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ETHNOHISTORY
OF THE
HIGHLANDS OF CHIAPAS
1800 - 1960

by
Roberta Montagu
and
Prudencio Moscoso

(1961)

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ETHNOHISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS OF CHIAPAS: 1800 - 1960

Roberta Montagu with Prudencio Moscoso

This paper covers too long a period and too wide an area to give more than a generalization of the events and changes. For most of the time covered, there are no "fuentes historicas" which can be summarized and data must be found in the governors' reports and similar material. Most material was written and most censuses were taken to prove a point, usually as a political maneuver, and, unfortunately, sometimes the bias does not show at first glance. For example, over 50 censuses, most of them small area censuses, were found but nearly all of them had to be discarded.

In the 1860 - 1960 period a great deal of the material was checked by field interviews with people who were alive at the time or whose parents were. Whenever possible, care was taken to talk with people of different political opinions.

The paper is necessarily short. It is only a glance at a region and a period. Most of the material collected was irrelevant to such a paper no matter how interesting as historical curiosities.

The senior author wishes to thank the numerous people who gave so generously of their time. Professor Moscoso gave many pages of data and hours and hours of help, but the conclusions, and hence the errors, are hers alone.

GHIAPAS HISTORY

1800 - 1820 PERIOD

At this time Chiapas was divided into three partidos and later into twelve subdelegations. The first partido had as its capital Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal) and was formed of thirty-three towns divided into twenty curatos. The other two partidos were centered at Tuxtla and at Soconusco. The subdelegados were Palenque, Ocosingo, Tila, Huistán, Tuxtla, Comitán, Huitiupan or Simojovel, Ixtacomitan, San Andrés or Coronas, Tapachula, Tonalá and Llanos. The intendente was both a political and military figure who depended from the Audiencia de Guatemala. The subdelegados lived in the capitals of their subdelegaciones and were ministers of justice and tax collectors.

The Mexican war for independence, beginning in 1810 was exciting news to the Chiapanecos who still were not ready for such a momentous step. The Constitution of Cadiz of 1812 which was designed to ~~eliminate~~ eliminate many of the abuses of the colonial government was never really activated in the region due to the power of José Bustamante y Guerra who ruled from Guatemala. Two deputies were elected to the Cortes in 1813, Mariano Robles Dominguez de Mazariegos and Fernando Dávila, but they were powerless.

In 1813 a force under teniente coronel don Manuel Dambriñi, chief of the Spanish ^{troops} ~~forces~~ in Chiapas, was sent to conquer Oaxaca but were defeated at Tonalá

The constitution was taken away by royal order of Fernando VII in 1814, and Bustamante became even more powerful. ¹⁸¹⁷ Gradually the resentment was building up and the news of the successes against the Spaniards in México and other Latin American countries was common in spite of attempts at censorship on the part of the government. The constitution was re-established six years later but by then it was merely a case of adding insult to injury. Groups had formed and were forming demanding freedom from Spain.

The most important of these groups was situated in Comitán, but by the end of the period under discussion vociferous groups, for and against independence, had arisen everywhere.

In general, by 1821 Chiapas was pro-Iturbide, but the first actions were taken in Comitán by the ayuntamiento on the 28th of August of that year, sparked, to a great extent, by fray Matias de Cárdoval. The Síndicos Procuradores of the ayuntamiento asked "que se considerara el asunto relativo al próximo viaje del Ejército mexicano que se hallaba en Oaxaca, cuyo objeto era la independencia del Septentrión de América bajo los principios cristianos y pacíficos que había publicado el Señor Iturbide en Iguala". Copies were sent to the ayuntamientos of all the main towns and villas of the state and on the 1st of September was published as a declaration of independence. Other towns followed suit in pledging themselves to the declaration. The same month a commission set forth the ideas of government: freedom from Spain; official catholic religion without religious tolerance; the formation of a congress to meet in 1822, that the present authorities continue until such a time as a new constitution and a system of elections could be set up, and that a junta provisional would be the overall authorities.

The church was particularly active in the Iturbide movement.

Indian payment of tribute was decreed over on 21 February 1822.

With the abdication of Iturbide in 1823 (19 March), many political situations arose but an informe presented in June of the same year by Diego José Lara, Joaquín Miguel Gutiérrez and Marcelo Solórzano favored the continuation of a union with México, a union which had been established by which Chiapas was considered a province of the Mexican Empire in the time of Iturbide in February of 1822. Meanwhile, in April of 1823 another junta had declared Chiapas a free nation and established a Junta Suprema Provisional. In October of 1823, in Comitán, another Junta was established with the setting forth of the Plan de Chiapa Libre.

In 1824 the Soconusco seceded from Chiapas and joined with México.. In September of the same year, the rest of the state did likewise by a plebiscite in which ~~XXXXX~~ 96,829 Chiapanecos voted for union with México, 60,000 for Guatemala and 15,724 were considered indifferent. With the following exceptions all of the towns studied in this Chicago project went for México: Pinola for Guatemala, Yajalón, Ocosingo, Sibacá, Bachajón and Chilón were undecided.

Therefore from 28 August 1821 until 8 April 1823, Chiapas had been a province of the empire; from then until 14 September 1824 it had been a free state; afterwards a part of the Mexican Republic. Between this time and 1842, the territory of the Soconusco was in litigation. This, however, does not enter into the area under study.

This was the first federalist period in Mexico, a period which lasted until the first centralismo which began in December 1836.

1840 - 1860 PERIOD

The centralists were now in power throughout the nation. The liberal forces had been defeated although sporadic battles occurred.

Decrees were issued for Indians to work in baldiaje for the reconstruction of public buildings, the first statements of this type since early colonial days.

The changes from federalist to centralist governments can be outlined as follows:

Primer federación	4 Oct 1824 - 3 Oct 1835
De la federación al centralismo	3 Oct 1835 - 30 Dec 1836
Primer centralismo	30 Dec 1836 - 13 June 1843
Segundo centralismo	13 June 1843 - 22 Aug 1846
Del centralismo a la federación	22 Aug 1846 - 21 May 1847
Segunda federación	21 May 1847 - 22 April 1853
Tercer centralismo	22 April 1853 - 15 May 1856
Del centralismo a la federación	15 May 1856 - 5 February 1857
Tercera federación	5 February 1857 - 5 February 1917 and on to the present time

During all of this time the activities of the various Mexican political parties were reflected in the local politics, but for all the small pitched battles and political arguments, the population was little affected. However, by congressional decree in the year of 1847 three ~~the~~ Indian laws were passed: Indians were again to be moved into towns and not allowed to live scattered in the hills and forests, certain unjust payments which had been forced upon them early in colonial history were to be removed, and primary schools in Indian towns were to be closed. In regards to the first decree, these were not to be like the Spanish reducciones but rather that the Indians were to live in their native villages or in ejidos surrounding them or else to take up national lands and form nucleated communities. The second law released him from supplying goods and services by law to the priests and to the municipal secretaries. The third law was believed to free the Indian from the dominion of the rural schoolmaster and in the place of local schools, a larger school ~~was~~ was founded in the capital and grants were given to Indian boys who went to attend it.

By a decree of the same year the state was divided into ten partidos and six departments.

The pitched battles and political war continued unabated. Cholera broke out in the early 1850s, and although it seems to have had no effect upon the wars and political maneuverings, it terrified the populace. There were fresh outbreaks, interspersed by yellow fever epidemics, throughout the

entire decade, and although it does not seem to have ~~had~~ caused widespread population movements, several small communities were wiped out and unnumbered other people died.

With the rise of ~~XXXXXX~~ Santa Anna the legislature gave him their vote and the days of the second federation came to an end (1853).

Some efforts were made at this time to organize manufactories within the state, but little seems to have come of it and that only temporary. More agrarian laws were passed, particularly those forbidding the sale of ejido lands and forcing lands, previous sold, to be returned to the ejidos. Also terrenos baldios which had been taken up without submitting to proper government control were taken from the settlers.

In 1855 Angel Albino ~~XX~~ Corzo became governor, a liberal. This ~~and~~ and other considerations led to a revolt in Comitán headed by don Juan Ortega. Throughout the rest of this decade, Ortega was to fight up and down the highlands to such an extent that he has passed into the Indian mythology as a demon, the man who defeated the great Indian leader, Cuscoat, although in actuality he was dead long before the Cuscoat rebellion.

There were further disputes by 1859 between church and state and the priest in Tuxtla refused admission to the church to members of the ayuntamiento. Meanwhile battles were fought between the liberals and the conservatives in such places as Comitán, San Bartolomé and Chanal.

Meanwhile ~~An~~ August of 1859, the governor, Angel Albino Corzo, put into vigor the ^{federal} law of the 12th of july of the same year which decreed an absolute separation of church and state. The Dominican, Franciscan and Mercedarian friars of San Cristóbal fled to Guatemala upon hearing these notices, fled without turning over to any type of authorities their buildings, libraries and other goods. The Bishop was expelled in September, but he fled before the documents could be served on him.

1860 - 1880 PERIOD

After the fleeing of the Bishop many of the lesser clergy and monks went to join him in Guatemala. Under the Laws of Reform most of their lands passed into private hands.

In 1860 the conservative forces under Juan Ortega were defeated in Chanal and later at Chaculá. The second defeat was so absolute that it appeared as if the liberal forces had triumphed beyond all question, ~~and~~ and the ~~liberal~~ government acting under Angel Albino Corzo pushed through the Reform Laws.

After nearly forty years of incidents and warfare, Chiapas seemed to be at peace, but the government in México changed. From 1862 - 1866 the conservative government of the Emperor Maximilian reigned.

Juan Ortega and the Padre Chanona again rose up in arms, this time in favor of the empire. Again the State was divided: some areas declared for the empire and some against it. The imperialists won and the ~~XXXXX~~ troops ^{of Ortega} occupied San Cristóbal, and the battles and guerilla warfare broke out sporadically over all the State. ~~XXXXX~~ Acala was sacked as were many smaller places. Ortega was attacked in San Cristóbal ^{in January 1864} and the siege lasted over ten days. The imperialist troops fled towards San Pedro Chenalhó and on towards Tumbalá. At this time they numbered no more than 80 or 85 men. Miguel Utrilla commanded the liberal forces. In the battle of Jonuta shortly afterwards, most of the rebel chiefs (imperialists) were killed. Ortega and Chanona fled and never again return to importance.

