POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE
IN A GUATEMALAN COMMUNITY
by
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Abstract

This study concerns the political and religious modernization of Cantel, an Indian factory community located in midwestern Guatemala. The two primary concerns of the study were (1) the breakdown of the traditional civil-religious hierarchy, which occurred between 1946 and 1960, and (2) the emergence of a politicized town government, together with an orthodox Catholic movement and several Protestant sects. The study involved a modification of Wolf's construct of the closed corporate community and his explanation accounting for the breakdown of such communities, which states that local leaders having access to economic and political power at the national level and who pattern their behaviour according to local and national expectations are most likely to effect local structural changes.

For this purpose, I conducted work in Cantel from July, 1969 to July, 1970. The field techniques that I employed included interviews conducted with informants of varying ages, supplemented by observations and perusal of official documents available in the town hall, the church, and the National Archives of Guatemala. Local attitudes of distrust toward outsiders prevented the use of censuses and life
histories. Nevertheless, I did obtain a consistent body of information, on which basis it was possible to reconstruct the sequence of events that led to modernization of Cantel's political and religious organizations.

Until 1946, Cantel contained a civil-religious hierarchy similar to those of other Meso-American communities. It consisted of a graded series of offices, which discharged the secular and religious functions of the community. Service in these offices was unpaid. Service in the cofradías, or religious brotherhoods charged with the religious affairs of the community involved a financial obligation on the part of the office-holder. So did the higher-ranking civil offices. The principales, or elders who had served in offices of the higher echelons, maintained veto power over the decisions made by officials of both the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy. Pressures exerted by Protestant sects from the 1920's onward, the intendente system of direct rule imposed by Ubico in 1935, and the depression all failed to destroy the basic structure of the hierarchy.

In 1946, a party sponsored by the labour union, which had been introduced into the factory the preceding year, won half the seats of the municipalidad in an election. Although tied votes prevented the passage of such community projects as improvement of the water supply system and construction of schools, the unionists effectively neutralized the power of the principales. In the 1948 election, the unionists won a commanding majority of seats, effectively removing the principales from power.

From 1948 onward, the principales encountered progressive difficulties in recruiting personnel for the cofradías. An ordinance requiring all able-bodied males to serve as mayores, regardless of prior service, removed the incentive of prestige for service in the cofradías. Acción Católica, whose leaders emphasized that Catholics could express their Christian faith without
incurring substantial debt; the Protestants accomplished the same tasks. Social programmes, such as schools and a parochial Medical clinic, reinforced this process. Consequently, the cofradías either folded, were absorbed into Acción Católica, or survived as independent sociedades. By 1960, the cofradías as such had ceased to exist.

The events that occurred in Cantel show how the social defensive role of the civil-religious hierarchy, which had been present in Cantel for at least a century, became vitiated by the growing population pressure upon the land, the opportunities opened up by the union for resident Cantelense workers, and the opportunity provided by Acción Católica and the Protestant sects for Cantelenses to escape the burdensome tasks attached to every office of the hierarchy.
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Chapter One

Introduction

What could have been a heritage of suspicion and fear has been converted by the Canteleños (sic), through comparison with the currently better and freer circumstances, into a base line from which to judge present advantage. The first responses of a people to cultural intrusion do not necessarily have the same positive or negative aspect after a time-seasoned judgment (Nash 1967b: 19).

On September 4, 1884, troops under the command of Col. Florencio Calderon marched into the municipio of Cantel, an Indian county (or municipio) in western Guatemala, and shot every one of its officials (Valladares Rubio 1962: 439).

Of this massacre, little has been written. Few Canteleños tell strangers about the massacre or the circumstances that led to it. Those who do give conflicting versions. Some informants blame the anticlerical campaigns of Justo Rufino Barrios, President of Guatemala (1871-1885), who, among other things, ordered a bishop executed. The Canteleño municipalidad (officials), every man a clericalist, offered themselves to be shot in place of the bishop. Barrios, not known to deal kindly with his opponents, obliged.

