that the ranchowners all came from San Cristobal, had their families there and kept in constant communication with them by sending their servants to and fro as messengers. The idea of San Cristobal as the place to buy anything one needs is so strongly fixed in the

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that
minds of the people/even today traders are frequently given
'encargos', that is to say they are asked to bring back
things like medicines, sausages, meat, cloth, etc., at a
time when it is only four hours by bus to Tuxtla Gutierrez,
where the same articles are to be obtained more cheaply, and in greater variety.

The only other large town was Chiapa de Corzo. In
order to reach it one had to go to Acala on horseback (a one-
and a half hour journey) and from there one would have to
proceed down the river by canoe, ^{which took} ~~this taking a further~~ four more
hours. There was no well organized river traffic from
Chiapa de Corzo either up or down river, although I do not
know the reasons for this lack. It was a complicated business
finding a canoe whose owner would agree to take one down to
Chiapa de Corzo. Apparently there were no professionals and
one had to persuade a resident of Acala who happened to own
a canoe. Along this route would come a few traders, mainly
dealing in cloth and clothes, but above all it was the route
to be taken by anyone travelling to Mexico City or indeed to
any other State in the Republic.

The change of orientation from San Cristobal to Chiapa
de Corzo was slow at first. It began with the move of the
State Capital to Tuxtla Gutierrez. At that time Tuxtla lay
half a day's ride beyond Chiapa, but, as the Government
offices were there, anyone who had business with the Government
~~or regarding taxation~~ must needs go there. An ordinary
Chiapilla peasant would not normally come into contact with
a Government Office, but the ranchowners and the "gentry"
might. Some time later, I do not know when, Chiapilla was
placed in the Judicial District of Chiapa de Corzo, so that
the superior Court of Justice for cases from Chiapilla was
no longer in San Cristobal, but in Chiapa.

In the early 'thirties there was a great improvement in
the communications between Acala and Chiapa. A German
opened a passenger service with a motor launch, which took
one hour down river to Chiapa and about three hours up river.

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The motor launch carried 12 passengers. By canoe it had taken four hours down river, and by land it had always been a very long and difficult journey because the land used to be swampy. At about the same time (1932/33) the first good road was built between Chiapa and Tuxtla, so that the journey was reduced from half a day's ride on horseback to half-an-hour by bus.

However, the really big change came in 1950 when a rough road was opened between Chiapa and Acala. Acala is built on the banks of the river Grijalva and the road reached it on the opposite bank. This meant that goods and bus passengers had to be ferried across. Despite this inconvenience the road proved to be a much cheaper and more comfortable way to Chiapa than the river. The motor boat was ^{had carried} able to carry 12 passengers only and for this reason one might have to wait one or more days to obtain a passage. Another general complaint about this boat was that it always left on time and would never wait for anyone, as its owner was German and insisted on punctuality, a trait that Anglo-Americans & British Engineers did not know to value.

As important, if not more so, than this first passenger bus service between Acala and Chiapa was the opportunity it offered for the cheap transport of maize. Traders who had never before reached Acala, would now come as far as Chiapilla to buy maize. This maize would be taken by oxcart as far as Acala, ferried across the river and from there it was taken in lorries to Chiapa de Corzo. Now Chiapa de Corzo did not itself need the maize, as it is situated in a maize growing area. However, from Chiapa there was a road to Tuxtla and from there to Arriaga, which was the end of the railway line. In Arriaga there were huge store houses and maize merchants would buy up the maize and ship it to other states which were short of the cereal. Thus for the first time there was a real demand for maize in Chiapilla and slowly peasants began to sow larger quantities.

In 1961 a new road was opened between Chiapa and Acala. It was a good all-weather road which reached Acala on its own side of the river. The journey between the two

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places was reduced to one and a half hours comfortable bus ride and even faster by car.

In the same year a rough track, suitable for a bus and lorry was built between Chiapilla and Acala, so that the maize lorries could enter the village and a bus service was opened, going from Chiapilla to Acala to Chiapa de Corzo to Tuxtla Gutierrez. ^{Paragraph} // The tie between Chiapilla and San Cristobal is definitely broken. Those persons who want to travel from Chiapilla to 'La Ciudad' now take a bus to Tuxtla and from there take another bus to San Cristobal. The path up the mountain is now only taken by men from Chiapilla who sell their fruit there. They still take zapote, mango, jocote, bananas and mammy loaded on their donkeys. It is not their full time job, but when they are not busy in their milpas, they will take their own fruit to sell in San Cristobal. Twice a week a woman still comes from San Cristobal with bread which she sells in Chiapilla.

The effect of a road which can be negotiated by lorries and a bus has been tremendous. Lorries poured into the village during harvest time so that most of the maize was taken straight from Chiapilla to Chiapa de Corzo and only very small quantities were taken by oxcart to Acala. Already in this one year it changed the maize trade. Many Chiapiltecos thought it worth while to go to the nearby villages of Totolapa and Zapotal, which had not yet been reached by ^{the} road, in order to buy maize, so that they could resell it in Chiapilla at a higher price to the lorry traders. For the first time more peasants could make use of the Government's offer to buy maize at a high guaranteed price. The problem in previous years had been to get it to the Government's reception centre in Chiapa de Corzo.

Many villagers took the bus and for the first time in their lives went to Chiapa and to Tuxtla. They went there to buy clothes and household goods and to go to the doctor. Towards the end of the year there were some women who took

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loads of fruit ^{from} Chiapilla to sell in the market in Tuxtla and who brought back such things as oranges, cabbage, sausages, cloth etc. to sell in the village. One man even planned to plant tomatoes to take them by bus to Tuxtla and sell them there.

Chiapilla has now turned completely towards Tuxtla Outierrez. The Government Offices are there, the Ejido Head Office is there and the Superior Court of Justice is in Chiapa de Corzo (half an hour from Tuxtla). All consumer goods reaching the village are bought in Tuxtla; and to this town Chiapilla sends its ^{the} maize, its main source of income ^{it has}.

There remain some traders who take fruit and vegetables to San Cristobal. I think that as soon as the road to Aoala improves and when the bus fares go down a little, these also will be taken to Tuxtla.

This change in orientation has ~~many~~ had two causes. Partly it is because all administrative affairs concerning the village are now dealt with in Tuxtla. All the Offices of the Federal Government are there. ^{And partly} Largely this change in orientation is due to the building of roads.

I have said that the re-distribution of lands was one of the two fundamental causes for the change in Chiapilla over the last forty years. Improved communications was the second. I think that the road which has now reached Chiapilla will alter the village even more rapidly and profoundly. This will happen not so much because Chiapilliticos will get out of the village but because outsiders will be coming to Chiapilla more frequently.

S P A C E

BARRIO

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I have written above that at no time did a group with its own customs, traditions, etc. come to settle in the village and that the immigrants have always come to Chiapilla singly or at most in a family. This is true in one sense only, for ~~xxxx~~ some time around the year 1930 a group of about 60 Tzotzil speaking Indians came to Chiapilla. These Indians had been peons on two nearby ranches. The land of these two estates had been asked for and then forcibly seized by the neighbouring village of Zapotal. The men of Zapotal, impatient of waiting for the decision of the Agrarian Authorities, entered the estates and occupied the land, killing the manager of one of the estates together with his family.

The peons of the estates thus lost their employment and their land at one blow. Some of them went to live near Zapotal and other trekked to Chiapilla with all their belongings. Each of the two villages gave these newcomers some land upon which to build their huts, so that two new settlements arose. Those who came to Chiapilla were ^{subsequently} granted some of the land which had belonged to the estate, so that they might plant their milpa.

There was one big difference between the two new settlements. The men of Zapotal gave the immigrant-peons a plot of land some 20 minutes walk from the village, so that a tiny new village was in fact created, it was, in time, called Zacatal. The Chiapiltecos also gave their immigrants a plot of land which was separated from the village, but although separate it was adjoining. Chiapilla is built on the crest of a narrow ridge which falls away steeply on both sides. The peons were given the steep slope on the side of this ridge for their settlement. There is, therefore, a definite physical barrier between the new settlement and the village. Nevertheless, it is adjoining to the village so that it takes five minutes from Chiapilla to the Barrio, whilst it takes 20 minutes from Zapotal to Zacatal. The very name 'el Barrio', indicates that it is considered as part of Chiapilla. 'Barrio' means

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borough or district, and is not a proper name in itself. The new settlement of Zapotal was given a distinct and separate name.

We have, therefore, what I think is the "ideal" situation for a study of social change. The peons of the two ranches used to live in one settlement because the owners were brothers. This population moved from the estate about thirty years ago; part of the people settled in Zacatal and part in the Barrio of Chiapilla. Those of Zacatal have had very little contact with the Ladino village of Zapotal, because of the distance between the two; those of the Barrio have had constant and close contacts with the Ladino village of Chiapilla. I have not been able to study either of the two settlements, but from superficial observation I would say that the consequences are much as one would have expected.

Zacatal is extremely poor and all the huts are of wattle and daub. All the women wear the white blouse and blue wrap-over skirt typical of the indigenous population in the area. The men ^{there} I saw mostly wore Ladino dress. It seems that very few of the women have any knowledge of Spanish and there was even difficulty in finding men who were able to speak it reasonably well. The Barrio houses ^{on the other hand} are larger and better kept, there are already four or five houses of adobe. All the men wear Ladino dress and speak Spanish well. Some of the older women and most of the young girls wear Ladino dress, ^{although many} but a large number still wear traditional dress. Tzotzil is spoken in all the homes ^{but} and there are a good number of women in the Barrio who ~~hardly~~ understand Spanish.

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The difference between the two settlements seems to be as
one would have expected. The people of the Barrio are
much more ladinizado than those of Zacatal; Zacatal has
remained very much like an Indian settlement. XXVII

For a Barrio Indian to become a Chiapiliteco he must
move physically, from the Barrio to the pueblo. Some
Indians have done this, but it has always been singly - a
man has married a village girl and has moved there, or a man
has bought a plot of land in the village, built his house and
moved in with his family. In this sense, then, it is still
true to say that only individuals and families have moved
into Chiapilla.

The distinction which exists in the minds of the
villagers between themselves and the Barrio Indians came
out very clearly in a remark made by a young man of about
20. He was the son of a villager and for the sum of 5 Pesos
was showing me all the lands of the village. We reached a
barbed wire fence where he dismounted and said "Up to here
are the lands of the village, on the other side are those of
the Barrio".

3. El Casero: The Ladino view of the Indian in Chiapilla

Source: El Casero, 1961, pp. 117-119. Original title: July 20th 1961.

For title ask John Establie.

Page 1 : Omit 1st paragraph from "This project.....of the Ladinos"

Page 2 : Line 28 write (far from one family).... not 'away'

Page 2 : Line 30 So far from any other)..... not 'away from'

Page 3 : Line 15 and your word gana-caux) Omit 'your word'

Page 4 : Line 10 Omit It is an example of the Ladinos entering the black
united.

Page 4 : Line 27 ... Panegs for an Almond of good down.

Page 4 : Line 28 Omit A better idea is gained by the knowledge that
Write Now the yield

Page 5 : Line 18 The Chiapillitcos say that the themselves do not thus....

Page 5 : Line 19 a shrug of their shoulders which indicates that - who....

Page 5 : Line 31 Even when I point this out to them they cannot understand
the parable for they are civilised, their language is easy

Page 6 : Line 1 They do not think it odd that I have come to speak
like them. They.....

Page 6 : Line 18 Chiapilla has not been able to unite the money to buy
one. They talk.....

Page 6 : Line 27 a Zinacantan in the Barrio, which.....

Page 6 : Line 31 to the distinctive dress he wore) but that.....

Page 6 : Line 34 chatter-boxes I have come across; she must have had her
own reason for not telling me more.

Page 7 : Line 7 ranchos, which are 'propriedad inafectabile' (cannot be
claimed for Ejido land). An uneasy truce.....

Page 7 : Omit Paragraph 3 From "the Ejidatarios..... Chiapa or
Tuxtla".

Page 7 : Line 22 Those who own property invariably rent their land.....
Omit 'invariably'

Page 8 : Line 1 All agree that it is preferable.....

Omit ~~There is complete unanimity~~

Page 8 : Line 30 Omit literally
with 'un bocadito' (a morsel). This is a small.....

Page 9 : Line 1 Many bring, in addition some little gift such as.....
Omit will bring

Page 10 : Line 8 come to the rancho where they rent land on the 'fiesta
del Santo' (Saint's day).

Page 10 : Line 10 Insert custom is for the ranchero to provide the foodd
the most important is the slaughtering of an ox, while
the caseritos will.....

Page 10 : line 11 see to the candles and the decoration of the altar and
the fireworks

Page 10 : Line 12 This is all the information I was able to Obtain from
the rancherso.....

Page 11 : Line 27 murdered; i.e. a neutral work is used, not one that
is value loaded. Add

- Page 11 : line Omit Paragraph five from "The fact.... Niedmeyer".
- Page 12 : Omit Paragraph One and Two. from " The best....
to chat with him"
- Page 12 : Line 22 Requite the fact that the indios are considered
inferior I have not observed.....
- Page 13 : Omit last paragraph. Thus the paper ends with "lying and steal
and so on."

3. *EL Casero: The Ladino view of the Indian in Chiapilla* *

~~Paper read to the Chicago Seminar in San Cristobal.~~

~~Ladino-Indian Relations in Chiapilla -~~

~~Chicago 20th June, 1961~~

omit
This project is concerned in part with the ladinization of the Indian, and quite a number of students have lived amongst Indian people, and have told us of their attitude towards the ladinos, and of their view of the ladinos.

In this paper I shall describe the ladino view of the Indian; what the Chiapillteco thinks of the Indian and what his contacts with him are.

The most obvious contact is the one which they have with the caseros, those Indians who come down from the 'cerro' (mountain), to rent the lands in 'tierra caliente' (hot country). The first reaction of a Chiapillteco to a straight question about these caseros is that he knows nothing about them, and cannot tell me anything. And this is not a lie on his part, it is simply that the Chiapillteco is indifferent to, and uninterested in the caseros. He answers my questions indulgently, in order to be polite to his guest. It is a bit like asking an Englishman - and I suppose an American as well - about the life and work of a dustman. He hasn't really thought about it, and doesn't find it a very exciting subject; but like the dustman, the casero is very much a part of the life of the people. He is so much taken for granted, that in the face of my insistent curiosity I am frequently asked whether we have no Indios in my country.

The caseros are very conspicuous, at least to someone who does not take them for granted, and does not accept them as part of

* The following corrections (in red ink) have been submitted by Selo Stern.

the scenery of daily life. They pass through Chiapilla day and night throughout most of the year, travelling from their homes in the hills, to their rented lands in the lowland, and back again. They come from Zinacantan, from San Felipe, from Chamula, but are referred to collectively as 'Tzinacos', or 'los del cerro', (the people from the hill). They dress differently from the villagers; they speak differently; they have a distinctive walk; each man carries his 'moral' (bag) with a head strap, while the men of Chiapilla carry theirs on the shoulder. Men and boys only pass through the village, although women do come down occasionally in other areas.

The first impression I had was that they passed straight through, without stopping, except perhaps to buy a 'paleta' (water ice), and this was confirmed by all the people I asked. I found out later, that the caseros do in fact stop in Chiapilla, both to buy and to sell. They buy fruit, displayed for sale in the houses; and they sell onions, cabbages and flowers which they bring with them from the hills. Returning from their fields they may sell small quantities of maize sufficient to buy some necessity for their journey. I have never seen a casero seek 'posada' (lodgings) in a house, but two persons have told me that they do so occasionally, while the rest have denied that they ever sleep in the village. But it is the sort of stopping which somehow does not count. It is rather like the detective story in which the famous detective Poirot asks the porter of a block of flats whether anyone entered. The porter swears that positively no one entered and that he was by the only door of entry, on the alert all the time. Poirot solves the mystery by pointing out that the postman came to deliver letters, the postman who somehow didn't count as a person to be observed as

having entered the block.

The caseros are not Indios. They are inditos or caseritos. This very name, an affectionate diminutive, indicates that there is no ill-will towards them. On the contrary, they are to be pitied. The Chiapilltecos are quite unanimous in the opinion that the caseros are 'los pobres caseritos' (the poor caseritos), 'sufren mucho' (they suffer a great deal). The main reasons why he is to be pitied is 'que viene de lejos' (he comes from far off), and 'que no come' (he does not eat).

To understand how sad this plight is, one must understand the Chiapillteco's idea of happiness. In order to be 'contento', two things are essential. First of all to be living with ones family; 'estar con su familia' (to be with ones family), or 'estar en su casa' (to be in one's home). It is taken for granted that one cannot really be 'contento lejos de su familia' (~~away~~^{far} from ones family). One of the most frequent questions with which I am plagued, is whether I am not 'muy triste lejos de mi mamá' (very sad ^{SO FAR FROM} away from my mother); whether I am not 'pensando de mi familia' (thinking of my family). And this is the main reason why I am 'la pobrecita' (the unfortunate one), to most of my friends.

That the family is essential to a person's happiness is more of an ideal than reality, for plenty of people in Chiapilla are not at all 'contento' living with their family, which is evident from the fact that they quarrel frequently and violently, and just as frequently remove themselves from their family, either by moving out of the house into another, or by leaving Chiapilla altogether. However, this fact does not prevent them from firmly

holding the ideal that happiness is to be with the family, i.e. ones parents, for one's husband is not at all considered as family. One of the first things to be mentioned when some misfortune befalls a person is that he is 'huérfano' (orphan). Especially old people, who in the nature of things cannot be expected to have parents, when recounting their miseries, stress the fact that they are 'huérfanos'; that is to say that either one, or both of their parents have died.

So the first reason why the caserito is to be pitied is that he has to live far from home.

The second reason is 'que no come bien' (he does not eat well). 'Come puro tostada, y pozol agrío, pero agrío', (he only eats toasted tortilla, and ^{soupe}pozol gone-sour). This idea of eating well is vital to the Chiapilteco. It means more than not being hungry. Both relationships between persons and the state of a person's emotions are expressed in terms of food.

A mother who wants to convey to you how fond her daughter is of her, will say, 'si llego en su casa me da mi pozol, me da mi comida, mi tortilla, mis frijoles', (if I visit her she will give me some pozol, she will give me a meal, some tortillas and some beans). Conversely, if they are on bad terms, the complaint will be, 'ni siquiera me da un mi pozolito' (she won't even give me a little pozol).

Similarly, to express that someone is unhappy or angry, the evidence offered will be, 'no come su tortilla, ni su frijol' (he will not eat his tortilla nor his beans). Or if he is happy the comment will be 'come bien, está bien gordo' (he is eating well, he is nice and plump). Again, in order to please a person, 'se le

da su frijol, su tortilla, su huevito, que será contento su corazón' (I give him his beans and his tortilla, and his egg, so that he may be content).

The tortilla and frijol, as well as the pozol, symbolize well-being. Indeed, the standard comment upon hearing that we do not eat tortilla in England, is 'como se llenan? Nosotros vamos a morir de hambre si llegamos en su tierra, no hay tortilla' (how can they ever be satisfied? We would die of hunger in your country; there is no tortilla).

Thus the poor caseritos come to 'tierra caliente' with one or two week's supply of 'tostadas'. I was repeatedly told that they ate nothing but 'tostadas' dipped in water, and pozol which they carried with them from the hills, and which turned 'agrio' (sour). I found out later that in actual fact the caseros eat plenty of other things. They eat frijol and cabbages and onions, which they bring with them from their home, and cook on an open fire. In addition they go out each day and shoot some wild animal such as the 'iguana', a hare or some bird. ~~It is an example of the postman entering the block of flats unnoticed.~~ The most important thing about a meal, that which symbolizes the fact that one has eaten, is the hot tortilla. Without it, one has not eaten.

All my informants thus agree that the caserito does not eat; that he comes from far off enduring hardships of the long journey on foot; that he is much plagued by the mosquitos as he is not used to them, and that he is therefore to be pitied.

They all know why he comes. 'No se cría la milpa en su tierra' (the maize will not grow in his lands). In their lands the

milpa takes seven to nine months to grow; in 'tierra caliente' it takes three months to ripen. Twenty days after sowing 'se mira la milpita, ya verde, ya bonita' (one can see the maize already green and beautiful). The casero thus comes so far and endures such discomforts because his lands are bad, while those in 'tierra caliente' are very good. And this, I am sure, is indeed the reason why he comes.

He rents land from the ladino owner and pays in the form of maize; two fanegas for one almud of seed~~s~~. As twelve almudes are one fanega, he pays twenty-four almudes for one almud of seed~~s~~ sown. ~~A better idea is gained by the knowledge that~~^{now} the yield of one almud is eight to ten fanegas, i.e. 96 to 120 almudes. Thus one almud of seed yields approximately 100 almudes of maize; of this he pays twenty-four almudes as rent - 24 percent. This is the basic rate charged to whoever rents the land, whether it be a ladino or a casero; whether it be a man from Chiapilla or not; whether it be a relative or a stranger.

When I ask about the composition of the groups of caseros who pass through the village, the average person professes ignorance. He does not know whether the caseritos who travel together are family or friends, whether they work individually or in groups, who owns the mules, and so on. Everyone told me that the caseros never bring their women with them, and that when they have eaten their supply of tostadas ~~whhh~~ they carry with them, they return home to fetch some more.

One more thing which every Chiapillteco knows about the caseros. It is that they pray for rain. They weep to God, 'lloran

para que lleuve'. Some say the inditos go into the church in Chiapilla for this; others, that they pray by the springs and the streams; and yet others that they pray on the hills or high parts of the lands, the 'barrancos'. 'Los inditos llevan sus flores, sus candelas, sus cohetes, y su trago, y lloran que venga el agua' (The inditos bring their flowers and candles, their fireworks and trago, and weep that the rains may come). As they pass through the village one can see the candles sticking out of the moral, the uncias and flowers strapped to the mules' backs, and the fireworks carried on their shoulders. The Chiapilltecos say that they^{themselves} do not thus weep for rain to fall, but with a shrug of their shoulders^{which} indicates that - who knows, it might help. 'Son sus creencias de ellos', they say (these are their beliefs).

To sum up, it is general knowledge that the casero comes to work land in 'tierra caliente' because his own land is poor. He brings his food with him, and eats and sleeps in small shelters in the fields, and never in the village. He speaks 'lengua', which is quite impossible for a civilized human being to understand, or indeed even to learn. I am repeatedly told of the strange phenomenon of a 'gringo' (American), who lives with the Zinacantecans, dresses like them, and wonder of wonders, has learned to speak their impossible language.

It never, never occurs to them that I do precisely the same: that is, that I have come to live among them and have learnt to speak their language. Even when I point this out to them, they cannot understand^{the parallel for they are civilized, their language is easy.} ~~what I am getting at.~~

They do not think it odd that I have come to speak^{like them.} their

language. They all say that they could never learn my language, but take it for granted that I should have learned theirs. Somehow it is easy for an English person to learn Spanish, and very difficult for a Spanish person to learn English.

The casero is thus held to lead a hard life. It is taken for granted that he is inferior to the ladino, and of a different species altogether. I was marvelling at their endurance one day, as we watched them go through the village in the burning mid-day sun. 'But don't you see', said my friend, 'they are caseros, they don't feel the heat as we do, they can walk in any weather'. Their dress and speech, their beliefs and their way of life are not civilized as are those of the ladino. But there is little animosity nor even contempt for them on that account. It is simply a fact which is accepted. So sure are the Chiapilltecos of themselves, that they can afford to laugh good-naturedly at the fact that many Zinacantecans can read and write, while it is a notorious fact that only very few amongst the villagers can manage to sign their names. Similarly they marvel at the fact that the Zinacantecans have their own lorry in which they come to carry off their harvest, while Chiapilla has not been able to unite ^{the money} to buy one. They talk with wonder of a Zinacantecan who had become a doctor. All this without envy or malice; rather with the condescending admiration with which we talk of the feats of a precocious child, not old enough to be serious competition. They will indulgently admit that there are some very wealthy Zinacantecans, who own as many as eighteen mules, at about \$ 1,000 each. It is a continual source of wonder and amusement that the caseros never mount their mules, even when they carry no load. This habit,

as all the others of the inditos, ^{is} ~~are~~ shrugged off as due to their ignorance and uncivilized state.

I have occasionally seen a casero, a Zinacantecan, in the Barrio, which is the small Indian section of Chiapilla. Upon questioning my ladino friend who he was, she muttered something about his being an indito and hastily change the subject. I told her that I was quite able to see this for myself (due to the distinctive ^{he wore} dress work), but that I wanted to know what he was doing there. 'El curandero' she said, (he is a curer). 'Where does he come from?' 'Le buscan' she replied evasively. And this lady is one of the greatest chatter-boxes I have come across; *she MUST have had her own reason FOR NOT TELLING ME MORE.*

The Chiapillteco, who said he knew nothing about the caseritos, thus knows more than he was aware of.

There is another class of ladinos, who were able to tell me more about the caseros. These were the rancheros, the owners of private property.

The very fertile lands which lie around Chiapilla, Acala and Chiapa, are divided between Ejido holdings, 'pequeña propiedad' (small holdings), and ranchos, which are 'propiedad inafectable' *(cannot be claimed for Ejido land).* An uneasy truce reigns between property holders and Ejidatarios. The latter are for ever trying to get possession of more lands for the Ejido, while the former are for ever devising new means of preventing this. The result is much money spent on lawyers and on journeys to Tuxtla and to México, and of course on bribes. This apart from the continuous disputes amongst the property owners themselves. In true ladino fashion there is not open hostility between the Ejidatarios and the rancheros. On the face of it they are on

the friendliest terms.

OMIT

The Ejidatarios live in Chiapilla, as do the owners of the 'pequeñas propiedades', which lie around the village. Often a man owns both Ejido land and 'pequeña propiedad'. The law forbids this, but rather like our tax evasions, the properties are registered in the name of some other member of the family, such as wife or son. The owners of the larger ranchos live either on their ranches or in the larger towns of Acala, Chiapa or Tuxtla.

Those who own property invariably rent their land, or part of their land for making milpa. They usually rent it to Inditos, and when I ask why not to ladinos, the invariable answer is 'son honrado, son servicial, son más humilde' (they are honourable, willing to help and they are humbler). They mean by this, that the Inditos do not steal from the ranches, neither the barbed wire of the fences nor the fruit from the orchard, nor the chickens or other animals, nor anything from the 'casa grande' (the ranch house). They mean that the Inditos pay punctually and the amount agreed upon. They mean that the Inditos will, on occasions work for the owner. For example if he wants a tree hewn down, or a field fenced, the rancho can go to his caseros and ask them to do the work in return for some payment, usually payment in kind, such as grazing for their mules, or fruit from the trees. Most ladinos will not perform such services, and if they do, the work is often unsatisfactory.

~~There is complete unanimity~~^{ALL AGREE} that it is preferable to rent lands to the Indito rather than to the ladino. I know of two women, widows who live on their ranches, and who refuse to have anyone apart from the caseros. The rancheros are also unanimous in saying

that the Inditos are hard workers indeed, all Chiapilltecos admit this, and add with a laugh that they themselves do not like work. 'No nos gusta trabajar'. Another characteristic which impresses all ladinos, is that the Inditos are 'muy unidos' (united). They arrive together in 'tierra caliente'; they eat all together; they work all together; and they never quarrel, so I am told.

Again this admiration of the indios as being 'unidos', can only be understood in contrast to the extreme individualism of the Chiapillteco. He works his fields alone, or at most with his young sons. A boy of eighteen is already given his plot of land 'aparte'. Even eating is 'aparte'. At a pic -nic, or amongst a group of workers, each one will sit a little apart from the others and eat his meal alone, half secretively. There is no sharing of food. It seems to me that all the serious things of life, such as work, and illness, and crises, are coped with individually; all the more pleasurable, frivolous things, such as drinking, or fiestas or 'paseos' (outings), are done in company.

It is one of the endearing characteristics of the Chiapillteco that he will readily admit that the indios achieve more, being 'unidos'. But it is one of their exasperating characteristics - at least to me - that knowing this, and admitting this, they shrug their shoulders and do nothing about it.

The owners of land who rent it to caseros, say they know little of the composition of the group of Inditos who rent their land. They also say they know little of the division of labour and the apportionment of land amongst the men.

They tell me that one caserito, who is able to speak Spanish,

comes 'para hablar' (to speak). He comes at the end of the year, after the harvest, with 'un bocadito' (~~literally~~ a morsel). This is a small gift, which is a formal one at the beginning and end of the year; 'la pedida y el agradecimiento' (the petition and the thanks). It consists of bread and of cigarettes and trago, if the casero knows that the owner will drink trago. Many ^{bring} ~~will~~, in addition, ^{SOME} ~~bring~~ little gifts, such as a cabbage or some onions on their frequent arrivals on the ranch. It rather depends on the size of the ranch, and on the relations between casero and owner.

But it is always one man only, with whom the owner has his dealings. One casero will ask for a certain amount of land, and agree upon the rent. He will then arrive with a group of men who work this land. The rancharo is ignorant of who they are, and uninterested in who they are. It is not his concern. When I question further, I am told that the leader either says the men are 'mis pagados', or 'mis compañeros', (my paid workers or my companions). Some rancharos have told me that the group of men are always family; either brothers or cousins. Others say that they are merely friends; and yet others say that they are hired workers who are brought down to work in 'tierra caliente'; I suppose all these variations exist.

Some rancharos have told me that each man of a group is allocated his piece of land, and others say that the land is worked jointly by the group of men who arrive together from the hills. It certainly seems to be true that there are 'pagados'. It explains the fact that one often sees Zinacantecans passing through the village together with Chamulas. (They come from different pueblos with different dress and customs). I am told that the Chamulas are always

the hired labourers. They come from Chamula, from San Felipe, or as a general term from 'el cerro' (the mountain). There is some disagreement about the amount this hired labour is paid. Some say \$4 daily; others \$5; some say that they receive their bottle of trago every Saturday, others insist that there is no drinking in 'tierra caliente', except when they pray and weep for rain. All agree that the food of the 'pagados' is brought by the employers. The pagados come without provisions; also that employers and 'pagados' eat together, sleep together and work together.

The caseros use different tools for working the land. I was never told this by any of the rancheros, but have noted it through observation. For clearing the land, 'rozar', they use the 'luk', while the ladinos use the 'machete'. For weeding, 'limpiar', the caseros use the 'azadón', (hoe), while the ladinos use the 'cóa'. I believe both use the same for sowing. Some caseros pay for a ladino to come and plough their land with his plow and oxen. I have been assured that the Inditos will never plough themselves, and this in face of the fact that some of the mules passing through carry horse plows.

The rancheros have little idea of how much time the caseros spend in 'tierra caliente', or how frequently they come down to work the land. They say that they come down to clear the land; then they come again to sow, after which the inditos return to their homes. They arrive again for the 'limpia', (weeding), and finally they come to harvest. While they are in 'tierra caliente' they work extremely hard, and right through the hot day. One more thing the rancheros have been able to tell me. The caseros will come to the

ranch ^{where} ~~whose land~~ they rent ^{LAND} on the '^{FIESTA} día del Santo' (saint's day).

Each ranch has a patron saint who has a big fiesta once a year.
 The custom is for the ranchero to provide the food, ^{THE MOST IMPORTANT IS THE SLAUGHTERING OF AN OX,} while the case-
 ritos will see to the candles and the decoration of the altar, ^{AND THE FIREWICKS.}

This is all the information I was able to ^{OBTAIN} get from the ran-
 cheros. If one considers that these rancheros live on their ranchos
 and that the caseros spend much of the year living and working in
 their fields, they have managed to remain very ignorant of the li-
 ves led by the caseritos.

There is thus a minimum of contact between the ladinos and
 the Inditos. The ladinos know that the caseros come down to work in
 'tierra caliente' because of necessity. While in 'tierra caliente',
 which is much of the time, they live apart from the ladinos; they eat
 and sleep and work apart. There is only that contact which is neces-
 sary to rent the land and to pay the rent; to buy and sell a few
 things in the village. When ladinos buy or sell, some sociable go-
 ssip is always a part of the proceeding. With the caseros only the
 minimum necessary to effect the sale. I would not put all the
 blame for this onto the ladinos. The casero also makes it plain
 that he does not wish for much contact. I do not know who was ori-
 ginally at fault, but today, both parties are equally to blame.

I have talked about the Indito, for he is easy to recog-
 nize. He dresses differently, he speaks differently, he keeps him-
 self to himself. The Indito is not the Indio, and it is much more
 difficult to identify the Indio.

The most striking thing about him - from the ladino point
 of view - is that he is bad. 'El indio roba, el indio mata, no sabe ^b

hablar, no sabe vestirse; el indio no entiende; es malo el indio' (the indio robs, the indio kills, he does not know how to speak, he does not know how to dress; he doesn't understand things; the indio is bad).

Discussing the sad state of affairs in Chiapilla, an old lady said 'de vicio somos ladinos; somos meros indios: (we aren't really ladinos, we are no better than mere indios). A man who had been insulted by his son-in-law, told his daughter that the offender should come and apologize. 'No es que soy burro o indio, que no entiendo como son las cosas' (It isn't as though I were a donkey or an indio, that I do not understand these things). Of a young man who had run off with a girl, the first comment was that it really was not surprising, 'sus padres eran indios' (his parents were indios). Quite regardless of the fact that many young men whose parents were not indios did precisely the same things. Indio is thus a word of abuse a little like the word 'nigger'.

I have said that the indio is despised and identified with all that is bad. I have even compared the use of the word with that of 'nigger'. But there is a difference; and this difference lies in the importance, or rather the unimportance that is attached to moral behaviour.

If a man is bad, in the sense that he is known to steal, or to drink heavily, or to beat his wife, it is regarded as an unfortunate fact to be noted about him; rather like a man who has a limp or is disfigured. 'Que feo' (how ugly), is the comment. Similarly a man kills another, whether it be in drunkenness or when sober; the expression used is 'matar el hombre'. I have never heard the word 'asesinar un hombre', that the man killed has been murdered; *i.e. A NEUTRAL WORD IS USED, NOT ONE THAT IS VALUE LOADED.*

The fact of stealing, or beating his wife, or even killing, does not incapacitate a man in his other activities. He is not excluded from village life on this account. If he is a marimbero, he will continue to play the marimba, and if he is a trader everyone will continue to trade with him as though nothing had occurred. There is no such thing as sending a man to coventry - that is, of his being boycotted by the entire village on account of some moral misdemeanor.

The best illustration of this is the case of Carlos Vazquez, a man from the indian Barrio. Carlos is a habitual drunkard, and is known to steal hens and chickens, and anything he can lay his hands on. When he comes to sell a thing, one can be pretty sure it is stolen. Nevertheless people buy from him, and what is more, no blame is attached to the buyer. Carlos is considered to be the malcreant, not the person who buys the stolen goods. The buyer would probably argue that he had not asked from where the goods came, and that it was not his business to ask.

The latest escapade of this Carlos, was that he broke open his mother's safe box and stole earrings and necklace worth \$250. His mother discovered this, and following him, found him selling the trinkets to one of the villagers. She rushed to the Presidente (Lord Mayor), and asked for her son to be put into the 'cárcel' (the jail). They locked him up, and the next morning there was a huge hole in the wall of the 'cárcel', and Carlos had disappeared. He is at present roaming about in the neighbourhood of the village and buys food off the house-wives. I asked one of these house-wives whether it was not improper to sell food to a man with his record,

and she replied, 'es comprado pues, tenemos que darle su comida' (he paid for it, so we have to give him the food). No one has the idea of turning him over to the authorities, even though Carlos steals from them all. No one will refuse to sell to him or to chat with him.

DESPITE THE FACT THAT INDIOS ARE CONSIDERED INFERIOR

~~In the same way,~~ I have not observed that the indios are treated differently from the fellow ladinos in all that concerns trading. A nigger is inferior in all things, and is given less advantageous terms because of his general inferiority. The indio is not. A villager will cheat a fellow villager as soon as he will cheat an indio. There is not separate criterion.

The people of the pueblos will also tell you that those of the Barrio are indios. They will say this in the same lowered tone of voice in which they will tell you some juicy bit of gossip. Most of the adults remember that they arrived 'envueltos' (wearing wrapped over skirts which are typical of the indian women); and of course they still speak 'idioma' or 'lengua' amongst themselves, and have their own 'peculiar' customs.

But it turns out that these indios of the Barrio, although very poor are honourable. All ladinos who buy 'cosechas' (harvests), will tell you that they prefer to buy 'cosechas' from the Barrio indios. They can be relied upon to pay. Those of the pueblos are much more unreliable, and the buyer has to keep a sharp eye open, and watch the seller. He must be sure to arrive at his house on the day the maize harvest is carried to the house, so that he should not sell his maize elsewhere, instead of paying his debt.

The people of Totolapa are also indios for the same reason that those of the Barrio are. Everyone remembers that they used to be 'envueltos', and they still speak their 'impossible' language, or to be more accurate they 'do not speak', and are gradually learning to do so. But all those who trade regularly with the people of Totolapa, and there are a great many men and women who do so, say that they are good people, although in a different context you can hear them speak contemptuously of the 'indios'.

To sum up: as I see it, the Chiapillteco distinguishes between three kinds of Indios.

The Casero, who is almost a different kind of being; a perpetual stranger among them, and in his very nature inferior to them.

The Indios who live near by and are known to them. These are indios because of their dress and speech; if not their present dress and speech, then because of their past way of dressing and speaking. They are considered to be good people and honourable.

Lastly the Indios in general, who are identified with all that is undesirable with being uncivilized, not knowing how to behave; with lying and stealing, and so on.

OMIT [In order to explain the ladino view of the Indio I have had to describe quite a lot about the ladino himself. His ideas about 'estar contento' (being happy); some of his ideas about food and what it symbolizes; and some of his attitudes towards moral (immoral) behaviour.

4.

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ^{the Sexes} ~~MEN AND WOMEN~~

Lito Stern.

It is proper that a man and a woman who live together should be married; everybody is agreed on this. It is proper that they should remain living together throughout their life, faithful to each other. When people assure me that this is how it should be, they are not merely paying lip-service to an ideal. They really believe it should be so. This is supported by the fact that any deviation from this conduct which is considered to be proper, is the subject of much gossip on the part of the community, and of a certain amount of shame on the part of ~~the-part-~~ of the persons concerned.

There is always a special tone of voice in which you are told that such a person ran off with a girl, or that a certain couple is living together unmarried, or that a man has several mistresses. It is not the tone of voice in which you are told that a couple is married, which is said in a natural way. If a stranger tells you about X, who has a mistress, it will be with a note of disapprobation in his voice. If a relation of X tells you about him there will be some embarrassment and an attempt at explanation, justifying his conduct; if X himself tells you about it he will tell it with a laugh of embarrassment and quickly pass to another subject.

Yet there are very many persons in Chiapilla who have some irregularity in their life. I use "irregularity" to mean deviation from what is considered the "proper" or "correct" behaviour. A person may have one or more illegitimate children; he or she may have run away from home to marry; he or she may have had several marriage partners, or several lovers; there are endless variations, all deviations from the ideal of marriage and faithfulness to the spouse.

The Chiapilltecos are a realistic people and therefore those who have committed some such irregularity are accepted within the community. I know of no behaviour, of no act which is condemned by everyone in such a way that the community makes life impossible for the person who committed it. There live in Chiapilla men who have murdered, who have robbed, who have betrayed fellow

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villagers, who have created the community of large sums of money, who are thought to be witches, who have deceived their spouses, abandoned their children, persons who have been guilty of every kind of "irregularity" according to their own standards of correct behaviour. They live in the village, and lead a normal life. They have their friends, they carry on their work in the fields and whatever trade they may have; they buy and sell, they ask for and receive credit. There is no concerted action on the part of the community to expel a member. A person unaware of the individual's history would observe no indication that anything had been amiss.

Those who have suffered through the misdeed of a person certainly do show their displeasure or disapproval or anger; the onus is upon them to do something about it and upon no one else. Thus the murdered persons's kin may make life impossible for the murderer and force him to leave the village. No one else will change his behaviour towards the culprit. If the kin take no action then the murderer can remain in the village. He will simply have no dealings with the dead man's kin. If a woman has left her husband the two families will not be on speaking terms. They ignore each other. Two families who live opposite each other have not spoken to each other for two years for this reason.

Those who have failed to observe the "proper" behaviour with respect to the opposite sex suffer no more than a short period of violent critical gossip and the ostracism of the offended person's relatives. Apart from that, they continue their normal life in the community.

How can we understand this huge gap between people's ideals - what they truly and sincerely think ought to be - and the reality which they so readily accept and cope with? The answer is that for the Chiapillteco there is no problem here; it is I with my English upbringing who find an incongruity. I have already explained that for the Chiapillteco work and deed are two separate things which need not correspond, whereas Europeans feel the necessity of making them correspond, of explaining their lack of correspondence. (Essay on Compadres). Similarly the Chiapillteco feels no need for an ideal to correspond to reality. He loves a beautiful ideal for its own sake. The expression of a truly noble sentiment, of a grand

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ideal, are valuable in themselves; they uplift his spirit.

Quite apart and not confused with this expression of ideals, is practical life. As I have said, the Chiapillteco is a realist; he accepts life and its unpleasantness, and does not deceive himself about it. He talks openly and frankly about deceptions and betrayals and acts according to the harsh facts of his experience. For us, words and deeds should correspond, whereas we do not expect words and sentiments to correspond. That is to say, we permit a person to express certain sentiments without taking them too seriously or too literally. We do not permit a person to express intended action without taking it perfectly seriously. The Chiapillteco on the contrary expects the sentiments expressed to be quite true and sincere at that moment - and you will always find him prepared to act upon them at that moment - but intended actions are not taken too seriously.

He is of course, not opposed to anyone acting out the ideals and sentiments expressed. On the contrary, it is undoubtedly a "good thing" to do. Are not all his National Heroes whom he worships and admires such people? But somehow there is something not quite normal about such people; they are heroes, they are to be admired, they are exceptional; but it is not for him to act like that.

My landlady's comment expresses it well. She was talking about those terrible scoundrels who were Presidentes of the Ejido at its formation, and who took for themselves the best lands available and for this reason are rich men now. "They're all the same, all scoundrels, all thieves, not a decent fellow among them". "Well, what about Pepe?" I ask. "Yes, just imagine, this Pepe was Presidente of the the Ejido twice, and out of pure stupidity did not take a single piece of land for himself. He is as poor now as he was before he took office; the silly man".

The belief is therefore that a person should lead an honourable life following the moral precepts of the catholic church. The practice is very different.

I think that the thing which is really strange for me about this society is the frequent change of sexual partners, together with the ideology which demands constancy to one sexual partner. I have explained that the contradiction between expressed ideal and practice is our own problem. The Chiapilltecos would not

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deny that this contradiction exists, but it does not matter. For them the frequent change of sexual partners also needs no explanation. It is coming from another society which makes it seem strange that such changes should be tolerated so openly and easily. One may also wonder, as an anthropologist (or sociologist), knowing of the rules concerning sexual relations which are to be found in so many societies, that there should be such freedom in this respect, that there should be so very few effective rules.

If one wants a general explanation then it lies, I think, in the freedom of action which is accorded to each individual on the one hand, and the lack of any effective sanctions, on the other. I have already written of the importance of a person's "gusto", of his "voluntad", of his "carácter" (First Report on Chiapilla). The complement of this, which is lack of effective sanctions, I will discuss separately. Let it be taken for granted at present.

This frequency of free unions and of illegitimate children is not particular to Chiapilla. It is very general throughout Chiapas and I believe throughout the whole of Mexico. Perhaps the new middle class is beginning to change in this respect; I do not know. Within the Upper and Lower Classes it is certainly very common; nor is it a new phenomenon. The histories and genealogies of the older people of Chiapilla abound with stories of men who had two families, who had many mistresses, who had any number of illegitimate children, each child by a different woman. This study of one community may therefore be of more general interest.

PART I

In order to understand what happens to the adults, it may help to know a little about their childhood. How do these very individualistic persons grow up?

Childhood-

Babyhood All babies are breast-fed on demand. This means continuous feeding throughout the day, a custom which is looked down upon contemptuously and bitterly by the more "educated" city people, who have learnt to breast-feed in private and at certain times only. I have heard of two cases only where a baby fed with a foster mother.

One was a case where the mother had "leche asustada" because her husband had been murdered, and her milk was thus considered to be bad for the child. This was twenty years ago, and the child was fed by a neighbour. This same woman's younger sister suffered a similar shock when her brother was murdered during my stay in Chiapilla. She had an eight day old baby and everyone warned her not to feed the child as her milk was "asustada" (frightened). However, she did not want her child to suckle with another woman and so took no heed of the warnings; I guess another woman would not have fed her child under these circumstances. This incident shows that the old belief still persists, and is also a good example of the independence of thought and action so common here.

I heard of another case of two sisters-in-law, one of whom would suckle the others baby while she went to wash in the river. I do not think that suckling another's baby is common. Nowadays those women who have no milk feed the babies with "leche Nido", a powdered milk preparation. They complain that it is an expensive and troublesome way to rear a child, seeing that breastfeeding costs nothing and does not involve preparing the milk. Such babies are not held in the arms while given the bottle. They are left in the hammock and the bottle is tilted in such a way that the baby can feed on its own.

Toilet training is completely unknown. The babies urinate and defecate wherever they happen to be. No precautions of any kind are taken. The most they use is a cloth wrapped around the child's waist which reaches its feet; it serves to keep the child warm but is no protection against urination. When a mother

... her baby and the baby urinates on her lap she

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comes to visit with her baby and the baby urinates on her lap she is always embarrassed. This never fails to puzzle me, for after all one expects a small baby to urinate, and if one is going to be embarrassed about it, why not take some precaution? If I have come to visit the house and a child defecates or urinates they are equally embarrassed, but under normal circumstances no especial notice is taken, and any sibling who is around is ordered to clear away the mess. This is done with a cloth for urine and some leaves for faeces; if the child has dirtied itself, it is wiped with a cloth but not washed. I have seen^a three year old urinate standing in the middle of a room with no comment on the part of the adults except "look, Pedro is urinating, take off his pants" (if the child is wearing these). ~~Bb~~ Babies and toddlers are permitted to urinate on mother's best clothes without her being in the slightest upset, and a rebozo is used to wipe dripping noses, or else the corner of mother's dress.

Every baby has someone to attend to it all the time. It may be the mother, it is more likely to be a sibling or some other child; it may also be a grandparent or the father. A baby's movements are never restricted; it is permitted to crawl or toddle wherever it wants to, right up to the critical moment when it is going to fall, or put its finger in the fire, or upset a dish etc. It is then snatched away from the danger and amused some other way. If it screams much, the mother breast-feeds it. Babies are thought to get bored, and children are often sent out to take them for a little walk, for a change of scenery; they usually return content. The only time little children are left unwatched is when they are asleep, either in a hammock, or on a bed, but preferably on a mat on the floor. Very few mothers in the pueblo carry their infants in the rebozo on their back as do those of the Indian Barrio; consequently they have much more trouble with their babies, because when they carry them on their arms they are unable to do any work. For this reason, if a mother goes out to do any kind of work, ~~she has to~~ and has to take her baby because it still breast feeds, she takes an older child along to look after it.

I have only come across one case of accident to a baby. A little girl got severely burnt through falling into the

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fire. This is an excellent record considering that in so many houses the fire is on the ground, that burning candles or lamps are on the floor, knives, hot dishes, in fact everything dangerous to toddlers is within their reach on the ground. A child guardian who allows some harm to come to its charge is severely beaten; but it is not because of fear of beating that the babies come to no harm; everybody is genuinely fond of babies, including all the children.

As in all societies I know of, grandparents are extremely indulgent towards their grandchildren. This is particularly noticable in the many cases in which mother and daughter have infants of the same age. The mother will scold her own child and hit it, while indulging every whim of the visiting grandchild. The little aunts and uncles are expected to take extra care of their baby niece.

Three things, then, are comon to the experience of all Chiapilla's babies: breas=feeding upon demand all day; a total absence of toilet training; and continuous attention by an older person for the first three years of its life. The main difference at this age is between the clothes worn and the cleanliness of the child. I do not know how much these things affect the child but they are certainly a reflection upon its parents' views. The majority of babies and toddlers are dirty all the time, in varying degrees. This is partly due to lack of washing and mainly due to the fact that they play all day on the earth floor or in the dusty street.

I know of six children under three years of age who are always clean - roughly by our standards of cleanliness. One is the daughter of the former Secretary. Born and raised in Chiapilla he lived for many years in San Andres Tuxtla, a large city, and I am sure it is he who insisted that his wife keep the child clean. She is a young Chiapillteca who comes from a very slovenly home. Now that the Secretary is dead, and his wife returned to her parents, I expect the child will be neglected more.

The second is the baby son of one of the school teachers. Although he was born and brought up in Chiapilla he has been away a long time and tries hard to follow city ways in all things. He too, has married a Chiapillteca from a slovenly home, and I am sure it is at his insistance that the child is kept clean. Besides the wife has a little nurse-maid for this only child, as well as a maid for the housework.

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The third is the baby of the other school teacher who was brought up in a city on the coast. He too has married a Chiapillteca, and as her mother is dead I do not know how clean she was. My guess is that her husband requires the children to be kept spotless. The three men had all been married before to city wives, and all three married very much younger women in Chiapilla.

The fourth remarkably clean baby is that of a woman whose mother is from San Cristobal Las Casas, whose inhabitants have the reputation (in Chiapilla at least) of being very clean. The young woman went to a convent boarding school in San Cristobal, and then married a Chiapillteco. She keeps all her four children spotlessly clean.

These four persons have all spent much time in towns, and are all contemptuous of the ways of the Chiapilltecos. "No son civilizados", is their usual complaint. However, they are all well settled in the village and intend to continue living there; nevertheless they do not think of themselves as Chiapilltecos; they think of themselves as outsiders and of the people as "them" or "they".

Two more babies are remarkably clean. One is the child of a young girl who ran off to be married in San Cristobal. She lived there for three years and then left her husband and lives with her father now. Another is a young girl who comes from a finca. She is the illegitimate daughter of the finquero and a peasant girl. I do not know anything about her upbringing, but suppose she learnt from the ranch house. Besides, it is her first baby and as such receives more than usual care.

These six persons dress their babies as would any middle class city parent. The clothes are clean, without tears or holes and of the style sold in Tuxtla or San Cristobal. The appearance of these children is in striking contrast to the others of the village. The parents have all been in contact with city life (except the last), but I must point out that there are others who have also lived in cities but who do not keep their children so clean. These persons may have been living in cities for a long time, but they have not become city people; they have remained villagers living in the city. On the other hand the five I have written of have adopted city clothes and city manners and gestures, even their walk is different.

For most Chiapillteco toddlers the clothing for boys is a shirt and for girls a frock. Neither wear pants, but the little

girls are already taught to sit down properly with their skirts covering their knees. This is the earliest and strictest bit of discipline I have seen; at three and a half to four, a little girl will never kneel or sit on the floor without making sure that her skirt is properly arranged. Quite a number of little girls do wear panties, and I find this an easy and convenient way of placing the parents, or at least of judging their aspirations. It is difficult to judge class distinctions or income differences except at either extremes. Neither the type of house, nor the clothes worn, nor the food eaten is a reliable guide. May be the little girls' panties will turn out to be unreliable as well. In any case the general Chiapilltecan custom is no pants at that early age, so if a child does wear them it means that the parents have different ideas about propriety, which is the first step towards lower middle class.

Babies are sick a great deal; they suffer mainly from digestive disorders and diseases of the respiratory system, and from an eye complaint called "chilonera". I want to deal separately with ideas and customs concerning health and sickness and mention it here only to say that every child has been more or less severely ill during babyhood. Parents do not rush to cure their child at the slightest sign of indisposition; on the contrary, the policy is to wait as long as possible, and to seek help only when the child shows serious signs of illness. When the remedies suggested by friends and relatives have been tried the mother may take the baby to a curandera or a practicante or even to a doctor. It is a matter of money and partly a matter of confidence in the individual persons. If possible she will take her child to all three.

The curandera cures with herbs and gives protection against illnesses caused by non-physical means. (I do not use super natural for the agencies causing illness may be human). The curandera or curandero is the cheapest to go to. The practicante has no medical training, but much general experience. He uses ordinary manufactured medicines and gives injections; in Chiapilla the two practicante are the school masters. It is dearer to go to them, and above all their prescriptions cost a great deal. The nearest doctor lives in Chiapa, a three hours bus ride from Chiapilla, and to visit him means a real expense.

Instructions about the care of the sick child are

followed sporadically according to the ability to pay for the medicines and the meticulousness of the mother. Illness is thought of as something which happens and which passes in time, if fate so decrees. It is not thought of as something which can be prevented and combated. So the main care of the child is much cuddling, it is given the breast constantly for comfort, and its state is much discussed. An effort is made to keep it at home, but more often this is impossible and the mother carries it around with her in her normal daily activities. There are few children who have not had one sibling at least that has died; and the greatest expense in raising children is always said to be the money spent in their frequent illnesses.

Position in the family The youngest child is always spoiled and its every whim is granted; older siblings must cede their toys to it, must take it for walks, must play with it and amuse it. If the youngest cries, then the older one is punished. Much depends upon how long a child is the youngest; how soon the next one comes along. The first baby receives much attention. The mother spends all day nursing it and playing with it, and carrying it about. She never separated from it. She has little work to do at that time; if she lives with her mother-in-law and the two families cook jointly she is not expected to help much. If they cook apart then there is only her husband and herself to care for. Usually she finds someone else to do the washing as it is considered bad to take a small baby to the river, and the child cannot be left without suckling for the three or four hours the mother would be away.

So the first child is attended to constantly; it is petted and adored by the father and the grand-parents, it is not left unattended for an instant. The child is breast-fed until the arrival of the second child. This applies to every child. If no sibling arrives then the child may suckle up to the age of three, very slowly transferring to solid foods. In most cases the child is suddenly transferred to food at the age of one-and-a-half or two, when the next sibling is normally born.

From then on the life of a first born becomes the hardest of all the children. It receives very little attention because the mother must see to the new baby and also has more work now. As soon as this child can walk it has to run errands, fetch and carry things in the house, and help mother in every way. Money becomes short and the young woman is less likely to be able to afford to pay for her

for her water or her laundry. Neither the wife nor the child are a novelty any longer to the husband, and he pays less attention to either.

For the first child the change is a very sudden one from being the centre of everyone's care and attention to becoming the most neglected and hardest worked member of the family. From then on this child is the first to be ordered to do any job. Whether girl or boy it has to look after the younger sibling, it is sent out to sell any produce there may be from house to house; it does all the shopping. By the time a girl is six she goes down to the river with her mother to fill her own little bucket of water; she sweeps the house; she helps to make the tortillas; she washes the younger children's clothes in the river; she feeds the hens; she carries around her younger siblings when she goes out to play.

Usually mothers are a little more lenient with boys. But if he is a first child then of necessity he must do many of the girls' jobs. An eldest boy accompanies his father to fields by the age of seven; he takes the animals if there are any, to the river to drink, and to the pasture to graze at night, and fetches them early in the morning.

Childhood At about the age of three or four children are hit for the first time for disobedience. They are hit hard with stick or belt, and the reason is always for refusing to obey an order of the parent to run an errand or to go and pick up something or to fetch something. There are no orders nor is there any education concerning anything else. No form of manners taught except that children are not supposed to pass between two adults who are talking; but they are never given more than a reprimand for disobeying this rule. Children are also told to greet by crossing their arms upon the breast and bowing their head, and little babies are always presented to an adult to be blessed. Again it is not a strict rule.

By the time children are four they are toilet trained, which only means going out into the sitio. There is no shame about toilet activities. Women squat in their sitios which are sometimes open to the street and always visible to the neighbours sitio. Indeed, urinating is quite a communal activity. At night women are afraid to go outside alone and always go in company. At fiestas or gatherings they also go together; it is almost impolite to permit a person to go alone. If I ask to be shown outside at any fiesta, the hostess either comes along with me or makes sure someone accompanies me. This com-

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panion does not wait at a distance but courteously squats down with me. Upon one occasion there being no woman around, a gallant gentleman offered to accompany me. This was not impudence: he was genuinely concerned about allowing me to go outside alone, and this consideration far outweighed any shame there could be. No circumlocution is customary; the word "urinar" is used. Men merely step aside from the group or turn their backs. No one either looks, nor looks away; it is just a normal uninteresting activity. Little boys play at urinating in the streets as all little boys do. I remark upon this because there is no reprimand or suggestion they should not do this. This neutral attitude is in harmony with the absence of any toilet training, I have noted. Children are expected to become "clean" in time, and this they do.

By the age of four babyhood is definitely over, and the child is a personality; it already has its "character" and the mother treats it as an individual in its own right. She no longer says "he is only a child, and does not know"; if the child does not want to eat, why he is not made to; he ought to know if he is hungry or not. If the child is ill and does not explain what is hurting the mother will complain, as of an adult, "What can I do if he won't tell me what is hurting him?" If the child returns with short change from an errand he is held fully responsible; if the sibling he is looking after gets hurt, he is scolded and hit for being careless.

Between the ages of four and eight the life of any child is more or less like that of the first child. They are given the same kind of work to do, particularly the job of looking after younger siblings falls to them, as the oldest does more of the housework. Although children of three and four are typically jealous of their younger sibling, by the time they are eight and from then onwards they love the baby of the house and carry it about tirelessly. Both boys and girls carry round younger siblings and ask for their baby cousins or neighbours' babies to hug and play with for a while. The infants are never taken too far from their mothers as they may cry and then have to be given the breast.

The continuous physical contact which a baby experiences continues is carried on into childhood and adult life. Boys and youths especially walk about arm in arm, or with their arms about each others shoulders, and men do so when drunk. Young girls also link arms or put their arms around each others waist, although married

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women do not; they already have their children clinging to them. Together with this goes the idea of "compañía" . Women will rarely go anywhere or do anything without at least one other woman for company. Men accustom to go alone a little more, but it is always thought "triste" (sad) to have to do a thing on ones own. To "acompañar" a person is an excellent explanation for going anywhere, or for having been away for a time. Children and young girls trying to evade unpleasant tasks do not fail to make use of this excuse. Apart from this negative aspect of not being alone, "compañía" also ensures respectability. A girl or woman has not been out alone, there has been a companion, a witness to her good behaviour. That there is frequent collusion between such "compañía" is another matter,

The child between four and eight is considered to be capable of running errands and of helping around the house and of doing all work they are physically capable of. But each child's experience does vary enormously according to the composition of the family into which it happens to be born. I have described the hard life of the first child. If there are already two or three older sisters the child will spend most of its time playing, with very few duties. If on the other hand it is a girl who has three or four older brothers and no sisters, she will have to work as hard as any first born. Should he be a boy, and his mother a widow without older sons, then he will be sent to fetch wood at an early age, and to the milpa to sow a little maize for her. If the parents are very poor the child will be sent to work by the age of seven; if the parents are well off it may even be sent to school.

At this age (between four and eight), children begin to play in the streets with neighbours' children. Up to that time they have remained at home and have played with siblings or with cousins, aunts and nieces (of their own age), who come to visit with their mothers. If they are needed for an errand their mother will shout for them and they will come slowly or quickly in order to do the errand. A child is only given orders, and is only beaten by its parents and older siblings, whom it must obey. These and no one else order it about. Even grand-parents and adult aunts and uncles only request a child to do a thing; if the child refused, which it often does, then the adult does not insist.

Children of about six or eight are often lent out.

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Thus if a woman wants to go out at night and there is no child available she may borrow a sister's or neighbour's child to accompany her. For longer journeys too, such a child companion may be borrowed or hired. The child may accompany a trader woman on foot to a near by village, which means two hours there and two hours back often carrying her own little load on the head. She may be hired out to "abrazar" a baby. Better off women often take on a little girl to look after their youngest baby if they are busy or if they have work. The child earns \$1 (Mex.) per day, which is paid to its mother. She may even be sent out to work as a little maid. Children of this age are also frequently borrowed as a sleeping companion for a young girl or older woman, so that she should not have to sleep on a mat alone.

By the time a boy is four he wears long trousers and a shirt, and he has his hat. This remains his clothing until he becomes a youth at about fourteen, and begins to worry about his appearance. The girl acquires a petticoat some time between five and seven, and is also sometimes given an apron. Some mothers have their daughter's hair frizzed (cold permanent wave) at the age of two, and from that age onwards a girl may have her hair cut and permed. The majority of children have no shoes at this age.

Between eight and twelve girls are at their most useful in every way. They are at an age when they have a certain amount of "juicio", that is to say of judgement, of understanding; they can deliver messages well because they are able to understand the content perfectly, but are too young to have to feel shame at awkward subjects, such as messages saying their mother cannot pay a debt, or that she wishes to borrow a thing. They know where everyone in the village lives and can be sent out to deliver food gifts. (See essay on Fiestas). They sell from house to house, and are tall enough and strong enough to do all the housework and laundry as well as carrying the water. They cook and make tortillas for the whole family. They are still young enough to obey - generally speaking; for as I have repeatedly emphasized each person has his or her "carácter", and some girls have the "carácter" of not obeying. Girls at this age do not go about in groups as yet; they have their friends but have no joint activities except that of fetching water, when three or four girls will go together.

Most boys accompany their father to the field all day

soon after they have reached eight or nine. By the time they are twelve they do a full days work. At that age a boy may take his fathers place whether it be in the milpa or in trading. At eight the boys accompany their fathers on the six hours climb to San Cristobal where they take the loaded donkeys to sell produce from hot country. At twelve they make the journey alone. Boys may be hired out to work for other farmers, especially to mount horses during ploughing, or to "doblar la milpa" (bend over the maize stalks). Some are sent out as water carriers with their donkeys. They may be sent out on errands further away, such as Acala which is one and a half hours ride away. Boys are less willing to run messages within the village; partly they are shyer than the girls, but mainly it is at that age that they refuse to obey commands more and more; if they do obey, they do so more and more truculently. Their mother will still ask them to do things for her, but if they do not obey there is little she can do. If either she or father want to beat the boy for disobedience he runs away and returns much later, when the anger has passed. The boys begin to play in gangs, and especially at nights when it is dark get quite out of control. They mercilessly tease any of the odd characters of the village, such as the dumb man, or the disabled one; they shout insults and run away. If there is a stranger in the village then he will be the one to suffer. Nevertheless, by seven p.m. - roughly one hour after darkness - these eight to twelve year olds will be at home.

School I should say a word about the school, for some children are sent to it, and Chiapilla has had its Government school for thirty years. Before that there were several small private schools, so that the wealthiest families always sent their children. I estimate an attendance of appx. sixty children daily - not always the same sixty, out of the 140 who are registered in the school book.

The children belong mainly, though not exclusively to the better off families. No child is forced to go if it does not wish, and very many ofcourse do not wish to go. Also many parents do not send the children because they are needed at home to work or to care for younger siblings. In addition there is the complaint that they learn nothing and spend all day playing about. This is true, but the teachers complain that they are quite unable to keep any discipline without beating, and if they do beat the parents complain and withdraw their children. This is also true.

Many children go to school for one year between the ages of six and twelve and some of these manage to learn to sign their names. Those who go for three or four years learn to read well enough to be able to take some position in the local authority, although there is no insistence upon a man being able to read and write if he takes a "cargo" . (Office) Children who are sent to school are not excepted from household tasks such as carrying water and running errands and selling from house to house. From the child's point of view the main prestige attached to going to school is the ability to take part in the annual procession on the National Day, as well in three public performances which the school gives each year.

Adolescence Between twelve and fourteen years a girl changes from a child into a young girl; from a "muchachita" into "una muchacha formal". There is no change in her daily activities, in the work she does and in her place within the family. The change is a social one. She begins to use make-up on special occasions, she goes to dances. Although she dances with girl friends only, she is old enough for a boy to come up and invite her to dance; she will refuse saying that she is not yet permitted to dance with boys.

The real change is that she begins to have boy friends, or rather, that having boy friends begins to be a serious matter. Fifteen is considered to be the proper age at which a girl begins to dance with boys; a few give a fiesta to mark this date. To dance with boys implies that a girl may now be courted, and have a "novio" (sweetheart), for dancing in itself means courting. (See Essay on the Fiesta). Very many girls already dance with boys when they reach the age of fourteen. At this time also the girl may join group activities, which are all connected with the church. She may be appointed as a member of the "Junta de Solteras", a committee which organizes part of the celebrations of the Patron Saint of the village. She may be named a member of the committee responsible for the care of one of the Saints of the Church.

A girl is now told to "cuidarse" (to look after herself, to take care). She should not go out alone, unless it be for an errand during the day; she should be "juiciosa" which means roughly to attend to her work and not to be flighty.

A girl remains "una muchacha" (socially speaking) until she marries. Fourteen is considered young for marriage, and

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nineteen is old. Most Chiapilltecas marry some time between these ages. Some girls move straight from being a child to being a married woman; this happens if they marry early. They thus never dance, nor go to fiestas nor do any of the things proper for a "muchacha" to do. Others, if they do not marry, remain "una muchacha" to the age of thirty. There are two or three such girls in Chiapilla, and despite their age they are treated as young girls; they are asked to the fiestas and they have to ask their father's permission to attend. They are "en el poder de sus papas".

A person is "en el poder de sus padres" as long as he or she lives in the same house. Thus a young man, although married is still "en el poder de su papa" if he continues to live in the house of his father. If he has a separate house, even though it be in the same sitio, he is "fuera de su poder". If a young boy runs from home at the age of thirteen, then he is "fuera del poder de su padre".

How much authority is in fact exercised by the father over the children who live in his house depends upon their ages, upon the character of the father and that of his children, and as they grow up it depends increasingly upon the wealth of the father. A man with property wields more effective power authority over his sons and daughters than one who has nothing.

A girl also, remains "en el poder de su padre" if she has married and lives with her husband in her parent's house. If she runs away, or lives in her husband's home upon marriage, she is "fuera de su poder".

At about the age of twelve a boy becomes a youth. He is old enough to sleep on his own, either on a mat, or if there is a bed he will be given this. He begins to change his clothes upon returning from the fields in the evening; he plays billiards; he enters the cantina and is given trago by the older men, or even buys wine on his own. He leaves the boys' gangs and begins to attach himself to that of the older youths; he begins to take an active interest in girls. All these activities are typical of a youth between twelve and seventeen. At seventeen or eighteen he is a young man, and it is about that age that he begins to dance and to have novias.

Similar to the young girl there is no change in the work he does; the change lies in his behaviour; it lies less in the attitude of older persons towards him. At most he is warned not to do

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anything "imprudente".

Courting In a village of 2000 souls with a child population of 450, all the boys and girls of the same age group of course "know" each other, both by sight and to speak to. However courting a girl is different from knowing her. Like the girl, the boy begins courting openly when he begins to dance, which may be at any time from sixteen onwards, depending upon how shy he is. The proper place to court a girl is at a dance (See Essay on Fiesta).

This is not sufficient for a couple and another customary although secret place is by the river (See Further on). Much use is made of "papeles", little letters which the boy writes, or has written for him, and which he sends by some child messenger to the girl of his choice. In addition he will try to approach her whenever he finds an opportunity. He may discover he has some business in her house, or he may snatch an opportunity when she is in the street on some errand. He will look at her, and try to speak to her depending upon how shy he is.

Whichever way he takes, the fact is that the initial steps in courting are secret, and above all hidden from the parents of the girl; once they begin dancing together the matter is already more public, and she becomes his "novia de Baile", if not his "mera novia". (See Essay on Fiesta). By the time the young man's father comes to the house of the girl's parents to ask for official permission for him to visit, ^{often} the couple have already decided they will marry, although it is the first thing her parents know about the affair.

Growing up is a gradual, imperceptible process in Chiapilla. The children do an adults' work as soon as they are physically strong enough. The first big change for children of both sexes is when the next sibling arrives, and then at the age of three or four when they have to dress "properly" and are expected to help mothers as much as they are able to, and are obliged to be obedient. This change for the child is one that is imposed upon it by its parents; it is the adults who teach it that it is no longer a baby.

A girl is considered to be a child from four to twelve years old. During this time she changes of course, but the changes are due to her growing up - it is she who is changing and not the adults who expect her to change. At about twelve the attitude of adults towards her does change; she must now "cuidarse"; she must

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be careful; she must take thought about what she does and with whom she speaks.

The boy experiences no such change in the attitude of adults towards him. It is he who changes his tastes and turns himself into a youth and then into a young man. He struggles to free himself from his parents' authority, but this is his own fight, and individual matter.

I have given a short description of childhood, so as to give an idea of the way the men and women of Chiapilla grow up. Some further remarks are necessary.

When I first came to Chiapilla my impression was of children everywhere. It turned out that this impression was correct, but in time, like any other adult, I ceased to notice them. Children seem to be everywhere, because in fact there are so many. The birth rate in Chiapilla, as in all Mexico, is extremely high, and despite the enormous infant mortality rate, enough live for there to be a large child population. Approximately 450 under fourteens, in a total population of 1500 (Pueblo only); that is to say about one third of the inhabitants are under fourteen. The second reason for the impression I had, is that children are allowed everywhere, at any time, always, and they take full advantage of this. There is nothing children may not witness; they are never shooed away. When I tell the kids who crowd into my room to "get out", they simply do not understand me; a look of complete incomprehension comes to their faces. They do not know how to react to such a request as they have never heard it. So they do what they are accustomed to do in cases of doubt, they stand and silently stare.

Children have plenty of free time, and are as curious as their elders, and are permitted entry everywhere. They are present at funerals, at accidents, at quarrels, at fiestas, at drunken brawls, at gun-fights, carrying their younger siblings who are in their charge, with them. The only place from which they seem to be effectively banned is the Cabildo (town hall). I also believe an effort is made to keep them out during the birth of a child. My point is that there is nothing which goes on which is hidden to them, nor is there any conversation to which they do not listen.

As they grow up therefore, their apprehension of the

world changes in as far as their understanding grows, in as much as they attach new meaning to the same events they have been witnessing since babyhood. For an English middle class child the world changes in another way as well. It begins to witness events which had been unfamiliar to it before; it may see things and listen to conversations which used to be kept hidden from it. Such a child has to cope with the knowledge of new events as well as with greater understanding of known events. For the Chiapillteco there are no unknown events to discover - in the sense that they had been kept from^{him} before.

By the time he or she has reached adolescence, the Chiapillteco has therefore heard of, seen, and listened to discussion on, all events which occur in a small village. He knows what has happened, he knows the persons concerned, and he knows what have been the comments. This includes all the irregular unions that have taken place, the illegitimate births, the run-away marriages etc.

I am led to believe that sexual play occurs between young children by a remark made to me by an elderly man in the course of a conversation. "Ofcourse we all know what goes on between little boys and little girls, but this is not the same". He was referring to what goes on by the river. The river, where the girls fetch water and where they go to wash all the clothing, and to bathe; and where the boys go to meet the girls. It is the place for lovers' meetings and for learning about sex - by peeping for the children, and by experiment for the adolescents. Girls go in groups to wash laundry and to fetch water; it is thought to be safer for them to go in company. Ofcourse no girl will give away her companion if her 'novio' meets her by the river, or if they disappear together into the 'monte' for half an hour. There used to be a water pipe which carried water to a tank in the centre of the village, thus saving the women the tiring journey to and from the river. The frequent break-down of this water supply was attributed to the young men who were being deprived of their secret meetings with their sweethearts. Even though the story may by untrue it illustrates perfectly one of the uses of the river. Indeed, most of the 'robos' take place at the river.

I think, therefore that all children have at least observed intercourse, whether by the river or in their homes, if indeed they are not introduced to it by an older play-mate. I was told that intercourse between siblings had not been heard of in

Chiapilla. This was told me by an informant who spoke freely to me and said that it was known to occur in isolated ran^Cches. She meant that she had not heard it happening in Chiapilla. My guess is that it does occur; it is too easy and too tempting at night when all are asleep, for there is only one room in most houses.

One story was told me of a man who lay down on the mat besides his siter-in-law (~~wife's~~ (wife's sister) who was sleeping with her child in the house. When she began to scream and awaken the others, he said in excuse that he had been outside to the sitio, and had, in the darkness, mistaken the mat of his sister-in-law for that of his wife, and so had accidentally lain down on the wrong mat. Had she not objected no one would have been any the wiser. I suppose that the same takes place between brother and sister. Nevertheless it is only my guess; for brother and sister are never suspected openly in general conversation. I have never heard suspicion expressed when brother accompanies his sister; he is considered to be the only safe male companion for a young woman; the proper protector to accompany her to fiestas, when going on journeys or at night.

On the other hand there is suspicion if a father is seen too often alone with his adolescent daughter. There are several known cases of ~~at~~ father/daughter intercourse. It is thought to carry 'castigo', usually in the form of malformed offspring.

In talking of children growing up, I have said a great deal about the young girls working very hard. This is true; but one must be clear about the Chiapillteco's concept of work. I can convey it most easily by saying that the speed of working, or of doing anything whatever, is normally about one third of the speed people in Europe are accustomed to work. I must emphasize 'normally' and 'usually', for there are occasions when the people can and do work rapidly. But these occasions are exceptionally. Things get done more slowly, both because the actual pace of work is slower and because the intervals for chatting and staring around are more frequent.

It may seem from my account that the poor little girls of Chiapilla are slaving away all day. This is not so. The work they do leaves them plenty of time to play, and further more much playing and chatting goes on during the work. An errand to a house five minutes away will take at least twenty minutes. (There are ofcourse exceptions). The errand girl will make her way to the house and stand by the doorway for a while watching what is going on inside. She will then go

up to the appropriate adult and deliver the message. The recipient will listen and will give his reply and the little girl will remain standing in the room. If something interesting is happening she will stay for a long time before finally undertaking her return journey. Very rarely does one pop in to leave a message and rush off in the way we might do. On her way back the child may pass a house where there is a peddler selling some goods. Naturally she will stop to watch. If the little girl exaggerates these stops then she is thought to be dawdling and scolded by her mother; but a very reasonable time is allowed.

The only discipline which is required of a child is obedience to its parents, and most of the parent's orders are concerned with fetching and carrying things, running errands and messages, and doing household jobs. Parents shout at their children "te estoy mandando, andate oyiste" (I am ordering you to go, did you hear me?) making it perfectly plain this is a command they are giving. If the children do not obey there is no hesitation in using a stick or a belt. I have never seen any other form of punishment used. Threats such as not being taken to a fiesta, or being refused an ice-cream are only used for very small children and are never carried out.

As soon as a child is old enough and strong and agile enough it fights to free itself from such parental authority. It does this by refusing to obey the order and then running away when the parent reaches for the stick. This struggle to be free from parental authority may end, at adolescence by the son or daughter running away from home altogether, rather than for a few hours as it did in childhood. Indeed, running away is a common way of dealing with difficult situations. It is not considered as cowardly; it is considered to be prudent.

Boys are more rebellious than girls. This is not because girls do not object equally to authority. It is, that the values of the community emphasize independence for a man, but restrict the activities of a woman, especially of a young woman. She is more easily subject to gossip and scandal. Her reputation is quickly damaged if she does not behave with 'juicio'. She shows her independence in other ways once she is married.