The wars continued through 1864 - 1865, ending ~~probably~~ more or less with fighting in the Ocosingo region in early 1866.

In 1867 Juarez became president of the nation and Pantaleon Dominguez became governor of Chiapas.

In 1867 the fiscal of Chamula, Pedro Diaz Cuscat, with Agustina Gómez Checheb began a new religious movement among the Tzotzil Indians. A box with three stones in it was believed to speak and was considered as a saint, and Cuscat and the other leaders of the movement took the names of saints. They were helped in their work by a Ladino school master, Ignacio Fernández Galindo, and his wife. Soon the movement had political as well as religious aspects. The inhabitants of San Cristóbal who even today are in terror of Indian uprisings tried to take steps to dissolve the Indian movement, but they were too late. ~~At~~ On Good Friday of 1868 a boy of ten or twelve, Domingo Gómez Checheb, was crucified in San Juan Chamula and the new uprising had a god as well as saints.

In December of the same year the Jefe politico sent out an order to capture the leaders, accused of planning a rebellion, at which moment Galindo

8

became one of the leaders. Cuscoat having been made prisoner, The Indians under Galindo laid siege to San Cristóbal and he was freed by treaty.

During the rebellion priests and Ladino farmers in the backcountry were killed by the Indians. Others fled to safety in San Cristóbal and other towns. This was a Tzotzil rebellion in which the Tzeltal Indians not only took no part but the Tenejpanecos actually sent a commission to the governor offering their aid.

At the end of the war, which lasted from June of 1869 until October of 1870, most of the leaders were condemned to death, but Cuscoat was not captured and is believed to have fled to the paraje of Sisim, San Pablo Chalchihuitán. There is no evidence of what happened to him after that, and many Indians believe he still lives, half man, half spirit.

Benito Juarez became president in 1867, a position which he held until his death in 1872. He was succeeded by Lerdo de Tejada who was president until General Porfirio Diaz took the post in 1877. Diaz had challenged the reelection of Juarez in 1871, was more or less pacified during the first years of Lerdo de Tejada, and then revolted again in 1876. During all of these years, each group had its faction in Chiapas, but this was an upper class political consideration and had little affect upon the populace.

In 1874, the anti-eclesiastical measures promulgated by Juarez during the War of the Reform, were formally incorporated in the constitution. Many of the big fincas which were being held for the church by individual owners began to be considered by them as their personal property.

At this period, most of the leaders in Chiapas, particularly Miguel Utrilla, were all Diaz men.

1880 - 1900 PERIOD

After the tumultuous years of 1820 to 1870, Chiapas had nearly forty years of comparative peace.

This was the period of incorporation. The big fincas were seoured to their owners, small villages were placed under the aegis of the hacenderos in those cases where they were too far from any regularly constituted government center. Many of the old taxes inherited from the colonial days, such as the aloabala (a tax of ten percent on the sale of farm produce) were declared illegal. The jefes politoo ruled in their districts with the help of rural police, and the armed bands of brigandás disappeared from the mountains.

The railroad to Chiapas was being constructed, and bridges and roads were built

There was a great deal of discontent, but it had yet to reach the surface. Most of the Indians lived as baldios and mozos in a form of debt peonage that could be inherited by the debtor's sons.

Although the capital, during the 19th century, had been in Tuxtla and Chiapa as well as in San Cristóbal, the San Cristobalense considered their town the real capital and that the powers had been taken to the otherplaces only during times of emergency. In 1893 the governor, Emilio Rabasa, removed the powers once again to Tuxtla where they have been ever since. There are many reasons given for this: the growing importance of the conservatives and clergy in San Cristóbal, the need for building a capital city planned for that purpose, a revolt of prisoners from the hot country who could not endure the cold of the mountains, etc. The San Cristóbalense even today claim that Rabasa made this move out of spite because he was not invited to a pionic of upper class people which was held on the Rancho San Juan de Dios (NOTE NOT TP BE TYPED IN MIMEOGRAPH: this is my ranch, hey !)

By the end of this period, politios was completely confused. The conservatives of the San Cristóbal area were plotting political revenge against Tuxtla. The Indians, suffering under thirty years of what had started out to be a liberal government, were siding with the conservatives who promised them certain advantages and many of the priests, with the tacit endorsement of the Bishop Orozco y Jimenez, were involved in the discussions of military intervention.

In 1896 and 1897 the Governor, Francisco León, tried to decree a minimum wage law for serfs and an anti-indentness law. He was murdered by the landholders.

1900 - 1920

The first years of this century were years of unquiet peace. Tension was building up, but the politics were hidden.

With the beginning of the Madero revolution in November of 1910, the San Cristobalense took advantage of the situation and in 1911 began a movement to have the capital returned to that city. A committee and a petition were sent to Madero to this effect, but nothing came of it. As an outcome of this, the highland region named as governor of the state Don Manuel Pineda, but at the same time there was a governor in Tuxtla. A force of arms of a thousand Chamulas under El Pajarito and about Three hundred Ladinos under Abram Aguilar and Pomposo Aguilar took Ixtapa without a battle, whereas San Cristóbal was guarded by the Juarez Battalion under Albert Pineda O.

During the period when this was guerilla warfare, the San Cristobalense were winning, but the Tuxtlecos brought up small cannons and a ~~numbered~~ series of real battles were begun. In a few months the entire movement was defeated.

A general amnesty was declared but with the coming of the Carrancistas in ~~1914~~¹⁹¹⁴, Jacinto Perez Pajarito was ~~shot~~^{executed} by the federal soldiers.

~~XXXXXX~~ The Carrancistas arrived in Chiapas in September of 1914 under the orders of General Jesús Agustin Castro. Several local groups rose in arms against the new federal government, the most important of which, at this period, was that of Tiburcio Fernandez Ruiz of Chiapa de Corzo. ~~XXXX~~ This was actually several groups, united under his leadership, and which were known as the Mapaches (raccoons). These fought in the lowland regions of the Grijalva valley, making a half moon from Chiapa de Corzo to Comitán. These groups continued fighting as anti/Carrancistas until 1920, when they recognized the government of Adolfo de la Huerta, after the death of Carranza.

The other group of great importance in this period was that of Alberto Pineda Ogarric, who took to the field in August of 1916. His region of action was the Ocosingo and highland Chiapas region, but as the Mapaches and the Pinedistas considered themselves brothers-in-arms and even fought together in the battle of Señor del Pozo. They were completely separate groups, however, although friendly. They did not separate in this sense until 1920, when Pineda continued the war and fought against de la Huerta. Later in the year, however, de la Huerta and Pineda came to an understanding and Pineda received the rank of General in the

federal army from the president.

There were several other small groups of anti-Carrancistas which fought separately for short periods of time but were later incorporated into one or the other of the above mentioned groups.

The federal government brought freedom for the peons, the serfs, and the distribution of lands to begin the agrarian reform which reached its climax in the 1930s. There was a law of rights of workers which stated minimum wages and maximum hours and a law against contracts of "retroventa" (A contract wherein a property is deeded over to the lender of a sum of money and is held as a mark against the repayment of a loan.)

1920 - 1940

1921 and 1922 were years of peace, more or less, but in 1923 the R de la Muerta Revolution broke out. Alberto Pineda was on the side of de la Muerta against Obregón. Obregón won out in 1924, and there have been no real wars and battles in Chiapas since then. Tiburcio Fernandez Ruiz, who formerly had been head of the Mapaches, was, during this war, the leader of the forces of Obregón and was governor during this period.

The Ing. Raymundo Enriquez became governor in December of 1929. He was particularly interested in agrarian reform and his governorship is characterised by the giving what had been finca lands to colonias agrarias and also enlarging the ejido lands of the various municipios. The lands were a total of over 96,000 hectares. In all of the years from ~~1929~~ the agrarian law of 1915, ~~encompassed~~ the governors had given a total of only 86,244 hectares.

In 1933, under the governorship of Victorico Grajales, the anti-clerical campaign broke out. Grajales was a friend of the then governor of Tabasco, Garrido, who was one of the foremost anti-clerical leaders in the country at that time. In December of the same year, ~~summit~~ acting in concord with Garrido, Grajales began the saint burning program which was carried into effect in many pueblos. Many archives were also burnt during this period. Although this was of short duration, less than a year, similar incidents occurred in the back country in the four or five years following.

The fall of Grajales in 1936 marked the end of this period. Churches were reopened under the governor Efraim Gutierrez in 1937 by public demand.

During all of the 1930s, the agrarian reform was being carried out. Lands were being given to the new colonias and more and more of the great fincas were being broken up, particularly in the Bochil region (of those areas in which the project is interested). The agrarian reform was less strong in Coosingo due to the fact that the landholders banded together and several engineers and agrarian leaders were murdered. Even on the outskirts of the larger towns, the ~~hangan~~ haciendas were divided: i.e. the Finca San Nicolás, on the valley just below the church of Guadalupe in San Cristobal, had most of its land divided up.

This was a time of small private wars, of ambushes for and against the agraristas, of the feeling of revolution which never really broke out. Peace only came with the new war prosperity in the 1940s.

1940 - 1960 PERIOD

After the agrarian reforms of Cardenas, the 1940s, on the whole were a period of entrenchment and the working out of policies. The governor, Dr. Rafael Pascasio Gamboa (1940- 1944) was a strong, active personality who instituted many reforms, not so much in the law itself as in the carrying out of the law. Roads and schools were opened in the back-country, municipal secretaries to the Indian municipios were given a certain amount of screening, and the beginning of Indian protection under the state Department of ~~Indians~~ Indian Affairs was launched.

The war brought prosperity to the State. The Ocosingo region prospered as the chicleros went through the jungle and brought out the blocks of second class chicle, a sap which no one had bothered with before due to its low quality. The price of coffee and beef sky-rocketed and the farm workers began to demand higher wages. Who areas, formerly practically incommunicable, were opened up due to the chicle airfields and the regular flights of the chicle planes.

The Pan-American highway was under construction and reached San Cristóbal in 1950. This cut to two hours or less the time to Tuxtla Gutierrez by autobus whereas before, on the old road through Ixtpa, the minimum time was about twelve hours.

The fall of coffee prices after ~~the war~~ the war caused a certain amount of political dissension but the price was still high enough to guarantee a 100% or higher profit. At times during the war the profit was calculated at 600%.

The Instituto Nacional Indigenista began its pilot project in San Cristóbal in 1950. It had actually been organized prior to that but the first director arrived in that year.