Others blame the owners of a textile company, who established a factory in Cantel at that time. The company
forced the peasants off the proposed site of the factory, refusing to pay them adequate compensation for their loss of the land. (Some informants say that no compensation had been paid at all.) With the fear that the factory would expropriate more land or perhaps even drive the people out of the village, Canteleños watched the buildings go up. One night a group of men took the matter into their own hands. They entered the construction site and burned a building to the ground. 4 The owners, infuriated, telegraphed Barrios to demand protection for the construction site and punishment for the arsonists. Barrios stationed troops around the factory and the town centre. In response, the town officials led a protest march to the factory site, demanding removal of the troops and of the factory. The troops fired upon the crowd, killing the officials and others. As a post-mortem gesture, Barrios signed an order for their execution. 5

Other versions abound. Some say that Cantel and the neighbouring municipio of Salcaja were embroiled in a land dispute. By ordering the municipalidad shot and the disputed land awarded to Salcaja, Barrios ended the matter quickly. 6 The historian Valladares Rubic suggests that the massacre was part of Barrio's pacification campaign to quell the revolts endemic at the time in the
western Guatemalan highlands. Indeed, Cantel’s municipalidad were not the only victims; public officials of other villages were also slaughtered (Valladares Rubio 1962: 438-440; see also Jones 1940: 51-55, 58; Mata Gavidia 1969: 361-363).

Whatever, if any, explanations are true, three points are certain. First, there was indeed a massacre. Barrios signed the order; Calderon gave the command; the municipalidad were among those shot.

Second, the massacre reflected the pressures of dissolution that the national government exerted upon the local politico-religious organization of Cantel and that successive national governments would exert henceforth. The theocracy survived the shooting; it would survive many other tests. Yet in the long run the theocracy would succumb to the political competition generated by a labour union that the national government introduced into Cantel in 1945.

Third, the citizenry of Cantel were never to forget the massacre. In memory of the victims, the municipalidad of 1958 ordered a monument erected in a hillside park that overlooks the factory and the national highway in the valley below. The epitaph reads:

Hatred unto the tyrants who made martyrs. Here lie the remains of a municipalidad and patriots Shot on September 4, 1884.

—The Municipalidad of 1958?
I. Purpose of the Study.

This is a historical ethnography of a transformation that took place within the politico-religious system of Cantel between 1884 and the present. At the time of the massacre, the system was like other civil-religious hierarchies that governed the affairs of countless other closed corporate peasant communities of highland Mexico and Guatemala. Cantel's government united the civic functions of the community with those of the church. The offices, which the men of Cantel filled on a basis of annual rotation, were hierarchically arranged. A man began his career in his teens by serving in any of several low-ranking offices, performing the menial tasks of the town. Upon marriage, he was eligible to serve in any of several intermediate civil and religious posts, all of which required expenditure of his time and of his financial resources. If he were a wealthy man, he might serve in several such positions during his lifetime, each time spending substantial amounts of money for a religious fiesta or a civil banquet, and "resting" for two or three years before taking on another office. Such service was compulsory. If a tour of service left him poorer in worldly goods than before, it also left him richer in the esteem of his fellows. Later, he was eligible to
become one of several community leaders--mayor of the town, councilman, or leader of a cofradía (religious brotherhood). After serving in any of these higher positions, he retired as a principal, one of several community elders who, honored for a lifetime of service to the community and its saints, could be entrusted with the veto power over all decisions that the town council or the heads of cofradías made.