The dislike of receiving orders is very great in Chiapilla; particularly to the men it means a great deal, although women too object to it. Again and again in quarrels and when drunk
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and in ordinary conversation the men will shout "Ndie me manda; soy hombre libre; no hay quien me manda aqui". (I am a free man; no one can order me about). The daughter of a former cacique, used to giving orders, explained to me "son muy delicados ahorita, no se les manda". (They are very touchy now-a-days, one cannot order them about).

The conductor of the daily bus to Chiapilla left off working for the owner-driver because he did not like being ordered about. He did not mind working "de acuerdo", (in harmony), "como compañeros" (as friends) as he explained. It is true he was an Acalteco and not from Chiapilla, but his audience was sympathetic and he well expressed the attitude and feelings of the villagers.

There is not any tradition of service. The words "somos para servirle" (we are here to be of service to you), are indeed much used, but they mean something a little different. They express a willingness to oblige, to be of use. Not to serve in the sense of "mozo" - a servant - but to help as a friend or an equal. Ask a Chiapilteco for something in the name of friendship and he will go to no end of trouble; give him an order and he becomes as stubborn as a mule.

The dislike of authority which is to be found in practice, also has its opposite in the expression of what ought to be. People are fond of saying "tiene uno que obedecer"; "si manda el jefe, of si mandan los padres, no hay mas que obedecer". (One must be obedient; if the boss or ones parents order one to do a thing, one just had to obey). This expression of the correct behaviour, and the total lack of it in practice, must be understood in the sense I have explained at the beginning of the essay. It is another example of the divergence between the ideal and practice. Again there is the genuine regret that this beautiful ideal is not followed, and the realistic acceptance of the fact that it is not, and the practical action necessary in view of its absence. That is to say, if you cannot get obedience you try to enforce it by whatever means at your disposal, and if you cannot enforce it you do without it.

The dislike of obeying orders and the facility for indulging this dislike are fundamental to understanding this society. Given the importance which is conceded to a persons individual tastes, his 'gusto' or 'carácter', and the lack of effective sanctions applied by the community, which I mentioned in the introduction, some form of internal personal discipline would be needed to ensure order. The

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contrary is the case. To be a free individual is the aim; and a free individual means a man who does what he likes, not a man who seeks to mould himself according to some ideal, for ideals are not in the realm of real life. To do what one likes means first of all to be under no one's authority; and therefore growing up for a boy is to free himself from parental authority. This of course is common to all societies - the trouble here is that there is no positive goal in addition. To free oneself from one authority in order to submit oneself to another, or to submit to a self-discipline, is the general rule. Here however, the positive goal is lacking, the result is that you literally have free individuals who do what they like in as far as they are not prevented by another individual also doing what he likes.

Summary The characteristic experience of a young Chiapillteco about to choose his or her first partner are therefore the following: Complete freedom and indulgence up to the age of four. The infant has been constantly attended to and its every whim granted. This was followed by a sudden change in which obedience was enforced through the physical strength of its parents; from this authority it began to free itself as soon as its strength and agility permitted it to do so. At the same time the child was expected to help in all the adult tasks, as far as it was able to. There has been no attempt to hide any of the facts of living from the child. It has always been permitted to see and hear everything, and has witnessed all events in village life. The young person has long been doing all the work of an adult by the time he or she sets out to choose a partner, the girl in the house and the boy in the fields.

The individual differences will have been due to the composition of the family (in the sense of both parents alive, number of siblings etc.), and to the order of birth. Important also is the economic situation of the family. There is a big gap in Chiapilla between richest and the poorest, and the people are conscious of it.

In a sense, therefore the Chiapillteco is better equipped to set up on his own than many a young English person, who at marriage, is unable to support himself, and is frequently unfamiliar with such fundamental events as the acts of birth and death and of sexual intercourse. To the Chiapillteco nothing will be new except the actual experience of living together with a partner.

PART II

There is a 'proper' way of getting married, and the various accounts of it I have been given, are more or less the same with only minor variations. Several couples have been married in this manner during the last five years.

There should be three 'pedidas' (requests). On the first occasion the young man comes to the house of the parents of the girl to ask permission to visit her, to become her recognized 'novio'. (suitor). He comes accompanied by his father, or someone representing his father, and usually his padrino, as well as another respected man, who may be a relative of the young man or a compadre of his father. Three men usually make up the party, but there is no rule. They come on a Saturday evening bringing with them several boxes of beer. The party is admitted into the house, for the young man has previously consulted the girl who has obtained permission for the 'pedida' from her parents. He would not go without being sure he was welcome, as it would put him to shame, "se ponga en verguenza".

The young girl may remain outside in the coredor of the house and ^{not} appear at all, or she may attend to the guests. In any case she does not speak nor is she spoken to. The mother of the girl also does not speak and whether she has any say in the matter depends upon her character and that of her husband and the relationship between them. The men begin to drink, and at some time during the evening one of the novio's party asks for permission on ~~the~~ behalf of the young man that he may visit the girl. From then onwards he is 'novio de permiso', and has 'entrada' (entry) into the house. The father will have said on which days he may come to visit, usually it would be Sunday afternoons. At fiestas and dances the young girl will dance with him only.

The time which passes between the "pedida" para entrar", (permission to visit), and the first request for the young girl's hand in marriage, varies very much. It may be three months, six months or a year; it depends upon the 'volundad' (the wishes) of the girl, the young man, and the parents.

It is most likely, but not a rule, that the same men will come to the parents of the girl for the second 'pedida', the request for marriage. The young man may not come this time if he is too shy. ^{It} is sufficient for the party of older men to come with boxes of beer and bottles of liqueur. The petitioners are told to

return in one week for the answer. There is no formal procedure at any of these visits; it is always an evening spent by the men in drinking, and in the course of it, when all are well in their cups, the question is put by one of the older men. Neither the young girl nor the young man 'speak'.

The third 'pedida' takes the same form, except that often only the young man's father comes. On this occasion the girl is called in and asked before the father of the young man what she has to say "Que piensas?" or "Que dices?" her father asks her. Sometimes her father will formally explain to her the duties of a wife and that she should "Piensa le bien" (think it over well) before giving the answer. The young girl says "Yes", as this is pre-arranged. If she did not wish to marry the man she would have said so before he sent his father to ask for her hand.

A week later comes the "agradecimiento" (agradecer to be thankful, grateful). This is a women's occasion; three or four women of the young man's family come to the girl's house carrying baskets with sweet bread and chocolate, which is cocoa all ready to mix with hot water to drink. They also bring bottles of liquor with them. On this occasion the date of the wedding is settled. Again the time which is to pass depends upon the wishes of the couple and their parents; it may be six months or one month. On this occasion the groom's party may bring the money for the bride's outfit. This also is a matter for arrangement. Some brides prefer to buy their own clothes and others prefer the mother of the groom to supply them.

It is the groom who pays all the wedding expenses; this includes the bridal gown, her shoes and slip and veil and earrings. He also provides a change of clothes which she dons during the wedding fiesta. The bride's parents spend nothing on their daughter's wedding, except that occasionally the mother will give her a new dress upon the occasion.

This then, is what should happen when a young couple wishes to marry. The procedure of 'pedidas' is sometimes compressed into one or two, and all might be arranged within a fortnight. This is the "new way" it was explained to me. During the year I have been in Chiapilla there have been two such weddings. One was a couple from the Indian Barrio (with which I have not dealt in this essay). The other was between the son of a man who has recently moved from the Indian Barrio to the pueblo, and a very poor girl from the pueblo.

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On the other hand there have been eight run-away marriages, and three more couples who ran away together but did not marry. This proportion between marriages with the consent of both parents, and run-away marriages is not a matter of chance, in that this is an exceptional year for run-away marriages (as might happen). The number of couples who run away to get married exceeds the number who marry from their home.

The run-away marriage is an institution in Chiapilla, but the individual circumstances of each case vary enormously and for this reason I give an account of several cases.

I. GLORIA MENDEZ Gloria lived with her father and step-mother. She had come to Chiapilla two years ago from Vicente Guerrero, where she had been brought up with her mother's relatives. Her father had found her to be unhappy there and so took her to live with him and his second wife (ajuntados); he is a poor man. Gloria's first novio was Valente, but after a while she left him to accept Miguel a nephew of her step-mother. Miguel had already asked for her in marriage, and had been accepted by the parents; the 'pan y chocolate' had already been sent to Gloria's house for the 'agradecimiento' which was to take place the next day, a Saturday.

On Friday evening Gloria went down to the river to fetch water with two other women. There she was carried off by her former novio Valente together with help of three of his friends, all young boys of seventeen. The women reported that Gloria struggled and screamed and that her clothes were torn in her effort to get free. The couple spent the night in a ~~ca~~ rancho (shelter) in the monte, which belonged to Valente's father, and the next day they went to Totolapa (near by village) and were married in the cabildo (town hall) in the presence of Valente's father. He is a well to do man but comes from the Indian Barrio.

Gloria's father complained to the Presidente, and Valente as well as two of his accomplices were put into jail. The third boy had gone into hiding when he heard the others had been arrested. When the two boys were questioned in the cabildo they admitted that they had been near-by at the time, and that they had been bathing. One claimed not to have noticed anything unusual going on, and the other said he had indeed seen the two go off, but that this was not any of his business. Valente stated that Gloria had come with him

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voluntarily, and Gloria, when questioned by the Presidente said she had gone with Valente of her own free will, without being forced. Her clothes were torn because she had got them caught in some barbed wire. She stuck to this story despite all the Presidente's threats of what would happen if she told lies. Gloria's step-mother insisted the girl had been intimidated by her parents-in-law.

The father of Gloria kept insisting she had been carried off by force, and that if he could be persuaded it was her will he would only be too delighted to have her married to Valente; but now could he permit his poor girl to be forced into a marriage she did not want?

The Presidente kept insisting he would have been only too pleased to "arreglar" (arrange) the whole matter by marrying the couple in this very cabildo. But Valente's father had been very foolish in permitting a completely illegal marriage in Totolapa. The girl was thirteen and the boy seventeen, as the Secretary triumphantly unearthed from the birth records. The girl could not marry at that age without the consent of her parents. In the marriage certificate they appeared as being sixteen and twenty. (Totolapa is the traditional place for a run-away Chiapilltecos to get married) The feud between the two villages is of long standing, and the Presidente of Totolapa is only too delighted to marry anyone if they give him sufficient money, and especially if they come from Chiapilla. Hence the Presidente's refusal to accept the marriage certificate.

The Presidente regretted very much that he could do nothing to help, but they could see for themselves that his hands were tied due to their own stupid action. There was nothing for him to do but to send the matter to Chiapa, the Lower Court of Justice.

This is the usual threat when two parties cannot agree to settle a matter in the cabildo. Sending a matter to Chiapa means so much expense both in the continual journey there (at \$16 Mex) and in the amount needed for bribery there, that it is usually preferable to spend a smaller amount to settle the case in Chiapilla.

The father of Valente was most anxious that the affair should be settled here. He admitted his foolishness and said he was prepared to take any steps the Presidente suggested.

The session lasted approximately three hours with everyone stating and re-stating his position, insisting upon how much he would like to act otherwise and have the matter settled amicably,

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but demonstrating that the circumstances did not permit him to do so, so that his hands were tied. Finally the boys were sent back to the jail and the girl was detained in the house of two responsible and respectable old maids.

The parents of Gloria left the cabildo, and it was then that the Presidente finally suggested to Valente's father that the only possible way he could imagine that Gloria's father might be appeased and persuaded from taking the matter to Chiapa would be a church wedding.

I do not know how much money was given to Gloria's father, nor how much the Presidente received. In any case the church wedding took place on a Saturday, one week after the agradecimiento from her first novio Miguel was to have been received. The ~~padre~~ priest was paid for to come from Acala especially for the marriage; the bride was permitted to wear a white dress (which was sold to Valente's mother second-hand at an outrageous price because there was no time to have one made for the girl) The groom supplied the wedding outfit as well as the change of clothes proper at a wedding, and the fiesta was held in the house of the groom, in the morning, which is the proper time for 'un casamiento alegre'- this literally means a gay successful wedding - but implies one which has been arranged in the 'proper' manner.

In this way the honour of Gloria's father was saved. He did not come to the wedding and completely ignored the event which must have been rather a strain as his house is next doors to that of his son-in-law.

There was disagreement among village gossips whether the 'robo' had been staged or whether Gloria really had been carried off against her will. However there was unanimous agreement, that once having been carried off, they had to marry; "ni modos" (there is nothing that can be done about it).

PETRONA HERNANDEZ II Petrona is the daughter of a very poor widow. Her novio Pedro had requested and received permission to visit her. That is to say, he was novio with the consent both of his and of her parents. It was arranged that on Sunday he was to "entrar para pedir la", he would formally ask to marry Petrona, and it was understood that he would be accepted; On Saturday the couple danced together at a wedding fiesta, and that night they ran off together. They spent the night in a rancho (shelter) belonging to Pedro's family; the next day they went to Totolapa with Pedro's

older brother and his god-father to get married at the cabildo. They remained living in the monte for a few days and then the couple settled in Pedro's mother's house. Petroana's mother was furious and insisted she wanted another marriage in Chiapilla. However after a couple of weeks Pedro sent a party to 'convencer', and the mother made herself 'compadre' with the mother of Pedro, so that they now all live in harmony.

The general comment was that the boy did not want to spend money on the wedding, or alternatively that the couple could not wait any longer.

III SARA VILA Sara is the daughter of the wealthiest man in Chiapilla, the daughter of the cacique. She herself worked hard at dress making, giving injections and attending the telephone. She therefore had quite some money saved up. The novio of Sara was Ciro who lived in Acala. He had been the driver of a small pick-up which had belonged to Sara's father, ~~because~~ before he bought his own decrepit car in which he carried goods and passengers between Chiapilla and Tuxtla. He spent much time in Sara's house, drinking and gambling with her father who was fond of him. Ciro slept frequently in the house and was 'muy de confianza' as the people said. It was known that Ciro wanted to marry Sara as soon as possible but that she was delaying in the fixing of the date. Her father and the whole family were agreeable to the match.

One day Sara's father went on an outing to Venustiana Carranza ~~for~~ with the whole family. Sara made some excuse for not going and remained at home. That night she took all her clothes and money and ran off with Ciro. They drove off in his car and went to Chiapa where they got married in the cabildo. Fearing that her father might pursue them, they drove further in his car and reached the coast where they remained for a few days. Then they settled down in a house which Ciro owned in Chiapa.

Sara's father was furious. He refused to have her name mentioned in the house; he took down all photographs of Sara and had them burnt. She is no longer his daughter. About three months after the marriage Ciro sent a party to Chiapilla to 'convencer', but his father-in-law happened to be away that Sunday. His wife who is terrified of her husband locked all the doors, unwilling to receive them in his absence, so that the party was left standing outside. As they were not to know that Sara's father was really away, they

thought he was refusing them entry on purpose, unwilling to forgive his daughter.

Sara's siblings visit her in Chiapa and stay with her over-night, but her father still will have nothing to do with her. The general comment was that Ciro probably had no money as he spent so much on drink but that they had been very foolish. Had he spoken to Sara's father and told him frankly of his financial position, he would have lent them money to get married. In any case the comment was that they would have done better to have a modest quiet wedding than to run off; and that the whole thing was worse because Sara's father had trusted Ciro to enter his house freely.

IV MARGARITA LOPEZ Margarita has already run off twice with two different men of good financial standing. She has lived with them for a while, and then got fed up and returned to her home. Her mother is a widow who has been left in comfortable circumstances (by Chiapilla standards).

Adrian had tried to carry her off several years ago, but as he made the attempt early in the morning near the maize grinding mill, and as she struggled and screamed, several people came up to free her. This time Adrian went to the river, knocked the bucket off her head, grabbed her by the hand and ran off with her.

They did not spend the night in the monte, I suppose because Adrian has neither father nor mother and only very distant relatives, and had no one who would bring him food. So he and Margarita went to the house of his employer where he had been living, and she hid there for a couple of days before they rented a house at the end of the village.

After a fortnight ~~Adrian~~ Margarita left Adrian. The general comment was that she had gone and done it again! Would she never settle down? No one speaks ill of Margarita; they say she is a good housewife who cooks and cleans perfectly, and the men she has been with speak well of her.

Poor Adrian went around very sad for a few days, and finally a party went to 'convencer'. Margarita agreed to return to Adrian if he would marry her. So that very night the civil wedding took place in Margarita's house; few friends only were invited, but it was Adrian who paid for what celebration there was. The couple now live in the house of Margarita's mother.

V JOSEFA VILA Josefa was married and lived with her husband, Librado, in her own home, the house of her grandmother with whom she had been brought up. When their son was a fortnight old Librado left to return to his parents. It is said he was chased out by Josefa's grandmother who disliked him. Librado came to 'convencer' to ask Josefa to come and live with him, but her grandmother did not want her to return to him. She wanted the girl to leave the child with her and to go to work as a maid in Tuxtla or in Mexico. When the child was one year old, Josefa ran off one night to go and live with her husband, this time in his parents house. Librado has a very poor home and Josefa's grand-parents are reasonably well off.

I do not know what were the comments in this case.

VI LOLA GOMEZ Lola comes from a well-to-do family. She herself also has money because she works hard at dress-making. During the fiesta of Acala, (near-by ~~is~~ town) Xavier persuaded her to run off with him. She arrived at the appointed place with her clothes and money; Xavier awaited her with several ~~of~~ of his friends, and after they had finished with her, left her to find her way back home. Her father, it was said gave her a good hiding and took her back into his house.

The general comment was that it was a very wrong thing of the young men to have done, and what were they coming to these days? However Lola had already once arranged to run off with another young man who had refused to carry her off, and who had left her in the lurch after spending the night with her. So some people said she should have been more careful. "evertheless the main blame was put onto the men.

VII MARTA VARGAS Xavier, of a good family, had been the novio of Odilia, also of a good family, for a long time. Both were fond of each other and it was an accepted thing that they would be married. One night Xavier had serenaded Odilia by paying for the marimba to play outside her house. Later that night he ran off with Marta, the thirteen year old girl who lived opposite his house. They spent the night in the monte, and the next morning Marta's parents well-to-do shop keepers, threatened to take the matter to the cabildo.

Xavier's mother insisted he marry the girl, although he did not want to do so at all. They lived together for some months until Marta returned to her parents, where her son was born. Marta

complained that Xavier beat her, and he complained that she did not look after him properly.

It is possible that the two will live together again, for Odilia has now married another man, and as Marta lives opposite Xavier's house the little son frequently comes across to see his father. He is very fond of the child and for this reason may take Marta back.

I do not know what were the comments at the time, for it happened two years ago. No one could understand how it could have happened, but some say that Xavier had asked Odilia to run away with him and she had refused. Others said that Marta had dared him to run off with her, challenging his manhood if he did not.

I have ^{delighted} wearied the reader with all these instances to show how much the individual cases vary; each one is an exception to one of the generalizations I am about to make.

There is genuine upset and commotion at each "robo". First of all it immediately becomes the topic of village gossip; much moralizing goes on about the imprudence of the couple and "que no piensan las cosas" (they do not think before they do a thing). There is a great deal of speculating as to what the characters concerned will do, and what the parents will do; about how, when and where it happened etc. This is justified, for although the act of running away together is so frequent that it can be called an institution in this society, neither the antecedents nor the consequences have much regularity.

Thus the circumstances which precede and lead up to running away, and the manner events move afterwards, vary enormously. The central act of a man and a woman running off together remains the same. They call it "huyendose" or "robo"; this is to say that in speaking of such an occurrence people will say "se huyeron" or "el hombre se llevó la muchacha, se la robó". The difference is plain enough. "huir" is to flee, to escape, to run off. "Se huyeron" means they ran off together, implying ~~un~~ complicity or willingness on the part of the girl. "Robar" is to steal, to abduct, to kidnap, implying neutrality if not unwillingness on the part of the girl. The first makes both partners equally responsible; the second places the responsibility upon the man only. The two ways of speaking of the event are used interchangeably as though they signified exactly the same.

Of course, an institution (regularity) to
handle the variety of problems found
when two people want to get married —
(and which are well explained - expense,
consent, etc.) - no need to worry
about lack of regularity in these various
circumstances — it is to the charac-
ter's credit that they manage so

will a wide variety of problems with
the simple process of robot!

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The essential act is that the man and the woman spend one night together in "el monte". Both leave the house in which they have been sleeping (usually it is their home, but not necessarily) and together leave the village to pass one night in "el monte".

"Monte" means the countryside, the fields; but its significance is nearer that of ^{the bush} "the scrub" as used in Africa. "Monte" carries the association of being the wilds, unsafe, dangerous; it is the opposite to everything implied by the work "el pueblo", which is safety, company, people, comfort. In actual fact a night in the "monte" is no hardship, for the nights are warm and there are plenty of "ranchos", shelters used by the peasants against rain and sun. (Note that neither Sara Viña III, nor Margarita Lopez IV) spent their first night in the monte).

The significant thing is that it has been a public action, I am sure that quite a number of couples meet secretly at night in the "monte", "para pasar un rato juntos" (to be together for a while). But the matter is kept secret and each quietly returns to his or her home, unobserved if possible. In the case of running off together there is no attempt at secrecy.

It is agreed by all that it is the girl's parents who "se ponen en verguenza" - who suffer shame at their daughter's action, and I think it very unlikely that her parents know of her intention beforehand. However, once their daughter has been carried off by force, they have to face facts and accept the necessity of her marrying the young man. Their dignity may not permit them to come around immediately, but the fact that the young man has done the honourable thing and married the girl, and the fact that she has been carried off against her will, opens the door towards a reconciliation.

For this reason there has to be a "robo". It is difficult for the parents to allow themselves to be persuaded if their daughter has been so shameless as to run away of her own free will. If it can be shown that she was carried off, and that it was all the man's fault, and if it can be shown that he did his best to remedy his rashness by marrying her, they can cede more easily. The couple therefore make an effort to stage a "robo".

The parents of the girl are in a difficult position, for it is impossible for them to accept a "quiet but honourable wedding"

That is to say, if the young man wishes to marry their daughter but has not sufficient money for a proper wedding fiesta, they cannot agree to a simple wedding. If she is to leave their house in marriage, with their consent, it must be with a fiesta. The young man's pride however, will not permit him to ask the financial aid of the girl's parents. So the parents of the girl tell the young man to wait until the harvest is in, or until he has acquired sufficient money in some other way.

Once the girl has been carried off, her parents are forced to accept marriage, however quiet the fiesta may be. Most often they do not appear at the wedding and so have little say. But under the circumstances a wedding, however quiet, is preferable to none.

The young man on the other hand can also plead force of circumstances to account for the quiet wedding. Once they have run off, it is essential they should marry quickly; and it is impossible to make all the arrangements for a fiesta on the spur of the moment. It needs time to buy the clothes for the bride, to book the marimba, to kill the animals for the meal and to procure the money needed for the fiesta. So he does the best he can under the circumstances.

Thus the girl's parents cannot permit a quiet wedding, the boy cannot afford a big wedding. If the couple run off then the girl's parents are forced by the circumstances to consent to a quiet wedding, and the boy is also forced by the circumstances to make it a quiet wedding.

I wish to emphasize that this attempt at an explanation is entirely my own. It does not even cover all the cases. It only accounts for those where there has been a "robo", where the couple have married afterwards, and where there is reason to believe that the man could not or would not pay for a fiesta. There are many cases (such as that of Sara Vila III, or Lola Gomez VI) where the girl openly runs off with the boy; and there are many cases when the couple do not marry (such as Margarita Fovar- Lopez IV) and there are cases where there is a big wedding fiesta (such as Gloria Mendez I). Certainly no Chiapillteco would reason in the way I have done; but most Chiapilltecos would agree that the majority of "robos" are staged, and that in the majority of cases "el muchacho no quiso gastar" (the boy did not want to spend money).

A wedding of the kind I have described at the beginning of this section is costly. \$1000 (Mex.) is the least that

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can be spent (appx 31 pounds). If the couple has run away no such expenditure is expected. Very poor grooms marry in the cabildo (town hall), where they spend no more than the amount charged by the authorities, and a round of beer for all present. The minimum number of persons is:- the man entrusted with the register of births, deaths and marriages; (in the small villages it is usually but not necessarily the presidente); then there is the Secretary who makes out the 'Acta de Matrimonio' because he is able to write; then there are the two witnesses which the law requires; in addition two god-mothers and two god-fathers are usually invited although they are not essential. The parents of the girl are unlikely to be present, while those of the boy would be there.

In the case I witnessed the young man had no parents, so there were eight persons present in addition to myself. After the ceremony three rounds of beer were handed round and then the couple went off to spend the night with one of the god-mothers, before going off to the ranch where the groom worked.

More usual, as in the case of Petrona Hernandez II and Marta Vargas VII, is a small fiesta arranged in the house of the grooms parents. (Margarita's Adrian IV is an orphan so the ceremony was held in her house). The Presidente and the Secretario come to the house, and the ceremony is performed with the couple, the witnesses, and the god-parents sitting around a table. Afterwards "pan y chocolate" is served and beer and liqueur is handed round. This is called a "quiet wedding", with "las puertas cerradas", which literally translated means with closed ~~doors~~ doors but implies that no friends were invited and that no marimba played.

However, as I have already said, the reason for a young man's running off is not always that he did not wish to spend. Amado Morales is a good example. He ran away with Rosita at the fiesta of Acala. His mother was very upset and tried to make the wedding as "alegre" (gay, successful) as possible under the gloomy circumstances. She supplied plenty of "pan y chocolate" and a good amount of beer. Also she bought two changes of clothes for the bride. She told me she could not very well buy a white gown as they had been together for a week already. Amado's mother wanted to have the marimba at the fiesta, but the poor lady seemed to be out of luck. One of the two marimbas was playing elsewhere that night, and the second belongs to Rosita's father, so naturally could not be asked.

One obvious reason for a couple running off, is that either of the parents object to the marriage, or the couple fears they would object if they were told. The girl's parents are thus forced to accept the marriage (See below for qualification of this), and the matter is not so serious for the boy's parents as they suffer no shame (See Below). Again this is not always so. Yucundo ran off and married Odilia Perez and his father refused to have him or his wife in the house; nor did he give his son any money to help him set up house; he would have nothing to do with him. Yucundo went off to a ranch where he hired land, borrowed seed and worked hard for two years. The couple now has two children and are about to build their own house in the pæblo. A few days ago the father sent for Yucundo and they are now on speaking terms.

The third reason is simply that the couple decided to run off together on the spur of the moment. Indeed, this can hardly be called a reason for I think it is true of most of the cases. I do not believe that there is ever careful planning in advance. The couple decide that they can wait no longer "no aguantan mas", say the Chiapiltecos. It may seem to be a convenient residual category to invent - to say they just ran off because they felt like doing so; but I believe it is the simple truth.

Self control and discipline is not taught in this society, nor is it very much admired. On the other hand to act according to "gusto" is well understood. If you feel very strongly about the person you love, and experience a strong overpowering urge to run off together, why then you run off at once.

Thus the couple runs off because there is some impediment to their marrying at once. It may be that the parents are against the marriage, it may be that the boy cannot or is unable to afford the marriage fiesta, it may be that they feel they cannot wait any longer.

What happens once the couple returns from the monte? What are the consequences of running away?

The young man's family ^{has} ~~have~~ frequently been his accomplices, or at least they knew of his intentions beforehand. This is to be expected, for as a rule he brings the girl to their house, and for this he needs their consent. In any case the young couple always needs someone to help them, someone who will provide them with

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with meals during their stay in the "monte". If it is not the mother of the boy who sends the food it will be some other member of his family.

Valente's (Case I) sister-in-law told me that his father knew of and approved of his intention to carry off Gloria. It is ofcourse possible she was boasting to me and not telling the truth. Pedro's mother was certainly told before-hand, and sent them food with his older brother. On the other hand I am sure that Xavier's mother (CaseVII) had no idea that he would run off with Marta -(if indeed, he himself knew beforehand). Another case I know of is that of Adolfo, who ran off with a girl his father strongly disapproved of because he considered her to be a "loose girl" unsuitable to live in the same house with his wife and daughters who were honourable women. She had already run off with two men. His parents refused to have her in the house. However, they woke up one morning to find the couple sleeping in the corredor of their house and perforce had to take them in. "Que mas ? " his mother said to me when she told the story. What else could we do ? This is the general attitude of the parents of the man. He has chosen the girl and even if they do not like her they accept her "Que hacemos ? El la quiso, que lo vea el" . What else can we do ? He has chosen her, let him take the consequences. (However see Yucundo's case further back). As a rule they will take in the couple; if the boy is very frightened of his parents he may stay for a few days in the house of relative or friend with his bride.

The boy's parents may therefore like the young girl and be willing to marry the couple; or they may be furious at their son's escapade because they do not like the girl or because they do not have the money to marry them at that moment and have to borrow. If neither their son, nor the girl he has chosen have had a partner before, the parents will marry them as soon as possible.

As neither the young man, nor his parents suffer shame in consequence of the robo, and as they have accepted the girl, the onus is upon them to persuade the girl's parents to accept the situation.

The man asks his father or some other spokesman to go to the girl's parents. A party of men usually go, for several men carry more weight than one alone. They go to "convencer"; the party will include the god-father or father of the young man to represent him, but it will also include a compadre or good friend of the girl's

father, or some man of influence who is respected; a man whom the girl's father cannot refuse. For it is to this man's argument that the offended father cedes, not the young man nor to his daughter.

The party will arrive in the evening with plenty of beer and they will start drinking. Once they have gained admittance they are likely to "convencer" when they are all drunk. If the girl's father does not intend to make it up, he will pretend to be out, or refuse entry to the party for some other reason (See Sara Vila III). Whether the party is successful or not depends upon the circumstances; in part upon who is sent; in part upon the attitude of the girl's parents; in part upon the time which has elapsed between the escape of the couple and the "entrada para convencer". To choose the right moment is very important.

In the case of Petrona's mother there was no difficulty; (Case II) it was known that she had been in favour of the match, she was poor and a widow with no adult sons; she had only been sorry that there was to be no proper wedding.

In the case of Sara's father (Case III) it will be much more difficult; but he was very fond of this daughter so everyone thinks that in time he will accept her back into his house. A few nights ago his friends were celebrating his birthday having brought beer and the marimba to his house. I was sitting on the door-step of a friend's house, when he and his friends passed by very tipsy. "They really are foolish", she said referring to the run-away couple, "they should have come to "convencer" now when he is in a good mood; they ought to have known there would be a celebration and should have taken advantage of the propitious moment".

Recently a young woman who had been married, but had left her husband with her baby, returned to him after two years. I asked how it had happened and was told that after one year's separation the husband had come to ask his wife to return to him. She had insisted that her parents-in-law come to her mother as they had never been to "convencer" after the couple had run off and got married. Another year passed, and the husband's father came with some friends of his to the house of the mother to "convencer". "Why all the friends?" I asked. "Oh they had all been drinking together and while in their cups decided to accompany the husband's father". Being tipsy they probably thought it a huge joke to have a go at persuading the girl's mother. They were successful as the girl returned to her husband.

In one recent case the son-in-law sent a party to "convencer" after two years of marriage. The couple had run off without the father of the girl even knowing that she had a noio. They had lived in the young man's village, about two hours walk from Chiapilla, and by now had a child one year old. The father was most unwilling to receive the couple; he said he could not well refuse the pleadings of his compadre who had come to "convencer", and therefore allowed the party to enter the house. Afterwards he insisted, that despite this he would not tolerate his daughter to come and visit him.

Silverio Gomez on the other hand, who ran off with Flor, never came to "convencer" his parents-in-law. He married three years ago and has two children. He does not enter his wife's parents house although he greets them in the street. Flor however has long since been home and visits her parents frequently.

These examples illustrate the nature of "convencer". It is a formal procedure which is much used for making up quarrels. The person who wishes to make up the quarrel (usually but not always the offender) sends a party of men to speak for him. This party always includes one man who is definitely on the offender's side, such as his relative or god-father, or compadre; and one who is a friend of, and has influence over the offended person.

Proceedings always start with drinking and the business of the visitors is not mentioned until everyone is gay and tipsy. The right time and the right mood are vital for settling the affair. This can be seen from the case of the father-in-law who came to "convencer" when tipsy and persuaded the daughter-in-law to return to his son. Also the remark my friend made with respect to Sara's father when he was drunk. The case of the man whose daughter had run off two years ago and would not have her back illustrates what happens if a wrong moment is chosen. It is clear that the parents of the girl do not necessarily accept the 'fait accompli' with which they are presented when their daughter has run off and married a man.

The examples show that the party which has come to "convencer" is not always successful, and after a time the same or another party is sent. This is, if there is eagerness to make up the quarrel. If not, the matter remains as it is, with the two parties

not speaking to each other.

The procedure is so frequently used because quarrelling in Chiapilla usually means physical separation as well. I have already said, that to run off in the face of a difficult situation is a common way of dealing with it. If there has been a quarrel, if a man has stolen something, if a child has been naughty, if a person has killed, if he has cheated another,--the thing to do is to disappear from the sight of the offended person until time has elapsed for his anger to cool off. Then one may go to "convencer" or alternatively continued to remain at a safe distance from the offended person.

Notice that the word "convencer" does not mean to apologize. It carries the significance of making it up, convincing the other person he ought to change his attitude. We have the idea that a person who has done a wrong, apologizes, and that it is the duty of the offended person to forgive.

The Chiapilltecos "piden perdon" (beg forgiveness) of God and of the Santa Tierra (holy earth), but not of other people. 'Convencer' means convincing the offended person that there is no reason to be cross any longer. It is done by arguments explaining the circumstances of the case, and showing why there is no longer cause for anger. In this way neither party loses face. It is simply that the circumstances have altered and therefore the attitude to be taken is a different one. (See Essay on Maize for settling of disputes)

The kind of arguments used are not "They have done wrong and beg to be forgiven". The arguments used are "After all it is your daughter; look they are living well together; the young man is working hard, he does not drink, he does not beat her, etc." In fact, the Chiapilltecos speak of the offended person who is appeased as "tuvo que rebajar" - he had to lower himself -. It almost looks as if the offence lies in being angry, and not in behaving badly!

I have written this section on young persons about to choose their first partner. They may propose and marry and in the "proper" manner, and more frequently they may run off together, or may stage a "robo". The most likely reason for this is that the parents are opposed to the match, that the boy does not want to, or is unable to spend the money for a wedding fiesta, or that the couple simply run off on the spur of the moment. However, in many cases it is not the first partner, and I now want to consider these.

PART I

In order to understand what happens to the adults, it may help to know a little about their childhood. How do these people who are every individualistic persons grow up?

Childhood-

Babyhood All babies are breast-fed on demand. This means continuous feeding throughout the day, a custom which is looked down upon contemptuously and bitterly by the more "educated" city people, who have learnt to breast-feed in private and at certain times only. I have heard of two cases only where a baby fed with a foster mother.

One was a case where the mother had "leche asustada" because her husband had been murdered, and her milk was thus considered to be bad for the child. This was twenty years ago, and the child was fed by a neighbour. This same woman's younger sister suffered a similar shock when her brother was murdered during my stay in Chiaquilla. She had an eight day old baby and everyone warned her not to feed the child as her milk was "asustada" (frightened). However, she did not want her child to suckle with another woman and so took no heed of the warnings; I guess another woman would not have fed her child under these circumstances. This incident shows that the old belief still persists, and is also a good example of the independence of thought and action so common here.

I heard of another case of two sisters-in-law, one of whom would suckle the other's baby while she went to wash in the river. I do not think that suckling another's baby is common. Nowadays those women who have no milk feed the babies with leche Nido, a powdered milk preparation. They complain that it is an expensive and troublesome way to rear a child, seeing that breastfeeding costs nothing and does not involve preparing the milk. Such babies are not held in the arms while given the bottle. They are left in the hammock and the bottle is tilted in such a way that the baby can feed on its own.

Toilet training is completely unknown. The babies urinate and defecate wherever they happen to be. No precautions of any kind are taken. The most they use is a cloth wrapped around the child's waist which reaches its feet; it serves to keep the child warm but is no protection against urination. When a mother comes to visit with her baby and the baby urinates on her lap she

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comes to visit with her baby, and the baby urinates on her lap she is ~~always~~ embarrassed. This never fails to puzzle me, for after all one expects a small baby to urinate, and if one is going to be embarrassed about it, why not take some precaution? If I have come to visit the house and a child defecates or urinates they are equally embarrassed, but under normal circumstances no especial notice is taken, and any sibling who is around is ordered to clear away the mess. This is done with a cloth ^{for} urine and some leaves ^{in the case of} for faeces; if the child has dirtied itself, it is wiped with a cloth but not washed. I have seen ^a three year old urinate standing in the middle of a room with no comment on the part of the adults except "look, Pedro is urinating, take off his pants" (if the child is wearing these). ~~But~~ Babies and toddlers are permitted to urinate on mother's best clothes without her being in the slightest upset, and a rebozo is used to wipe dripping noses, or else the corner of mother's dress.

Every baby has someone to attend to it all the time. It may be the mother, it is more likely to be a sibling or some other child; it may also be a grandparent or the father. A baby's movements are never restricted; it is permitted to crawl or toddle wherever it wants to, right up to the critical moment when it is going to fall, or put its finger in the fire, or upset a dish etc. It is then snatched away from the danger and amused some other way. If it screams much, the mother breast-feeds it. Babies are thought to get bored, and children are often sent out to take them for a little walk, for a change of scenery; ^{the infant} they usually return content. The only time little children are left unwatched is when they are asleep, either in a hammock, or on a bed, but preferably on a mat on the floor. Very few mothers in the pueblo carry their infants in the rebozo on their back as do those of the Indian Barrio; consequently they have much more trouble with their babies, because when they carry them on their arms they are unable to do any work. For this reason, if a mother goes out to do any kind of work, ~~she had to~~ and has to take her baby because it still breast feeds, she takes an older child along to look after it.

I have only come across one case of accident to a baby. A little girl got severely burnt through falling into the

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fire. This is an excellent record considering that in so many houses the fire is on the ground, that burning candles or lamps are on the floor, knives, not dishes, in fact everything dangerous to toddlers is within their reach on the ground. A child guardian who allows some harm to come to its charge is severely beaten; but it is not because of fear of beating that the babies come to no harm; everybody is genuinely fond of babies, including all the children.

As in all societies I know of, grandparents are extremely indulgent towards their grandchildren. This is particularly noticeable in the many cases in which mother and daughter have infants of the same age. The mother will scold her own child and hit it, while indulging every whim of the visiting grandchild. The little aunts and uncles are expected to take extra care of their baby niece ^{he gives}

Three things, then, are common to the experience of all Chiapilla's babies: breastfeeding upon demand all day; a total absence of toilet training; and continuous attention by an older person for the first three years of its life. The main difference at this age is between the clothes worn and the cleanliness of the child. I do not know how much these things affect the child but they are certainly a reflection upon its parents' views. The majority of babies and toddlers are dirty all the time, in varying degrees. This is partly due to lack of washing and mainly due to the fact that they play all day on the earth floor or in the dusty street.

I know of six children under three years of age who are always clean - roughly by our standards of cleanliness. One is the daughter of the former Secretary. Born and raised in Chiapilla he lived for many years in San Andres Tuxtla, a large city, and I am sure it is he who insisted that his wife keep the child clean. She is a young Chiapiltteca who comes from a very slovenly home. Now that the Secretary is dead, and his wife returned to her parents, I expect the child will be neglected more.

The second is the baby son of one of the school teachers. Although ^{this teacher} he was born and brought up in Chiapilla he has been away a long time and tries hard to follow city ways in all things. He too, has married a Chiapiltteca from a slovenly home, and I am sure it is at his insistence that the child is kept clean. Besides the wife has a little nurse-maid for this only child, as well as a maid for the housework.

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The third is the baby of the other school teacher who was brought up in a city on the coast. He too has married a Chiapillteca, and as her mother is dead I do not know how clean she was. My guess is that her husband requires the children to be kept spotless. The three men had all been married before, to city wives, and all three married very much younger women in Chiapilla.

The fourth remarkably clean baby is that of a woman whose mother is from San Cristobal Las Casas, whose inhabitants have the reputation (in Chiapilla at least) of being very clean. The young woman went to a convent boarding school in San Cristobal, and then married a Chiapillteco. She keeps all her four children spotlessly clean.

These four persons have all spent much time in towns, and are all contemptuous of the ways of the Chiapilltecos. "No son civilisados", ^(they are not civilized) is their usual complaint. However, they are all well settled in the village and intend to continue living there; nevertheless they do not think of themselves as Chiapilltecos; they think of themselves as outsiders and of the ^{villagers} people as "them" or "they".

Two more babies are remarkably clean. One is the child of a young girl who ran off to be married in San Cristobal. She lived there for three years and then left her husband and lives with her father now. Another is a young girl who comes from a finca. She is the illegitimate daughter of the fincero and a peasant girl. I do not know anything about her upbringing, but suppose she learnt from the ranch house. Besides, ~~it is her first baby and as such receives more than usual care.~~

These six persons dress their babies as would any middle class city parent. The clothes are clean, without tears or holes and of the style sold in Tuxtla or San Cristobal. The appearance of these children is in striking contrast to the others of the village. The parents have all been in contact with city life (except the last), but I must point out that there are others who have also lived in cities but who do not keep their children so clean. These persons may have been living in cities for a long time, but they ~~have~~ have not become city people; they have remained villagers living in the city. On the other hand the five ~~+~~ have written of have adopted city clothes and city manners and gestures, even their walk is different.

For most Chiapillteco toddlers the clothing for boys is a shirt and for girls a frock. Neither wear pants, but the little

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girls are already taught to sit down properly with their skirts covering their knees. This is the earliest and strictest bit of discipline I have seen; at three and a half to four, a little girl will never kneel or sit on the floor without making sure that her skirt is properly arranged. Quite a number of little girls do wear panties, and I find this an easy and convenient way of placing the parents, or at least of judging their aspirations. It is difficult to judge class distinctions or income differences except at either extremes. Neither the type of house, nor the clothes worn, nor the food eaten is a reliable guide. May be the little girls' panties will turn out to be unreliable as well. In any case the general Chiapiltotecan custom is no pants at that early age, so if a child does wear them it means that the parents have different ideas about propriety, which is the first ~~sep~~step towards lower middle class.

Babies are sick a great deal; they suffer mainly from digestive disorders and diseases of the respiratory system, and from an eye complaint called "chilonera". I ~~want to~~ deal separately with ideas and customs concerning health and sickness and mention it here only to say that every child has been more or less severely ill during babyhood. Parents do not rush to cure their child at the slightest sign of indisposition; on the contrary, the policy is to wait as long as possible, and to seek help only when the child shows serious signs of illness. When the remedies suggested by friends and relatives have been tried the mother may take the baby to a curandera or a practicante or even to a doctor. It is a matter of money and partly a matter of confidence in the individual persons. If possible she will take her child to all three.

The curandera cures with herbs and gives protection against illnesses caused ^{in a} by non-physical ^{way} means. (I do not use supernatural for the agencies causing illness may be human). The curandera or curandero is the cheapest to go to. The practicante has no medical training, but much general experience. He uses ordinary manufactured medicines and gives injections; in Chiapilla the two practicante are the school masters. It is dearer to go to them, and above all their prescriptions cost a great deal. The nearest doctor lives in Chiapa, a three hours bus ride from Chiapilla, and to visit him ~~means~~ ^{is} a ^{great} real expense.

Instructions about the care of the sick child are

followed sporadically according to the ability to pay for the medicines and the meticulousness of the mother. Illness is thought of as something which happens and which passes in time, if fate so decrees. It is not thought of as something which can be prevented and combated. So the main care of the child is much cuddling, it is given the breast constantly for comfort, and its state is much discussed. An effort is made to keep it at home, but more often this is impossible and the mother carries it around with her in her normal daily activities. There are few children who have not had one sibling at least that has died; and the greatest expense in raising children is always said to be the money spent in their frequent illnesses.

Position in the family The youngest child is always spoiled and its every whim is granted; older siblings must cede their toys to it, must take it for walks, must play with it and amuse it. If the youngest cries, then the older one is punished. Much depends upon how long a child is the youngest, how soon the next one comes along. The first baby receives such attention. The mother spends all day nursing it and playing with it, and carrying it about. She never separated from it. She has little work to do at that time, if she lives with her mother-in-law and the two families cook jointly she is not expected to help much. If ^{she} ~~they~~ cook apart then there is only her husband and herself to care for. Usually she finds someone else to do the washing as it is considered bad to take a small baby to the river, and the child cannot be left without suckling for the three or four hours the mother would be away.

So the first child is attended to constantly; it is petted and adored by the father and the grand-parents, it is not left unattended for an instant. The child is breast-fed until the arrival of the second child. This applies to every child. If no sibling arrives then the child may suckle up to the age of three, very slowly transferring to solid foods. In most cases the child is suddenly transferred to food at the age of one-and-a-half or two, when the next sibling is ^{generally} normally born.

From then on the life of a first born becomes the hardest of all the children. It receives very little attention because the mother must see to the new baby and also has more work now. As soon as this child can walk it has to run errands, fetch and carry things in the house, and help mother in every way. Money becomes short and the young woman is less likely to be able to afford to pay

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for her water or her laundry. Neither the wife nor the child are a novelty any longer to the husband, and he pays less attention to either.

For the first child the change is a very sudden one from being the centre of everyone's care and attention to becoming the most neglected and hardest worked member of the family. From then on this child is the first to be ordered to do any job. Whether girl or boy it has to look after the younger sibling, it is sent out to sell any produce there may be from house to house; it does all the shopping. By the time a girl is six she goes down to the river with her mother to fill her own little bucket of water; she sweeps the house; she helps to make the tortillas; she washes the younger children's clothes in the river; she feeds the hens; she carries around her younger siblings when she goes out to play.

Usually mothers are a little more lenient with boys. But if he is a first child then of necessity he must do many of the girls' jobs. An eldest boy accompanies his father to ^{the} fields by the age of seven; he takes the animals if there are any, to the river to drink, and to the pasture to graze at night, and fetches them early in the morning.

Childhood At about the age of three or four children are hit for the first time for disobedience. They are hit hard with stick or belt, and the reason is always for refusing to obey an order of the parent to run an errand or to go and pick up something or to fetch something. There are no orders nor is there any education concerning anything else. No form of manners taught except that children are not supposed to pass between two adults who are talking; but they are never given more than a reprimand for disobeying this rule. Children are also told to greet by crossing their arms upon the breast and bowing their head, and little babies are always presented to an adult to be blessed. Again it is not a strict rule.

By the time children are four they are toilet trained, which only means going out into the sitio. There is no shame about toilet activities. Women squat in their sitios which are sometimes open to the street and always visible to the neighbours sitio. Indeed, urinating is quite a communal activity. At night women are afraid to go outside alone and always go in company. At fiestas or gatherings they also go together; it is almost impolite to permit a person to go alone. If I ask to be shown outside at any fiesta, the hostess either comes along with me or makes sure someone accompanies me. This com-

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panion does not wait at a distance but courteously squats down with me. Upon one occasion there being no woman around, a gallant gentleman offered to accompany me. This was not impudence; he was genuinely concerned about allowing me to go outside alone, and this consideration far outweighed any shame there could be. No circumlocution is customary; the word "urinar" is used. Men merely step aside from the group or turn their backs. No one either looks, nor looks away; it is just a normal uninteresting activity. Little boys play at urinating in the streets as all little boys do. I remark upon this because there is no reprimand or suggestion they should not do this. This neutral attitude is in harmony with the absence of any toilet training, I have noted. Children are expected to become "clean" in time, and this they do.

By the age of four babyhood is definitely over, and the child is a personality; it already has its "character" and the mother treats it as an individual in its own right. She no longer says "he is only a child, and does not know"; if the child does not want to eat, why he is not made to; he ought to know if he is hungry or not. If the child is ill and does not explain what is hurting the mother will complain, as of an adult, "What can I do if he won't tell me what is hurting him?" If the child returns with short change from an errand he is held fully responsible; if the sibling he is looking after gets hurt, he is scolded and hit for being careless.

Between the ages of four and eight the life of any child is more or less like that of the first child. They are given the same kind of work to do, particularly the job of looking after younger siblings falls to them, as the oldest does more of the housework. Although children of three and four are typically jealous of their younger sibling, by the time they are eight and from then onwards they love the baby of the house and carry it about tirelessly. Both boys and girls carry round younger siblings and ask for their baby cousins or neighbours' babies to hug and play with for a while. The infants are never taken too far from their mothers as they may cry and then have to be given the breast.

The continuous physical contact which a baby experiences continues is carried on into childhood and adult life. Boys and youths especially walk about arm in arm, or with their arms about each others shoulders, and men do so when drunk. Young girls also link arms or put their arms around each others waist, although married

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women do not; they already have their children clinging to them. Together with this goes the idea of "compañía" . Women will rarely go anywhere or do anything without at least one other woman for company. Men accustomed to go alone a little more, but it is always thought "triste" (sad) to have to do a thing on ones own. To "acompañar" a person is an excellent explanation for going anywhere, or for having been away for a time. Children and young girls trying to evade unpleasant tasks do not fail to make use of this excuse. Apart from this negative aspect of not being alone, "compañía" also ensures respectability. A girl or woman has not been out alone, there has been a companion, a witness to her good behaviour. That there is frequent collusion between such "compañía" is another matter,

The child between four and eight is considered to be capable of running errands and of helping around the house and of doing all work ~~they~~^{it is} are physically capable of. But each child's experience does vary enormously according to the composition of the family into which it happens to be born. I have described the hard life of the first child. If there are already two or three older sisters the child will spend most of its time playing, with very few duties. If on the other hand it is a girl who has three or four older brothers and no sisters, she will have to work as hard as any first born. Should he be a boy, and his mother a widow without older sons, then he will be sent to fetch wood at an early age, and to the milpa to sow a little maize for her. If the parents are very poor the child will be sent to work by the age of seven; if the parents are well off it may even be sent to school.

At this age (between four and eight), children begin to play in the streets with neighbours' children. Up to that time they have remained at home and have played with siblings or with cousins, aunts and nieces (of their own age), who come to visit with their mothers. If they are needed for an errand their mother will shout for them and they will come slowly or quickly ^{according to its urgency} in order to do the errand. A child is only given orders, and is only beaten by its parents and older siblings, whom it must obey. These and no one else order it about. Even grand-parents and adult aunts and uncles only request a child to do a thing; if the child refused, which it often does, then the adult does not insist.

Children of about six or eight are often lent out.

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Thus if a woman wants to go out at night and there is no child available she may 'borrow' a sister's or neighbour's child to accompany her. For longer journeys too, such a child companion may be 'borrowed' or hired. The child may accompany a trader woman on foot to a near by village, which means two hours there and two hours back often carrying her own little load on the head. She may be hired out to "abrazar" a baby. Better off women often take on a little girl to look after their youngest baby if they are busy or if they have work. The child earns \$1 (Mex.) per day, which is paid to its mother. She may even be sent out to work as a little maid. Children of this age are also frequently 'borrowed' as a sleeping companion for a young girl or older woman, so that she should not have to sleep on a mat alone.

By the time a boy is four he wears long trousers and a shirt, and he has his hat. This remains his clothing until he becomes a youth at about fourteen, and begins to worry about his appearance. The girl acquires a petticoat some time between five and seven, and is also sometimes given an apron. Some mothers have their daughter's hair frizzed (cold permanent wave) at the age of two, and from that age onwards a girl may have her hair cut and permed. The majority of children have no shoes at this age.

S P A C E

Between eight and twelve girls are at their most useful in every way. They are at an age when they have a certain amount of "juicio", that is to say of judgement, of understanding; they can deliver messages well because they are able to understand the content perfectly, but are too young to have to feel shame at awkward subjects, such as messages saying their mother cannot pay a debt, or that she wishes to borrow a thing. They know where everyone in the village lives and can be sent out to deliver food gifts. (See essay on Fiestas). They sell from house to house, and are tall enough and strong enough to do all the housework and laundry as well as carrying the water. They cook and make tortillas for the whole family. They are still young enough to obey - generally speaking; for as I have repeatedly emphasized each person has his or her "carácter", and some girls have the "carácter" of not obeying. Girls at this age do not go about in groups as yet; they have their friends but have no joint activities except that of fetching ~~an~~ water, when three or four girls will go together.

Most boys accompany their father to the field all day

soon after they have reached eight or nine. By the time they are twelve they do a full days work. At that age a boy may take his fathers place whether it be in the milpa or in trading. At eight the boys accompany their fathers on the ^{eight} hours climb to San Cristobal where they take the loaded donkeys to sell produce from hot country. At twelve they ^{may} make the journey alone. Boys ^{may} be hired out to work for other farmers, especially to mount horses during ploughing, or to "doblar la milpa" (bend over the maize stalks). Some are sent out as water carriers with their donkeys. They may be sent out on errands further away, such as Acala which is one and a half hours ride away. Boys are less willing to run ^{errands} ~~messages~~ within the village; partly they are shyer than the girls, but mainly it is at that age that they refuse to obey commands more and more; if they do obey, they do so more and more truculently. Their mother will still ask them to do things for her, but if they do not obey there is little she can do. If either she or father want to beat the boy for disobedience he runs away and returns much later, when the anger has passed. The boys begin to play in gangs, and especially at nights when it is dark get quite out of control. They mercilessly tease any of the odd characters of the village, such as the dumb man, or the disabled one; they shout insults and run away. If there is a stranger in the village then he will be the one to suffer. Nevertheless, by seven p.m. - roughly one hour after darkness - these eight to twelve year olds will be at home.

School I should say a word about the school, for some children are sent to it, and Chiapilla has had its ^{school} Government school for thirty years. Before that there were several small private schools, so that the wealthiest families always sent their children. I estimate an attendance of appx. ¹⁰⁰ ~~sixty~~ children daily - not always the same ¹⁰⁰ ~~sixty~~, out of the 140 who are registered in the school book.

The children belong mainly, though not exclusively to the better off families. No child is forced to go if it does not wish, and very many ofcourse do not wish to go. Also many parents do not send the children because they are needed at home to work or to care for younger siblings. In addition there is the complaint that they learn nothing and spend all day playing about. This is true, but the teachers complain that they are quite unable to keep any discipline without beating, and if they do beat the parents complain and withdraw their children. ~~This is also true.~~

Many children go to school for one year between the ages of six and twelve and some of these manage to learn to sign their names. Those who go for three or four years learn to read well enough to be able to take some position in the local authority, although there is no insistence upon a man being able to read and write if he takes a "cargo" . (Office) Children who are sent to school are not exempted from household tasks such as carrying water and running errands and selling from house to house. From the child's point of view the main prestige attached to going to school is the ability to take part in the annual procession on the National Day, as well in three public performances which the school gives each year.

Adolescence Between twelve and fourteen years a girl changes from a child into a young girl; from a "muchachita" into "una muchacha formal". There is no change in her daily activities, in the work she does and in her place within the family. The change is a social one. She begins to use make-up on special occasions, she goes to dances. Although she dances with girl friends only, she is old enough for a boy to come up and invite her to dance; she will refuse saying that she is not yet permitted to dance with boys.

The real change is that she begins to have boy friends, or rather, that having boy friends begins to be a serious matter. Fifteen is considered to be the proper age at which a girl begins to dance with boys; a few give a fiesta to mark this date. To dance with boys implies that a girl may now be courted, and have a "novio" (sweetheart), for dancing in itself means courting. (See Essay on the Fiesta). Very many girls already dance with boys when they reach the age of fourteen. At this time also the girl may join group activities, which are all connected with the church. She may be appointed as a member of the "Junta de Solteras", a committee which organizes part of the celebrations of the Patron Saint of the village. She may be named a member of the committee responsible for the care of one of the Saints of the Church.

A girl is now told to "cuidarse" (to look after herself, to take care). She should not go out alone, unless it be for an errand during the day; she should be "juiciosa" which means roughly to attend to her work and not to be flighty.

A girl remains "una muchacha" (socially speaking) until she marries. Fourteen is considered young for marriage, and

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nineteen is old. Most Chiapilltecas marry some time between these ages. Some girls move straight from being a child to being a married woman; this happens if they marry early. They thus never dance, nor go to fiestas nor do any of the things proper for a "muchacha" to do. Others, if they do not marry, remain "una muchacha" to the age of thirty. There are two or three such girls in Chiapilla, and despite their age they are treated as young girls; they are asked to the fiestas and they have to ask their father's permission to attend. They are "en el poder de sus papas". (*Under their father's authority*)

A person is "en el poder de sus padres" as long as he or she lives in the same house. Thus a young man, although married is still "en el poder de su papa" if he continues to live in the house of his father. If he has a separate house, even though it be in the same sitio, he is "fuera de su poder". If a young boy runs from home at the age of thirteen, then he is "fuera del poder de su padre".

How much authority is in fact exercised by the father over the children who live in his house depends upon their ages, upon the character of the father and that of his children, and as they grow up it depends increasingly upon the wealth of the father. A man with property wields more effective power authority over his sons and daughters than one who has nothing.

A girl also, remains "en el poder de su padre" if she has married and lives with her husband in her parent's house. If she runs away, or lives in her husband's home upon marriage, she is "fuera de su poder".

At about the age of twelve a boy becomes a youth. He is old enough to sleep on his own, either on a mat, or if there is a bed he will be given this. He begins to change his clothes upon returning from the fields in the evening; he plays billiards; he enters the cantina and is given *trago* by the older men, or even buys some on his own. He leaves the boys' gangs and begins to attach himself to that of the older youths; he begins to take an active interest in girls. All these activities are typical of a youth between twelve and seventeen. At seventeen or eighteen he is a young man, and it is about that age that he begins to dance and to have novias

Similar to the young girl there is no change in the work he does; the change lies in his behaviour; it lies less in the attitude of older persons towards him. At most he is warned not to do

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anything "imprudente".

Courting In a village of 2000 ^{inhabitants} ~~people~~, with a child population of 450, all the boys and girls of the same age group ~~of course~~ "know" each other, both by sight and to speak to. However courting a girl is different from knowing her. Like the girl, the boy begins courting openly when he begins to dance, which may be at any time from sixteen onwards, depending upon how shy he is. The proper place to court a girl is at a dance (See Essay on Fiesta).

This is not sufficient for a couple and another customary although secret place is by the river (See Further on). Much use is made of "papeles", little letters which the boy writes, or has written for him, and which he sends by some child messenger to the girl of his choice. In addition he will try to approach her whenever he finds an opportunity. He may discover he has some business in her house, or he may snatch an opportunity when she is in the street on some errand. He will look at her, and try to speak to her depending upon how shy he is.

Whichever way he takes, the fact is that the initial steps in courting are secret, and above all hidden from the parents of the girl; once they begin dancing together the matter is already more public, and she becomes his "novia de Baile", if not his "mera novia". (See Essay on Fiesta). By the time the young man's father comes to the house of the girl's parents to ask for official permission for him to visit ^{her} ~~the~~ couple have already decided they will marry, although it is ^{often} the first thing her parents know about the affair.

Growing up is a gradual, imperceptible process in Chiapilla. The children do an adults' work as soon as they are physically strong enough. The first big change for children of both sexes is when the next sibling arrives, and then at the age of three or four when they have to dress "properly" and are expected to help mothers as much as they are able to, and are obliged to be obedient. This change for the child is one that is imposed upon it by its parents; it is the adults who teach it that it is no longer a baby.

A girl is considered to be a child from four to twelve years old. During this time she changes of course, but the changes are due to her growing up - it is she who is changing and not the adults who expect her to change. At about twelve the attitude of adults towards her does change; she must now "cuidarse"; she must

be careful; she must take thought about what she does and with whom she speaks.

The boy experiences no such change in the attitude of adults towards him. It is he who changes his tastes and turns himself into a youth and then into a young man. He struggles to free himself from his parents' authority, but this is his own fight, and individual matter.

I have given a short description of childhood, so as to give an idea of the way the men and women of Chiapilla grow up. Some further remarks are necessary.

When I first came to Chiapilla my impression was of children everywhere. It turned out that this impression was correct, but in time, like any other adult, I ceased to notice them. Children seem to be everywhere, because in fact there are so many. The birth rate in Chiapilla, as in all Mexico, is extremely high, and despite the enormous infant mortality rate, enough live for there to be a large child population. Approximately 450 under fourteens, in a total population of 1500 (Pueblo only); ^{Excluding the Sanic} that is to say about one third of the inhabitants are under fourteen. The second reason for the impression I had, is that children are allowed everywhere, at any time, always, and they take full advantage of this. There is nothing children may not witness; they are never shooed away. When I told the kids who crowded into my room to "get out", they simply did not understand me; a look of complete incomprehension came to their faces. They did not know how to react to such a request as they had never heard it. So they do what they were accustomed to do in cases of doubt, they ^{stand} ~~stand~~ and silently stare.

Children have plenty of free time, and are as curious as their elders, and are permitted entry everywhere. They are present at funerals, at accidents, at quarrels, at fiestas, at drunken brawls, at gun-fights, carrying their younger siblings who are in their charge, with them. The only place from which they seem to be effectively banned is the Cabildo (town hall). I also believe an effort is made to keep them out during the birth of a child. My point ^{here} is, that there is nothing which goes on which is hidden to them, nor is there any conversation to which they do not listen.

As they grow up therefore, their apprehension of the

world changes in as far as their understanding grows, in as much as they attach new meaning to the same events they have been witnessing since babyhood. For an English middle class child the world changes in another way as well. It begins to witness events which had been unfamiliar to it before; it may see things and listen to conversations which used to be kept hidden from it. Such a child has to cope with the knowledge of new events as well as with greater understanding of known events. For the Chiapilliteco there are no unknown events to discover - in the sense that they had been kept from ^{him} before.

By the time he or she has reached adolescence, the Chiapilliteco has therefore heard of, seen, and listened to discussion on, all events which occur in a small village. He knows what has happened, he knows the persons concerned, and he knows what have been the comments. This includes all the irregular unions that have taken place, the illegitimate births, the run-away marriages etc.

I am led to believe that sexual play occurs between young children by a remark made to me by an elderly man in the course of a conversation. "Ofcourse we all know what goes on between little boys and little girls, but this is not the same". He was referring to what goes on by the river. The river, where the girls fetch water and where they go to wash all the clothing, and to bathe; and where the boys go to meet the girls. It is the place for lovers' meetings and for learning about sex - by peeping for the children, and by experiment for the adolescents. Girls go in groups to wash laundry and to fetch water; it is thought to be safer for them to go in company. Ofcourse no girl will give away her companion if her 'novio' meets her by the river, or if they disappear together into the 'monte' for half an hour. There used to be a water pipe which carried water to a tank in the centre of the village, thus saving the women the tiring journey to and from the river. The frequent break-down of this water supply was attributed to the young men who were being deprived of their secret meetings with their sweethearts. Even though the story may be untrue it illustrates perfectly one of the uses of the river. Indeed, most of the 'robos' take place at the river.

I think, therefore that ~~all~~ children have at least observed intercourse whether by the river or in their homes, if indeed they are not introduced to it by an older play-mate. I was told that intercourse between siblings had not been heard of in

Chiapilla. This was told me by an informant who spoke freely to me and said that it was known to occur in isolated ranches. She meant that she had not heard it happening in Chiapilla. My guess is that it does occur; it is too easy and too tempting at night when all are asleep, for there is only one room in most houses.

One story was told me of a man who lay down on the mat besides his sister-in-law (~~wife's~~ (wife's sister) who was sleeping with her child in the house. When she began to scream and awaken the others, he said in excuse that he had been outside to the sitio, and had, in the darkness, mistaken the mat of his sister-in-law for that of his wife, and so had accidentally lain down on the wrong mat. Had she not objected no one would have been any the wiser. I suppose that the same takes place between brother and sister. Nevertheless it is only my guess; for brother and sister are never suspected openly in general conversation. I have never heard suspicion expressed when brother accompanies his sister; he is considered to be the only safe male companion for a young woman; the proper protector to accompany her to fiestas, when going on journeys or at night.

On the other hand there is suspicion if a father is seen too often alone with his adolescent daughter. There are several known cases of ~~a~~ father/daughter intercourse. It is thought to carry 'castigo', ^(punishment) usually in the form of malformed offspring.

In talking of children growing up, I have said a great deal about the young girls working very hard. This is true; but one must be clear about the Chiapillteco's concept of work. I can convey it most easily by saying that the speed of working, or of doing anything whatever, is normally about one third of the speed people in Europe are accustomed to work. I must emphasize 'normally' and 'usually', for there are occasions when the people can and do work rapidly. But these occasions are exceptionally. Things get done more slowly, both because the actual pace of work is slower and because the intervals for chatting and string around are more frequent.

It may seem from my account that the poor little girls of Chiapilla are slaving away all day. This is not so. The work they do leaves them plenty of time to play, and further more much playing and chatting goes on during the work. An errand to a house five minutes away will take at least twenty minutes. (There are of course exceptions). The errand girl will make her way to the house and stand by the doorway for a while watching what is going on inside. She will then go

up to the appropriate adult and deliver the message. The recipient will listen and will give his reply and the little girl will remain standing in the room. If something interesting is happening she will stay for a long time before finally undertaking her return journey. Very rarely does one pop in to leave a message and rush off in the way we might do. On her way back the child may pass a house where there is a peddler selling some goods. Naturally she will stop to watch. If the little girl exaggerates these stops then she is thought to be dawdling and scolded by her mother; but a very reasonable time is allowed.

The only discipline which is required of a child is obedience to its parents, and most of the parent's orders are concerned with fetching and carrying things, running errands and messages, and doing household jobs. Parents shout at their children "te estoy mandando, andate oyiste" (I am ordering you to go, did you hear me?) making it perfectly plain this is a command they are giving. If the children do not obey there is no hesitation in using a stick or a belt. I have never seen any other form of punishment used. Threats such as not being taken to a fiesta, or being refused an ice-cream are only used for very small children and are never carried out.

As soon as a child is old enough and strong and agile enough it fights to free itself from such parental authority. It does this by refusing to obey the order and then running away when the parent reaches for the stick. This struggle to be free from parental authority may end, at adolescence by the son or daughter running away from home altogether, rather than for a few hours as it did in childhood. Indeed, running away is a common way of dealing with difficult situations. It is not considered as cowardly; it is considered to be prudent.

Boys are more rebellious than girls. This is not because girls do not object equally to authority. It is, that the values of the community emphasize independence for a man, but restrict the activities of a woman, especially of a young woman. She is more easily subject to gossip and scandal. Her reputation is quickly damaged if she does not behave with "juicio". She shows her independence in other ways once she is married.

The dislike of receiving orders is very great in Chiapilla; particularly to the men it means a great deal, although women do object to it. Again and again in quarrels and when drunk and in order

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and in ordinary conversation the men will shout "Nadie me manda; soy hombre libre; no hay quien me manda aqui". (I am a free man; no one can order me about). The daughter of a former cacique, used to giving orders, explained to me "son muy delicados ahorita, no se les manda". (They are very touchy now-a-days, one cannot order them about).

The conductor of the daily bus to Chiapilla left off working for the owner-driver because he did not like being ordered about. He did not mind working "de acuerdo", (in harmony), "como compañeros" (as friends) as he explained. It is true he was an Acalteco and not from Chiapilla, but his audience was sympathetic and he well expressed the attitude and feelings of the villagers.

There is not any tradition of service. The words "somos para servirle" (we are here to be of service to you), are indeed much used, but they mean something a little different. They express a willingness to oblige, to be of use. Not to serve in the sense of "mozo" - a servant - but to help as a friend or an equal. Ask a Chiapillteco for something in the name of friendship and he will go to no end of trouble; give him an order and he becomes as stubborn as a mule.

[The dislike of authority which is to be found in practice, also has its opposite in the expression of what ought to be. People are fond of saying "tiene uno que obedecer"; "si manda el jefe, o si mandan los padres, no hay mas que obedecer". (One must be obedient; if the boss or ones parents order one to do a thing, one just had to obey). This expression of the correct behaviour, and the total lack of it in practice, must be understood in the sense I have explained at the beginning of the essay. It is another example of the divergence between the ideal and practice. Again there is the genuine regret that this beautiful ideal is not followed, and the realistic acceptance of the fact that it is not, and the practical action necessary in view of its absence. That is to say, if you cannot get obedience you try to enforce it by whatever means at your disposal, and if you cannot enforce it you do without it.

This dislike of obeying orders and the facility for indulging this dislike are fundamental to understanding this society. Given the importance which is conceded to a persons individual tastes, his 'gusto' or 'carácter', and the lack of effective sanctions applied by the community, which I mentioned in the introduction, some form of internal personal discipline would be needed to ensure order. The

contrary is the case. To be a free individual is the aim; and a free individual means a man who does what he likes, not a man who seeks to mould himself according to some ideal, for ideals are not in the realm of real life. To do what one likes means first of all to be under no one's authority; and therefore growing up for a boy is to free himself from parental authority. This of course is common to all societies - the trouble here is that there is no positive goal in addition. To free ~~oneself~~ ~~oneself~~ oneself from one authority in order to submit oneself to another, or to submit to a self-discipline, is the general rule. Here however, the positive goal is lacking, the result is that you literally have free individuals who do what they like in as far as they are not prevented by another individual also doing what he likes.

Summary the characteristic experience of a young Chiapillteco about to choose his or her first partner ^{have} ~~are~~, therefore, ^{been} the following: Complete freedom and indulgence up to the age of four. The infant has been constantly attended to and its every whim granted. This ^{was} ~~was~~ followed by a sudden change in which obedience ^{was} ~~was~~ enforced through the physical strength of its parents; from this authority it ^{begins} ~~begins~~ to free itself as soon as its strength and agility permitted it to do so. At the same time the child ^{was} ~~was~~ expected to help in all the adult tasks, as far as it ^{was} ~~was~~ able to. There has been no attempt to hide any of the facts of living from the child. It has always been permitted to see and hear everything, and has witnessed all events in village life. The young person has long been doing all the work of an adult by the time he or she sets out to choose a partner, the girl in the house and the boy in the fields.

The individual differences will have been due to the composition of the family (in the sense of both parents alive, number of siblings etc.), and to the order of birth. Important also is the economic situation of the family. There is a big gap in Chiapilla between richest and the poorest, and the people are conscious of it.

In a sense, therefore the Chiapillteco is better equipped to set up on his own than many a young English person, who at marriage, is unable to support himself, and is frequently unfamiliar with such fundamental events as the acts of birth and death and of sexual intercourse. To the Chiapillteco nothing will be new except the actual experience of living together with a partner.

There is a 'proper' way of getting married, and the various accounts of it I have been given, are more or less the same with only minor variations. Several couples have been married in this manner during the last five years.

There should be three 'pedidas' (requests). On the first occasion the young man comes to the house of the parents of the girl to ask permission to visit her, to become her recognized 'novio'. (suitor). He comes accompanied by his father, or someone representing his father, and usually his padrino, as well as another respected man, who may be a relative of the young man or a compadre of his father. Three men usually make up the party, but there is no rule. They come on a Saturday evening bringing with them several boxes of beer. The party is admitted into the house, for the young man has previously consulted the girl who has obtained permission for the 'pedida' from her parents. He would not go without being sure he was welcome, as it would put him to shame, "se ~~ponia~~^{pone} en verguenza".

The young girl may remain outside in the corridor of the house and ^{not} appear at all, or she may attend to the guests. In any case she does not speak nor is she spoken to. The mother of the girl also does not speak and whether she has any say in the matter depends upon her character and that of her husband and the relationship between them. The men begin to drink, and at some time during the evening one of the novio's party asks for permission on ~~the~~ behalf of the young man that he may visit the girl. From then onwards he is 'novio de permiso', and has 'entrada' (entry) into the house. The father will have said on which days he may come to visit, usually it would be Sunday afternoons. At fiestas and dances the young girl will dance with ^{the novio} him only.

The time which passes between the "pedida" para entrar", (permission to visit), and the first request for the young girl's hand in marriage, varies very much. It may be three months, six months or a year; it depends upon the 'volundad' (the wishes) of the girl, the young man, and the parents.

It is most likely, but not a rule, that the same men will come to the parents of the girl for the second 'pedida', the request for marriage. The young man may not come this time if he is too shy. It is sufficient for the party of older men to come with boxes of beer and bottles of liqueur. The petitioners are told to

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return in one week for the answer. There is no formal procedure at any of these visits; it is always an evening spent by the men in drinking, and in the course of it, when all are well in their cups, the question is put by one of the older men. Neither the young girl nor the young man "speak".

The third "pedida" takes the same form, except that often only the young man's father comes. On this occasion the girl is called in and asked before the father of the young man what she has to say "Que piensas?" or "Que dices?" her father asks her. Sometimes her father will formally explain to her the duties of a wife and that she should "Piensa le bien" (think it over well) before giving the answer. The young girl says "Yes", as this is pre-arranged. If she did not wish to marry the man she would have said so before he sent his father to ask for her hand.

A week later comes the "agradecimiento" (agradecer to be thankful, grateful). This is a women's occasion: three or four women of the young man's family come to the girl's house carrying baskets with sweet bread and chocolate, which is cocoa all ready to mix with hot water to drink. They also bring bottles of liquor with them. On this occasion the date of the wedding is settled. Again the time which is to pass depends upon the wishes of the couple and their parents; it may be six months or one month. On this occasion the groom's party may bring the money for the bride's outfit. This also is a matter for arrangement. Some brides prefer to buy their own clothes and others prefer the mother of the groom to ^{buy} supply them ^{for her}.

It is the groom who pays all the wedding expenses; this includes the bridal gown, her shoes and slip and veil and earrings. He also provides a change of clothes which she dons during the wedding fiestas. The bride's parents spend nothing on their daughter's wedding, except that occasionally the mother will give her a new dress upon the occasion.

This then, is what should happen when a young couple wishes to marry. The procedure of "pedidas" is sometimes compressed into one or two, and all might be arranged within a fortnight. This is the "new way" it was explained to me. During the year I have been in Chiapilla there have been two ^{of the old type} such weddings. One was a couple from the Indian Barrio (with which I have not dealt in this essay). The other was between the son of a ^{man} who has recently moved from the Indian Barrio to the pueblo, and a very poor girl from the pueblo.

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On the other hand there have been eight run-away marriages, and three more couples who run away together but did not marry. This proportion between marriages with the consent of both parents, and run-away marriages is not a matter of chance, in that this is an exceptional year for run-away marriages (as might happen). The number of couples who run away to get married exceeds the number who marry from their home.

The run-away marriage is an institution in Chiapilla, but the individual circumstances of each case vary enormously and for this reason I give an account of several cases.

I. GLORIA MENDEZ Gloria lived with her father and step-mother. She had come to Chiapilla two years ago from Vicente Guerrero, ^(a colonia or small settlement) where she had been brought up with her mother's relatives. Her father had found her to be unhappy there and so took her to live with him and his second wife (ajuntados); ^{she is now} he is a poor man. Gloria's first novio was Valente, but after a while she left him to accept Miguel a nephew of her step-mother. Miguel had already asked for her in marriage, and had been accepted by the parents; the pan y chocolate had already been sent to Gloria's house for the 'agradecimiento' which was to take place the next day, a Saturday.