In 1955 there was a shortage of corn. a shortage which was increased by the selling of part of the crop by the governor to Guatemala. A rebellion flared in La Trinitaria (Zapaluta) which had repercussions all over the highlands. Tuxtla was invaded. At the same time, there was a struggle to break the alcohol monopoly held by the Pedrero brothers and many different groups entered the fight, each with its own peeve. Federal soldiers were stationed at ready throughout the highlands. At one point a contraband still, owned by Tenejapanecos, was raided and for several days there was fear of a general Indian rebellion.

The Indian Syndicate of Finca Workers came to the fore during the latter half of the 1950s, thereby ending one of the greatest abuses, that of the hiring agents.

DEMOGRAPHY

There have been no large population movements in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region in the 1800 - 1960 periods nor any resettlement attempts on any large scale. In the 1950s the Santo Domingo territory, between Ocosingo, Las Margaritas and the Guatemala border was opened and small groups of Tzotzil Indians volunteered for removal there, but nearly all have since returned to their own regions.

During the period of time included in this study there were no decimating plagues as had been known in earlier periods. There were three outbreaks of cholera morbus in the 1850s, and it reappears on several occasions between then and 1900. Cholera nostras claimed many victims in San Bartolomé (Venustiano Carranza) in 1883, but no other reference to this appears in the records at hand.

There were many smallpox epidemics, particularly in the 1820s. Chilón alone had three in a short period of time and special cemeteries were set up on the outskirts of the town to bury the dead. This custom of burying plague victims separately was maintained through the Spanish influenza period of 1916 - 1920.

Smallpox was an almost constant threat, rising to the level of epidemic periodically, but claiming its regular ration of lives every year. In 1887 a big vaccination campaign was begun and ~~16,962~~ ^{16,962} children were vaccinated within the State. There was another fairly general epidemic, however, in 1891.

There are no adequate medical statistics from the last century. In 1889 a fever decimated the Indian population of Chilón, but no real description of the fever exists. Two years later many people died of "gripa" in San Cristóbal, but again there are neither estimates of the number nor a medical description.

The greatest epidemic, however, was that of the Spanish influenza at the end of World War I. In all of the towns the separate cemeteries can still be seen, and people talk of villages where there was no one to bury the dead. As this was during a period of active revolution, no records of any type exist. Three small villages, for example, in the Guaquitepec region disappeared completely. The same must have occurred elsewhere, too.

There were years of crop failure which brought famine, famines which were classified as white red or black by the Indians depending upon their severity. Famines were caused by the rains coming late and the consequent loss of the seed crop in a period when there was no corn for replanting. The fall of volcanic ash in May of 1902 also caused a great

hardship over almost the entire region.

In 1881 and 1889 there are records of great clouds of locusts in the Amatenango region. Chiapilla also suffered from them at the same time. There are earlier records of them, although not in such intensity (or at least not written so dramatically) and they continue to appear, the last one in the general archives being in 1935-1936 in San Bartolomé.

The San Cristóbal highlands, including the Indian municipalities of Chamula, Mitontic, Chenalhó and Pantelón were great wheat centers as well as the Teopieca-Amatenango country. In the last years of the century a condition which seems to be wheat rust, caused a ~~great~~ lessening of this crop and, in consequence, the only important agricultural cash income was almost wiped out.

As seen by the census material (Appendix I) there has been a steady population advance during the period. Many new farming villages have been started throughout the whole area. Some of these are parajes in the Indian communities and others are ejidos and colonias agrarias in the finca regions. A new paraje or colonia is generally begun by inhabitants of the general area. The exceptions occur mainly among the Chamulas and the Tzeltal highlanders of Oxchuc and Chanal. These are both zones of increasingly severe land shortage and although the immediate reason given by many of the individuals, particularly the Tzeltales, is that of witchcraft, it may be assumed that much of the witchcraft is ^{caused by} based upon land problems.

Chamulas now live in the neighboring municipalities of Mitontic, Chenalhó, Bochil, Larrainzar, San Cristóbal, Ixtapa, and even in Tenejapa, Pantelón and El Bosque. Small groups, ~~who~~ even today are recognized as Chamulas, moved away after the Rebellion of Cúcut as far as Los Moyos and Sabanilla. A village of about 300 live near the Finca of El Xhoc in that region.

The greatest majority of the Tzeltales who have moved out now live in the Altamirano - Ocoingo area. It is to be noted that the Tzotziles, in general, moved in groups and founded new population nuclei; the Tzeltales left in family groups and have tried to blend in with the local population.

The zone of greatest aladinization has been the Grijalva valley. Here it has not been a deliberate thing, but rather the Mexicanization of the entire group, each generation being consistently less Indian than its forebears. The region, roughly, includes Chiapilla and the valley below San Bartolomé.

There is some reason to assume a mild reverse tendency in the highland region. Old men speak of their grandfather's cattle in an area

where today cattle raising is considered a Ladino monopoly. In many places, particularly in the Ocosingo region, but elsewhere, too, the very old men know at least some Spanish, the middle-aged ones very little or none, and the young boys who have had an opportunity for going to school will also be bi-lingual. Where there are no schools, there are villages where only an old, old man can be a translator. The reverse holds true in regions where there has been a growing commerce. The reason for this change in growing Indianism ~~is~~ is that with the lessening affect of the finqueros beginning early in the Revolution, a whole generation and more was, in the more isolated regions, out of contact with Ladinos.

A letter written in 1863 or 1868 (not clear) tells of an Indian riding up with a silver saddle on his horse. Although this was worth mentioning at that time, there are probably no Indians with its equivalent today. Even among horse owning groups, few ride.

There is some evidence that there were more poor Ladinos living on small farms and in settlements in the Tzotzil-Tzeltal highlands prior to the rebellion of 1868-69. The lists of the murdered in Pineda's book on the rebellions alone demonstrates a considerable population in a limited area. Many took fright and went to live in larger towns.

Following the ~~rebellion~~ uprising, the Diaz regime allowed the Jefes Politicos great power, and much Indian land was divided among their families and friends. Although some fincos, such as Boohil and a number of smaller ones near San Cristóbal, date from the 16th and 17th centuries, many of the highland ranches are Porfiriano. The great percentage of the lowland fincos of Ocosingo are early Dominican lands ~~which~~ ~~passed~~ ~~into~~ ~~private~~ ~~hands~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~1860s~~. Others date from the 1840s when national lands were taken up.

The great period for fincos, however, was the 1860-1930 epoch. Even before 1930 many of them had been expropriated, but most of the bigger ones had managed to exist, at least with a minimum of territory loss, up until the time of President Cardenas. The great period of new ejidos and colonias agrarias was the ten years of 1935 - 1945.

Under the law of agrarian reform, ejidos may be taken up by groups out of the large fincos ^{which} ~~hold~~ more than the legal maximum of land. On many occasions the Indians will purchase from the owner the nucleus which is left to him (the pequeño propiedad) and the ~~hacienda~~ hacienda will cease to exist. ~~XXXXXX~~

In most ^{of} ~~the~~ ~~municipios~~ ^{municipios} there is a small Ladino population living in the cabecera, the main town. This is not true, for example, in ^{Chamula} Chalchihuitán, ^{Mitontic} and Chanal. There was such a nucleus in Chanal up until the 1930s but the

Indians forced them to leave. In 1936, the Canouqueros rose and murdered the Ladinos living in their town. One woman escaped.

In the highlands the Ladinos are the merchants and artisans. They keep small stores which supply the Indians their immediate needs and they purchase farm surpluses from the Indians for resale in the larger towns. The artisanry is mainly for other Ladinos but the carpenters and masons do occasionally build for the Indians, especially when the Indian commissions want repairs done on the cabildo, the church or the schools.

The cities are the central supply points: San Cristóbal, Comitán, Tuxtla and Chiapa de Cerzo and, to a lesser extent, Teopisca, Yajalón, Chilón, ^{San Bartolomé, Pinola,} and Ocosingo are the wholesaling centers for the entire zone.

These towns purchase Indian produce and in turn sell manufactured items. Although milpa agriculture, on the whole, gives little surplus there are cash crops grown by the different groups. Since the decline of trade in dyestuffs and cotton early in the last century, and of wheat some years later, there is no one product which can be termed dominant. Citrus fruits and bananas are grown in the temperate climate, coffee and cane in the hotter regions. Some wheat is still produced in the cold country, but the extra income in many municipios in the high mountains comes from commerce and artisanry: the Chamulas, the greatest artisans, make simple furniture, metates, musical instruments, ^{curse hides} ~~burn charcoal~~ and bring in forest products to San Cristóbal, for an example. Whole villages in the cold country have milpas for subsistence economy but make their money by supplying contraband liquor to Ladinos and ^{to all other parts of the highlands} other Indian groups. ^{in a quantity as large as the Chamulas}

When it is considered that ^{over half} ~~the period~~ under discussion was one of wars and rebellions, ~~the population movement~~ ^{to the lowlands} it is surprising that there was so little population movement. The only possible explanation is that the troops involved were small. ^{often} A force of forty men was considered adequate to attack a town and ^{from} 220 Pinedistas defended Ocosingo. The great terror throughout the entire area has always been, and continues to be, the fear of Indian uprisings, but the marching and countermarching of Ladino troops has had little effect on the countryside.

With malaria, endemic to the region, and smallpox, yellow fever and tuberculosis all now more or less under control, the population graphs are beginning to show a steep climb. Most of the region can accept considerable growth, even with the present types of agriculture, but others are nearing their maximum, due mainly to poor land use. Some workers in this field prophesy great migrations beginning in about ten years time from the highlands to the Tzeltal-Tzotzil lowlands, rich lands which are still underpopulated. These migrations are nearly always

accompanied by the alienation of the people involved, but has little effect on those people who stay at home. This remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, even with schools and roads, the more conservative Indian groups seem to be maintaining their Indianness. Others, such as the Zinacanteco, appear to be going through a period of rapid change, but an Indian change which leads neither to more nor less Mexicanization. This problem will have to be dealt with by field workers in local areas rather than trying to present an over-all picture at this time.