The bullets that killed the local officials of Cantel did not kill the theocracy of which they were a part; the theocracy would endure for over sixty years. It would co-exist with the factory, which employed increasing numbers of Canteleños over the years. The proletarization of Canteleños was not sufficient to destroy the hierarchy. It would survive the Presbyterians, who established a mission in 1910 and managed to draw a few converts away from the Church. It would survive the attempts of the local Presbyterian commandant to gain converts by drafting Catholics into the national army, exempting the Protestants. It would survive even the direct rule imposed by Jorge Ubico, president of Guatemala (1931-1944), who, through his intendentes, tried to run local affairs to his liking (Gilien 1955: 69; Whetten 1961: 327). All of these events, and others, modified the structure of the hierarchy, but they did not destroy it.
In 1945 began the processes that proved fatal to the hierarchy. A labour union was formed, under the auspices of the then revolutionary government of Guatemala, at the textile factory in Cantel. The following year, a party formed by the union sponsored a slate of candidates for the town council and won half the seats. The community's elders began to lose control over the municipalidad. In 1948, the union party won a majority, ending forever the links between the municipalidad and the cofradías.

Soon after, the cofradías themselves were in danger. A priest, who came to Cantel only to find the cofradías refusing him obedience, organized a Catholic action group composed of factory workers and progressive small-holding agriculturalists. The organization, Acción Católica, launched a campaign to win the faithful to the orthodox interpretation of the faith. This led to several years of protracted struggle between the folk Catholics (of the cofradías) and the catechists. Sometimes it broke out in open violence. For example, three times the catechists burned "pagan" images of San Simón, who, sitting in the salon of one cofradía, purportedly granted requests in return for aguardiente (sugar-cane liquor similar to rum) and cigarettes. Slowly, the cofradías lost their following; no longer were young men willing to assume the financial burden
of office. Some folded, others joined the church as 
sociedades, and two lingered on as independent 
societies, annually sponsoring a procession to honour 
a dead past. In the meantime, the Protestants swelled 
their ranks with former Catholics who had become 
disillusioned by the fighting within their church.

In 1970, the municipalidad was an entirely 
political body; no longer did it constitute part of a 
theocracy. A few officials were now paid for their services; 
the alcalde (mayor) and the síndico (keeper of land records). 
Others remained unpaid: the concejales (councilmen) and 
the mayores (policemen-street cleaners). The higher 
offices were elective—in 1970 three parties vied for 
them. The posts of mayores remained appointive positions, 
but now men of all ages, not just teenage boys, were eli-
gible for conscription to these offices. Meantime, sep-
arate organizations ran the religious affairs of Cantel. 
The priest and Acción Católica remained in charge of 
Catholic affairs while innumerable sects governed those 
of the Protestants.

Cantel is not the only Guatemalan municipio whose 
politico-religious structure has undergone radical 
change. San Pedro Sacatepequez (Smith 1970: Personal 
Communication), Momostenango (Carmack 1970), and others 
have undergone changes that are no less radical. 
Nevertheless, no other Indian village in Guatemala has had
a factory in its midst. The hierarchies of few other villages have survived for an extended period of years the disruptive influences generated by industrialization. Cantel's hierarchy did. Yet even the hierarchy of Cantel went by the board. For a study of transformation in local politico-religious structures, Cantel is a reasonable choice.

I do three things in this study. First, I describe in detail the past and present structures of Cantel's politico-religious system together with the processes of transformation that led from one to the other. Second, I examine the ways in which the changing politico-religious system of Cantel articulated with those other aspects of Canteleño culture that define the closed corporate community—sources of livelihood and income, rules of endogamy, ideologies of poverty and envy, and so on. Third, I develop an explanation accounting for the transformation in terms of the changing interrelations between Cantel and the outside world. The first two tasks are straightforward and need no further discussion. The third is less obvious and requires preliminary discussion of the historical and theoretical assumptions which underlie it.

II. Civil-Religious Hierarchy: A Theoretical Overview.

To begin with, one must understand the historical
conditions under which civil-religious hierarchies were formed. To explain the existence of an institution without taking into account the historical forces that shaped and maintained it is questionable at best, nonsensical at worst.