On Friday evening Gloria went down to the river to fetch water with two other women. There she was carried off by her former novio Valente together with help of three of his friends, all young boys of seventeen. The women reported that Gloria struggled and screamed and that her clothes were torn in her effort to get free. The couple spent the night in a ~~sh~~ rancho (shelter) in the monte, which belonged to Valente's father, and the next day they went to Totolapa (near by village) and were married in the cabildo (town hall) in the presence of Valente's father. He is a well to do man but comes from the Indian Barrio.

Gloria's father complained to the Presidente, and Valente as well as two of his accomplices were put into jail. The third boy had gone into hiding when he heard the others had been arrested. When the two boys were questioned in the cabildo they admitted that they had been near-by at the time, and that they had been bathing. One claimed not to have noticed anything unusual going on, and the other said he had indeed seen the two go off, but that this was not any of his business. Valente stated that Gloria had come with him

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voluntarily, and Gloria, when questioned by the Presidente said she had gone with Valente of her own free will, without being forced. Her clothes were torn because she had got them caught in some barbed wire. She stuck to this story despite all the Presidente's threats of what would happen if she told lies. Gloria's step-mother insisted the girl had been intimidated by her parents-in-law.

The father of Gloria ^{also} kept insisting she had been carried off by force, and that if he could be persuaded it was her will he would only be too delighted to have her married to Valente; but now could he permit his poor girl to be forced into a marriage she did not want?

The Presidente kept insisting he would have been only too pleased to 'arreglar' (arrange) the whole matter by marrying the couple in this very cabildo. But Valente's father had been very foolish in permitting a completely illegal marriage in Totolapa. The girl was thirteen and the boy seventeen, as the Secretary triumphantly unearthed from the birth records. The girl could not marry at that age without the consent of her parents. In the marriage certificate they appeared as being sixteen and twenty. (Totolapa is the traditional place for a run-away Chiapiltecos to get married) The feud between the two villages is of long standing, and the Presidente of Totolapa is only too delighted to marry anyone if they give him sufficient money, and especially if they come from Chiapilla. Hence the Presidente's refusal to accept the marriage certificate.

The Presidente regretted very much that he could do nothing to help, but they could see for themselves that his hands were tied due to their own stupid action. There was nothing for him to do but to send the matter to Chiapa, the Lower Court of Justice.

This is the usual threat when two parties cannot agree to settle a matter in the cabildo. Sending a matter to Chiapa means so much expense both in the continual journey there (at \$16 Mex) and in the amount needed for bribery there, that it is usually preferable to spend a smaller amount to settle the case in Chiapilla.

The father of Valente was most anxious that the affair should be settled here. He admitted his foolishness and said he was prepared to take any steps the Presidente suggested.

The session lasted approximately three hours with everyone stating and re-stating his position, insisting upon how much he would like to act otherwise and have the matter settled amicably,

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but demonstrating that the circumstances did not permit him to do so, so that his hands were tied. Finally the boys were sent back to the jail and the girl was detained in the house of two responsible and respectable old maids.

The parents of Gloria left the cabildo, and it was then that the Presidente finally suggested to Valente's father that the only possible way he could imagine that Gloria's father might be appeased and persuaded from taking the matter to Chiapa would be a church wedding.

I do not know how much money was given to Gloria's father, nor how much the Presidente received. In any case the church wedding took place on a Saturday, one week after the agradecimiento from her first novio Miguel was to have been received. The ~~parr~~ priest was paid for to come from Aczla especially for the marriage; the bride was permitted to wear a white dress (which was sold to Valente's mother second-hand at an outrageous price because there was no time to have one made for the girl) The goods supplied the wedding outfit as well as the change of clothes proper at a wedding, and the fiesta was held in the house of the groom, in the morning, which is the ^{correct} proper time for 'un casamiento alegre' - this literally means a gay successful wedding - but implies one which has been arranged in the 'proper' manner.

In this way the honour of Gloria's father was saved. He did not come to the wedding and completely ignored the event which must have been rather a strain as his house is next doors to that of his son-in-law.

There was disagreement among village gossips whether the 'robo' had been staged or whether Gloria really had been carried off against her will. However there was unanimous agreement, that once having been carried off, they had to marry; "ni modos" (there is nothing that can be done about it).

PETRONA HERNANDEZ II Petrona is the daughter of a very poor widow. Her novio Pedro had requested and received permission to visit her. That is to say, he was novio with the consent both of his and of her parents. It was arranged that on Sunday he was to "entrar para pedir-la", he would formally ask to marry Petrona, and it was understood that he would be accepted. On Saturday the couple danced together at a wedding fiesta, and that night they ran off together. They spent the night in a rancho (shelter) belonging to Pedro's family; the next day they went to Totolapa with Pedro's

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older brother and his god-father to get married at the cabildo. They remained living in the monte for a few days and then the couple settled in Pedro's mother's house. Petroana's mother was furious and insisted she wanted another marriage in Chiapilla. However after a couple of weeks Pedro sent a party to 'convencer', and the mother made herself 'compadre' with the mother of Pedro, so that they now all live in harmony.

The general comment was that the boy did not want to spend money on the wedding, or alternatively that the couple ^{could} not wait any longer.

III SARA VILA Sara is the daughter of the wealthiest man in Chiapilla, the daughter of the 'cacique'. She herself worked hard at dress-making, giving injections and attending the telephone. She therefore had quite some money saved up. The novio of Sara was Ciro who lived in Acala. He had been the driver of a small pick-up which had belonged to Sara's father, ~~because~~ before he bought his own decrepit car in which he carried goods and passengers between Chiapilla and Tuxtla. He spent much time in Sara's house, drinking and gambling with her father who was fond of him. Ciro slept frequently in the house and was 'my de confianza' as the people said. It was known that Ciro wanted to marry Sara as soon as possible but that she was delaying in the fixing of the date. Her father and the whole family were agreeable to the match.

One day Sara's father went on an outing to Venustiana Carranza ~~for~~ with the whole family. Sara made some excuse for not going and remained at home. That night she took all her clothes and money and ran off with Ciro. They drove off in his car and went to Chiapa where they got married in the cabildo. Fearing that her father might pursue them, they drove further in his car and reached the coast where they remained for a few days. Then they settled down in a house which Ciro owned in Chiapa.

Sara's father was furious. He refused to have her name mentioned in the house; he took down all photographs of Sara and had them burnt. She is no longer his daughter. About three months after the marriage Ciro sent a party to Chiapilla to 'convencer', but his father-in-law happened to be away that Sunday. His wife who is terrified of her husband locked all the doors, unwilling to receive them in his absence, so that the party was left standing outside. As they were not to know that Sara's father was really away, they

thought he was refusing them entry on purpose, unwilling to forgive his daughter.

Sara's siblings visit her in Chiapa and stay with her over-night, but her father still will have nothing to do with her. The general comment was that Ciro probably had no money as he spent so much on drink but that they had been very foolish. Had he spoken to Sara's father and told him frankly of his financial position, he would have lent them money to get married. In any case the comment was that they would have done better to have a modest quiet wedding than to run off; and that the whole thing was worse because Sara's father had trusted Ciro to enter his house freely.

IV MARGARITA LOPEZ Margarita has already run off twice with two different men of good financial standing. She has lived with them for a while, and then got fed up and returned to her home. Her mother is a widow who has been left in comfortable circumstances (by Chiapilla standards).

Adrian had tried to carry her off several years ago, but as he made the attempt early in the morning near the maize grinding mill, and as she struggled and screamed, several people came up to free her. This time Adrian went to the river, knocked the bucket off her head, grabbed her by the head and ran off with her.

They did not spend the night in the monte, I suppose because Adrian has neither father nor mother and only very distant relatives, and had no one who would bring him food. So he and Margarita went to the house of his employer where he had been living, and she hid there for a couple of days before they rented a house at the end of the village.

After a fortnight ~~Adrian~~ Margarita left Adrian. The general comment was that she had gone and done it again! Would she never settle down? No one speaks ill of Margarita; they say she is a good housewife who cooks and cleans perfectly, and the men she has been with speak well of her.

Poor Adrian went around very sad for a few days, and finally a party went to 'convencer'. Margarita agreed to return to Adrian if he would marry her. So that very night the civil wedding took place in Margarita's house; few friends only were invited, but it was Adrian who paid for what celebration there was. The couple now live in the house of Margarita's mother.

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V JOSEFA VILA Josefa was married and lived with her husband, Librado, in ^{her} own home, the house of her grandmother ^{with} whom she had been brought up. When their son was a fortnight old Librado left to return to his parents. It is said he was chased out by Josefa's grandmother who disliked him. Librado came to 'convencer' to ask Josefa to come and live with him, but her grandmother did not want her to return to him. She wanted the girl to leave the child with her and to go to work as a maid in Tuxtla or in Mexico. When the child was one year old, Josefa ran off one night to go and live with her husband, this time in his parents house. Librado has a very poor name and Josefa's grand-parents are reasonably well off.

I do not know what were the comments in this case.

VI LOLA GOMEZ Lola comes from a well-to-do family. She herself also has money because she works hard at dress-making. During the fiesta of Acala, (a near-by ~~is~~ town) Xavier persuaded her to run off with him. She arrived at the appointed place ^{with} her clothes and money; Xavier awaited her with several ~~of~~ of his friends, and after they had finished with her, left her to find her way back home. Her father, it was said gave her a good hiding and took her back into his house.

The general comment was that it was a very wrong thing on the young men to have done, and what were they coming to these days? However Lola had already once arranged to run off with another young man who had refused to carry her off, and who had left her in the lurch after spending the night with her. So some people said she should have been more careful. Nevertheless the main blame was put onto the men.

VII MARTA VARGAS Xavier, of a good family, had been the novio of Odilia, also of a good family, for a long time. Both were fond of each other and it was an accepted thing that they would be married. One night Xavier had serenaded Odilia by paying for the marimba to play outside her house. Later that night he ran off with Marta, the thirteen year old girl who lived ^{in the house} opposite ^{to his} his house. They spent the night in the monte, and the next morning Marta's parents, well-to-do shop keepers, threatened to take the matter to the casildo.

Xavier's mother insisted he marry the girl, although he did not want to do so at all. They lived together for some months until Marta returned to her parents, where ^{her} son was born. Marta

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complained that Xavier beat her, and he complained that she did not look after him properly.

It is possible that the two will live together again, for Odilia has now married another man, ~~and~~ As Marta lives opposite Xavier's house the little son frequently comes across to see his father. He is very fond of the child and for this reason may take Marta back.

I do not know what were the comments at the time, for it happened two years ago. No one could understand how it could have happened, but some say that Xavier had asked Odilia to run away with him and she had refused. Others said that Marta had dared him to run off with her, challenging his manhood if he did not.

I have wearied the reader with all these instances to show how much the individual cases vary; each one is an exception to one of the generalizations I am about to make.

There is genuine upset and commotion at each "robo". First of all it immediately becomes the topic of village gossip; much moralizing goes on about the imprudence of the couple and "que no piensan las cosas" (they do not think before they do a thing). There is a great deal of speculating as to what the characters concerned will do, and what the parents will do; about how, when and where it happened etc. This is justified, for although the act of running away together is so frequent that it can be called an institution in this society, neither the antecedents nor the consequences have much regularity.

Thus the circumstances which precede and lead up to running away, and the manner events move afterwards, vary enormously. The central act of a man and a woman running off together remains the same. They call it "huyendose" or "robo"; this is to say that in speaking of such an occurrence people will say "se huyeron" or "el hombre se llevó la muchacha, se la robó". The difference is plain enough. "huir" is to flee, to escape, to run off. "Se huyeron" means they ran off together, implying ~~un-~~ complicity or willingness on the part of the girl. "Robar" is to steal, to abduct, to kidnap, implying neutrality if not unwillingness on the part of the girl. The first makes both partners equally responsible; the second places the responsibility upon the man only. The two ways of speaking of the event are used interchangeably as though they signified exactly the same.

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The essential act is that the man and the woman spend one night together in "el monte". Both leave the house in which they have been sleeping (usually it is their home, but not necessarily) and together leave the village to pass one night in "el monte".

"Monte" means the countryside, the fields; but its significance is nearer that of "the scrub" as used in Africa. "Monte" carries the association of being the wilds, unsafe, dangerous; it is the opposite to everything implied by the word "el pueolo", which is safety, company, people, comfort. In actual fact a night in the "monte" is no hardship, for the nights are warm and there are plenty of "ranchos", shelters used by the peasants against rain and sun. (Note that neither Sara Viña III, nor Margarita Lopez IV) spent their first night in the monte).

The significant thing is that it has been a public action. ^{By my guess} I am sure that quite a number of couples meet secretly at night in the "monte", "para pasar un rato juntos" (to be together for a while). But the matter is kept secret and each quietly returns to his or her home, unobserved if possible. In the case of running off together there is no attempt at secrecy.

It is agreed by all that it is the girl's parents who "se ponen en verguenza" - who suffer shame at their daughter's action, and I think it very unlikely that her parents know of her intention beforehand. However, once their daughter has been carried off by force, they have to face facts and accept the necessity of her marrying the young man. Their dignity may not permit them to come around immediately, but the fact that the young man has done the honourable thing and married the girl, and the fact that she has been carried off against her will, opens the door towards a reconciliation.

For this reason there has to be a "robo". It is difficult for the parents to allow themselves to be persuaded if their daughter has been so shameless as to run away of her own free will. If it can be shown that she was carried off, and that it was all the man's fault, and if it can be shown that he did his best to remedy his rashness by marrying her, they can cede more easily. The couple therefore make an effort to stage a "robo".

The parents of the girl are in a difficult position, for it is impossible for them to accept a "quiet but honourable wedding"

That is to say, if the young man wishes to marry their daughter but has not sufficient money for a proper wedding fiesta, they cannot agree to a simple wedding. If she is to leave their house in marriage, with their consent, it must be with a fiesta. The young man's pride however, will not permit him to ask the financial aid of the girl's parents. So the parents of the girl tell the young man to wait until the harvest is in, or until he has acquired sufficient money in some other way.

However, if the young man has taken the initiative and
 Once the girl has been carried off, her parents are forced to accept marriage, however quiet the fiesta may be. Most often they do not appear at the wedding and so have little say. But under the circumstances a wedding, however quiet, is preferable to none.

The young man on the other hand can also plead force of circumstances to account for the quiet wedding. Once they have run off, it is essential they should marry quickly; and it is impossible to make all the arrangements for a fiesta on the spur of the moment. It needs time to buy the clothes for the bride, to book the marimba, to kill the animals for the meal and to procure the money needed for the fiesta. So he does the best he can under the circumstances.

Thus the girl's parents cannot permit a quiet wedding, the boy cannot afford a big wedding. If the couple run off then the girl's parents are forced by the circumstances to consent to a quiet wedding, and the boy is also forced by the circumstances to make it a quiet wedding.

I wish to emphasize that this attempt at an explanation is entirely my own. It does not even cover all the cases. It only accounts for those where there has been a "robo", where the couple have married afterwards, and where there is reason to believe that the man could not or would not pay for a fiesta. There are many cases (such as that of Sara Vila III, or Lola Gomez VI) where the girl openly runs off with the boy; and there are many cases when the couple do not marry (such as Margarita ~~Fever~~- Lopez IV) and there are ^{other} cases where there is a big wedding fiesta (such as Gloria Mendez I). Certainly no Chiapiltotecos would reason in the way I have done; but most Chiapiltecos would agree that the majority of "robos" are staged, and that in the majority of cases "el muchacho no quiso gastar" (the boy did not want to spend money).

A wedding of the kind I have described at the beginning of this section is costly. \$1000 (Mex.) is the least that

can be spent (appx 31 pounds). If the couple has run away no such expenditure is expected. Very poor grooms marry in the *cabildo* (town hall), where they spend no more than the amount charged by the authorities, and a round of beer for all present. The minimum number of persons is:- the man entrusted with the register of births, deaths and marriages; (in the small villages it is usually but not necessarily the presidente); then there is the Secretary who makes out the 'Acta de Matrimonio' because he is able to write; then there are the two witnesses which the law requires; in addition two god-mothers and two god-fathers are usually invited although they are not essential. The parents of the girl are unlikely to be present, while those of the boy would be there.

In the case I witnessed the young man had no parents, so there were eight persons present in addition to myself. After the ceremony three rounds of beer were handed round and then the couple went off to spend the night with one of the god-mothers, before going off to the ranch where the groom worked.

More usual, as in the case of Petrona Hernandez II and Marta Vargas VII, is a small fiesta arranged in the house of the groom's parents. (Margarita's Adrian IV is an orphan so the ceremony was held in her house). The Presidente and the Secretario come to the house, and the ceremony is performed with the couple, the witnesses, and the god-parents sitting around a table. Afterwards "pan y chocolate" is served and beer and liqueur is handed round. This is called a "quiet wedding", with "las puertas cerradas", which literally translated means with closed ~~doors~~ doors but implies that no friends were invited and that no marimba played.

However, as I have already said, the reason for a young man's running off is not always that he did not wish to spend. Amado Morales is a good example. He ran away with Rosita at the fiesta of Acala. His mother was very upset and tried to make the wedding as "alegre" (gay, successful) as possible under the gloomy circumstances. She supplied plenty of "pan y chocolate" and a good amount of beer. Also she bought two changes of clothes for the bride. She told me she could not very well buy a white gown as they had been together for a week already. Amado's mother wanted to have the marimba at the fiesta, but the poor lady seemed to be out of luck. One of the two marimbas was playing elsewhere that night, and the second belongs to Rosita's father, so naturally could not be asked.

One obvious reason for a couple running off, is that either of the parents object to the marriage, or the couple fears they would object if they were told. The girl's parents are thus forced to accept the marriage (See below for qualification of this), and the matter is not so serious for the boy's parents as they suffer no shame (See Below). Again this is not always so. Yucundo ran off and married Odilia Perez and his father refused to have him or his wife in the house; nor did he give his son any money to help him set up house; he would have nothing to do with him. Yucundo went off to a ranch where he hired land, borrowed seed and worked hard for two years. The couple now has two children and are about to build their own house in the pueblo. A few days ago the father sent for Yucundo and they are now on speaking terms.

The third reason is simply that the couple decided to run off together on the spur of the moment. Indeed, this can hardly be called a reason for I think it is true of most of the cases. I do not believe that there is ever careful planning in advance. The couple decide that they can wait no longer "no aguantan mas", say the Yniapilltecos. It may seem to be a convenient residual category to invent - to say they just ran off because they felt like doing so; but I believe it is the simple truth.

Self control and discipline is not taught in this society, nor is it very much admired. On the other hand to act according to "gusto" is well understood. If you feel very strongly about the person you love, and experience a strong overpowering urge to run off together, why then you run off at once.

Thus the couple runs off because there is some impediment to their marrying at once. It may be that the parents are against the marriage, it may be that the boy cannot or is unable to afford the marriage fiesta, it may be that they feel they cannot wait any longer.

What happens once the couple returns from the monte? What are the consequences of running away?

The young man's family ^{may} have frequently been his accomplices, or at least they knew of his intentions beforehand. This is to be expected for as a rule he brings the girl to their house, and for this he needs their consent. In any case the young couple always needs someone to help them, someone who will provide them with

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with meals during their stay in the "monte". If it is not the mother of the boy who sends the food it will be some other member of his family.

Valente's (Case I) sister-in-law told me that his father knew of and approved of his intention to carry off Gloria. It is of course possible she was boasting to me and not telling the truth. Pedro's mother was certainly told before-hand, and sent them food with his older brother. On the other hand I am sure that Xavier's mother (Case VII) had no idea that he would run off with Marta - (if indeed, he himself knew beforehand). Another case I know of is that of Adolfo, who ran off with a girl his father strongly disapproved of because he considered her to be a "loose girl" unsuitable to live in the same house with his wife and daughters who were honourable women. She had already run off with two men. His parents refused to have her in the house. However, they woke up one morning to find the couple sleeping in the corridor of their house and perforce had to take them in. "Que mas ?" his mother said to me when she told the story. "What else could we do?" This is the general attitude of the parents of the man. He has chosen the girl and even if they do not like her they accept her "Que hacemos? El la quisó, que lo vea el". "What else can we do? He has chosen her, let him take the consequences." (However see Yucundo's case further back). As a rule they will take in the couple; if the boy is very frightened of his parents he may stay for a few days in the house of relative or friend with his bride.

The boy's parents may therefore like the young girl, and be willing to marry the couple; or they may be furious at their son's escapade because they do not like the girl or because they do not have the money to marry them at that moment and have to borrow. If neither their son, nor the girl he has chosen, have had a partner before, the parents will marry them as soon as possible.

As neither the young man, nor his parents suffer shame in consequence of the 'robo,' and as they have accepted the girl, the onus is upon them to persuade the girl's parents to accept the situation.

The man asks his father or some other spokesman to go to the girl's parents. A party of men usually go, for several men carry more weight than one alone. They go to "convencer"; the party will include the god-father or father of the young man to represent him, but it will also include a compadre or good friend of the girl's

father, or some man of influence who is respected; a man whom the girl's father cannot refuse. For it is to this man's argument that the offended father cedes, not the young man nor to his daughter.

The party will arrive in the evening with plenty of beer and they will start drinking. Once they have gained admittance they are likely to "convencer" when they are all drunk. If the girl's father does not intend to make it up, he will pretend to be out, or refuse entry to the party for some other reason (See Sara Vila III). Whether the party is successful or not depends upon the circumstances; in part upon who is sent; in part upon the attitude of the girl's parents; in part upon the time which has elapsed between the escape of the couple and the "entrada para convencer". To choose the right moment is very important.

In the case of Petrona's mother there was no difficulty; (Case II) it was known that she had been in favour of the match, she was poor and a widow with no adult sons; she had only ^{one} ~~been~~ ^{been} sorry that there was to be no proper wedding.

In the case of Sara's father (Case III) it will be much more difficult; but he was very fond of this daughter so everyone thinks that in time he will accept her back into his house. A few nights ago his friends were celebrating his birthday having brought beer and the marimba to his house. I was sitting on the door-step of a friend's house, when he and his friends passed by very tipsy. "They really are foolish", she said referring to the run-away couple, "they should have come to "convencer" now when he is in a good mood; they ought to have known there would be a celebration ^{on his birthday} and should have taken advantage of the propitious moment".

Recently, a young woman who had been married, but had left her husband with her baby, returned to him after two years. I asked how it had happened and was told that after one year's separation the husband had come to ask his wife to return to him. She had insisted that her parents-in-law come to her mother as they had never been to "convencer" after the couple had run off and got married. Another year passed, and the husband's father came with some friends of his to the house of the mother to "convencer". "Why all the friends?" I asked. "Oh they had all been drinking together and while in their cups decided to accompany the husband's father". Being tipsy they probably thought it a huge joke to have a go at persuading the girl's mother. They were successful as the girl returned to her husband.

In one recent case the son-in-law sent a party to "convencer" after two years of marriage. The couple had run off without the father of the girl even knowing that she had a ^{nyio}nyio. They had lived in the young man's village, about two hours walk from Chiapilla, and by now had a child one year old. The father was most unwilling to receive the couple; he said he could not well refuse the pleadings of his compadre who had come to "convencer", and therefore allowed the party to enter the house. Afterwards he insisted, that despite this he would not tolerate his daughter to come and visit him.

Silverio Gomez on the other hand, who ran off with Flor, never came to "convencer" his parents-in-law. He married three years ago and has two children. He does not enter his wife's parents house although he greets them in the street. Flor however has long since been home and visits her parents frequently.

These examples illustrate the nature of "convencer". It is a formal procedure which is much used for making up quarrels. The person who wishes to make up the quarrel (usually but not always the offender) sends a party of men to speak for him. This party always includes one man who is definitely on the offender's side, such as his relative or god-father, or compadre; and one who is a friend of, and has influence over the offended person.

Proceedings always start with drinking and the business of the visitors is not mentioned until everyone is gay and tipsy. The right time and the right mood are vital for settling the affair. This can be seen from the case of the father-in-law who came to "convencer" when tipsy and persuaded the daughter-in-law to return to his son. Also the remark my friend made with respect to Sara's father when he was drunk. The case of the man whose daughter had run off two years ago and would not have her back illustrates what happens if a wrong moment is chosen. It is clear that the parents of the girl do not necessarily accept the 'fait accompli' with which they are presented when their daughter has run off and married a man.

The examples show that the party which has come to "convencer" is not always successful, and after a time the same or another party is sent. This is if there is eagerness to make up the quarrel. If not, the matter remains as it is, with the two parties

not speaking to each other.

This procedure ^{of 'convencer'} is so frequently used, because quarreling in Chiapilla usually means physical separation as well. I have already said, that to run off in the face of a difficult situation is a common way of dealing with it. If there has been a quarrel, if a man has stolen something, if a child has been naughty, if a person has killed, if he has created another, the thing to do is to disappear from the sight of the offended person until time has elapsed for his anger to cool off. Then one may go to "convencer" or alternatively continue to remain at a safe distance from the offended person.

Notice that the word "convencer" does not mean to apologize. It carries the significance of making it up, convincing the other person he ought to change his attitude. ^{It is at} ^{then} we have the idea that a person who has done a wrong, apologizes, and that it is the duty of the offended person to forgive.

The Chiapilltecos "piden perdon" (beg forgiveness) of God and of the Santa Tierra (holy earth), but not of other people. Convencer means convincing the offended person that there is no reason to be cross any longer. It is done by arguments explaining the circumstances of the case, and showing why there is no longer cause for anger. In this way neither party loses face. It is simply that the circumstances have altered and therefore the attitude to be taken is a different one. (See Essay on Maize for settling of disputes)

The kind of arguments used are not "They have done wrong and beg to be forgiven". The arguments used are "After all it is your daughter; look, they are living well together; the young man is working hard, he does not drink, he does not beat her, etc." In fact, the Chiapilltecos speak of the offended person who is appeased as "tuve que rebajar" - he had to lower himself -. It almost looks as if the offence lies in being angry, and not in behaving badly!

I have written this section on young persons about to choose their first partner. They may propose and marry and in the "proper" manner, and more frequently they may run off together, or may stage a "robo". The most likely reason for this is that the parents are opposed to the match, that the boy does not want to or is unable to spend the money for a wedding fiesta, or that the couple simply run off on the spur of the moment. ~~However, in many cases it is not the first partner, and I now want to consider these.~~

COMPADRES IN CHIAPILLA

5. The Institution of Compadrazgo

Page 1 : Paragraph 6 OMIT from "Indeed, this..... be confused".
the whole paragraph should be omitted.

Page 3 : Line 1 - The custom in Chiapilla is to have home altars
and the altars..... (omit here)

Page 6 : Line 7 - ..ness, for a present is always required.....
(omit as)

Page 7 : Line 1 - Nattie, for example, is not compadres with her
daughter's parents-in-law.
not son-in-law's parents.

Page 7 : Line 10 - Venecia is also not compadres with her daughter's
parents-in-law (not son-in-law's parents)

Page 9 : Line 26 - felt that it should be. People will say "they
drew pistold on each other despite....."

Page 10 : Line 20* - already compadres once, you can become compadres
again, to make the tie.....

Page 11 : Line 6 - had been teasing me for a long time about
marrying an elderly gentleman.....

Page 11 : Line 13 - this friend would be padrino of my.....
(omit my)

page 14 : Line 15 - are absolute rules which govern the choosing.....

At the end ADD this paragraph:

In conclusion I wish to say that this whole ^{description} ~~explanation~~
I have given of Compadreship: the conditions under which it is
formed; who is chosen; what actions confirm it etc. is an explanation
deduced by me through observation and questioning. The people them-
selves do not see, nor conceive it in this way; they do not think
about it particularly. This relationship, as it is acted out and lived
by the people appears less tidy and clear than in my presentation. This
does not make my account any the less accurate for in order to grasp
the essentials of a living relationship one must abstract to a certain extent

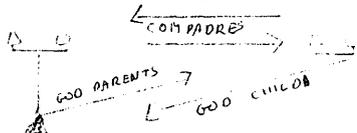
5. The Institution of Compadrazgo

COMPADRES IN CHIAPILLA

There is a clear notion of how a compadre relationship ought to be formed and what kind of a relationship it ought to be. Even though everyone may not be able to verbalize this, it is perfectly clear from the comments upon the behaviour of compadres to each other.

I will give an account of this ideal type, this mental image of what compadres should be to each other.

Two persons become compadres through baptism of a child. The parents of the child become compadres with the god-parents.



From now on they must greet each other when they meet; they must address each other as comadre/compadre; they must respect each other. Only one formality is essential to establish the relationship, and that is "dar el abrazo", you pat each other on the back in a half-embrace after the religious ceremony. There is no way of terminating the relationship, nor can it be superseded by another one, although compadreship can supersede other relationships. Once compadres, always compadres.

This is the essence of compadreship, of how it is conceived; I shall now show how it works in practice. In doing this I am not unearthing anything hidden or subconscious, nor revealing different "levels" of thought or action. I am simply putting into words what any more intelligent Chiapillteco could tell you if he cared to. Everyone (I have come across) has the same notion of what compadres ought to be to each other, and every one knows perfectly well that people don't always keep to it (although many do).

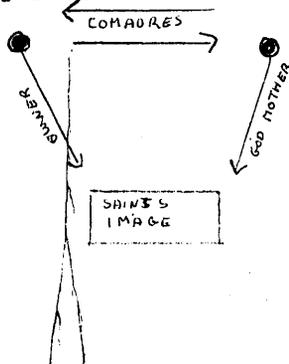
Indeed, this difference between "ought" and "is" is not such a problem for the people here as it seems to be for us. There is no deeply felt incongruity in expressing one sentiment, in expressing it strongly and sincerely; and acting in a completely different way. To tell a person that you are at his service, that you are

his friend, that you esteem him and will help him in every thing, and to rob him of his money next morning is not as repulsive here, as it would surely seem to us. The first is a true expression of the man's feeling towards you at the moment. The second is the necessity of life, of circumstances. In explanation it is felt sufficient to go at length into the manner of how and why he was led to do this thing. A man's words do not have to be as good as his deeds. A man's word need not imply his deeds. The word is quite different thing from the deed. The two should not be confused.

By far the most striking thing about the relationship is the tremendous variations it permits, both in its formation and in its quality. The closest comparison I can think of is that of our relationship of a "friend". A friend can be a person one chats to occasionally across the garden fence, or a person with whom one shares one's most intimate thoughts; he can be a person one meets once a year or a person one sees daily. The range of friendship seems to be infinite. Compadreship has rather narrower limits.

First of all, how is compadreship formed? I have already said that the "ideal type" is formed between the parents and the god-parents of a child. It is complementary to the god-parent/god-child tie. (In the same way that the father-in-law/son-in-law relationship follows from the husband/wife tie upon marriage).

There are other ways which are considered to be more or less legitimate; opinions vary. You may, for instance, become compadre of a person because you have taken his holy picture to be blessed by the priest.



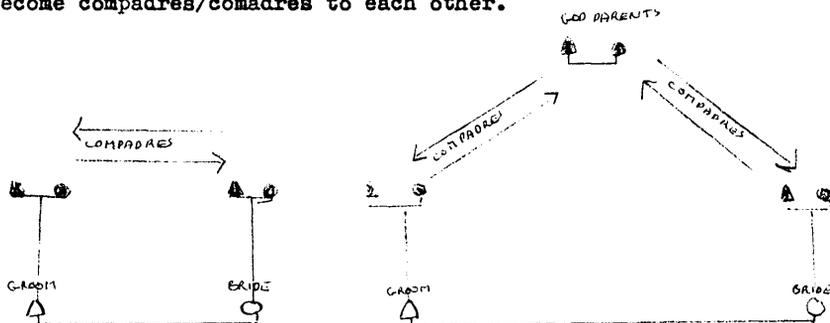
The custom ^{in Chigalla} here, is to have home altars, and the altars have one or more images of saints, either in statue or framed pictures. These have to be blessed by the priest in church. The owner has to find a god-parent for the saint's image, who will take it to the church and have it blessed. If you ask the god-parent later why she is comadre with the owner of the saint, she will not say "I am god-parent of her saint". She will say "I carried the saint in my arms, I held the candle"; the same phrase used for the baptism of a child. This form of compadreship/comadreship through the blessing of an image is not thought to be valid by everyone. But those who believe it does not really count, shrug their shoulders and add "I would not do it, but if other wish to, it does not matter". As in all things here there is no absolute rule.

I have two teen-age friends who address each other as "comadre". Curious about this, I asked them how it was they were comadres. After lots of giggling and bashfulness they told me that they hooked their little finger and repeated a rhyme (which I have forgotten) and that this made them comadres. An adult who was present said, "not real comadres, of course", and the giggles confirmed this. The two girls were friends and wanted to express this, to formalize it, and the way to do it was to become comadres.

But even within the church institution of baptism, there are various ways of becoming a god-parent and thus a compadre. The most important and only essential god-parent at a baptism is that of "bautiso" or "de pila". The one who holds the child when the holy water is sprinkled over it. This god-parent, as indeed any god-parent may be a man, a woman, a couple, or even an older child. In addition, at every baptism there are usually one or more god-parents "de evangelio"; they become god-parents (and hence compadres) because they "abrazar"--they hold--the child while the priest says a blessing. If the parents

of the child wish for still more compadres, they name god-parents "de vela"; those who merely hold a lighted candle during the ceremony. So you appoint the number of god-parents and thus acquire the number of compadres you fancy.

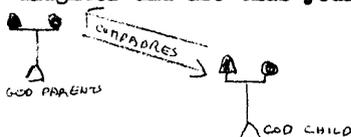
Compadreship is also formed at weddings, for the bride and groom have their god-parents "de boda"--of the marriage--. It is usual in Chiapilla to name more god-parents for a wedding than for a baptism. They are named whether it be a civil or a church wedding and if there is both a civil and a church ceremony, then the god-parents are named separately for each. The god-parents of a marriage become the compadres/comadres of the parents of the bride and of the parents of the groom. In addition the parents of the bride and the parents of the groom become compadres/comadres to each other.



At a baptism the parents of the child name the god-parents. At a wedding the god-parents are jointly named by the parents of the couple. This follows from the fact that both sets of parents will become compadres/comadres to the god-parents of the couple.

There is yet another way of becoming compadres. A person becomes the compadre/comadre of his children's compadres/comadres. Thus if your son or daughter is god-parent to a child, you, too, become god-parent to the same child; and as a consequence compadre/comadre with the child's parents. Similarly,

the god-parents of your son's or daughter's children are compadre/comadre with your son or daughter and are thus your compadre/comadre as well.



Compadre relationship can thus be formed through the baptism of a child; through the blessing of a saint's image; through a wedding either civil or religious; through your children's compadres.

"Why is Roberto your compadre?" I ask. "I really can't remember; Mother, why is Roberto my compadre?" A family discussion follows to settle this point. The fact is that it is not very important. What matters is the fact of being comadres/compadres, and once you are, no matter how you became so, the correct behaviour towards each other remains the same. The quality of the compadreship is in no way changed by the manner in which you became compadre/comadre.

A man may become compadre with another for three reasons: 1) Because he was asked to be a god-parent, 2) because he asked the other to be a god-parent, 3) because he is parent of one of the new-made comadres/compadres.

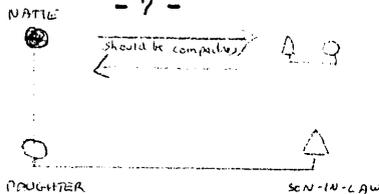
Compadreship is not an imposed relationship. It is one of choice and of "volundad." And this fact, that it is based on "volundad", may be what makes the compadre relationship such an important one, such a respected one. For the highest compliment which can be paid to a person is to be invited or to be given something out of "gusto", out of "volundad" of the giver or the host. You cannot refuse a person who asks you to join him in a drink, in a party, or in some other activity, because it is his (the inviter's) "gusto." It would be offending him deeply for he has asked you to accompany him for the sheer pleasure and delight of your company.

A man cannot very well refuse to be a god-parent if asked. He could conceivably get out of being god-parent of a wedding with some sort of an excuse about being absent on business, or being ill. But to avoid being god-parent of a baptism is considered to be bad. Bad in the ordinary sense of unobliging; bad in that the reason for the refusal is thought to be meanness, ^{for} as a present is always required of the god-parent; and bad in a moral sense, although to say in a supernatural sense would be putting it too strongly. Those who have children generally explain inability to refuse by saying "I have also asked the favour of other person and may have to ask it again, so I could not refuse". Those who have no children say they cannot reject the honour and esteem shown to them when they are invited to become god-parents.

Being god-parent to a child is thus thought of as a favour to the parents and the parents consider themselves as asking a favour. At the same time it is considered as a compliment to the god-parents, a mark of esteem offered by the parents, which it would be "desprecio" (contempt) to refuse.

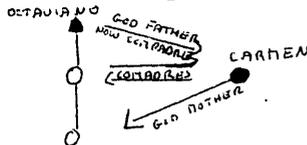
It therefore looks as though the relationship is not entered into voluntarily. At least, by those who have been asked to be god-parents, by those who have been chosen. The parents of the new compadres also seem to have no choice, for after all what can one do if one has been chosen and if, as I have said, one cannot very well refuse. Nevertheless demonstration of voluntary consent to becoming compadre with another is required.

This is symbolized in the custom of "dar el abrazo", without which two persons cannot become compadres/comadres. And here I use "symbol" quite straight forwardly as meaning a formal prescribed action which indicates something more than the mere action; it indicates an attitude, a state of feeling. This embrace is an action both parties have to carry out. It is not sufficient if the one embraces the other. Both have to embrace each other at the same time. Without it there is no compadreship.

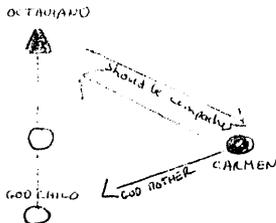


Natie, for example, is not compadres with her ^{daughter's parents-in-law} ~~son-in-law's~~ parents. Her daughter ran off with her sweet-heart and married him in the absence of the parents. (Compadreship is usually joined between the parents at the wedding feast.) They have been married for a year now but her husband and his parents have not yet come to "convencer", to ask pardon, to make it up. They have not "dar el abrazo," and are not compadres. In fact, they are not on speaking terms, a state they keep up quite well, despite living two doors from each other.

Venecia is also not compadres with her ^{daughter's parents-in-law} ~~son-in-law's~~ parents. Her daughter ran away and now has a child a year old. However her son-in-law did come several times to "convencer," but Venecias' husband refused to accept his gifts of reconciliation. He has sworn never to see his daughter again nor to forgive her for running away. So they are not compadres. This is a case in which the father of the girl did not want the reconciliation.



Carmen did not wish to "dar el abrazo", and thus to become compadre with Octaviano. She has been god-mother to Octaviano's grandchild and by becoming comadre with his daughter should also become comadre with him. She said she would feel awkward to treat him as an equal seeing he was so much older, and that he had been her god-father. "I'm used to being scolded by him and could not treat him as an equal". Octaviano said she could do as she pleased about it.



Dominga told me that a couple from Tuxtla had been named as god-parents to her daughter. They were unable to come to the baptism but sent a person to represent them; a friend to take their place at the ceremony. The friend became the padrino of the child and a compadre of Dominga, as he had held the child in his arms during the baptism. The couple who had been named "dieron el abrazo" when they came to Chiapilla, and only then did they become compadres.

On the other hand, Alberto never became compadre with the friend he had named, and who had accepted to be the god-parent of his son. He lives in Mexico and sent a gift but was unable to make the journey to Chiapilla. He supposes if ever the friend comes from Mexico, they will "dar el abrazo."

All these examples show the importance of the "abrazo"; in becoming compadres. Although it would seem that a person is chosen to be a god-parent (and thus compadre), his active consent is necessary. The symbol of this consent is the abrazo, for there is no compadreship where it has not taken place; and furthermore the abrazo can be refused.

To sum up then: To become a compadre is complementary to becoming a god-parent; it is the compadre relationship which is the more important in the long run. Normally a man becomes compadre as a result of being god-father to a child at baptism; to a couple at their wedding; or to a saint's image; or by virtue of his children becoming compadres in one of these ways. The number of compadre relationships established at a wedding is greater than the number established at a baptism. The compadre relationship is confirmed and established by the explicit consent of both compadres. The important point from the sociologist's point of view is that this is a voluntary relationship; persons choose one another and are chosen.

What about the proper behavior between compadres? It is essential to greet your compadre every time you meet; and even if you pass each other three times in half an hour, which tends to happen in a village with one single street, you say "good-day comadre". A nod such as we accept in sign of recognition will not do. You have to greet out loud so that you can be heard, and the compadre has to greet back out loud. Indeed, it is the one rare occasion upon which others can interfere with your behaviour. "She said 'buenos días'", they will shout at you gleefully if you did not hear, and you quickly say the formula. It may be abbreviated to a simple "comadre"; but you have to say some greeting out loud even if you are the bitterest enemies.

The relationship is public in another way, in that others speaking to you will refer to "your comadre Juana", and not simply to Juana.

You should respect your compadres and should be on good terms with them. The compadre relationship is considered as "más serio" (more serious) than that between relatives--all except that between mother and children. There is more "respect", "más respeto entre compadres". If your sibling becomes your compadre, you stop being siblings. You are now compadres and address each other in the Usted (you) form rather than the former "tú (thou); you call each other "comadre" and not by your first name any more. This respectful behaviour proper to compadres is not, of course, always adhered to. But it is strongly felt that it should be. ^{Perk 4, 124} "They drew pistols on each other despite the fact they are compadres".

Pepe's brother had been killed by a man, and Pepe came upon the murderer in a church in Tuxtla. He took him by the arm and gently led him out of the church and handed him over to the soldiers for arrest. This is superhuman and unheard of self-control for a Mexican. The soldiers commented upon this wonderingly, and Pepe answered "He is my compadre you know". This, in fact, was not the only reason for his consideration but the

point is, that the explanation was acceptable.

"I lent him the money because he was my compadre". Not that he would have lent it, if the compadre had not been credit-worthy; but again this would be to miss my point; rather that this reason for lending him the money is satisfactory, it is a sufficient reason. If you refused to lend to a compadre, you might well say "I know he is my compadre but ...". It shows that there are obligations and values which are very real and present in the people's lives, even though they may not always nor even mostly observe them.

"They are not on speaking terms, although they are compadres". And the opposite, "I am very fond of her", adding in explanation "she is my comadre". The speaker may be very fond of other persons as well, who are not her comadres, but usually it will not be long before two such persons decide to become comadres. This brings me to the question of what persons become compadres to each other.

First of all, persons who are friends. If you are on good terms with a person, you make him your compadre. And if you are already compadres, you ^{may} ^{can} become compadres again, to make the tie "stronger" as they say. The two teen-agers are one example of compadreship as formalized friendship.

When I asked why Pedro was padrino of Chonita, he replied, "his father and I wanted to become compadres". My neighbour was greeted as "comadre" by a passer-by. She laughed and said to me "after all, she isn't really my comadre". "But that is impossible!" I exclaimed. "Well", was the reply, "she would like to be my comadre, and as she isn't, she insists on calling me "comadre". I chanced upon the same sort of thing when Chonita told me that Don Carlos was treated as "compadre" by her father, although he was not a real one. The two had been good friends and had wanted to become compadres for many years, but it had somehow

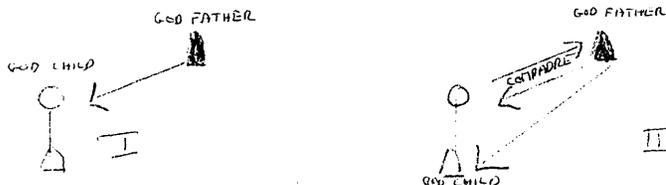
never come off as Don Carlos lived in Chiapa and had never been able to come to a baptism. So they just left it at that, calling each other compadres.

And as a last instance, I shouldn't leave myself out. I have a joking-compadre relationship with a Chiapillteco. He had been teasing me for a long time about ^{an} elderly gentleman who was notorious in the village for being in search of a lady companion--a bed companion as everyone knew. I returned his sallies by pointing out all the advantages an elderly but well-off man would have to offer me, in contrast to a young flighty unfaithful man like himself. We finally settled the matter amicably by deciding that I should marry the old gentleman and ~~my~~ ^{his} friend would be padrino of my first child, so that we might be compadres. Now, whenever he sees me approaching at a distance, he shouts at the top of his voice, "Good-day Comadrita", and I, of course, return t is greeting, and we have a little exchange about when my wedding is to be and I tease him about his being too mean to pay for the marimba.

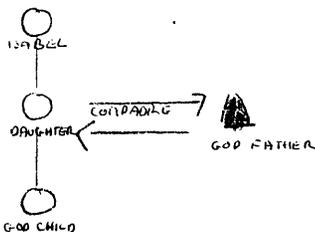
All these have been instances of misuse of the compadre relationship--an adaptation of it to individual circumstances. But the very direction in which it has been pulled, the very way in which it has been altered shows what is considered as the essential meaning of compadreship, and what reasons lead one to make a compadre.

So friends are chosen as compadres. Relatives are also frequently chosen. The only relative who cannot be chosen is parent or child. I heard of one case of a grandmother being god-parent; it is most unusual. Very common as compadres are siblings, and as I have already said, they cease to be siblings in order to become compadres. Cousins and aunts are also frequently named. Such compadreship with relatives is felt to strengthen the already existing tie of kinship.

It is possible for a madrina to become the comadre of her god-child. This occurs when the god-child asks her own god-mother to be god-mother of her child. The relationship between the two then changes from one of inequality, of command and obedience, to one of respect and equality.



But again "dar el abrazo" is essential. Isabel has not made herself comadre with any of her daughter's six comadres/compadres. I could get no explanation for this from her, she is in any case rather a stupid person and does not verbalize easily. I guess that the youth of her daughter's comadres/compadres is the reason. Isabel is sixty and the daughter's comadres (who, therefore, become hers) are about twenty-five.



I have heard many young people say that it makes them ashamed to treat as equals, persons so much older than themselves and they, therefore, prefer not to make themselves comadres--like Carmen with her god-father Octaviano.

Rank can override this awkwardness, in the sense that a young person of higher social rank can well become "comadre/compadre" of an old person of lower social rank. Here, as so often, age and rank have equal value in differentiating and in

equalizing social positions. They are interchangeable. I have said that one criterion by which compadres are chosen is that of friendship. The second is that of rank. A person may choose, or be chosen as a god-parent (and thus compadre) by a social equal. But there is another kind of compadreship: this occurs when parents choose a social superior to be god-parent to their child.

It may be done rather in the same way that an English father will invite his boss or his business superior or his customers to the wedding or baptism of his son. Thus Jenaro who is one of the richest men in Chiapilla, has as compadre (padrino of his son), a man who is one of the important maize dealers in Chiapa. Aparisio, the school master, who is forever struggling to rise in the social scale, managed to get hold of a "doctor" and a "Licenciado", to be the god-parents of his son (and thus his compadres). He was in a fever of excitement when they were due to come.

At the other end of the social scale the poor father will ask a wealthier villager to be his compadre (god-father of his child). These compadres were not, nor will they be friends, nor equals. The richer man is honouring the poorer man by being god-father--apart from contributing materially to the fiesta--and the poor man is testifying to the rich man's success by asking him to be god-father. As a result of this type of compadre relationship the poor man may occasionally come and work for the wealthier one, his compadre, to help him out; on the other hand he may not. Occasionally the god-child will come and serve as a maid with her god-parents.

There is thus a small core of better off persons, usually the shop keepers and cantineros, who are repeatedly asked to be god-parents of weddings and baptisms. They, of course, complain and say that they are chosen only because they have money and are expected to spend it, so that the fiesta should be a success.

There seems to be no definite obligation entered into by either of the compadres. It is more as though the relationship were there to be developed and used if desired and to fall into abeyance if not. The richer compadre may call on the poor one to come and work for him in preference to another; he has some kind of right to claim preference. The poorer may come to the richer and ask for a loan; as he asks from a compadre he need not have so much shame. On the other hand he may never utilize the relationship in any way.

Considering the importance which is attached to Compadre-ship, the casualness with which it is actually formed is surprising. The god-parents are often not invited until the very day of the baptism, or at most the day before.

Just in case I have been giving the impression that there are ^{usually} rules which govern the choosing of the god-parents and thus of compadres, here are three instances which are not entirely unusual:

"And why is Robert your compadre?" "He happened to be standing outside the church when we were about to enter to baptize our son, so we asked him to come along in with us." "Why in the world is Enrique the god-parent of your son?" "Why he was drunk one day and took a fancy to the child because he was a very pretty baby. So he asked for him as his god son and we gave him." "How did it happen that Mario became his god-father?" "Well, Pedro, the god-child, adores Mario when he was a little boy and he insisted that he wanted him as padrino. He would give us no peace until we took him to the church and made Mario his god-father (this would padrino de evagelio).

Lilo Stern

In conclusion I wish to say that this whole description I have given of compadreship : the conditions under which it is formed; who is chosen; what actions confirm it etc. is an explanation deduced by me through observation and questioning. The people themselves do not see nor conceive it in this way; they do not think about it particularly. This relationship, as it is acted out and lived by the people appears less tidy and clear than in my presentation. This does not make my account any the less accurate for in order to grasp the essential of a living relationship one must abstract to a certain extent.

Lilo Stern.

6. THE FIESTA

When the word "fiesta" is mentioned, there comes to mind a distribution of food (comida), plenty of drink (intoxicating), musica, and much general jollity (alegría), with many people around (bulla). This is the general idea of what should happen at a fiesta, the model in mind when the word "fiesta" is used. Every fiesta does not include all these things; indeed a small party of six men getting drunk is called a fiesta as might be a football match between two villages that ended in a dance. But these smaller fiestas are modelled on and derive from the full scale celebrations. It is sad but true that circumstances force everyone to compromise, but it is from examining the very compromises that one discovers the essential things about the fiesta.

A fiesta is, ofcourse a happy occasion, but I include in this description all occasions which are called "fiesta" by the people, as well as funerals because the manner in which a funeral is celebrated differs in no way from a larger fiesta, except that it is a sad and not a gay occasion.

The distribution of food is at the heart of the fiesta. "Did my comadre receive the food?" is the host's question to the little girl sent out with the dishes. "Your comadre was non in", the child might reply, "but her daughter received it in her name and thanks you".

It is not important that every one should come to the house of the dueño (the owner) of the fiesta and should eat there. It is important that everyone should have received his share, and the practice is to send it to the houses of the recipients. The real catastrophe is when a person to whom food is due, has been omitted. Thus X may not have eaten because he was too drunk, Y may have had to leave early and so could not eat with the others, Z may not have been able to turn up; therefore food is sent to their houses. In fact at many fiestas more food is sent out than is served in the house.

The food which is provided at a fiesta is important in another way. It indicates the amount which has been spent (gastar); the scale of the fiesta, or the class of fiesta it has been. Thus two questions have to be asked about the food in order to understand the social significance of it. 1. What food is served? 2. Who is the food distributed to?

(i) There are three standat fiestas meals. a. Pan y chocolate; b. Tamales y

café; c. a complete meal of meat and sopa. Each of these is proper to a certain kind of fiestas. Thus 'pan y chocolate' for weddings and baptisms. 'Tamales y café' for fezos' and 'veladas' and 'rompimientos'. 'Comidas' (full meals) are essential for funerals and possible for all other fiestas and are always proper in addition to either of the other two types. Thus at a really grand wedding 'pan y chocolate' is served first; later the 'comida' and in the evening 'tamales y café'.

There are plenty of variations for each of these meals according to the amount of money available. The 'tamales' can be made with plenty of meat and lots of dripping, or may contain little of both. The 'comida' may be of pork and rice, or if the hosts are willing and able to spend more, they will cook chicken and 'sopa de pan'.

To prepare such a comida de fiesta takes quite some organization and much plain physical labour. The basic work is grinding on the 'metate' and carrying water from the river. A number of teen-age girls are usually 'invited' for this work, and in addition some women are asked to 'lend' their little daughters to run errands. Two women are responsible for cutting up and cooking the meat (apart from the men who slaughter), one sees to the cooking of the 'sopa', and another has the important job of preparing the sauce for the meat. Each helper has been invited to do a particular job, and that job only. All these helpers must be fed, and must be given their 'pozol' (a drink of ground maize in water) at mid-morning. To cook for these helpers and to make the 'pozol' more helpers have to be 'invited'.

The art, then, is to get all these independently working cooks to co-ordinate in such a way that the pozol gets distributed on time; that the 'tortillas' are ready but not cold and hard, at the same time that the meat and sauce are cooked; to see that there are sufficient plates for the distribution, and that the messengers who carry the food are quick and reliable. I have seen exasperated cooks sit there waiting for an hour with the food getting cold and sticky, while one of the little messengers has been happily playing in the streets instead of bringing back the urgently needed plates. This general supervising is left to the hostess (duna or owner). She has nothing to do with the actual cooking; this is seen to by the 'comidera', an elderly woman with much experience in fiesta cooking, who sees to the actual work, while the hostess is left free to cope with the numerous crises which inevitably arise. At times the

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'comidera' even supervises the whole distribution herself, so well does she know the priority of the obligations of the hostess.

The type of food served, the amount of food served, the manner in which it is presented, the time at which it is served, is carefully noted and commented upon; for it is a reflection upon the hostess (is she being generous, has she used good ingredients?), and it is a sign of the esteem in which the recipient (the comentator) is held. The food may be served in the hostess' house if the recipient is there. The most honoured guests are served first seated at a table, or more often standing, as there are few chairs. They are given separate plates for meat and 'sopa'; men are served before women. The most humble recipient on the other hand, is given some 'sopa' (no meat), wrapped in a 'tortilla'.

Usually the most of the important recipients have the food sent out to their homes. The V.I.P. treatment would be two covered plates, one with the 'sopa', which is either noodles, rice or bread, in ascending order of luxury, and one plate with meat - pork, or better chicken - swimming in sauce. This means four plates (keeping in mind the chronic shortage of plates). They should be clean, filled to the brim, and should arrive at the hour of the mid-day meal. At the other end of the scale would be a single uncovered plate, with meat and 'sopa' together, arriving rather late in the afternoon. These indices of esteem are not arbitrary; they make perfect sense in view of the pure mechanics of the cooking arrangements which I have described for this reason.

I have never been to a fiesta where there has been enough food to go round for everyone the hostess has wanted to serve. So somewhere, someone has to suffer. For this reason the criteria of Quantity of food, - there is always a shortage -, the Manner of sending it and the Time of sending it - there is always a shortage of plates and a delay in returning them as well as a shortage of messengers -, the Quality of the food - often two classes of food are cooked to save expenses - are very real ones for showing esteem to the recipient. The criteria arise out of the physical limitations inherent in preparing and despatching the meal, and of the inevitable hitches and crises which arise.

- ② Who is the food given to? First of all to everyone present, from the comidera to the tiniest tot, who is given a little food wrapped in a 'tortilla'. It is impossible to ask for food, and I have never seen

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anyone do so at a fiesta, not even the smallest child; it is therefore essential that the hostess and 'comidera' make sure that everyone present has been served. She suffers agonies of shame if by chance anyone has been overlooked. I mention the helpers first because they are a 'must', and even have priority over the recipients for whom the food is actually being cooked. This is because they are not paid but have been invited to help. Helpers are given their meal on the premises and in addition food is sent to their home, or to whichever person they indicate. They have a portion due to them, and can dispose of it in whichever manner they please. The comidera is of course sent a much larger portion than for example the mother of a child which has been 'lent' to help. That is, each person is given according to a definite scale of priority.

The second category of persons to have food sent to them I shall call the recipients. These are the persons for whom the food is ostensibly being cooked. At a wedding they would be the god-parents of the couple; at a funeral the coffin-makers and the men who help to dig the grave, (although more frequently they eat on the premises). In this category I would include such persons as the school-teacher and the Presidente (lord mayor), who receive food in virtue of their position in the village rather than because ^{of} any direct connection with the fiestas.

Another set of persons whom must be well attended to, are the relatives of the hosts. It is quite unlike our system (at least that practiced in my own family), where members of the family are served last, after all other obligations have been met, and are expected to be understanding if there was not enough left for them. One of the first persons to whom food is sent is the daughter, or parents or sisters of the hosts. Such food gifts are important in maintaining good relations with the rest of the family. A relative, even a close one, will feel slighted if she has not received her 'bocadito' (literally mouthful, her portion).

Next are all those persons to whom the hosts have some obligation. All those who have lent saucepans or dishes for the cooking must receive some food. Those from whom the hosts received food when they last had a fiesta. If the hosts owe money to someone, they will send the creditor some food. Anyone who has done the host a particular service or kindness etc.

Lastly there is the category of friends, neighbours, godparents, compadres; those one likes and is fond of; "Porque yo la quiero, porque es mi gusto", is the explanation.

This has been an account of the kind of fiesta^{for it} every host would like to give. In practice a person can often not afford to, or may be unwilling to spend the money. "Es mucho el gasto, y de vicio", is rather reminiscent of the comment heard in England "I'd rather buy a house than spend the money on a huge wedding party".

There are various ways of cutting down costs. The most obvious is that of reducing the quality of the food, the quantity given, and the number of persons^{to} food is sent to. Or else the 'comida' may simply be omitted. At a baptism one always has to provide 'pan y chocolate' to be sent to the godparents, but one may leave out the mid-day meal. A wedding may take place in the evening, when again only 'pan y chocolate' is required. The next day plates^{of} bread and pats of chocolate are sent out to friends and relatives; the same criteria of distribution as for the 'comida' described, are applied. If a young man really wants to ^{have} his wedding cheap, he persuades his bride to run off with him, and he may get away with a few bottles of beer at a quiet civil ceremony. Ofcourse he may be unfortunate and the irate father-in-law can make him pay up for a full scale church and civil marriage, which can involve him in \$1500. The fiesta for a new house ^{could} can well be made^v without sending out food; an invitation to a dance in the new house in the evening is sufficient.

I have been speaking of those persons^{who} who want to spend the least amount possible, as this is usually the problem. There are ofcourse those who want to have an opportunity to send out food. Those who have many obligations and wish to meet them in the proper way. A little like a person in England inviting lots of people to a cocktail party to get it over and done with. In Chiapilla there is only this^{one} way of food distribution to discharge obligations, as inviting guests to a meal is unknown. Such a person might make an elaborate meal and send it out upon the occasion of a new house, or a birthday, or a 'dia de santo'. Thus I have received meals unexpectedly and upon enquiry have been told it was the birthday of a child, or a 'dia de santo', or merely that the housewife had cooked some delicacy or other and wished me to try it.

Food gifts can thus express all the range from a formal social obligation which one cannot avoid, to a gesture of friendship and good will. They

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express social relations and cement and strengthen existing ones.

It is of course a deadly insult to the hostess for the recipient to refuse a food gift. However, by no means all the recipients will eat the food received. This arises from the belief that one can put some magic potion into the food which causes illness, madness, falling in love, to the consumer. Everybody in Chiapa believes that there are persons who know how to do harm in this way; and this includes my land-lady who has lived in Mexico City for 32 years. People may not believe in witches, and may not even believe in 'espanto', but it is a fact that there are magic potions which are put into the food sent to ones house. So one is careful whose food one eats, and those who have many enemies throw away all food gifts.

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The second essential of a fiesta is Drink - alcoholic drink. It really has not been a fiesta if all concerned have not got drunk. This refers to the men only. In Chiapilla the women drink little and I have never seen one drunk. In nearby Acala the women drink as much as the men, which shows how much custom can vary within short distances, for Acala is only two hours walk from Chiapilla.

Drink is not sent out in the way food is. It is not used to express social relations in the way food is. In fact it seems to work exactly the opposite way from food, for drinking removes all social barriers. It is the great equalizer, whereas food is the social differentiator. Anyone and everyone can and does drink together; indeed, must drink together. If an alcoholic drink is being passed round in a room, everybody present must take a sip, and no one is permitted to default. Those who do not like to drink usually take a sip and then pass it to some child. In the cantina (pub), it is customary for a group of friends to go drinking together, but after a few rounds they invite whoever else happens to be present.

In a sense drinking is a more important part of the fiesta than is food, for this is what most of the time is spent on, whereas the eating and distribution of food happens in the background and only occupies a part of the time. Drinking can continue the whole day and whole night.

Drinking always follows upon the ostensible purpose of the fiesta. Thus it begins after the baptism, or the marriage ceremony; after the prayers for the dead or the prayers for the saint; or after the cross has been placed on the roof of the new house. If many women are present some small glasses of sweet sticky liqueur are handed round and then bottles of beer. Beer is the drink of 'alegría', of joyful occasions. However it is expensive and only the well-to-do can afford to drink beer exclusively. Others serve 'trago' after a while. ^{with drinking} For 'trago' the bottle is handed round with everyone in turn taking a gulp (or a sip). Beer is served by handing each person one bottle and then at the next round another bottle, even though the first has not been emptied.

The men will remain at a fiesta as long as there is drink. When the host provides no more the men go off together to continue at some cantina or occasionally order more at their own expense. The only occasion upon which beer is never served is at funerals when 'trago' only is drunk.

A fiesta, of whatever nature it may be, thus very soon divides up into

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two parts. That of the women who congregate together, usually inside the house or near the cooking; that of the men who are usually outside in the sitio or the street and who rapidly get drunk.

So a fiesta may be looked at in the following way. On the one hand are the women busy keeping up ^(or) the establishing social relations and differences through food distribution; while on the other hand the men are busy breaking down all social barriers getting roaring drunk on terms of complete equality, irrespective of class or wealth.

The last essential of the image of a fiesta is music. It may be a guitar to accompany singing - only men seem to sing in Chiapilla -. It may be the marimba playing for a dance or just for 'gusto'. Or it may be the 'musica' which is the brass band. Music is more than just an indication of gaiety, for I have seen the marimba at a funeral (admittedly when the bereaved, distracted father was roaring drunk), because the dead son loved it; and I have seen the 'banda de musica' in the cemetery at 'todos santos' (All saints Day). It is the ^{accompaniment} accompaniment of any festivity, of any social gathering.

There is also the gramophone which is considered to be a bad substitute for the real thing. True enough there is a console in all the cantinas, but there is a reluctance to use it for dancing or at social gatherings; it has to be live music.

IX

What about dancing? It is certainly considered to be a very important and an activity proper only at fiestas, and as such I will deal with it here. It is not essential to a successful fiesta, although without doubt a most desirable part of it. Dancing occupies a very important place in the minds of the Chiapilltecos, and I think also of all the ladinos in the area. This is because it is associated with, and I would say symbolizes two very important aspects of life. "Alegría" and "Enamorar". Roughly and badly translated - enjoying oneself and conquering a sweetheart.

To enjoy oneself is considered to be a legitimate and sensible pursuit, and everyone who is in a position to enjoy himself and go for an outing should do so, and is approved of for availing himself of the opportunity. No one feels he has to make some excuse or to give some explanation for going on a 'paseo' (outing), or to a fiesta on a week-day, as we tend to do. On the contrary you have to explain at great length why you have to go to work and will not join the pleasure party. The onus of explanation is on the one who works; the one who goes to enjoy himself does not have to justify himself, he is doing the normal, natural, sensible thing.

Dancing is an entirely enjoyable affair, and this is so because it is dedicated to winning the favours of a young lady. This is what one does at a dance, and this is what dancing is for. The Chiapilltecos do not have a 'partner' at a dance, they have a 'novia'. A 'novia' is also the word for "sweetheart", and the word for "bride". The connection is obvious. Dancing is practically synonymous with 'enamorar', and it is taken for granted that if you have danced with a girl several times she is your 'enamorado'. The conversation during dancing, when there is any, is also devoted to this; the young man expresses his overpowering, uncontrollable ^{pendo,} feelings towards the lady.

It thus comes about that much thought and much talk is devoted to dancing. One of the first things I am always asked is whether I like dancing, how the people in England dance; whether I danced at the last fiesta, and whether I enjoyed it etc. The clothes to be worn at a dance are the subject of serious discussion for both men and women, and of course who danced with whom is of inexhaustible interest. However, this last point would apply to any small village; there is always endless gossip about dancing partners.

What is of great interest though, is to note which persons are permitted to dance. Given the amount of time which is spent by villagers on talking

about dancing and discussing dances, it comes as a surprize to discover that only a very small proportion of the people take part in a dance. The remainder are condemned to be spectators. No married woman dances in Chiapilla, not even with her own husband. (As a contrast in near by Acala married women freely dance with their husbands, whereas in Totolapa no women dances and partners have to be imported). This rules out nearly all the women, for below the age of 14 girls only dance with other girls, and above the age of 18 there is hardly an unmarried woman. So it is, that women dance between the ages of 14 and 18, which is the age at which they generally get married. (Some very modern young married women will dance with girl friends, as will several older matrons.) So dancing is a direct preliminary to marriage.

All men may dance, whether married or single, whether old or young, Married men frequently do dance, and this becomes a cause for quarrels with their wives, and quite often a cause for quarrel between the wife and the dancing partner of a man. The wife sets out to teach the impudent young chit who has danced with her husband a lesson. It takes the form of a fight with nails, fists, sticks and whatever comes to hand. This does not take place at the dance, but some time afterwards when a suitable opportunity presents itself, and usually only if the husband has been dancing regularly with a girl. The jealousy of the wife can be better understood, and makes sense, when one remembers that she cannot dance but has to sit and watch with her children, if indeed she has been permitted to come to the fiestas; that dancing is associated with 'enamorar'-conquering a sweetheart; that the women go to pieces as soon as they have had their first child; they really turn into sluts. So often enough there is cause for the wife's action,

More frequently the quarrels are between men. Fights break out on the dance-floor about partners, and mostly when both or one of the men are drunk. It may happen that a girl refused a partner who wished to dance with her, and he, insulted at this, may slap her face. Immediately her brother or other male relative will come to her defence. Still more frequently is the situation where a man breaks up a dancing couple 'palomear'. The girls- may not wish to dance with the intruder or the man may not wish to give her up. Result:- a fight on the dance floor which may end up in a knifing or in shots being fired.

As far as I can make out these fights at dances arise in an entirely arbitrary fashion. for it is a matter of chance whether there are friends around to prevent the two men from fighting, or whether there are relatives

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around who come to assist their kin and thus enlarge the fight. It is chance whether the man has a pistol and thus kills, or whether he has none and the incident ends in a handshake. It is chance whether the drunken intruder insists upon dancing with the girl or is content to try another girl in case of refusal. What then becomes of the social theory which maintains that quarrels within a society must be seen in the context of the wealth and status of the contending parties? Both the initiation of these quarrels and their outcome are chance; they may pass over quietly or may end in death and revenge.

To sum up then; dancing only takes place at fiestas and because of this, all the characteristics of dances can become characteristics of the fiestas. The most striking thing about dances in Chiapilla is the contrast between the small number of persons who take part in them and the importance which is attached to them. Dancing is considered to be so important because it is the occasion par excellence at which one enjoys oneself, and at which one acquires a sweetheart and these two activities are really the only worth while ones in life. Dances are very frequently occasions upon which fights occur.

Let me now return to the central subject of the essay which is fiestas. I have devoted much space to presenting the mental picture which people have of a fiesta, what they think of when the word fiesta is mentioned. It means food distribution; it means alcoholic drink and getting drunk; it means music; it means dancing; and first and last and most important it means enjoyment. (apart from the funerals which I have included).

A distinction should be made between private fiestas and public fiestas in the following sense. The Lavada de la Ropa del Señor, which takes place before Easter, and at which all the clothes of the saints' images of the church are washed and ironed, is public. It is a village fiesta, and is concerned with the Church, and any woman in the village can claim a garment to wash, and any man can come to the dance by the river afterwards.

On the other hand the 'nacido del niño dios' of Maria X is private. It is here ^{the} niño, she is the dueña; the fiesta takes place in her house and

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only invited guests come to the 'rezo' in her house and to the dance.

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The use of the words 'public' and 'private' is allright if we do not attach to the words the ^{whole} range of meanings which is associated with them. So, for example, the Lavade de la Ropa del Señor is a church fiesta and in this sense public. But responsibility for it is in the hands of a self-perpetuating corporation of 10 men, each of whom takes it in turn to organize the fiesta one year. Now when the man organizes the food distribution, he not only feeds the laungresses and the marimberos and the rezadoras etc., who are the public servants of the fiesta; he also sends food to his own kin, to compadres and friends, thus fulfilling personal obligations. On the other hand, when Maria X celebrates the 'nacido del nño dios', she walks in procession through the whole village carrying her hino, with the guests and the band behind her, and she will give tamales and café to any one who cares to turn up early enough at her house in the morning.

In this sense then, public fiestas have a private importance, and private fiestas are celebrated publicly.

I began by saying that a fiesta could be anything from a gathering of six friends who got drunk together, to the fiestas of the Patron Saint of the village. The fundamental idea of the occasion remains the same in both cases, but the quality of the fiesta is certainly altered by its size, by the number of persons participating in it. A fiesta alters its character in direct proportion to two factors: ~~the number of persons~~ the number of persons who participate in it and the amount of money spent on it. This holds true for both private and public fiestas.

One common way of assuring a plentiful supply of both (people and money) is the custom of naming god-parents of a fiesta.

At a housewarming for example (subida de la cruz) god-mothers and god-fathers are named. The god-fathers pay for the ~~meimbe~~ marimbas to play while the god-mothers the 'madrinas de teja' (the godmothers of the tiles) arrive after a procession through the village street with the band following them, each carrying a decorated tile. These madrinás then serve as dancing partners, as they are always unmarried girls, free to dance.

A poor person's baptism is often remarkable for the number of god-parents named, and for the fact that they tend to be the wealthy ones of the

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village. Even a football match with the neighbouring village has its god-mothers. Each young girl named has to supply some small gift which she gives to one of the players of the winning team (or tactfully given to the guest team). The godmothers will then be the partners at the dance which follows the game.

The same custom is followed at public fiestas. The Nacida del niño Dios of the Church, is organized by a number of godparents who are named one year in advance. It is the duty and privilege of these god-parents to provide the new clothes for the Niño; to provide the fireworks; to pay for the 'rezos'; to supply the 'ojuelas' (a special pastry which is distributed to all who attend the rezo at the church); and to pay for the band which accompanies the Niño on its procession through the village. A padrino may easily spend \$500 at such an occasion and he regards this as being spent in honour of the Niño, as 'serving' the Niño, in fact as a religious duty.

Similarly the Fiestas of San Pedro, the Patron Saint of Chiapilla, has its god-parents. One person, or several jointly, undertake the responsibility for the celebration of each of the eight afternoons of 'rezo' which precede the actual day. Again the outlay for the festivities is made by the god-parents for this public celebration, and at the same time they distribute food to their personal friends.

There is another way of subsidizing a public fiesta and that is by subscription; 'co-operación' as it is called. A committee is appointed which goes round collecting from house to house. For example the actual Day of San Pedro, at which there are bull fights and fire-works and dances, is financed in this way. Every villager is made to give some money 'for San Pedrito'. The fiestas de la Cruz on the 3rd of May, which is the fiesta of the Crosses at the entrance and exit of the village is paid for in this way as well. I do not at present understand the reason why some of the public fiestas should be paid for by god-parents, and others by subscription. In Chiapilla private fiestas are not paid for in this way, although in the city of Tuxtla I have come across birthday parties in which all the guests paid for food and marimba by a 'co-operación'.

We thus know who gives the money for Fiestas. In the case of public fiestas the god-parents, or a general subscription; in the case of private fiestas it is the 'dueno'. But where do they get the money from? and what are the economics of both the small and the large fiestas?

(This Section on Economics of the Fiesta is missing)

XIV

Why does one have a fiesta at all? For the Chiapillteco a reason, or an excuse for having a fiesta is not really necessary. As I have already said, no explanation is needed in order to spend a day enjoying oneself 'a divertirse'; ~~that is~~ to say "Let's have a fiesta, let's go for an outing", is quite sufficient. Nevertheless, most fiestas in Chiapilla do have at their centre a religious purpose.

In their attitude to religion the Chiapilltecos are more like the simpler people; religious obligation is not fulfilled by moral behaviour as we tend to insist. Religious obligation consists in the act of devotion. In the saying of the prayer. Nor is reverence or meditation upon God required during prayer. The duty is fulfilled in the mere saying of prayers. You therefore get the 'rezo' (prayer) being said with the pigs and chickens and dogs wandering around and being shooed out; with children being fed; the candles being re-arranged; people nodding to each other and watching events in the street. The prayers are said by a 'rezadora' (a prayer leader), with the remainder of women present giving the responses. The prayers may be said in the church, if it is a public fiesta, and in the home if it is a private one.

I have talked of rezadoras and of women giving the responses. It is striking that nearly all religious activities are in the hands of women. I have never seen a man say a prayer in Chiapilla. If the prayers are in the home, the men of the household go to the sitio or stand around in the street outside the house. During prayers for a deceased the women sit or kneel inside the house, around the corpse, while the men who will be relatives, coffin carriers, grave diggers or friends, hang around outside. If the prayers are in the church, then at most a few men will sit quietly right at the back, not uttering a sound. The people are all agreed that the Acaltecos are more devout and that the men there take an active part in prayers. But in Chiapilla the men 'tienen verguenza', in the sense of being ashamed rather than shy. I have been unable to discover anything in common ^{between} to the few men who do sit at the back of the church. There are some youths and some old and middle aged men. As far as I can judge there are poor and better off men; persons from 'arriba' and from 'abajo'.

The nearest priest lives in Acala and he comes about five times a year, spending two hectic and profitable days baptizing and marrying. His parish is very large and wide-spread, and he leaves the church keys in the hands

of an elderly woman, the chief rezadora, who also has the 'agua bendito' in her charge. She is responsible for opening the Church on Sundays and Fiestas and of saying the Rezos, but as she is also a good Curandera (healer) she ~~has~~ is only able to fulfil her church obligations rather erratically, and at times asks other rezadoras to take her place.

Devotion means praying, as I have said, but it also means the up-keep and decoration of the altar. A person is being equally devout if she keeps a candle burning before her altar and fresh flowers on it than if she says prayers. Devotion is shown in action, whether it be the act of praying or the act of cleaning and decorating the altar, that of the house ~~of~~ of the church.

To return to the fiestas: If the fiesta has a religious purpose then all the activities of the fiestas are regarded as increasing the religious efficacy. Thus if the fiesta is in honour of a Saint (either of the house or of the Church), then the amount of food distributed, the marimba, the dancing, the prayers are all to do honour to the Saint. The duena of the fiesta spends the money to the greater glory of the saint, as a religious duty, as a vow to the Santo. This idea is ofcourse very familiar and is found in many countries, and I only repeat it here as it may help to explain the lack of guilt with which enjoying oneself is regarded. Evidently, if the dancing and music and gaiety of a fiesta are in honour of the Saint, are a religious duty, a virtue, then pleasurable activities ~~th~~ even though divorced from the original religious festival context, remains a good thing. The God of the Protestants from whom we derive our attitudes in these things, liked sober serious meditation, and condemned enjoyment.