MONEY AND INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE

In trying to figure out values from sums quoted, many difficulties arise. For the most obvious example, since the revolution the Mexican peso has fallen from being par with the dollar to 12.50. In the early period, when exact amounts were being dealt with, the terms were translated into cuncoes, usually of gold but sometimes silver. The great silver macacos of the late 18th century were never ~~accurate~~ accurate as they were thick, crude silver coins, minted in Chiapas or Guatemala and change could be made by slicing off a bit of the silver. At the earlier period dealt with in this paper, any coin passed in the market and as late as about 1930 cacao beans were still used as small change in the San Cristóbal market. Even so, there is no evidence that barter was common, and certainly not among the Ladinos, except in those cases where the items being exchanged were spoken of in their money terms and then traded.

There is no use going into long lists of former prices (i.e. in 1920 a hen cost 20 ¢ and a bull \$25. Today they are worth about \$10 and \$900 respectively) unless a complete study were made on the value of money and the degree of subsistence economy. However, in the problem of the different moneys in use as late as 1907, the following is quoted from The Pan American Magazine of that date:

"Ante todo, como comerciantes viejos que hace más de cincuenta años que tenemos establecida esta casa de comercio, según nuestro conocimiento, la introducción de moneda "cachuca" de Guatemala (que á igual tipo circulaban todas las monedas Centro y Sudamericanas en aquella República), se debió á que de veinticinco años atrás el Estado se proveía casi en su totalidad de aquel país y sus operaciones de compraventa eran con él y casi ninguna liga tenía con el Centro, pues aun el Gobierno del Estado lo recibía en sus pagos al mismo tipo de Guatemala y la plata mexicana se necesitaba únicamente para los pagos de la Federación, que eran demasiado reducidos, motivo por el que la moneda "cachuca" se entronizó en el Estado.

Más tarde, el movimiento mercantil cambió; el comercio de Tuxtla proveía al Estado con importaciones directas de Europa; en cambio, recibía "cachucos" que ó mandaba á Guatemala para comprar giros ó á San Francisco, California, para venderlos por plata, entretanto los ganaderos continuaban exportando ganados vacuno y porcino en fuertes cantidades para aquella República, cuyo valor se importaba en aquella moneda.

En el Estado, la clase de moneda en circulación se divide en dos partidos: los Departamentos más cercanos al Centro reciben únicamente la

mexicana y los limitrofes á Guatemala la "cachuca", tales como Soconusco, Comitán, La Libertad, Chilón y Las Casas. y aun en estos varia de valor. En los cuatro primeros reciben el peso á cien centavos, tostones á cincuenta, pesetas á veinticinco y reales á doce y medio centavos; mientras que en el de Las Casas y pueblos vecinos reciben el peso á noventa y tres cuartos centavos, tostones á cuarenta, pesetas á veinte y reales á doce y medio centavos; asi es que un peso lo componen un ~~peso~~ "cachuco" más medio real, dos tostones y una peseta cinco pesetas y ocho reales. Cuál sea el origen de esta anomalia, nadie da razón. En circulación, en estos Departamentos, no se ve un peso mexicano, y cuántas veces se ve á un indigena vagando por todo el comercio solicitando cincuenta centavos para pagar su contribución y ofreciendo un 10, 15 y 20 ^{o porcentaje} ~~ya~~ para conseguirlo, pues es igual al caso que por esa capital se buscasen dólares para los pagos de impuestos; mas hoy que todos los pagos al Estado y la Federación se hacen en moneda nacional y el comercio todo se provee del interior, pues antes aun habia en favor de estos Departamentos que como el Gobierno del Estado estaba radicado en esta ciudad, recibia sin perjuicio la moneda "cachuca".

El tipo de cambio á diario fluctua

"..... Ahora, respecto á la cantidad en circulación, ésta no seria excesivo creer que pase de \$1,000,000; de éstos un 75% en chilenos, ~~ya~~ peruanos y colombianos y un 25 % carreranos; otros \$200,000 en tostones; ~~mas~~ \$200,000 en pesetas y ~~mas~~ \$100,000 en reales y medios; cuartillas casi no existen.

Por estos lugares raro es ver una moneda de 50 centavos del nuevo año mexicano, por las fuertes fortificaciones que le tiene plantadas el "cachuco"....."

Signed : Manuel F. Farrera, San Cristóbal Las Casas.

Naturally, the presence of Guatemala money facilitated the trade with that country, but not even intelligent guesses exist about the value of that trade at different epochs. Even today, a great percentage of the exports to Guatemala are done illegally, crossing at night over the long, lightly guarded border. There is an old Chiapas saying that Guatemala imports its money from the United States (exporting bananas and coffee) and exports its money to Chiapas and that to do so it ~~must work~~ day and night. The bananas and coffee are sold by day, but Mexican produce, particularly aguardiente and manufactured items, is bought by night.

Commerce was much more difficult with other parts of the Mexican Republic than with Guatemala. Until the building of the cross-Isthmus railroad, inaugurated at the beginning of the present century, both travelers and produce went overland to Tabasco, by boat to Veracruz and from there by cart, and later train, to México. Doña Amada Navarro, the daughter of a wealthy San Cristóbal finquero, tells of a journey with her father taken in about 1915 from San Cristóbal to México. Ox carts were specially prepared for them and took them, via Simojovel, to the Tulijá River at Salto de Agua. From there they went in a launch to the coast where they caught the coastal steamer that even today runs from Veracruz to Progreso. The train from Veracruz to México had the service interrupted due to the war, so they were carried in hammocks by bearers to Cordoba, Veracruz, where they caught the stagecoach. Nearer to México City they were able to rent an automobile. The trip took about a month and her father commented that they had made excellent time in spite of certain inconveniences.

Cattle and farm produce were also taken to Tabasco for sale and trans-shipment. The little manufacturing produced by the State was almost completely for local consumption and did not enter the national and international markets. Most of the coffee ^{cafe} and cane produce from the highlands was taken to the Tulijá River, although ships took out the Soconusco crops more directly.

The train had reached Arriaga by 1900 and Tapachula in 1907 and although it increased the commerce considerably it was less used by the highland people than would have been thought. This was due partly, at least, to the inconvenience of re-shipment at Ixtepec (then called San Geronimo) and another at what is today called Puerto México for the run to Veracruz. Materials for México City were again transferred there to the México City train.

Most Chiapas coffee was sent to the market in Hamburg, Germany and most of the sugar was also destined for that area. The dye-stuffs of an earlier period were sent through Guatemala for the European market. The henequen and tropic fruits trade were never carried on in the area under discussion. The fine woods of the Ocosingo region were generally floated down the rivers to the Usumacinta and on to Tenosique, Tabasco, although some smaller pieces were made into planks in the lumbering camps and taken overland on ox carts. This was a small percentage, however.

During the chicle boom of the 1940s, the blocks of chicle were flown out of the jungle area, generally to Tabasco, and from there

to the United States.

The rubber industry never made sufficient headway to be of importance.

At the present time, cattle is taken from the Ocosingo region in trucks to Teopisca where they are sent, in larger trucks, on to México. Most of the other produce, too, goes by the Pan-American highway which was opened to San Cristóbal by 1950 and to Comitán by 1954. Much of the back country products, such as coffee, is brought in now by mule trains to a small airfield and then flown out in one and two motor planes, mostly Cessnas, to some highway town. Sometimes the mule trains go directly to the towns if the journey is not over four or five days away.

Formerly great teams of Indian loadbearers carried the goods over the mountains, but this practice had died out. Individuals and small groups of Indians will do it for their own commerce, but ~~gangs~~^{the} crews of professional oargadores no longer exist.

MANUFACTORIES

Chiapas, from earliest colonial times, has had innumerable cottage industries, but with the exception of the modern liquor plant at Pujilic has never entered the national market.

The Indians, particularly the Chamulas, have long supplied San Cristóbal and adjacent areas with metates, chairs, hides and other goods in small quantities. The back country Ladino population has almost never participated in such artisanry.

In the towns there are carpenters and weavers who supply the local needs, This is particularly true in San Cristóbal and Comitán, both of which have barrios of weavers, but most of the cotton fabric produced is for sale to the Indians.

At various times larger scale shoe factories have been set up, one in the 1890s hiring up to about twenty-five men, but most of the shoe industry, too, is limited to small shops who turn out shoes on order and a few extra pairs when there is no other work to do. Seldom do they have more than five workers.

A school was started in 1794 in Teopisoa to teach weaving and embroidery to the Indians in the hopes of building up a system of cottage industry, but it failed in its purpose. At other times, clothing factories have been begun there and in San Cristóbal and shirt factories have been instituted in various pueblos in order to utilize the Indian labor, but none have lasted more than three or four years.

Silk was introduced, particularly in the region of San Andrés during this century, but the silk worms died.

In the Ocosingo region in 1875 and at various times since, small factories have been started to rough out furniture from fine woods for export. The 1875 one lasted nearly ten years, but more modern ones have never really gotten beyond the stage of turning out samples. The last of these dates from about 1958.

Silversmithy has always been crude and here again ^{it is} single families working for themselves and selling to jobbers.

For local consumption there are blacksmiths who even today make muzzle loading shot guns, fireworks makers, toy makers, weavers and potters. The carpentry is done on order and the few furniture stores stock almost completely things brought down from México or, formerly, imported from Europe (Bohemia mainly). The hide tanners work for the local shoemakers and the local ropemakers sell to the stores in town.

CHANGES IN INDIAN DRESS

Unfortunately throughout this entire period until modern times little descriptive material was written. No wandering friars were making reports, no Madame Calderón de la Barca visited the area, and, to the best of our knowledge, no wandering Englishmen sent home elaborate drawings as so often happened in the Great Plains area.

The history of the many different Indian costumes ~~has~~ can only be surmised. That they date from early Conquest times and contain many more Spanish than Indian elements can be readily seen, but who decreed their costumes and on what basis is unknown. No material has been discovered, as yet, on Indian dress during the first half of the period covered in this paper, but photographs do exist from about 1885 onwards.

Certain over-all patterns emerge. Leather over-trousers, such as those worn today by the Maax at Chamula carnival, no longer exist in everyday ~~any~~ dress. Hats have become common in groups which formerly used a turban kerchief, and, in very recent times, the deep crowned palm thatched hats are rapidly being replaced by pressed fiber ones bought in the stores. Womens blouses, formerly ^{in many places} cotton ponchos tucked into the skirt, are, throughout great areas, now low neck with short cup sleeves. The traditional highback ^{men's} sandals are nearly forgotten except for ceremonial occasions. In some places, such as Amatenango, the men's dress which was a full overshirt over shorts, not quite knee length, today has been replaced by knee length trousers of unbleached muslin and that, in turn, is giving away to manufactured ones.