In Meso-America, civil-religious hierarchies were derived partly from indigenous societies and partly from Spanish colonial policies. Both Aztec and Mayan civilizations contained local theocracies roughly similar to the ones that have existed until now (Carrascco 1961; Vogt 1962). But the hierarchies were also products of Spanish control policy. In accordance with the Law of Burgos and with later decrees, the Spanish colonial administration relocated Indian populations en masse from scattered hamlets to villages of higher population. The administration did this for two reasons: to facilitate the conversion of Indians to Catholicism and to exploit effectively their labour power (Simpson 1966: 32-33). The inhabitants of each community were granted a limited area of arable land for their use. They were also assigned an annual levy of labour and tribute for the benefit of the Spaniards. Each community was also provided with a local governing body, which the Indians themselves ran within the bounds of colonial and canon law. This governing body assigned to individuals allotments of
communal land and assignments of the obligations that had been levied upon the community (Wolf 1959: 214–215).

At the same time, the friars organized among their new converts *cofradias* (religious brotherhoods) patterned after those of the villages of Spain (Foster 1953). These institutions formed the twin roots of the civil-religious hierarchies that were to emerge within 100 years after the conquest (La Farge, 1940).

One must also understand the conditions under which the hierarchies endured, the needs they met for the larger society (i.e. of the Spanish Crown, and of the *hacendados*, owners of large landed estates), and the needs they met for local communities and their members. Several theorists have offered explanations of the conditions maintaining or eliminating the civil-religious hierarchy. I will outline these positions in this chapter, reserving for the next the full development of an alternative explanation of my own. In the final chapter of this study I will evaluate critically each of those positions, comparing them with my own. I will also compare the strength of the explanations (including my own) in the light of *Cantelense* data and summarize the results in the same chapter.

Most explanations concerning the existence of hierarchies account for them in terms of outside pressures, pressures that originate from the Spanish Crown,

Kunkel proposes an explanation in terms of the relations of production between small community and nation-state. Civil religious hierarchies exist in communities whose local economies are autonomous from the national. In other words, the salient features of a civil-religious hierarchy—a hierarchy of political and religious offices fused in one body in which all villagers, unpaid for their services, are expected to serve in their lifetime—will be present in villages that exhibit the following economic elements:

1) Absence of a specifically grown cash crop, regularly exported.
2) Negligibility of wage labour and cash relations within the community.
3) Availability of sufficient land to satisfy the daily needs of all villagers.
4) Absence of significant external wage labour.
5) Absence of regular importation of staple foodstuffs.

In villages that exhibit the reverse of these features, the hierarchy will be absent; political and
religious offices will be separate, service in any office will be voluntary, and political officials will be paid (1965: 443-444). He does not establish specific linkages between the economic "independent variables* and the politico-religious elements that constitute five of his fifteen "dependent variables". Rather, they are dichotomous "indicators" of each community, one set indicating tradition-bound social relations, the other indicating modernization, i.e., consistency with socio-cultural features of the Mexican nation (1959; 1965).

Nash links the existence of the hierarchy to political pressures that allow for a degree of "insulation" of the community's Indians from the national government. He prefaces his analysis with a discussion of the nature of the hierarchy and its wealth-leveling mechanism, defining leveling in a literal sense:

The leveling mechanisms operate to drain the accumulated resources of the community for non-economic ends, and to keep the various households, over generations, fairly equal in wealth. . . . They militate against the rise of social classes based on wealth and economic power distinctions (1967a: 98-99).

Although some families may be wealthier than others in one generation, other families will rise to take their place in the generation that follows. Four inter-related "aspects", two of which are connected with the hierarchy, keep the cycle going:
1) Low level of technology and limited land, so that absolute wealth and accumulation are small in virtue of poor resources in relation to population and a technology which is labor-intensive. (2) Fracture of estates by bilateral inheritance. Whatever is in fact accumulated in capital goods is scrambled among sons and daughters in nearly equal shares. . . . (3) Forced expenditure of time and resources in communal office. . . . (4) Forced expenditure by the wealthy in ritual (1967a: 99).