XVI

I have talked about fiesta in a very wide sense, and have included all occasions which I think contain some elements of the 'ideal image' of a fiesta. I have thus not only included the wide range which the Chiapilltecos call fiesta from the Dea de San Pedro, the annual fiesta of the village, to a small drinking party, but have included occasions such as funerals and novenas which the Chiapilltecos would not consider as the same kind of events as fiestas. This comes about because the criterion of the Chiapillteco is different; all the occasions he classes together as fiestas are so classed because they are happy, they are to be enjoyed. His criterion is therefore that of the emotion proper on the occasion. My criterion has been that of the elements of which an occasion has been composed, and a wider range of events has emerged as being of one class. If looked at in this way a funeral and the celebration of a Saint's Fiesta are more alike, than the celebration of the Saint's Fiesta and the football match with a dance after it - both are fiestas for the Chiapillteco. The question I now have to ask is ~~why~~ - What determines which of the elements will be included on a particular occasion? One reason is economic, the amount available to be spent. Another is the Chiapillteco's view of the occasion. Dancing is not proper at a funeral, so however rich the dueño of the funeral is, there will be no dancing. A prayer is not proper at a football match, it just is not a religious occasion. I do not know the answer to the question, and this may be because the criterion for classing all these events together is wrong, and that I have to look for another one.

At the end of the essay, as an appendix, I will give a detailed description of each of the occasions I have mentioned. A funeral, the celebration of the nacido del niño dios, the Lavada de la Ropa del Señor, the fiesta of a Santo of a private household, and the Subida de la Cruz. Those who wish can then read the description and others are not obliged to.

7. *Sickness*
ILLNESS AND CURING

Lilo Stern

The concept of what is illness is very different for a Chiapilteco than it is for us. For them illness is a state of the body, which can be due to various reasons. We on the other hand insist that there can only be physical reasons, although nowadays psychological reasons are also admitted.

To make this concept a little clearer I will give a simile: if a person is wet through, he may have got into this state in several different ways - he may have fallen into the river; he may have been caught in a shower; he may have been washing himself; the neighbour's children might have thrown water over him at 'carn³aval'. All these causes have the consequence that the man is wet.

Similarly with illness: there may be any number of reasons why a person is ill, and the first step in curing an illness is to find how it came about, what was its cause. This is diagnosis, after that one can set about curing.

Thus an illness may be caused by human agency; some person is responsible for the fact that an individual is ill. For example: 'mal de ojo', 'daño'. Secondly, the illness may be due to emotional reasons. For example: 'disipela', 'espanto'. Thirdly, an illness may be due to natural reasons. For example: 'sarampión', 'catarro'.

There is a second fundamental difference in the concept of what is illness. An illness is regarded as an extraneous thing which has introduced itself into the body. The expression used is 'me agarró el mal' (the ill took hold of me); 'el mal no me dejaba dormir' (the ill would not let me sleep); 'el mal esta matandome' (the ill is killing me) - notice, not "the pain would not let me sleep", nor "the pain is killing me", as we would say in English.

This same concept is evident in the belief that 'un brujo deja el mal en el camino' (a witch leaves the ill on the road). Similarly in the curing ceremonies in

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which 'el mal' is removed from the body by transferring it to some leaves which are passed over the body of the sufferer, these are then thrown away or trampled on. In another type of cure 'el mal' is passed into an egg which is thrown away.

A complaint from which people frequently suffer is 'el aigre'. The Chiapiltecos think of 'aigre' as being an illness, but they use the word to mean any pain in the body. If one has knowked ones elbow against tne chair one talks of 'dolor'; but if one has a pain in the elbow without having knocked it, then it is 'aigre'. 'Me cayó el aigre' (the pain fell on me) is the expression used. As it is an extraneous thing which enters the body, it can move around as well. 'El aigre' often travels around the body; it is in the back and then moves to the arm and then to the head, etc.

It follows from this concept of ill, that it is quite possible and natural that 'el mal' can disappear immediately upon curing. In the same way it can be accepted that 'agarró el mal'; 'quitaron el mal' (the ill was removed), from one moment to another.

In short, illness is not something which develops from within the body, it comes suddenly from outside.

When a person is ill, he goes 'para curarse'. This word cannot be translated by the English word "to cure". 'Curar' means to take some action to make the person well. A doctor 'cura'; a curandero 'cura'; a yerbero 'cura; my mother 'me cura'; a spiritualist 'cura'.

A patient can continue to be ill despite many 'curaciones'. 'Me curé con muchos medicos, pero de uicio' (I have cured myself with many doctors but in vain) is a complaint often heard.

'Curar' corresponds more closely to our words "to give treatment",

Illness due to human agency

1. Ojo:

The most common children's illness in Chiapilla is 'mal de ojo', more commonly called 'ojo'. The symptoms are high temperature, ^{dianhoca} ~~dysentery~~ and listlessness. Only small children (approx. under four) can suffer from it.

It is caused by 'un ojo caliente' (literally: a hot eye). If a person sees a little child and takes a great liking to it, if he or she thinks it is "cute" or lovable, but admires it at a distance without picking it up and kissing and hugging it, then the child can fall ill of 'ojo'.

Lubia told me that when her daughter was two years old and just beginning to toddle, she made a very pretty dress for her, and intending to take her out for a walk, dressed her in it and combed her hair so that the child really looked lovely. The little girl wandered into the street while Lubia was getting herself ready. The next day the little girl fell ill. Lubia said that someone in the street must have given her 'ojo'.

Dominga told me that she had two darling little puppies. The representative of the Banco Ejidal came to Chiapilla and stayed at her house, and seeing the puppies, fell in love with them and begged Dominga to sell him one. Dominga refused, despite his continuous pleadings. Finally the man said jokingly "you'll see what will happen to them, I have an 'ojo caliente' ". That night both the puppies died of convulsions.

Anyone can give a child 'ojo'; the person need have no bad intentions, nor is he or she blamed for making the child ill. The remedy is to embrace the child, but if one does not know who was responsible, the child can be cured by passing a fresh egg over its body. It should be the egg of a black hen. Generally an old woman who is known to have "a good hand" in these things is called in to cure of 'ojo'. The 'parteras' (midwives) also cure children in this way.

An egg, laid by a black hen, is passed over the child's

limbs and head, back and front, and finally placed on its stomach, where it is allowed to remain for a while. The egg is then broken into a saucer and one can see the 'ojo' (the eye) in it. Many women say ^{of} the egg 'sale cocido' that it is cooked, when it is broken open; others say 'se ve el ojo', one can see the eye. The egg is then thrown away - it does not matter where - and if it was 'ojo' from which the child suffered, it will be cured. As I never witnessed such a 'curacion', I do not know if any prayers are said at the same time.

Both men and women can give 'ojo', although it is thought of a man that ^{is} 'el ojo más caliente' (^{his} the eye is hotter) 'y por eso es más grave' (for this reason the child is more sick).

Frequently little babies are given wristlets with an amber pendant, which are thought to protect them from falling ill of 'ojo'.

2. Manipulation of photographs, clothes, hair:

An illness can be caused also by obtaining a photograph of a person and treating it in a certain way. Thus if a pin is stuck into the head of the image on the photograph, and it is then buried, the person on the photo will suffer from severe headaches. In the same way a pain can be caused in other parts of the body, according to where the pin pricks are made. If a photo of a man is placed into a bottle, the bottle filled with trago and then buried, it is certain that the man will become a drunkard.

I could not find out whether some form of incantation is necessary: as all my informants assured me that they did not know how it was done, they had only "heard of it being done" ('dicen la gente'). Generally this method does not seem to be used so much to make people ill as to gain power over them.

I, myself was suspected of treating photos in this way, as I realised when the Presidente came to me with the following request:

I had taken a photo of the Presidente on his way home from work one day. I knew the Presidente adored having his photo taken. However, he was coming from work with one of his 'pagados', a worker of his, and this man, walking just behind the Presidente came out on the photo as well. The Presidente said that this man had come to him and said 'que tal que hace algo con el photo, que me salen dolores en la cabeza' (what if she does something to the photo and I get headaches) and he had begged the Presidente to ask me for the photo of him. I duly had a copy made and gave it to him. The Presidente had his copy of the photo stuck on the wall of his house. A few days later it had disappeared! I cannot prove that it was this worker of his who had it removed, nevertheless, I heard several complaints that the photos I had made ^{of various persons} and which the owner had stuck on the wall of his house had disappeared.

A woman from the Barrio bought several photos I made of her, even though she did not like them, because she was smiling and one should appear serious on a photo. She told me she did not want anyone else to have them. ^{They do not seem to understand about negatives although I tried to explain to them.}

Young girls particularly were anxious that I should not sell their photos to anyone else, and a number of young boys came to me to ask to buy photos of girls. It may be they simply wanted to have a photo of a girl, and it may be they wanted it for other reasons. It is certainly true that many believe that a person can do harm to another by obtaining his photograph, or some of his hair or a piece of his clothing.

Carmen Garcia, an intelligent and generally sceptical friend of mine, told me the following: she had gone to stay in Mexico for several months when she was a young girl. There, at her uncle's house, she had met a young student doctor, who became her 'novio' (sweetheart). She wrote this to her father, and soon after she began to think of Manuel Flores (her present husband). For no particular reason she

began to think of him, and could not get him out of her mind until she finally came back to Chiapilla and married him. Some time after the wedding she found a photo of hers upside down in a book of his, and the photo had pin-pricks through the legs. Carmen asked her husband whether he had not called her back in this way. He only laughed mysteriously, said Carmen.

She told me the story of a young man who was desperately in love with a girl, 'ella no le hizo caso' (she took no notice of him at all), and evidently did not care for him. The girl, M_ary, had herself photographed at a fiesta, and the young man asked for a copy of it from the photographer. No one knows what he did to the photo, but after some time Mary began to arrive frequently at his house, always on some pretext or other. Finally they married and they now live happily together.

Virginio Vila believes that Sara must have used some art to get him to like her. This Virginio had a child by Sara, but left the village so that he would not have to marry her, long before the birth of the baby. When the child was one year old he again began to visit Sara and now they live together (unmarried it is true) and have a second child.

^{People are} ~~It~~ is certain that brujos, and magicos, know how to attain such effects with personal belongings or photos, or hair, and that they accept payment to do so; but it is believed that ordinary persons can also attain the same results if they are taught.

3. Brujeria and M_agia:

The word witchcraft is the only one which corresponds to the Spanish word 'Brujeria'. The translation is inadequate. Brujeria does not have the same associations as witchcraft and I shall, therefore, continue to use the Spanish word. Even so, the words 'brujo' and 'brujeria' are rarely used when speaking of the subject. 'Save echar', or simply 'save'

(he knows) is the expression used ^{of a man thought to be a brujo} Another way of saying the same thing is 'es mal puesto' (it has been placed - it has been put there), or 'es puesto'. Other expressions are 'es mal malo' (it is a bad illness); 'es echado' (it has been thrown); 'es daño' (it is harmful). ~~There~~ ^{No one will say of an illness} _{it is brujeria}.

A statement that an illness is 'echado', merely means that it is caused by human agency with the intention of causing ^{the} illness, unlike 'ojo' which is unintentional. It does not necessarily mean that it is 'brujería'. I discovered this when I began to ask who was a brujo, or rather when I took the initiative and asked "is so-and-so a brujo?". I then found out that there was 'magia' and 'brujería'. 'Magia' is evil and a 'magico' is in league with the devil.

'Brujería' is not exactly evil. The gift to 'echar' by brujería comes from God: 'le trae uno de nacimiento' (a person is born with it); 'es una gracia' - now the word 'gracia' carries the significance of a natural gift in the sense of "he has the knack of doing a thing", "he has the skill or the ability to do it". It is not something learned. This concept is expressed as 'tiene su gracia para curar', or of a badly prepared meal 'ni gracia tiene', or in the decoration of an altar 'tiene gracia para hacerlo' (she has a flair for it).

I asked whether a person could 'tenir la gracia para echar' (have the power to do ill) and yet not use it. In answer my informant told me that she had a friend who had the ability to 'echar mal', and that from time to time he had an irresistible urge to make use of it. At such times he would rush off to the cantina to get drunk or visit friends until the desire to do evil had passed.

The more simple informants did not really know if a person could carry the power to do ill but not use it. That is to say they did not know if there could be a potential 'brujo'. They were not interested as it did not matter to them as long as he was doing no harm.

I was told of one case where a child had the 'gracia' and was cured of it. The boy was ill a great deal and an Indian 'curandero' was called. He told the father that the boy 'tiene la gracia para echar y para curar; no es como los otros, por eso está enfermo' (he has the grace, or ability, to cause illness and to cure; he is not like others, that is why he is ill). However, if the father wished, he (the curandero) could cure the boy of it so that he would be a normal child and adult. The father paid for this to be done.

When I asked how a 'brujo' went about 'echando' (causing illness) I received a variety of replies. Opinions differed as to how brujos worked. The first reaction was always 'nosotros no sabemos' (we do not know), but when I changed the question to the form '¿qué dice la gente?' (what do people say), they would begin to talk more freely. This attitude shows what a very real menace and danger ^{it is} brujería is. The implication was that if they admitted they knew how brujería was done, they would be suspect of being a brujo.

Some people maintained that a brujo need merely wish for ill to befall someone and that was sufficient. Others insisted that only the brujos themselves knew how it was done and that it was their secret. All that ordinary persons knew was that they did cause illness.

Many more told me that the brujo had his 'nagual': at night he would take on the form of some animal, it might be a pig, a donkey, a night bird or a dog. Cats and poultry were not used as 'naguales'. What happens is that the brujo ^{assumes the form} enters the body of the animal, his nagual, at night and will go about doing his evil work. The animal, which is really the 'brujo', will prowl about the house at dusk or at night and in this way he would 'poner el mal' (place the ill). Now in Chiapilla neither pigs nor donkeys nor dogs are tied up at night, so that these animals are wandering around the village all the time. The chances that one of them should happen to stop by a house or in front of a door are quite

good. Of course, not every lingering animal is thought to be a 'nagual'. If no illness ensues the animal is forgotten; only if illness follows is the incident remembered.

A common way for a brujo to cause an illness is to 'dejar el mal en la puerta' (to leave the ill in the doorway). The ill can be left at the door, at the gate, ^{or} at cross-roads and it falls upon the first one to pass that way. ^{Thus} If the ^{man} ill falls upon a person for whom it was not intended, ~~the consequences may not be fatal.~~ One lady who was explaining this to me, told me that someone was trying to do her harm. Her dog had gone out of the front door of the house, very early in the morning and had re-entered by the gate to the sitio. He had immediately fallen into convulsions and died. "My God", I explained in horror, "supposing you had been the first to enter at the gate", "That would have been my death", she said solemnly.

Another lady told me that her little boy had had a very long drawn-out illness. They had taken him to many doctors and he had not improved until he had finally died. She explained to me that the reason for this was that 'le tocó el mal que estava puesto por su papa, cayo' sobre él', the ill, intended for his father, had fallen upon him at the gate to the pasture when he had gone to fetch the donkeys early one morning. This was usually his father's job, but on that day the boy was sent to fetch the animals. At the gate he felt a drop of water fall on his head so that he thought it was raining. Looking up he saw there was no rain and carried on with his work. When he came home he did not want any breakfast. The family thought no more of the incident until the boy fell ill some days later; then they realized that it must have been 'puesto'. [placed a put I understood to ^{have been} placed by a brujo]

When a brujo leaves 'el mal' at the cross roads, or at the gate, the person upon whom it falls always notices something at the time. Miguel Dominguez explained that his son Dionisio stumbled over some twigs on his way from Chiapilla

and Zapotal. He felt a sniver pass through his body and a pain in his toe which would not leave him. He came home with a temperature and after several weeks of illness, died. It was 'un mal que le cayó en el camino' (an ill which fell on him on the road)

One mother told me that her little boy returned home from work with a temperature. I asked what ailed him, and she said 'quien sabe que mal le cayó en el camino' (who knows what ill fell upon him on the way).

Another way in which a brujo can cause an illness is by putting something into the food or drink of the victim. For this reason many people do not eat the food which is sent to them by their friends and compadres when they cook a fiesta meal. My landlady warned me very earnestly several times not to eat too readily at other people's houses. "Yes" added her mother, "now that she has been here for a while she may well have some enemies". For this same reason it is important to accept food when it is offered to one in a house, the implication of not accepting is that one suspects the hostess of having put something into the food.

The lady whose little boy finally died (see above), told me that ever since she had known someone was trying to kill her husband she had never allowed anyone of her family to eat the food sent to her house. "I give it to the animals or to a passing casero", she said. I am afraid I forgot to ask what happens if the wrong person eats such food.

It was in this way that Bruja Petra, caused the madness of María Zuniga. Petra wanted Adolfo Lopez to marry her daughter. The boy was related to her husband and had a good inheritance coming to him. Adolfo preferred María, as she was 'de mas categoría' (she came of a better family). Adolfo and María were married. Some time later Petra's daughter also married and Petra invited María and Adolfo to be her compadres, that is to say, to be padrinos of the wedding. After the ceremony when everyone sat down to take 'pan y chocolate'

(bread and chocolate), Petra put something into the cups of the two. Since that time bad luck has pursued the unfortunate couple. First of all Adolfo was very ill and when they had spent most of their money curing him, María began to have attacks of madness. ~~She~~^{She} ~~suffers~~^{think} from a "split personality". They were reduced to the utmost poverty and on top of all were unable to have children.

When I asked whether Benjamin Molinas was a brujo, the unanimous reply was 'no, es mágico'. This man has a huge machete cut across his cheek, where the son of one of his victims cut him in an attempt to kill him. He is a curandero and a mágico, but not a brujo.

The main attribute of a mágico is that he 'trabaja con libros' (he works with books). He reads books to learn all about 'la mágia negra' (black magic). Such a person is in league with the devil. 'Da la mano al demonio' (he shakes hands with the devil) I was told. I asked my informants how they knew that mágicos read books, and it always turned out that someone else and not the informant himself had seen the books in the mágico's house, or that the man himself had admitted to reading them. In fact it is true that there are books on magic: although I never saw any in Chiapilla, there were plenty in the book shops of Tuxtla Gutierrez.

The Chiapilitecos do not believe that everyone who reads a book is a mágico. Hector Panigua always sits in his sitio in full view of the main street reading books and magazines, but no one dreams of saying he is a mágico.

Our maid, Amabile, told me that their neighbour Pedro was going to be a mágico. I asked how she knew, and she replied that people had seen him reading books and besides that he himself had said "you wait and see what I can do". According to this same Amabile (not the most reliable of informants), Pedro had said that he could enter anywhere he wanted to without being seen, and that at night he went to visit girls in their houses; he added that he had not yet been to visit anyone in Chiapilla.

A friend of mine told me that it was essential to 'trancar la puerta' (bar the door with a stick) at night, because the mágicos could enter if it were merely bolted. This ability of the mágicos is, therefore, believed in the village.

I am not at all clear as to the difference between a brujo and a mágico; nor do I think that the villagers are clear about it. Both seem to be able to achieve the same things. Both can cause illness and do so, either because they are paid for it or because they have a personal grudge. The principal difference between a brujo and a mágico seems to be that the brujos 'le trae de nacido' (are born with it), and the magico learns from books.

One must be careful not to offend a person who knows how to 'echar'. When I asked how one would avoid offending such a person, the first example I was always given was that of money lending. If they ask to borrow money one must lend it. Another common reason for bewitching is 'envidia', which is ^{jealousy aroused by} ~~being~~ jealous of the good fortune of another. One should, of course, never quarrel with a person who knows how to 'echar'.

Some, like Pedro mentioned above, admit that they have special powers; I was told by a reliable informant that Petra also admits to this. Well, what does Petra say?" I asked. 'Dice, yo se lo que yo se; esperanse Uds; va a pasar lo que va a pasar' (She says, I know what I know; you wait, what will happen will happen). Others, like Claudio, deny that they know anything; ^{and deny they were brujo} The unfortunate man was visiting in the house of my neighbours one night when I came in. He told us how ^{his accusers} they had been watching him for an opportunity to kill him (velar). He had been accused of 'brujería' for over a year. He said he had gone to Acala to live, but he and his family were not happy there, so his brothers-in-law had taught him how to shoot and he had bought a gun and now went about with this in order to protect himself.

There was no agreement as to whether a person who knew how to 'curar' also knew how to 'ecnar'. Some said 'de necho' (of course) and others maintained that there were people who knew how to 'curar' and not to 'ecnar' while others knew how to 'ecnar' but not to 'curar'.

In order to cure illness caused intentionally, it seems to make no difference whether it was caused by a 'brujo' or by a 'mágico'. But it is important to know whether it is 'echado' or whether the illness has another cause. This is important because the 'curacion' depends upon the way the illness was caused: thus 'espanto' (fright) requires a different cure from 'mal puesto' (intentionally caused by someone), and 'mal ojo' (unintentionally caused by someone) requires yet a different cure, although the patient's symptoms may be similar.

The only curers who are qualified to diagnose and cure an illness due to 'brujería' are those 'que saben pulsear' and 'sabe leer el pulso' - such a curer can read the pulse and it will tell him if the illness has been 'puesto' because the brujo leaves his signature in the blood of the patient. Not all curanderos know how to read the pulse in this way and at times a curandero who lacks this ability sends his patient to one 'que sabe' (who knows, to make sure it is not 'daño')

In order to 'pulsear' the curandero feels the pulse of his patient from the wrist to the inside of the elbow. 'Habla el pulso' (the pulse speaks) and 'el brujo deja su firma' (the brujo leaves his signature), I was told by my informants. Thus the curandero always knows who is causing the sickness but he will frequently refuse to say the name, for fear that the accused person will kill him, a very real danger. However, a number do name the brujo, especially if he comes from a different village. It is curious that revenge is never taken outside the village.

Thus, Claudio was perfectly safe when he went to Acala, which is only one hour on horseback from Chiapilla, and plenty of Chiapiltecos go there. Another man who left Chiapilla

because he was suspected of a murder, is now a trader and passes near the village frequently. There is no danger for his life as long as he does not come to live in the village.

I have been repeatedly assured that curanderos do name the brujo. Naturally I have tried hard to find out how this is done, the more so, as the curanderos are frequently 'caseros', who do not live in the village and are unlikely to know the names of the inhabitants, much less their quarrels. Two persons said to me spontaneously that the curandero asked 'acuerdate con quien peleasteis' (remember with whom you quarreled), and 'acuerdate a quien no quisisteis dar dinero' (remember whom you refused to lend money). All the others insisted that the curandero named the brujo without asking any questions.

The most common reason given for brujería is 'envidia', the brujo was jealous of someone who was getting on well and causing the illness, tries to make the victim poor through having to spend his money on curing himself. Alternatively, it is the person who paid the brujo who had 'envidia'. This explanation is offered when the patient does not know why anyone should wish him harm. Frequently though, he knows very well what incident provoked the brujería.

An illness is generally thought to be due to brujería if no other treatment has helped. The patient may have been to doctors, to yerberos (herbalists), to miraculous saints to pray, but none of these have helped. It is then clearly a case of brujería. Lingering illnesses, such as T.B. or cancer in which patients waste away are a sure sign of 'mal puesto'. Worms coming out of the nose or skin are also recognized as due to brujería.

~~I have said that the only curanderos who diagnose and cure cases of brujería are those who know how to read the pulse (pulsar). This is correct however, there is another specialist in curing whom I have not yet mentioned. This is the 'recinto': a spiritualist who, like the curanderos, may be a man or woman. Whereas the curanderos only cure, the recinto also gives other kinds of information.~~

Once the curandero has pronounced it to be 'mal puesto' and the 'curacion' has taken place, there are a number of reasons why the patient may not get well. These reasons do not always discredit the curandero. One possibility is that the man was a bad curandero; just as there are bad doctors, so there are bad curanderos, and one does ones best to find a good curandero, someone who is known for his successful cures. There are other reasons for failure. It may be the curandero has been to cure his patient in the evening, and the patient has indeed ^{improved a little} got better. But during the night the brujo comes again and naturally the patient has a relapse. This happens 'cuando está por morir' (when the intention of the brujo is to kill him). 'El brujo va duro y duro' (the brujo goes hard at it). So the curandero has indeed cured, but the brujo had come along afterwards to undo his good work,

Another possibility is that 'robó la firma'. The brujo leaves his name in the victim's blood, 'deja su firma', but he may have left the signature of someone else who is perfectly innocent. Thus if the curandero tells his patient 'es tal persona que te tiene así' (so-and-so holds you in this state) and the sick person replies "that's impossible, so-and-so is a very good person", then it is evidently a case of 'firma robado' (stolen signature).

It may also be that someone was present at the curing ceremony who did not believe. This, claim the curanderos, invalidates the curacion. One lady told me that she was at a curing ceremony and burst into uncontrollable giggling in the middle of it. Naturally, the curandero was very annoyed. On the other hand, there are stories of people who did not "believe" but went to a curandero as a last hope and who were/cured.

Another possibility for failure to cure may be that the patient waited too long before calling in the curandero. He says it will be difficult now and he does not know if he will succeed. Much in the same way a doctor in England will say "If only you had come to me earlier I could have done

something for you".

At times curanderos cure the patient after the doctors have failed. However, this is only a manner of speaking; the patients may indeed have been to see a doctor, but whether they followed his instructions, or took the medicine as directed, or went to see him again when ordered, is doubtful. The proficiency of the doctor should also be questioned. One sceptical Chiapillteco told me that doubtless the cure was due to the medicines which only took effect in the long run, and that the credit for the cure was given to the curandero who had been visited afterwards.

Some of the villagers believe absolutely that there is such a thing as brujería. Not only do they talk about it as a thing which exists and which occurs, but even more convincing than their statements, are the number of killings for brujería.

Some villagers doubt; they do not know for certain whether there is such a thing, but on the other hand they would not state definitely that brujería does not exist. One never knows!

A few Chiapilltecos definitely say there is no such thing as brujería and, what is more, they act upon their convictions. They refuse to see^a curandero.

Celia García was ill for a while with a pain in her back which would not leave her. Anything persistent is suspect. Her mother and friends assured her it was caused by her former maid with whom she had quarreled and then dismissed and begged her to see the curandero so that he might 'pulsear'. She consistently refused and finally a worm came out of the sore spot and the wound dried up and she got well. Pedro Pascassio who lives in Chiapa, but married a woman from Chiapilla, was practically accused of murder by his wife's mother and sisters for not permitting her to be cured by a curandero. He said he did not believe in that rubbish. As far as I can gather the woman died of cancer after having received

it seems to me that the recintos are taking the place of the curanderos, not only in the curing of illness but also in the naming of brujos. However, this is a paper on illness, and I am here concerned with the recinto and with brujos only in as far as they diagnose and cure illness.

To sum up this section: illness which is caused by human beings may be due to 'mal ojo', in which case the agent is innocent of evil intentions; they^J may be due to 'mal puesto' which requires the evil intention of another person. Illness attributed to the latter may be caused by a mágico or a brujo, and the means may be some potion introduced into the food, it may be manipulation of a photograph, hair or clothes belonging to the victim; it may also be caused by the nagual of a brujo, or by the simple wish of the brujo. Illnesses may also be caused by mágicos who have learnt to exercise their art by reading books.

4. Illnesses due to emotional reasons

I said at the beginning that another class of causes may be emotional. Of this class 'espanto' is by far the most frequent.

'Espanto' literally means a fright. What happens is that the person receives a shock or a fright and at that moment 'caye el espíritu', his soul or spirit falls, he loses his spirit in that place. Most often the cause of 'espanto' is a fall in or near water. Children^{especially} are prone to 'espanto', which is not surprising as they are constantly falling. If then they become ill it is traced back to a fall. 'Espanto' need not necessarily occur in connection with water, although generally it is so.

The mother of Arturo García suffered from 'espanto' which was attributed to the shock she received upon the murder of her son just in front of her door. It was there that her 'espíritu' was thought to lie. The illness due to 'espanto' need not follow immediately. The mother of Arturo fell ill

six months after her son's death.

Indeed, a person may be cured of an 'espanto' he had many years ago. Natie Vila nearly drowned when she was a young girl. As she grew up she began to suffer from the most terrible headaches - which I guess were migraines. She has them to this day despite all the treatment from doctors and home-remedies which she applied. Her friends tell her she ought to cure herself of 'espanto', that this fright as a young girl was the cause of her headaches.

A little boy fell ill with a high temperature two days after he had slipped and fallen into the river. Obviously a case of 'espanto': he was soon cured. Many women will not take their small children to the river for fear of a fall and an 'espanto'. They prefer to buy the water and wash at home, or to pay to have their washing done, rather than run the risk.

There are various degrees of seriousness of 'espanto'. In minor cases 'una llamdita' ^(a little call) will be sufficient to cure. Any curandero or even an old woman is able to do this. If the illness is more serious, then 'una llamada' ^(llamar means to call) is made. The patient remains in bed for three days and the curandera (or curandero) comes three times a day for three days. In all, this curacion consists of nine 'llamadas' ^(calls). If the case of 'espanto' is really serious, then there is a curacion which is called 'una pepenada'. 'Pepenar' means to pick up - and this is literally what is done. The spirit of the ill person which has fallen at the place where the fright occurred, must be picked up and restored to its owner. The curandera goes to the spot where the 'espanto' occurred, to pick up the fallen spirit and lure it back to the patient.

The essential parts of all three of these curaciones of 'espanto', which are called llamadas, are: 'rezar' (to pray); 'soplar' (to blow) and 'ramar' (to sweep).

Rezar (during a llamada) ^{only} is an appeal to the Holy Trinity, to the Saints, in particular to the Patron Saint of the curandera, and to the Santa Tierra (the holy earth)

asking for the patient to be cured. Soplaris is done by the curandera when she takes a mouthful of trago and blows it out in a spray over the patient. Ramar, or 'barrar con ramas' is to pass a bundle of branches with green leaves over the body of the patient. The branches are 'caña Cristi' or 'mata-ratón', both trees found in the monte; they are first 'soplado' with trago and then passed over the face, neck, arms, legs, back and front of the patient. The two actions of 'soplar' and 'ramar' together with repeated invocations to the spirit of the patient to return to him are the essentials of all curaciones for 'espanto'. Beyond that they vary, both according to the gravity of the patient's condition and to the curandera. There are not two curanderos/as who cure alike; each has his special method and peculiarities, but these three essentials always remain: the llamada; ^(as the person is also called) the soplada; and the ramada.

Llamadita: If the patient is suffering from a slight illness and if it is thought to be 'espanto', he will be given a 'llamadita'. All that is necessary is a bottle of trago, the branches and some candles. After lighting the candles upon the altar, and appealing for the help of the Holy Trinity and the Patron Saint of the curandero, the latter proceeds to 'soplar' and then to 'ramear', the patient, calling all the time to the spirit of the patient: 'Vien a la casa espiritu, no quedas rodeando, vien espiritu, no salgas en la noche, vien en esta casa, etc.' The curacion should be made in the house of the patient, for the 'espiritu' seems to be called to return to the house rather than to the person. This was made very clear to me when a little boy was given 'una llamadita' in the house of Tomasa. Tomasa never leaves her house and for that reason could not go to the home of the boy. But she told the mother to return home with the child immediately, and that she should keep him in the house for a few days.

Llamada. I have never seen a llamada, but it seems to be similar to 'una llamadita'. The patient is usually more seriously ill and lies in bed. The curandero comes on three consecutive days: in the morning, at mid-day, and in the evening at sundown. The doors of the house remain closed during these three days and the patient should not get out of bed. No one may enter the house who was not present at the first curacion. Those who were present may leave the house and re-enter when they wish.

Pepenada. This is the most serious curacion. It can only be done by curanderos who 'saben pulsear' and thus know how to cure of witchcraft as well. When I ask villagers about 'una pepenada' they always refer to it as an occasion upon which 'comen gallinas a media noche, toman pan y cafe, y el enfermo se queda en la flor' (chicken is eaten at midnight, bread and coffee are taken, and the patient remains lying in the flowers). These three parts of the 'pepenada' strikes them most; it is by these that the 'pepenada' is identified.

I will give an account of the 'pepenada', which is a reconstruction I make from many accounts. Very few persons are able to give a complete and accurate account. Each one will tell of some part of the curacion, so I have pieced them together with the help of ~~my~~ experience gained at one llamada which I witnessed.

A 'pepenada' is always done at night, preferably when all are asleep. The curandera (curandero) arrives at about 9 p.m. and all those who will attend are already present. Generally members of the family come; the more persons there are present, the better it is. Those who attend are called the 'compañia'; they come to 'acompañar' the patient, rather reminiscent of 'acompañar el difunto'.^(to accompany the deceased) 'Compañia', that is to say many people present upon any occasion, is always considered to be a good thing and is welcomed. The only proviso about those who may attend is that they should "believe" in the efficacy of such a curacion, or at least they should not

ridicule it. One lady told me that she burst out into giggles during a 'curacion' and this was very badly thought of by the curandero, he naturally got cross.

Two 'testigos' (witnesses) are necessary for a curing ceremony. Some told me they might not be relatives of the patient, but others said this did not matter. The 'testigos' go into the 'monte' during the day in order to gather the 'flor' in which the patient is to lie. The 'flor' may be actual flowers, or they may be leaves only; often both leaves and flowers are used, but it is always called 'la flor'. These leaves are really branches cut from trees which grow on the monte (I have forgotten the name of these).

When the curandero arrives, the family should have ready the incense, the trago and the requisite number of candles. Each curandero has his own requirements, some even ask for coloured candles from San Cristobal, which is not surprising should the curandero be a 'caserito'.

The first thing the curandero does is to build a small altar. Some place it at the head and others at the foot of the bed. The curandera whom I watched told me the altar should be built 'en el rumbo' in the direction where the 'susto' (fright) took place. The altar is on the floor; a cross is placed first, then the candles and finally the leaves and flowers. As each item is placed upon this "altar" it is sprayed (soplado) with trago mixed with Sal de Ixtapa, and a short prayer is said. Here the ceremony begins, the curandero praying to the Holy Trinity, to his special saint and to the Santa Tierra to give their help. When I was present many of the prayers were from the ordinary collection of Catholic prayers from the Prayer Book, such as "Our Father" etc.

When I was present the curandero first passed the candles over the body of the patient and then lit them and placed them on the temporary altar. I do not know if this is the rule. The patient is then "swept" - 'le dan una

barrida' - which is to pass the branches with the leaves over the body, back and front, calling the spirit all the while. At the curacion I saw, these same branches were used to pray at the altar and were finally placed beneath the patient's pillow. I do not know whether this is usual, but I imagine that it is.

The curandero then leaves the house with the two (or more) 'testigos' who went to gather the 'flor'. They go to the spot wherethe 'susto' occurred, the place where 'cayo el espiritu' (the spirit fell). These, a cross of sticks is made and stuck into the ground, and candles are lit and the curandero begins to pray, or rather to entreat and implore and comand the 'dueno del lugar', ^(the owner of place) to give up the spirit of the patient. The prayers and entreaties are mainly addressed to the Santa Tierra.

The curandero, in talking to the people afterwards will say that the 'dueno del lugar' was unwilling to give up the 'espiritu' and that it had been a terrible struggle to liberate the spirit.

The concept is, that upon falling, or receiving a fright, the spirit of a person remains in that place; that this place has an owner who is unwilling to give up the 'espiritu', and the aim of the curandero is to recover it and to bring it back to the patient.

When the curandero is ready to leave, he walks towards the village, leaving the candles burning. All they way back he continues to call the spirit, often asking the 'testigos' to help him. Arturo, for example, told me that when he was 'testigo', the curandero told him to call the spirit quietly in his mind, but not to stop doing so for one moment. Others call out aloud; some curanderas have the reputation of screaming and shouting in their efforts to get back the spirit. Some use the same leaves to "sweep" (barrer) the way for the spirit all the way to the house. The curaciones are at night so that the people of the village (la gente) should not see the curandero going through the street calling all ^{continuously} the time for the spirit to follow him.

The spirit might take fright; it has to be lured back gently.

The same words are used by the curandero, ^{as are used for the 'Uamachita' and} (when it is the 'Uamachita' a ladino speaker) "come back spirit, what are you doing in the cold and the wind, why do you linger in the dark night; come back to the house; do not be afraid; do not be a coward; come back spirit of María Hernandez, etc." None of the party should look back as they return to the village.

When the party reaches the house and they are let in, the assembled company also has to help. One informant told me that she witnessed a curacion, the curandero told them to sit in silence during his absence and on no account to turn their heads when they heard him enter. Another informant said that the curandero instructed the 'compañía' to begin to call the name of the patient as soon as he entered the house.

Upon his return the curandero goes straight up to the patient to 'barrer' and 'soplar', and after that he kneels before the altar on the floor and prays once more, calling the spirit. It is at this moment, when the curandero enters the house upon return from the place of the 'susto', that the outcome of the curacion is often known. It is a critical moment. I have been told that if the patient has been unconscious he awakes at this time and may even speak, whereupon he falls into a deep refreshing sleep from which he awakes well on the way to recovery. Some say the fever drops when the curandero 'barrer' upon his return, and again the patient falls asleep.

It is important that the assembled company should keep awake 'velar' all night, or that at least one member of the 'compañía' should remain awake. If they all go to sleep the patient may get worse. For this reason trago is passed around continuously during the night. When the curacion is over, coffee and bread are served to all present, and at about midnight chicken and tortilla and chicken soup are eaten. Everyone receives equal portions and it is always stressed in accounts that it is important for everyone

present to partake equally of any food or drink which is passed around.

Early in the morning the curandero and the 'compañia' leave the house. The patient remains in the 'flor' (the leaves and flowers), which were left beneath his pillow and around his body by the curandero upon the latter's return from the place where the spirit nadfallen. He remains lying in bed, with the 'flor', for three days and should not leave his bed for that time. The doors leading to the street and to the sitio must remain closed and only those may enter the house who were present at the curacion. On the fourth day the curandero comes again to 'levantar la flor'. (to remove ~~the~~ the flowers)

Upon the occasion I witnessed, the curandera said a short prayers at the altar she had made, and then removed the candle stumps, the flowers and the incense. Similarly she removed the 'flor' from the patient's bed and ^{proceeded to} 'soplar' the sick person once more. She took the 'flor' into the ^{sitio} garden, taking great care to collect all the leaves and flowers which had been used. She placed them in the branches of a tree, the important thing being that they should lie in the shade and not in the sun, and that the animals of the patio should not get at them.

Each curandero has his own particular way of curing and his own method and preferences. It is generally thought by the Chiapilltecos that the caseros are better curanderos than the ladinos because 'resan en idioma' ^(they pray in Indian language with Spanish). Most Chiapilltecos have had a 'curacion de espanto' at some time during their lives, though it may not have been a 'pepenada'.

Colico: An illness may be attributed to 'colico' or 'bilis'. This is a disorder of the stomach which occurs because the person has been very angry. Such a disorder of the stomach may then turn into a more serious illness. Certain foods should be avoided when one has been angry, the principal one being milk. My landlady was very upset when I told her one day I had just had a row with someone and was very angry.

She said "Why did you not tell me, I would not have given you milk".

People very frequently think they suffer from 'bilis' if they do not know what is wrong with them. Considering the amount of quarreling and the prevalence of intestinal disorders, this diagnosis ~~makes sense.~~ understandable

I do not think there is a special cure for 'colico', except the common remedy of a 'lavado' (irrigation).

Traspaso: This is an upset stomach due to not having eaten a meal at the usual time. It is considered vital to eat regularly, although as far as I have observed, meals are not at all taken regularly. Of course 'traspaso' and 'colico' often go together, for ~~if~~ one has been very cross one naturally has not eaten at the time the meal was served.

Disipela: This is due to 'vergüenza' (shame). A person has been in an embarrassing situation and the next day he or she will have all the symptoms of 'disipela'. It may be swollen eyes, it may be spots all over the neck and arms, or even, in bad cases, all over the body.

For example, Natie Vila suffered badly from swollen eyes as a result of the following incident. She had bought \$ 35 (Mex) worth of meat to send to her brother in Mexico. The meat was sent to her house and there she discovered that she was short of \$ 6 worth of meat. She was very angry and said so in no uncertain terms to the meat seller. This lady did not bother to re-count the pieces of meat, but simply gave Natie the missing amount, apologizing profusely for her mistake. When Natie returned home and re-counted the pieces, she now found she had \$ 6 worth too much, so that the amount which had been sent to her originally had been correct. She was too embarrassed to return this meat so she sent \$ 6 to the meat seller.

Carmen told me that when she was pregnant with her eldest boy, her husband took her for a walk by the river. As it was a day of fiesta all the men were by the river chatting

and bathing. Carmen stumbled and fell, and she told me that she was most embarrassed to have fallen down in front of all those people. When her son was born he had a recurrent complaint of swollen eyes. He would go to bed perfectly well and wake up with his eyes swollen and stuck together. She took him to several doctors but they only cured him temporarily. Finally she cured herself of 'disipela' and the boy never had this complaint again. In this way children can suffer 'disipela' as a result of the mother's 'vergüenza'. However, this is the only occasion upon which children can suffer from this illness. In general a child cannot be ill of 'disipela'; it is only as they grow older, as they become "formal" that they are able to feel embarrassment, they learn to know shame. (This is the theory, in fact girls of ten can be very embarrassed and shy).

María Coello told me that she had 'disipela' a day after her husband 'la regañó' (scolded her) 'delante la gente' (in front of all the people). This seems to be the most frequent reason; one has had an embarrassing experience in the presence of many strangers.

The cure for 'disipela' is the following: one must go up to a person who is "hot" from work, and ask him to 'soplar'. The fact that the person should be 'sudando' ^(sweating) is particularly stressed, as is the point that it must be a person of whom one is very shy; of whom 'se tiene vergüenza' ^(one is ashamed). This person takes a mouthfull of trago and sal de Ixtapa to 'soplar' and spray the patient. It has to be done in the centre of the street or at a cross roads, that is to say in a public place, where there will be a lot of people watching. In addition the man who has been asked 'el favor', the favour of curing the patient, must say all sorts of embarrassing things to him (or her) One person told me that a man must cure a woman, and a woman must cure a man, but others said that sex made no difference. This treatment has to be repeated on three consecutive days; the person who 'cura' neednot be the same on the three days.

The essentials of the cure are that it has to be done

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in public, that the patient must be made to feel 'vergüenza', that the person who cures should be "hot" and perspiring, and the action of 'soplar'.

It is interesting that the idea of hot and cold enters this curacion as it does in so many other ideas about illness and about foods (e.g. 'ojo caliente'; certain foods are 'muy caliente'). Here there is a contrast of hot and cold in the cure; the man has to be hot from work, and the action of 'soplar' is very cold; that is to say it feels as though one is being sprayed with a jet of ice-cold water, so that it sends a shiver down one's back.

Castigo: An illness may be due to castigo. In general people say it is castigo when an accident occurs, or when some misfortune befalls a person; an illness resulting from such a misfortune is then also castigo. Thus Jesús Gómez overturned his ox-cart on a slope of a hill, so that the passengers rolled down the hill and his little son broke a leg. He was taking all his family on a picnic at the time. A number of people considered this to be castigo, because Jesús had refused to accept 'una tarde de San Pedro',^(an afternoon of San Pedro) when he had been asked to take it by the Junta de la Fiesta de San Pedro. He had wanted to use the money to build his new house.

When the 13-year old son of Rafael Velasco died, after having fallen from a tree where he had been stealing fruit, many people said it was castigo because none of the children of Rafael had been bapitized. The family took this to heart, and when the priest came they had the children bapitized.

Serafín Gómez had his hand blown off while letting off some fireworks. No one doubts that this was castigo for turning Protestant and foresaking the saints. He is now a good Catholic again.

These then are the illnesses I have placed in the class of "Illnesses due to emotional causes", or psychological causes as we would now say: Espanto, Disipela, Colico, Traspaso (this might ^{also} come under the heading "natural") and castigo.

5. Illnesses due to "Natural Causes".

I want to make it quite clear that the people have no objection to doctors or to medicines. They are quite ready to believe in their efficacy and prove this by spending much money on them. Many illnesses are thought to be illnesses in exactly the same way as we think of them. They are neither due to 'espanto' nor to 'ojo' nor to 'brujería' etc. Saramfón (chicken pox), gripa (flu) catarro (colds) are such ailments. Broken bones are cured by a bone setter; 'espacho' is constipation and is cured by a very strong massage of the body and limbs. A great number of villagers make the journey to Chiapa or to Tuxtla to see a doctor. However, it happens frequently that neither the doctors, nor the medicines taken, help.

The villagers themselves explain the failure of the doctors to cure by saying that certain illnesses are not of the kind that a doctor can cure with medicine. Thus, if it is 'ojo', then no medicine will cure the child except the duration for 'ojo'. The same holds true for 'espanto' and even more so for 'brujería'. Indeed one of the sure signs that an illness is caused by 'brujería' is that the patient has been to many doctors and has not been cured. It is for this reason that it is so important to know the cause of the ill, by whom or how it was brought about.

The people are in now way opposed to medicines is best shown by the fact that the curanderos themselves prescribe patent medicines or send their patients to a doctor. The 'recinto' always includes a prescription of some common remedy in the cure. One curandera, who is also a bruja, advised her patient to go to the schoolmaster and get an 'injection bien fresca' (a cool injection).

I explain this failure of medicines in so many cases in the following way: In the first place medicines are extremely

expensive. That is to say, the same medicines cost very much more in Chiapilla than they would in England. If then, one considers the low income of the people it becomes even more expensive for them. It is understandable that they simply cannot afford the medicines prescribed. Often my friends have told me they have not been to the doctor because what was the point of going if one did not have the money to buy the medicines. A curandero is always much cheaper. In the second place, medicines taken are not always prescribed by a doctor. In Chiapilla there are two 'practicantes', schoolmaster who have quite a lot of personal experience but who are not qualified. These men prescribe according to the directions the medical firms give on their products. Naturally they frequently have no idea of the illness of the patient. It is they who sell the medicines, give the injections and make a handsome profit out of it. Despite the fact that they overcharge grossly, these 'practicantes' are a god-send: they have introduced the use of anti-biotics, given in the form of injections, and in this way have saved a great many lives. Besides, they have gained much experience over the years, and there are a few ever-recurring illnesses in Chiapilla. The most common ones are bronchial and intestinal disorders, which if diagnosed early can be cured. There is a great likelihood of patients dying from these complaints if they are not given anti-biotics.

It is a great fortune that the country folk in this area have no objection to injections; indeed they ask to be given injections. In the same way that the English worker wants a pill or a bottle of coloured medicine which tastes dreadful, so these people ask for injections. The most popular are vitamin injections. Whatever illness the patient may have, the 'practicantes' always prescribe a series of vitamin injections. As the villagers live on a vitamin deficient diet, these injections do wonders. Many people recover extremely quickly from their complaints after taking vitamins. This is not surprising - as one of the schoolmasters quite

rightly explains to them, the injection is the same as eating a good large meal; the symptoms were due to the lack of a properly balanced diet.

The nearest doctor is in Acala and some people go to see him. However, if a doctor sets up a practice in Acala it is because he is too bad to make a living elsewhere, or because he is continually drunk, or has some other serious defect - he may not even be a doctor at all and only passes for one in the country where no one knows him.

I have already said that a large number of people go to Chiapa to see the doctor there. The difficulty is that they cannot easily go a second time when the doctor asks them to do so, for it is a strain on a sick person to endure the three hour bus ride on a bumpy road. In addition, there is the expense to be thought of and, as I said above, the high cost of medicine.

All this does not mean to say that there are not those who are just too mean to spend the money on a doctor even though they may have it; nor that there are not some people who do not believe in doctors.

The main point I wish to make here is that the majority of villagers have no objection to doctors or medicines as such. It is rather a case of the difficulty of getting to a doctor and of obtaining medicine. I do not think the villagers would refuse to visit a doctor if there would be one who practised in Chiapilla and if he showed himself to be minimally honest and successful in his treatments. They have no belief which would make them hostile to modern medicine per se.

6. The Curanderos

Unfortunately I never made friends with any of the curanderos (curanderas), nor with any brujo, so that I could not question them directly. All the information I have comes from laymen and laywomen. From them I could never

find out why an illness was cured one way rather than another; whether a curandero had to combat the brujo; what power a curandero had to undo the work of a brujo, and so on. The most I was able to obtain was a description of what happens during a curing ceremony. Again and again my informants would say 'no sabemos, ellos saben porque lo hacen, por eso son curanderos' (we do not know, they know why they do these things; that's why they are curers). On the one hand I think that people did not like to admit to knowing too much about these things, and on the other hand they really did not know. There was no unanimity either about brujos and how they did their work, nor about curanderos and what gave them the power of curing and how they learnt to cure.

Curanderos tend to specialise. Thus, Doña Micaela, the mid-wife, cures of 'ojo' and she claims that most of the children brought to her suffer from it. Doña Petra says that most of the patients she sees suffer from 'espanto'. It is therefore true to say that the patient decides what he or she is suffering from and goes to see the appropriate person. Rather in the way that we would go to see a dermatologist or a gynaecologist. If the mother thinks her child is suffering from 'ojo' she will take it straight to Doña Micaela; if the patient is not cured then the diagnosis was wrong, the child did not have 'ojo'. One woman told me that she had her baby cured of 'ojo' first of all to make sure it was not that; then she took it to the doctor. The point is that it would have been no good taking it to the doctor had it been 'ojo'. Medicines cannot cure if it is 'ojo' - it is not that kind of an illness. The same is true of 'espanto' and of all kinds of 'hechicería'. Often, when I asked how the people knew a certain illness was 'puesto' they would say that they had been to the doctors and had bought very expensive medicines and the patient had not been helped. It was plainly 'otra enfermedad' (a different kind of illness, a euphemism for brujería).

There seems to be no regular prescribed way of becoming a curandero. All those whom I asked told me that they had not been taught, but had learnt through practising. However, the husband of Doña Michela, who is a mid-wife and cures children's illnesses, was a well know curandero who could read the pulse (pulsear). He was said to have died of 'mal puesto' - it was thought that a rival curandero had "done him in". I talked to Michela's daughter, who had just attended^{at} her second confinement. She said that her mother had "talked to her", but that she had never been present while her mother attended at a birth; she had ^{received no} not had practical teaching. It was a 'gracia' (which she had been given)

Doña Fostens is a very respected curandera who knows of many herbs and practical cures and who also prescribes patent medicines. She too is a mid-wife with great experience. She told me that none of her family had been curers but that she had had a dream in which a woman in white had presented her with many babies. Later she was called by Juan Robles, an old man and a good curer, who told her she must learn for he would die soon and then there would be no one left to help people in their need. I had no way of checking this story.

Doña Petra, who is a much feared curandera, is said to have had a good friend and comadre who was curandera but who is now dead.

I began by saying that illnesses are diagnosed and cured not so much according to the symptoms but by finding out what caused the symptoms. If one asks what is the matter with a child, the answer might be "a high temperature and diarrhoea". I suppose that a doctor would say that these symptoms are typical of a number of diseases and would then proceed to look for further symptoms which would identify it as one particular illness and no other. The curandero looks to see how his patient got the symptoms and the cures accordingly.

My difficulty with this statement is that this is untrue of illnesses due to 'espanto' and to 'achiceria'.

Although caused in different ways, the same curandero diagnoses and cures them and as far as I can gather the cures are very similar. I have listed 'espanto' under "Illnesses due to emotional (psychological) reasons", while 'hechiceria' I listed under "Illnesses caused intentionally by other persons". I have no explanation for this and think the trouble is that I have not sufficient information on this whole subject of brujeria.

There is an enormous amount of illness in Chiapila. If one asks a person what is the matter, what are they suffering from, the most common replies will be 'Tengo calentura' (I have a high temperature); 'Tengo par abajo' (I have diarrhoea - which may well be dysentery, I do not know); 'Tengo catarro' (I have a cold). Children in particular are frequently down with a temperature, and many babies have perpetual colds. The colds and bronchial complaints are due, I believe, to the change in temperature between day and night, and the fact that one blanket or no covering at all is the rule among these people who generally sleep on the floor. Intestinal troubles are also very common, but again I do not know what these disorders are due to. It may be the drinking water. Anti-biotics cure them temporarily.

Before a person goes to see a doctor or a curandero he (or she) tries a home cure.

A very common cure for all disorders, whether it be temperature, stomach trouble, headaches, etc. is a 'lavado' (irrigation), either with water or with some herb. 'Un vomitivo' is equally common and these remedies are administered as home remedies, mothers prescribing it for their children, rather as the Victorians (and my own father still does) prescribed a good dose of castor oil as a cure-all. All the curanderos prescribe them as well, and before a curacion de Espanto' the patient is frequently given a 'lavado'. Whenever a person

is unwell he is put on a diet; if a person is taking any medicines or is going to have injections, no matter for what complaint, he at once goes on a diet. Just as a doctor might say to us that the patient should be kept on a "light" diet for a few days, so the villagers have a similar idea, except the foods which are considered to be hard to digest are different from the ones we believe to be so.

In Chiapilla all food is divided into two classes. Hot foods and cold foods. Among hot foods are included hens (but not chickens), beef, eggs, fish, chile, ice cream, milk. Cold foods are pork, chicken soup, chocolate, cocks, young chickens, fruits, cheese. Cold foods are sometimes called 'fresco' (cool) and ill persons are permitted to eat some of the 'fresco' foods, but no "hot" foods at all. I do not yet understand the significance of this division, nor can I explain the difference of opinion as to whether a certain food is "hot" or "cold". I can only say at present that they use the concept of hot and cold food rather in the way that we say such and such a food is difficult to digest, that it should not be eaten when one is ill or at night before going to bed.

S. DEATH IN PHILIPPINA - Corrections

- Page 1 : line 15 : receive, or it may be that the suddenness is only apparent; that in....
- Page 3 : line 14 : Omit (ready) suppose he had laid aside some ready cash.
- Page 6 : line 22 : Omit "Where ... etc" the arrangements. Unlike the U.S. (and may be included) where ~~statistical studies etc.~~
- Page 12 : line : 30 Add went to dig the grave and did not leave for his meal. It is usual for the deceased to be buried in the same grave as one of his relatives who died ten or fifteen years earlier. Permission is asked for and granted by the Presidente. If any remains of the previous funeral are found these are re-buried in the new grave. Generally a person is buried in the same grave as an older sibling, parent or grandparent.
- Page 18 : line 38 relatives and all others present have thrown a little earth on the coffin the men.....
- Page 21 : line : 12 "Change [town] for Village ... of the village council), and another man.....
- Page 28 : line : 4 Add then he will mention three things: "Hay harta atol agnig y tamales" (There is lots of atol, agnig and tamales); "todo el pueblo se va al cementerio" (the whole village goes to the cemetery); "dejan co dia en el altar para que co an los espinitus" (they leave food on the altar so that the spirits will eat). And of course they always.....
- Page 30 : line : 18 Omit (See Paper on Change)
- Page 31 : line : 2 Omit sentence in brackets. there would be food waiting for them. (As it do n t have my indexed notes here I have not reproduced the st rics accurately but will do so as soon as I get them) OMIT

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DEATH - Corrections

Page 7 : Line 26 : their father Samuel should have passed to them,.....

Page 7 : Line 37 : in the house next door but one.....

Page 12 : Line 7 : Title of step-sons having to claim their father's
land from their step-father. I have not.....

Page 12 : Line 29 : it is not the second husband) and

Page 12 : Line 32 : Husband and then it would be difficult to change
the heir had the wife been the appointed heir.

Page 13 : Line 6 : Onit the passage in bracket (I can't think etc.

Page 13 : Line 17 : house; that owners are Change comma to
semi-colon.

And its Economic Consequences

B. DEATH IN CHIAPILLA

Lilo Stern

8.1. Death

Death is a very familiar thing to the Chiapiltecos. It is in fact very much part of life and of living, and is treated as such.

Everybody, including the children have seen dead and dying people, as death is not a time to isolate people, as we do, but rather a time for much company.

People talk a great deal about death. They use the word in every day conversation rather as we do, in the sense "I would die of hunger if I had no tortillas", or "I would die if I had to do this". Frequently when a person has been sick, he or she will say 'me iba a morir' but this expression in Chiapilla is not quite as figurative as it would be if used in England. People do die with remarkable suddenness. It may be that they have little physical resistance because of the poor nourishment they receive, or it may be that the suddenness is apparent; that in fact they die from some illness from which they have been suffering for a long time; for doctors or curanderos are only sought at the very last moment.

Old men and women frequently talk of their expected death and make arrangements for their burial expenses, and for who is to bury them. Thus one old lady sold two-thirds of her house sitio to her son-in-law. She explained that she had retained the last third, so that her son-in-law might bury her upon her death. That is to say, the last third of the sitio would pass to him upon the old lady's death, and instead of paying her for it as he had done the other two-thirds, he would pay for her funeral. Mothers teach their daughters to do all the work around the house, telling them to learn well, as they (the mothers) might die and then the girls would have to manage on their own. The mother who tells her daughter this, does not, of course expect to die; nevertheless, it is not uncommon to find a 12 or 13 year-old looking after her father and her siblings.

Whichever way a person dies, the funeral ceremony is the same. It is the same for men and for women, but different for a young child. More money is spent on the funeral by a well-off family than by a poor one, but in essence the funeral remains the same.

The real difference to the family of the deceased, is whether the death was sudden and unexpected, or if they were prepared for it. The biggest thing about a funeral - apart from the fact that a person has died - is the expense. It is quite impossible to bury a person without providing a meal, without at least killing a small pig. I have asked again and again what happens when the mourners are very poor and the invariable answer is "why they have to borrow". 'But if they cannot repay', I insist. "Que lo vea", is the answer, which roughly means 'well that's just too bad'.

If a person has been seriously ill for a long time, then the money for his or her funeral is put aside, or saved up. Cosme Hernández had been ill for a very long time, and was on the point of dying several times. Wishing to convey the seriousness of his state a neighbour told me that they had already ordered the bread which was to be given at the wake, and that she had heard that two turkeys had been bought as well; the pig for the funeral meal had already been set apart for weeks.

A little boy of thirteen died suddenly the night after he had fallen off a tree and broken his arm. As his family was large and seem forever in financial difficulties, I asked how they would pay for the funeral. Several persons told me "They will have to use the money they had put aside for Isaias, the aged father of the mother (grandfather to the boy), who had been wasting away for months.

Similarly the Presidente's mother-in-law had been seriously ill for months. As he was a good son-in-law, he had spent much money on doctors and medicines, and his wife still retained hopes of the old lady living. While we were chatting in the Presidencia one day, the Presidente remarked that soon he would be needing 'mi paguita para enterrar la viejita'; and he said he intended to sell one of his cows next weeks in order to have the money ready. The old lady did finally die, but ~~it~~ it was several months later and not several weeks later as the Presidente had expected.

If the death is unexpected things are much more difficult and disorganized. If the family of the deceased is comparatively well-off, if they are shop keepers, or cantineros or cattle traders, they usually have sufficient ready cash to pay for the expenses. When Arturo Garcia was shot, his three brothers between them supplied the cash and I did not hear that any of them had to

sell anything in order to obtain it. One of the brothers deals in maize and the other is a shopkeeper so they are likely to have ready money.

When Isabel Perez, a young woman of 32 died suddenly there was no money, and I heard that her husband had borrowed money at the time, and had sold some of his donkeys later on to pay off the debt.

When Erasto Gonzales was killed, I discovered that his widow got the pig for the funeral meal on credit, the seller being willing to wait until the widow could raise the money. My informants told me that she had borrowed the rest of the money. I found out by chance some months later that she happened to have some ready money at the time of her husband's death, because he had intended to go to Tuxtla the next week to have his teeth seen to. For this purpose he had laid aside some ready cash.

It is extraordinarily hard to find out exactly how a particular funeral is paid for, and where the money comes from. The example of Erasto Gonzales is a typical one; everyone told me that his wife had borrowed the money, and it was only because I remembered to ask her neighbour about this, some months later when I had an opportunity to talk to her, that I found out the truth. This neighbour knew, because Erasto had intended to go to Tuxtla with her husband on the next day (the day after he died).

However, in this case, a statement from an informant about how she thinks the money was obtained is quite sufficient. It will be a statement about how money is generally obtained in these circumstances, and we are, after all, interested in this, rather than in knowing how this particular person obtained his money. It is sufficient in this case, because the informant misinforms simply because she does not know the actual facts, and it is not the custom to say 'I do not know' in answer to a question. People will always answer in some way or ~~to~~ other, saying what they think most probably occurred, and this is all the anthropologist wants to know in this case.

There is a different kind of misinformation which tells the enquirer something else. It is in cases when there is reason to hide the truth. In the example I gave above, the informant was not anxious to hide information. There is no secrecy about how the

money for a funeral is obtained. If my question had for example, been about sibling incest, I might well have been told that such a thing never occurs. This answer would not have been a statement as to what the informant thought was the general rule; it would be a statement of what the informant considered 'ought' to be the rule.

Thus I have given an example of two types of inaccurate information. The first is a good guide to what actually happens, and the second is not a guide to what happens, but it is a guide to what it is felt ought to happen.

Funeral of an Adult

I have already pointed out (Paper on Fiestas) that essentially a funeral ceremony is no different from any occasion upon which food is distributed. That is to say, the principles upon which food and drink are distributed are the same. I will describe "a correct funeral", a funeral as it ought to be, in the minds of the Chiapilltecos, and I shall mention any deviations there are from this. It is curious that of all the ceremonies which occur during the life cycle - birth, marriage, birthdays, etc. - there is least variation in the funeral ceremony. In Chiapilla, where there appears to be so little conformity, there seems to be most conformity at death.

If an adult dies two things are absolutely essential. The "velada", or all-night wake, and the preparation and distribution of a festive meal; that is to say a pig is killed and 'sopa de arroz' is served as well as 'pozol con chocolate' (see Fiesta Paper). If the deceased died early in the morning, he is not buried until the afternoon of the next day, in order to permit the "velada"; and this despite the heat and the rapid decomposition of the body.

When an adult dies, he should first of all be washed and dressed in clean clothes. This should not be done by "relatives"; they are not permitted to touch the corpse. When I tried to discover who were these "relatives" (parientes), I found there was general agreement that neither children, nor parents, nor siblings nor aunts and uncles nor cousins nor the spouse of the deceased should touch him. There was a difference of opinion about whether relatives-in-law might do so, i.e. relatives of the spouse, or relatives of the siblings' spouse. Such rules are never very strict

in Chiapilla and my informants always qualified their statements that in an emergency, or if there were no one else, even such close relatives might wash and carry the body; and I myself have seen this happen. However it is preferable that they do not do so. In any case there was complete agreement that a "stranger" meaning one who is not of the family, is the ideal person to wash and clothe the body. A neighbour or friend should come in, said all the informants. Usually a woman will wash the deceased, whether it be male or female. No importance is attached to the sex of the washer and the sex of the deceased.

The body should be dressed in new clothes, and if the 'dueño del difunto' (literally the owner of the deceased), the one who is paying, can afford it, the new clothes are ordered to be made immediately. For a man, a shirt and a pair of trousers; for a woman a long white gown. When the body has been washed and dressed, which is done as soon as possible before rigor mortis sets in, the chin is tied with a kerchief or a cloth, and cotton wool is usually put in the nose and mouth. The big toes are tied together so that the feet should lie together. The hands are tied together so that they rest folded on the breast and a cross of blessed palm is placed between the fingers; at times a candle is placed in the crook of the arm.

The body is placed on a table in the centre of the room. As the majority of houses consist of one room only, this means that the body is placed in the centre of the house, and all the belongings of the inhabitants are hastily removed and dumped outside in the 'coredor'.

When the new clothes have been made, the body is clothed in these, often over the ones in which it is already clothed, for the body is by then too stiff for it to be undressed and re-dressed. Among the poorer people the body (male or female) is simply dressed in a clean change of clothes. On one occasion I witnessed, the family was so poor that the child who died did not have a change of clothes. A sister of the dead boy was sent to the river to wash his clothes so that he could be buried in clean clothes.

Four candles are kept continuously burning besides the body two at the head and two at the feet. The image of a saint (picture image) which is taken from the house-altar, is placed at the

head of the body. The table upon which the body lies is covered with tissue paper. This tissue paper is bought in the shops and then folded and cut into patterns with scissors; it is then unfolded and the effect is a little like lace. This same kind of paper is used to decorate the house altars and to decorate the houses and streets on fiestas. Some women are expert at cutting the patterns, and are 'invited' to prepare the decoration for the deceased. They do not charge money in these circumstances, although they do charge when it is for altar decoration for fiestas. ~~Some-women-are~~ Any flowers that are brought are placed on the table around the body. Both the paper and the flowers should be white which is the funeral colour.

This description of what happens in the first three or four hours upon the death of a person is written as though it were an orderly sequence of events. Nothing could be further from the truth. The confusion and muddle is indescribable, and the only wonder is that it always ends up with the corpse all clean and dressed, laid out upon a table in the middle of a room. The main impression I always had was that all the arrangements from beginning to end were bungled and amateur. After all, it is never the first time the participants have seen a death and have helped in the arrangements. Unlike the US (and maybe England), where statistical studies have shown a very low percentage of families that have experience with death, funeral directors, etc. - "everyone knows perfectly well what has to be done. Yet the impression given is that it is the very first time they are arranging for a funeral.

As soon as a person dies, the house is invaded by neighbours, passers-by and anyone else who is curious or interested. Women and children especially crowd into the house to gaze and chatter. The ~~corp~~ main subject of conversation at this time, and throughout the time the corpse is laid out, is the manner of death. The events preceding death are gone over repeatedly and in great detail. What the deceased said, what he ate, where he felt pain, what medicines he took, whom he talked to, etc. etc. The neighbours who undertake to wash and dress the body have to fight their way through the crowd to do their work.

There is the inevitable crisis about the table. Most houses have no table except the altar table. If this is large enough it is used for the body, if not, a table has to be borrowed. Upon one

such occasion when I was present, it had been thought that the altar table would do. When the corpse had been lifted onto the table it was discovered that it was too small, so one man was left to hold the feet of the body which were dangling over the edge of the table, while another rushed off to borrow a larger table. When he finally returned with a table large enough for the body, they got into a terrific muddle trying to get the new table into the house, and the other table out of the house, everyone shouting instructions, while the two men were hanging onto the body during this time.

I have described this scene in detail, because this kind of situation is not unusual, and happens repeatedly. No one seemed to be particularly shocked or upset at it. I guess I was the only one present who thought it was improper and undignified. The Chiapiltecos definitely do not have the same sense of dignity, nor of ridicule that we have; and this I believe is true of all Mexicans.

Women's part

Simultaneously with the death, begins the wailing of the women. Anthropologists have frequently pointed out that this wailing is an obligation and that the tears are turned on and off at will. The mourner may or may not be truly unhappy and upset at the death. However, it is perfectly easy to see whether the woman is genuinely affected or not. In the former case she really cries and sobs, in the latter case she merely produces a few perfunctory wails.

Men take no part in the wailing; indeed they hardly enter the house where the deceased is laid out. Occasionally a drunk will be sprawled on the ground but normally not even the closest male relatives sit inside the house. I have, on occasions, seen a man standing quietly in a corner in deep affliction, crying to himself. This is respected by everyone, and is not commented upon either favorably or unfavorably. The men normally sit on benches, or on the ground outside the house, whether it be in the sitio or in the street. Apart from just sitting around, there is work for the men to do as will appear later.

The only exception to this rule, I observed in the case of the funeral of Arturo Garcia. This family is the leader of custom, and comes from Chiapa de Corzo. At this funeral some of the male members of the family would spend some time sitting inside the house in the presence of the body, and would take part in the rezo. However even on that occasion the majority of the men remained outside.

From the time of death to the moment that the body is carried from the house there should be one woman present constantly as a kind of representative of the mourners, or as a chief mourner. This woman is the widow of the deceased, the mother, sister or daughter. I do not know of a case where not one of these relatives was available, but I guess that the nearest female relative - the one who was paying for the funeral, or whose husband was paying, would occupy this place. One informant explained to me that the person who was most affected by the death, would be the one to receive the condolences if none of the close family were available. A young girl is not sufficient; it has to be an adult woman.

This chief mourner, as I call her, wails over the body and cries; she also receives the gifts of all those who have come to 'acompañar' the body. At times the whole burden falls upon one woman. When Fernando, a boy of 13 who fell from a tree, died, there was only his mother to wail for him. He was the eldest child so that there was no elder sister. He had no grandmother, neither did he have any aunts, as neither of his parents had siblings in Chiapilla. The poor mother was completely exhausted by the end of the day, and although her grief was genuine, she simply did not have the physical energy to cry any more. Apart from the dead son, she had to cope with two children under six and a baby at the breast. In the case of Pedro, a little boy of six who died, there were three women who took turns to wail and to receive condolences; his mother, a mother's sister, and his grandmother (mother's mother).

As each visitor enters, this chief mourner breaks out into tears and wails. If the visitor is a close relative or one very fond of the deceased, she too will sob and cry.

Every visitor brings one candle at least, worth 50 centavos. There are three sizes of candles, those for 20 centavos, those for 50 centavos and those of \$1. Each person brings as many candles and whatever size she thinks suitable. "Lo que tiene voluntad". I guess it is determined by the closeness to and affection for the deceased. Those who can obtain some flowers bring them as well. Frequently the visitors bring food to help with the meal. Particularly if the deceased was very poor the neighbours will bring a small amount of maize, or panela, of rice, of cacao or coffee, or whatever they can spare- money can also be contributed: between \$1 and \$5 is normal; it is called a 'limosna'. Everyone knows that "el gasto es duro".

As each visitor arrives and offers her condolences the chief mourner breaks out in wails. She will say the following kind of thing: "mi hijito, mi hijito de mi corazon ... now you will speak to me no more, now I will not hear your voice; only yesterday you spoke to me; you asked for your pozol, you asked for a refresco and I sent you out to get it; only a week ago you were well and running about; you would visit your grandmother, you would want to go and see her; I called for the doctor but he could not cure you; only yesterday you spoke to me, you asked for your food; my son whom I reared with so much trouble, etc." If it is a parent who died the principal refrain will be "Ora soy huerfano, no tengo ni madre ni padre, soy sola horita . . . she used to come to visit me, to talk to me; I would give her pozol, or her tortilla when she came; I would send her fruits when I had some; she complained of a pain in the night and I told her to take a remedy; but she would not listen; and why did you die and leave me huérfano; yesterday you were alive and you had only a little pain, etc."

The content of the wailing is usually a description of the feelings of the mourner, and an account of the last few days of the deceased, what she said and ate, and what pains she had, etc. I have given examples of cases where the mourners were genuinely grief-stricken. There are other instances where this is not the case. The mother-in-law of Carlotta died in her house. This lady had been ill for many months, and Carlotta had had to

look after her, as well as after her own children. In addition Carlotta had to earn money by selling water, because her husband was ill with T.B. Thus the death of her mother-in-law was a relief, the more so as she was an old lady and there had been no hope of curing her. As the visitors came in, Carlotta would give a perfunctory sob and receive the candle or the gift offered. She was not considered hard-hearted on this account, as everyone understood the circumstances. The widow of Arturo García, on the contrary, was badly thought of. She hardly cried or wailed during the time her husband was laid out. It was the general opinion that this was proof of the fact that she had not loved him.

I have said that each visitor brings some gift or at least a candle. Upon entering the house where the deceased lies, the visitor goes straight up to the chief mourner, embraces her and says some words of condolence. Usually to the effect that "tiene que conformarse", she must resign herself. In the case of a sudden death, a frequent comment is "era su destino", "era su suerte". The visitor then sits down upon one of the benches which have been placed around the walls of the room. These benches are borrowed either from the school, or from such houses as have benches. The women all come with their rebozos with which they keep their heads covered in the presence of the dead. They sit down and remain there anything between half an hour, which is the minimum, to two hours or longer. The visitors sit and chat; if the death was exciting or interesting, this will be the subject of conversation. There is not the idea we have of "sparing the feelings of the mourners by not talking about the incidents preceding the death". On the contrary, interest is interpreted as sympathy and the mourner herself will endlessly repeat all the details and circumstances. If the death was uninteresting and long expected, such as the death of Carlotta's mother-in-law, then the conversation will be general gossip. As always when there is a gathering of women, there are countless children, babies and toddlers around, playing and quarreling and screaming; dogs and chickens wander in and out at will, and the flies buzz around the corpse.

Those who wish to come to "acompañar" the deceased, but are unable to do so, send their little daughters with flowers and candles, or/and some gift. It is usually persons who are unable to leave their house because they are old or ill or have little children. Occasionally a well-off person who does not want to come along personally, sends a gift. If a woman unable to come herself, has a teen-age daughter, she will be sent to represent her mother.

Rezo

At some time during the period that the body is laid out, the rezadora will come to "rezar" the dead. Again this is a women's affair. Men never enter the house during a "rezo" but remain outside. The only exception I have seen to this was at the funeral of Arturo García (which was not typical). At least one rezo is said, but if the chief mourner is devout, two or three are said before the body is buried. The rezadora is "invited" and not paid for this.

Food

The chief mourner has nothing whatever to do with the preparing and serving of the food. If she is the widow then she will give the money as and when those who are in charge ask for it. If a man is responsible for the outlay then he is asked for the money. The person who pays will decide upon the number and size of the pigs to be killed, and the number of hens of turkeys. The meat is the centre of the meal, and from the amount of meat provided follows the size of the meal and the number of people who can be fed.

The food is always prepared in a neighbour's house; one who lives next door, or opposite, or in the adjoining patio (back yard neighbour). It is never prepared further than two houses off. I tried hard to find a rule as to who will prepare the meal, but it seems that it is a matter of friendship, and that usually the neighbour offers to undertake the job, or if she does not offer, the mourner will ask her the favour. Usually my friends were able to guess who would prepare the meal, or they would state two or three alternatives. Although close relatives

may not handle the body directly, they can and do help with the preparation of the food.

The women I noted as helping at funerals were usually all related in one way or another to the deceased or to his wife, the only non-relative being the neighbour in whose house the food was being cooked; occasionally this neighbour's family will help and occasionally not. It depends upon them. The fact that most of the women helping were relatives is not surprising; as relationship is counted very far, and as at least a third of the population is related to each individual in one way or another, (through father, mother, spouse, or sibling's spouse) it is not surprising that the helpers are usually related. Which of the many relatives turn up to help depends upon the degree of friendship there exists between them rather than upon genealogical closeness.

The Chiapiltecos do not have the idea that in an emergency, or upon death, quarrels and feuds are forgotten. Quarrels and feuds do indeed pass, and people make up, and resume relationships after an estrangement; but I do not know of a case in which an emergency or illness or death was the occasion for making up a quarrel. On the contrary, I have seen cases of siblings or children not appearing at the funeral because of a quarrel.

Maria Coello, the daughter of Antonia, did not come to "mirar", to look at her mother upon her death, because of a recent quarrel they had, and because of a quarrel with her half-brother in whose house the old lady died. The quarrel was about inheritance. Similarly, neither Miguel nor Clemente Dominguez attended the funeral of their brother Isaias, nor would they contribute to the expenses. The reason was that they both disapproved of the way Isaias had given all his property to his daughter and son-in-law, some time before his death. This daughter and son-in-law wasted away all the money, so that there was no even sufficient to pay for the doctor or medicines when the old man fell ill. The daughters of Miguel Dominguez did attend their uncle's (f. Br.) funeral. I should add that both Miguel and Clemente are well-to-do, but have the reputation of being very miserly.