Although the exact dates of the photographs in most cases is unknown, from certain internal evidences it may be assumed that they were taken in the 1895 - 1905 period.

BACHAJON: Men: knee length muslin trousers, long sleeved overshirt with Vee ~~KN~~ neck and small collar at the back only. Deep crowned hats with slightly rolled brim. A loose poncho was carried folded over one shoulder or worn unbelted. Details not visible. Short hair.

Women: unadorned enagua. Hair style not readily visible as to whether it is one braid or two. Blouse not visible due to an overblouse like that still worn by some Yajaltecas. It is a completely round piece which, when worn, hangs almost ankle length and seems to have a round neck with a small ~~EMB~~ embroidered border. It can be left hanging all around, tucked up into the skirt band at the front, or caught up on one shoulder.

Today the men of Bachajón ~~use~~ use purchased shirts and trousers a great deal, but the earlier style can still be seen occasionally. ~~Many~~ ^{many}

Hats, almost without exception, are manufactured ones. homemade muslin shirts copy the store pattern. / The women nearly all wear a low ~~neck~~ round neck blouse, with or without a ruffle at the neckline, with short cup sleeves. Most of the younger women, and many of the older ones, too, wear their dark blue enaguas with bands of ribbon sewn at hip level.

CANCUC: Men: long overshirt, nearly knee length, cloth belt, open side slot beneath the arm, no shoes, long (shoulderlength) ~~hair~~ hair. Women: unknown.

With the exception of occasional haircuts and the presence today of more loom embroidery on the sleeves and the body of the shirt, no difference can be noted.

CHAMULA: The only photograph of Chamulas of this period shows long, loose trousers half way between knee and ankle and a charra of the same length. Today's ~~skirt~~ chammarra is only about knee length and the trousers, although to shorter than at that time, are tighter fit. The deep crowned hat, which is rounded at the top, can still be seen occasionally in Chamula but the manufactured ones are the normal ones. The white headcloth is still worn under the hat by many individuals but the sandals with their boat shaped soles and rounded ankle-height backs are rare today.

CHENALHO: Men: Loosely twisted turban over long hair, loose striped chamarra over shorts and a sleeved shirt. No shoes.

Women: Braided hair, highly embroidered blouse, enagua and a fingertip length shoulder cloth, open in front, with a deep embroidered band.

Today the men's costume has not changed much, although the hair has been cut and the hat has replaced the turban except for certain ritual functions. Sandals are now common. The highly embroidered blouse is sometimes worn by the women on ceremonial occasions. The shoulder cloth is often worn knotted at the left shoulder but can be worn open as shown in the photograph.

ECATEPEC: Men: turban, ankle length loose trousers, knee length unbelted chamarra, deep crowned wide brimmed hat.

Women: enagua and dark shoulder cloth.

Most men today wear purchased trousers and the chamarra now is only waist length. When muslin trousers are worn, they are considerably less full than those shown. The women today wear full gathered skirts, preferably of solid color satin in bright pink or blue, with parallel rows of tucks forming bands at the hem. The blouse is round neck, rather low, and with cup sleeves, often with lace or tucks. No shoulder cloth.

HUISTAN: Men: Loose sleeved overshirt tucked into full shorts which have been pulled up in the front and tucked in, so that the skin shows in a triangle up from the leg to the belt. The longest part of the shorts,

as shown in a front view photograph, is ~~the~~ at the inside of the leg where the cloth does not reach quite half way between crotch and knee. Sandals with simple high backs slightly above ankle height. Tiny brimmed straw hat with crown slightly rounded at top. A ~~black~~ band wrapped around the head under the hat. Black and white striped woalen cloth held over arm.

Women: unknown.

Today the sandals are unknown. The hair band is worn, without the hat which is still the same but with a flattened crown, by certain officials at times during their terms of office. The shirt and the woalen cltho are unchanged but now the trousers, while still worn tucked up into the belt, are fuller and longer and fall in drapes to below the knee in back. The pointed of the triangle, where they are tucked into the sash, is today so full of folds and bunches of cloth that the exact line is lost.

~~Atlix~~ OXCHUC: Men: Long hair, loose unsleeved shirt.

Women: unknown

The hair has been cut, but the shirt form has not changed except for the addition of sleeves like those of Cancuc.

PIÑOLA: Long hair, loose waist length pull over shirt with full sleeves. ^{flant} Cotton trousers half way between knee and ankle covered by leather (suede ?) ones that are slit up the outside of the leg to the hip.

Women, unknown.

Today the men wear muslin trousers which are ankle length, white shirts and net washes, usually red. The hair has been cut, and the simple thong sandal shown in the picture has been replasé by the more elaborate ones purchased in Ladino stores. They wear manufactured hats.

SAN ANDRES: Men: Knee length chamarra, ^{belted with a sash} colored sleeves, high backed (ankle height) sandals, turban and flat brimmed hat with round crown.

Women: Highly embroidered huipile, broad sash, enagua.

The only differences today seems to be the loss of the sandal except in a few rare instances, a slight lengthening of the chamarra with, often, an edge of the trousers showing. The chamarra today is generally nearly half way in length between knee and ankle. The women's clothes are unchanged but in the only photograph of that period of a San Andresera, she ~~seems~~ seems to have her hair worn twisted around her head instead of in braids.

~~TENA~~ TENEJAPA: Barefooted man in a loose woalen chamarra with narrow black and white stripes.

Women: ^{twisted} enagua, a shoulder cloth which goes over the left shoulder and under the right, a huipile (not much of it visible) and hair worn

gathered (not braided) around the head. Some type of head ornament like a cloth band.

Today's costume for men has not changed but the women now wear braids. Unless they still exist out on certain paraje, the striped shoulder cloth (as distinct from a carrying ehawl) has disappeared.

ZINACANTAN: Men: Head cloth, square necked, full sleeved shirt, flat brimmed, round crowned (low crown) hat with ribbons, knee length shorts. High back sandals. No ootón, neither in cotton nor wool is shown in the photograph. The backs of the sandals are about midway between ankle and knee.

Women: Loose hair, enagua, huipil the details of which are not visible.

The only change for the men, with the exception of the almost total loss of the high backed sandals except for fiesta occasion, is that today the shorts are worn very short and quite tight instead of full and long. The fact of the absence of the ootón in the photograph may only mean that the picture was taken down in the hot country or when the man was in working clothes. There is no change in the women's clothes, from the little that can be seen in the photograph, although the hair is generally worn braided.

No further information has been obtained, but from these bits a pattern arises. Besides the present trend to the adoption of Ladino clothes, particularly among the men, in many pueblos, there have been definite changes in what is often considered "static" Indian dress. There is a feeling of "style". In the early 1950s, a large percentage of Chamula men dyed their clothes the light turquoise blue that is left in the cloth after washing it with a too heavy amount of blueing. Today this is rarely seen. The dress of the Finca Tzeltal women has changed radically since about 1940. Before then they wore the simple huipil and the dark blue enagua stitched at the seams with a feather stitching of bright colored cotton thread. Today they wear the cup sleeved blouse, elaborately covered with colored ribbons and with many parallel bands of silk ribbon sewn at hip level. This costume was introduced from one of the ejidos at the edge of the valley. Where the ejido women got it from is unknown.

Whereas many costumes show Spanish elements from a very early period, others, such as the Tojolabal shirt, evidently date from the 19th century. What the forces are at work and what controls the change, except in obvious cases of the entrance of cheap commerce such as in that of the man's hat, we cannot even guess.

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México, 1911

A copy of the Pan American Magazine, probably from 1907 (poor condition)

The Crocker collection of photographs

The Moscoso collection of photographs

Some photographs at the Seminario de San Cristóbal. courtesy of Monsgr.
Eduardo Flores.

Photographs owned by Gral. Alberto Pineda O., Profa. Maria Adelina Flores,
Monsgr. Eduardo Flores and the Lic. Manuel Flores.

LADINO CLASS DIFFERENCES

There are several rules of thumb regarding class differences among Ladinos, each of which has numeral and notable exceptions.

Rule 1: The lighter the skin the higher the social position. Although it is said in this form the emotional content is actually the negative: the darker the skin the lower the social position, meaning closer to the Indian who is at the bottom of the social ladder. Actually this is quite true in the mass in that the upper class families are sometimes, or completely, or almost completely, of European descent, and many of the lowest class Ladinos are of pure or almost pure Indian descent. There are numerous personal exceptions, and the middle classes definitely demonstrate a complete range.

Rule 2: The greater wealth and social position is to be found in the urban centers. Of course many of the rural wealthy maintain homes in the larger towns and there is a clustering of the professional classes in those places. Also, the very fact of living in a town or city gives a certain amount of status: for example a carpenter in San Cristóbal is considered as having a higher social position than his counterpart in San Carlos Altamirano, notwithstanding the fact that by being an artisan and not a simple laborer in a tiny hamlet, the man has greater local standing.

Rule 3: Family is more important than wealth. This is not really true. A family which has lost its money sinks, in a generation or two, into oblivion.

Rule 4: Status money is income from lands. There are few large fincas left in the area and some of these are not big money producers. Most of the wealth is commercial riches which is then partially invested in ranches in order to maintain social standing.

Rule 5: Social mobility was exceedingly difficult before about 1930. This seems to be true. It was not impossible, but extremely difficult.

Rule 6: The upper classes before the Revolution were extremely rich, educated their sons abroad and in general lived graciously. Even assuming that silver and gold articles were sold in the lean years after the Revolution, there are no palatial homes in the entire region. The

list of individuals with foreign education is very short, the more so when it is remembered that the time lapse was over a hundred years. In checking out a list of less than twenty names, four proved to be Spaniards who were educated in their native country before coming to México. Several people have been sent to the United States since the Revolution but they are not counted here.

Rule 7: This is still a rich area but the wealthy hide their money or spend it in Mexico City. There is probably only one man in the entire highland region who would be considered rich in México City and although he married into a good family he is not ever considered upper class. When speaking of the great wealth of an orphan girl, a member of the upper classes, another member finally put an estimate on her inheritance -- about the equivalent of \$20,000 dollars. The store with the greatest gross in town, a cloth store which runs on a fairly small profit margin, banks about \$2,500 a week. There are two partners and ten employees. The partners are middle class as they are newcomers to the region and have no social pretensions.