In one treatment, Nash stresses the importance of the hierarchy in "insulating" the community's Indians from the influences emanating from the Church and the state. The officials act as go betweens, they mediate between the villagers and the government or church, assigning externally enforced obligations to the Indians, and attempting to induce the government to reduce or delay their demands (1958: 70-72). Elsewhere, he accounts for the existence of the hierarchy in terms of the Indians' "struggle to keep hold on their ethnic identity", while their culture clings to "a precarious economic niche" (1964: 303). Unfortunately, nowhere in his scattered treatments does he account for the existence or elimination of the wealth-leveling aspect of the hierarchy.

He attributes the downfall of civil-religious hierarchies to the attempts of the national government to establish direct lines of communication and authority between itself and the localities subordinate to it. To this end, they encourage the formation of interest
1%
groups--labour unions, peasant movements, political parties, feminist alliances, and the like--to draw support within the community for the government and its policies. This destroys the hierarchy's role as mediator between Indian and government, and fosters competition between it and the movements for the loyalties of the community's Indians. Thus develop the conditions for its elimination (1958: 71-73).

Tax and Minshaw concur in this explanation for the change in Panajachel. The cofradías (brotherhoods), though still functioning, have lost personnel to the Protestants, to Catholic Action, and to the volunteer army in Guatemala City. Membership in the army or in Catholic Action legally exempts a man from service in the cofradía (1970: 181-182).

Wolf advances a theory of "hostile symbiosis" to account for the conditions sustaining the civil-religious hierarchies. Such hierarchies, along with closed corporate communities, of which they form an integral part, are the products of "the dualization of society into a dominant entrepreneurial sector and a dominated sector of native peasants" (1967a: 237). The peasant sector provides labour and tribute to the dominant sector (hacendados in Latin America), for which it receives little in return. Rather, it must produce its own food on the communal plots allotted
by the Crown or state. In effect, the hacendado has access to a virtually free labour force without the necessity of supporting it all year around (1967a: 238). In Mexico, this state of affairs lasted at least until the Mexican Revolution (1965: 241).

Pressed by these circumstances, Wolf continues, the inhabitants of the community can ill afford to have within it members who accumulate a large share of the community's wealth and land resources in their own hands and thereby deprive the many. Hence, to force wealthy members to spend substantial amounts of money in ceremonial festivities makes sense. Wealth that goes into ritual cannot go into land or capital. This acts to "guarantee (the) members some basic livelihood within the confines of the community" (1967c:509).

Wolf defines wealth leveling in a broader sense than does Nash. "The existence of leveling mechanisms", he writes,

does not mean that class divisions within the corporate community do not exist. But it does mean that the class structure must find expression within the boundaries set by the community. The corporate structure acts to impede the mobilization of capital and wealth within the community in terms of the outside world which employs wealth capitalistically. It thus blunts the impact of the main opening wedge calculated to set up new tensions within the community and thus to hasten its disintegration (1967c: 509).

In Wolf's terms, leveling implies neither a local classless
society nor one in which families take turns being upper crust.

Nevertheless, continues Wolf, the functioning of the hierarchy must be understood in its historical context. In 1857, the Mexican government passed a law requiring all lands to be registered by private individuals, in effect outlawing communal holdings. In regions where the central government had control, the law was enforced. Nevertheless, hacendados effectively maintained hegemonies over regions that included not only their own land holdings but also the corporate communities located at their fringes. Owing to the communities' value as labour reservoirs, the haciendas were hardly willing to surrender their control over them or see them disintegrate. Hence the hacendados acted as buffers against outside interference in the internal affairs of the communities (Wolf 1965: 91-92).