The cook-helpers attend either by invitation or because of "volundad". That is to say, as in any other fiesta (See Fiesta Paper) the dueña - in this case the neighbour in whose house the meal is prepared, sends round to several women asking them to come and help. Each woman is told in advance what she will be expected to do, i.e., the pozol, or the meat or the 'sopa', etc. The chief cook is often not a relative of the deceased; she is a 'comidera', that is to say, an older woman who is known to cook well, and to have experience in preparing this kind of large meal. It needs quite some character to organize all the helpers so that the meal is ready to be served at the proper time; it also needs experience to judge the expected number of guests, and to make the food go round. If there is too little one cannot pop round the corner to buy some more in the store; the food has to be cooked on the open fire for several hours, and if there is too little nothing can be done about it, expect that some have to go short, and this is the cause for much "vergüenza".

In addition to those helpers who have been 'invited', are those who come of their own accord, or who send their teen-age daughters to help. These are generally relatives.

As in the fiesta, the almuerzo has to be served first. If the mourners can afford it, one or two chickens or turkeys are killed for this, so that the meat of the pig/pigs can be kept for the 'comida'. All the men who are helping (see below) are given almuerzo; all the helpers themselves and their children; the mourning family if they can be persuaded to eat, and the rezadora.

Pozol with chocolate is served at about 11 or 12 a.m. A large jug is sent to the pantéon for the men who are digging the grave, "abrir la sepultura". It is sent out to relatives and friends of the deceased, on the same principles used for fiesta meals (See Paper); all present in the house and sitio, as well as the helpers are served with pozol. Those who come to "acompañar" the deceased during the morning are given pozol if there is sufficient. Sometimes a sweet liquor is served to the visitors.

The comida, which is the same as a fiesta comida, is served to the men making the coffin, to those who have returned from digging the grave, to the cook-helpers, and it is sent out to

friends, relatives and compadres. All those who should receive the meal in the house, but for some reason are not present, have it sent to their homes.

With the comida ends the responsibility of the "comideras" although usually they make some coffee to serve to those few who return to the house after the funeral. The only difference between the food at a funeral and that at a fiesta is that no "tamales" are made.

The Men

The principal obligations of men at a funeral are the "velada" (the wake) and "abrir la sepulturo" (digging the grave). I stated at the beginning of the paper that the wake was essential at the death of any adult. It takes place the night following upon the death. Benches are borrowed usually the same ones which are inside the house during the day, are taken outside, and a gasoline lamp is hired and is hung in the doorway of the house. The essential thing is that there should be plenty of trago. Beer is not drunk at funerals.

The men who intend to take part in the "velada" arrive about 10 p.m. or 11 p.m., and spend all night sitting or lying on the benches, and in the road, with the trago bottle being passed round continuously. I do not know for certain (in the sense of having witnessed one myself), who attends the "velada". However I think that the friends, compadres and relatives of the deceased come, as well as any men who fancy some free trago. 'Relatives' is used here in the same wide sense as when I referred to the women cook-helpers being relatives. Those relatives "que se llevaron con el defunto", who were on good terms with the deceased.

No women come to the wake, and the only women about would be the female members of the nuclear family of the deceased, who remain inside the house. In the early morning, "la madrugada", coffee and bread is served to those who remained throughout the night. As far as I gather the night is passed in drinking and gossiping. In the morning the men can be seen to stagger through the streets, quite drunk. Frequently they continue to drink in the cantinas. It is well known that once a man has started

drinking, he will continue, "agarrar fuerza", is the expression used. It is only the very few men who are able to take a drink or two whether it be beer or trago - and then stop. For this reason, some men who know they cannot 'take too much drink' i.e. "que se discomponen", who get out of control easily and start quarrelling and fighting, avoid fiestas or 'veladas' so that they should not get into trouble. It is considered a 'good thing' to spend the night at a velada. It is really accompanying the body during the night; for the women (except those of the nuclear family) do not remain with the body during the night.

The second duty, exclusively in the hands of men, is the digging of the grave. This has to be done by friends and may not be done by any of the close relatives. Again, 'relatives' means father, son, brother, or first cousin or uncles. These may accompany the men to the cemetery in order to attend to them - serving trago and pozol - but they should not take part in digging. When I asked why they could not dig the grave, I received the same reply as to the question why may no relative wash the dead. "Es malo", it is bad. Few know why it is bad nor what would happen if someone did do it. Some think the offender would die or become ill. I believe that those who go to dig the grave do so "por voluntad" and are not 'invited'. They leave for the cemetery about 10 a.m. and return about 1 p.m., very tipsy. They are given their comida, or if they do not come to the house of the deceased, the meal is sent to them in their home; this always involves quarreling and disputes between the comidera and the member of the deceased family who was sent to the cemetery, for it is he who must remember who went to dig the grave and did not turn up for his meal.

The coffin is usually made by a villager who has experience in making coffins. I only witnessed two funerals in which the coffin was brought from Acala. That of Arturo García, and that of Cosme Hernández, both of well-to-do families. Those who can afford it, will ask one of the carpenters of the village to make the coffin. Most often, a man who 'knows' how to make coffins, but who is not a carpenter, is 'invited' to come and

make it. This man is not paid, but receives his food throughout the day, and of course plenty to drink.

Two of the men who are usually so 'invited' live Arriba, and are invited by the Arribeños; and there are two Abajeños who are invited by those of their own barrio. There is no strict rule about Abajeños asking those who live abajo, and Arribeños asking those who live Arriba. It is merely that the men of one's own barrio are more familiar to one they are known 'son conocidos, hay mas confianza'. Should neither of the men of one's neighborhood be able to come, a man from the other barrio may well be asked. The coffin maker is helped by two other men, who are either friends or relatives of the deceased.

Trago is passed round at regular intervals to everyone who is in the house or in the sitio. The number of times depends upon the amount the mourners is willing or able to spend. Often a 'compuesto' a sweet concoction made of wines and trago, is passed around for the women. The men always are given trago.

The burial in Chiapilla is always in the afternoon about 4 p.m. It is announced over the village loud-speaker for 3 p.m. and the procession usually sets off about four. In the rainy season an effort will be made to leave earlier so that the people accompanying the body will not get caught in the rains.

The body is placed in the coffin as soon as it has been made. It is customary to place some clothes in the coffin. There is no agreement as to how many of the clothes, nor which clothes. The hat is never buried with the deceased. There is a difference of opinion about whether shoes and sandals should be included. One change of clothes is the minimum; this is placed beneath the head as a pillow. Often there is a little discussion as to which clothes should go, and at times someone remembers at the last moment before the coffin is closed that the clothes have not been put in. There is a frantic search to find some among the family bundle of laundry.

I did not find an informant who could tell me why clothes should be buried with the deceased. "Para acompañar el defunto", was the answer sometimes given. One woman told me the clothes

were buried because "es mal" that others wear the clothes of the deceased person. However, she said, when her mother died she cut down some of her clothes for her little daughter to wear, and nothing ever happened to her. So, she concluded, it could not be true that it is bad to wear a dead person's clothes. I have frequently found this empirical attitude towards customs and traditions amongst Chiapilltecos. A number of informants pointed out to me that the caseros would bury food and drink with their dead, and how very ridiculous and childish this was.

Upon two occasions I witnessed, there was a "rezo" just before the burial. At other times the rezo had already been said and no additional rezo was said at this time. The coffin is closed inside the house, and just before this is done all the women wail and cry as a last good-bye to the deceased. There is usually quite a deal of argument before the coffin is finally nailed down, as to who is to do it, and how it is best to be done, and the nails cannot be found, and so on.

Usually the chief mourners, both male and female go to the cemetery and leave a friend to look after the house in their absence. However I have seen cases where the woman was too old, or too exhausted to go, and was persuaded to remain behind. The mother of Arturo García was such a case, as was the mother of Fernando, the 13-year old boy.

The coffin is taken into the street and lashed onto two poles, so that four men carry the coffin on their shoulders. The close male relatives may not carry the coffin; again they have to rely on friends; these may be, but are not necessarily the same who came to dig the grave. The coffin bearers head the procession; there follow the men who will take turns in carrying the coffin; they walk either besides the coffin or immediately behind or in front. Then follows the rezadora who chants and recites prayers all the way to the cemetery, with the responses given by the women who accompany the coffin. The rezadora is again 'invited' but not paid for this. Then follow all the women, with rebozos on their heads, and lastly come the men. Generally there are fewer men in the procession than

women. The men keep their hats on, and only those who carry the coffin go bare-headed. Indeed, this is the only occasion I have seen men without their hats. It is frequent, although not general that men keep their hats on when entering a house.

The procession goes through the main street of the village. The villagers all come to the doors of their houses to watch it pass by, and many who wish to accompany the body join the procession as it passes their house; so that the procession increases as it moves through the village.

The order of the procession is not strictly kept. The path is full of holes and stones and puddles, so that in itself prevents a strict order. But apart from that, the order of the procession is not taken too seriously. I do not think much importance is attached to it. It is simply that the women in general do not like to go together with the men, and vice-versa. It takes a good half hour to reach the cemetery; what is more, the road to the cemetery is so situated that the sun shines straight into the eyes of those going towards it from the village. In other words it is a hot, uncomfortable, and tiring trail to the cemetery. A number of people therefore accompany the body to the end of the village and return home from there.

When the procession has reached the grave, another muddle ensues. The main trouble is that everyone crowds round, eager to see the coffin being lowered into the grave. Sometimes the relatives of the deceased ask for the coffin to be opened at this moment, and if this is done the wailing and screaming of the women which has persisted off and on throughout the journey to the cemetery, reaches new limits. Others do not open the lid and the coffin is lowered into the grave.

Before the grave is filled in, any young children of the deceased are passed over the grave in the form of a cross. Those informants who knew why this was done, said it was to prevent the spirit of the departed from fetching the child. After a frantic search for the children, and when they have finally been located and passed over the grave, and when the relatives have thrown a little earth on the coffin, the men

begin to fill in the grave. At this point the women leave the cemetery. Only the men remain, to finish the grave and to sit around and drink. They return about one or two hours later. A few intimate friends return to the house to 'acompañar' the mourner, but the majority of people return to their homes. Some of the men pass by the house on their return from the cemetery and receive some coffee and bread; most of them return to their homes.

After the coffin has been carried from the house, a candle is placed on the floor so that no one should step over the place where the coffin was; a glass of water is placed next to the candle. Some people place four candles in a rectangle which mark out the exact area where the coffin stood. The house is not swept until the end of the 'novena'; the rubbish and the old faded flowers are left to lie around. It is said it would "be bad" to sweep, and that there would be many deaths in the family if it were done. In fact all the funeral customs are said to be kept, to prevent other members of the family from following. There is a hazy idea that the departed spirit will drag other members of the family with him, especially children. This is never expressed, but such customs as there are, and such reasons for the customs as I could extract, point in that direction.

I have known a number of families who refused to sleep in the house the first three nights after the body had been removed. This is so especially if the deceased was killed. If it was a child there is no fear.

The Novena

On the fourth day after the deceased has been buried, begins the 'novena'. A rezadora is asked, and this time she is paid - about \$5 for the 'novena'. A 'novena' is nine consecutive days of prayers for the dead person. There is no variation in this custom. The novena is said after every death, whether it be an adult or a child. It is again a matter for women. The woman who gives the rezo sends out children to invite friends and relatives to attend. It is considered courteous and

a duty to come to at least one of the rezos in the novena. Those attending bring no candles or gifts. At the end of each rezo they are offered sweet bread and sweet liquor or bisquits.

If the mourners can afford it, the altar is decked in white paper and decorated with white flowers, white being the colour for the dead. In most cases the altar is merely cleaned up a little; for eight days the rezo is held in the afternoon. On the ninth day there is a 'velada' ~~in-the-ev~~ that is to say there is another wake. The rezadora comes to pray late in the evening of the ninth day, and the family of the deceased, together with the 'invitados' who are generally relatives, remain up all night. Again, such men as come, sit outside the house and receive plenty of trago. Early in the morning, about 5 a.m., the rezadora comes once more, and when the prayers are over, the assembled company goes to the cemetery to place flowers on the grave and to burn candles and 'veladores'.

The novena begins on the fourth day after burial, because the spirit does not leave the house until three days after burial. The novena is said to help it on its way. At the death of Arturo García the novena was 40 days. I later found that this is the custom in Chiapa and in many other nearby country districts.

Spirits

It is believed by many Chiapilltecos, both men and women, that the spirit of a dead person walks abroad immediately after death. Usually it frightens people "espantar". The spirit appears at night after dark and generally near its house. If an adult has died in a house, then the people of that house and of those nearby will be afraid to go out into the sitio at night (that is to urinate in the sitio). Some homes have the kitchen in a separate house standing in the sitio, about ten ~~yard-years~~ yards from the house. None of the women will go out to this kitchen during the nights following the death of a household member. It is for fear of this 'espíritu' that some families refuse to sleep in the house where the death has occurred.

If the death has been a violent one, then the whole neighbourhood or even the whole village fears the spirit. After the death Erasmos Gonzales who was killed with the machete, the molinos - maize grinding mills - of the village did not open until dawn. There was no point in the owners opening at the usual hour, which is well before dawn, as none of the women would turn up while it was still dark.

Two men claimed to have met Arturo Garcia after his murder, although his spirit did not frighten them. One man encountered him behind the Cabildo (Arturo was the Secretary of the town council), and another man met him in the street, not far from Arturo's house. To this man he talked, saying 'mi hija' (my daughter). This was interpreted by Arturo's mother as an injunction of the dead spirit, for them to take care of his little daughter whom he dearly loved. A man who worked for the malarial campaign came round a few days after the murder. These men always sleep in the cabildo, as there is nowhere else for them to stay. Several villagers warned him not to sleep there so soon after the death of the Secretary, and some even offered him their house for the night. Apparently the young man was not at all put off by this, and remarked that he would welcome the company of a ghost during the long hours of the night; he would not feel so lonely then. The unbelievers of Chiapilla of whom there are a number, took this to be proof that their point of view was the correct one. I think those who believe in spirits, just thought he had been lucky that nothing had happened to him.

Upon death, the spirit also appears in dreams to give last instructions and advice to the living. The reason why spirits of those who died sudden deaths are more likely to roam around, is that they were unable to "despedirse", to "hablar" before they died. One of the most recurrent comments upon the murder of Arturo was that it had been so terrible, because he had died instantaneously and had not had time to speak before he died.

Church

Confession is not usual before death. There is no priest in Chiapilla and I have not heard of anyone calling for the priest when he thought he was about to die. I do know of two cases, a brother and a sister, who took advantage of the priest being in Chiapilla. Both were very ill, and hearing that the priest was in the village called for him so that they might confess. The brother was the same Cosme Hernández who had his coffin ordered from Acala, therefore of a well-to-do family. His sister is now poor, but was well-off in her youth.

The priest is generally not called for burials either. In the case of Arturo García he was asked to come to Chiapilla to say a mass and on his way back to Acala he stopped by the cemetary and prayed at the grave. It is certainly an exception to have the priest come upon the death of a person; the family of this Arturo García come from Chiapa and are the leaders and initiators of custom in Chiapilla, being one of the most respectable families.

Cemetary.

It is usual for the closest women relatives of the deceased to go to the cemetary every Sunday morning for at least several months after death, in order to leave flowers and candles upon the grave. A number of women continue to do so indefinitely; thus Natie and Manuela Vila go to the cemetary every Sunday morning, and there are other women, usually about 40 years and upwards, who go regularly to leave flower upon the grave of a dead child or parent. Those who are unable to go weekly may try to go once a fortnight. However, the large majority cease going to the cemetary after a certain lapse of time. I have only seen two men go to the cemetary on an ordinary Sunday to leave flowers. As a rule men do not go. One is Aparicio Vila, a school teacher who goes to the cemetary every Sunday with his wife. He has spend much time in cities outside Chiapilla besides the fact that he belongs to the same family of Arturo García which came from Chiapa. The other is Pancho Coello, the

son of a former finquero and of an intelligent educated mother. He has been to Mexico where his siblings live, and thinks little of Chiapilla and Chiapilltecos.

Those who can afford it, put a gravestone or monument upon the grave of their dead; and there are quite a number of these to be seen in the cemetery. They are upon the graves of members of the richer families only. The poor place a simple wooden cross with the name and date of death. The cross or the gravestone is placed one year after death.

When the deceased "cumplio un año de muerto", when he has been dead for one year, a novena is said, and as at the end of the first novena a wake is held on the ninth day of the novena; this wake falls on the anniversary of the death. Tamales are made and are served with coffee in the morning after the wake; tamales are also sent out to compadres, relatives and friends. This time there are no men who sit outside the house; all those who come, remain inside and there is no drunkenness.

Very many women continue to say a novena every year upon the anniversary of the death of their parents, their husband's parents, their spouse, or their child. In the case of a child it depends how fond the mother was of it, at what age it died, and how many dead children she has. It is obvious with five dead children and seven living (Maria Estrada) a novena will not be held for each.

Altar

Once a parent or a child has died, the surviving close relatives want to have a photograph of the deceased to hang above the altar, together with the photos of all the other deceased of the family. Generally, the parents of the head of the household or those of his wife are portrayed, and very occasionally those of grand-parents. Likenesses of dead siblings and children of the head of the household and of his wife may also be found, but no pictures of anyone genealogically further removed.

A great deal of money is spent in obtaining a photo suitable to hang above the altar and some unscrupulous people make

a great deal of money out of this. A photograph, however old and faded, of the deceased is obtained and taken to the photographer. He undertakes to produce a large likeness, in whatever attitude is desired. The photo of the face has to be heavily retouched to achieve this, and it is often mounted on another body. The charge for such work together with the frame is about \$200, an amount which is readily paid by peasants who say they have not 20 centavos to buy some bread.

About a year ago a man came round Chiapilla promising to enlarge photos of dead relatives. He asked for the photo and an advance of \$50 to \$100, promising to bring the enlarged picture when it was ready. About three months later he came round again asking for an additional \$50 of those who had given their photos to be reproduced. It seems everyone paid up. The man has never been seen or heard of again, so that the people lost both the money and the only photo they had of their deceased kin. During my stay in Chiapilla I was several times asked to photograph dead persons. They were usually young people who had left no photo of themselves.

Clothes

The majority of Chiapilltecos do not wear mourning. When they go to the cemetery they wear their best clothes which are naturally their fiesta clothes and are gay and bright. However several families do wear black upon the death of a relative. These are the better-class people, who are in general the better-off as well. The time during which the women wear mourning and half-mourning depends upon the closeness of the kin and the "volundad" of the individual. Young girls usually wear black and white so as not to have to appear in deep black. They may not dance for a time after the death of a close relative, which is usually a heavy blow to them, as this is the only diversion they have. Men do not wear mourning, not even for the funeral.

If a person is ill or unwell it is considered inadvisable for him or her to visit the deceased. It is thought that the indisposition will get very much worse, and I have heard illnesses attributed to the fact that the person went to visit a

dead man while he was suffering from a cold. Similarly, if a close relative of the deceased is suckling a child, the shock given to the mother may affect her milk and the child will suffer and become ill. Indeed there are a number of illnesses and states of mind which can be passed on by the mother to her baby if it is still feeding with her (see illnesses).

The main difference between a poor and a rich man's funeral is the food and drink. If the family is well-to-do then two or three pigs may be killed for the comida, and the food will be 'repartido' sent out to a larger number of people. In addition a number of chickens will be killed separately for the almuerzo of the morning. At a poor family's funeral a small pig will be killed, and it will have to do for almuerzo and comida. A rich family will make 'mole' - a special sauce with the meat - whereas the poor family will simply serve boiled pork in a tomato sauce. In addition the richer family will buy a finer coffin than the poor family.

Nevertheless, the essential part of the funeral, the velada, the rezo, the visiting of the women during the day, the almuerzo, pozol and comida, the digging of the grave, are the same. This is not so in the case of other ceremonies, such as weddings for example where the constituent parts of poor and rich weddings are different.

I have heard that in other villages and country districts in the neighbourhood the burial customs vary greatly, being different even within a single town. This account can therefore only apply to Chiapilla.

Child's funeral

The most notable difference between the funeral of a child and that of an adult is that the former is simpler. It depends of course upon the age of the child and the 'volundad' of the parents. I have known of a case where the distracted young parents of a baby provided the same amount of food and drink upon the funeral of the infant as would have been proper for an adult. However, as a rule, the younger the child, the quieter and simpler is the funeral. From about ten or twelve years upward, the child receives an adult funeral.

If a small child is about to die, its madrina de bautiso, is called to give it a last blessing. In fact the madrina of any person, whether it be an adult or a child, should be so blessed by his god-mother before death. However very often in the case of an adult the god-mother is no longer alive, or is too old to leave the house. The 'cuidadora' of the church has a supply of blessed water with which the madrina blesses the dying god-child.

An infant is thought to go to heaven 'con los angelitos'. In fact, having died it is an 'angelito'. It is the god-parent's duty to provide the 'faldon' - the white robe, - in which the god-child is to be buried. In addition she must provide the 'tumba' which is an arc of paper decorations which is placed over the coffin of the child. When asked what are the duties of a god-mother, the immediate reply of most of my informants were these duties in the case of death. They are fixed obligations and different from the vaguer ones she has towards the child during life.

If the god-mother wishes to contribute more, she can do so. However she is not responsible for any other expenses. The god-mother of Fernando, who died after having fallen from a tree (See Above) sent sufficient cash for a new shirt and trousers, in which he could be buried. In addition to this she sent one Almud of maize and some money and candles.

The child is washed and laid out upon a table in the same manner as an adult. The coffin is also made by 'inviting' the coffin-maker, but it is painted a light blue, with silver or golden paint if it can be afforded. Adult coffins are painted a dark colour.

If the child is young, less than six years old (approx) there is no velada; again unless the parents insist upon it. A meal is made in the middle of the day, but not enough people are served for a pig to be killed. Several hens are sufficient. Only those making the coffin, and the few men of the family who go to dig the grave, are given comida. The whole affair is restricted to the immediate family. It is as though it were an adult ~~funeral~~ funeral, but in miniature - all except that the velada is omitted.

The departure of the coffin is also announced over the loud-speaker, but it is more a public announcement of the death and grief of the parents, than an invitation to the public to accompany the body. I have seen only the close family accompany a small child to the cemetery.

The body of a child should be carried by children of the same sex as the deceased. These children are 'invitado', and it is hard for a mother to refuse to send her child if it has been asked. Usually there is no reason for refusal except that one needs the child oneself for some work. As the way to the cemetery is very long, the children carry the coffin to the end of the village, where the men take over. The tumba is so arranged that there are three floating ribbons of paper on each side. One child holds each one, so that there are three children walking on each side of the little coffin. I did not ask for the significance of these ribbons. As in the case of the adult, the procession is not strictly kept to; the children soon tire of holding the ribbons and skip on ahead or lag behind. The adults do not insist they should keep their places.

I have never witnessed the burial of a child in the cemetery, but I was told it is similar to that of an adult. No children are passed over the grave. The tumba, or paper structure is placed over the grave when it has been filled in, and remains there until Todos Santos if it has not disintegrated before that time. Interestingly enough this tumba is made of coloured papers and not white as is customary for adults.

When the child has been buried, the family return to the house and coffee and bread is served if the family is not too poor.

As for an adult, the novena is said for an infant and is repeated one year after its death. There is no velada for the novena.

Todos Santos

There is one day upon which the whole village goes to the cemetery, and this is Todos Santos - all Saints' Day, the day upon which the dead spirits return to their homes. It falls on the day of November the 2nd, although the spirits arrive

during the night of the 1st to 2nd and leave at 12 p.m. on the 2nd.

If you ask a Chiapillteco to tell you about Todos Santos, then he will mention three things: "Hay arto atol agrío y tamales"; "Todo el pueblo se va a la panténn"; "deján comida en el altar para que coman los espíritus". And of course they always add that it is 'muy alegre'. This, in a nutshell, is exactly what happens at Todos Santos.

The Sunday before the 2nd of November the President issues an 'invitation', "al publico en general", over the loud-speaker to go to the cemetary to tidy it up. The men spend the morning there, and cut the high grass and clear the paths.

November the 1st is the day of the Angelitos, that is to say of the children who have died. The house altars are cleaned and redecorated, which means that new paper hangings are made, and flowers and a clean cloth placed on the altar. For the Angelitos, fruits, sweets, atole are placed on the altar, ~~For th-~~ in addition to a glass of water and one or more lighted candles; anything a child is thought to like can be added. On that day, those who have young children buried, go to the cemetary to tidy up the grave and place flowers on it. Generally women only go on that day.

November 2nd is the big day. The spirits of the dead are thought to return to their homes, and to rejoice in the sight of the food and drink provided for them. Some people consider that the spirits actually partake of the food and drink, others more sophisticated, believe they only come to "mirar" (to look at) all that has been provided for them. In any case some offering is place on the altar of every house.

The offering always consists of some delicacy; that is to say, frijol and tortilla, the everyday food is not provided. Such things as sweet bread, cocoa, fruits, sweets, atole, tamales, biscuits, or any other thing the deceased was fond of are to be found on the altars. For some men there may be cigarettes or cigars or a bottle of trago or wine; for a deceased woman a bottle of perfume may be bought.

Some housewives have a beautifully decorated house altar, with the choicest fruits and freshest flowers, and other will put the bare minimum. a plate of tamales and a cup of atole agrío. My impression, walking through the village, was that the humbler people took it more seriously.

The decoration of the altars at Todos Santos is an excellent concrete example of the whole problem of 'believing' or not believing in Chiapilla. Some say witchcraft is not possible, there is no such thing. Others doubt whether spirits can really walk abroad after death. I have been asked whether there is any after-life. Some men assure me that they do not believe in curanderos and that doctors are the only ones who know.

One could draw up a scale which would run from those few who believe in none of these things, those who have been completely converted to modern western thought; and at the other end of the scale those who believe firmly in all of them. At the centre of the scale are various opinions. There are those who believe in 'espanto' and in 'ojo' but do not believe in witchcraft; those who believe that curanderos can cure certain things and not others; those who believe that the spirits walk abroad but do not do any harm, and so on. Finally are those who say they do not believe in spirits, yet provide food for them at Todos Santos. Very reminiscent of those in England who say they do not believe in superstitions, but who throw salt over their shoulder when they have spilled some.

In England we tend to laugh at these people, implying that by their action they show that they really do believe in the superstition. I think that the similar case in Chiapilla should be taken seriously. There is a world of difference between a villager who ~~say~~ believes in the spirits, talks about them as though they came and visited the house during Todos Santos, and the villager who says he does not believe in these things and yet provides food for the spirits. The second has taken the big step of doubting, even though he has not carried this doubt into action yet. It is the first important step towards a change in the beliefs of the individual and in the long run, in the beliefs of all the villagers.

That such a scale of beliefs should exist within a single small community is nothing new in itself. It was, and still is, found in many European villages, the more 'enlightened' inhabitants looking down with contempt upon their 'ignorant' fellow villagers. The solution of picking out some items among the total set of beliefs, as being true, and rejecting others as being mere fairy tales, which seems to be an inconsistent one, is essentially the same way out of a difficulty found in many parts of the world. A very similar example is that of the Jews, each of whom has his own private opinion as to which items of the traditional religious practices ought to be retained and which discarded.

Chiapilla is an excellent example of the fact that change comes about in a piecemeal manner; it is not logical; it happens bit by bit. The Sociologist tries hard to explain why one bit first rather than another.

This variation in beliefs is only one of the indications that the community is in the midst of change. (See Paper Change) The amazing thing for me is that these differences in beliefs are never in themselves the cause for quarrels nor do they have any serious consequences. The villagers live side by side, perfectly content for one to believe one thing and another to believe something else, Quarrels and fights are about things like inheritance, infidelity, insults. Even the few protestants of the village are allowed to live peaceably and are not molested on account of their convictions.

Todos Santos, then, begins on the night of the 1st of November. Some people leave their door open and the light burning all night so that the spirits may find their way to the house. Others go to sleep in the normal manner.

There are a number of stories which are told about the spirits of the departed who returned on Todos Santos and found nothing waiting for them upon the altar. The spirits do not punish the living, but merely turn away sad and disappointed. There is also a story of a spirit who returned to its house and found nothing on the altar because the owner did not believe that the spirits could return. During the night the spirit spoke to the owner to tell him that it was indeed there.

Another story is of a bet between two spirits, as to whether there would be food waiting for them. (As I do not have my indexed notes here I have not reproduced the stories accurately, but will do so as soon as I get them.)

On the 2nd of November most women make Atole Agrío. This is a drink maize of maize in the following manner. The maize is first toasted over the fire and then left to stand in water for two or three days until it has 'turned'. It is then put to boil in water until the outer cask begins to peel off. It is ground on a grinding stone and passed through a sieve. The outer cask and other roughage which remains in the sieve are given to the pigs. The soft centre of the maize which has passed through the sieve is cooked over a fire with water and pan-ela.

Every kind of tamale is made (See maize as a food for tamales). Sweet tamales, tamales de bola, tamales de oja; some men sow corn so that they should have fresh corn to make tamales de élate for Todos Santos. Plates of tamales and jugs of atole agrío are sent out to friends and relatives, and offered to all visitors who arrive at the house.

On the morning of the 2nd of November there is a general exodus of the village to the cemetery. There is hardly a family which does not have a grave to care for, and which does not go to attend to it.

The most striking thing about Todos Santos is a general- that it is a family holiday. It is the first and only time that I saw all the people go out in family groups. Each man sets out with his wife and children, and not, as is usual on other occasions, the wife and children together, and the husband apart with the other men. Even the teen-age sons, who can never be seen in the street with any member of their nuclear family, accompany their parents and siblings. Women who will normally never leave their house alone and unattended, lock it up and set out for the cemetery. They carry with them plenty of flowers and candles, and a huge basket of food, to be eaten in the cemetery.

In the cemetery each family will clean up the graves of its deceased; decorate it with flowers and light candles. Some will say a short prayer together. The children will play about, and after awhile, the family settles down to a picnic. Usually they bring their almuerzo, as well as tamales and atole agrío and fruit. It reminded me rather of a Sunday morning in Windsor Park, except for the fact that one young man, who had evidently brought along too much trago, got out his pistol and started firing it off.

I was told that in other years the marimba was paid to come and play to those dead who liked the marimba, and at times the band was paid to come to the cemetery as well. It rather depends upon the state of drunkenness of the men. By mid-day everyone had returned to the village, and Todos Santos was over for everyone except the cantineros.

The feel of Todos Santos is rather like Christmas Day or Boxing Day. It is a family holiday, and the main thing about it is spending the day with the family and eating plenty of food. It is common for ten or twenty families to get together to buy a cow or an ox, and after slaughtering it to divide it up equally so that each family should eat meat for dinner. Those who cannot afford this will at least try to kill a chicken.

NOTE

In describing a funeral, and those who help and take part in the work involved, I have used the word "relative" a great deal. Anthropologists usually criticize the use of this word as being too vague, and quite rightly so. The anthropologist's argument is, that if an enquiry had been made as to the exact relationship between these "relatives", a rule would emerge - for example only patrilineal kin do certain things. I have checked to make sure that this is not so in Chiapilla. I use 'relatives' in the correct sense, meaning kin related to ego through father or mother, through male or female sibling, through the spouse and through siblings' spouses, as well as through children and children's spouses. All these are the 'relatives' of a Chiapillteco. Among these will be some persons with whom ego has closer links. Which of his relatives he chooses for closer cooperation depends upon circumstances; upon whether they live nearby, whether there has been a quarrel, and upon personal inclination, whether the individuals are fond of each other.

8.2 The ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DEATH

Lilo Stern

Apart from the emotional consequences of a death, the most important are the economic ones. I have made it clear that the burial of an adult is an expensive affair, even at its cheapest. Who has to bear this burden? What happens to the property of the deceased? Who inherits? I will deal with these questions together for they are at times closely connected.

Very foolishly, I never asked the question 'who ought to pay for the funeral?' However, I know of enough instances to state the rules. I. If the deceased had any wealth, in the form of money, cattle, horses, houses, etc., then his funeral is paid out of this. In such a case it is the heir who pays, for it is he or she who receives the property and who can dispose of it. II. If the deceased had no wealth of his own whatsoever, if he or she was a dependent, then the person who fed the deceased, who gave him food, clothing and lodgings, is the one who pays for the burial.

I. A person with Property.

I have said that his funeral is paid by the heir, out of the deceased's property. For example, Arturo García was shot outside his parent's house, and for this reason he was laid out there, and all the funeral arrangements were made in that house. At the time, his brothers provided the cash, but it was his widow, who inherited all his property, who was expected to pay. As the arrangements were made in his parents' house, it was Arturo's mother who set the style of the funeral, which was a very expensive one, costing about \$1500; the widow had little say in the amount to be spent. She was furious with her mother-in-law. The two had never got on during Arturo's life and some people thought that the mother was spending so much on purpose, so that the widow should not get the inheritance. Arturo had been doing well during the last two years and she represented the fact that this 'woman' should get all the benefit. She bought a coffin in Acala for \$800; she had a 40-day novena with plenty of candles and flowers; finally she sent for the priest to come to say a mass; at this point the widow put down

her foot and refused to pay for this, so that the mother paid for the mass. I do not know who will pay for the grave-stone when it is finally put up.

The young widow in revenge, sent to her mother-in-law's house where the couple had been living, and asked for Arturo's pistol, for an old oil stove they had never used, for the bed they had slept in, in fact for every single thing that had belonged to Arturo.

The widow returned to her brothers-in-law the money they had advanced for the funeral, obtaining it from the sale of the harvest of Arturo's fields. They agreed to this arrangement because the brothers-in-law were on good terms with the widow. Had they also disliked the girl they would have insisted on immediate re-payment, and she would have had to sell some of the land.

Isaias Dominguez had given all his property to his only daughter, as her inheritance, on the understanding that she would pay for the burial of his wife and himself. The daughter and her husband spent all the money before his death, so that she buried him very miserably when the time came. It was this, that his brothers Miguel and Clemente objected to. (See above)

Miguel Dominguez 'agarro' the house of his mother; that is to say he just took possession of her house. His siblings complained of this, claiming a share in the inheritance; however Miguel based his right to the house on the fact that he had buried their mother; when people told me of the case (which happened many years ago) they would say 'Miguel agarró la casa porque interró a su mamá'.

I have already written of the case of Carlotta, who kept back a third of her sitio with which her son-in-law was to pay for her burial.

All these examples clearly show that it is the heir who is expected to pay for the funeral out of the property of the deceased. In the case of Isaias Dominguez, he gave his inheritance before his death on the understanding that his heir would bury him. Carlotta was more prudent and kept back some property

which would pass to her heir upon her death, so that he would bury her. Miguel Dominguez justified his seizure of his mother's house on the grounds that he had paid for her funeral. The widow of Arturo was prepared to pay for his funeral but was not prepared to pay in excess.

Thus the same rule can be stated in two ways:

- i) The deceased is buried with the proceeds of his own property,
- ii) The heirs of the deceased bury him. The two ways of putting it come to the same thing - as long as there is no dispute among the heirs.

The heirs.

a) If a man dies without making any provisions with respect to his property, and if his widow survives him, it is she who inherits all his property.

b) If a man dies without making any provision with respect to his property, and if no widow survives him, his property should be equally divided amongst all his legitimate children, male or female, young or old.

c) If a widow dies without making any provisions for her property all this property (whether it be inherited from her husband, or whether it was property acquired by her), should be equally divided between her children, whether old or young, male or female.

d) If a man or woman dies having made provisions with respect to his/her property, these provisions should be respected.

e) If a woman dies who has property of her own I do not know what happens. I do not believe her husband is the heir; either her own children or failing these her nuclear family inherits.

a) A man dies without making provisions and his widow survives him: Primitivo Gomez died of tetanus within a week of injuring his toe. His lands and cattle and house passed into the hands of his widow Rita. She sold two head of cattle to pay for the funeral, and has been looking after the land as best she could until such time as her sons are old enough to

take over. Rita is an honest good-natured woman and has tried to keep all the inheritance for her children.

Consuelo Rosas did not act in this way. Her husband was killed, and she inherited the house. For six years no one would live in it because of the shocking way in which he had died. She rented it out for maize storage during this time. She then managed to rent it to a family for a year, and finally sold the sitio while her son was still too young to take over. However Consuelo is a capable woman, it may be that she invested the money more profitably in buying maize 'en cosecha' which is what she now does.

José Hernández died after a long illness. He had sold all his land and his animals in order to pay for doctors and medicines. When he died, only his house remained. His widow did not want to sell this to pay for the funeral as she would then have had nowhere to live; so she sold all her pigs and chickens - i.e. she used her own property for the funeral, and kept the inheritance.

Elena, the widow of Arturo García is another example. All of Arturo's property passed to her. Naturally it also depends upon the character and disposition of the siblings and parents of the deceased as Arturo's mother pointed out, his brothers need not have given all the land to their sister-in-law. There is little she could have done if they had simply gathered in the harvest, or if they had sold his horse and pistol instead of handing it over to her.

However, I have not heard of any instances of widows being cheated of their husband's property in this manner. The widows forfeit their husband's inheritance in quite different ways; generally by putting all the administration in the hands of an uncle of the children or a compadre who then deceives the woman.

b) and c). If the sole surviving parent dies and has made no provision for the property, then the funeral expenses should be paid out of this property, and the remainder should be divided equally between the legitimate children: If agreement cannot be reached upon what each one is to get, then the house sitio, cattle, whatever there is, should be sold and the money should be equally divided between the children.

It is in this type of situation that the majority of quarrels over inheritance arise. That is when the children of a married couple are to receive the inheritance of their parents. It is quite clear that in these cases, as in most cases in Chiapilla, possession is nine-tenths of the law; the one who is on the spot, who is the most powerful, who has grabbed the inheritance is the one who keeps it.

Miguel Dominguez, is a good example. It is true that he paid for the funeral of his mother. However this was not equivalent to the price of the house, which he should have sold dividing the money amongst his siblings- or he should have compensated them in some other way. He did neither and remained in the house; there was nothing his siblings could do to get him out of it.

The case of Adolfa Perez is similar, except that here the siblings got their own back. Adolfa and her husband lived in the house of the latter's mother (who had died awhile ago). When Adolfa's husband died, his siblings told her that she must move out. The house did not belong to Adolfa's husband, they said, it belonged to all of them. She should move out so that they could sell it, and she would receive her husband's share. Adolfa did move out, but her husband's siblings did not sell the house; they all moved in, without compensating Adolfa, that is to say, without paying her her husband's share of the property - to which she was entitled as his widow. It is an example of one brother trying to cheat his siblings (Adolfa's husband occupied the house which belonged to all of them), and then the siblings cheating their brother by not giving his part to his widow and his children.

Another instance is that of Arturo Garcia (father of the murdered secretary). Arturo's father died when he was three years old, his two siblings being adults. The property passed to his widow, but she handed over the management to the eldest son. When the widow, (Arturo's mother) died, he went to live with this elder brother, in whose house, in whose 'poder' (his tutelage) he finished growing up; this brother paid for his wedding, and when he finally divided up the inheritance, Arturo, as the youngest, received the smallest sitio and the poorest land.

The case of Vicente Chacon illustrates the same point. He was one of five brothers, each of whom had received his inheritance, in the form of a house in their father's sitio. Agapito sold his house, and bought another elsewhere in the village. Some time after the father died, Vicente fell ill in his own house. As his wife had deserted him, Vicente was alone, and his brother Agapito with his wife and children, moved in to look after him. Vicente died, and Agapito paid for the burial and remained in the house. He is renting out his own house. Agapito claims that Vicente had promised to give him his house if he would bury him; but the informants I questioned did not believe this. They said "agarró la casa" and add ironically "fué el más vivo".

Lastly I will cite the case of José Hernández. This man had married and had one daughter with his wife, after which they separated. He then lived with another woman for a number of years, and had two daughters by her. When this woman died, one of the two daughters lived with José and looked after him. He seems to have been a very difficult man to get on with, and the other daughter could not stand him. Upon the death of José, this daughter of his second wife, and her husband, took possession of the house and of the several sitios he left. Neither her siblings, nor the legitimate daughter, nor her mother (José's widow) received anything. Indeed, this daughter sold one of the sitios of José to this legitimate daughter for her to build a house.

All these cases illustrate the point that the sibling who is on the spot grabs as much of the property as he can; he takes more than his share. I have not heard of violence between siblings on this account. I have heard of several cases in which "se disgustaron", they quarreled and were not on speaking terms with each other; but I have not come across fights. It may be that they escaped me. There is one case where it is very probable that fighting will break out as soon as the widow - mother of the siblings to inherit - dies.

Wucunda Aguilar and Manuel Flores had six sons. Manuel Flores had a herd of cattle and a certain amount of property in land. When his eldest son José was about 18, Manuel was in trouble

about a debt, and in order to avoid paying it, he sold all his land to this eldest son, so that when the debtors came with Officers of the Law, he could show that he had no property. When the crisis had passed, he did not buy back the land from his son. Six years later, both Manuel Flores and his son were killed at the same time. His widow, Yucunda, inherited the house and the cattle. The land however, passed to the widow of José. Yucunda was furious and did everything to get back this land. She went to Chiapa to the Law Courts and engaged several lawyers, and tried to make the widow of José sign a paper in which she would return the land which was now her property. This widow, Celia, is an exceptionally intelligent woman, and it is without doubt because of her character and unusual intelligence that she understood the situation and managed to retain the land for the three children she had by José. Another woman would not have been able to do it.

This Celia married a brother of her deceased husband, so that all during the years that her children grew up, the six Flores brothers used the land. About six months ago they were in need of money and sold one of the lands which were the property of José, but which they considered to be their rightful inheritance. Celia was very angry and went to the buyer of the land, with the title deeds in the name of José, telling him that the Flores had no right to sell the land. One of the brothers-in-law of Celia, threatened her with violence. I guess that when their mother, Yucunda dies, i.e., when the inheritance of their father Manuel should pass to them, there will be serious trouble.

This case is another good example of possession being nine-tenths of the law. It is only because of Celia's extraordinary character and her readiness to fight the case, that her brothers-in-law did not get away with having sold the land.

The importance of being on the spot to take possession of any property is well illustrated by another case. Consuelo Rosas' dead husband had received a house as his inheritance, which (as I wrote above) she sold. She had been living, with her son and present husband (free union), in the house next door but ont.

This house had been left to her dead husband's half-sister. The half-sister left Chiapilla about 14 years ago and never returned. Consuelo has been trying to sell this house and may well succeed in doing so, if Josefa, the half-sister, does not turn up to claim her rights. Josefa is unlikely to do this because she lives in the United States.

The widow of Carlos Hernández is another example. Carlos, the son of Cosmé Hernández, died very young. He had a wife and two baby girls. At his death Carlos was still living in his father's house, so I do not know how much property his father had given him. He must surely have had some, because Carlos was the only son of a rich man. However, after the death of her husband the young wife ran off with another man leaving Chiapilla. The two children remained with their grandparents. In this case the young widow received no inheritance, not being there to receive it.

Angelina Perez also has property in Chiapilla which she has inherited from her husband. She left Chiapilla six years ago, but she returns several times a year to see to the sitio she has left; and to try to obtain the rent for the house which she has rented out.

Roberto Vila owns part of the land which his mother left to hwe five children. Roberto left Chiapilla over ten years ago and has never been back, nor does he seem to have claimed his inheritance in the form of money. The land is farmed, or rather rented out, by his brother Aparicio, whd is the brightest of the family. Aparicio is only "aprovechando" of his brother's absence, although he is not sharing the profit of the land with any of his brothers. His sister Guadalupe was in need of money awhile ago, so Aparicio bought her share of the inheritance from her, which was land he had been using along. Thus it is quite propable that if his brother Roberto were to return he would give back the land, or if his brother Roberto wished to sell it, Aparicio would buy it off him. At present Aparicio had taken temporary possession of the land rather than appropriated it. After all, the owner is not there to make use of it.

To sum up: when no provisions have been made concerning the property, and when no spouse survives, the property should be

divided equally amongst the surviving legitimate children. In fact it frequently happens that the strongest, the one on the spot at the time of death, takes more than his share.

To be on the spot, in order to take possession of any property, whether it is bought or inherited is very important. It is easy for a man to forfeit his property if he is not there to protect his rights in it.

d). Provisions have been made by the deceased for the disposal of his property: - I have not heard of a case where a man left a will. It seems that it is a cumbersome complicated business to draw up a legal will, and there is more trouble yet in the execution of it. The Government imposes heavy duty on such wills, and much money has to be paid to the Judge and the barristers of the court.

I have been told, that if a person is dying, he can call three members of the Ayuntamiento to his bedside and tell them what are his wishes. This should be equivalent to a will.

A very common way of leaving inheritance is to give it to the heir before death. The danger of this is that the man leaves himself without property - as was the case of Isaias Dominguez. However a man does not have to part with all his wealth. The advantage is that the heir for whom the property is intended, does indeed receive it.

If a man, or a woman "reparte", divides his (her) property before death, he (she) does it in one of two ways. He may give it away, or may sell it to his heir for a nominal amount.

A man is said to give his son his inheritance if, for example he gives him a part of his sitio to build his house on. Thus Pedro Estrada had a large sitio, and for each of his sons he built a house as they got married. This was the "herencia" from their father, and it was considered that they had no right to any more; any other property would go to the sisters and the mother.

Chico Vazquez has bought a sitio for two of his married sons. The boys have built their own house on it. This sitio is their inheritance, so they should expect no more upon his death.

A man might give a plot of land to his young married son, so that he can "apartarse", that he can work and feed himself and his family on his own, without being dependent upon his father.

The grandmother of Odilia had given her a sitio on which to build her house, but she and her husband had not taken possession of this sitio, so that it continued to remain empty for over a year. One day Odilia hit her little brother so hard that his mouth began to bleed. At this her grandmother was so angry that she said she would not give Odilia the sitio after all. A few days later the grandmother sold it. Had Odilia taken possession of it, and had she built her house on it, this could not have happened. Also this piece of land has "papeles" which her grandmother had handed over, so that the legal right to it had remained with the grandmother.

The disadvantage of gifts is that they can be taken away. Nevertheless I think the case of Odilia is unusual. The majority of houses and lands in Chiapilla do not have title deeds and therefore cannot be bought and sold legally. If a father gives inheritance to his son or daughter he usually does not withdraw it. If it is an animal or a house it would be difficult to do so.

Those who have property of some value, which they want to bequeath, sell to their heirs. In this way a man makes sure that his heir has the legal title deed to the property, and that it cannot be taken from him. The grandmother of Victorina Torrez left her house to her favorite grand-daughter in this way. The old lady wanted the house to be Victorina's to dispose of. Unfortunately she had not remembered that the sitio belonged to her son (father of Victorina). When Victorina wanted to sell the house her father told the buyer that he was unwilling to give the sitio!

Lauro Robles left all his property to three of his eight children, having quarreled or disapproved in some way of each of the ~~other~~ others. His widow received nothing, not even the house to live in. It was fortunate for her that her one son and the daughter who received inheritance, provide liberally for the old lady.

Julia Hernández, in the same position, is not so fortunate. Her husband Elfege Chacon left all his property to his five sons and nothing to his widow. Upon his death she remained living in the house with her youngest and only unmarried son, whose property it had become. This boy of 17 drank away all the inheritance, he had received. By the end of the year, he had sold land worth \$5000 at least. I just do not know what the two live on now. I suspect that the other son who lives in the same sitio helps with food.

The last two examples have been of cases where the man left no property to his widow. As a rule this happens among the poorer people only; the wealthier men have more confidence in their wives than in their sons.

In this they are fequently right, for the women of the better-off men are used to handling money, and are often shrewd business women. They often engage in some home industry such as killing pigs, making soap or candles orbread; they may be in charge of the shop while the man attends to trade or to the milpa. The sons of the better off, on the other hand, may turn out unreliable and drunkard, although of course there is no rule about it.

Cosme Hernández sold his property to his wife before he died.

all the cases I have cited are naturally cases of what has happened, even if it be in the recent past only. A simple way of finding out what is the intention of men still living, and who have not sold their property or have none to sell, is to look at the list of heirs which Ejidatarios have named. Each Ejidatario has to name the person who is to succeed him in farming his Ejido land. Although many name their wives, the majority name their sons. When I asked about this I was given the following reasons: that the widow would marry again and her new husband would profit from the land; that she would be incapable of looking after it anyhow. The main concern of the men was that their children should beprovided for; they were not worried about the fate of their wives. This is to be expected in Chiapilla where the marital bond is very loose and the tie between parent and child is strong.

There is good sense in what these men say. Young widows do remarry and it is natural that their husbands should work the lands that the widow owns in trust, for her sons. It is also natural that after having farmed this land for many years the step-father is unwilling to hand over the land to the heir. I have heard of several cases in the Ejido Headquarters in Tuxtla of step-sons claiming their father's land. I have not come across a case in Chiapilla.

If Elena, the widow of Arturo marries again, it will be her new husband and the latter's children who will farm Arturo's land. Celia Garcia is a remarkable exception in that she has hung on to her husband's land, nevertheless it is true that her second husband is working ~~profit~~ the land which belonged to her first husband and the former and his sons profit from it. (That her second husband is brother of the first, is incidental to this argument; it would have been the same had he not been brother to the deceased.)

I do know of one exception, again a remarkable woman. Her husband died when she was a young woman with two sons. She married again five years later, but has kept the lands left by her first husband separate, rented them out and kept the money apart, despite the fact she has other children by her second husband.

It is also true, that generally the widows do not look after the land very well. If it is private property they are entirely in the hands of male relatives or compadres, as they understand even less of the legal requirements than do the men. Generally it is a father or brother who administers such land (if it is not the husband) and even these cannot always be trusted to ensure the rights of the widow, and act in her best interest.

Another argument I heard was that the wife might leave the husband and then it would be difficult to change the heir.

As I said above, there is some reason in these arguments, and besides, it is the sons who the men are concerned with. The danger of course is if the sons are very young as heirs and a guardian is appointed. He can be trusted even less than the wife.

If a man has an illegitimate child of which he is fond, then he may bequeath it some property before his death. He simply gives or sells to the child in the same way as he may do for his legitimate children. Narcisso Gordillo provided for his illegitimate son in Venustiana Carranza, although he was a wealthy man and not a typical Chiapillteco. (I can't think of anyone off-hand, but will check in my notes).

II. Deceased had no Wealth

Who is responsible for the funeral of a dependent who owns nothing? The rule is that whoever was closest to the deceased, and the person who provided money to feed and clothe him or her, pays for the burial. It is invariably a person living in the same house as the deceased at the time of death. This proviso that it is someone living in the same house, follows from the fact that persons who have quarreled will not remain living in the same house, they tend to move out; that it is not the custom to pay for the maintenance of a dependant living in another house, that quarrels are not forgotten and forgiven because of death.

Normally there is no problem as to who will pay for the funeral of a dependent person. A child is paid for by its parents if it has been living with them. If the child has been in the care of its grandparents they will bear the cost. If the parents have separated, then whichever parent the child was living with at the time of its death pays for the funeral.

A wife living with her husband upon her death will be buried by him. If they are separated and the wife has gone to live with her parents, they will pay. If she has gone to live with another man - permanently - then he will pay. Should she be a widow she is likely to live with one of her children who will bear the expense. Very few widows or separated women live without siblings; but if she does, then the sibling pays.

The same rules apply to a man who dies without any property of his own, although naturally such a case is very rare. I have not come across one in Chiapilla. Most men have some kind of property.

A death is followed by a movement of people and of property.

There is frequently a re-arrangement of persons living in the house of the deceased. A son and his wife may move in to keep his mother company; the house may have to be sold, and so new inhabitants enter; the heirs may let the house to strangers. It is of course equally possible that the death provokes no change in residence at the time; this is especially so in the case of a child.

The one inevitable consequence of death is the economic one. Even if the deceased was very poor, or a child, the very fact of having to bury the body means that an outlay has to be made. An outlay means, that someone else, usually a villager earns. Very frequently some item of property is sold so that the funeral can be paid for, an item which would not have been sold in the normal course of events.

If the deceased had property, then the economic activity due to the burial expenses remain and will be increased. In addition there follows the transfer of property in the form of inheritance.

From the point of view of the community as a whole, as well as from that of individuals, the most far-reaching effect of death is that it provokes a series of economic transactions, the transfer of goods between villagers. The balance of wealth is changed, whether it be a little, as in the case of the death of a baby, or a great deal as in the case of the death of a wealthy man.

In Chiapilla the main reasons for large outlays, which can completely change a person's economic position are illness, death and fights (resulting in court cases or compensation). Fiestas and drinking would take second place.

The main reason for movement of people (from one house to another, or from the village) are illness, quarrels, marriage and death.

9. MAIZE IN THE LIVES OF CHIAPILTECOS

9.1

MAIZE-AS-A-GROP Change to LAND FOR MAIZE

- Page 3 : Line 6 : us here. It is the
- Page 3 : Line 1 : End of Paragraph. Please leave large SPACE
- Page 4 : Line 10 : Omit and up to the time ~~the~~ Revolution reached Chiapas.
- It should read: At the time of the Revolution Chiapilla was entirely surrounded.....
- Page 4 : Line 31 : (See Essay on The Ladino View of the Indians)
- Page 5 : Line 4 : Add as well. When they fenced the land it was no longer available to the cattle. The land.
- Page 5 : Line 34 : Omit (I must re-check this)
- Page 10: Line 14 : and received new Ejido land from the.....
- Page 10 : Line 24 : Leave a large space between this and next paragraph.
- Page 11 : Line 11 : Ejido land comes under "Comision Agraria Mixta" which is a predominantly Federal Government Authority. So there are.....
- Page 12 : Line 6 : hers have not left them any land to farm. Some of these landless.....
- Page 12 : Line 12 : Chiapiltecos go there. They go so far - it may even be two or three days' journey - because...
- Page 13 : Line 4 : may continue to live in the same house with their father. A.....
- Page 13 : Line 14 : planted between the rows of standing maize. This frjol is sown
Omit also
- Page 13 : Leave large Space between Second and Third Paragraph
- Page 13 : Leave large Space between third and fourth paragraph
- Page 13 : Line : Last line : in the middle and end of the dry season, at a time.....
Omit very-early-during
- Page 15 : Line 35 : The ox-drawn ~~pl~~ wooden plough began to
- Page 17 : Line 5 : ploughed; some is still cultivated with the hoe. This land, and all.....
- Page 18 : Line 10 : time, and be forced to buy seed.
Omit their
- Page 19 : Line 8 : that it dries better on the cob than if picked..
- Page 20 : Line 6 : ting remove dust and other impurities. It....
- Page 22 : Line 5 : of men came around spraying the house with D.D.T. insect poison.....
- Page 23 : Line 3 : that it is extremely boring to work alone in...
- Page 23 : Line 28 : like piece-work, e.g. to weed.....

9.1 Land for Maize

~~MAIZE AS A CROP~~

Lilo Stern

I cannot repeat often enough that maize is the main crop, the main food and the main source of income. In order to grow it, land is necessary. The question of land has always been, and still is, one of the thorniest problems of Mexico. Chiapilla is no exception to this. There have always been, and there still are, constant complaints about the shortage of land.

In a sense these complaints are justified. That is to say, given the present situation as it is in Chiapilla, there are many men with families, who own no land.

In another sense there is plenty of land for everybody. By this I mean to say that there is sufficient land at the disposal of Chiapilla, for all men to work and produce adequate yields to support themselves. The shortage of land is due to the slash and burn agriculture practiced, to the primitive farming implements, to the inefficient seed selection (the better grains are selected for sowing, but the type of maize is not improved), and to the absence of fertilizers. Thus although there would be sufficient land were it well farmed, there is a shortage due to the poor agricultural techniques used. But the shortage is also due to the distribution of land among the Chiapilltecos. There would be sufficient land for everybody if it could be made available for cultivation. In fact, much land is permitted to lie fallow for no other reason than the owner's whim, or the owner's financial circumstances. This land may be Ejido land or privately-owned land.

With all these disadvantages there is still land for every Chiapillteco to work on, even though it may be rented land. In addition land within the municipio is rented out to Indians. The cry for land is for ownership of land, not for land to farm.

The problem of land re-distribution, in the sense envisaged by the Mexican Revolution, does not exist in Chiapilla. It is a matter of the past; and the land has already been re-distributed.

The rallying cry of the Revolution (1910), was Land Re-distribution. It was to be taken from the large Rinca owners and given to the landless peasants, so that he should be able to cultivate his plot of land to feed himself and his family. It is the first article in the Credo of the Revolution; and Mexico still considers itself to be in the process of achieving its Revolutionary aims. All the propaganda, all statements of political leaders, all ideology, insist that Mexico is still fighting its Revolution - only the fight is peaceful now-a-days, it is organized and orderly.

It is perfectly true, that in many areas of Mexico, including the State of Chiapas, this revolutionary aim of distributing land to the peasants has not been achieved. There are still many enormous privately-owned estates. In Chiapilla, however, the Revolution has succeeded completely. The land has been re-distributed; there are no large estates. The question now is, forty years after the first distribution, and twenty years after the second: What have been the social and economic consequences of dividing the large estates into small plots of land?

Most Chiapilltecos would not agree with me that all the land has been re-distributed, and that in this sense the aims of the Revolution have been achieved. The cry for land has become a tradition. It has become a tradition to fight for the Revolution; the Chiapilltecos would not know what to complain about or what to struggle for, if they were to accept the fact that they are struggling for something already achieved. They will be unable to accept the fact without the guidance of the Government; and the Government, in its ideology at least, is still "en pleine revolution".

What the Chiapilltecos should be doing, and what they will have to do, is to have another look at themselves and become aware of their new problems. As far as the growing of maize is concerned, these are poor agricultural techniques, and

the non-utilization of available land. The first is a technical problem, the second is a social problem. The technical problem can be solved; at least the knowledge for solving it is available in Mexico, and can be given to the peasant if he wants it. The social problem is the one which concerns us. It is the consequence of land re-distribution; there is a new distribution of this land, a distribution which has taken place during the last twenty years after the last large finca had been divided up.

The Government's measure for land is the Hectaria and all legal documents of land sales, land property, and boundary agreements must state the area of the land in Hectarias.

The Chiapilltecos still speak of caballerías, of tablonos and of brazadas. Officially 1 caballería = 45 Hectarias, and one Tablon = 25 Brazadas x 100 brazadas.

For the Chiapillteco, however, a tablon is a plot of land that has no specific size. It may be half an Hectaria or three Has; It is a plot worked by one man, and may or may not be fenced. If a man wishes to indicate the precise area of the land he sows, he will give the number of cuartillas of maize which can be sown on it. "Entran tres cuartillas", he will say. (It will take three cuartillas of seed). (See section on Buyers of Maize for the maize measures)

What are the ways in which Chiapilltecos obtain land on which to grow maize? I put the matter in this way, as it enables me to deal with all the variations that are to be found.

1. Private Ownership

The law permits a limited private property in land. The limitations are the nationality and occupation of the owner, but most important, the amount of land which may be held by one person. Most of the struggles for, and controversies about, any given area of land have been on this point. The precise area of land one person may hold depends upon the quality of the land, and the various amounts permitted are set out in detail by the law. If a person owns more than the maximum amount permitted by the law, the onus is upon those who want the land to ask for it. (This is the case now. There have been periods in which the Government claimed the

land). It is they who have to initiate proceedings which must follow certain rules prescribed by the law. The owner usually tries to defend himself in one of two ways. Either by downgrading the quality of his land (which permits him to hold a larger area), or by re-registering the land in the name of various members of his family, so that each of them holds the amount permitted by the law, and the apparent size is reduced. Apart from this the owner will use any "influence" he has with the authorities in Mexico, where the final decision is made.

At the time of the Revolution, and up to the time the Revolution reached Chiapas, Chiapilla was entirely surrounded by large estates; the inhabitants of the village would either work for the owners, or would rent land from them. Today there is only one large estate in the surroundings, and this is nominally divided among the family members of the owner. The remainder of the privately-owned land in the Municipio is genuine small property.

a. There are two ranchos in the Municipio of Chiapilla. One is appx 201 Has and the other is also of 201 Has, but the owner's wife has 144 Has registered in her name so the rancho is really 345 Has (appx). Both owners live on their ranchos and keep cattle. The amount of cattle they are able to keep is limited by the pasture available in the dry season, and by the water supply. Both sow a certain amount of maize which varies from year to year (one harvested appx 65 toneladas this year) and the remainder of the land they rent out to "caseros", as the Indians from the highlands are called. They prefer to let the land to these men, because they are more reliable in paying the rent and more willing to work for the owner when he needs labour, than are ladinos who rent land. (See Essay on Caseros). Both rancho owners have relatives in Chiapilla and come in occasionally on a Sunday, and for the important fiestas.

b. One other man has a property large enough for him to call it a rancho. It is appx 161 Has. He lives in the village, and his son together with paid workers sow maize on part of it. He used to keep cattle only, but had to reduce his herd of 300 (his statement which I could not check), to 30, because of water and pasture shortage. In fact this area of land could never

have been sufficient to support a herd of 300. The point was, that formerly the neighbouring Ejido and private land was not fenced, and his cattle used to feed on these neighbour's lands as well. The land which he does not farm himself, and which he does not need for his cattle, is rented out to caseros and to a few friends and relatives from the village.

c. Three men own "ranchitos" of appx. 100 Has each upon which they keep a few head of cattle; the area they do not sow they rent out to Caseros.

d. There are two groups of six men each, who between them bought a small rancho. That is to say each group of six men bought a property of appx. 201 Has. Thus each man owns appx 17 Has.

e. There are three properties of 9 Has.

f. In addition there is other privately-owned land in Chiapilla. The largest is appx. 4 Has. and the smallest half an Hectaria. There are not more than 40 persons who own such small plots of private land, out of a total population of appx 2,000, with appx 450 adult males, i.e. 9 heads of households. These small pieces of land change hands frequently according to the fortunes of the owners. Either they themselves sell the land because of illness, death, or some other emergency; or the sons or widows sell it upon the owner's death in order to pay the funeral, or because of quarrels about the inheritance.

Indeed this is the case with all the land, whether it be Ejido or private property- whether it be large scale private property or small plots of land of $\frac{1}{2}$ Ha. It changes hands rapidly and I know of few instances in which the owner had been the same for more than 20 years.

According to a very rough estimate there are in the Municipio 1,500 - 1,600 Has of privately owned land. Most of it is owned by 21 men; about 200 Has is divided up between 40 small property owners.

The total Ejido land of Chiapilla is appx 2,330 Has (I must re-check on this). It is registered in the name of 322 Ejidatarios.

There is another Ejido within the Municipio; it is called the Ejido of the Colonia Lazaro Cardenas and has an extension of appx 682 Has. This Colonia has a population drawn from other towns, villages and fincas in the area, and settles most of its affairs internally. Economically it is much more dependent upon Acala than upon Chiapilla. It is therefore possible to omit it from this account, despite the fact that administratively it is a part of the Municipio of Chiapilla.

2. Ejido Land.

An Ejido is a land Co-operative. It is a group of men who have been loaned a certain amount of land by the Government (which had at some earlier date confiscated or bought it from the previous owners). The word Ejido is applied to the land as well as to the group of men who work the land. Each man receives his plot of land on condition that he work the land himself, for the sustenance of his family. He is not allowed to sell or rent the land, nor pass it as inheritance to any other person without the consent of the Ejido authorities. The only exception to the prohibition of renting out Ejido land, is in the case of a widow who has no son old enough to farm the land. This is the law of Mexico and should apply to all Ejidos. The law also provides for the Government of the Ejido land. A committee should be elected by all the Ejido members, that is to say be all those who have been given a plot of Ejido land. This committee has certain duties and powers, invested in it by law. It deals with all matters affecting the Ejido land, and with disputes arising between members. The Ejido and the committee is supervised and guided by a Federal Government Official, who visits it periodically and who can be called upon in emergencies.

In practice the peasants have found this concept of land held in trust, of land loaned for the purpose of cultivation, an impossible one to grasp. The Ejidatarios look upon the land as their own, as though it were their property, each man having sole rights to his land, to do with as he pleases. In the past Ejido land was freely and openly bought, sold and rented, and only in the last few years has there been more rigour in applying the law. This has come about through pressure from above, from the higher authorities in Mexico, applied by the local officials.

As a consequence the Chiapilltecos now-a-days lend, 'emprestar' Ejido land, instead of leasing it. The amount charged for 'lending' such land is lower than that charged for renting out private land. It may be half a Fanega or one Fanega per Almud sown. In Chiapilla Ejido land is no longer sold; the plants on it are sold - very reminiscent of Furniture and fittings in rent-on rolled houses in England. The price paid for the plants on an Ejido plot is lower than the price paid for an equal amount of private land. The peasants now understand that they do not get title deeds to the land. 'No hay papeles', as they put it. (You do not get papers.) Therefore it is different from Privately owned land. The registered Ejido member who sold his plot, retains his membership card although he is no longer the owner. The new owner will pay the contribution due, in the name of the registered Ejido member.

There has as yet, been no pressure from the higher authorities to stop the practice of a man holding both private land and Ejido land. There are a number of Chiapilltecos who do own both kinds, in fact all those forty who hold small plots of private land, as well as (b) who has the rancho of 161 Has (which he has registered in his wife's name). I have never heard a complaint against these men on this score. Certainly there are complaints about men who have a lot of land, but no one differentiates whether this be private land or Ejido land. There are a number of Chiapilltecos who own a larger amount of land - although in Ejido holdings - than some who own private land.

To be an Ejidatario and to own private land at the same time is of course, against the law; it is opposed to the basic principle upon which the Ejido system was founded, which was to provide land for the landless peasant. However this failure on the part of the peasants to distinguish between the two (I do not know whether it is unwillingness or inability) helps understand the present land distribution.

The fact is that some Ejidatarios hold a great deal more land than others; and that some men who were ejidatarios now have no ejido land left. This, despite the fact that twenty years ago the land was supposedly divided equally between Ejido members,

and the fact that no Ejido transfers should be permitted without the consent of the authorities.

The allegations that the comisariados (the head of the Ejido administrative committee) appropriated more than their share for themselves, are no doubt true. But this fact alone does not explain the inequality of holdings. During the years, Ejido lands have been bought and sold like the private lands and for the same reasons; illness, death, debt, drinking.

My statement about land ownership has to be very approximate. It is difficult to discover the amount owned by a man. Should he own private land it may or may not be registered in the Registro Publico. A large amount of privately owned land is never registered, although it ought to be according to the law. Some private land is bought and sold without any title deeds nor any written records. Most private lands which change hands do have a deed of sale, but are not registered in the Public Registry Office. These are called "private sales". They are valid in the eyes of the law, that is to say, the man who paid is recognized as being the owner of the land in virtue of the title deeds; but it is an offence to omit registration. The punishment is a fine to be paid by the owner, which increases with the number of years the property has remained unregistered. The reasons for failure to register may be the endless complications "las vueltas" involved. It is a complicated and wearisome business at the best of times; for a simple peasant from Chiapilla it is twice as complicated. In addition a tax has to be paid on the land once it has been registered, and for this payment the owner has to come to Chiapa every month.

In the normal run of events the existence of such unregistered land will not be discovered. Difficulties arise when there is a court case concerning such land, whether it be a dispute about inheritance about its sale or about a debt. The moment such land is disputed in court it has to be registered and the fine paid. For this reason the larger private lands are to be found in the public register, (to which I had access) and only some of the smaller ones.

It is equally hard to know how much Ejido land a man owns. I have not been able to estimate the varying sizes of Ejido plots, much less the total amount of Ejido land owned by the various Ejidatarios. There is no doubt that it would be possible to find this out, if sufficient time were available. A man himself will not tell me truthfully the amount he farms. His neighbours will do so. But each man has his holding scattered in different places, he does not have his complete holding in one piece of land. Each man's total holding of Ejido land would therefore have to be pieced together from the reports of neighbours who hold adjacent land.

This practice of a man having several small plots distributed throughout the Ejido has its disadvantages. It prevents any profitable use of machinery, and it wastes a great deal of the peasant's time in journeying between his various plots. The advantages are a certain insurance he gains. If the crop in one plot is flattened by a storm, that in another part of the Ejido may not be affected. Similarly rain may fall in one part and not in another. In addition there is the important fact that some of the Ejido lands are immeasurably better than others. It is preferable for the peasant to have at least a small amount of good land, even though he may be unable to have all his land of the best kind.

Although I am unable to give accurate information about land holding in Chiapilla the following general statements can be made: That the large majority of peasants cultivate plots of land from $\frac{1}{2}$ Ha to 2 Has in size; these plots may be Ejido land or privately owned land. A particular man may own several Ejido plots, more than his rightful share (according to the original distribution), but I do not think the total of any one would exceed 10 Has; a particular man may own both Ejido land and private land; or finally, a particular man may own private land only.

As I have said above, the redistribution in land holding during the last twenty years is explained by the fact that Ejido land has been freely bought and sold. I have even said that the peasant makes no difference between Ejido and Private land. In a sense this is true. Once a man has acquired rights to a

particular plot of land he makes no difference between the two forms of holdings, nor do others make the distinction with respect to him. However he does know that there is a difference because Ejido lands are given free to the peasants. The Government does not charge the peasants; it grants him the usufruct of the land without charging him for this privilege. This is the real reason for the anomaly between the fact that there is plenty of land in the Municipio for everyone to cultivate; and the fact that there are constant complaints about the lack of land and appeals for further ejido grants. At the time of the Ejido grant a man received land for nothing; he does not have to buy it. A friend of mine told me that he has twice bought Ejido land off the same men. Each time the Ejidatario asked for and received Ejido land from the comisariado. (This at a time when all the land of the Ejido had not as yet been claimed). The story may or may not be true, but the advantage of receiving an Ejido grant and not having to buy land is apparent.

I have up to now discussed Ejido land from the point of view of the individual farmer who cultivates his land. From his point of view there is not all that difference between a plot of Ejido land and a plot of private land, except for the fact that the original Ejidatarios had the good fortune of acquiring their land free; but this is a thing of the past; now-a-days all land has to be bought.

The Ejido, however, has another significance, which appears when one looks at it from the point of view of the village as a whole. The vital thing to grasp about the Ejido is that the superior authority which controls and guides it, is dominated by Federal Government appointees. In theory an Ejido has local self-government, and this is achieved to a certain degree. It is achieved in the same degree in which the village has local self-government; that is to say only the simplest affairs are settled in the village, and all more serious problems are dealt with by the superior authorities. These superior authorities, both for the Ayuntamiento (the village political authority, rather like our Town Council) and for the Comisariado (the Ejido governing committee) are outsiders; they are city people with a different background

and upbringing and with different ideas from those held by the Chiapilltecos; if they do not come from Mexico, they were almost certainly educated there.

Thus the superiors of the Ayuntamiento, the village authority, is the State Government while the superior authority of the Comisariado, the Ejido authority, is the Federal Government. In practice this means that the superior authority for the same village is vested in two different offices in Tuxtla and in two sets of Government employees. Privately owned land comes under the Municipio and thus the State Government and State Courts. Ejido land comes under "Comision de Agraria Mixta" in which the Federal Govt has the majority. So there are two authorities dealing with land cases and land problems. That is to say, two separate authorities within the village and two separate authorities outside the village, dealing with one of the most complicated and delicate areas that can be found in an agricultural village. Naturally contending factions within Chiapilla do not fail to make use of division in authority.

This fact, and the consequences which follow from it are vital to an understanding of the political situation and the political manoeuvres in Chiapilla. I shall deal with there in another paper; I mention it here to explain why the Ejido, which looks as if it were only a landholding group, has become an important political faction. This separation in the administration of, and superior authority for, the Ejido, explains why the Ejidatarios are a group who are conscious of being a group, and of having common interests. This would not have made sense in the light of my statement that there was no great difference between Ejido and the private land in Chiapilla; for if this had been so then the ejidatarios should not differentiate between themselves and those not belonging to the Ejido. As it is, the Ejidatarios are "agraristas", and apart from entering politics of the village as a group, they are forever trying to get land from those who own ranches. In fact they cannot do so, for as I have explained all the privately-owned land there is, is well within the maximum permitted. But the Ejidatarios continue with petitions and deputations, and generally speaking frighten those who own ranchos, at the same time creating unity among themselves.

2. Renting Land.

Many men have no private land, and have no Ejido land, or have so little Ejido land that it is insufficient for the maize needed to feed their families. Among them are many young men who were children at the time the Ejido land was distributed, and now are adults with their own families; men whose fathers have not left them any land to farm. Some of such landless men may also have mortgaged their land, or have forfeited it because of debts, drink or gambling. Such men may rent land to sow their maize. They may rent from those who have private lands either within the Municipio or without it. There are some large ranchos within a day's journey of Chiapilla, and a number of Chiapilltecos go there. They go so far it may even be two or three days' journey because the land there is much better, at times it is virgin land which gives excellent yields. I know of some men who leased their own lands in Chiapilla and themselves planted in one of these distant fincas. However the disadvantages are also great. It means long periods away from home when the land has to be cleared, sowed, weeded and finally harvested. In addition the carting of the maize to the village is more costly. Some sell their maize on the spot, but as these fincas are isolated, the price paid is lower than that to be had in Chiapilla.

The Chiapilltecos know that one should not rent Ejido Lands; in the same way that one should not sell them. However, there are plenty of "arrangements", which amount to the renting of Ejido land. These are always justified by the "necessity" of either the leasor or the lessee. One of them is in need, so the other is doing him a favour.

The standard rent paid for land is two Fanegas of maize for each Almud of maize sown. That is to say, twenty-four Almudes of maize is given for every one Almud sown. This sharecropping arrangement is the same in the whole area. Oddly enough, it does not vary much with the yields; it remains more or less the same, irrespective of the average yield which can vary greatly according to the quality of the land and the weather conditions. (See below yields).

5 4. Land Loaned

At times land for sowing maize is simply lent. Fathers will give their married sons a piece of land to sow, so that they may "apartarse", establish their own household, even though they may continue to live in the same building with their father. A widowed mother may lend her son some of the land she inherited from her husband, without charging any rent. A man may loan land for sowing to a relative, to a son-in-law or to a friend, without charging any rent. All these cases are optional. There is nothing to oblige a man to loan his land to anyone, whoever he may be.

5. Land rented for Frijol

A man may lease his land for the planting of frijol. The procedure is the following. There is one type of frijol which is planted between the rows of standing maize. This frijol is also sown when the maize has ripened, but is still standing in the fields to dry. A man who has a milpa, but does not want to sow frijol in it, leases it to another who does wish to sow frijol. The rent paid will be the work of bending over the maize stalks, "doblar la milpa"; no money is paid. Thus the owner of the milpa has his maize "doblado" for him, and the man who plants the frijol has the advantage of sowing his frijol on land which gives better yields than his own. For this reason, only good land can be rented out for frijol in this way.