The tales of the glories of the last century may be assumed to be, to a great extent, imaginary and exaggerations. They are based mainly on romantic legends and memories of a time when many wealthy households were practically self-sufficient and any cash was a surplus. Chiapas was a distant outpost, a whole month's travel away from México City, and local riches were compared only with other local riches.

Actually there were few really large fincas in the area and those were held by very few families. Produce sold for very little and had no market to the outer world. Most of the lumbering of fine woods was in foreign hands and that area (Ocosingo jungle), anyway, was only a small corner of the territory.

Therefore we may assume a society, a complete society, with all social levels, in which ~~there~~ exists mainly in its own comparative terms. There is no national level upper class, no national level wealth.

San Cristóbal is the largest town and the center for the entire region. It is the episcopal seat and, for about half of the 1800-1960 period, was the state capital. It is, primarily, a conservative commercial town. Most of the finca owners even today maintain homes there and most of the children of the highland region who study for professional careers or who continue their education beyond the first six years, spend at least some of their school years there.

On the whole, professional men are socially mobile middle class rather than sons of the upper class. The sons of the upper class families who complete their studies for a career generally set up their offices in Mexico City and practice there. There are a great number of lawyers in the region due to the presence of a law school, the area's only institute of higher learning, and due to this fact the legal career, in general, is held lower than that of engineering and medicine. Medicine, in particular, is highly stratified and, as they are all trained in Mexico City, the differences seem to be based more upon the social airs assumed by the man himself than upon family, wealth or any of the usual considerations.

The commercial group has the widest range: the upper class people own businesses and the poorest, most Indian-looking hut on the farthest edge of the city has its tiny store with a few items for sale. The richest man, the only one of national level wealth, has a small store in his house as an outlet for ranch products. His wife can often be seen there, measuring out a peso of milk or selling a few apples. Town wealth and personal wealth are all based on commerce and there is no sense of the lowering of personal standards by indulging in this type of enterprise.

Naturally there is a separation of types of businesses: large shops in town centers have the highest ranking, but above these there is a limited area of middlemen in the sale of coffee and cattle. These are handled in offices, rather than shops, but often the offices themselves are also the offices for a store run by the owner. There are no private banks, but only branch offices of national chains. Where these are in the hands of a local member of the upper class, as distinct from the hired manager, they are of great prestige. The number however is very limited. Actually from information available, real banks only seem to be present in San Cristóbal and Comitán. Elsewhere storekeepers act as bankers. Most loans are made by individuals and the common rate of interest is 2% per month for secured loans of larger sums, and runs up to about 50% per month for small unsecured loans.

Radio technicians and watch repairmen and such like are more often considered among the shopkeepers than among the artisans. They nearly always have a store in conjunction with the repair shops.

Artisans are rated by their success, but more by their personal

social presence. Also the pace of business, as in that of commercial houses, is important. The higher class ones are generally closer to the town square, the lower ones farther from it. Carpenters and tailors, as a rule, are considered slightly above mechanics, shoemakers, weavers, masons, etc., but there are many individual exceptions. Among the carpenters the furniture makers are the cream.

There is very little skilled labor in highland Chiapas. Mayordomos for the bigger ranches rate higher than most artisans but here, again, it is a personal thing. As there is no industry, almost none of this class has developed. The taxi drivers often own or partially own their taxis and so are small businessmen. There is little local trucking.

The great mass of unskilled labor is mainly agricultural. In the towns there is a fairly large servant class and there are many suppliers of firewood, charcoal and similar products.

The level of education is never high. There are few university graduates and even among members of the upper and middle classes, a large percentage never completes more than a year or two beyond primary school. The number of girls enrolled in secondary school is very low. Six years of schooling is generally considered adequate for a man and in the lower classes three. Census data on illiteracy is particularly inaccurate as it is based on the question "can you read and write" and not on any schooling level.

The wealthier people live in plastered adobe houses with tile roofs built around one or more patios. The next group lives in more modest versions of the above. From ~~there~~ there on the descent in wealth is shown by plastered wattle and daub houses with tile roofs, unplastered ones, wattle and daub houses, plastered or not, with shingle roofs and down to thatch roofs. In the hot country, poor Ladinos may live in cane huts, but that is not at all usual and they will generally try to tell you that they are living there only temporarily whether this is true or not. There are very few wood houses in the area, so few as not to show up statistically, but in recent years brick has been replacing adobe in some places, particularly in smaller buildings. There is almost no stone in use except in church constructions. ~~There~~ There are very few two storey buildings.

Rural class distinction depends upon size of holdings, family, income and crops grown. Here local distinctions mean even more than

they do in urban areas. As rural people are more isolated, local aristocracies are of even greater importance. Coffee gives a higher income and more contact with the outside world, but cattle raising is still the romantic, aristocratic crop. Most large cattle ranches today, however, have coffee plantations, too.

The importance of landholding is such that a commercial man will first speak of his ranch or ranches, only later mentioning the store which is his actual money source. There is, however, no feeling of the importance of a certain ranch as having been inherited in the family and there are no great hacienda buildings. Any ranch in the highlands could be purchased from its owners at any time.

No class difference seems to be based upon religion. The region is predominantly Catholic and as most of the missionizing efforts have been among the Indians, fewer class people are protestant but there are some, particularly in the zone around Cajalon. The belief in witchcraft is common throughout all levels of society and will be dealt with in another paper.

At the lower levels of society it is often difficult to distinguish between Ladinos and Indians. Some are Indians who have changed their costume for that of our society and are often considered Ladinos by their peer group, although not by those further up the social scale. It is almost impossible to define Ladinos except in the negative fashion of calling them non-Indians. An Indian in this case would be a person who considers himself an Indian and is considered as such by others.

Although class lines are, presumably, less clear today than they were formerly, there is no reason to believe that there has been any really great change. Many of the Indian servants of a hundred years ago have descendants who are today Ladinos because one of the requirements of Ladino-hood is to have Spanish as a first language, but there is still a rather abrupt division between Ladinos and Indians, probably more clearcut in many ways today than formerly when a greater percentage of house servants and artisans were Indian. In any case, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct historical class lines due to the lack of documents and the presence of great emotional content.

CENSUS MATERIAL

pm: población del municipio
pc: población de la cabecera

Place name	1778	1824	1838	1890	1890	1900	1921	1930
Acala	270	91th Chiapilla	1000a	1864	2312	1803	1889	2192 also given as 3402
Aguacaterango	X	X	X	X342	566	688	842	1089
Amatenango	576	4108	3118	750	849	537	1246	1264
Bachajón	X	X	X	2123	2954	1270 pc	1923pc	86pc
Bochil	114	3028	X	X	X	839	754	2782pm781pc
Canuc	752	1542	1327	1612	2479	407	222	196
Chalchinhuitán	X	1274	X	2106	1274	X	X	X
Chamula	1516	11,868	10,131	13,697	13,370	13,289	754pc	8677pm781pc
Chenalhó	2445	2446	2676	2656	3722	3162	1061	3958pm366pc
Chiapilla	71	with Acala	162	459	546	707	763	838 also 931
Chilón	167	with Bach	1538	1461	1949	1330	863	7577pm418pc
Guajitapec	X	X 690	X	829	X	X	X	X
Iruistán	461	2330	2039	2249	3113	3461	959pc	4205pm573pc
Jitotol	X	X	X	2366	X	X	X	X
Lacrainzar	X	3638	X	2827	X	X	X	X
Coosingo	1361	with Tzacá	3000	4019	1274pc	7904pm	X	14795
Cochuc	1079	5196	3697	3257	3567	2704	168pc	304pc

Place Name	1778	1824	1838	1870	1890	1900	1921	1930
Farteló	X	X	1067	718	1442	733	669	3077pm673pc
Finolá	X	1325	X	1426	2262	X	X	X
San Bartolomé	4779	13,000	11,104	6867	3630	4213	3728	7034pm3414pc
San Carlos Altamirano X	1050	355	537	3275	344	235	4759pm382pc	
San Cris. óbal	4531 4314 4314	10,000	7649 also 6000	10,295	12,000	14,162	13,295	21,894pm16713pc
San Miguel Alportic X	981	X	X	2541	X	X	X	X
Santa Marta	X	364	X	563	X	X	X	X
Simejovel	428	X	1164	2548	2300	2213	1664	1544
Sivacá	X	774 Coo. X	X	324	430	682	353	276
Soyaló	121	X	173	440	579	655	708	1086 also 1147
Tenejapa	1417	6053	5014	4764	3022	663pc5842pm 268pc	2931pm541pc	
Teopisca	423	1100	1203	1313	1671	1600	1784	5432pm1734pc
Tzajalón	525	1428	1471	1693	1965	2260	1117	5901pm1508pc
Zinacarán	1189	2750	2240	2285	1616	1114	523pc	2129pm448pc

The years of 1940 and 1950 will be continued on a separate sheet

APPENDIX II

LIST OF THE GOVERNORS OF CHIAPAS ~~(scribble)~~

At the end of this list, the governors from 1911 through 1962, will be repeated to show the gobernadores interinos. As there is no system of lieutenant governor or vice governor, when the governor must be absent for more than a few days, he names a gobernador interino, who is actually the governor, not his representative, until his return.

Governors before the annexation of Chiapas to México (from Moscoso):

- 1810 Antonio González Rollinedo
- 1811 José Bustamante y Guerra
- 1817 Carlos Urrutia Montoya
- 1821 Gabino Gainza
- Juan N. Batres (Intendente de la Provincia de las Chiapas)
- 1821 Junta Provisional Gubernativa
- 1823 Junta Suprema Provisional

Gobierno del primer imperio: (from Suárez)

- 1. Manuel José de Rojas, del 23 de enero de 1825 al 16 de abril de 1826
- 2. José Diego Lara, del 17 de abril de 1826 al último de febrero de 1830
- 3. Joaquín Miguel Gutiérrez, del 10 de marzo de 1830 al 14 de abril 1830
- 4. Rafael Coello, del 15 de abril de 1830 al 28 de julio del 1830
- 5. José Ignacio Gutiérrez, del 29 de julio de 1830 al 3 de agosto de 1832
- 6. Manuel Escandón, del 4 al 31 de agosto de 1832
- 7. Mariano Correa, del 10 al 14 de septiembre de 1832
- 8. Joaquín Miguel Gutiérrez, del 15 de septiembre de 1832, separándose dos meses
- 9. Lio. Emeterio Pineda, de septiembre a octubre del mismo año
- 10. Quirino Domínguez, de octubre a noviembre de 1832
- 11. Joaquín Miguel Gutiérrez, de noviembre de 1832 a marzo de 1834
- 12. Joaquín Miguel Gutiérrez (Reelecto) de marzo de 1834 al 24 de marzo de 1835
- 13. Lio. José Mariano Coello, del 25 de marzo al 31 de marzo de 1835
- 14. Ignacio Tovilla, del 10 de junio al 31 de julio de 1835
- 15. Mariano Montec de Oca, de agosto de 1835 al 17 de octubre de 1836
- 16. Clemente Aceituno, del 18 de octubre al 14 de mayo de 1837
- 17. Salvador Piñeyro, del 15 de mayo al 23 de noviembre de 1837
- 18. Onofre Reyes, de noviembre al 2 de diciembre de 1837
- 19. José María Sandoval, del 3 de diciembre de 1837 al febrero de 1840

Periodo ~~summaria~~ santanista:

38

20. José Diego Lara, del 19 de febrero de 1840 al 23 de julio de 1841
21. Salvador Ayanegui, del 24 de julio de 1841 al 20 de febrero de 1842
22. Ignacio Barberena, del 21 de febrero de 1842 al 9 de marzo de 1846
23. Jerónimo Cardona, del 10 de marzo al 10 de diciembre de 1846
24. Nicolás Ruiz, del 2 de diciembre de 1846 al 20 de febrero de 1847
25. Jerónimo Cardona, al 21 de febrero de 1847 al 10 de febrero 1848
26. Manuel María Parada, del 11 de febrero al 21 de marzo de 1848
27. Jerónimo Cardona, del 22 de marzo al 10 de abril de 1848
28. Ponciano Solórzano, del 10 de abril al 10 de mayo de 1848
29. Fernando Nicolás Maldonado, del 2 de marzo de 1848 al 25 de marzo de 1849
30. Ramón Larrainsar, del 26 de marzo de 1849 al 15 de febrero de 1850
31. Fernando Nicolás Maldonado, del 16 de febrero de 1850 al 2 de mayo de 1851
32. José Farrera, del 3 al 31 de mayo de 1851
33. Fernando Nicolás Maldonado, del 10 de junio de 1851 al 6 de marzo de 1853
34. Domingo Ruiz, del 7 de marzo al 6 de julio de 1853
35. Fernando Nicolás Maldonado del 7 de julio de 1853 al 19 de octubre de 1855

~~PERIODO DEL PLAN DE AYUTLA Y LA REFORMA:~~

Periodo del Plan de Ayutla y la Reforma:

36. Angel Albino Corzo, del 20 de octubre de 1855 al 15 de marzo de 1856
37. Domingo Ruiz, del 16 de marzo al 7 de mayo de 1856
38. Angel Albino Corzo del 8 de mayo de 1856 al 16 de septiembre de 1857
39. Lic. Francisco Robles, del 17 de septiembre al 31 de diciembre de 1857
40. Angel Albino Corzo, del 10 de enero al 14 de mayo de 1858
41. Matías Castellanos, del 15 de mayo de 1858 al 31 de julio de 1859
42. Angel Albino Corzo, del 10 de agosto de 1859 al 16 de junio de 1861

Periodo de la invasión francesa y el segundo imperio:

43. Juan Climaoo Corzo, del 17 de junio de 1861 a junio de 1863
44. Gabriel Esquinao, de junio de 1863 a noviembre de 1864

Periodo porfirista:

45. Pantaleón Dominguez, del 10 de diciembre de 1864 al 30 de noviembre de 1875
46. Moisés Rojas, de 10 de diciembre de 1875 al 21 de marzo de 1876
47. Carlos Borda, del 22 de mayo de 1876 al 28 de enero de 1877
48. Diego Betanzos, del 19 de enero al 11 de abril de 1877
49. Nicolás Ruiz, del 12 de abril al 30 de noviembre de 1877
50. Sebastián Escobar del 10 de diciembre 1877 al 29 de julio de 1878

- 51. Mariano Aguilar, del 20 de julio de ~~1881~~ 1878 al 30 de noviembre de 1879
- 52. Miguel Utrilla, del 10 de diciembre de 1879 al 30 de noviembre de 1883
- 53. José María Ramírez, del 10 de diciembre de 1883 al 18 de julio de 1886
- 54. Adrián Culebro, del 19 de julio al 18 de septiembre de 1886
- 55. José María Ramírez, del 19 de septiembre de 1886 al 30 de noviembre de 1887
- 56. Manuel Carrascosa, del 10 de diciembre de 1887 al 30 de noviembre de 1891
- 57. Lic. Emilio Rabasa, del 10 de diciembre de 1891 al 30 de noviembre de 1892
- 58. Dr. Raúl del Pino, del 10 de diciembre de 1892 al 30 de abril de 1893
- 59. Lic. Emilio Rabasa, del 10 de mayo de 1893 al 26 de febrero de 1894
- 60. Lic. Fausto Moguel, del 27 de febrero de 1894 al 30 de noviembre de 1895
- 61. Coronel Francisco León, del 10 de diciembre de 1895 al ~~20~~ 24 de septiembre de 1896
- 62. José María González, del 25 de septiembre al 6 de octubre de 1896
- 63. Coronel Francisco León, del 7 de octubre de 1896 al 15 de enero de 1899
- 64. Luis Farrera, del 16 de enero al 13 de abril de 1899
- 65. Coronel Francisco León, del 14 de abril al 11 de octubre de 1899
- 66. Rafael Pimentel, del 12 de octubre de 1899 al 15 de septiembre de 1900
- 67. Lic. Abraham A. López, del 16 de septiembre al 2 de noviembre de 1900
- 68. Rafael Pimentel, del 3 de noviembre de 1900 al 18 de febrero de 1901
- 69. Lic. Abraham A. López del 19 de febrero al 15 de mayo de 1901
- 70. Rafael Pimentel, del 16 de mayo de 1901 al 22 de febrero de 1902
- 71. Lic. Onofre Ramos, del 23 de febrero de 1902 al 8 de septiembre de 1903
- 72. Rafael Pimentel, del 9 de septiembre al 3 de octubre de 1903
- 73. Lic. Onofre Ramos, del 4 al 31 de octubre de 1903
- 74. Rafael Pimentel, del 10 de noviembre de ~~1903~~ 1903 al 12 de febrero de 1904
- 75. Lic. Onofre Ramos, del 13 de febrero al 18 de mayo de 1904
- 76. Rafael Pimentel, del 19 de mayo al 22 de noviembre de 1904
- 77. Lic. Onofre Ramos, del 23 de noviembre al 31 de diciembre de 1904
- 78. Rafael Pimentel, del 10 de enero al 11 de junio de 1905
- 79. Lic. Onofre Ramos, del 12 de junio al 10 de julio de 1905
- 80. Rafael Pimentel del 11 de julio al 12 de diciembre de 1905
- 81. Lic. Miguel Castillo, del 13 al 25 de diciembre de 1905 -- sin haber tomado posesión --

82. Ramón Rabasa, del 26 de diciembre de 1905 al 28 de septiembre de 1906
83. Lic. Abraham A. López del 29 de septiembre al 23 de noviembre de 1906
84. Ramón Rabasa, del 24 de noviembre de 1906 al 31 de enero de 1908
85. Lic. Abraham A. López, del 10 de febrero al 10 de mayo de 1908
86. Ramón Rabasa, del 11 de mayo de 1908 al 5 de marzo de 1909
87. Lic. Abraham A. López del 6 de marzo al 30 de abril de 1909
88. Ramón Rabasa del 10 de mayo de 1909 al 10 de mayo de 1910
89. José Inés Cano, del 11 de mayo al 13 de junio de 1910
90. Ramón Rabasa, del 14 de junio de 1910 al 10 de mayo de 1911
91. José Inés Cano, del 2 al 15 de mayo de 1911
92. Ramón Rabasa, del 16 de mayo al 10 de junio de 1911

Although the Suarez list continues through governor number 150: Lic. Efraim Aranda Osorio, the Moscoso list from 1911 through 1962 is the more complete and will be added on here.

The other Suarez headings are the

- Periodo Maderista from 29 november ~~1911~~ 1911 until 20 March 1913 .
- Periodo Huertista from 21 March 1913 until 14 september 1914
- Periodo Revolucionario: from 14 September 1914 until 30 november 1920
- Periodo Institucional from 1 December 1920 until the present.

2 de junio a 3 de julio de 1911
 4 de julio a 11 de julio de 1911
 12 de julio a 20 de agosto de 1911
 21 de agosto a 28 de noviembre de 1911
 29 de noviembre a 15 de diciembre de 1911
 16 de diciembre de 1911 a 26 de enero de 1912
 29 de enero de 1912 a 20 de marzo de 1913
 21 de marzo a 12 de julio de 1913
 13 de julio de 1913 a 13 de agosto de 1914
 14 de agosto a 14 de septiembre de 1914
 15 de septiembre a 24 de septiembre de 1914
 25 de septiembre a 24 de octubre de 1914
 25 de octubre a 4 de abril de 1915
 5 de abril a 9 de mayo de 1915
 10 de mayo a 21 de mayo de 1915
 30 de mayo de 1915 a 12 de abril de 1916
 13 de abril a 24 de mayo de 1916
~~25 de mayo de 1916 a 25 de septiembre de 1916~~
 26 de septiembre de 1916 a 17 de ~~enero~~ ~~diciembre~~ de 1917
 18 de diciembre de 1917 a 5 de marzo de 1918
 6 de marzo de 1918 a 6 de mayo de 1919
 7 de mayo a 1 de julio de 1919
 10 de julio a 1 de diciembre de 1919
 2 de diciembre de 1919 a 3 de marzo de 1920
 9 de marzo a 17 de mayo de 1920
 18 de mayo a 12 de julio de 1920
 13 de julio a 16 de agosto de 1920
 17 de agosto a 20 de noviembre de 1920
 21 a 30 de noviembre de 1920
 1 de diciembre de 1920 a 20 de febrero de 1921
 21 de febrero a 4 de abril de 1921
 5 de abril de 1921 a 2 de mayo de 1922
 3 de mayo a 3 de junio de 1922
 4 de junio de 1922 a 13 de mayo de 1923
 14 de mayo a 13 de julio de 1923
 14 de julio de 1923 a 17 de marzo de 1924
 18 de marzo a 26 de marzo de 1924
 27 de marzo a 5 de abril de 1924
 6 de abril a 24 de septiembre de 1924
 25 de septiembre a 9 de octubre de 1924
 10 de octubre a 30 de noviembre de 1924
 1 a 31 de diciembre de 1924