A man who plants maize on a piece of land, may thus do so in virtue of owning the land with full rights conferred by private property; he may do so in virtue of holding Ejido rights; he may do so ~~also~~ in virtue of renting the land; and finally he may do so because the land has been loaned to him for that year.

Types of land : In Chiapilla five words are used to differentiate between types of land.

1. Regadio. This is irrigated land. The irrigation canals were in most cases installed by the finqueros who owned the land formerly and who used it for sugar cane plantations. Much of this land is still used for sugar cane, and some of it is used for early maize since the price for panela (product of sugar cane) fell very low for some time. The advantage of sowing regadio maize is that there is no risk of loss through lack of rain; it is a secure crop; another advantage is that it is harvested very early, during the dry season, at a time when maize is at its

scarcest; it therefore fetches a good price. The disadvantage is that much of it is destroyed by the birds. At that time of the dry season there is little for the birds to eat in the monte, all the trees and plants are dried and withered; they welcome young, green corn.

There is some land which used to be irrigated, but where the ditches have been allowed to fall into disrepair. The reason is that it is considered to be too much work to keep the irrigation canals in working order. There is also land which could be irrigated if anyone wished to put in the work digging the ditches. One area of land has been so irrigated, through the cooperative work of some Ejidatarios, about fifteen years ago.

2. Bajío. This is low-lying land on the banks of a river, from which it obtains plenty of ground moisture. It is very good land because the rivers flood almost every year during the rainy season and leave a rich deposit. Again, this land is not dependent upon the rains, so that if these are late, the crop is not lost as may happen on other land. There is also land called Alto Bajío, which is the land lying beyond the Bajío, land which is still near the river but already lies higher. It is fertile, but not as fertile as the low-lying strip, and it needs rain in order for the milpa to grow. Bajío land is especially valued for the fruits which can be grown upon it.

3. Temporal. All land which relies upon the rains for the growth of the crops is called temporal. That is to say all land which has insufficient ground moisture for the milpa to ripen and which has no artificial irrigation.

4. Monte. This is the name given to land which has been lying fallow for several years. The wild natural growth which has been allowed to flourish is cut down and burnt and maize is then planted. Such monte, if it has been lying fallow for a large number of years is preferred above all other types, despite the extra labour in cutting down trees. It gives excellent yields and needs less weeding than other land. In fact it requires the minimum amount of work and produces the maximum yield.

5. Pedregal. This is stony land of very poor quality. No effort is made to remove the stones or to improve this land in any way. Some say that removing the stones would cause erosion of the soil, and other say that it is a lot of work to remove the stones.

YIELDS

The very best land in Chiapilla, with good seed, careful weeding and adequate rainfall can give as much as 20 Fanegas per Almud sown. As twelve Almudes are one Fanega, this means that the best yield attainable is 240 Almudes for one Almud sown. The very poorest land yields seven Fanegas per Almud sown; that is to say 84 Almudes per Almud sown. If then, the rent per Almud sown is usually at two Fanegas (that is 24 almudes), the amount charged in proportion to the yield varies between 10% and 28½%. In practice there are variations in the rent, but these never exceed half a Fanega either way. Thus, in the most fertile lands the rent charged is 2½ Fanegas per Almud sown; in the poor lands the leasee will "speak" to the owner and tell him of the miserably low yield due to the bad soil or lack of rain, and the owner will be "reasonable" and reduce the amount to 1½ Fanegas per Almud.

The average yield which is ~~attained~~ attained on most lands - the majority being temporal - is considered to be between twelve and fifteen Fanegas. That is to say, between 144 and 170 Almudes; so that the average rent paid is between 16% and 20% of the yield.

The Chiapilltecos themselves have made no effort on their own initiative to improve the yield of the maize crop; at least not as far as I know. The government has been trying to introduce a new seed, and the use of fertilizer, but it is too early to judge their success, both because the peasants must be given time to familiarize themselves with the idea of more work and outlay for a greater yield, and because the advantages of the new seed and use of fertilizer has not been proven yet. (See Govt Policy on Maize)

The ox-drawn plough began to come into use about 15 years ago, and its use on flat lands has been increasing during recent years, as farmers have had the money to buy plough and team.

Many of those who have flat land, but own no plough hire a team to prepare the land. The use of the plow is cheaper than hand labour, and the yields are better. I only have estimates of the Chiapilltecos to support this statement, but there is unanimous agreement among the farmers that this is so

The ox-drawn cart has come into use during the last few years and although it does not directly contribute towards greater yields, it does cheapen the transport of the harvested maize enormously. Before 1952 mules and donkeys and horse were the only means of transportation of the crop to the village and to the larger market.

METHODS

The first job in the annual maize cultivation is desmontar or rastrojear. This means clearing the land ready for planting--all weeds and brush and trees are felled and gathered into large heaps, or at times into rows. Desmontar refers to the clearing of the land which has lain fallow for several years and which therefore has more wild growth upon it. Rastrojear refers to the clearing of land which has been cultivated the previous year, and is much less work.

After clearing comes the quemada. The monte which has been cut down is allowed to dry and is then burned.

If the land is flat a plow will be used to 'quebrar', to break the soil. A number of better-off farmers own oxen and ox-plows; other use smaller horse-plows, and yet others will hire a team to plough their land. \$60 Mex. is the daily cost of oxen, plow and plow-man. It takes roughly two days to plough the and 'cruzar' (to cross, ~~Hectaria-of-land~~ which means tracing a plow-line at right angles to the first furrows) one Hectaria of land. There are several men who do not own oxen, but who undertake to break them in for the plow and for the cart. The owner of the oxen givesthem to the trainer without charge, nor does the trainer charge for taming them. The owner requires that the team be tame and ready for service at the end of the year, and the trainer can use them to plough his own land or to earn by ploughing for others. The same arrangement is sometimes found with a horse to be trained for the saddle. However all the cases I know of, were those of a ranch-owner who lent the horse to one of his

workers to use and to train. In the case of the oxen, the arrangements I heard of were between any man able to train oxen and a breeder of cattle.

Not all the flat land suitable for the plow is in fact ploughed. This land, and all other land upon which maize is to be grown is planted after the burning. This is called "la siembra". The lapse of time between burning and planting depends upon the phase of the moon and upon the farmer's guess as to the next "aguacero" (very heavy rainfall), and upon the ~~airea~~ commitments and inclinations of the farmer. There is no rule, except that rain immediately after planting is more vital in land which has not been ploughed than in ploughed land. The reason is the following.

The most important thing for the maize seeds to develop is moisture. If the land has been ploughed it will contain more moisture as the soil beneath the surface has been exposed, and this soil always contains a little moisture. Furthermore if it does rain, the water is held in the furrows supplying moisture for the seed. If the land is not ploughed the water tends to run off the land. For this reason ploughed land may be sown after an aguacero, as the moisture will be retained. Unploughed land needs rain after sowing; that is to say the seed must be sown before the aguacero - a very difficult thing to estimate.

All sowing, the siembra is done by hand with a simple digging stick. A hole is made in the ground and ~~read~~ four to seven grains of maize are dropped in each, and covered up again. The distance between rows, and the distance between one hole and the next varies between 1 meter and 60 cms., according to the type of maize used, and quality of the land and the opinion of the farmer. Where the land is Pedregal, that is to say very stony, no effort is made to remove the stones, nor any tree trunks or stumps of trees which did not burn, and which remain in the field. The seed is simply sown around any obstacles there may be.

Several kinds of seeds are sown within the Municipio. The general type of seed is called "criollo" and is subdivided into ~~four~~ other types. Farmers try to select the largest, best grain from the previous harvest to use as seeds. In Chiapilla two kinds

are commonly found, a small yellow grain and a larger white one. Occasionally black maize is sown, although it is not very popular for tortillas. Many farmers sow two types of maize mixed. It may happen because a man has not sufficient seed left to sow his fields and has to buy some; or it may happen during re-sowing, when the farmer may have none of the original seed left and has to obtain whatever type he can. Farmers try to select their best maize at harvest time to keep for seed; but many have eaten this seed maize by sowing time, and are forced to buy their seed.

Resiembra should be done as soon as the seedlings appear. The farmer replants in those places where the maize has not taken. If he waits too long the shadow cast by the growing plants will deprive the newly sown seedlings of sun, and they will never grow well.

The limpia is the weeding of the land. The first weeding should be done approximately three weeks after planting—it depends upon the first rains. In this very fruitful land, the maize shoots up and ripens in three months, but for the same reason the weeds also flourish. It is vital that the fields be weeded when the plants are small for otherwise they will be smothered. It is at this point that the maize is sometimes lost; the monte has grown too much for it to be weeded with. Generally two weedings are satisfactory, if it is to be done by hand, that is to say with the coá. If the weeding is done with a plow three or four may be needed, in addition to one weeding by hand when the weeds around the maize stalks are removed and the earth is heaped carefully around each plant so that the moisture may be retained. As the maize plants grow higher, the ground receives no sun and weeds are unable to grow. About two months after sowing the young corn appears and after two and a half months the elote or young corn is ready for eating. The cob is mature at the end of three months, and from then on it merely dries in the fields. At this time, when the maize is fresh and juicy it is delicious to eat both on the cob and in the form of tortilla and pozol. Some farmers plant a little maize in regadío so that they may have fresh corn most of the year.

Although the maize is ripe after three months it is not harvested at that time. In the first place the rainy season has not ended and as long as the ground is moist harvesting cannot begin; for it is the custom to throw the cobs onto the ground during harvesting, and to pile the threshed maize on the ground as well. If the ground is not quite dry the maize quickly spoils. Another reason for letting it dry in the fields is that it dries better on the cob than if picked threshed the grains dried in the sun. It loses less weight and substance if dried in the fields. In addition fresh maize has to be de-grained by hand and is very hard work, particularly hard on the hands. Such fresh maize fetches low prices because of its high moisture content. Most households have exhausted their stock of maize by the time the first maize is ripe pick such amount as the need for their own consumption as and when they require it. If they are in great need of money, they may harvest a little and sell it. The greater part of the crop is left to dry in the fields.

The usual practice is to doblar, that is to bend over the stalks half way down so that the cobs hang head down. In this way the water from the rains cannot enter; only in the case of very heavy and continuous rains will the moisture gradually seep through the protecting cover of leaves and rot the grains. There is no set time to "doblar". It may be done any time after the maize is ripe, the sooner the better. Some men never bend over their maize, without any damage to the crop.

If frijol has been sown between the rows of maize then the maize must be bent over, so that the sun should reach the small bean plants.

All harvesting, the tapisoa is done by hand; it is done about six months after planting. There is no fixed date, the longer a man can wait to permit his maize to dry, the better. If the fields are far from the village the whole family move there, to live in a small shelter until the maize is gathered. Young girls sometimes help, depending upon the composition of the family. If there are plenty of boys, the women and girls will only cook; but if there are few men, then the women also help in the fields. It depends also upon the character of the particular woman. Some will refuse to help with the harvest and other will do so willingly.

Threshing, majar is done in the fields before the maize is carted to the village. Cow-hides with holes punched at regular intervals (arner00) are stretched on four posts. The threshing is done by the men with wooden flaila (majadores).

Lastly the maize is sieved, seruir through a wire netting to remove dust and other impurities. It is then carted to the village, either by ox cart or with mules depending upon the paths. When the last load of maize is carted a small fiesta is held in the fields to which the wives and children of the owners and the paid workers are often invited. A fiesta meal of chicken and rice is provided.

I have purposely given this account of the maize cycle without dates. The approximate dates I give for Chiapilla cannot be taken to apply elsewhere in the region. The variations in climate and the soil are enormous, so that the maize harvest in the State extends from November to April. All the land farmed by Chiapilltecos lie within the same altitude and the reason for different planting times are therefore due to differences in the quality of the lands and to personal inclination. Maize can be planted, and is planted any time during May, June or July. The weeding times follow suit, and harvesting begins in November lasting right through to March. Most peasants try to sow as early as they can, for the sooner the maize is sown, the sooner it can be harvested and sold, and the ever-needed money can be obtained. Most of all, the time of sowing depends upon the individual circumstances, and inclinations and other commitments and occupation of the farmer. Again and again when questioned why a man has sown so late in the year I received the reply "se atrasó" (he just got behind-hand with the work).

The main perils for the maize are too much rain or too little, or rain at the wrong time. Any of these can affect the crop. The maize is in fact a hardy plant and it is seldom that the entire crop is lost. What happens is that the yields are poorer than they should be as a result of these cases. Another common danger to the crops are the storms with very strong winds which flatten the maize. Once the cob is formed, this is not so serious as the maize can ripen even though it be flattened on the ground. The danger period is the first six to eight weeks. Indeed the first eight weeks are the critical ones for the maize crop.

It is remarkable how unevenly the effects of the weather are distributed. I have seen it happen that one field has been flattened by heavy winds, while the neighbouring field has been left untouched. There may be adequate rain in one part of the Municipio and drought in another part about half a mile away.

Maize may be attacked by locusts and by other pests; but in Chiapilla this is not common; it is not an annual peril which has to be combatted.

I have heard of few beliefs concerning the care of maize. Indeed, considering the importance of maize in the lives of the people, and the hazards to which it is exposed through drought, excessive rains and winds, I am surprised at the lack of beliefs and practices concerning its protection. The phase of the moon is considered to be vital in all agricultural operations. This does not only include the sowing and harvesting of maize, but the felling of trees, the castrating of animals, etc. The last quarter ~~of~~ before full moon, and the first quarter after full moon is considered the proper time. I have heard of several instances in which a bad crop was thought to be the consequence of sowing during the wrong phase of the moon.

Some men place a small cross of blessed palm in their milpa; this is thought to protect against lightening, and is also placed in most of the houses. A very few in Chiapilla, and all in the barrio, place a cross made of corn cobs upon any store or pile of grain. I have also seen this cross in other areas. The explanations for its presence vary. Some say it keeps the "gorgojos" from attacking the maize. This "gorgojo" attacks the maize in storehouses only; it eats the heart out of the grain and completely destroys it. Fumigation with chemicals is the only known prevention. Others say the cross prevents the maize from "flying away". That is to say it ensures that the store will remain large. Others say it attracts money.

The storing of maize. There are comparatively few "trojes" small maize storehouses, in the village of Chiapilla, although every house in the Barrio has one. Those who have ~~stroje~~ store their maize in it. Others store it in boxes or sacks in their house. Many have none to store, because they have either sold all their maize by harvest time, or soon sell it.

The two dangers to the stored maize are "gorgojos" and rats. I have already written about the gorgojos. The rats are a terrible plague, which it is said, started about six years ago with the anti-malaria campaign. Small detachments of men came around spraying the house with insect poison designed to kill the malarial mosquito. However, the rats are also poisoned by this insecticide, and the cats, upon eating these poisoned rats, die. It has become impossible to keep cats, and the result is that the rats really turn into a menace. They not only eat the maize, the clothes hanging in the houses, and the food stored upon shelves, but they actually bite people asleep during the night, and run about among the rafters and on the floor during the day. There is no way for the people to protect themselves against these animals. They do serious damage to any maize stored in trojes or in houses. The most effective protection against them is to whitewash the walls of the house or the troje from the inside. The rats which descend from the rafters to steal food cannot get up again, because the whitewashed walls are slippery. Any rat thus caught in the house is killed.

Maize from a certain part of the Municipio is known to store better than maize from other parts. It is therefore common to find people selling their own maize, grown elsewhere in the Municipio, and buying the storeable maize for their own consumption.

The work group. There is no standard work-group in Chiapilla. Farming, like all else is highly individualistic. Each man owns or rents his land, and each man works his milpa in the manner he is best able to, and in the manner which best suits him.

The only general rule that I know of, is that the young sons work with their father-roughly from the age of eight to eighteen. After that age they may continue to work for him, or he may give them a plot of their own to work on, especially if they are married. Any one else who works for a man in the fields is paid, even if it a relative such as a cousin or nephew, or even a brother. This excludes the case where two brothers work together in the fields on the land of their father.

A great deal of the work in the fields is paid work, especially for the weeding. This is partly due to the fact that it is extremely boring to work along in the fields all day, and mainly due to the fact that the weeding must be done quickly, otherwise the crop will be lost. Many men will attend to their own milpa, and then go and work for money elsewhere. This is possible because sowing is spread over six to eight weeks. Other men, in need of money, will spend one day attending to their own field, and the next day working for another, so that the family should be able to buy food. In such cases the wife literally does not go out to buy the meal until the husband arrives with the money. He asks for the pay the evening before he goes out to work. This advance payment for work is common in Chiapilla (see Sellers of Maize).

The owner of the milpa, or his son, will work with the paid laborers, the "pagados" whenever possible. Without this, the work will be ably done, and the workers will go home early.

It is usual to pay the workers a daily wage. Some employers pay in maize rather than money. The amount is calculated at the price current on that day. Some employers provide food and in that case the pay is less.

4 There exists the concept of "una tarea", a task. I have heard it used in one sense meaning the amount a man is expected to do in a day. e.g. a man earns \$5 Mex. per day, and a man is expected to ~~do~~ weed a certain number of rows a day. But I have also heard the word used in a different sense, meaning the amount to be done for a certain sum of money. This is just like piece work, e.g. to weed one row of sugar cane is \$1, and a man earns the number of \$1 according to the amount of rows he has weeded. Similarly, in the height of the weeding season, when it was hard to obtain men, a certain farmer offered to pay a set price for each row weeded, rather than pay the customary daily wage. Men who worked for him could earn up to \$10 per day rather than the \$7 or \$8 paid per day at that time. For most of the year the daily wage is \$5, and during the height of the weeding season it goes up to \$8. It is interesting to note that to hire a horse for riding costs \$5 Mex per day, and to hire it for the sugar can mill, which is hard on the animal, costs \$8 Mex.!

There is a system of exchange labour which I have heard of. I only know an instance between two brothers, but was told it could also be arranged between friends. This is working "yacamo"; both men work in one man's field one day, and in another man's field the next day without any exchange of money. Those men who have rented lands in distant fincas, worked by ladino peones, have reported that a different system of harvesting and weeding is customary there. One man invites all his neighbours to come and weed his fields, or to harvest his milpa. They come and work without receiving pay, but the owner provides a good meal, pozol and sweet bread and coffee to feed the helpers. The next day all will go and work in another's fields. I have found no instance of this practice in Chiapilla.

The only occasions upon which I have seen communal work groups upon the land - that is to say not working for the village or the comisariado - are fencing and ditching. Several Ejido plots lying adjacent to each other are fenced in together, and there is a joint responsibility for keeping this fence in repair. It is in everybody's interest to make sure the fence is in good order, for otherwise cattle, horses and donkeys, grazing on adjacent Ejido pastures will come and eat the new maize. Such a group of men will decide upon a day, usually a Sunday, upon which to work all together on the fence. If the owner himself does not come, he can send a son or even a paid worker on his behalf. If a great many men are concerned the day is announced over the loud-speaker. The same arrangement is customary for the men through whose land passes an irrigation canal. They should all turn out to repair this canal once a year.

One of the reasons for the continual trouble and quarrels over cattle straying and doing damage to crops is due to the fact that all the ejidatarios do not keep their fence in repair, and all have to suffer the consequences.

There is no doubt that the village of Chiapilla is more prosperous today, than it was at the time of the land distribution. To my mind there is also no doubt that this prosperity is due to the fact that land was made available to the peasants and to the improved communications. The importance of the communications is shown by the fact that more maize is being produced

since the road reached Chiapilla than before. Formerly there simply was no outlet for produce and there was thus no point in planting more than was needed for the household.

If the land was indeed distributed equally between the villagers twenty years ago, it is certain that the holdings are unequal today. The very thing the planners of the Ejido tried so hard to avoid has happened. These creators of the Ejido evidently wanted to insure the peasant against such inevitable calamities as illness and death, and against his own improvidence. They wanted him to have his land which would insure his daily tortilla, always, under all circumstances. As the peasants were unwilling to abide by the Ejido rules, and the Government unable to enforce them, the land is once more unevenly distributed. However it is distributed amongst different people, and not as unevenly as it was before. In this municipio of Chiapilla the large fincas were definitely abolished. A peasant middle class is arising, and it is this middle class which is acquiring the land. A landless peasant class is re-appearing, and these are probably as poor and miserable as were the finca peons before them. Like the peons, they are permanently in debt, and undernourished.

The class distinction based on wealth, that is to say on ownership of land, cattle and money, which is becoming apparent in Chiapilla, can be attributed to two reasons. The one I would call "suerte", the circumstances of life, such as a child falling ill, a loss of crops, etc. The other is the difference in individual characters. Many persons are extremely impulsive "no saben pensar" is the apt expression used here, (they do not think). Many persons are improvident, and do not plan ahead nor work for the future. Many drink and gamble in excess.

It is certain that the lands in Chiapilla do not produce nearly as much as they could. It is extremely fertile land upon which all hot hountry products will grow. Nevertheless such products as cabbage, onions, radishes are imported although they could be grown and even exported from Chiapilla. Coffee, cocoa, every kind of fruit will flourish, but are not widely planted. When I used to challenge the people on this point I frequently got the reply that it had been tried but that the young fruit would be stolen at night, and what was the point of so much labour if it was only for other people's benefit. The Chiapiltecos

definitely do not work hard, and thus produce less than they might. But more important still, they are not an ambitious people. "Se conforman", they are easily contented. If something goes wrong they will not struggle to put it right, they soon give up, saying they had tried but it was evidently not meant to be.

The general dislike of work and lack of ambition should not be confused with conservatism. The people are not conservative for the sake of being so. They are all ways willing to adopt new ways of doing things, and are delighted at improvements, as long as they are reasonably sure that the new ways are indeed better. In criticising their backwardness I have not stressed sufficiently that the people have no traditions to fall back on. They themselves, this very generation learned to use the ~~horse~~ horse plow and then the ox plow. They had to learn how to look after and control these animals. They themselves learned to build adobe houses (there used to be only wattle and daub huts with thatched rooves) and to cover them with tile rooves. They have learned to look after themselves, to give mordidas to get their way. In the last forty years they have learned to "defenderse".

The Ejido system may not have worked out quite as its originators intended (in Chiapilla), but it has been beneficial, a large number of former peones are now a peasant middle class.

9.2

7
The
revised

MAIZE AS A FOOD.

MAIZE IS THE PRINCIPAL FOOD OF ALL CHIAPILTECOS AND MOST OF IT IS EATEN IN THE FORM OF TORTILLAS. THE TORTILLA IS THE SAME FOR A CHIAPILTECO AS BREAD AND POTATOES TOGETHER ARE FOR US. IT IS EATEN AT EVERY MEAL AND CONSTITUTES THE MAINSTAY OF EVERY MEAL. BY CUSTOM IT IS ALWAYS PERFECTLY CIRCULAR IN SHAPE ALTHOUGH I KNOW OF NO SPECIAL REASON WHY THIS SHOULD BE SO. I HAVE SEEN A TORTILLA IN MEXICO CITY WHICH IS SMALL AND Dainty, PAPER THIN AND ABOUT 2½" IN DIAMETER. IN SOME COUNTRY DISTRICTS I HAVE SEEN IT MADE ¾" THICK AND ABOUT 10" IN DIAMETER. IN CHIAPILLA TORTILLAS WERE GENERALLY APPX. 5" IN DIAMETER. IN MANY OF THE LARGE CITIES THE TORTILLA IS NOW-A-DAYS MADE BY MACHINE BUT IN CHIAPILLA EVERY WOMAN MAKES HER OWN BY HAND.

THE TORTILLA IS ABOUT THE ONLY FOOD EATEN IN THE VILLAGE WHICH REQUIRES A GOOD DEAL OF PREPARATION AND CONSEQUENTLY SOME PLANNING IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SURE THAT THERE ARE SUFFICIENT TORTILLAS, AT THE TIME REQUIRED. IF TOO FEW TORTILLAS HAVE BEEN MADE FOR A MEAL ONE CAN'T JUST HURRY OFF AND MAKE A FEW MORE; ON THE OTHER HAND IF THERE ARE TOO MANY THEY GET HARD AND ARE WASTED. THEY CAN OF COURSE BE FED TO THE ANIMALS, BUT THESE ARE BETTER OFF WITH THE MAIZE IN OTHER FORMS.

THE GRAINED MAIZE IS PLACED INTO A POT OF COLD WATER TOGETHER WITH THE CORRECT AMOUNT OF POWDERED LIME. NEITHER TOO MUCH NOR TOO LITTLE LIME SHOULD BE USED. IN THE FIRST CASE THE TORTILLA HARDENS QUICKLY AND IN THE SECOND THE HARD OUTER CASK IS NOT REMOVED DURING COOKING. THE MAIZE IS COOKED IN THE BOILING WATER FOR TWO TO THREE HOURS UNTIL THE HARD OUTER CASK BEGINS TO PEEL OFF OF ITS OWN ACCORD. THIS IS THE LAST HOUSEHOLD JOB THE WOMAN MUST DO AT NIGHT BEFORE GOING TO BED. IN THIS WAY THE MAIZE IS READY EARLY NEXT MORNING FOR GRINDING. SHE CANNOT COOK IT EARLIER IN THE DAY BECAUSE IT WILL HAVE GONE SOUR BY THE NEXT MORNING; NEITHER CAN SHE GRIND IT AT NIGHT AFTER COOKING FOR THE MAIZE ODOR WILL TURN SOUR IN THIS HOT CLIMATE. THE COOKED MAIZE WILL KEEP UNTIL NEXT MORNING. ON THE OTHER HAND SHE CANNOT WAIT UNTIL THE MORNING IN ORDER TO COOK IT, BECAUSE THE GRINDING AND MAKING OF THE TORTILLA TAKES HER A LONG TIME, AND SHE WOULD HAVE TO GET UP AT 1 A.M. OR 2 A.M. IN ORDER TO HAVE THE TORTILLAS READY BY 6 A.M.

WHEN THE MAIZE IS SOFT AND THE OUTER CASK PEELS OFF EASILY IT IS CALLED NIYANAL. IT MAY BE LEFT IN THIS STATE OVERNIGHT, OR IT MAY BE WASHED AT ONCE. THE MAIZE HAS TO BE THOROUGHLY WASHED TO REMOVE ALL THE

IMPURITIES WHICH REMAIN DESPITE CAREFUL SIEVING BEFORE BOILING. THE MAIZE GRAINS BECOME COVERED WITH A THIN SLIMY LAYER BECAUSE OF THE LIME AND THIS MUST ALSO BE REMOVED. IF THE GRAINS ARE VIGOROUSLY WASHED THEN MOST OF THE OUTER CASKS WILL BE REMOVED AND THE TORTILLA IS SOFTER. IF ONE WISHES TO MAKE A SPECIALLY GOOD TORTILLA THEN THE TIP OF EACH GRAIN IS REMOVED. THIS IS MUCH WORK AND IS ONLY CUSTOMARY FOR SPECIAL DISHES. IF THE FAMILY IS LARGE A YOUNG GIRL WILL BE SENT TO THE RIVER TO WASH THE ⁱⁿ NIXTAMAL FOR IT WILL SAVE HER MUCH CARRYING OF WATER. AT FIESTAS WHEN MANY PERSONS HAVE TO BE CATERED FOR THE NIXTAMAL IS ALWAYS TAKEN TO THE RIVER TO BE WASHED.

IN FORMER TIMES THIS COOKED MAIZE OR NIXTAMAL HAD TO BE GRINDING ON THE GRINDING STONE BY HAND. WOMEN HAD TO RISE AT TWO OR THREE IN THE MORNING IN ORDER TO GRIND AND COOK THE TORTILLAS FOR THEIR HUSBANDS TO TAKE TO WORK. NOW-A-DAYS THE MAJORITY OF WOMEN HAVE THEIR NIXTAMAL GROUND IN A SIMPLE, MOTOR DRIVEN MILL. IT IS GENERALLY THE JOB OF THE YOUNGEST CHILDREN BETWEEN FOUR AND TEN, TO TAKE THE NIXTAMAL TO THE MILL. WHEN AN ADULT WOMAN DOES IT IS EITHER A YOUNG NEWLY MARRIED WOMAN WHO HAS NO CHILD TO TAKE HER NIXTAMAL, OR THE MOTHER OF AN ADULT FAMILY WITH NO GRANDCHILDREN AS YET.

SOME WOMEN MAY GRIND THEIR MAIZE BY HAND. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THEY HAVE TO GRIND IT ON THE STONE FOR ALL WOMEN HAVE A SMALL HAND GRINDING MACHINE IN THEIR HOMES. IT LOOKS VERY MUCH LIKE ONE OF OUR OLD FASHIONED MEAT MINCERS. SHE MAY GRIND HER NIXTAMAL AT HOME FOR ONE OF SEVERAL REASONS. IT MAY BE THAT HER HOUSE LIES AT THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE VILLAGE WHEREAS THE MILLS ARE IN THE CENTRE. SHE MAY THEN PREFER TO GO HER OWN GRINDING RATHER THAN SEND THE CHILDREN SO FAR ^{or 15 minutes} ~~APPX~~ 15 MINUTES WALK. IT MAY BE THAT THE WOMAN MUST HAVE HER TORTILLAS READY AT AN EARLY HOUR FOR HER HUSBAND TO GO TO WORK AND THE MILL DOES NOT OPEN EARLY ENOUGH TO ALLOW HER THE TIME TO HAVE THEM READY WHEN HE WISHES TO LEAVE. FINALLY THE REASON MAY BE THAT THE WOMAN IS AFRAID TO GO OUT EARLY WHILE IT IS STILL DARK. DAWN IS ABOUT 5:30 A.M. AND MOST WOMEN MUST HAVE THEIR MAIZE GROUND WELL BEFORE THAT HOUR. THE MILL BEGINS GRINDING AT ABOUT 3:30 OR 4:00 A.M. DEPENDING UPON THE OWNER. A WOMAN MAY BE AFRAID BECAUSE SHE FEARS "QUEVIENEN A ESPANTAR", THAT SOME SPIRIT (OF THE DEAD) WILL FRIGHTEN HER. THIS IS ESPECIALLY SO AFTER THERE HAS BEEN A DEATH OF AN ADULT OR A MURDER. IN THE LATTER CASE THE MILL-OWNER DOES NOT SOFTEN TO OPEN BEFORE DAYLIGHT AS HE KNOWS HARDLY ANY CUSTOMERS WILL COME.

ONCE THE MAIZE HAS GROUND IT IS CALLED MASA. IT IS CONSIDERED TO BE BEST WHEN VERY FINELY GROUND, WHICH IS ONLY POSSIBLE WITH THE MACHINE DRIVEN MILL. NEXT IN PREFERENCE IS THAT GROUND BY HAND MACHINE, AND COARSEST OF ALL IS THE MAIZE GROUND ON THE STONE. THE TORTILLA TURNS OUT BEST WITH FINELY GROUND MAIZE ALTHOUGH IT MAY BE REQUIRED COARSER FOR OTHER ^{DISHES.} ~~DISHES.~~ EVERY SUNDAY MORNING THE MILL GRINDS FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO HAVE SOME MAIZE COARSELY GROUND, OR FOR THOSE WHO WANT THEIR COFFEE GROUND.

THE GROUND COOKED MAIZE OR MASA IS KNEADED WITH A LITTLE WATER INTO DOUGH. IT IS KNEADED ON THE GRINDING STONE WHICH STANDS ON A LOW TABLE, ABOUT 16" HIGH. THUS THE WOMAN STANDS AND CAN UTILIZE HER FULL WEIGHT TO HELP IN KNEADING OR GRINDING. IN SOME OF THE BARRIO HOUSES I SAW THE GRINDING STONE ON THE FLOOR AS IS CUSTOMARY AMONG ^{SOME} ~~THE~~ INDIANS. ~~MODERNIZATION~~ THERE THE WOMAN GRINDS AND KNEADS IN KNEELING POSITION. WHEN THE DOUGH IS CONSIDERED TO HAVE A SUITABLE CONSISTENCY IT IS PATTED INTO A LARGE OBLONG CAKE AND A CROSS IS MADE ON THE TOP BY PRESSING THE EDGE OF THE HAND INTO THE SOFT DOUGH. THIS IS AN AUTOMATIC ACTION WHICH TERMINATES THE PREPARATION OF THE DOUGH. IT IS NOW READY TO BE MADE INTO TORTILLAS.

THE TORTILLA IS MADE BY TAKING A SMALL LUMP OF MASA FROM THE CAKE OF MAIZE DOUGH AND PATTING IT INTO THE SHAPE OF A PANCAKE. THIS PATTING IS GENERALLY DONE ON THE EDGE OF THE GRINDING STONE AS THERE ARE NO OTHER TABLES OR FLAT SURFACES HANDY. OCCASIONALLY THERE WILL BE A SECOND LOW TABLE AND THE TORTILLA IS PATTED OUT ON THIS. A PALM LEAF WAS FORMERLY USED TO PROVIDE A SLIPPERY SURFACE ON WHICH THE TORTILLA COULD BE MADE, BUT NOW-A-DAYS A THIN SQUARE OF PLASTIC MATERIAL, LIKE OUR ^{ethylene} ~~POLYETHYLENE~~ BAGS, IS USED. THE CHIAPILTECOS CALL IT NYLON. ^W ~~THE~~ THE MEANTIME A BIG FIRE HAS BEEN BUILT AND A LARGE ROUND FLAT EARTHENWARE PLATE ^(CONICAL) SPRINKLED WITH A LITTLE LIME TO PREVENT THE TORTILLA FROM STICKING HAS BEEN PLACED OVER IT. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE FIRE BE REALLY HOT FOR THE TORTILLA TO TURN OUT WELL. THE RAW TORTILLA IS PLACED ON THE CONAL ~~AS IT IS FLIPPED~~ AND AFTER A MINUTE OR TWO IT IS TURNED OVER SO THAT THE OTHER SIDE SHOULD COOK. IT OUGHT TO RISE WHEN IT HAS BEEN COOKED ON THE SECOND SIDE AND THIS IS THE POINT AT WHICH IT IS REMOVED FROM THE CONAL. THIS RISING IS THE SIGN THAT IT IS A GOOD TORTILLA AND THERE ARE A NUMBER OF TRICKS TO MAKE IT RISE WHEN IT WILL NOT DO SO OF ITS OWN ACCORD.

WHEN IT IS TAKEN OFF THE FIRE IT IS AT ONCE PUT INTO ² ~~THE~~ ² ~~PUMPO~~. THIS IS A GOURO SHAPED LIKE A PUMPKIN, WHICH IS ESPECIALLY KEPT FOR TORTILLAS. THE ~~PUMPO~~ IS THEN COVERED WITH A SMALL COTTON CLOTH SO THAT THEY SHOULD KEEP WARM. FOR THE TORTILLA ONLY TASTES REALLY GOOD IF IT IS EATEN IMMEDIATELY IT HAS BEEN MADE, FRESH FROM THE FIRE. FAILING THIS IT SHOULD BE AT LEAST BE WARM. GENERALLY THIS IS THE BEST A HOUSEWIFE CAN DO, FOR SHE COULD NOT KEEP UP WITH HER FAMILY IF SHE WERE TO MAKE THE TORTILLAS AS THEY ATE THEIR MEAL. AN ADULT MAN WILL EAT FOUR TO SIX TORTILLAS AT EACH MEAL AND A WOMAN EATS ABOUT THREE OR FOUR. CHILDREN BETWEEN EIGHT AND TWELVE EAT FROM THREE TO FIVE DEPENDING UPON THE CHILD. THE FACT THAT TORTILLAS ARE ONLY GOOD WHEN FRESH MEANS THAT THEY HAVE TO BE MADE BEFORE EACH MEAL, TWICE IF NOT THREE TIMES A DAY. IT DETERIORATES ² RAPIDLY FROM ONE MEAL TO ANOTHER AND SOON TASTES TOUGH AND LEATHERY. IT IS ONLY THE LAZY OR VERY BUSY HOUSEWIFE WHO SERVES TORTILLAS WARMED UP FROM THE PREVIOUS MEAL.

TORTILLAS CAN ALSO BE TOASTED AND IN THIS FORM THEY ARE TAKEN BY MEN WHO GO OFF TO WORK AT A DISTANCE FROM HOME AND WHO ARE AWAY FOR SEVERAL DAYS. THEY ARE CALLED ² ~~TOSTADOAS~~ AND ARE MADE A LITTLE DIFFERENTLY. THE TORTILLA IS PLACED UPON THE COMAL, BUT COOKED ON ONE SIDE ONLY. IT IS THEN PROPPED UP BY THE SIDE OF THE FIRE AND ALLOWED TO TOAST SLOWLY, FIRST ON ONE SIDE AND THEN THE OTHER. IT TASTES CRISPY ALTHOUGH VERY DRY. ~~TOSTADOAS~~ CAN BE KEPT FOR A VERY LONG TIME. MANY WOMEN MIX A FEW MASHED COOKED BEANS INTO THE MASA. THEY SAY THIS GIVES A BETTER TASTE AND IS MORE NOURISHING AS THE MEN MAY NOT BOTHER TO COOK THEIR BEANS WHEN AWAY ALONE. HOWEVER, IT IS CONSIDERED A HARDSHIP TO EAT SUCH COLD ² ~~TOSTADOAS~~ AND NO ONE LIKES DOING IT.

I WOULD NOT HAVE GORED THE READER WITH THIS DETAILED DESCRIPTION IF IT WERE NOT FOR THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THIS TEDIOUS AND CUMBERSOME TECHNIQUE FOR PREPARING THE DAILY FOOD, AND FOR THE NECESSITY FOR MAKING THEM FRESH FOR EVERY MEAL, OR AT LEAST EVERY DAY.

MAKING TORTILLAS TAKES UP A GREAT DEAL OF THE TIME AND LABOR OF THE WOMEN. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THEY WOULD SPEND THIS TIME IN OTHER PRODUCTIVE LABOR ² IF THEY COULD BE RELEASED FROM TORTILLA MAKING, FOR AS IT IS, THEY SPEND MUCH OF THE DAY GOSSIPING; BUT AT LEAST POTENTIALLY THEY WOULD HAVE THE TIME TO DO OTHER WORK.

THE TORTILLA IS WOMAN'S WORK; IT IS THE FIRST THING A LITTLE GIRL LEARNS TO DO. WHEN SHE IS THREE OR FOUR SHE MAKES HER OWN LITTLE SAMPLES WHILE HER MOTHER IS PREPARING THE MEAL, MUCH IN THE SAME WAY AS OUR CHILDREN ARE ALLOWED TO MAKE A SMALL CAKE OF THEIR OWN WHEN MOTHER IS BAKING. AT FIVE OR SIX SHE KNOWS WELL HOW TO MAKE THEM AND AT EIGHT SHE IS MAKING THEM FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY. INDEED, TORTILLA-MAKING IS ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL ATTRIBUTES OF A WOMAN. WHEN THE LITTLE DAUGHTER PROUDLY PRESENTS HER FIRST TORTILLA TO HER FATHER HE WILL JOKE WITH HER AND SAY 'WHY NOW YOU ARE A LITTLE WOMAN, NOW YOU CAN MARRY'. A GOOD WIFE "AMARRA LA TORTILA POR SU MARIPO"; THAT IS TO SAY, SHE MAKES THE TORTILLA AND WRAPS IT IN A CLOTH READY FOR HER HUSBAND TO TAKE TO THE FIELDS WITH HIM. IF SHE IS A BAD WIFE HE HAS TO WAIT FOR HIS TORTILLAS BECAUSE SHE GETS UP LATE OR SHE MAY NOT MAKE THEM AT ALL.

ONE MOTHER-IN-LAW COMPLAINED BITTERLY ABOUT HER DAUGHTER-IN-LAW THAT SHE DID NOT MAKE HER HUSBAND'S TORTILLAS IN THE MORNINGS AND THAT HE HAD TO COME TO HER (HIS MOTHER) ON HIS WAY TO WORK TO ASK FOR THEM. "DE VICIO ESTA CABACA" - HE MARRIED IN VAIN.

SOME HEAD-STRONG WOMEN, WHEN THEY QUARREL WITH THEIR HUSBANDS DO NOT GIVE THEM THEIR FOOD, THAT IS TO SAY THEIR TORTILLAS IN THE MORNING. THERE IS NO SHOP TO BUY TORTILLAS SO THE HUSBAND HAS TO BEE THEM OFF A RELATIVE OR A COMADRE. OFTEN HE IS ASHAMED TO DO THIS AND SO GOES WITHOUT HIS MEAL, OR ASKS ONE OF HIS COMPANIONS IN THE FIELDS TO GIVE HIM SOME. THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY A QUARREL BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE CANNOT BE KEPT SECRET. SOON EVERYONE IS TALKING ABOUT THE FACT THAT JOSE WAS SENT TO THE MILPA WITHOUT HIS TORTILLAS.

I HAVE SAID THAT MAKING THE TORTILLAS IS WOMAN'S WORK; BUT THERE ARE NO ABSOLUTE RULES IN CHIAPILLA AND IF THERE ARE NO GIRLS IN THE FAMILY THE BOYS ARE PUT TO MAKING THEM. THEY ARE NOT RIDICULED FOR THIS, RATHER THEY ARE PITIED. "WHEN WE WERE SMALL WE HAD TO SWEEP AND CARRY WATER AND HELP WITH THE TORTILLAS" ONE MAN TOLD ME. "WE WERE SIX BOYS AND THERE WAS NO GIRL. MY POOR MOTHER HAD TO MAKE TORTILLAS FOR SEVEN MEN EVERY MORNING." IT PROBABLY MEANT THAT SHE HAD TO GET UP AT 2 A.M. SO THAT THE TORTILLAS WOULD BE READY TO TAKE TO THE FIELDS WHEN THE MEN LEFT FOR WORK AT 6 A.M.

THERE ARE ALSO A FEW MEN WHO MAKE THEIR OWN TORTILLAS WHEN THEY ARE AWAY FROM HOME FOR A LONG TIME; ONE MAN WHO IS A BACHELOR MAKES HIS OWN AS DOES A MAN WHOSE WIFE HAS BEEN ILL FOR MANY YEARS SO THAT HE HAD TO LOOK AFTER HER. THESE MEN ARE CONSIDERED A LITTLE ECCENTRIC, BUT "ES SU CARACTER", IS THE COMMENT, AND EVERYONE IS ENTITLED TO HIS "CARACTER".

BECAUSE COLO TORTILLAS ARE SO DISTASTEFUL AND BECAUSE IT TAKES SO LONG TO MAKE THEM A WOMAN OFTEN ACCOMPANIES A MAN WHO HAS TO WORK FAR AWAY FROM THE VILLAGE AND IS UNABLE TO RETURN EACH NIGHT. SUCH A WOMAN GOES TO "MANTENER" THE MAN (TO FEED HIM). THE WIFE WILL GO IF SHE HAS NOT A VERY YOUNG CHILD. A DAUGHTER WILL GO IF THESE IS ONE OLD ENOUGH. A SISTER WILL GO AND MAKE TORTILLAS FOR HER BROTHER; OR A MOTHER MIGHT GO WITH HER BONS IF THEY ARE SINGLE AND IF THE FATHER IS DEAD. I HAVE NOT HEARD OF A MORE DISTANT RELATIVE ACCOMPANYING A MAN IN ORDER TO MAKE TORTILLAS FOR HIM. THUS IF A GROUP OF MEN WERE TO GO AND WORK AWAY FROM THE VILLAGE, ONE WOMAN FROM EACH MAN'S NUCLEAR FAMILY WOULD ACCOMPANY HIM. IF TWO OR MORE MEN OF A NUCLEAR FAMILY WENT, FOR EXAMPLE FATHER AND SON, OR TWO BROTHERS, THEN ONE WOMAN OF THE FAMILY WOULD LOOK AFTER THEM; BUT IF THE MEN WERE NOT THUS CLOSELY RELATED, EVEN IF THEY WERE FIRST COUSINS, THEY WOULD BRING ALONG THEIR OWN CLOSE FEMALE RELATIVE TO MAKE TORTILLAS FOR THEM. I HAVE NEVER HEARD OF AN ARRANGEMENT WHERE TWO FRIENDS OR DISTANT RELATIVES HAVE ARRANGED TO TAKE ONE WOMAN OR GIRL TO LOOK AFTER BOTH OF THEM.

IF A MAN HAS NOT CLOSE RELATIVE WHO CAN COME ALONG TO LOOK AFTER HIM, HIS TORTILLAS WOULD BE SENT DAILY OR TWICE A WEEK FROM THE VILLAGE. HIS WIFE OR MOTHER WOULD SEND THEM WITH SOME LITTLE BOY. ONLY RARELY HAVE I HEARD OF SUCH A MAN BUYING HIS TORTILLAS. THE CASES I HAVE HEARD OF, ARE ALWAYS OF A MAN WHO HAS NO WOMAN ANYWHERE TO MAKE HIS TORTILLA. THE MAN MAY BE AN ORPHAN; OR HE MAY HAVE QUARRELLED WITH OR SEPERATED FROM HIS WIFE. THE WOMEN WHO SELL HIM HIS TORTILLA DO SO OUT OF PITY FOR HIM. "EL POBREQUITO", THEY SAY, "NO TIENE QUIEN LE HAGA SU TORTILLA; HAY QUE HACERLO". (THE POOR MAN HAS NO ONE TO MAKE HIS TORTILLAS FOR HIM, SO WE HAVE TO MAKE THEM).

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THE OTHER EXCEPTION IS IN THE CASE OF A PAGADO (AN EMPLOYEE), FOR HIS PAY INCLUDES HIS MEALS. IN SUCH CASES THE WOMAN WHO LOOKS AFTER HIS EMPLOYER ALSO COOKS FOR HIM; OR IF HE HAS HIS FOOD SENT TO HIM, THE FOOD OF THE "PAGADO" WILL COME TOGETHER WITH THE EMPLOYER'S FOOD.

AS A RULE, THEN, ONLY A MEMBER OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY WILL ACCOMPANY A MAN TO MAKE HIS TORTILLA WHEN HE IS OBLIGED TO WORK FAR FROM HOME. THIS IS AN EXCELLENT ILLUSTRATION OF THE FACT THAT ONLY OBLIGATIONS WHICH ARE RECOGNIZED AS IMPORTANT AND BINDING, ARE THOSE BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY. SERVICES WHICH INVOLVE SOME KIND OF SACRIFICE ARE ONLY GIVEN TO MEMBERS OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY, IF THEN. (FOR IT IS CONSIDERED A HARDENIP FOR A WOMAN TO ACCOMPANY A MAN IN THIS WAY).

THERE ARE CERTAINLY SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS BETWEEN COMPAGNOS AND BETWEEN FRIENDS, BUT NONE OF THESE MEAN DISCOMFORT, OR LOSS ON THE PART OF THE PERSONS CONCERNED. THIS IS BY MEANS SAYING THAT SUCH SERVICES ARE ALWAYS OR EVEN OFTEN PERFORMED WITHIN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY; BUT IT IS THOUGHT PROPER THAT THEY SHOULD BE. THE POINT I WISH TO MAKE IS, THAT THIS SHOWS CLEARLY HOW SMALL IS THE SOCIAL UNIT WITHIN WHICH CO-OPERATION IS EXPECTED.

POZOL IS THE OTHER DAILY FOOD WITHOUT WHICH A CHIAPILTEGO CANNOT LIVE. POZOL IS A DRINK WHICH CONSISTS OF COOKED GROUND MAIZE SUSPENDED IN WATER. THE MAIZE IS PREPARED AS FOR THE TORTILLA EXCEPT THAT THE MASA IS GROUND RATHER MORE COARSELY. A LUMP OF THIS MASA IS MIXED INTO A LARGE JUG OF WATER AND ^{everyone} ~~ALL~~ EXCEPT THE POOREST ADD SUGAR OR ^(crude, raw sugar) PANELA. POZOL IS TAKEN AT MID-MORNING, AT ABOUT 12 P.M. EITHER AT HOME, OR IF THERE ARE IN THE FIELDS THEY ARE GIVEN A LUMP OF MASA WRAPPED IN A CLOTH WHICH THEY THEMSELVES MIX WITH WATER FROM A STREAM.

FOR ⁷ SPECIAL OCCASIONS SUCH AS FIESTAS, OR IF I WOULD COME AND VISIT IN THE MORNING, POZOL IS PREPARED WITH CHOCOLATE. A FEW CACAO BEANS ARE GROUND WITH SUGAR ON THE GRINDING STONE AND THEN KNEADED INTO THE MASA. POZOL IS ALWAYS STIRRED INTO THE WATER WITH THE FINGERS AND IT IS PERMISSIBLE TO EAT THE MASA WHICH SINKS TO THE BOTTOM OF THE MUG, WITH ONE'S FINGERS.

IF ONE DOES NOT DO SO, ONE IS ASKED IF THE DRINK WAS NOT TO ONE'S LIKING.

POZOL HAS THE SAME SYMBOLIC VALUE AND IMPORTANCE AS HAS THE TORTILLA. BOTH ARE USED TO EXPRESS LOVE, CARE AND ATTENTION. (SEE ESSAY ^{chapter III} ON LADINO VIEW OF THE INDIAN). ^{el Cajero: the}

MAIZE IS ALSO EATEN IN DELOYE - CORN ON THE COB. THIS IS ONLY POSSIBLE WHEN ^{fresh} YOUNG CORN IS AVAILABLE. AT SUCH TIMES OF THE YEAR IT IS USED IN SOUPS AND IS COOKED IN THE EMBERS OF THE FIRE, RATHER AS WE DO WITH BAKED POTATOES. IN THIS FORM IT IS NOT CONSIDERED TO BE PART OF A MEAL, BUT THOUGHT OF AS A TREAT TO BE GIVEN TO YOUNG CHILDREN, TO BE EATEN AT A ^{picnic} RICK-NICK OR AS AN ADDITIONAL SNACK FOR THE PEASANTS TO PREPARE FOR THEMSELVES IN THE FIELDS.

ALL OTHER FOODS MADE OF MAIZE ARE CONSIDERED TO BE GREATER OR LESSER LUXURIES. IT IS VERY SIMILAR TO OUR IDEA OF FLOUR BEING USED FOR BREAD AND CAKES. BREAD IS AN EVERY-DAY NECESSITY. HOWEVER, WITH THE SAME FLOUR WOMEN WILL OFTEN MAKE SCONES FOR TEA, BUT THESE SCONES ARE ALREADY A TREAT, EVEN THOUGH THEY MAY BE FREQUENTLY MADE. TEA BAKES ARE MORE OF A LUXURY, AND CREAM CAKE IS MADE ON RARE OCCASIONS.

USING THE TORTILLA AS A BASE MANY DIFFERENT DISHES ARE MADE.

TACOS ARE VERY POPULAR. THESE ARE TORTILLAS WRAPPED AROUND SOME SAVOURY ^{ies} SUCH AS PIECES OF MEAT, SPICED VEGETABLES, ^{if} DRIED FISH, ~~AND~~ THEY ARE THEN FRIED IN ~~THE~~ DEEP FAT. THE RESULT IS A DELICIOUS ^{stuffed} DRIED ROLLED TORTILLAS ~~PIECES WITH A SAVOURY~~. AT TIMES THE TORTILLA IS NOT FRIED BUT SIMPLY WRAPPED AROUND ^{some} THE SAVOURY ^{ies} AND EATEN COLD. 'MMA DOBLADA' IS ALSO POPULAR. A FRESH TORTILLA IS SPREAD WITH CHEESE, DOUBLED OVER AND THEN PLACED UPON THE COMAL FOR A FEW MOMENTS, SO THAT THE CHEESE MELTS INSIDE, A LITTLE LIKE WELSH RARE-BIT AND THE OUTSIDE IS SLIGHTLY TOASTED.

ATDLE IS A DRINK PREPARED FROM MAIZE. IN THIS CASE THE MAIZE IS GROUND BEFORE IT IS COOKED AND IS THEN SLOWLY COOKED OVER A LOW FIRE ADDING WATER ALL THE WHILE. IT TASTES A LITTLE LIKE GRUEL, OR PORRIDGE DEPENDING UPON HOW THICK IT IS. AGAIN THERE ARE MANY WAYS OF VARYING IT. SOME ADD MILK INSTEAD OF WATER WHILE COOKING IT. IT CAN BE MADE WITH SALT OR WITH SUGAR AND ⁱⁿ DIAMON. VERY POPULAR IS 'ATOL AGRIS' THE FOOD FOR ALL SAINTS DAY! THE ATDLE IS PERMITTED TO STAND A FEW DAYS SO THAT IT TURNS SOUR. THIS

GIVES IT A PECULIAR BUT ATTRACTIVE TASTE. ATOLE IS NOT AN EVERYDAY FOOD BUT IS A FOOD FOR FIESTAS AND FOR ILL PERSONS AS IT IS THOUGHT TO BE EASILY DIGESTIBLE.

PINOLE IS ANOTHER DRINK MADE OF TOASTED UNCOOKED MAIZE. IT IS FINELY GROUND AND THEN STIRRED INTO WATER TOGETHER WITH SUGAR. A POPULAR VARIATION OF THIS IS TASCALATI. THIS IS TOASTED GROUND MAIZE TO WHICH IS ADDED SOME GROUND CHOCOLATE, SOME SUGAR AND SOME ACHIOYE, THIS LATTER IS NOTHING MORE THAN A ^{red} COLOURING USED FOR MANY DISHES. ~~IT COLOURS RED.~~

ANOTHER FAVOURITE DISH MADE OF MASA, OF MAIZE DOUGH ARE TAMALES.

A TAMALE IS ESSENTIALLY THE MASA WRAPPED IN A MAIZE OR A PALM LEAF AND BOILED IN WATER. THE VARIETIES ARE COUNTLESS. THEY MAY BE MADE OF FRESH YOUNG CORN AND SWEETEND WITH SUGAR. VERY FREQUENTLY THE DOUGH IS FILLED WITH CHOPPED PORK AND BRAVY, OR WITH BEEF OF SOME KIND. THEY MAY BE FILLED WITH VARIOUS HERBS. FOR IMPORTANT OCCASIONS PORK DRIPPING IS ADDED TO THE MASA SO THAT IT SHOULD BE RICHER. TAMALES MAY BE SWEET OR SALT, THEY MAY BE FILLED OR UNFILLED; THE VARIETY IS VERY GREAT DEPENDING UPON THE OCCASION AND UPON THE MONEY AVAILABLE.

MOST OF THESE LUXURY DISHES MADE FROM MAIZE ARE PROPER TO A SPECIFIC OCCASION. THAT IS TO SAY, A CERTAIN DISH IS EATEN ON A PARTICULAR DAY; MUCH AS PLUM PUDDING IS EATEN ON CHRISTMAS DAY, AND BIRTHDAY CAKE IS EATEN ON A PERSON'S BIRTHDAY. IN ADDITION, THEY MAY BE MADE FOR A TREAT OR FOR ANY FIESTA. (SEE FIESTA PAPER). ^{chapter 10, "The"}

MAIZE, ALTHOUGH THE MAIN FOOD, IS NOT THE ONLY FOOD THAT IS EATEN. BUT THIS IS AN ESSAY ON MAIZE AND I WILL ONLY MENTION THAT "FRIJOL", THE BLACK BROAD BEAN, IS AN INEVITABLE ACCOMPANIMENT TO EVERY MEAL. THE BROAD BEAN IS ONLY COOKED IN TWO WAYS; EITHER BOILED IN WATER OR ELSE FRIED IN PORK DRIPPING AFTER IT HAS BEEN BOILED AND MASHED. I CANNOT THINK WHY SO MUCH INSENSIVITY SHOULD HAVE BEEN EXERCISED WITH REGARD TO THE PREPARATION OF MAIZE, AND SO LITTLE WITH REGARD TO THE BEAN. OTHER FOODS, SUCH AS SOUPS OR SMALL PIECES OF MEAT, OR CHEESE OR AN EGG ARE EATEN MORE AS A RELISH, BUT NEVER TO FILL ONE'S BELLY - "LLENARSE". ONLY THE TORTILLA REALLY FILLS ONE UP, REALLY SATISFIES.

THE BETTER OFF THE PERSON IS, THE MORE OF OTHER FOODS WILL HE EAT. THE WIFE OF THE SCHOOL TEACHER, WHO HAS COME UP IN THE WORLD SINCE SHE MARRIED HIM, TOLD ME PROUDLY "COMENOS PURA COMIDA, ^A CABO COMENOS TORTILLA". (WE EAT MAINLY OTHER FOODS, WE HARDLY EAT ANY TORTILLAS).

~~MAIZE~~ MAIZE IS THE MAIN-STAY OF LIFE AND IS CONSIDERED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES TO BE SO. TO HAVE MAIZE IN THE HOUSE MEANS SECURITY; "TENGO MI MAICITO PARA QUE COMENOS", THE TONE OF VOICE IMPLYING "SO WE HAVE NO SERIOUS WORRY, WE HAVE ENOUGH TO SEE US THROUGH TO THE NEXT HARVEST". ³ THE TORTILLA IS THE MAIN FORM IN WHICH MAIZE IS EATEN. TO MAKE IT INVOLVES MUCH TIME AND LABOUR ON THE PART OF THE WOMEN. I ^h SHOULD GUESS THAT A THIRD OF THE WORKING TIME OF A WOMAN IS SPENT ON MAKING THEM. IT IS WOMENS' WORK PAR EXCELLENCE. ³ WOMEN WILL ^{go out} LIVE IN THE DISCOMFORT OF THE MONTE, THE FIELDS, SO THAT THEIR MEN FOLK SHOULD HAVE HOT TORTILLAS, THAT THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE TO EAT THE DISTASTEFUL COLD TORTILLAS OR STALE TOSTADAS. ONLY WOMEN OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY THUS ACCOMPANY THEIR MEN-FOLK. ³ FOOD IN GENERAL AND THE TORTILLA AND POZOL IN PARTICULAR ARE USED AS SYMBOLS OF PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS.

MAIZE NOT ONLY IS THE FOOD OF MEN, BUT OF ALL DOMESTIC ANIMALS. IN GENERAL ANIMALS ARE NOT WELL CARED FOR; THEY ARE LEFT TO FEND FOR THEMSELVES. ALMOST EVERY WOMAN KEEPS POULTRY AND SHE FEEDS THEM SOMEWHAT ERRATICALLY BY THROWING THEM A HANDFUL OF MAIZE ONTO THE GROUND OCCASIONALLY. THEY ARE LEFT TO WANDER AT WILL, IN THE MONTE, ³ IN THE NEIGHBOURHOODS, OR IN THE STREET. THE LITTLE CHICKS ARE FED ON MASA. I HAVE HAD SEVERAL WOMEN COMPLAIN TO ME THAT THEY HAVE DIFFICULTY IN REARING CHICKS. THEY ALL DIE YOUNG. BUT WHY? I ASK IN SURPRISE. BECAUSE PEOPLE KEEP STEPPING ON THEM! I ASK WHY ~~they do not~~. DO THEY NOT PUT THEM INTO A LITTLE BOX, OR A WIRE NETTING ENCLOSURE? YES, THE WOMEN AGREE, THAT CERTAINLY WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA, AND CONTINUE AS BEFORE.

BY FAR THE GREATEST LOSS OF CHICKENS OCCURS THROUGH THE "HAL DE GALLINAR" (THE CHICKEN DISEASE). THIS IS A DISEASE THEY OATON AND OF WHICH THEY RAPIDLY DIE. IT PASSES THROUGH THE VILLAGE ABOUT EVERY SIX MONTHS AND SEEMS TO KILL MOST OF THE FOWLS. SO GREAT IS THE FEAR OF IT, THAT WOMEN WILL BELL OR KILL THEIR FOWLS IF THEY HEAR IT IS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

SOME SAY ^{that} ~~EL MAL~~ HAS ONLY COME TO CHIAPILLA RECENTLY AND OTHERS THAT IT HAS BEEN ATTACKING THE FOWLS FOR AT LEAST THIRTY YEARS. ALL CHIAPILTECOS SAY THERE IS NO REMEDY AGAINST IT. EDUCATED PERSONS IN NEARBY Tuxtla TOLD ME THAT IT IS A FORM OF CHICKEN CHOLERA AND THAT INJECTIONS TO PREVENT AND CURE THE DISEASE ARE AVAILABLE. THEY ACCUSE THE PEASANTS OF NOT WANTING TO SPEND MONEY ON THE INJECTIONS WHICH MAY BE THE TRUTH. QUITE A NUMBER OF FAMILIES MOVE TO THE MONTES WITH THEIR ANIMALS; THAT IS TO SAY THEY MOVE TO A LITTLE HUT IN THE FIELDS IN ORDER THAT THE WOMEN MAY SEMBRAR GALLINAS (BREED CHICKENS). AWAY FROM THE VILLAGE, FROM OTHER FOWLS, THEY DO NOT CATCH THE DISEASE.

MANY FOWLS ARE LOST THROUGH BEING STOLEN. THEY WANDER INTO A NEIGHBOR'S SITIO AND DO NOT RETURN; THEY HAVE BEEN KILLED FOR SOMEONE'S SUPPER. I HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO GET AN INDICATION AS TO WHO FOR EXAMPLE IS KNOWN TO HAVE KILLED A FOWL IN THIS WAY. IT IS ALWAYS "LA SENTE QUE NOSAN" ("THEY"). IT IS EVEN ALLEGED THAT PEOPLE ENTER THE SITIOS AT NIGHT TO STEAL HENS IN ORDER TO SELL THEM. OFTEN IT IS THOUGHT THEY ARE MEN WHO WANT TO SELL THEM IN ORDER TO OBTAIN MONEY TO DRINK.

PIGS ARE ALSO FED ON MAIZE, LIKE THE FOWLS THEY ARE ALLOWED TO WANDER FREELY ABOUT THE VILLAGE TO FORAGE FOR FOOD. THERE ARE PERIODIC ANNOUNCEMENTS OVER THE LOUDSPEAKER THAT OWNERS SHOULD KEEP THEIR PIGS FROM WANDERING ABOUT IN (THE VILLAGE SQUARE) EL PARQUE AND MORE SERIOUS, THAT PIGS FOUND DOING DAMAGE IN THE MAIZE FIELDS AROUND THE VILLAGE WILL BE SHOT. IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO SHOOT ^{in these circumstances} A PIG WITHOUT A FINE, THE OWNER OF THE MAIZE FIELD MUST ANNOUNCE HIS INTENTION OVER THE VILLAGE LOUDSPEAKER, WHICH COSTS NINE \$1. ~~HOWEVER~~ IT IS RARE THAT THE THREAT IS CARRIED OUT. ALTHOUGH PIGS DO MUCH DAMAGE. THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT THE OWNER OF THE PIG WILL NOT FORGET HIS LOSS, AND THE OWNER OF THE MAIZE FIELD PREFERENCES TO LOOSE SOME MAIZE RATHER THAN INCUR THE ENMITY OF THE PIG'S OWNER.

PIGS ARE FED RAW MAIZE TWICE DAILY, EITHER IN A TROUGH OR SCATTERED ON THE SHOULD, AND ARE GIVEN ALL THE HOUSEHOLD SWILL. IF THEY ARE BEING FATTENED THEY ARE GIVEN SHOR POZOL, ~~GROUND WHEAT IN WATER~~. IN THE EARLY MORNING AND THE AFTERNOON ONE CAN SEE THE WOMEN STANDING GUARD OVER THEIR TROUGHS WITH BIG STICKS TO DRIVE AWAY STRANGER PIGS WHO NATURALLY TRY TO GET AT THE MAIZE SET OUT FOR THE OWNER'S ANIMALS. MALE PIGS ARE CASTRATED SO THAT THEY SHOULD FATTEN WELL.

PIGS ARE BETTER CARED FOR THAN CHICKENS, AS THEY REPRESENT QUITE A LARGE CAPITAL INVESTMENT. PIGS ARE ALWAYS WOMENS' ANIMALS; I HAVE NOT COME ACROSS A MAN WHO OWNED PIGS. NO ONE HAS AN EXACT IDEA OF HOW MUCH THEY FEED THEIR PIGS, BUT THE ROUGH ESTIMATES I HAVE FROM SEVERAL WOMEN, CONVINCED ME THAT MOST CHIAPILTECOS LOOSE ON THEIR PIGS. THAT IS TO SAY: IF THEY SOLD THE MAIZE WHICH THEY FEED TO THEIR PIGS (SOLD IT AT A TIME WHEN THE MAIZE PRICE IS HIGH), THEY WOULD REALIZE MORE MONEY THAN BY FEEDING THE MAIZE TO THE PIGS AND THEN SELLING THE PIGS. THE WOMEN DO NOT LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE ACTUALLY LOSING, BUT THEY DO ADMIT THAT OFTEN ONE DOES NOT EARN ON PIGS. HOWEVER, THEY ARE A SAVING, A CAPITAL INVESTMENT. A PIG CAN BE SOLD AT ANY TIME TO OBTAIN READY MONEY SHOULD IT BE NEEDED. AGAIN AND AGAIN I HAVE BEEN TOLD "IF I KEEP MY MAIZE I WILL GO OUT AND SELL SOME, TO BUY A THING WHICH HAS CAUGHT MY FANCY; BUT ONE THINKS WELL AND LONG BEFORE ONE SELLS A PIG". "SO SHOULD I NEED MONEY SUDDENLY, I ALWAYS HAVE THE PIGS TO FALL BACK ON". A FEW WOMEN DO MAKE A RARE PROFIT ON THE PIGS; THESE ARE THE WOMEN WHO BUY THEIR MAIZE "EN COBECHA", ^{OR} ~~THEY BUY~~ FUTURES IN MAIZE. IT MEANS THEY OBTAIN THE MAIZE THEY FEED TO THE PIGS AT A VERY LOW PRICE. IN SUCH A CASE IT PAYS WELL TO REAR THEM.

HORSES ARE GIVEN MAIZE AS WELL. THE AMOUNT VARIES ACCORDING TO THE OWNER AND THE PRICE HE TAKES IN HIS ANIMALS AND ACCORDING TO THE WORK THE ANIMAL IS DOING. THERE ARE NO HORSES WHICH ARE USED EXCLUSIVELY FOR RIDING; THEY ARE ALL USED FOR WORK AS WELL, SUCH AS DRIVING THE SUGAR CANE MILL, PLOUGHING, CARRYING WOOD OR WATER. THE HORSES ARE PUT OUT TO GRAZE AT NIGHT AND IN THE MORNING BEFORE WORK ARE GIVEN SOME MAIZE. IF THE HORSE WILL NOT WORK THAT DAY IT NORMALLY RECEIVES NO MAIZE.

DONKEYS WHICH ARE MUCH USED, ARE ALSO FED MAIZE, BUT MAY HAVE TO MAKE DO ON WHAT THEY CAN OBTAIN BY THE ROADWAYS. DONKEYS, AS WELL AS MANY HORSES ARE SIMPLY LET LOOSE TO WANDER FREELY IN SEARCH OF THEIR OWN FOOD. THEY GRAZE ALONG THE EDGES OF THE PATHS AND ODD PLOTS OF LAND. THE RESULT IS THAT WHEN THE OWNER NEEDS HIS ANIMALS AFTER SEVERAL DAYS, HE HAS TO SET OUT AND LOOK FOR THE ^{beast} ~~best~~ ON FOOT. OFTEN HE SPENDS SEVERAL HOURS OR HALF A DAY TRYING TO FIND HIS ANIMAL AND AT TIMES HE RETURNS HOME DISPIRITED, AND CARRIES THE WOOD OR HIS SACK RATHER THAN LOOK ANY FURTHER. ONLY A FEW

TETHER THEIR ANIMALS; THOSE WHO WILL NEED THEM THE NEXT MORNING; FOR KEEPING AN ANIMAL TETHERED MEANS ONE HAD TO GO AND MOVE IT TO FRESH PASTURE CONTINUALLY.

THERE ARE FEW MULES IN CHIAPILLA. FOR SOME REASON I DO NOT UNDERSTAND AND CANNOT DISCOVER, THEY ARE LITTLE USED, ALTHOUGH TO MY MIND THEY WOULD BE VERY SUITABLE IN THIS AREA. MULES ARE BRED ON THE RANCHES AND ARE USED EXCLUSIVELY BY THE INDIANS WHO COME TO WORK IN HOT COUNTRY. THE USUAL REPLY I RECEIVE UPON QUESTIONING ^VCHIAPILTECOS IS "NO TENEMOS COSTUMBRE" (IT IS NOT OUR CUSTOM TO USE MULES). COWS ARE FED MAIZE ONLY WHEN THEY ARE VERY ILL.

TO SUM UP: MAIZE IS THE PRINCIPAL FOOD WHICH SUSTAINS MEN AND ANIMALS. A LARGE VARIETY OF FOODS AND DRINKS ARE MADE FROM IT. THE CHIAPILTECOS ARE WELL AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF MAIZE AND CONSIDER IT TO BE THE BASIS OF LIFE. THEY USE THE WORDS, MAIZE, TORTILLA AND POZOL, SYMBOLICALLY TO SIGNIFY PLENTY AND SECURITY, LOVE AND ATTENTION. THE TORTILLAS ARE THE MAIN FORM IN WHICH MAIZE IS EATEN. TO MAKE IT REQUIRES MUCH TIME AND EFFORT, IN ADDITION IT SPOILS EASILY. THESE TWO FACTS HAVE IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES IN PRACTICAL LIFE. IT MEANS THAT THE WOMEN SPEND MUCH TIME IN PREPARING THIS DAILY FOOD AND THAT A MAN MUST ALWAYS DEPEND UPON SOME WOMAN OR OTHER FOR HIS MEALS.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE CUSTOM OF EATING THE TORTILLA, AND THE CUSTOMARY WAY OF PREPARING IT DETERMINES MANY ASPECTS OF THE WAY OF LIVING. THE ADVENT OF THE MACHINE DRIVEN GRINDING MILL CHANGED LIFE A GREAT DEAL, AND I AM SURE THAT THE MACHINE-MADE TORTILLA WHEN IT COMES TO THE VILLAGE WILL INDUCE FURTHER ~~AND~~ CHANGES. IT ^{will} GIVE WOMEN MORE FREE TIME, AND MAKES MEN LESS DIRECTLY DEPENDENT UPON WOMEN.

SELLING MAIZE.

7.3

MAIZE IS THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF INCOME OF THE CHIAPILTECOS AND THERE IS HARDLY ANY ADULT WHO DOES NOT DEAL IN IT IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. THERE ARE THOSE WHO SELL IT, AND THOSE WHO RE-SELL IT; THAT IS TO SAY PERSONS WHO BUY MAIZE OFF THE PRODUCERS IN ORDER TO RE-SELL. I WILL NOT CONSIDER THESE SELLERS HERE. THEY DO NOT SELL THE MAIZE IN CHIAPILLA, THEY SELL IT ELSEWHERE. HERE I SHALL CONSIDER THOSE WHO SELL WITHIN THE VILLAGE.

THE MOST NOTICEABLE SELLERS ARE THE WOMEN. THIS IS NOT BECAUSE THEY SELL THE LARGEST QUANTITIES, BUT BECAUSE THEY ARE SEEN TO BE SELLING MOST OFTEN. MAIZE IS CONSIDERED TO BE EQUIVALENT TO MONEY AND WOMEN SELL A SMALL AMOUNT OF IT AS AND WHEN THEY NEED MONEY. THEY MAY WANT IT FOR MEDICINES, FOR A NEW DRESS, IN ORDER TO BUY SOME TRINKET WHICH A PEDDLAR HAS BROUGHT TO THE VILLAGE OR EVEN TO GET FOOD FOR DINNER. THEY WILL TAKE AN ALMUD OR TWO FROM THEIR STORE AND LOOK FOR A BUYER. THERE IS NO MARKET PLACE IN CHIAPILLA AND THEREFORE SUCH A WOMAN WILL GO FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE TRYING TO SELL. FREQUENTLY A WOMAN SELLS SECRETLY WITHOUT HER HUSBAND KNOWING; HE IS UNLIKELY TO NOTICE IF SHE TAKES A LITTLE FROM THE STORE WHILE HE IS AT WORK.

FREQUENTLY MAIZE IS NOT SOLD IN KIND, BUT IS SOLD "EN COSECHA". WHEN A PERSON IS IN NEED OF MONEY AND HAS NONE AND WHEN HE HAS NO MAIZE TO SELL EITHER, HE WILL SELL THE MAIZE WHICH WILL BE HARVESTED IN DECEMBER. HE SELLS FUTURES.

IN CHIAPILLA THE FIRST MAIZE "EN COSECHA" IS SOLD IN APRIL AND AT THAT TIME THE PRICE IS \$30 PER FANEGA. THIS IS RATHER EARLIER THAN IN MOST OTHER VILLAGES AND CAN BE ACCOUNTED FOR BY THE FIESTA OF THE PATRON SAINT WHICH FALLS ON THE 29TH OF APRIL. EVERYBODY BUYS AT LEAST ONE SET OF NEW CLOTHES FOR THE FIESTA. IN ADDITION IT IS THE TIME FOR BAPTISMS, WEDDINGS, HOUSE BUILDING AND HOUSE PAINTING, IN FACT FOR ALL THINGS WHICH REQUIRE MONEY. IF A PERSON SELLS MAIZE "EN COSECHA" IT MEANS THAT HE HAS NO MAIZE NOR MONEY LEFT AND IS MORTGAGING HIS NEXT HARVEST; SO THAT BY THE TIME THE HARVEST COMES, HE HAS ALREADY SOLD IT AND IS STILL WITHOUT MONEY.

VERY MANY WOMEN SELL MAIZE "EN COSECHA" WITHOUT TELLING THEIR HUSBAND. IT HAS THE GREAT ADVANTAGE OF REMAINING HIDDEN UNTIL HARVEST TIME. MAIZE TAKEN FROM THE STORE SOON BECOMES APPARENT BUT ONE CAN SELL ANY AMOUNT

"EN COSECHA" WITHOUT BEING FOUND OUT. IF ONE IS LUCKY THE HUSBAND WILL NEVER FIND OUT. DURING HARVEST TIME THE WOMEN OFTEN HELP IN THE FIELDS AND SO ARE ABLE TO HIDE AWAY THE AMOUNTS THEY HAVE ALREADY SOLD TO DELIVER THEM SECRETLY. EVEN IF THE WOMEN DO NOT WORK IN THE FIELDS, THE HUSBAND CARTS HOME THE MAIZE AND RETURNS TO THE FIELD TO HARVEST SOME MORE. DURING THIS TIME THE WOMAN TAKES THE MAIZE SHE OWES AND DELIVERS IT. THE HUSBAND DOES NOT MEASURE THE AMOUNT HE HAS BROUGHT HOME AND THE WOMAN IS ONLY DISCOVERED IF SHE HAS SOLD EXCESSIVELY.

THERE IS MUCH QUARRELLING BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE DUE TO THIS SECRET SELLING OF MAIZE, BOTH IN KIND AND "EN COSECHA". THE WOMAN COMPLAINS SHE IS FORCED TO DO IT AS HER HUSBAND DOES NOT GIVE HER ENOUGH MONEY AND THE MAN ACCUSES HIS WIFE OF SQUANDERING MONEY ON FRIVOLITIES WHILE HE IS SLAVING AWAY IN THE FIELDS.

THE VILLAGERS KNOW VERY WELL WHICH WOMEN GO IN FOR THIS SECRET SELLING; THEY DO NOT GIVE SUCH A WOMAN AWAY, EVEN THOUGH SHE MAY BE SLOW IN PAYING. THIS ATTITUDE IS PERFECTLY EXPRESSED IN THE FOLLOWING INCIDENT WHICH WAS TOLD TO ME TO SHOW HOW STUPID MARIA HAD BEEN.

MY FRIEND CELIA HAD BOUGHT SOME MAIZE "EN COSECHA" FROM MARIA AND WHEN HARVEST TIME CAME AND SHE DID NOT PAY, CELIA WENT TO HER HOUSE TO REMIND HER OF THE DEBT. HER HUSBAND HAPPENED TO BE IN AT THE TIME. HALF AN HOUR LATER MARIA CAME TO CELIA WITH BRUISES ON HER FACE AND ARMS FROM HER HUSBAND'S BEATINGS. SHE HAD SOLD THE MAIZE SECRETLY. CELIA'S COMMENT TO ME WAS "WHY IN THE WORLD DID SHE NOT TELL ME IT WAS SOLD SECRETLY. I WOULD NEVER HAVE COME TO ASK FOR IT LIKE THAT HAD I KNOWN".

THIS COMMENT SHOWS BEAUTIFULLY THAT CELIA TAKES THIS SECRET SELLING FOR GRANTED AND THAT SHE TAKES IT EQUALLY FOR GRANTED THAT SHE WOULD NOT GIVE MARIA AWAY. IT ALSO SHOWS THAT WOMEN ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES WHO SELL "EN COSECHA", AS CELIA WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE HUSBAND HAD BEEN IN AGREEMENT.

MEN SELL MAIZE IN KIND, "EN COSECHA", AND STANDING IN THE FIELDS. THUS A MAN MAY HAVE PLANTED HIS MILPA AND FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER DOES NOT WANT TO HARVEST IT. HE THEN SELLS THE MILPA, AS IT IS IN THE FIELDS.

HE WILL NOT ENTER THE FIELD AGAIN. THE BUYER WILL WEED AND HARVEST THE MAIZE. THE LAND OF COURSE HAS NOT BEEN SOLD; IT STILL BELONGS TO THE SELLER OF THE MAIZE.

ONE YOUNG MAN QUARRELLED WITH HIS WIFE AND INTENDED TO LEAVE HER AND LEAVE CHIAPILLA. HE THEREFORE SOLD HIS MILPA TO ANOTHER WHO DID THE SECOND WEEDING AND WHO WILL HARVEST IT AND SELL IT.

ANOTHER YOUNG MAN EXCHANGED HIS MILPA FOR A HORSE. BOTH HORSE AND MILPA WERE WORTH \$300 I WAS TOLD. HE SAID HE COULD NOT MANAGE TO WEED IT HIMSELF AND HAD NO MONEY TO PAY WORKERS TO DO SO. LATER HE SAID THERE WAS NO POINT TO HIS HARVESTING MAIZE WHEN HIS WIFE WOULD ONLY WASTE IT ON LUXURIES. OTHERS TOLD ME HE WAS JUST LAZY AND DID NOT LIKE TO WORK!

IT IS THE MEN WHO SELL THE BULK OF THE HARVEST WHEN THE MAIZE TRADERS COME TO CHIAPILLA. AS A GENERAL RULE, THEN, THE WOMEN SELL IN SMALL QUANTITIES, AS AND WHEN MONEY IS NEEDED, AND THE MEN SELL LARGER AMOUNTS, FROM ONE FANESA UPWARDS. BOTH SELL MAIZE "EN COSECHA".

IT IS NOT A GENERAL CUSTOM THAT THE SAME SELLER ALWAYS DEALS WITH THE SAME BUYER, EITHER FROM YEAR TO YEAR, OR FROM TRANSACTION TO TRANSACTION. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT SUCH CASES CANNOT BE FOUND; BUT AS A RULE A SELLER WILL SELL TO WHOEVER WILL BUY AND IF A MAN WANTS TO BUY HE WILL LOOK FOR SOMEONE WHO WISHES TO SELL. IT IS A MATTER OF CHANCE RATHER THAN DESIGN.

SINCE MAIZE IS EQUIVALENT TO MONEY AND SINCE BOTH MEN AND WOMEN SELL IT, THE QUESTION ARISES AS TO WHO KEEPS THE MONEY IN A HOUSEHOLD AND WHO DECIDES UPON THE MANNER IT IS TO BE SPENT. IN THE MORE SETTLED HOUSEHOLDS, THAT IS TO SAY WHERE HUSBAND AND WIFE HAVE BEEN LIVING TOGETHER FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS AND ARE NOT QUARRELLING, THE WOMAN KEEPS THE KEY TO THE ONEST IN WHICH THE MONEY IS STORED. THIS IS A MATTER OF CONVENIENCE, BECAUSE SHE IS AT HOME MOST OF THE TIME AND BECAUSE ANYTHING MAY HAPPEN TO THE HUSBAND IN THE MONTE. I HAVE NEVER HEARD OF A WOMAN DENYING THE KEY TO HER HUSBAND WHEN HE ASKED FOR IT. EVEN IF THE HUSBAND SENDS FOR MONEY WHEN HE IS DEAD DRUNK THE WIFE GIVES IT. IF SHE DOES NOT "EL SE PONE EN VERGUENZA" HE SUFFERS MUCH SHAME BECAUSE HIS WIFE DOES NOT OBEY HIM. BEING DRUNK HE WILL BE ALL THE MORE SENSITIVE TO THE ACCUSATION THAT HIS WIFE DOES NOT OBEY HIM; IT MEANS

"QUE NO LLEVA SUS PANTALONES" - IT IS THE WOMAN WHO WEARS THE TROUSERS.

IF THERE IS MUCH QUARRELLING BETWEEN THE COUPLE, THE HUSBAND WILL TAKE CARE TO KEEP THE MONEY, SO THE WIFE SHOULD NOT GET HOLD OF IT, EITHER TO SPEND IT OR TO RUN AWAY. ANTONIO LEFT HIS WIFE BECAUSE SHE HAD SPENT THE \$900 HE HAD PUT IN THE CHEST. THIS MONEY WAS INTENDED TO BE USED TO HIRE WORKERS TO WEED THE MILPA AND HAD BEEN OBTAINED A FEW MONTHS BEFORE BY THE SALE OF ANTONIO'S TWO OXEN. WHEN HE CAME TO GET THE MONEY THERE WAS HARDLY ANY LEFT. ANOTHER CASE IS THAT OF CONSUELO; SHE COMPLAINED THAT HER HUSBAND HAD ALWAYS LEFT ALL THE MONEY HE EARNED WITH HER AND THAT SHE HAD LOOKED AFTER IT WELL FOR HIM AND THAT THEY HAD PROGRESSED. HOWEVER, RECENTLY HE HAD TAKEN TO KEEPING IT IN HIS POCKET AND SPENDING IT ON DRINK AND GAMBLING. SHE SAID THAT SHE HAD NOT SEEN ONE PESO OF ALL THE MONEY FROM THE SALE OF LAST YEAR'S HARVEST. HER HUSBAND HAD SPENT IT ALL. (SHE MAY NOT HAVE BEEN TELLING ME THE WHOLE TRUTH, BUT I DO KNOW THAT HE DRINKS A LOT). CONSUELO HERSELF HAS MONEY BECAUSE SHE WORKS TO EARN IT.

IT IS THEREFORE A MATTER OF INDIVIDUAL CHARACTER AND OF CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH OF THE TWO KEEPS THE MONEY. THERE ARE CASES WHERE THE WOMAN EARNS ALL THE MONEY TO RUN THE HOUSEHOLD AND THE MAN DOES NOTHING. THE EXAMPLE I GAVE FURTHER BACK, OF THE MAN WHO EXCHANGED HIS MILPA FOR A HORSE IS SUCH A ONE.

WHATEVER THE ARRANGEMENT ABOUT CASH, THE MAN HAS TO TRUST HIS WIFE WITH REGARDS TO MAIZE. HE HAS NOWHERE TO STORE IT EXCEPT IN THE HOUSE AND HE IS AWAY MOST OF THE DAY. I HAVE DESCRIBED THE WAY IN WHICH MANY WOMEN SELL THIS MAIZE SECRETLY; AT TIMES THEY ARE JUSTIFIED AND AT TIMES THEY ARE JUST ROBBING THEIR HUSBANDS. IN ANY CASE THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS MAKES IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGIST TO MAKE AN ESTIMATE OF WHO SPENDS THE MONEY AND WHAT IT IS SPENT ON.

SELLING "EN COBEGNA", THAT IS SELLING THE MAIZE BEFORE IT IS HARVESTED (WHICH IS CUSTOMARY IN THE WHOLE STATE) SHOULD BE SEEN AS PART OF THE GENERAL CUSTOM OF LIVING IN BEST. THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE ARE PERMANENTLY IN BEST, AND NOT VERY WORRIED ABOUT IT.

MANY WHO HAVE SOLD THEIR MAIZE "EN COBEGNA", DO NOT COME TO BELIEVE THE MAIZE OF THEIR OWN ACCORD. THEY BELIEVE IT WHEN THE BUYER COMES TO ASK FOR IT. BY THE TIME HE COMES THERE MAY BE NO MAIZE LEFT, AND NOW CAN A MAN PAY

A BEST OF MAIZE IF HE HAS NONE? THE MAIZE MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN SECRETLY FROM THE FIELD TO ANOTHER VILLAGE TO BE SOLD THERE; OR IT MAY HAVE EVEN BEEN SOLD TO ANOTHER MAN IN THE VILLAGE. OR THE BUYER WILL BE TOLD THAT THE HARVEST WAS BAD, OR THAT THE COWS GOT INTO THE FIELD AND DAMAGED THE CROP.

THE USUAL PRACTICE IS FOR THE BUYER "EN COSECHA" TO COME TO THE HOUSE OF THE SELLER WHEN HE HEARS THE HARVEST IS IN. HOWEVER, IF THE BUYER KNOWS THE SELLER TO BE UNRELIABLE, OR IF HE ALREADY OWES FROM LAST YEAR, THE BUYER WILL GO TO THE FIELDS ON THE DAY HE KNOWS THE SELLER IS HARVESTING, IN ORDER TO CLAIM HIS MAIZE ON THE SPOT. IF HE CANNOT GET THE SELLER TO PAY THE TRANSPORT HE WILL EVEN BE WILLING TO PAY IT HIMSELF ALTHOUGH THE SELLER OUGHT TO DELIVER IT TO THE HOUSE OF THE BUYER.

THE FOLLOWING TWO INCIDENTS HAPPENED DURING MY STAY IN CHIAPILLA. THEY ILLUSTRATE THE KIND OF RISKS THE BUYER "EN COSECHA" RUNS, OR CONVERSELY - AS THIS SECTION IS ON THE SELLER OF MAIZE - THEWAY THE SELLER OCCASIONALLY MAY SNAVE.

MARIO SOLD 8 FANEGAS OF MAIZE "EN COSECHA" TO NATIE. A WEEK LATER NATIE HEARD THAT MARIO HAD LEFT CHIAPILLA BECAUSE HE HAD QUARRELLED WITH HIS WIFE. (A DIFFERENT MAN FROM THE ONE WHO SOLD HIS MILPA AS RECOUNTED ABOVE). HE LEFT HIS MILPA TO HIS BROTHER AND THIS BROTHER IS MOST UNLIKELY TO RECOGNIZE HIS BEST SO THAT THE EIGHT FANEGAS ARE LOST.

JULIO HAD SOLD 2 FANEGAS "EN COSECHA" AND HAD BEEN UNABLE TO PAY AT HARVEST TIME; SO THE BEST WAS LEFT OVEN TO THE FOLLOWING YEAR. WHEN HARVEST-TIME CAME AROUND AND THE CREDITOR DEMANDED HIS MAIZE JULIO SAID THAT HE OWES NOTHING. "BUT I HAVE NOTED IT DOWN IN MY BOOK", PROTESTED THE CREDITOR. "OH, THAT DOESN'T MEAN ANYTHING", WAS THE REPLY, "ANYONE CAN NOTE DOWN THINGS IN A BOOK. I DO NOT REMEMBER THAT I SOLD YOU ANY MAIZE "EN COSECHA". I MUST ADMIT THIS STORY WAS TOLD ME BY THE CREDITOR AND I HAVE NOT HEARD JULIO'S ACCOUNT OF IT.

AS THE CREDITOR IN CHIAPILLA HAS NOT RESERVE FOR UNPAID BESTS, THE BEST CAN CONTINUE IN BEST FOR A LONG TIME. (SEE BEST). FOR HOW LONG PRECISELY DEPENDS A GREAT DEAL UPON THE CHARACTER OF THE CREDITOR. I KNOW FOR INSTANCE, THAT SELINA MAKES THE BESTORS REPAY DOUBLE THE AMOUNT OF MAIZE IF HE HAS DEFAULTED ONE YEAR. MANUELA ON THE OTHER HAND IS LUCKY IF SHE GETS

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THE MONEY SHE ORIGINALLY PAID FOR THE SIZE. (SHE HAS THUS LENT THE MONEY FOR NO INTEREST FOR ONE YEAR). I REPEATEDLY ASKED HOW SELINA MANAGES TO GET HER DEBTS REPAID WITH ALL THE INTEREST DUE. THE ANSWER I ALWAYS GOT WAS "WHY SHE JUST KEEPS CALLING AT THE HOUSE AND PRESSING FOR PAYMENT, UNTIL THEY PAY". 'ES MUY DURO, MUY MALA ELLA' (SHE IS VERY HARD, VERY BAD)

NOW IT IS OBVIOUS IF ALL THE DEBTORS FAILED TO PAY OR EVEN IF THE MAJORITY FAILED TO PAY, THERE WOULD BE NO ONE WHO WOULD GIVE CREDIT AND NO ONE WHO WOULD BUY 'EN COBECCHA'. IT IS TRUE THAT SEVERAL PEOPLE HAVE TOLD ME THAT THEY NO LONGER BUY "EN COBECCHA" AS THEY LOST SO MUCH IN DEBTS UNPAID; AND TWO SANTINEROS CLAIMED TO HAVE CLOSED DOWN FOR THIS SAME REASON. THEY MAY HAVE TOLD ME THE TRUTH, OR IT MAY HAVE SIMPLY BEEN A PLAUSIBLE REASON TO GIVE.

IN ANY CASE THE MAJORITY WHO GIVE CREDIT, OR WHY BUY "EN COBECCHA" MUST BE MAKING A PROFIT OTHERWISE THEY WOULD NOT BE ENGAGING IN THIS ACTIVITY.

TO SUM UP THE POINTS I HAVE MADE: MAIZE, WHICH IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME TO MOST OF THE CHIAPILLTECOS, IS SOLD IN A BEWILDERING NUMBER OF WAYS, AND AT A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT PRICES. IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO ESTIMATE THE INCOME OF ANY INDIVIDUAL FOR THIS REASON.

IN THE FIRST PLACE IT IS HARD TO ESTIMATE THE AMOUNT OF MAIZE A MAN HAS HARVESTED. THE REASON IS THE PRACTICE OF SELLING MAIZE SECRETLY BEFORE THE AMOUNT HAS BEEN MEASURED, AND THE PRACTICE OF HARVESTING MAIZE AS SOON AS IT IS RIPE FOR THE CONSUMPTION OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

IN THE SECOND PLACE IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW AT WHAT PRICE SUCH MAIZE AS WAS HARVESTED WAS SOLD. MAIZE IS SOLD "EN COBECCHA" AND IT IS SOLD IN BRISS AND BRASS, THROUGHOUT THE YEAR, AND PRICES VARY A GREAT DEAL ACCORDING TO THE QUALITY OF THE MAIZE AND THE TIME OF YEAR AT WHICH IT IS SOLD. PART OF A MAN'S MAIZE MAY HAVE BEEN SOLD AT \$30 THE FANESA, AND PART AT \$60 FOR EXAMPLE.

IN THE THIRD PLACE MOST MEN AND SOME WOMEN EARN VARYING AMOUNTS IN OTHER WAYS, BY WORKING OR TRADING.

LASTLY A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF THE ACTUAL INCOME IS SPENT UPON BORROWING IN ADVANCE. MOST CHIAPILLTECOS LIVE ON BORROWING AND LIVE IN DEBT. THUS

THE EFFECTIVE PURCHASING POWER OF A MAN, THE AMOUNT HE SPENDS ON GOODS AND SERVICES IS LESS THAN THE MONEY INCOME HE HAS. PART OF THIS MONEY INCOME IS SPENT ON THE INTEREST HE PAYS IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER TO SECURE HIS INCOME IN ADVANCE.

I THEN DESCRIBED THE RISKS TAKEN BY CREDITORS AND THE LACK OF SANCTION IN CASE OF FAILURE TO REPAY ON THE PART OF THE DEBTOR. (SEE DEST.) AS MAIZE AND LABDUR ARE THE MAIN ASSETS THE PEOPLE POSSESS IT IS ONE OF THESE WHICH IS INVOLVED IN MOST OF THE BORROWING/LENDING TRANSACTIONS.

BUYING MAIZE IN CHIAPILLA

9.4

- Page 1 : Line 10: OMIT "(See Market in Maize)"
- Page 1 : Line 19 : OMIT "Circumstances"
It should read " ...but in a great part due to improved communications."
- Page 1 : Line 22 : Substitute "the eight hours climb" for the seven hours climb.
- Page 1 : Line 29 : It was in 1950 . Omit "about".
- Page 2 : Line 8 : ...one measures a cuartilla. The larger.....
Omit "and is in size".
- Page 2 : Line 9 : measures one Almud and is appx 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 12cm in size.
Add "12cms"
- Page 2 : Line 26 : the Almud of Chiapilla.
- Page 2 : Line 33 : the Cuarto is common. Three of these.....
Omit "It measures ."
- Page 3 : Line 34 : (See A Chiapillteco Sells Maize to the Government)
Omit "see Govt Paper on Maize"
- Page 4 Leave LARGE SPACE between paragraph three and four.
Between "... than the old maize." and "The people who buy..."
- Page 4 : Line : 15 : Y maize is much.....
Omit "(Y)..."
- Page 4 : Line 27The first I call "petty traders"
Add the inverted commas
- Page 5 : Line 5 two hour journey.....
Not "three hour journey"
- Page 6 : Line 23 may give a chicken, eggs or even a piglet.
- Page 8 : Line 11 Omit (See Market in Maize)
- Page 8 : Line 19 liquor); the better-off widows. In some....
- Page 8 : Line 27 shrugged their shoulders "no quiere" was the answer (She doesnt want to). Two other...
- Page 8 : Line 36round; they buy at any.....
- Page 9 : Line 4 only ones who are in a position to buy 'en cosecha
PARAGRAHP HERE. Continue next Paragraph "I have.
- Page 9 : Line 15 last 20 years; (See Essay on The Past, and Land for Maize) or may be.....
- Page 10 : Line 8 is a shortage of maize. In Chiapilla only two such acaparadores are operating; there is....
- Page 11 : Line 12 petty trading in maize is bound to disappear...
- WATCH OUT FOR SPELLING MISTAKES

9.4 BUYING MAIZE IN CHIAPILLA

~~Lilo Stern~~

The whole economy of Chiapilla and the surrounding area depends upon maize; it depends upon the crop itself, and the price at which it can be sold.

It is true that price is determined by Demand and Supply, that is to say by the sellers and the buyers; but in this case the buyers have more say in determining the price than the sellers. This is so, because the people have to sell their maize whatever the price. All their needs are satisfied with money acquired through the sale of their maize. Only a few have sufficient resources, to hold the maize until such time as the price is high. (See Market in Maize)

The maize trade is therefore equally important to the economy of the area as is the maize crop. The Government has realized this, and has made, and is still making, big efforts to control and regulate trading in maize. (See Govt. policy on Maize)

During the last six or seven years the maize trade of Chiapilla has undergone a complete transformation; it has been partly due to Government intervention, but in a great part due to improved circumstances of communications.

All the maize of Chiapilla used to be taken to San Cristóbal (See History). Whatever maize was available for export was taken on muleback, the seven hours' climb to San Cristóbal - La Ciudad (the city) - as it is significantly referred to. In fact the deciding factor was not so much the amount of maize available, as the number of pack animals available, the number of traders willing to buy or to transport the grain. Today the position is reversed; despite an increased production the demand to buy is greater than the amount available for sale.

It was about 1950, when the first dry weather track was opened between Chiapa and Acala that the maize began to find an outlet in that direction. By 1958 no maize was sent from Chiapilla to San Cristóbal. In 1961 (when I arrived in Chiapilla) the first useable dry weather track was opened between Acala and Chiapilla, and it was the first year that lorries transported the bulk of the maize produced in the village, and in the two villages lying beyond Chiapilla (Zapotal and Totolapa).

The fact that lorries arrived in this very first year was not due to the enterprize of the Chiapilltecos; it was the traders from Chiapa and from Acala, already used to sending their lorries along temporary roads, who sent them to Chiapilla to buy the maize there.

The Chiapilla maize, as in all this area, is measured in volume. A square wooden box is used for this. The smaller one measures a cuartilla and is in size. The larger measures one Almud and is appx. $36\frac{1}{2} \times 36\frac{1}{2}$ cms. in size. Four cuartillas make one Almud; 12 Almudes make one Fanega. There is no box to measure the Fanega; it is measured with 12 Almudes. The size of the Almud may vary. The standard, set by the Government I believe, is 40 x 40 x 10 \emptyset cm. There is a "large almud" and a "small almud", but in addition many almudes are neither one nor the other. In many cases the difference is unknown, and for this reason, in any contract for sale of maize, the Almud to be used is always agreed upon. Thus a man will offer to sell maize to X; X will say he will buy it, but measured with his (X's) almud. A friend of mine who trades maize in Totolapa, explained to me that part of his profit lay in the different size of the Almud with which he bought, and the Almud with which he sold. In Totolapa a larger Almud is customary than that in Chiapilla. Thus he said that he gained 1 Almud in each Fanega. i.e. If he bought 12 Almudes in Totolapa with the Almud (measure) \emptyset used there, he would have 13 Almudes measured with the Chiapilla Almud.

In Chiapilla, 5 Cuartillos make 1 Litro. This measure of a Litro is not used in trading. It is the amount of maize needed to sow one Hectaria of maize.

I do not know the radius within which these measures are used. I do know that in the Tuxtla market, where much of the maize from Chiapilla is sold, a different measure is used. There the Cuarto is common. It measures . Three of these cuartos make one Almud. On the other side of the River Grijalva, appx 10 miles from Chiapilla, the Litro is a different measure. 15 of these Litros make one Almud (whereas the Litro in Chiapilla is more than one Almud). Thus great care has to be taken by those small traders who deal in these measures, and who come from the

villages to sell in Tuxtla. I have not been able to study how they calculate the equivalent prices with such variable measures, nor do I know what advantages can be taken of these differences in order to cheat, or to make a reasonable profit. However I think that these variable measures cannot persist for long. With improved communications, and with the increased use of weight as measurement for maize, the measures in volume will disappear.

The Mexican Government which is the largest single maize buyer, buys in Toneladas, and in Kilos; that is to say it buys in weight. All large scale trading now-a-days is done in weight measures. This difference in the measurement of maize used to be unimportant, because it was the concern of those traders who came to buy maize in Chiapilla (in the local measure of the Almud), and who sold it to the Government or to large scale traders (in Toneladas). Now that the whole maize marketing system is changing due to the Government's policy and to the new roads (See Govt. policy on Maize) the Chiapilltecos are becoming aware of the difference in measures. This is because they themselves are beginning to sell directly to the Government - in toneladas. That is to say they sell maize measured in weight and not in Volume. I think it likely that the Almud will slowly fall into disuse. Nevertheless at present the difference exists, and I have to explain its implications.

The crux of the matter is that one Almud of type X maize weighs more than one Almud of type Y maize. Thus $7\frac{1}{2}$ Fanegas of type X, will weigh 1 Tonelada, whereas $8\frac{1}{2}$ -9 Fanegas of type Y weigh 1 Tonelada. To put the same thing differently: 1 Hectaria of type Y maize will give a larger number of Fanegas than 1 Hectaria of Type X maize. But 1 Hectaria of the type X maize will give a greater number of Toneladas than 1 Hectaria of Type Y.

The Chiapillteco is thus in a predicament. If he sells in Chiapilla (and there are good reasons why he should sell there, see Govt. paper on Maize), he is better off with Type Y, for he will sell in Almudes and Fanegas, i.e., in volume. If he sells to the Government (and the Government offers strong inducements for the peasants to sell to it) he is better off with type X maize, for he will sell in weight.

That it is a predicament is my own comment, for the men of Chiapilla have not quite grasped these implications. They say that type Y "rinde mas". It yields better they say, and in the past, selling by volume this has been true.

If the Chiapillteco were to produce maize to his own best advantage, he would have to decide at sowing time how much he intended to sell to the Government and how much he wanted to sell in Chiapilla. But this would mean thinking ahead for a longer period than he is accustomed to do. In practice he reaches his decision as a result of the circumstances at sowing time. The Govt. offers strong inducements for the farmer to plant type X. It lends him money if he does so, and refuses to lend him money if he does not. (See Govt. Policy on Maize) On the other hand, the seed of type X (Y) maize is much cheaper than the price charged by the Government for its seed.

I have said that type Y maize weighs less per Almud than type X. One would therefore suppose that the price of type Y should be lower per Almud than that of type X. This is not so; there is one price per Almud of maize whatever the type of maize. The only quality differences which are taken into account are maize that is "pudrido"; that is if it has been severely attacked by a small animal called the "gor-gojo" which eats the heart of the grain; secondly new maize has a lower price per Almud than the old maize.

The people who buy maize in Chiapilla can be roughly divided into four classes. The first I call petty traders; the second I will call "regular buyers"; the third I call "large-scale traders"; and the fourth is the Federal Government.

I call Petty Traders all those who buy maize in small quantities, such amounts as can be carried on the head, or upon one or two donkeys. This kind of trading is generally done by women who have no other means of livelihood. Widows, or old women who have no sons or relatives to support them; occasionally young widows and unmarried girls who like to do a little trading on their own. Some of them may borrow or hire a donkey for the day to transport the maize they have bought.

These women take advantage of the fact that there is a small difference in the price of maize between Chiapilla and the neighbouring villages of Zapotal and Totolapa, (about four miles off), as well as various ranches in the area. They make the three-hour journey on foot, return to Chiapilla in the evening and there re-sell the maize they have bought at the higher price prevailing. They earn about \$3 per day this way.

More frequently these women carry goods to sell in the villages or ranches, and with the money thus earned they buy maize which they re-sell in Chiapilla. They will carry such things as bread, meat, cloth, or panela, whatever they think will sell in the village or colonia they are going to. Some of these petty traders will buy the cloth they intend to sell, or they will bake the bread themselves the day before, or they will kill the pig whose meat they intend to sell. More frequently they ask for the goods to be given them on credit, promising to pay the money on their return in the evening. The day before their journey they will go and "speak" to one of the village women who makes candles, or soap, or drinking chocolate or bread, etc. For each \$1 worth of goods they earn 10 centavos "de cabeza" (for the head) meaning for the carrying. It is of course preferable to take some good which weighs little and has greater value. Clothes will pay better than soap for example, as \$1 worth of soap is heavy and a woman cannot carry more than \$10 on her head, whereas she can carry \$30 or \$40 worth of clothes.

It is considered a safe investment to give these trader-women the goods on credit. The reason is that they depend upon this credit; it is their means of livelihood; if they do not repay the money they will not be given credit the next time they ask for it, and thus they lose their only chance for earning money.

Frequently these women do not sell their goods for money; they barter them for maize. It is an advantage for them to accept maize instead of money. As I have said, the price of maize varies according to the distance from the larger market. Thus in a finca, or in Totolapa, maize is always \$1 per Almod cheaper than in Chiapilla. Now the goods the traders carry are priced in money. Thus ten buns may cost \$1, or a length of

cloth \$5. When maize is given instead of money, it is calculated at the price obtaining in the place of sale. For example in Totolapa one Almud of maize may sell for \$5, therefore 1 Almud of maize is given for the length of cloth priced at \$5.

When the trader-woman returns to Chiapilla at night with her Almud of maize on her head or on her donkey, she sells it for \$6. She has thus a double earning; the money she earned on the sale of the cloth, and the money she earned on the sale of the maize.

This kind of bartering is frequent in the ranchoes, the colonias and even in Chiapilla. It is not bartering in the accepted sense of the word - the simple exchange of one good for another. This type of exchange is always made in terms of money. The buyer and the seller agree upon the price of the bread (for example), and then they work out how much maize can be bought for that amount of money at the current price in that place. This amount of maize is then given in exchange for the bread. The fact that they pay in goods rather than money is due to the chronic shortage of cash in the area, or it may be that the husband will not leave any money with his wife. The buyer may give maize in exchange for her purchases, or she may give a chicken, eggs, or even a pig.

These petty traders do not handle large quantities of maize. From the point of view of the maize trade they are unimportant, and might even be omitted. Their importance lies in their number, and in the goods they carry to the more isolated settlements. It is plain that very little can be carried by a woman on her head, and the amount of maize traded in this way is insignificant compared to the total production. Nevertheless a large number of women are engaged in this kind of trading. It is a very hard way of earning a livelihood; the roads are very hot and dusty, and the earnings are small. The trader women are pitied by all people, who comment upon the hard life they lead; when they arrive they are always offered a drink and a rest in the cool house. They are also welcome for the news and gossip they bring, and for the goods they carry. Especially clothes traders are welcome for though little is bought, there is no charge, and much pleasure, in looking at all the articles on sale, and admiring them and discussing their price.

There are a number of small settlements within a day's journey on foot from Chiapilla, which are visited regularly by these petty traders. Every ranch has at least four families living in small huts around the ranch owner's house. Large ranches may have as many as forty families. There are, in addition, Colonias, which are settlements that have been founded on Ejido land, but have not yet been accorded the status of self-government.

These women traders carry soap, candles, meat, bread, cloth and clothes. Except for the cloth all these are the produce of home industries in Chiapilla. The bread is baked there, candles and soap are made there, and the clothes are run up on the sewing machines in Chiapilla. These home industries are in the hands of the better-off women of the village. It is striking that none of the poor people know an "oficio", i.e. a trade. It is the wealthier women and their daughters who are busy sewing clothes, making candles, making soap, killing pigs, etc. I think this is due to the fact that the poorer people do not have the capital needed for such work. They do not have sufficient money to buy the flour to bake bread, nor to buy the fat to make candles, nor to buy the cloth to make clothes, etc. The work of the poorer women is to take in washing to make tortillas for sale and to work as servants.

The second class of buyers I have called the regular buyers. These are persons whose main occupation is not to trade in maize, but who do trade in it, as a very profitable side-line. They buy maize in kind, and "en cosecha". Some of them also make trips to nearby ranches or villages to buy maize there at a lower price; however, unlike the petty traders, they will go with an ox-cart or a team of donkeys and buy up larger quantities. They sell the maize in one of four ways: they may take it to the Government Storehouse and sell it there; they may take it to Acala or Chiapa to sell it to traders there; they may hold it until the price of maize rises in May, June and July and sell it at a profit within the villages; finally they may sell it to visiting traders.

Only a few of those I have called "regular buyers" go out to buy maize in other villages. Most of them are content to buy maize as and when it is offered to them. I have already said that there is a continuous stream of people wanting to sell small quantities of maize; (See Selling Maize); they come both from Chiapalla and from surrounding settlements. These "regular buyers" also buy 'en cosecha', and this is where their real profit lies. If the buyer 'en cosecha' chooses a reliable seller, one who will deliver the maize at harvest time, the profit made is enormous. He doubles his investment in five months (See market in Maize). Most persons who have some capital to spare buy maize 'en cosecha'. It may be 10 Fanegas only, or it may be as much as 100 Fanegas, according to the possibilities of each.

Those who have capital are the "regular buyers"; it is they I believe, who buy the bulk of the maize in Chiapilla. All the shopkeepers buy in kind and 'en cosecha'; the school teachers (not the two young women teachers); the cantineros (sale of liquor); the better-off widows; in some cases husband and wife buy separately and keep their profit and their money apart. The women use the money they have earned from making soap, candles, etc; in some cases the daughters follow suit. The daughter of one cantinero aged 20, buys maize 'en cosecha' with the money she earns from dress-making; she has been doing this for several years now; her elder sister, however, who attends to the cantina does not buy 'en cosecha'; when I asked why, they just shrugged their shoulders "no quiere" was the answer. Two other young girls, daughters of a cantinero and of a shop-keeper also buy 'en cosecha' with the money earned from dress-making. It is curious that the young sons of these better-off villagers do not buy 'en cosecha'. They are content to work in the fields, or to work at tailoring and let their fathers and sisters trade in maize.

This second class of traders plays much more an important role in the maize trade. The reason for their importance is that they are there all the year round; they buy at any time a villager wants to sell. Given the fact that much of the maize is sold in dribs and drabs as the need for money arises (see

Selling Maize), and given the chronic scarcity of money, it is natural that much of the harvest should pass through the hands of these "regular traders". Furthermore they are the only ones who are in a position to buy 'en cosecha'. I have already discussed the important role which this sale 'en cosecha' plays in Chiapilla (Selling Maize) (Govt Policy on Maize). To buy 'en cosecha' two requirements are essential. 1) to have the money; 2) to know the seller personally. To have money is essential - for buying 'en cosecha' is a form of lending money. To know the seller is essential, in order to estimate his reliability, the chances that he will keep his word and deliver the maize at harvest-time.

It is these "regular buyers", who are the core of the peasant middle class which has arisen in Chiapilla during the last 20 years; (See maize as a Crop) or may be it would be more accurately stated the other way around; the rising peasant middle class has taken a large part of the maize trade into its hands.

The third class of traders are the large-scale traders. To trade in maize is their business. These are men who come from Chiapa, from Tuxtla and occasionally from Acala. In this class I include those men who are owner-drivers of a lorry and who come to Chiapilla and go from house to house looking for maize to buy during harvest time. They are generally self-made men, who come from small villages or fincas and have worked hard to be able to buy a lorry with which to work. They buy almost any quantity, from one Fanega to one Tonelada. It is usual for them to pay on the return journey as they have not the capital to pay cash. For this reason they pay a little more than the really big traders. These big traders have their own storehouses in Chiapa and own three or four lorries which come to transport the maize they have bought. These men are called "acaparadores" (See Govt. Policy on Maize) - a word which carries the significance of large-scale trader, profiteer. They have been trading in the area for at least eight to ten years, and have long standing relationships with the "regular buyers"; they are their friends and sometimes compadres; they have been dealing with them for many years. Before their lorries

reached Chiapilla, these "acaparadores" would buy off the "regular buyers" in Chiapa or in Acala. Often they would buy 'en cosecha' through the "regular buyers" in Chiapilla, usually lending them the money to do so. It is mainly due to them that the lorries entered Chiapilla so soon after the track was opened. These traders used to send the maize to other States, as far as Oaxaca and Puebla, wherever there is a shortage of maize. In Chiapilla there are only two such acaparadores; there is not room for more. In a neighbouring area a new-comer tried to enter the market 'belonging' to one of these acaparadores. He was found dead a few months later!

The fourth class of buyer is the Federal Government. I have written at length about the Government's part in the buying of maize. (See Govt. Policy on Maize).

It is impossible to say at present in whose hands the maize trade will finally remain. I began the paper by saying that the trade is being transformed rapidly and that the two forces which are creating this change are the Government intervention, and the building of new roads. Both mean accessibility to the wider market; although the change has been taking place gradually since 1950, the real effect of the Govt. intervention and the new roads has only been felt in Chiapilla during the last three years.

A good example of Govt. Intervention is the result of the Federal Government's measures against the acaparadores (See Mordida in the Beurocracy). This year there have been no acaparadores in Chiapilla. The "regular buyers" have been taking their place, it is they who have been buying up "ordenes" to deliver maize to the Banco Ejidal, it is through their hands that most of the maize is passing this year. I cannot tell whether this will continue or ~~not~~ whether the acaparadores will return when the present storm has passed.

The effect of the road to Chiapilla - and it is only a dry weather track - has been even more startling. In the first place, more producers have taken the big step of themselves selling their maize to the Government. They have seen that others have done it, and have profited, and now they have taken courage to follow suit. Half-way through this harvest season (1962) a track permitting lorries to pass, was opened between

Chiapilla and Totolapa, and later between Chiapilla and Zapotal. So many Chiapilltecos went to these two neighbouring villages to buy maize, in order to sell it to the Government at the guaranteed price, that the age-long difference of \$1 per Almud has disappeared. The difference in price between Acala and Chiapilla also disappeared, so that for a time there was a single price for maize in Acala, Chiapilla, Totolapa, and Zapotal. To me this appeared to be a tremendous event. For the first time the long-established difference in price between these villages has disappeared. It meant that for all practical purposes they are equidistant from the larger market. In a year or so, the petty trading in maize must disappear, as there will be no longer any profit in carrying maize from one village to another.

Another consequence of the road has been the tendency to take fruit to the Tuxtla market for sale. Up to this year all fruit has been sent by donkey-trains to San Cristóbal to sell there. This year women are beginning to take fruit on the bus to Tuxtla. It would not surprise me, if in a year or two, the Chiapilltecos will begin to plant vegetables and fruit in order to sell them in Tuxtla.

I think that two important points emerge from this account. The first is the importance of Capital in Chiapilla. It is a very scarce commodity and yields incredibly high rewards. The second is the adaptability of the people to new circumstances. There is no resistance to innovation, maybe because there are no strong traditions. In any case, the people are ready and willing to accept new ways if they can be shown to be profitable. This seems to me to be an important consideration in any economic measure the Government wishes to introduce.

10. Maize Marketing Relations With The Government
10.1 THE GOVERNMENT POLICY ON MAIZE

The Federal Government's Policy on maize is simple to formulate and incredible difficult to carry out. The Government wants to prevent profiteering in maize. If it could prevent profiteering then it would achieve the aim of assuring a steady and adequate supply of maize throughout the year, a steady price, and put an end to the abuses suffered by the peasant producer. In addition, the Government wants to improve the seed and yield of the crop. This is both an economic and a social policy. The government tries to implement this policy by economic means.

The policy has not failed, but it has not had the success it should have had. This is due to three obstacles the Government has to deal with.

1. The general backwardness of the country. Chiapas is particularly underdeveloped and suffers from all the difficulties so familiar in underdeveloped areas: lack of good communications, lack of education, inadequate personnel, etc. This is no one's fault, and has to be accepted as part of the given situation.

2. The lack of co-operation of the peasants themselves with a policy designed to help them. This cannot ^{only partly be} entirely attributed to their backwardness, ^{and} to their lack of faith in a Government which frequently fails to keep its promises. A large number of peasants are irresponsible and unwilling to make any effort, often not even to improve their own condition, let alone that of the community.

3. The Government's own employees, who should be putting the Government's policy into effect; indeed its own employees are the Government's worst enemies and by far the hardest problem it has to solve.

^{SPACE}
The policy for maize is the concern of the Federal Government, and not the State Government, although naturally the latter is interested in the question. From the point of view of the Federal Government, when it formulates its policy on

Staple food crops, maize is only one such basic crop. Rice, wheat, meat, coffee, cocoa ~~and cattle~~ ^{and sugar} are equally important to the economy of Mexico. I mention this here to point out that maize is not the only concern of the Federal Government and that some of the inadequacies of its policy may be due to the fact that from the point of view of the National Economy (or even for political reasons) other basic crops must receive priority.

Nevertheless, it is considered sufficiently important for a special organization to be set up which deals exclusively with maize, and it is headed by the brother of the President of the Republic. (Some people maintain that this does not indicate the importance of the maize, but rather the profitability of maize).

S P A C E

The problem of helping the peasant producers and of eliminating the profiteer is tackled at two points in the maize cycle. The production side and the marketing side.

Government intervention in the production of Maize:

a) Seed improvement.

In 1947 the Comisión Nacional de Maíz was founded. Its purpose was to evolve an improved seed. In 1955, (having changed its name and having been re-organized) the Productora Nacional de Semillas opened up in Tuxtla. A type of seed called "hibrido" intended for use in tierra caliente has been evolved by this organization. The maize seed is produced in its own fields and re-selected, cleaned and treated with chemicals for plague resistance, in its own storehouses. Appx. 12 1/2 kiloe of this seed are required to sow one Hectaria, and the cost of 12 1/2 kiloe is \$35 Mex. This is considered as expensive by the Ejidatarios, ~~the seed for an equivalent area costs \$6~~

~~If they use their own seed to sow an equivalent area it costs them \$6~~
The Productora Nacional de Maíz claims that hibrido seed improves the yield from an average of 1 1/2 toneladas per hectaria, which is common in this area, to 3 toneladas and upwards. (Inf. head of Tuxtla branch of Productora. ^{possibly} Hence biased) They say the proof is that more and more "agricul-

ees" come to buy the seed, and more important, the same ones come again. The opinion of producers, both Ejidatarios and Finceros seems to be that the hibrido produces excellent results on good lands, but does not differ greatly in its yield on poor soil, from that obtained ^{with} from the common "maiz blanco". *Two years ago the Govt decided*

~~(The Government had decided two years ago)~~ ^{quasi-officially} that Ejidatarios were not to be given loans of money from the Loan Bank unless they agreed to sow "maiz hibrido". In fact the Banco Ejidal has not insisted upon this, although before the loan was issued to the producers, the Bank stated this condition. (In Tuxtla at any rate loans were given with or without hibrido being accepted. In Chiapilla the Bank Representative announced that Ejidatarios must "recivier" the hibrido if they wanted a loan. Those who agreed to accept the seed were punished, in that it came after sowing time, ^{when} after they had given up waiting for the seed to arrive and had sown with their own seed. When it did arrive they had to take it, and there was nothing left for them to do, but to use the expensive Government seed for eating. The maize has been treated chemically and is specifically marked "not for human consumption". However no one seems to have been harmed up to now.)

b) Loans to finance crop.

It is a common habit for the peasants of Mexico, including those of Chiapas, to sell their crop "en cosecha" (See sellers of maize). This means that they sell their harvest before it is harvested, and naturally at a lower price than they would receive if they sold the actual crop. The peasant sells when he is in need of money. It may be he needs money to cure an illness, or to bury a relative, ^{to celebrate a fiesta etc} but apart from these emergencies it is generally the case that the peasant has not sufficient money to live; that is, money to buy feed, while ~~the~~ maize is ripening. They therefore sell their harvest. They sell to traders in maize, who have the money to invest, and who buy it at very low prices while the crop is still in the fields. Traders who do this on a large scale are called "acaparadores" - profiteers or speculators. The Spanish word, like the translation I have given, carries

a value judgement. They are thought to be bad wicked people, taking advantage of the poor, helpless, unfortunate peasants. The Government policy is aimed at abolishing the acaparador, so that the profit he makes should go to the producer.

In order to help the peasant, so that he should not have to depend upon the acaparador, the Government set up two Loan Institutions. The Banco Agricola to lend money to all those producers who sow on their own land; and the Banco Ejidal to lend money to all producers who farm Ejido lands (in 1936).

The Banco Agricola operates slightly differently from the Banco Ejidal. It offers various alternatives to its clients. They may either borrow as individual persons, giving some kind of Security such as title deeds to land or to houses. // They may also borrow as "socios". A number of persons form "una sociedad" and thus create a legal personality which is represented by one of its members. The "sociedad" borrows money and gives security to the Banco. Such a "sociedad" is limited to ten men or less.

The third possibility is of a "sociedad" of more than ten "socios", who pledge themselves to stand security for each others' loan. Such "sociedades" are formed by small property owners, who have no suitable security to offer to the bank. The rate of interest paid by the individual borrower is 12% p.a.; that by the "sociedad" of two to ten "socios", is 9% p.a.; and that of the large "sociedad" is 8% p.a. (Information entirely from the Gerents of the Banco Agricola; not checked elsewhere.)

The Banco Ejidal lends to Ejidatarios, who have no security to offer as the land they farm belongs to the Nation. This Bank only lends to Ejidatarios if they form "una sociedad". The Banco Ejidal has no effective security against non-payment. The threat to refuse a loan in the coming year is usually sufficient to induce the debtor to find the money to repay; or he may plead extenuating circumstances such as illness or death. In the worst case, the bank must accept the loss.

All producers who receive loans from either of these Banks are required to insure their crops; that is to say to insure their harvest to the amount of the loan received. The Insurance Company works together with the banks and each borrower is automatically insured. However, it is not an insurance for the whole crop. It is most unusual to find anyone who has insured his complete crop; this is due to the exorbitant charges of the Insurance Companies and their unwillingness to pay in cases of loss. The Insurance Companies would doubtlessly reply that they were continuously being cheated by false claims.

The Insurance Company which works with the two banks only insures against losses due to natural agencies such as floods, droughts, etc. It does not cover loss due to carelessness or neglect of the crops on the part of the producer, nor unwillingness of the debtor to repay. Both Loan Banks deduct this compulsory insurance, as well as the banks' interest charge from the loan, before the client receives the money.

Because of the limitation of the coverage, the Insurance should send inspectors to the fields of their clients in order to check whether the crop is being attended to properly. In fact there are not enough inspectors to send round so that the Insurance Company relies upon the ^{Loan} Banks' ^{of the Loan Banks,} inspectors to report whether a claim is justified or not. As the Banks' main interest is to have the insurance paid in cases of loss, they are liable to conspire with the producers to deceive the insurance company. That is to say, if there is loss of crops due to neglect, the bank will not be paid by the Insurance Company. Therefore the bank will report to the Insurance Company that the loss was due to natural agencies.

~~Difficulties~~ ^{SPACES} in giving loans. BEE BY INSTRUCTIONS
The practical problems of the Loan Banks have been to HERE

ensure the following:

1. That the person who receives a loan is ^{Loan Bank Pays} ~~insured~~ a producer of maize.
2. That being a producer, he spends the money upon the cultivation of maize and not upon other things.
3. That the borrower repays the loan.

3. I have in part dealt with point three. The Banco Agricola protects itself from defaulters by requiring a security. Before such a security is accepted an inspector is sent to estimate the value it may have. It has happened that this inspector has been deceived and the Security the Bank received was worthless. (See cases at end of paper). Alternatively the inspector might be bribed to make a false report on the valuation. *evaluation.*

The Banco Ejidal can ask for no security as its clients have none to give them, In its early years it suffered a great deal from defaulters, until, in 1954, it adopted the policy of receiving maize instead of money as repayment of loans. As it bought this maize at the high Government guaranteed price, the debtors were eager to sell their maize to the bank and leave the money thus earned as repayment of their loan.

2. The second point ^{is} the difficulty the banks have in making sure that the loan given is indeed spent in the cultivation of maize. As the loans are intended to help the producer they are given at very low rates of interest. Many traders want to take advantage of this cheap money and use it to trade or to buy "en cosecha", or in some other enterprise. *Therefore they borrow* They return the money at the required time having made good use of it for their private business during the year. Paradoxically it may occur, that the man who has used the money for its intended purpose, cultivating his crop, may not be able to repay, due to some misfortune which befell his crop, while the man who used the money for trading or other business is certain to be able to repay, and thus is the better client for the bank.

The money loaned ^{may} by the banks might also be spent to pay a debt, to go drinking or gambling, etc. The banks combat such misuses of the money by sending out inspectors to inspect the crops. ^{to make sure the money has been planted and not being utilized,} Loans are given in three installments, one at sowing time, one for the weeding, and one at harvest time. ^{so that the producer should not be tempted to misuse the money.} If the inspector reports that the land has not been planted, a further loan will be refused. However, the inspectors are bribeable, and who can the bank trust if not its own employees whom it sends out on its behalf?

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All the blame does not rest on the inspectors. However honourable he may be, he is easily deceived by the client. In the case of the Banco Ejidal, the employee administering the loan or a special inspector is supposed to look at the fields to see if they are sown. But if the Ejido lands have no plans, how can the inspector know if he is indeed being shown the fields of the man who received the loan? It may be another Ejidatario's fields while the actual borrower may not have planted.

The same is the case with the inspector of the Banco Agrícola. There are cases in which the inspector is bribed not to inform the bank that maize was not sown. (Inspectors earn little, and it is very uncomfortable to traipse around the country-side in tierra caliente; he will get bad food and is lucky if he gets a bed to sleep on instead of the floor.) It also happens that the inspector is shown land which has indeed been sown; only the owner of the private land has rented it out to Indians or ladino peasants to farm. How can the inspector know this if he is shown a field of maize? For other forms of deceiving the inspector see Cases at end.

1. The first point I make with respect to the banks' difficulties was that they had to make sure the money was being loaned to a man who was really a producer. This is not so difficult for the Banco Ejidal. It lends only to Ejidatarios and it lends to a group of them. The bank employee responsible for a particular Ejido should visit it, and he, together with the spokesman of the "sociedad", decides how much each man is to be loaned. The decision should be based on well-defined rules as to the area an Ejidatario farms, his past record of repayment, the quality of his land, and the amount he asked for. It is evident that the bank employee has a great deal of power, as has to some extent the Spokesman. The decision as to which "socio" is to receive money, and the amount to be received, is in their hands; and of course there is never sufficient money to go around. Some bank employees accept "merced" in order to give a loan. The custom is \$10 to the bank employee for every \$100 loaned. ^{with bank} Some bank employees do not trouble to visit the Ejido, but order the spokesman to come to them at the bank.

This gives more power to the spokesman for the bank employee has to rely entirely upon his advice without the Ejidatarios being able to plead their case in person. Not visiting the Ejido could only be done in the case of small villages, never for large towns where the people are more aware of their rights, (or at least some of them are), and may protest.

In the case of the Banco Agricola an inspector is sent by the bank to view the lands the client intends to cultivate, so that the bank can estimate the appropriate amount to lend. There are two possibilities of evading this check. The client can bribe the inspector to report the land suitable for planting to be of greater extension than it is, or to report that the land is of a better quality than it is. Alternatively the inspector may be shown land which does not in fact belong to the client. (See Cases at end).

The Government ^{S. RACE Govt Intervention in Marketing Maize} tries to help the peasant producer at the marketing end as well as at the production end of the maize cycle. It does this in two ways 1. By entering the maize market as a seller, if prices rise above a certain level. 2. By entering the maize market as a buyer to prevent prices from sinking too low.

1. The Government enters the market as a seller when the price of maize rises above \$900-\$1000. I do not at present have sufficient information upon the exact manner in which the sales are effected. I do know, however, that it keeps a stock of maize in its ANDSA warehouses which are transported to such areas in the country which are in need. The only limit to this is the ^{State} Governor's ^{order} regulation that a sufficient stock should be kept within the State to ensure a supply all the year round.

2. The Government enters the market as a buyer in a different manner. It offers to buy maize from any producer at a guaranteed price of \$800 (with deductions for low quality). Its aim is to prevent acaparadores from buying the maize from the peasants at a low price and selling it to the Government or in the open market at almost double the price. The Government wants the peasant to profit from his own crop!

The difficulties in achieving these aims are two-fold. Firstly difficulties with regard to its own staff and the evasions of the peasants themselves. ~~It~~ ^{There} is exactly the same difficulty I described with regard to the Loans. I have written about these in the Section on the Government's Organization for buying maize. I also described its attempts to deal with these difficulties in the section on ~~Selling maize to the Government.~~ *Mondedo within the Bureaucracy*

The second difficulty in buying from the producer is that of reaching the seller. If the Government wishes to make its offer a reality, it must establish buying stations within the reach of the producers. It is no use offering to buy maize if the producer has to spend a great deal of money in transporting the maize to the Government's storehouses, and an equal amount of ^{time and risk} time in getting paid. At present an effort is being made to increase the number of receiving stations of the ANDSA warehouses, so that they should be within easy reach of all producers. There are even a few stores which are set up during the harvest season only. The enormous increase during the last two years in funds allocated to road-building will help here; a good road to the storehouse is equivalent to having a storehouse nearby.

No steps have yet been taken to facilitate ^{the system of} payments. The trader who pays cash down is at an infinite advantage here. The ^{lower} ~~difference~~ ^{is thought to compensate for the} in price paid by the trader ~~and by the~~ Government ~~is in part a result of the~~ complications involved in receiving the money for ^{the} ~~the~~ maize. ^{with parts of higher price} (See section on ~~Selling maize to the Govt.~~ *Great Wages*). There is only one bank which serves an area including Ocosingo, Venustiana Carranza, Comitán, San Cristóbal. Every producer is supposed to go ^{to} the bank personally at least twice; once to ~~obtain~~ ^{place} the order to sell, and once for the payment.

SPACE

To sum up: The Government enters the maize cycle at two points. On the producing side it encourages the use of a high-yield maize seed by its threat to refuse loans if it is not used. This híbrido maize is not only one that gives better yields; it has the further advantage of being acceptable on the export market. The small-grained maize at present

produced will not sell abroad. The Government tries to improve the quality of the maize by making deductions in the price paid for the maize which it buys, and which falls short of a prescribed standard. ~~//(See maize crop)~~. Lastly it gives loans to help the producer finance the crop. The main difficulty in giving these loans is to ensure that they are used for the production of maize and not for other purposes. In other words, the Government tries to ensure that the money is given to persons for whom it was intended and to be spent in the manner intended. All the rules and regulations and red tape involved in the application and granting of the loan are designed to achieve this one end. The obstacles in the way of achieving it are planted deep in the very administration - the employees of the Banks. Not even the bank managers are above suspicion. The clients themselves, the very beneficiaries of the Government Policy also do all they can to evade the aim from being achieved. Thus the Government has to contend both with the administrators and the beneficiaries of its policy.

On the marketing side the Government intervenes by buying maize off the producers at \$800 per tonelada, a price considerably higher than that obtaining in the free market. The difficulties encountered are those of access to the seller (or rather the sellers' access to the buyer, i.e., to the Govt. warehouses), and a most clumsy system of payment. This in addition to the usual problem the Government has with its own employees, due to their unreliability.

I have spent much time describing all the obstacles in the way of the success of the Government's policy; a policy intended to abolish the acaparador and to help the peasant producer. It is true that there are many abuses; too many in fact. Nevertheless there have been great improvements upon the previous situations; there are still acaparadores in Chiapas, but not as many as there used to be, nor are the price differences as great as they were. A large number of peasants are probably better off than they were before the Government measures were introduced; many more would be better

off if they did not squander the money received, and if they were prepared to work harder. I do not believe that human beings are entirely moulded by circumstances, and can therefore not agree with the many Mexicans and others who maintain that it is all the Government's fault, or the fault of the desperate conditions in which the peasants find themselves. The peasants are not hard working, and are not conscientious and this also contributes to the part failure of the Government's measures. Considering the money, time and effort that has been put into the Government scheme of buying maize from the peasant at a guaranteed price, the results are poor. In absolute terms, there has doubtless been an improvement.

There is an interesting problem which arises from the policy of buying up the harvest. It is this: The Government has to spend a very great deal of money within a short period of time. It must have the actual cash, the bank notes to pay the peasants. This money does not re-enter the exchange system, for peasants do not use banks and tend to keep the money in their houses. The Government therefore has either to print more bills, which means an inflation which Mexico is trying desperately to avoid; or it means inability of the Government to pay the peasants for sheer lack of cash. I do not know how the problem is being tackled.

Difficulties in giving loans

You will see that I note three points. I then take each of the points in turn. However, in this essay I begin enlarging upon when you next please take point 2; and lastly point 1, and lastly point 3; point 1 first; then point 2;

Cases in Connection with Borrowing Money from, and selling maize to the Loan Banks. Not all from Chiapilla.

CASE I

Carlos had bought maize en cosecha and had also sown a certain amount on his own private land. He was not 'socio del Banco' that is to say had not borrowed from the bank and was under the impression that not having borrowed money he could not sell to the Bank. As the Bank offered better prices than he could get on the free market he wished to sell to it. He therefore made the following deal with Luis. This man had borrowed money from the Bank and had an order to deliver his maize to the Bank. However he had not yet harvested his own maize and therefore could not ^{deliver} sell it. At the same time Luis needed \$9000 urgently to pay a debt. He therefore agreed to take the maize of Carlos and sell it to the Bank ^{as though it was} instead of his own. With the money so obtained he paid his debt to the Bank (it deducts the amount owed in any case) and the money which was left over he used to pay his own debt of \$9000. As soon as Luis had harvested and sold his own maize (which he had to sell on the open market as he had already sold the maize of Carlos to the Bank instead of his own) he paid Carlos the amount the bank had paid him for Carlos' maize. Carlos profited from the transaction because he sold his maize at a higher price than he would have obtained on the free market. Luis profited in that he was able to pay his debt for \$9000 on money loaned free of interest although it cost him the difference between the amount paid for maize by the bank and the price on the free market. One could say that this difference was in fact the interest he paid.

CASE II

Josef had borrowed money from the Bank. He did not use this money to sow but used it to buy up 'cosechas'. When the inspector came he showed him his fields but without telling him that all the land was rented out to Indians, so that the planted land which the inspector saw had not been planted by Josef as he claimed, nor was

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the maize his. The Inspector estimated the amount that José was likely to harvest, and therefore the amount the bank would buy from him. José delivered that amount of maize to the Bank at harvest time; the maize was not maize which he had grown but was maize which he had bought in cosecha with the money loaned him by the bank in order to help him in his agricultural work.

CASE III

Pepe had bought maize both in kind and en cosecha. In order to be able to sell all of the maize he had bought to the Govt, he told his friend Tomas to get an order to deliver maize to the Almacenes. Tomas had not planted all his land this year. According to the amount of land Tomas had, he had the right to sell 8 Toneladas of maize. Tomas only harvested three toneladas, two of which he wished to keep for his own consumption. Tomas went to get the 'orden' to ^{buy on bank} sell and sold this 'orden' for \$50 to Pepe. Using this 'Orden' Pepe sold all the maize he had bought to the Govt. at Govt. price. Because of the delicate situation in that year, Tomas came to Chiapas with Pepe and at the latter's expense in order to deliver the maize as his own; i.e. it appeared to the authorities that Tomas was selling his own crop.

CASE IV

Felipe wished to enter the bank as Socio. That is to say he wished to borrow money. As security he gave his house. The bank sent along an Inspector who was shown a large house in good condition which was accepted as security. The title deeds were handed over to the Bank and the loan granted. Felipe was unable to pay back the loan and when the Bank decided to sell the house in order to realize the money, it was discovered that the title deeds were those of another house, a poor hut situated behind the large house shown to the Inspector. I do not know whether the inspector was so stupid as to have been taken in, or whether he was bribed. I prefer to believe the latter. In any case, nothing happened to the inspector, he continued in his job.

CASE V

III

CASE V

The inspector was sent to look at the land of Alberto in order to estimate the harvest likely to be produced. Alberto showed the Inspector around the two best fields he had, and then showed him round his neighbour's rancho, which had a good crop on it. The inspector gave him an order for a large amount of maize. Alberto bought the maize ^{clearly} from peasant producers and sold it to the Govt. with the 'orden' given him by the Bank on the recommendation of the inspector.

10.2 THE Govt. Organization In Selling Maize

~~The Procedures necessary for a peasant producer from Chiapilla
to sell Maize to the Government~~

~~Govt. Organization for Buying Maize
A Chiapilla Seller to the Government~~

I wish to give an account of all the steps an Ejidatario has to take if he wants to sell his maize directly to the Government at its guaranteed price of \$800 per tonelada. My chronological account of the "vueltas" (the red tape procedure) will be confusing enough, but no where near as muddled as the Chiapill-teco's own idea of what he is doing. He has no idea of what is going on, or why all these papers and documents are required of him.

In order that the reader should be less confused I will first give an account of the organization set up by the Federal Government to buy maize.

The Government undertakes to buy the whole maize crop off any producer of maize at a guaranteed price of \$800 per tonelada. It publishes this undertaking in the National and Local Newspapers, in printed sheets pinned up in every Cabildo (town Hall), and other public places such as billiard rooms and cantinas (Pubs). It sponsors little talks to the peasants over the wireless instructing him in the simple procedure he has to follow.

The Government has set up an organization which is responsible for buying and selling the maize. (The organization buys and sells other basic crops and manufactured articles as well, but I will deal with maize only here). This organization is called CONASUPO, Comision Nacional de Subsistencia Populares. The Federal Government in its annual budget allocates a certain sum to CONASUPO to be spent in the purchase of maize. This money is paid into the Banco Nacional de Mexico, who are the Bankers of CONASUPO; they handle all the money.

When CONASUPO has bought the maize, it is stored in Government storehouses set up for this purpose. These storehouses are organized independently as a body with its own administration, and its head office in Mexico. This organization of Storehouses is called ANDSA, Almacenes de Deposito Nacionales Sociedad Anonima.

There are thus three independent organizations, CONASUPO,

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ANDSA, and the Banco Nacional de Mexico, working together in cooperation in the buying and selling of maize on behalf of the Government.

In order to buy maize from the producers who are scattered all over the country - all over the State of Chiapas as far as we are concerned here - CONASUPO would need offices from which to buy; however it does not have its own offices; CONASUPO makes use of the existing organization of the Loan Banks. These Loan Banks were set up by the Federal Government in 1936. Their purpose is to finance the maize crop (among other things; they also finance cattle raising, coffee, rice and other basic crops). The Loan Banks give cash loans to the producers of maize; they were set up to give these loans and to see they were re-paid at harvest time. This was and is their purpose.

The Loan Banks have, however, been given the additional job of buying the maize harvest from the producers on behalf of CONASUPO. Put differently, CONASUPO buys through the Loan Banks.

There are two Loan Banks. The Banco Agrícola which gives loans to independent producers; that is to say to those who grow maize on privately-owned land (whether it be rented or their own land); the Banco Ejidal which gives loans to all Ejidatarios; that is to say to those who grow maize on Ejido lands. When the Loan Banks were given the job of buying for CONASUPO this division was retained, so that the Banco Agrícola buys maize for CONASUPO from all independent producers; and the Banco Ejidal buys maize for CONASUPO from all Ejidatarios.

I should make it clear, that the buying of maize was not an entirely new thing for the Loan Banks, for the following reason. Their job was to lend money and to see it was returned. As the peasants defaulted a great deal (depending the money from the harvest on other things) the Banks adopted the policy (1954) of receiving maize in lieu of money in acquittal of the debt. The Banks would buy maize off the producers, but instead of giving the money for this maize to the peasant they would keep it in re-payment of the debt. The Banks used only to buy such amounts as would cover the debt, as this was all they were interested in. It was a small step from this, to buying the whole harvest.

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The Banks now buy the peasant's maize in the name of CONASUPO. Before CONASUPO pays the peasant, the money he owes to the Loan Bank is deducted and paid to the Bank.

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The two Loan Banks, the Banco Agricola and the Banco Ejidal are separate organizations with their own Budgets, their own Administrations and their own Head Offices in Mexico.

Therefore there are five organizations involved in the Government's programme of buying maize from the producers. CONASUPO which is the buying agency; the Banco Agricola which buys on behalf of CONASUPO; and the Banco Ejidal which also buys on behalf of CONASUPO.

I will not weary the reader here with the reasons for this cumbersome organization. They are partly historical, the way the Federal Government changes policies and the piece-meal measures it took to effect them; and partly the reason lies in an attempt to prevent malpractices in the purchase of the maize. It is important though, to emphasize the clumsiness of this set-up, this 'Congorrio' as it is called. It is inconvenient for the buyer, i.e. the Government, and for the seller, i.e. the maize producer.

From the point of view of the Government the paper work is stupendous. Let me give one example which comes from ANDSA, the storehouse. The manager of each store house, apart from dealing with his main work of attending to the reception, the weighing and storing of the maize, has to send reports of all his transactions to his own Head Office in Tuxtla (ANDSA is organized regionally) and a copy to the Head Office of the Organization in Mexico City. In addition, he has to send weekly statistics concerning quality and quantity of maize received so that Head Office can estimate the total quantity of maize in its warehouses all over the country. In addition he has to keep three separate accounts; one with the Banco Ejidal as ANDSA receives maize bought by this bank; one with the Banco Agricola as ANDSA receives maize bought by this bank; one with the Banco Nacional de Mexico who must know the amount of maize received as it is the cashier that pays the producer. This apart from the documentation given to the producer who delivers the maize to the ANDSA storehouse.

In order that the reader should be able to follow the "travels" the procedures imposed upon our Chiapilteco peasant in his attempt to sell maize to the Government, I will outline the duties of each of these organizations who together form the

"Consortio".

ANDSA This organization was created in 1960. Its aim is to set up storehouses within easy reach of the peasant producer. For the government's undertaking to buy the maize is an empty promise if the peasant is unable to carry his maize to the reception centres. Efforts are being made to set up more and more of these storehouses so that delivery ^{to the reception centre} should be quick and easy. The duty of an ANDSA storehouse is 1. To receive the quantity bought by the Loan Banks; 2. To receive it from the producer; 3. To receive it in the conditions laid down by CONASUPO.

1. ANDSA ensures that it receives the quantity which the bank bought by receiving maize only upon receipt of a slip from the Bank stating the amount bought and the name of the producer. The producer upon delivery of the maize must have a copy of this slip.

2. ANDSA ensures that it is receiving the maize from the producer by requiring him to show his Bank Credencial, an identity card with his photograph on it. The producer himself should accompany his maize delivery to convince the storehouse that it is not bought maize.

3. ANDSA ensures that it receives the maize in the required condition by taking a sample from each consignment of maize and testing it in a laboratory they have for this purpose. The requirements concern the condition of the maize with respect to humidity, cleanliness and pests. A minimum standard is required for acceptance and there is a discount for maize which falls below a certain prescribed standard.

ANDSA then sends a report of the quantity of maize, and of its condition, and of the producer who delivered it, to the bank ^{to} which ^{it was} bought and ordered its storage.

The further duty of the storehouse is to see that the maize received is properly stored and fumigated against pests, and protected from rats. It must send the maize to such places as are indicated in the Orders received from their Head Office.

Banco Nacional de Mexico. As bankers of CONASUPO their only job in theory is to receive and carry out instructions from their client. As their client works through the two Loan Banks, the Banco Nacional receives instructions from these. It receives instructions from the two banks to pay a certain producer a certain sum of money for the amount of maize it has bought off him.

The Loan Banks. The heaviest burden falls upon the two Loan Banks. It is the duty of each bank to 1. Make sure that it is buying the maize from the producer; 2. To make sure that the maize it buys was in fact produced by this producer; 3. To buy from any producer whether he has borrowed money from the Bank or not. (From the Bank's own point of view it is only interested in buying maize from its debtors).

These are the duties of the Loan Banks with respect to the maize buying "Consortio". I deal with its duties as a Loan institution elsewhere.

1. The Loan bank makes sure that it is buying the maize from the producer by checking whether he is an Ejidatario in the case of the Ejido Bank, and by inspecting his land and the title deeds to the land, or a contract for renting the land, in the case of the Banco Agricola.

2. The Loan Bank makes sure that the maize it is buying has in fact been grown by the producer by sending out inspectors into the fields to inspect the corn.

3. It makes sure that it is buying the maize from any producer whether he be a debtor of the bank or not by allocating separate funds to buy from non-debtors.

Again the paper work is tremendous, both with ANDSA and the Banco Nacional de Mexico, apart from that connected with the producer, the client of the Bank.

CONASUPO. I do not know exactly how CONASUPO functions except that its work consists entirely of paper transactions. It is the actual buyer and the Banco Nacional de Mexico is its banker, with the two Loan Banks as its intermediaries.

33 A Chiapilltec ~~VII~~ sells to the Govt

I will now give an account of the steps which have to be taken by a Chiapilltec in the winter of 1961 if he wanted to sell his maize to the Government. From his point of view he sells to the Loan Bank and knows nothing of the existence of CONASUPO.

1. He must make a journey to Tuxtla to register at the Bank as a producer of maize. I will take the case of a peasant producer who is an Ejidatario as this is by far the most common in Chiapilla. The Banco Ejidal has only one office which covers the whole region from Comitán to Tuxtla, thus including San Cristóbal, Zinacantán, Ocosingo, Venustiana Carranza and all other towns in this region. Chiapilla is fortunate in being comparatively near.

In order to identify himself as an Ejidatario a man may give proof that he is a debtor of the bank; that the Bank has loaned him money. He does this by producing an identity card the Bank issued to him upon giving him the loan. This is sufficient proof because the Bank checks his claim to being an Ejidatario before it will lend him money.

If he is not a debtor of the Bank then he must produce a letter from the Presidente of his Municipio stating that he is an Ejidatario and this is then checked through the Ejido Head Office in Tuxtla.

Once the man has proved that he is Ejidatario and thus a producer, he must supply three passport photographs, one of which is used to issue him an identity card. He is very lucky if he has finished registering in one day. This is partly due to the fact that all the peasants arrive at the very last moment to register when the Bank was open to receive registrations for three months prior to the harvest. (This is the Bank's complaint). If the man gives a small "ayudita" he will be through in an hour. Some people say that the bank employees delay purposely in order to receive this mordida.

For the Ejidatario there is no great problem about the amount he will be permitted to sell to the Bank. The maximum amount of land an Ejidatario is permitted in this area is known to the

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authorities, as is the average yield for such land. In order to avoid the impossible task of inspecting the land of every Ejidatario the Bank simply registers the producer with the maximum amount it is estimated that he can harvest, the assumption being (wrongly) that he will have sown this amount.

In the case of the Banco Agricola the matter is more complicated and inspectors are sent out to check on the amount sown and the estimated harvest. (See Success and Failure of Gov't. Policy)

2. When the Ejidatario has harvested his maize and is ready to deliver it, he makes another journey to the Bank to receive an order to deliver the amount he wishes to. Most peasants do not sell their harvest at one time; they need the money too urgently, and sell it in dribs and drabs as they harvest it. With this order he goes to the ANDSA storehouse who issue him with the number of sacks he will require for the amount of maize he is to deliver. The Government has made it a rule that all maize is to be delivered in new sacks. The producer may buy his own sacks independently, but as the Government orders them by the millions, and keeps a stock at each ANDSA storehouse, the producer as a rule buys his sacks there. ~~e.g. of absence of mordide~~ the producer is required to leave a deposit on each sack before he may take it away. This is a reasonable precaution on the part of the Government; doubtless without this deposit many more would make off with the sacks than ^{is} the case at present. On the other hand the Ejidatario often has not the ready money to pay for this deposit. He must therefore borrow it at a high interest rate, or it may be one of the reasons for not selling his maize to the Bank.

3. The peasant returns to Chiapilla with his sacks and fills them with his maize. His next problem is how to transport his maize to the ANDSA storehouse. Last year the nearest ^{one} was in Chiapa. The lorries charged appx. \$80 Mex. per Tonelada from Chiapilla to Chiapa and there was an additional road tax (for the improvements of roads in Chiapa) of \$20 for every tonelada. If he is lucky the owner-driver will agree to wait for the payment until the producer has received his money from the Bank. Another difficulty is to find a lorry willing to carry the one or two toneladas the producer wishes to send to Chiapa. It is rare that a peasant

producer, an Ejidatario, sends all his harvest at one time. The lorry driver on the other hand does not want the bother of hawking around the village until he can find enough men with two tons ~~to~~ send to Chiapa, to fill his lorry. The normal capacity is six tons. He is far better pleased if a man comes to him and books the whole lorry for one journey.

4. The producer is obliged to accompany his maize to the ANDSA storehouse. There he is asked to present his identity card to make sure it is the producer who is selling his own maize. If a man sends several lorry loads, or has his maize sent with two or three different lorries than he is not obliged to come himself every time. This is a concession of ANDSA. I do not know if a mordida is required, ^{in this concession} the lorry driver makes no charge for the producer journeying with his maize; but all the other journeys he has to make to Tuxtla cost him \$16 Mex. per round trip. And Chiapilla is comparatively near!

This year the lorries had at times to wait for three days in a queue outside the storehouse before they could unload; so the producer accompanying his maize had to pay for food and lodgings (often they slept on the lorries). Naturally if the employees of the storehouse receive a small mordida the long wait can be avoided. There was another ingenious method. The lorry drivers would set out from Chiapilla at night with a load of maize. They would unload at a little house opposite the ANDSA storehouse and return to Chiapilla at night to fetch a second and third load. Early in the morning they would take their place in the queue of lorries. When their turn had come they did not have to return to Chiapilla to fetch the next load but would drive across the road and re-load with the maize they had left the night before and so rejoin the queue immediately. In this way they might manage to deliver two loads in a day instead of one.

In fairness I wish to point out that the one to three days wait which was normal last year was an improvement upon the previous year. This long delay naturally increases the freight charge because the lorries have a smaller turn-over.

5. When the maize enters the storehouse it is first weighed and then samples are taken from each consignment to be tested in the laboratory. The Government, in its attempt to improve the quality of the maize makes a reduction for any plague found in the maize, for excess humidity, for impurities in the maize, etc. Again a mordidita ^{to} the laboratory assistant miraculously reduces the impurities he finds, and the producer may increase the price for his maize by as much as \$100 Mex. per tonelada.

6. The storehouse gives the producer a copy of the slip it sends to the Bank. This states the number of toneladas delivered and the impurities found together with the reductions in price for such impurities. With this slip he goes to the Loan Bank. The time the producer has to wait for this slip varies with the work the storehouse office and the laboratory attendant have.

It is generally 8 hours after delivery of maize.

7. Upon arrival at the Loan Bank he should be given a cheque to present to the Banco Nacional de Mexico where he would receive his money. Last year there were several reasons given for the inability of the Bank to issue this Cheque. They had either not yet received the copy of the slip direct from the storehouse or they claimed to have no money with which to pay (that is to say CONASUPO had sent no money of t e Banco Nacional). The producer had the option of waiting around in Tuxtla, an expensive business, or of returning to Chiapilla and trying another day, also expensive in terms of fares. If he did this he would lose his turn in the queue for receiving his cheque.

The ANDSA storehouse employees claim that the Bank purposefully delays in order to extract a mordida; the Bank Officials claim that the Government does not supply them with sufficient money and that they find it hard to cope with the rush which overwhelms them. It is bad enough that each producer must go to the Bank personally (in order to prevent the traders selling the maize), but this is aggravated by the fact that many producers collect their money in dribs and drabs, as they deliver their maize.

8. When our Chiapilltewo finally receives the cheque he has to go to the Banco Nacional de Mexico and go through the tedious procedure of cashing a cheque.

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This whole procedure would be tedious and exasperating to one used to red tape and city ways. To a peasant it is worse, it bewilders, confuses and frightens him. It involves him in a great deal of waiting around. This in itself would not matter, for time is not money in Chiapilla. But it does cost him money to be waiting in Tuxtla and to be travelling to and fro.

Besides he needs his money most urgently as he is chronically short of it and in debt; he just cannot wait for it to arrive. Furthermore he is required to spend a certain amount of money in advance; the deposit for the sacks; the journeys to Tuxtla; and if he is unfortunate the freight for his maize.