Manuel de Trajo
 Ing. Reynaldo Gordillo León
 Dr. Policarpo Rueda
 Manuel Novelo Aruñello
 Lic. Marco Antonio Solís
 Ing. Reynaldo Gordillo León
 Flavio Guillén
 Ing. Reynaldo Gordillo León
 Sr. I. Fernando S. P. Lafont
 José Luis Cano
 Gral. Benigno Agustín Castro
 Coronel Elías Corral
 Gral. Jesús Agustín Castro
 Gral. Elías Corral
 Gral. Jesús Agustín Castro
 Gral. Elías Corral
 Cor. José Amación González
 Gral. Elías Corral
 Cor. Fabio Villanueva
 Prof. Manuel Fuentes A.
 Cor. Fabio Villanueva
 Prof. Manuel Fuentes A.
 Cor. Fabio Villanueva
 Lic. y Gral. Pascual Morales y Molina
 Gral. Alejo G. González
 Gral. Francisco G. Ruiz
 Gral. Faustino Ruiz
 Gral. Francisco G. Ruiz
 Lic. Amadeo Ruiz
 Gral. Tiburcio Fernández Ruiz
 Lic. Benigno Cal y Mayor
 Gral. Tiburcio Fernández Ruiz
 Lic. Amadeo Ruiz
 Gral. Tiburcio Fernández Ruiz
 Lic. Manuel E. Cruz
 Gral. Tiburcio Fernández Ruiz
 Rogelio García Castro
 Gral. Tiburcio Fernández Ruiz
 Cor. Luis C. García
 Mayor Martín Paredes
 Gral. Tiburcio Fernández R.
 Raúl León

a de enero a 19 de mayo de 1925
 20 de mayo a 10 de julio de 1925
 11 de julio a 19 de agosto de 1925
 20 de agosto de 1925 a 3 de diciembre de 1926
 4 a 30 de diciembre de 1926
 31 de diciembre de 1926 a 4 de abril de 1927
 5 de abril a 22 de mayo de 1927
 23 de mayo a 24 de julio de 1927
 25 de julio a 3 de octubre de 1927
 4 a 30 de octubre de 1927
 31 de octubre de 1927 a 30 de marzo de 1928
 31 de marzo a 5 de noviembre de 1928
 10 a 30 de noviembre de 1928
 1 de diciembre de 1928 a 21 de febrero de 1929
 22 de febrero a 5 de marzo de 1929
 9 de marzo a 15 de mayo de 1929
 16 de mayo a 19 de junio de 1929
 16 de junio a 1 de diciembre de 1929
 2 de diciembre de 1929 a 6 de enero de 1930
 9 a 31 de enero de 1930
 1 a 14 de febrero de 1930
 15 de febrero a 23 de marzo de 1930
 24 de marzo a 30 de abril de 1930
 1 de mayo a 13 de septiembre de 1930
 14 a 20 de septiembre de 1930
 21 de septiembre de 1930 a 18 de febrero de 1931
 11 de febrero a 7 de junio de 1931
 8 de junio a 11 de octubre de 1931
 12 de octubre a 1 de noviembre de 1931
 2 de noviembre a 16 de ~~dic~~ diciembre de 1931
 17 a 24 de diciembre de 1931
 25 de diciembre de 1931 a 1 de mayo de 1932
 2 de mayo a 6 de junio de 1932
 7 de junio a 15 de septiembre de 1932
 16 de septiembre a 1 de octubre de 1932
 2 de octubre a 7 de noviembre de 1932
 10 a 22 de noviembre de 1932
 23 de noviembre a 30 del mismo mes de 1932
 1 de diciembre a 29 de diciembre 1932
 30 de diciembre de 1932 a 9 de enero de 1933
 10 de enero a 2 de agosto de 1933

Lic. ~~Max~~ César Córdova a
 Gral. Carlos A. Vidal
 Lic. José Vastanón
 Gral. Carlos A. Vidal
 Ing. J. Amílcar Vidal
 Gral. Carlos A. Vidal
 Ing. J. Amílcar Vidal
 Gral. Carlos A. Vidal
 Gral. Luis F. Vidal
 Gral. Manuel Alvarez
 Lic. Federico Martínez Rojas
 Lic. Amador Coutiño G.
 Ing. Rosendo Delarosa S.
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Ernesto Constantino Herrera
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Lic. Alvaro Cansino
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Martín G. Cruz
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Lic. Alvaro Cansino
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Moisés B. Villers (Gral.)
~~Lic. Alberto Domínguez R.~~
~~Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez~~
~~Lic. Alberto Domínguez R.~~
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Gral. Moisés B. Villers
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 José María Brindis
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Rodolfo León
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Mariano Gustavo Enriquez
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Ing. Rodolfo Ruiz G.
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Moisés Enriquez
 Ing. Raymundo E. Enriquez
 Cor. Víctorico R. Grajales
 Gral. Fausto Ruiz C.
 Cor. Víctorico R. Grajales
 Cont

1 de marzo a 18 de abril de 1939
 19 de abril a 5 de junio de 1939
 6 de junio a 20 de agosto de 1939
 21 de agosto a 8 de octubre de 1939
 9 de octubre de 1939 a 10 de enero de 1940
 11 de enero a 25 de febrero de 1940
 26 de febrero a 13 de marzo de 1940
 14 a 23 de marzo de 1940
 24 de marzo a 7 de abril de 1940
 8 de abril a 11 de mayo de 1940
 12 de mayo a 1 de junio de 1940
 2 de junio a 13 de julio de 1940

 14 de julio a 8 de agosto de 1940
 9 de agosto a 14 de septiembre de 1940
 15 de septiembre a 17 de octubre de 1940
 18 a 29 de octubre de 1940
 30 de octubre a 30 de noviembre de 1940
 1 de diciembre de 1940 a 31 de marzo de 1941
 1 a 29 de abril de 1941
 30 de abril a 24 de agosto de 1941
 25 de agosto a 23 de septiembre de 1941
 24 de septiembre a 21 de diciembre de 1941
 22 de diciembre de 1941 a 1 de enero de 1942
 2 de enero de 1942 a 30 de noviembre de 1942
 1 de diciembre de 1942 a 6 de enero de 1947
 6 de enero de 1947 a 30 de noviembre de 1948
 1 de diciembre de 1948 a 30 de noviembre de 1950
 1 de diciembre de 1950 a 30 de noviembre de 1952
 1 de diciembre de 1952

Ing. Efraín A. Gutiérrez R.
 César Montesinos Gutiérrez
 Ing. Efraín A. Gutiérrez
 J. Pantaleón Domínguez
 Ing. Efraín A. Gutiérrez
 César Montesinos Gutiérrez
 Ing. Efraín A. Gutiérrez
 César Montesinos Gutiérrez
 Ing. Efraín A. Gutiérrez R.
 César Montesinos Gutiérrez
 Ing. Efraín A. Gutiérrez R.
 César Montesinos Gutiérrez
 Ing. Efraín A. Gutiérrez R.
 Lic. Antonio Vera Guillén
 Ing. Efraín A. Gutiérrez R.
 Lic. Antonio Vera Guillén
 Ing. Efraín A. Gutiérrez R.
 Dr. Rafael P. Garboa
 Juan M. Esponda
 Gral. César A. Lara
 Gral. Francisco J. Grajales
 Lic. Efraín Arayas Osorio.
 Primer Gobernador en el
 nuevo Plan de Seis años
 Dr. Samuel León Brindis,
 actual gobernador

San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas, a 26 de febrero de 1962

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PLACE NAME	1940	1950
Agala	2385 pc4290pm	3547 pc 6424 pm
Aguaatenango	X	1043
Amatenango	1317 pc 2130pm	1469pc 2529 pm
BuenaJón	m8m 120	283
Bochil	133 (pc4938pm)	1003pc 3395 pm
Cancuc	649	X 762 (in man -itala)
Chalchihuitán	156pc	221 pc 2769 pm
Chamula	342 pc 15010 pm	421 pc 22029 pm
Chenalabó	405 pc 5289 pm	334 pc 7481 pm
Chiapilla	1211pc 1386 pm	1591pc 1863 pm
Chilón	595 pc 10074 pm	937 pc 11,118 pm
Guajutepec	X	595
Huixtla	555 pc 5390 pm	652pc 7333pm
Jitotol	684	957pc 4181pm
Larrainzar	593pc	564pc 3807pm
Ocosingo	980pc 112.1pm	1374pc 13 940pm
Oxehuc	404pc 3967pm	573pc 5412pm
Pantelhó	877pc 3124pm	966pc 3953pm
Pinola	5712	6344pc 7120pm
San Bartolomé	3892pc 9151pm	5446pc 13924 pm
San Carlos	492pc 5485pm	1122pc 4655pm
San Cristóbal	11,768pc 16337pm	17,473pc 23,054pm
San Miguel Mitontic	1950pc 3880pm X	195pc 3880pm
Santa Marta	X	154
Simojovel	1816pc 6614pm	2282pc 11395pm
Sibecá	X	518
Sojalé	1025pc1185pm	1465pc 2585pm
Tenejapa	618pc 5378pm	521pc 7750pm
Tecunuca	1535pc 3934pm	3150pc 5305pm
Tajalón	2023pc 6382pm	3224pc 10036pm
Tinacantan	564pc 4509pm	1000pc 6412pm

The State of Chiapas:

1802	103,642		
1812	130,000(also given as 115,968)		
1822	129,760		
1842	162,459		
1900	361,000	1940	685,246
1921	417,059	1950	900,026
1930	531,470		

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Chiapas census material is, on the whole, very poor. Most of the censuses listed here have already been used in de la Peña, Pineda and Trems, but a search of primary sources yields nothing more of real value. Most of the censuses have been taken for a purpose: to prove a heavy population or a light one. Others are taken of areas with no delimitations which can be traced at the present time: ie. diocesan censuses. A further confusion is caused over the years by the changing of municipio boundaries, the raising of an area to municipio libre or the incorporation of that area into a more important municipio. The history of Bacajón particularly shows these problems.

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