It is not surprising that he prefers to sell his maize to a trader at a substantially lower price, to the trader who pays cash down.

10.4

The Mordida Within the Bureaucracy

I have given an account of the Government's policy concerning maize and its attempts to carry out this policy. As I have ^{already} said ~~at the beginning of the section~~, one of the difficulties ^{is that} it has to contend with is its own employees; the very people who are to effect the policy. The trouble is the Mordida; the Government's employees are corruptible; from the highest to the lowest they are open to bribery.

Both these words are heavily value loaded, and it is unfortunate that we have no neutral word which can convey the meaning. The Spanish word "mordida" does not carry the same disapprobation. It is only beginning to acquire it from those Mexicans who have received their education in the U.S.A. or in Europe.

The custom of the mordida is so universal in Mexico, that it is important to examine it rather than to condemn it. The word is used in a great variety of cases, and a proper discussion of the mordida should take into account at least one example of each type of case, from the sum given to the tax collector to reduce the amount of taxes to be paid, to the tip given to the Hotel porter to permit one to use the bathroom ^{reservado} reserved for ~~another room which is let at a higher price~~. Here I shall deal only with cases in which money is given to a Government employee, whatever his rank. I shall also omit the large scale mordidas and appropriations of the political leaders "jefes politicos", such as the large fincas of Cardenas, who was the great distributor of land at the expense of the fincas; or the fabulous wealth with which Aleman left the Presidency.

The mordida is a sum of money or a gift which is given so that an employee of the Bureaucracy should take some action desired by the donor. The official may be required to do something against the law, or he may be required to carry out the law. The donor may require something illegal to be done in his favour, or something legal. An example of the first would be that of the inspector from the Loan Bank who was given a mordida by the farmer.

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The Inspector was sent to estimate the harvest from the farmer's fields; ^{given} with the mordida he would report ^{that to be more} a larger quantity than ^{the amount actually} ~~that~~ in the fields; the advantage the farmer gained was that he could sell more maize to the Government at a high price than he was entitled to. (See Gov't. Policy on Maize). An example of the second, would be the Ejidatario who pays the Bank employee a mordida so that the Bank should buy his maize. With this mordida the Ejidatario merely achieves that which was his right in any case.

The authority of an official is derived directly from the fact that the Government ultimately has the effective power to enforce its laws. The mordida is possible because an official disposes of a part of this power of the Government. He disposes of sufficient power to enforce that area of the law which comes within his control. The area may be small or large, but always has its limits where it borders onto another official's area - an official who is equally endowed with a certain amount of power. Thus whatever his powers may be, they are always limited. It is because of this limit that he needs the support and co-operation of other officials. This is the reason for the importance of "amistades" in the mordida system.

An official rarely gives a mordida to another official; after all, they are both selling the same good; an official has a certain amount of power and the mordida is a payment to use this power in the way required by the payer. Therefore between officials, the one kind of authority ^{power} is exchanged for another. X does his friend B a "favour", and his friend B is thus obliged to do X a "favour" when he needs it. A "favour" is putting at the disposal of his friend X some of his own power; that is to say he uses his power for the benefit of his friend X.

This practice is the core of the institution of "amistades". The word means "good connections", or "influence". The system of the mordida is impossible without "amistades"; the two are complimentary.

The official who, as I said, has a limited power thus enlarges his field of influence, by exchanging the use of some of his power with other officials. Not only is this to his

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advantage, but if he did not do it, life would soon become impossible; for his ~~own~~ power is limited, and at the frontiers of his area are other small kingdoms of power - other officials. He cannot afford to be on bad terms with them, for if he is, he cannot even carry out the normal duties required of him. If then, he wishes to increase his powers by the mordida, it is essential for him to be on good terms with other Government officials. It is for this reason that "amistades" the swopping of favours between Government officials must be complementary to the mordida. This institution of amistades is positively sanctioned in the rewards it offers, rewards of greater influence and thus larger mordidas. It is sanctioned negatively by obstruction and difficulties from his fellow officials if he refuses favours.

The institution of "amistades", like the institution of the 'mordida' stretches far beyond the Government beurocracy. Both are universal throughout Mexican life. I have ^{tried} to show their logic within the beurocratic system and shall ~~continue~~ ^{to demonstrate} by showing the inevitability of their existance because of all the sanctions supporting them. But a real understanding of 'amistades', of the 'mordida' and of 'concepciones por parentesco' (which belongs together with the other two) will not be gained from a mere demonstration of the consistency of the system, whether it be within the Beurocracy or within the whole country. The existance of all three makes sense once we are clear about a fundamental difference between the Mexican way of thinking and the European tradition. The idea of 'principles', of doing something 'on principle' is completely foreign to the Mexican. He always thinks of a particular instance, of a given case; he does not think abtractly.

Let me make myself clear. A Mexican is certainly able to think abtractly and does so frequently, but not when it comes to an action in real life. That is to say, the abtract remains in the abstract and never is to be brought down to the realm of action. It would be difficult to convince a Mexican (for example) that it was right to commit an injustice in order to preserve the principle of the inviolability of the law. Or that a known murderer should go free in order to preserve the principle of

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bail in given circumstances. (That he should be let free because he was a good fellow at heart, or because he was drunk at the time would make sense to the Mexican).

An acquaintance of mine told the following story. He was awakened one night by two friends of his. They came to ask his help; they had in a fit of drunkenness killed a man, and now asked my acquaintance X, to drive them with his car to a relative's rancho, where they would be safe from the police. X said that as they were his friends, and even more because their father was his friend and had done him many favours, he did not hesitate to comply. I pressed him for his reasons. What about the innocent man unjustly murdered through the two men's carelessness? What about the execution of Justice? As an educated thinking man, I told him, what could he expect of others if he helped murderers to escape? X replied that he could not very well have refused the men because they were his friends, and their father was too. The most he could have done was to pretend that his car was out of order and hide them in his house. But as this would mean having to feed them and to buy food would attract the suspicion of the village shopkeeper who knew he was living alone with his son. So he, X, would put himself in greater danger if he kept the two men in his house. "But your safety isn't the point", I burst out in exasperation, "the point is that although they were your friends they had committed a murder". "But if I had put them in the car, and had driven towards the town rather than towards the rancho of their relative, they would have surely killed me and driven the car to the ranch themselves", he replied at a loss. I was quite unable to make him see the point I was getting at. He could not see that there was a dilemma between Friendship and doing one's Duty; to him there was no such problem.

Similarly in the case of the consul who did not grant the visa to Guatemala (See Below). The Mexican's argument was "But he would have been doing no one any harm; it wasn't as though anyone would suffer or be worse off as a result of his granting the visa; on the contrary I would be better off, and might even have returned an ardent friend and admirer of the Republic of Guatemala". I could not make him see, that the regulation being

what it was, the Consul had been in the right; furthermore that there was a value in keeping to the regulations without considering his own particular case.

An appeal to the value of a rule in the abstract is quite meaningless to a Mexican. He will always counter with the particular instance at hand, with the special circumstances of the case.

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Octavio Paz puts his finger on it when he writes "Y aquí conviene decir que uno de los rasgos más saludables de la Revolución mexicana es la ausencia de terror organizado. Nuestra falta de 'ideología' nos ha preservado de caer en esa tortuosa caería humana en que se ha convertido el ejercicio de la 'virtud' política en otras partes. Hemos tenido, sí, violencias populares, cierta extravagancia en la represión, capricho, arbitrariedad, brutalidad, 'mano dura' de algunos generales, 'humor negro', pero aun en sus peores momentos todo fué humano, es decir, sujeto a la pasión, a las circunstancias y aun al azar y a la fantasía. Nada más lejano de la aridez del espíritu de sistema y su moral silogística y policíaca."

I have said that the official depends upon his fellow officials, his equals. He is even more dependent upon his superiors. This is so because they can dismiss him and he thus loses his job with the benefits it carries. Upon his superior also depends the amount of power he is given and thus the amount of mordida he can command. A man's superior in the bureaucracy is even more vital to him than his fellow officials, for he comes within his (superior's) area of power.

A man's inferiors are also important to him, as they see to the smooth running of the office. They work for him and he is dependent upon their work, and upon their complicity; it is they who carry out his orders, and although they may not know the precise amount of the mordida he has received, they know by the orders they are given, whether he has received one or not. The inferiors of an official work well for him and are content if he overlooks minor irregularities - if he permits them to receive such mordidas as come their way and does not claim them ^{for himself} or if

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he divides up equally certain larger amounts which enter the office; if he is generous in giving a day off ^{on} the occasional fiesta, if he overlooks late arrivals or early leaving of the office; if he is not too meticulous over pleas of illness or headaches. These are not hard things to grant in view of the returns the superior can expect.

Within the ^{SPACE} beaurocratic system 'amistad' and good relations are thus essential. Live and let live is important. The System does not require a man to accept the mordida. It can well tolerate an official who refuses any mordida. It cannot tolerate an official who prevents others from accepting a mordida. It can tolerate the official who works hard and conscienciosly who arrives punctually, etc.; it cannot tolerate the official who enforces these qualities in others.

Thus, within the Beaurocracy, the 'model' official, the man who is accurate, punctual, correct, and will not take mordidas can exist, and can be tolerated; but he is not rewarded in any way. He must comply with the rules of 'amistad'; he must 'oblige' his fellow officials even though he does not ask favours in return. There is no reward for his behaviour, he is not even praised or admired. On the other hand, he who ^{is usually} receives the mordida must comply with the same rules of 'amistad', but they carry their reward. His possibility of receiving mordida is increased, his possibility for 'arreglar las cosas', for 'getting things done', is increased.

The mordida is not only ^{SPACE} sanctioned from within the Beaurocracy but from those outside as well; from those who pay the mordida. The only complaints from the public about the mordida they have to pay, is that they have to pay too much; that the charge has been excessive (as Dr. P.R. points out in his essay The structural position of ladinos). These complaints take the form of grumbles among the payers, and also of complaints to the superiors.

I have not heard of, nor witnessed a case in which such complaints were the only cause for the dismissal of a government official. By this I mean to say, that if an official is dismissed because of accusations of having received mordida, then this has only been the spark, the welcome excuse for dismissal. The man

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in question may have been foolish enough to be on bad terms with his superior; or his superior wants to put his own man into the post; or his superior has had pressure put on him to make an example of someone in order to demonstrate the honourability of the Beurocracy.

Thus, if an official is dismissed on the grounds of accepting a mordida, it is always for some other reason than the mere fact of having accepted the money. It may be personal rancour, it may be political expediency, or it may be the fact that complaints have caused trouble - and if there is one thing a superior demands of his inferiors in the beurocracy, it is that things should run smoothly, never mind how, as long as there is not trouble, no scandal.

If an official is accused of accepting mordidas and there is no such hidden reason for dismissing him, then his superior will claim that the accusations are false. One official I know is quite notorious and ~~doing~~ for drinking, gambling, keeping a querida in addition to his wife, and doing all sorts of things quite impossible on his income. Talking to me, his superior said that people had come to him accusing this official of accepting mordidas, but that he had been unable to discover any proof of this; it was true the superior admitted, that he drank a great deal, and also gambled; but that was not proof of his accepting mordida, was it!

An official who does not accept any mordidas is not popular with the community in which he works. "No es buena gente"; "no es servicial"; "no sabe hacer un favor"; "no quiere buscar una manera (see below) de arreglar las cosas"; in addition he is considered to be plain stupid; "no aprovecha, es tan ^{para} ~~part~~ ahorita que cuando entré" is the comment. That an official should be stupid and not profit from his position, is his own affair, but that he should be unwilling to grant favours and to accept a mordida in return is more serious to the prospective mordida payer.

A man knows that if he wants to deliver maize to the Government storehouse; if he wants to get a driving license; if he wants to go to law; if he wants to do anything which involves him with a government department or with any official procedure, it will

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be a long and tedious business. But he also knows that if he wants to, he can settle his business quickly by giving a mordida. It is a matter of choice; is his affair important enough to him to pay for it to be arranged speedily or has he the time and patience to go through all the formalities and all the waiting? It is an economic choice, like any consumer preference. The economist asks, does the consumer prefer to buy so many eggs or such a quantity of tomatoes or does he prefer not spend his money but to save it? Similarly, the Mexican chooses between having his business with the Government Office settled speedily and to his satisfaction, or risking a delay and the final outcome. Since it is an economic choice, those with plenty of money are at an advantage as indeed they are on so many other occasions in life.

To the European, the immorality of the mordida, the bribe, lies in the fact that he does not consider that the Government's services should be a purchasable good. That is to say, it should not be purchasable by individuals for their own purposes. In general, through the medium of taxes, the Government's services are of course, paid for; but having been paid for once, its services should be distributed equably and impartially among the population. It is rather like the National Health Service, where every member of the community contributes the amount he is able to, according to his income, and the doctors are supposed to attend equally to everyone. Similarly the Government officials are paid jointly by the community and are supposed to attend equally to every member of the community. However this is not all; in Europe we have attached a moral evaluation to this manner of doing things. Thus we consider it morally good and desirable for the Government and its officials to attend to each member of the community equally, and morally undesirable, i.e. immoral, for there to be preferences, or for money to be paid in order to gain preferential treatment. The matter has been moved out of the sphere of simple economics as the buying and selling of other services, such as the dentist, the lawyer, etc.

In Mexico, or at any rate in Chiapas, this is not so. Although a Government official will give his services free, special attention and efficient service are an economic good, to be

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bought and sold like any other service. If then, there comes an official who refuses to sell this commodity, once a man has made the decision to buy it, once he has made the decision that the service he requires is worth the money, i.e. the mordida, it is a serious matter. The choice has been taken from him. He cannot command a service he has been used to command. The Government official now really becomes an authority who seems to dispose of affairs as he wishes without being amenable to "reason".

Therefore Government officials who refuse to accept mordidas are not popular with the public and rarely last for long.

The individual man who is determined to be a model official - who carries out his duty strictly, impartially and correctly, has no advantage, no reward and no compensation. On the contrary, within his office in the beurocracy he is tolerated but not admired; he sees the other officials around him receiving good money with which to buy a car, a nice house, a wireless, to educate their children, etc., while he himself remains poor on the pittance he receives.

The public he serves is positively against him for his refusal to accept mordidas and do favours. He loses friends in the town and it is important to remember that most of the government officials work and live in a small town; such an official cannot choose friends who have no contact with him in the course of his duties. In a small town the people he serves in his office, are the same he must have as his friends in private life; and his wife and children are also dependent upon the same people for their friends. What motive is there for a man to resist the many advantages which the acceptance of the mordida offer to him? not to mention the actual advantage of the additional income?

10.5 Attitudes towards the Mordida

Everybody in Mexico knows that the mordida exists. Everyone will admit openly that it exists, and act in accordance with this fact. Not everyone deplores its existence. The idea and the ideal of the incorruptible official comes to Mexico from Europe, (via the States at times). As so many of the ideals imported from Europe, it has no relation to Mexican reality, and those who try to connect the two - the ideal of an incorruptible beurocracy and the reality of the custom and tradition of the mordida, have a very hard time. The only people I have met, who really believe that the mordida is morally bad are those who have spent a certain period in the States - usually their University years. These men return to Mexico with a great hatred of the States and a great admiration for Europe; they have completely absorbed European and U.S.A. values; these have become their own values.

As these men are the best trained men that Mexico has, they enter the Government Service in one branch or another and enjoy comparatively high positions for their age and experience. The mere fact that they are highly trained is not the only reason for their positions. It is expensive to send a son to study abroad; the man who does so must have much money. Any man who has such money naturally has influence as well. These foreign trained Mexicans therefore have influential fathers. They mostly belong to the governing class; their fathers were generals and officials before them; naturally their sons get good posts.

These men, who have absorbed the European idea that a beurocracy must be run with incorruptible officials, and more serious, that it is morally wrong to accept bribes, find themselves as Heads of Government Departments within a system which depends upon the mordida; and they are caught in the system. As I have explained, within the Beurocracy perfect honourability is tolerated, but the system does not permit the abolishment of the mordida as practiced by others. Those outside the Beurocracy, that is to say the people whom the Beurocracy is supposed to serve, will not tolerate the abolition of the mordida either. An

official who refuses to do favours is ousted. Thus, these men are caught within the system. They cannot reform it, as they would be thrown out; they cannot get out of the Beaucrocity because there is little opportunity for them elsewhere. (There are few large-scale industries where they could serve as Administrators). They have to conform, and with a bad conscience; these men are in a genuine dilemma. They love Mexico fanatically, they see the corruption of its Bureaucracy, of their very own Departments; a corruption they consider to be morally wrong and bad for their country. They find themselves in this beaucrocity having to go along with it; they are lucky if they have a private income and are not forced to accept mordidas themselves!

There is another class of persons, generally in lower administrative positions, who have heard of the ideal of incorruptibility, and realize its implications. They are not as troubled by the mordida as are those I have just described; they accept the mordida as a necessity of life and their problem is only that of reconciling an ideal with a very different reality. For these people, the ideal is in a sphere quite separate and apart from real life (~~See Relationship Between Men and Women~~), and the only difficulty is to construct a bridge between the two. It is quite different from the dilemma of the first type I have described. For these ^{people} have changed their values and the ideal has become a matter of morality; these Mexicans struggle with the same difficulty as do the Europeans whose values they have adopted - that is to say, of making the ideal the reality, and of looking upon the issue as a moral one.

The second class of persons cope with the difference between the ideal of incorruptibility and the reality of the mordida in two ways. They may shrug their shoulders and admit how wrong and unfair the mordida is - but what can one do about it, that's how things are. Or they make use of an argument which was stated most clearly by the Judge of Ocoingo (See Dr. Pitt Rivers The Structural position of the ladinos).

This Judge said that he administered perfect Justice, without fear or favour, without consideration of mordidas. However, he thought it natural that in return for his excellent justice

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which he so conscientiously administered, the interested party should give him some gift in acknowledgement of services received. It would be uncourteous to refuse such a gift. I have heard the identical argument from a lower grade official in the Agricultural Department in charge of Ejido Affairs. He told me that mordidas were not accepted by any of the Staff, and would not be tolerated; that is to say no official would let it be known that he would do a thing only on condition that he were given a mordida. However, if the grateful ejidatario would offer a gift in appreciation of the official's decision, then it would not be refused.

The argument rests on the distinction between the mordida and the agradecimiento, the bribe and the gift given in appreciation of some kindness received. There is no doubt that such a distinction exists, but the line between the two is hard to draw. There have been several English Court cases on precisely this point. The difficulty arises because the two cannot be distinguished by the action itself; the difference lies in the motives and intentions of the donor and the recipient.

To a European like myself, it is difficult to believe that a sum received by a Mexican Official can indeed be an "agradecimiento". It is difficult because it occurs in situations where "mordidas" are customary, and because it seems odd to give a gift of thanks to an Official who is merely performing his duty for which he is being paid anyhow. However, the very fact that a certain class of officials insist on the distinction, shows that for them there is some morality involved.

This is different from the third class of persons, and they are by far the majority of Chiapanecos, who consider the mordida to be a normal, natural and necessary thing. All peasants, traders, store keepers, lorry drivers I have met, take this view. Again and again I have been told "como no va a ser diferente si vengo con mi paguita". "Que va hacer (the official) si vengo con los brazos cruzados" (meaning without money). The peasants of Chiapilla consider the mordida a right of the official, "Esta bien que se le da su mordidita". As Dr. P.R. pointed out in his paper,

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they differentiate little between the amount an official collects on the government's behalf and the amount he collects for himself. ^{between the amount paid} That they do know there is a difference however, ^{etc.} is shown by the fact that they use the word 'mordida' for payments which go into the official's pocket. The word is used to differentiate the amount given to the official for a personal favour to be performed, and the amount the official has to hand over to the Government. The important difference between this class of persons, and the other two I have mentioned, is that they attach no moral stigma whatever to the giving or receiving of mordidas.

Some of the lower class city people have heard of the idea that the mordida is wrong. Taxi drivers, some lorry drivers and small store keepers are examples. In conversation they will say that the mordida is a disgrace; but they are not deeply convinced of this. It is more a manner of speaking, and a few moments later they will refer to an incident in which the mordida was given, in the most natural manner, without any indignation.

Most of the higher Government officials and big business men in Chiapas also belong to this class of persons who consider the mordida as a normal part of life, without any particular moral significance. They are men of the world, they grew up during the Revolution and have managed to retain or regain a good post despite all the revolutionary upheavals. They have to be tough to have survived; but they also have to be polished in their manners to survive, for manners are highly valued in Mexico. These men have not been educated in the States as their sons have, although many of them have visited it as grown men, when their character was already fully formed. They know that good manners require that one does not speak openly of the mordida, as do the ignorant peasants. To them it is a matter of "educacion" (being well brought up), to depreciate the mordida and to refer to it in a delicate and round-about way. Those with whom they deal appreciate such good breeding, but both parties know that the mordida is one of the facts, one of the realities of life, and such facts are accepted as inevitable and to be dealt with. There is no moral judgement concerning them.

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To sum up: I find three types of attitude towards the mordida. The great majority accept it as part of the pattern of life and attach no moral disapprobation to it. Those who hold this view include both the upper and the lower strata of society; the leaders and governors of the society, as well as the poor and humble.

The second type of attitude I have found among a number of middle class persons, an increasing number, I believe. Basically they accept the mordida as necessary but they have to explain its existence. They have to explain it because they know that ideally it should not exist, and they have sufficient education to strain for a coherent view of the world, one in which ideal and reality are reconciled in some way.

The third type of attitude is held by few men, but these men are influential in virtue of the positions they hold, of their family connections, and because they are still young and energetic, with hopes of changing the world. For these reasons, ^{and yet} this group has more influence than their small number would lead one to believe. They have the European attitude considering the mordida as 'bribery', with all the value implications this word carries. They find themselves caught in the system, but still struggle against it.

10.6 Attempts at Combating the Mordida

I have given examples of the mordida as it works in practice (Govt policy on Maize) ^{Case History} and I have explained the positive sanctions by which it is supported within the bureaucracy itself; ^{From within} and the sanctions by which it is supported ^{from without} from those who pay the mordida. It is interesting to see what are the limits of the mordida. (2) At what point does an official refuse to accept a mordida without being blamed for this refusal? (3) What happens when there is an attempt to abolish the mordida within this system in which it is so firmly entrenched?

please write
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(1) I shall start with the ^{SPACE} ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~question~~ ~~first~~ ~~but~~ ~~will~~ ~~give~~ ~~two~~ ~~examples~~ ~~which~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~given~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~past~~. They come precisely from the Government's organization for buying Maize.

notice

When a case of the mordida ^{is forced upon} comes to the Federal Government's notice, a case which has caused public scandal and which cannot be disregarded, one of two measures are taken. There is either a re-organization in the belief or hope that the very system of organization should make the mordida impossible, or there is a change of personnel, in the belief that other officials, new men will not be susceptible to the same temptations.

The first remedy was applied last year when the C.E.I.M.S.A. was ~~abolished~~ (Compania Exportadora y Importadora Mexicana Sociedad Anonima) was abolished and the CONASUPO (Compania Nacional de Substancias Populares) was formed. Ostensibly it was a re-organization, so that CEIMSA, which had only bought such basic crops as maize, wheat, rice, should as CONASUPO, buy manufactured products as well. In fact the re-organization included another innovation.

CEIMSA had been the Government organization which bought the basic crops. It worked in co-operation (an consorcio) with the Banco Ejidal and the Banco Agricola, who were its buying agents on the spot. The organization bought through the two Banks. That is to say instead of setting up its own offices in all the towns, it made use of the already existing organization of the Banks. It also worked in co-operation (a fourth partner in the

consorcio) with A.N.D.S.A. (Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito Sociedad Anónima), which set up storehouses all over the country to store the maize bought by CEIMSA.

(These also had been newly organized because of the large amounts of maize which were disappearing from CEIMSA's own stores. It was thought that if the store houses were separated from the buying agency, the one having to pass documents to the other, the abuse could be abolished.)

Thus CEIMSA provided money to the Banks to buy maize, which was then stored in ANDSA storehouses.

It seems that all over the country there were cases of the Bank managers alleging that they had no money to buy the maize from the producers at the guaranteed price. The peasant producers, in need of the money were forced to turn to the large-scale traders - the Acaparadores or Profiteers - who would buy the maize at a very much lower price than that guaranteed by the Government. It was even alleged that the very money which the Acaparadores used for these maize purchases had been loaned to them by the Bank Managers. In any case it is certain that the Acaparadores eventually would sell the maize to the Banks (as buying agencies for CEIMSA) at the higher government guaranteed price. The difference (between the price paid to the producers and the price paid by the Banks) was split between the Acaparadores and the Bank Managers.

In order to prevent this, CONASUPO was set up, and the Consorcio of four - Banco Ejidal, Banco Agrícola, CEIMSA and ANDSA - was made into a Consorcio of five. The Banco Nacional became a fifth member. This Bank was made the banker of the buying agency now called CONASUPO (formerly CEIMSA). The consorcio is now: Banco Ejidal, Banco Agrícola, CONASUPO, ANDSA, Banco Comercial de Mexico. The idea is, that with the two Banks no longer handling the actual cash, but only arranging for the purchases of maize, and doing all the paper work, and passing orders to the Banco Nacional de Mexico to pay the peasant sellers, the previous abuses should be checked.

This is an ~~case~~ example of re-organization to stop the maldito

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An example of the second remedy, that of replacing the personnel in order to stop the receiving of mordidas, occurred last year in Tuxtla. This is not to be taken as the final version - I am not sure yet if it is accurate. It will give you a rough idea.

It seems that there had been complaints to the Federal Government in Mexico, and that these complaints came from the Ejidatarios. In fact nobody in Tuxtla knows who went to the higher authorities. I am inclined to think it was a rather more important person than Ejidatarios, a person in Tuxtla who had influence in Mexico and whose interests were being damaged by the affair. My guess is ~~probably worse than that of the Tuxtlaecos.~~

A general was sent as a personal representative of the head of the Federal Government Maize Buying Agency in Mexico City; he was thus sent by none other than the brother of the President of the Republic. He was sent to Tuxtla with the 'mission' of investigating alleged malpractices with regard to the buying of maize. These personal representatives sent from Mexico are especially dreaded. It is infinitely worse than an investigation through the normal departmental channels, or even than being called to Mexico City to explain certain 'irregularities' which have come to the notice of the authorities there. This in itself is very serious, but there are always possibilities of finding 'concesiones' in Mexico who will undertake to 'explain' matters to the authorities.

The general, it seems, appeared on the scene like a bomb-shell, completely unannounced and unexpected; it is thought that not even the governor knew of the ^{his mission} 'mission'. The first thing he did was to put into jail the two Bank Managers and a number of the most prominent Acaparadores. He kept them isolated from each other and from their families, and did not permit bail until he had a statement from each of them.

I do not know the precise form or contents of the accusations. (~~I hope I should be able to find out~~). I do know ^{with} that all were released from jail, and ^{with} in the court case that followed all the accused were acquitted. Nevertheless, this year there is

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a new manager ⁱⁿ of the Banco Ejdal, a new man in charge of the ANDSA storehouse. In addition new inspectors were sent down to supervise all maize buying transactions. The Acaparadores being local people could not be removed; I have heard rumours that they are back buying maize from the peasants.

The general, after having turned the whole of Tuxtla upside down, and terrified all the authorities, disappeared as suddenly and as unaccountably as he had appeared. ^{For} As soon as people had recovered a little from the shock of his arrival, they got together and bitterly attacked him. It seems that the Tuxtlecos also ~~ah~~ had their "influence" in Mexico, and as a result he was withdrawn.

Whatever their disagreements, all who told me about the incident agree that the malpractices have not been stopped for long; that it is a matter of a year or two at most, and that already the very same acaparadores have resumed their maize buying. The comment which was to me the most revealing of all was made by a man who said "The whole trouble was that the Bank Manager of the Banco Agricola did not know his people well. He did 'business' with the wrong people. ~~Had he~~ chosen X, Y and Z to make the deal with, the whole scandal would not have occurred.

The following are the various malpractices of which the Managers of the two Banks and the Acaparadores were accused of by the people who told me of them. I do not know which of them are true, nor do I know which of these were the ones upon which they were charged. There is some truth in all of them; all these forms of circumventing the law have been practiced at some time or another. Whether now, and by these men, and in this form, I do not as yet know.

1. The Loan Banks refuse to buy small quantities from the peasants. It is alleged that they refuse any quantity less than a lorry load of maize, which is four or six Toneladas. The peasants on the other hand want to sell half a Fanega or one Fanega at a time (appx seven to nine Fanegas is one Tonelada; it depends upon the maize (~~See Buyers of maize~~). The peasants are thus forced to sell to the Acaparadores who buy at a low price

appx \$400 to \$500 per tonelada, selling it to the bank at appx \$700 per Tonelada.

2. The Acaparadores tell the peasant to ask for an "orden" from the Bank to permit him to sell 20 Toneladas of maize. (The Bank givee individual permits to each producer to sell his maize See Govt Policy on Maize). The peasant himself may have planted only 5 Toneladas. The Acaparador buys the 'orden' for the remaining 15 Toneladas from the peasant. The Acaparador thus can sell an extra 15 Toneladas to the Banke at the Government high price.

3. The Banks say they are short of money and tell the peasant producer to come another day when they do have money. The peasant, unable to wait that long, sells to the Acaparador who sells to the Bank.

4. The Banks are supposed to give loans to the producers to help them with the clearing and sowing of the land, and with the weeding and harvest. They do not give the loans on time, and the peasante have to borrow money from the Acaparadores. These lend them the money in the form of "Buying their harvest" (See compra de cosecha in Section Sellers of Maize). Thus the peasants have sold their harvest before it has been harvested; and the Acaparador profite.

5. The Bank Managers make money available to the Acaparadores when it should have been used as loans to the producers.

6. The Banks refuse to buy maize from producers who are not "ecocios". That is to say from those who have not borrowed money from the Banks. It is their duty to buy from all producers, provided they can prove that they are producers.

7. The Banks have not taken much trouble to check that the maize sold to them is sold by the producers themselves, nor that those who are producers have indeed produced all the maize they offer for sale.

8. The Banks make the peasants wait unnecessarily for their money, and for the other formalities connected with the sale of their maize. This in order that they should be forced to sell to the Acaparadores.

~~The Bad Govt. tried to
to the ...
change ...~~

It goes without saying that in each of these cases, the difference between the price paid by the Acaparador and that paid by the Bank is split between the Bank Manager and the acaparador. The gist of all these accusations, whatever their precise form, is that the Bank tries in one way or another to prevent the peasant from selling directly to itself and to force the peasant to sell at a lower price to the Acaparador. This, of course, is precisely what the Government wishes to avoid. It is the very "raison d'etre" of the Banks to save the peasants from the Acaparadores.

In defense of the Bank Managers it should be said that it is quite true that at times their Central Bank in Mexico does not send them any money, so that they really have none with which to buy the maize (~~See Govt policy on maize~~). It should furthermore be said, that everyone, including the peasant himself seems to co-operate to cheat the Banks. The peasant himself goes to the Acaparador to beg him to buy his maize "en cosecha". It is he who often offers to sell his "orden". It is not always a case of the "poor helpless betrayed peasant". ^{It is} It is also often a case of the lazy, drunken, irresponsible peasant.

In addition, it is also true that the Banks have to cope with a terrific rush of applicants within the short harvest period. All those who wish to sell to the Bank must make at least two personal appearances at the bank in Tuxtla. This bank serves the whole region of Coosingo, Comitán, Venustiana Carranza, San Cristóbal.

Having said all this, I can admit that the majority of the accusations are probably true. As I already said, I have not yet checked to my satisfaction.

This was an example of the Fed. Govt's attempt to avoid such malpractices by
 I wish to give a final example of the mordida. It is the case of a Mexican, a certain Señor A. who wished to go to Guatemala without having any papers. He knew that a passport was the requirement for an entry visa; not wishing to spend money on a mordida, he decided to try 'influence'. The Judge of the Mexican border town was his good friend, he said; he was sure to have influence with the Consul.

"A friend" - "es mi amigo" - covers a great range of meanings, from casual acquaintance to intimate friend, so I remained skeptical until the friend indeed proved himself to be a 'good friend'. He assured A that it was a matter of a few minutes, and that he personally would go with him that very moment to arrange the matter. The Guatemalan Consul and the Judge seemed to be on friendly enough terms, although not on intimate terms. The Consul very much regretted, but he was unable to give A an entry permit seeing that he had strict orders not to permit anyone to enter Guatemala without a passport ^{the law} and seeing that A, far from having the required passport, did not even have a birth certificate nor any other document of identification whatever, made it more difficult. The Consul spent two hours with the men, discussing the possibilities of issuing a visa, or rather producing a pile of rules and regulations and documents in order to show that it was quite impossible for him to do so. The only way out might be for the Judge to issue an order that A. was to enter Guatemala in order to obtain a passport at the Mexican Consulate there. The Judge said he would be delighted to issue such an order to A., but the Consul pointed out that he could not answer for the consequences if A. returned without this passport. That is to say, he could not guarantee that the Guatemalan authorities would allow him out of the country if he returned without it; and was A. sure that the Mexican Consul in Guatemala City would issue him with a passport without a birth certificate? 'A' deplored the fact that he had no "amistad" at the Mexican Consulate in Guatemala; had he had such a friend he was confident he would have been given the passport, but as it was he could not take the risk.

The two men were standing in the street still discussing the cussedness of the Consul, when a friend of the Judge came up. He was the Chief of the Mexican Frontier Guards. Upon being told the whole sad story, the frontier guard sighed deeply and said, yes, this Consul was "muy delicado". He had been sent here a year ago replacing a man who had been "muy tratable", "muy Buena gente", and had always been ready to "arreglar", to arrange these matters.

After all, he continued, warming to his subject, it wasn't as if anything bad was required of the Consul. It was a simple little thing for him to do. Why this Consul would not even respect the validity of the identity card of a Mexican Government Official! The Jefe of the Banco Agricola who wanted to go over the border for some Christmas shopping had not been granted a permit, even though he had produced his official card. Luckily the Guatemalan Jefe stationed at the actual border was more reasonable, and he, the Mexican Jefe of the Guards, had personally taken the Bank Manager to the border and had got him across in that way. He had managed this way throughout the year, and he assured A. that he would have been only too pleased to oblige him in the same way, only that the Jefe of the Guatemalan Frontier Guards had been replaced a fortnight ago, and the new one was very strict. He added confidentially "You see, their Presidente is very strict "Es muy brava"; he gave instructions that the rules for entry permits be followed- and if their Presidente hears of 'irregularities' he loses his temper, and then the Consul is out of a job straight away - that's what happened to the frontier guard.

'A' remained impervious to all explanations. He was absolutely furious. "That of a Consul", he fumed, "if I were the Judge I'd see that he got paid back good and proper at the first opportunity". 'But what harm can the Judge of a small Mexican town do to a Consul with diplomatic immunity?' I asked. "Why, if he lives here 'un pequeno descuido' can put him at the mercy of the judge; a parking offense, a car lamp out of order, an omission to pay a bill. Or he might want a favour done for one of ~~the~~ his friends who came over from Guatemala and whose papers are not quite in order. He may need the Judge for any number of things". "But do you think the Consul could have given you a visa had he really wanted to?" 'Of course he could have "buscado una vuelta", "encontrado una manera de arreglar el asunto". 'A' had not even listened to the Consul's legal explanations; he was convinced they had merely been a cover for the latter's unwillingness to oblige.

This case illustrates some of the points I have made, and although it concerns a Guatemalan I do not think it differs from a Mexican case.

In the first place it is an example of an attempt to stop the mordida by change of personnel. If we are to believe the Mexican frontier guard, and I think he spoke the truth, there had been a tightening of regulations from the top. The remedy had been a change of personnel; the new official is unable at present to accept a mordida, or ~~he may be of the kind who never accepts it.~~

In the second place the Consul is certainly putting himself on bad terms with the Officials of the town. The Judge must have been mortified to have this happen to him in front of his friend and will surely not forget it. The Frontier Guard ~~thought~~ the Consul was a dead loss, and the Manager of the Banco Agricola must have been piqued at being refused his permit for a day's shopping. 'A', an ordinary citizen was furious, as others must have been before him. Now in this particular case the Official was the Guatemalan Consul, and he could, to a certain degree, afford to disregard the Mexican Officials and citizens. But had he been an Official of the Mexican Government, and condemned to remain in the town for several years, he would have been in for a very bad time. The Consul's misfortune was, that he had not convinced anyone that he was really not in a position to do the favour. They all thought he did not want to do it. In the case of the Bank scandal in Tuxtla everyone quite understands that the Managers cannot at present "do any favours" - not this year; they are not in a position to do so ^{the nation in} as Mexico ^{is} keeping a strict eye on them, so they are not blamed.

This last case of the Bank Manager in Tuxtla being able to refuse a mordida without offense taken, is an example of the individual refusing because of circumstances beyond his control. But there are other circumstances as well, in which an Official can refuse a mordida. He, must however justify his refusal; he must explain that the petitioner is asking something that it is ~~beyond~~ beyond his powers to do. Not beyond his powers because it falls outside his province, but because it would be a wrong thing for him to do. That is to say mordidas can be accepted if the desired action is merely one which is against the law, but which

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will not do additional harm to anyone. It cannot be accepted if the Official is convinced he is really doing wrong. If the payer can, by convincing arguments, persuade the Official that he is not doing an injustice, that is to say, give him some justification, then the Official will feel he is able to accept the mordida.

An example of the first case (in which an Official refuses to accept mordida) is that of Barristers who ^{have been} are known to refuse a case if they know the man to be a murderer. They say they cannot defend a murderer. Such a predicament need not arise in England where a barrister takes refuge in the following argument. Each man who comes before our courts has the right to have a competent barrister to state his case. All I do is to state the case. It is not for me to decide whether my client committed the murder or not. That is for the court to decide. My point here is that a Mexican could not find consolation in such an abstract proposition; in such confidence in a principle of law. He will not shove his personal responsibility onto an abstraction.

To illustrate the second case, that of an official who was convinced at length that we would be doing no harm to anyone, I give an example which I have altered out of recognition as it was told me in the strictest confidence. However the main argument still holds even though I have changed the circumstances and the persons. A man shot and wounded his wife while he was very drunk. The matter could not be hushed up as the woman was taken to Tuxtla to be cured of the wound. So it was to be brought before the Judge. The man B. went to a good friend of his, one who owed him (B) a great deal because of the services he had rendered, and who would continue to render in the future. The friend of B I will call him C. went to his brother-in-law who was on good terms with the Judge of the town in which B. was to appear. The brother-in-law promised to talk to the Judge, but returned after two days saying he had not been able to talk to him. The truth was that the brother-in-law thought it wrong to help B. as the action he had committed merited whatever punishment the Judge thought fit. The brother-in-law of C. thought it wrong to ask the Judge to interfere in such a case. He did not tell this to C. but merely said he had not talked to the Judge, which was true

enough, seeing he made no particular effort to do so. C. went to the Judge himself and talked to him together with a Barrister he knew. The Judge at first refused for the same reasons as the brother-in-law. It had been a monstrous crime and the man ought to suffer some punishment. However C. and the Barrister pleaded that B. had had his punishment in the shock he had got through his own deed, and that his wife would only suffer more if he were put into prison as there would be no one to look after her, and that now the action had been done what difference could further punishment make, and that it had been an accident, and that it would teach B. a lesson, etc., etc. Finally B. was let off free to go home. Even though the Judge may not have been convinced, he had at least been offered a suitable formula.

The mordida, or a favour, may thus be refused by an Official, without causing any hard feelings, if he can give a satisfactory reason for refusing it, for being unable to do the requested favour. He can demonstrate his inability in one of two ways: by pointing to a tightening of controls from his superiors, or by showing that the nature of the case is such he would be committing an enormity himself by undertaking to do the favour. It is rare that he will refuse a favour on the grounds that there is no way out; there is always a way out, even though it means sending the petitioner to another friend of his.

Upon re-reading this section I find that I have made a number of more or less disconnected points; comments upon the custom and institution of the mordida. This is due to the fact that the mordida and "amistad" which is inseparable from it, is indeed a many-faced thing. Even within the ^{the} bureaucracy which I have set myself, it appears in an endless variety of guises. I want to insist again that this limit is an artificial one, for the presence of the mordida within the bureaucracy is only possible because it is omnipresent in Mexico. It is a part of the 'way of life', and only really makes sense if considered as part of the value system, the 'world view' of the Mexican.

The following are the main points I have made: That the mordida within the Government bureaucracy is possible because the Government has ultimately effective authority and power, and small

bits of this power are sold temporarily by officials to private citizens to use for their ends, rather than the Government's ends. The Government's own officials thus make available its authority as an economic service, to be paid for as any other economic service.

That the system of the mordida has many positive sanctions to support it. These sanctions come from within and without the beaurocracy, from the payees and the payers.

That the mordida can be refused if an acceptable reason is given for the refusal. These cases are exceptions which confirm and strengthen the institution.

That attempts to abolish the mordida are at present ineffectual. There are two ways in which Government tries to combat the mordida. That of replacing personnel and that of re-organizing the administrative procedure. Neither of these methods can succeed because the trouble does not lie in the machinery of administration nor in the individual employees. It lies in the values of the whole administration and not only in this, but in the values of the whole people, of the nation. In this sense the mordida is not a problem of the beaurocracy alone, for it is an institution all over the country. It can only be properly understood as part of the total value system.

12.

I have to copy up this

LILO STERN

STEALING.

THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF STEALING IN CHIAPILLA. TRINKETS, HOES, PARTS OF THE SUGAR CANE PRESSES WHICH ARE LEFT STANDING IN THE FIELDS, UNHARVESTED MAIZE, FRUITS FROM THE TREES (THIS IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY ALL FRUIT IS SOLD AND EATEN UNRIPE) - ANYTHING AND EVERYTHING MAY BE STOLEN.

NOW THE VILLAGE IS COMPARATIVELY SMALL, AND ONE WOULD THINK IT SHOULD BE HARD TO MAKE USE OF A STOLEN THING AS EVERYBODY WOULD RECOGNIZE WHO THE STOLEN ARTICLE BELONGED TO. THIS IS TRUE TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, BUT JUST BECAUSE ONE KNOWS A THING IS STOLEN, IT BY NO MEANS FOLLOWS ONE SHOULD DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT. THUS I HAVE NOT HEARD ANYONE CRITICISED FOR BUYING STOLEN GOODS, KNOWING THAT THEY WERE STOLEN.

NIEVES IS KNOWN TO BUY UP ALL TRINKETS WITHOUT ASKING QUESTIONS. SHE BUYS THEM AT A LOW PRICE AND THE ONLY TIME SHE HAS BEEN KNOWN TO REFUSE TO BUY, WAS WHEN A WOMAN OFFERED HER A GOLD BRACELET FOR SALE, WHICH SHE RECOGNIZED AS BEING THAT OF HER LITTLE GRANDSON AGED TWO. SHE POINTED OUT THIS FACT ABOUT THE BRACELET TO THE WOMAN, WHO REPLIED THAT SHE HAD FOUND IT IN THE STREET. NIEVES (WHO NATURALLY DID NOT BELIEVE THIS) TOOK THE BRACELET WITHOUT PAYING FOR IT AND RETURNED IT TO ITS OWNER. THE WOMAN MADE NO OBJECTIONS AND THE INCIDENT ENDED THERE.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE WHICH WELL ILLUSTRATES THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS STEALING IS THAT OF CARLOS WHO IS QUITE NOTORIOUS FOR STEALING THINGS. INDEED HE IS REPUTED TO HAVE PERFORMED THE MOST WONDERFUL FEATS IN THIS LINE, AND HAS ACQUIRED QUITE FANTASTIC ABILITIES IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE. HE ~~EXTRACTS~~ MONEY FROM PEOPLE'S POCKETS AT A DISTANCE, HE CAN EXTRACT THE MONEY IN A PERSON'S POCKET AT A DISTANCE AND SUBSTITUTES IT FOR PAPER SO THAT THE ROBBED PERSON NOTICES NOTHING UNTIL HE REACHES FOR HIS MONEY AND SO ON. NEVERTHELESS IT IS TRUE THAT HE STEALS, AND ONE CAN SAFELY BET THAT ANYTHING HE OFFERS FOR SALE IS STOLEN.

ONE DAY HE CAME TO SELL A GOLD CHAIN TO VIRGINIO. NOW CARLOS IS A BACHELOR, SO IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY HE SHOULD POSSESS A WOMAN'S GOLD CHAIN, IN ADDITION HE HAS THE REPUTATION FOR STEALING AND WAS WILLING TO GIVE THE CHAIN AT A RIDICULOUSLY LOW PRICE, ALL OF WHICH COULD LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT VIRGINIO MUST HAVE KNOWN IT WAS STOLEN. THEY WERE JUST ABOUT TO CLOSE THE BARGAIN, WHEN THE MOTHER OF CARLOS CAME IN AND SAID THE CHAIN WAS HERS, AND THAT HER

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son had just stolen it from her chest. Of course Virginio could not very well buy it with the mother openly confronting him with the fact that it was hers. So he regretfully withdrew and left the mother to go off home and left her son, Carlos cursing his mother.

This story was told to me by several persons; no one commented upon the fact that Virginio was buying stolen goods, or that he should not have done so. When I suggested that he should have refused to buy the stolen chain I do not believe anyone quite understood what I was getting at. Such an idea had never entered their head and I usually got a shrug of the shoulders or some other sign of incomprehension.

Another instance is that of José. The blades of his plough shares had mysteriously disappeared a year ago. He had long given them up for lost and had acquired a new plough which he took to be repaired at Hector's house. And there, among a lot of other work lying around waiting to be done, he saw his plough blades. He immediately asked Hector who had brought them in for repair, and Hector told him. José said that these were his blades which had disappeared a year ago and wanted to take them home. Poor Hector protested that he knew nothing about this and could not give away other people's goods and did not want to get mixed up in the ~~fe-~~ affair anyhow. Still, José is known to be 'muy brava', a very violent fellow and taking no notice of Hector's protests, took the blades and said that if anyone came to ask Hector for them, he should tell him that he, José, had taken them and that he should come and fetch them at his house. Hector delivered this message when the man came to collect the blades and José was never bothered for them.

A common way of recovering lost goods is to set out to look for them. Manuel had lost a vital part of his sugar cane press. So he set out on his horse one Sunday to look for it and after some searching found it near the press of another man. He simply took it without saying a word. There was nothing further to the matter ~~and as far as I know the two men are~~

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and as far as I know the two men are on speaking terms although both must be quite aware of what happened.

There are frequent announcements over the village loud speaker to this effect - that K. knows who is entering his fields at night to steal corn and that he has done nothing about it as yet, but that if the culprit repeats the offence he will take appropriate ~~me~~ action. The appropriate action is, I gather, to complain to the authorities, - quite ineffective as everyone knows. For one thing a witness will be required and who is going to volunteer to be a witness!

I cite these instances to illustrate the fact that no one is concerned with stealing except the man who has been robbed. If he can get back the stolen article, so much the better for him, and the thief, once found out is not likely to resist or to deny his action. He will simply return the stolen article which is the greatest satisfaction the owner is able to obtain. (I should make it clear that as long as there is not certain proof that the thief stole it, he will deny it was he). It is no one's business to inform on the thief, either to the owner of the stolen good or to the authorities. It is not a ^{man's} ~~person's~~ business whether the goods he buys are stolen. He does not ask, so he does not know. However, the very fact that such goods are sold at a lower price than would normally have been paid, shows that there must be some risk to the buyer. Probably that the owner find his goods and claim them.

One such case occurred when a man stole a sewing machine off a woman who was buying it on hire purchase. This The thief sold this machine to another woman in a near-by village. The woman from whom the machine had been stolen refused to pay any further instalments. So the Sewing Machine Company went to the house of the woman who had bought the machine from the thief and took it back. There was no redress for the poor woman who lost \$2000 she had paid to the thief, nor for the woman who had originally bought the machine and had already paid some of the instalments. Everybody knew who the thief had been and he continued to live in the area.

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Stealing is ~~therefor~~ frequent and the only remedy is self-help. It is so frequent for three reasons. In the first place stealing is not thought to be a serious moral offence in the way it is thought of in Europe. To be sure, it is wrong and should not be done; but the fact remains that it is one of the things people do in life. The owner of the property should have taken better care of it. Public opinion is therefore not a sanction against stealing. In the second place the local authorities make no effort to find or punish the thief. I have never heard of a case of theft being brought to the cabildo, in all the many afternoons I have spent there. Indeed it would be quite useless. The authorities take no action in the case of murder, how much less so in the case of a mere theft. Besides, it is difficult to see what action they could take. Either the thief is caught in the act. In this case the owner regains his property there and then, and there is nothing further to be done for he has recovered his goods. If the thief has not been thus caught in the act, the authorities must have at least one witness. They certainly will find no one willing to testify; they will not even find anyone prepared to ^{say} in the town hall that he saw the thief near the place of the theft on that day. This despite the fact that the whole village may know who committed the theft and when. Thus there is no sanction ~~in~~ against stealing, either moral or material, that is to say ~~no-arrest-or-fine~~ there is no gossip making it impossible for the culprit to continue in the village on the one hand, and on the other hand there is no arrest or fine.

In the third place self-help is not pushed very far in the case of stealing. A person prefers to sustain the loss by theft rather than risk serious trouble with the offender. He contents himself with grumbling about the thief, but it is not worth his while to incur enmity which may lead to ~~blows~~ violence.

DEBT

I have already mentioned that the majority of Chiap-illtecos live in debt (Sellers of Maize) and are not too worried about this fact. They tend to worry the moment there is strong pressure for repayment. It is for this reason that those who continually ^{ask} ~~are~~ their debtors for repayment are the first to be paid.

Debts may be incurred in a number of ways. First of all there is straight money lending. There are three regular money lenders in Chiapilla who lend on security; they accept jewellery, title deeds to land or to houses. There are two men and woman who lend. The woman is said to be very hard, extracting the amount of the debt and the interest to the last ^{(cent)?} ~~ld.~~ The two men are reputed to have obtained their original capital either by the discovery of a buried treasure or by being in league with the devil, or a combination of both. The two men are thought to be fabulously wealthy and very miserly.

Other persons also lend, but more irregularly. The interest charged is 10% per month and the sums lent range between \$100 and \$1000 (Mex). The amount lent depends more upon the reliability of the borrower and the resources he has to repay, than on kinship, compadreship or friendship.

A nice example is that of Jesus, who had killed a man and needed \$500 urgently in order to run away. His mother went to her brother-in-law (husband of her dead sister), who is one of the three big money lenders. He lent the money 'because it was his nephew', as my informant said. Jesus was subsequently caught and put into prison and his wife sold the ox-team he had to try to get him out. Needing more money she went to the same man (her husband's uncle) and he refused to lend more. As my informant remarked "He had nothing with which to repay the loan, and how was he to earn in prison?"

Small sums of money may be lent between friends and relatives. If a person is asked to lend money and does not wish to do so, he does not say so openly, but says that he has not any.

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Indeed, one can never refuse a request of any kind. One is always most eager to grant any request, only that circumstances beyond one's control make this impossible. The reasons why the request cannot be granted are explained at great length and in great detail. They are designed to show the inability of the person to accede to the wishes of the other despite his great desire to do so (See Mordida in the Bureaucracy)

A second way of increasing debt is credit in the shops.
~~In the second place~~ Almost all goods can be had on credit. Shop-keepers and traders say it is impossible to do business if immediate payment is required. Despite this there are a few traders who refuse to sell on credit because of the slow payment or defaulting; they sell a little cheaper for cash. As a rule though, most larger items are sold on credit. Clothes, cloth, saint's images, trinkets, footwear, sewing machines etc. All such goods as are available in the shops which are peddled from door to door, and which are sold in the near-by townlet of Acala. In general small items (\$1 or under) are not given on credit, although some households ask for groceries such as 20 Centavos of sugar, 30 Centavos of coffee etc. with a promise to pay a few hours later.

Obtaining payment is a real difficulty and the only way is to "cobrar", to go to the debtors house and press for payment. Frequently repeated visits are necessary until the debt is discharged. It is a common and tedious job of the children of shop keepers to go round to 'cobrar'. The shop keepers from Acoba come for this purpose, and traders often make the journey to Chiapilla for no other reason.

A common way of obtaining money is advance payment for work. Thus a man will come in April and ask to borrow \$20, promising to return it in the form of labour later in the year. He may commit himself to do four days weeding in the lender's fields in July for example. He is in fact being paid his wages in advance.

If he is paid at this early date he will earn \$5 a day. At weeding time in July, when labour is scarce, the daily wage is \$7 or \$8. In the same way some men get all their sugar-cane pressing done cheaply; they pay the workers (who come to ask for the money)

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at Christmas or before All Saints' Day or before the fiesta in April, for work to be done three or four months later. The only snag in this for the lender is the risk he takes of the workers not turning up. When the time to do the work comes, they may say that they are ill, or that they have their own fields to attend to, or they may go off and work for another man at the higher rate then being paid. At times men will return the actual money paid to them in advance; (this means the lender has lent the money with no interest); at times they will not even return it.

It is obvious that failure to pay, or to work the number of days paid for which money has been received, cannot be the rule, for in that case the practice would discontinue. Most men do fulfill their obligations. Nevertheless the exceptions are frequent enough for a number of employers to cease advance payments. Their difficulty then, is to obtain workers at weeding time!

If a man receives \$5 for work to be done three to four months hence, and which at that time is worth \$7, he is paying and interest of \$2 for the loan of \$5 over a period of four months. This is appx 10% per month, which is the same rate of interest charged for money loans. This high rate of interest is probably due to the scarcity of money and the unreliability of re-payment.

Another form of borrowing, by accepting payment in advance, is that usual with maids. They are paid by the month and it is the custom always to pay them one month in advance; frequently as much as three months advance is given. One woman I knew needed money to cure her baby. She sent her little girl aged 10 to work as a maid accepting three months wages in advance with which to pay for the medicines. Older girls ask for advance with payment to buy clothes for the fiestas. Such advance payment is given at the normal rate of pay, not at a lower rate as in the case of men. In the case of advance payment to maids, which is the equivalent to a loan, no interest is charged.

The employers give such large advances because maids are hard to come by and they hope to secure a girl for the amount of time for which she has received payment. The girl must stay to work

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off her debt. This does not always work. In one recent case the ~~girl~~ ^{maid} ran off with a boy to get married, leaving a debt of \$150 with her employers. The employer was lucky in that the parents of the young man paid the debt. Another case is that of Marcela. She had been paid three months in advance by her employers, but decided to leave because she was being accused of having an affair with her employer's son. She went to look for work in another household, asked for a three months' advance and used this money to pay her old employers the amount she owed.

It was my impression that by far the most common form of indebtedness is that of selling "en cosecha". I have dealt with this type of borrowing at length in the section called "Selling Maize in Chiapilla"

Debt is thus usual and failure to repay^{is} common. It is therefore surprising that there is no way of enforcing payment either in money, in kind, or in work. It seemed so unbelievable to me that the creditor should have no means of redress that I have checked this carefully both by repeated questioning and observation of cases.

No help is to be had from the authorities, whether at the local level in Chiapilla, or at the higher courts in Chiapa. Certainly no one even bothers to bring a case of debt to the Cabildo. The one case I heard of during ten months in Chiapilla was brought by a trader woman of Chiapa de Corzo. She had come to Chiapilla with \$200 worth of cocoa and bread to take to the fiesta of Totolapa. Two Chiapiltecas approached her and asked her to let them ~~take the goods~~ take the goods to sell at the Totolapa fiesta; they would return the next day with the money plus a certain amount of profit. The Chiapaneca accepted the deal and waited in Chiapilla for the return of the two women. They arrived three days later, without the money. They claimed that they had been obliged to get rid of the goods on credit, and that they would pay the Chiapaneca in a week's time. The ^{woman} lady had already spent two days waiting and was unable to wait any longer as every day meant a loss of money to her in that she was not

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trading, and in that she was spending money on her keep. She appealed to the Presidente who advised her to have patience. What could he do if the two women did not have the money!# The women returned to Chiapa and has not yet come back to Chiapilla for her \$200, nor has the Presidente insisted on payment by the two women. There was no one to press the case. The general comment was that the two women had probably ^{invested} ~~used~~ the money gained from the sale, in some other business. No one believed the story of having given the goods on credit.

I have not heard of self-help being used by the lender in cases of default of payment. Self-help is common in the case of murders, but I have not heard of violence being used against a debtor. On the contrary, the only stories of this kind I have heard were of the debtors, unable to pay their debt, using violence against the creditor. There was one attempted murder against a man who had loaned a large sum of money to another. The debtor shot at him but missed. This happened in Chiapilla. Another case occurred in a near-by town. The debtor paid ~~for~~ two men to shoot his creditor; they succeeded. Another notorious case which happened twenty years ago was that of a Chiapillteco who was killed in the most treacherous manner by three men who were deeply in debt to him. I say treacherous, because the murdered man was armed and on horse-back, riding in the monte, when he met the ~~three~~ men. As they were friends he accepted their invitation to dismount and join them in a drink, disarming himself at their suggestion to be more comfortable. The three men fell upon him. In this case self-help was used. The parents of the boy were well-to-do small ranch-owners and several men of the district banded together and pursued the suspected culprits with the help of a small detachment of soldiers. The story goes that they tortured the men into admission of guilt before they handed them over to ~~the~~ Justice. However

So it looks as though it is the lender who has not received his money who is the one to be punished and not the debtor who is unable or unwilling to pay.

I have described the kind of self-help used in cases of theft. The person robbed goes and looks for his property and if he finds it simply takes it back; if he cannot find it the matter is

left as it is, ^{but} I have never heard of the creditor helping himself to some piece of property belonging to the debtor so as to ensure repayment.

I have said that there is no redress for the creditor in cases of failure to repay on the part of the debtor. Conversely, as in the case of stealing, there is no sanction applied to the culprit. There is not even gossip. Certainly the creditor is not going to keep quiet if he is not paid and will complain to all who will listen to him. But others just shrug their shoulders. "He should have been more careful to whom he sold, (or to whom he lent)" is the comment. It is not their business.

It is true, that in time^a constant offenders will find no one to lend him money or to give him credit in goods, or to buy his harvest "en cosecha". This is certainly a sanction, but a weak one, for the village is large enough for a man to default with a great many people before he begins to suffer the consequences. Verbal ability is most important here.

Chiapilltecos do not know of our saying "facts speak for themselves". On the contrary, if you are a persuasive speaker mere facts haven't a chance of carrying any weight. A Chiapillteco is always ready to listen to an explanation, to a justification of the situation. Once the circumstances of a case are thoroughly understood, there is no more reason to refuse the loan, ^{or to uphold for defaulting} For it has been explained that in this case there were especial circumstances which will not occur again. (See 'convencer' in paper on Robo)

SETTLING DISPUTES

The attitude towards explanation and the readiness to sit down and listen ^{account for} explains the way of settling disputes in Chiapilla and I believe, in many simpler societies. It helps understand the numerous accounts there are of interminable court cases, with hours and hours spent on seemingly irrelevant detail. The details are not irrelevant; for it is not what you have done that matters, it is why you have done it. The circumstances and the motives carry more weight than the mere deed, which has no meaning out of its context. A murder, or a failure to pay a debt, cease to be murder and non-payment, in the light of the situation. They become understandable fury at an insult, or temporary inability to comply with an obligation ^{the debtor is} ~~you are~~ most desirous to fulfil.

In Chiapilla disputes are settled on these principles. Both those which are settled privately (See Robo) and those which are brought to the cabildo (~~See Robo~~).

The Presidente does not give judgement when he hears a case in the cabildo. Rather he permits both parties to let off steam, to talk and to state their case as often and as long as they wish, interfering only to give his opinion or advice every now and then. If the parties do not reach agreement on that day, he will use delaying tactics, finding some reason why he cannot settle the matter on that day, and why both parties have to come to the cabildo again on the next day. This gives them an opportunity to settle the matter privately, or alternatively to ^{make them} talk again.

Talking is supremely important in settling disputes, for ^{(This is one of the reasons} it matters that both parties agree to the final decision) ^{why a good father speaks is much admired and greatly valued).} if they cannot come to some agreement on their own, the Presidente tries to convince them that his solution is a good one for both of them. He never imposes a decision. I do not want to overlook the fact that in any case the Presidente is not in a position to impose a decision. For ~~it~~ it is true that no one would obey him, and that this may be the reason why he tries to persuade - there is nothing else left for him to do, he cannot enforce his judgement. ~~Nevertheless I believe~~ ^{there is more to it. he has not the power or authority to do so.} Nevertheless I believe that this manner of settling disputes is fundamental for the Chiapillans, and is not used ^{only} for lack of any other possibility.

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The Chiapilltecos are familiar with a judge, who gives his decision which must be obeyed (for cases taken to the Superior Court are dealt with in this way) but they are not really satisfied with the procedure which permits each party to state his case and which permits argument and disagreement before the judgement, but requires conformity and obedience to the decision once it has been made by a superior authority. If they are agreed as to the justice of the decision they can abide by it, but if they are not persuaded of its justice, how can they "estar conforme" - be satisfied? They are not satisfied, and will not rest until they have been satisfied. That is to say, the quarrel continues despite the judgement.

Reaching agreement through talking is possible, because there is no shame in changing one's mind. The process which takes place is quite different from the "talks" in which agreement is reached in Europe. We have the idea of giving in, of ceding a little, because ultimately both parties want agreement. A compromise means that each party gives up a little on the practical sphere. On the other hand each party has its principles upon which it acts and the agreement reached by talks is a formula which accommodates both principles; for it is a disgrace for a European to change his principles. Thus the answer to settling a disagreement takes the form of a formula which preserves the principles and actions in which each party cedes a little.

In Chiapilla principles are not at stake. When agreement through talks has been reached, it is because all the circumstances have been explained and understood; either the situation had been previously misunderstood, or all the evidence had not been available or the situation has now changed. Once all are agreed about the circumstances there is no longer a problem about what is to be done. ~~is the quarrel now done~~ If there is no agreement as to the nature of the case in dispute, there is no settlement; but in time circumstance change again, and there may be a settlement in time.

I do not want to deny that the threat of sending a case to the superior court does not play its part in the opponents

reaching agreement, nor the knowledge that self-help may be used by the opponents if the solution is not his liking and that these may be strong inducements in arriving at a settlement. It does not alter the form the settlement takes, which is by agreement and not by submission to a judge.

If this view of the nature of settling differences is understood and accepted as being true, then the nature of the type of democracy found in Chiapilla immediately becomes clear.

The concept of majority decision has no meaning. In the same way that the judge's decision, if not agreed to, does not satisfy, so the minority is not satisfied if its opinion has been overruled. The majority is well aware of this, for they also are Chia illtecos and for this reason decisions in politics are also reached by talking, and by reaching agreement. If decisions are not so arrived at, they are of little use in practice, for the minority does not feel obliged to co-operate and will refuse to do so.

It is possible for general agreement to be reached, because it is possible to change one's mind in the course of talking. Even if a man agrees only because the others have been persuaded, it does not matter. He has agreed with the decision and will be reminded of this if he tries to pull out later. If agreement is not reached between opposing political factions then nothing can be done. The only thing is to wait for another occasion upon which to talk and in the mean time quarreling continues and fighting may even take place. The constant refrain in Chiapilla, heard throughout every discussion and quarrel is "tenemos de andar de acuerdo" (we must work together in harmony, in agreement).

For this reason Western Democracy, which depends upon submission to a majority decision will not work in Chiapilla, even though it is the type of government which the Federal Government is trying to impose. It explains why the election procedure which the Federal Government imposes is such an empty farce, it does not correspond to any reality. Political action in Chiapilla depends upon general consensus, or upon force, but never upon a majority decision.

ATTITUDES TO LIFElack of care and acceptance of life

Animals are not well cared for in Chiapilla. This is a general statement and there are two or three remarkable exceptions to this.

One is a small finquero whose father was overseer to a large finca and there he learnt to care for animals. Another is the daughter of a former 'cacique' of the village. A third is a young man of the village who simply loves his horse and therefore takes great care of it.

Apart from these, ~~these~~ horses, donkeys and cows are neglected according to European standards. The animals are never groomed; I have often seen horses with no sing shoes, or worse still, with loose shoes. The donkey which are used for trading have the most dreadful pack sores, as do those which carry water. One would suppose it were in the owner's interest to look after his animals, but the Chiapill-tecos do not look at it in this way. I have seen horses with running saddle sores which a little ointment would have soon cured.

Most of all I was shocked and continue to be shocked every time I see it, at the the way cows are slashed. If a cow enters the maize field of a man, he often takes his machete and gives it a really savage cut. The comment of others usually is "Well you see, he was very cross at the damage the cow was doing in his field"; and indeed, it is true that a straying cow does an enormous amount of damage. However, there is a mechanism, which is used and which seems to work, for inspecting and assessing the damage, for it is the owner's duty to fence in his animal, which he often fails to do. Consequently he has to pay for the damage done to the maize field.

This slashing of the animals seems to be completely wanton, and I find it difficult to find an ~~exact~~ explanation for it, or for the fact that it is tolerated. I was told of one man who stopped up the anus of such a straying cow with grass, so that the animal could not defecate. It died within two days, before the owner found it. Another cow had its tongue cut out for straying.

This treatment of animals is not regarded as proper, to be sure, but it does not inspire the horror and revulsion which it

invariably does in me.

Dogs also run around with open machete cuts. They get those because they are never sufficiently fed in their homes, if they have a home, and so steal food from other houses where they are mercilessly slashed. I have seen little pups who had lost their mother dying of hunger. Furious, I upbraided the owner calling her all the names I could think of. She tried to defend herself - surprised at my attack - by saying that the pups would not eat. To demonstrate this, she threw a dry tortilla into the dusty ground before the pup. Naturally the eight week old animal could not even chew it. The woman did not mean harm; she was simply indifferent and had not bothered to think ~~in~~ what the little animals could eat.

I tell these stories not merely as horror stories; they are not exceptional incidents, they happen daily. There seems to be a total lack of a sense of care for animals and indeed for things and persons as well. It is as though people had not realized, or do not understand that care and trouble and thoughtfulness are needed in order to preserve life - the life of people, of animals and of things. It is not part of the philosophy of the people to "preserve".

The same kind of neglect extends to everybody and to everything. A man will beat his own dog as viciously as another's. A woman will use her own new "rebozo" which has cost her \$30, to wipe the running nose of her baby, rather than pick up an old cloth lying near at hand. It is not as though other people's property is badly treated while the owner takes care of his own. He neglects his own almost as much as that of others. I have come across a number of men suffering from severe colds because they got caught in one of the heavy tropical showers and did not bother to change their clothes afterwards.

The finqueros call this attitude of the peasants laziness and it is the main reason why they so despise them. If it is laziness, then that is only part of it. There goes with it an indifference to, or an acceptance of loss. If a child breaks a pot because she stumbled over it, as it was on the floor in the middle of the kitchen, the mother will be furious

~~with-the~~ and beat the child; she will upbraid it for being so clumsy as to tumble over it, and not for leaving it in the middle of the floor. Nor will the incident induce her to remove the other saucepans standing around on the floor. The woman will soon accept the loss and henceforward, for months to come, she will be borrowing a pot from her neighbours.

To her the meaning of the incident has been that she has lost a pot, and this fact she accepts; she is not going to moan about it for days. It has not meant to her that it would be better not to leave pots standing on the ground in the middle of a room, nor has it meant to her that she must replace the loss or make some effort to find a substitute. She will go on cooking in her kitchen without the pot, remedying the lack of it as best she can by borrowing or by just doing without it.

If a baby is ill it would be incorrect to say that the mother is not very upset. But she tends to sit there with the child on her lap watching it get worse and yet not seeking remedies. When it has been ill for several days, she will try a cure. There is not the urge to rush off and do something about it. I have seen occasions when the curandera gave a simple instruction, such as keeping the child's feet warm with a hot cloth and which the mother has not obeyed. It is true that when the child dies the mother is heart-broken; but she soon accepts the loss; there is no life-long mourning for a person, nor is there the idea of the myth which we have that so-and-so never got over the death of a certain person. There are so many deaths; it is simply one of the events of life.

I do not want to leave the impression that everybody has this attitude. There are many exceptions, but in being exceptions they show up the general attitude all the more.

This carelessness and neglect can be understood as part of the general attitude to life. Living is from day to day. There is not much thought about what will happen to-morrow and very little planning for the future, even for a few days ahead. There is constant improvising ~~and~~ because the right thing is not at hand - and very brilliant improvising too. The people

are quite content to make do with what is available; they do not say reproachfully "you should have done such and such a thing". The person did not do it and the effort one manages without it having been done. People have a great admiration for a well ~~thought~~^{thought} out thing, a well organized event; but they do not feel the urge to copy this, to do likewise.

At each of three weddings I attended there was no make-up such as lip-stick, powder, brilliantine etc, which are needed to prepare the bride. On two occasions there was not even a comb. Now everyone in the village knows that a bride is combed and made up before the ceremony; they also know that it is the duty of the god-mother, in whose house she is being dressed to provide these things. Yet they had not been provided and there was a mad rush to go round the neighbours borrowing them. However there were no reproaches from anyone for this omission.

Upon ~~another~~^{one} occasion all the Ejidatarios were summoned to a place two hours on foot from Chiapilla, in order to welcome the Governor of the State who was to make a speech. The men took off the day and waited at the appointed place for four hours, and finally returned to Chiapilla. There was no announcement that the Governor would not come, no explanation why he had not arrived, nor why they had been ordered to attend.

The Chiapilltecos tend to accept such incidents as a necessary part of living "tiene uno que conformarse" is the constant refrain, and the repeated advice. "one must conform, one must accept these things". These words are said to the mourners in case of death (Death in Chiapilla), they are said in cases of loss through theft, of unpaid debts, of accidents, of run-away-children, in any case of misfortune. The response to mishaps is not one of annoyance and rebellion, of trying to remedy the situation in some way or other. The attitude to life and to events in life is not the fighting attitude that we extol. In England the tendency is to want to do something about an undesirable happening, "to put it right", "to change it", not "to be content with it". In Chiapilla the attitude is one of acceptance. They are not rebellious. Their defense

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in face of a situation they do not like is one of obstinacy, of passive resistance. Whenever possible they will do nothing, take no action, say nothing, not become involved, know of nothing. The complement of this negative attitude is the positive one of "conform arse", or acceptance.

The general lack of care, and acceptance of events as they happen, makes life simpler in the sense that people are more easy going, less given to worrying than are Europeans. It makes life harder in that the people have more work and less profit from it. The very maize, which is the mainstay of their life, is eaten up by rats for lack of proper storage and care.

IDEALS AND REALITY

The Chiapilltecos are a realistic people and therefore those who are guilty of some irregularity are accepted within the community. I know of no behaviour, of no act which is ~~condemned~~ condemned by everyone in such a way that the community makes life impossible for the person who committed it.

There live in Chiapilla men who have murdered, who have robbed, who have betrayed fellow villagers, who have cheated the community of large sums of money, who are thought to be witches, who have deceived their spouses, abandoned their children, persons who have been guilty of every kind of "irregularity" according to their own standards of correct behaviour. They live in the village and lead a normal life. They have their friends, they carry on their work in the fields and whatever trade they may have; they buy and sell, they ask for and receive credit. There is no concerted action on the part of the community to expel a member. A person unaware of the individual's history would observe no indication that anything had been amiss.

Those who have suffered through the misdeed of a person certainly do show their displeasure or disapproval or anger; the onus is upon them to do something about it and upon no one else. Thus the murdered person's kin may make life impossible for the murderer and force him to leave the village. No one else will change his behaviour towards the culprit. If the kin take no action then the murderer can remain in the village. He will simply have no dealings with the dead man's kin. If a woman has left her husband the two families will not be on speaking terms. They ignore each other. Two families who live opposite each other have not spoken to each other for two years for this reason. ^{However,} Those who have failed to observe the "proper" behaviour with respect to the opposite sex suffer no more than a short period of violent critical gossip and the ostracism of the offended persons close relatives. Apart from that, they continue their normal life in the community.

How can we understand this huge gap between people's ideals - what they ~~really-really~~ truly and sincerely think ought to be - and the reality which they so readily

accept and cope with? The answer is that for the Chiapillteco the e is no problem here; it is I, with my English upbringing who find an incongruity. I have already explained that for the Chiapillteco word and deed are two separate things which need not correspond, whereas Europeans feel the necessity of making them correspond, or at least of explaining their lack of correspondence. The Chiapillteco feels no need for an Ideal to correspond to Reality. He loves a beautiful ideal for its own sake. The expression of a truly noble sentiment, of a grand ideal, are valuable in themselves; they uplift his spirit

quite apart and confused with this expression of ideals, is practical life. As I have said, the Chiapillteco is a realist; he accepts life and its unpleasantness and does not deceive himself about it. He talks openly and frankly about deceits and betrayals and acts according to the harsh facts of his experience. For us, words and deeds should correspond. That is to say, we permit a person to express certain sentiments without taking them too seriously or too literally. We do not permit a person to express intended action without taking it perfectly seriously. Thus the lady who says 'I am quite delighted to see you' need not be taken too literally and it is quite understood that courtesy obliges her to say this even though it does not correspond to her feelings. The lady who says I will come and see you to-morrow is expected to turn up to-morrow, and there is annoyance if she does not.// The Chiapillteco on the contrary expects the sentiments expressed to be quite true and sincere at that particular moment, and you will always find him prepared to act upon them at that moment. ^{He expects words and sentiments to correspond.} That sentiments change from one occasion to another is an different matter. Intended actions are, however not taken too seriously. Thus if the Chiapillteca tells you she is delighted to see you, she is indeed delighted and wants you to come in and spend some time with her. ^{immediately} If she says she will come and see you to-morrow she may very well not come, and no ~~will~~ one will be in the slightest offended.

The Chiapillteco is of course, not opposed to anyone acting out the ideals and sentiments expressed. On the contrary, it is undoubtedly a 'good thing' to do. Are not all his National Heroes whom he admires and worships, such people?

But somehow there is something not quite normal about such people; they are heroes, they are to be admired, they are exceptional; but it is not for him to act like that.

My landlady's comment expresses it well. She was talking about those terrible scoundrels who were Presidentes of the Ejido at the time of its formation and who took for themselves the best lands available and for this reason are rich men now. "They're all the same, all scoundrels, all thieves, not a decent fellow among them" she scolds. "Well, what about Pepe?" I ask. "Yes, just imagine, this Pepe was Presidente of the Ejido twice and out of pure stupidity did not take a single piece of land for himself. He is as poor now as he was before he took office; the silly man".

The belief is therefore that a person should lead an honourable life, following the moral precepts of the Catholic Church. The practice is very different. ^{This} ~~The~~-difference does not worry anyone, it is accepted.

If one wants a general explanation, then it lies, I think, in the freedom of action which is accorded to each individual on the one hand, and the lack of effective sanction on the other. On the one hand it is a matter of the individual, of his upbringing and his attitude to life; on the other it is a matter of the lack of any effective sanction enforced by the society, whether these sanctions be formal or informal.

END

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