The Mexican Revolution undermined the power of the hacendado to maintain his regional hegemony. "By destroying [the hacendado's] power, the revolution reopened channels of relationship from the communities to the national level, and permitted new circulation of individuals and groups through the various levels" (Wolf 1965: 92). National laws became enforceable in even the more distant communities; outsiders could penetrate
the community—or at least try to—at will. External pressures thus built up to distribute communal land holdings to individuals, and the pressures for economic differentiation began. By virtue of laws requiring registration of individual land titles, local individuals could hope to enrich themselves by using land for commercial farming (especially if they obtained a plow and level lands suitable for plowing), or by manipulating the power relations between their community and the nation to his advantage. Its membership became differentiated in terms of wealth; the corporate structure of the community weakened or broke down entirely. Population pressures hastened the process (Wolf 1965: 92-93; 1967a: 241-242).

Unfortunately for his analysis, Wolf never describes or reconstructs the structure of closed corporate communities prior to the forced breaking up of communal lands into private estates. The reader is left without an idea as to whether Indian communities were in fact homogeneous or differentiated in terms of wealth.

In recent years, a growing number of Meso-Americanists have questioned the validity of explanations that incorporate the idea of wealth-leveling. Foremost of them is Frank Cancian, who proposes a functionalist alternative to the range of explanations already presented.
Although he accepts Wolf's thesis that the expenses attached to civil-religious offices effectively remove surplus wealth from capitalistic uses, he rejects altogether Nash's idea of leveling. Citing his own data, he finds that Zinacantecos (inhabitants of a municipio in southeastern Mexico are not only differentiated in terms of wealth, but also that the sons of men holding expensive offices also hold expensive offices; differences in wealth persist throughout generations (1965: 114-115). Citing data from other communities (Panajachel, Cheran, and Santiago Chimaltenango), he finds that substantial differences in landholdings belie the leveling thesis.\(^9\) Other evidence he cites are the distinctions between ricos and pobres made by the natives themselves and the wide range of costs of offices within communities (1967: 292).

Cancian then proposes a functionalist explanation. The religious office system in Zinacantan continues to exist because of the contributions it makes to community integration. The fiestas that the office-holders sponsor bring people from diverse hamlets of the municipio to one spot, thus reinforcing the social relations among Zinacantecos. The rituals reaffirm the individual's commitment to his religious beliefs. The system reinforces the social distance between Indian and ladino (non-Indian); indeed, the financial obligations discourage
Indian excursions into the community and life-ways of the Ladino. The system ranks individual families on a single scale of prestige according to the number of times their male heads have served in office, and the expense of each office in which they have served. The office-holder has an advantage if he has a large number of kinsmen whom he may ask for a loan; hence the system reinforces the traditional relations of kinship. Finally, the expenditures demanded by the system reduce envy of the rich by the poor (and thus decreases the likelihood of witchcraft), and stipulates the rules by which a man may enhance his prestige without a disruptive display of his wealth (1965: 134-137). The system is reinforced by the commitment of time and money that the men make in serving:

[The system of religious offices] in both its social and economic aspects reinforces [the community's] values by rewarding most the people who meet them best. Since the system extracts service and consequent commitment to the normative system from virtually all adult males of the community, it is a particularly effective creator of community integration (1965: 139).

As he himself concedes, Cancian ignores the historical conditions that reduced the system in Zinacantan from a dual hierarchy that also regulated the secular affairs of Zinacantan to its present organization with exclusively religious functions. He also ignores the impact of the economic, social, and political forces of the wider society that impinge upon Zinacantan.
In discussing the conditions that eliminate the civil-religious hierarchy, Cancian speculates about his Zinacantan data and offers general explanations for the breakdown of hierarchies in other communities. He predicts that the *Zinacanteco* hierarchy will dissolve because of the increase in the population of eligible males relative to the number of available offices. The structure cannot generate enough new posts to accommodate the increase (1965: 161ff.). Vogt suggests that the hierarchy will not disappear but rather will probably be staffed by the wealthiest families in Zinacantan, a situation analogous to Chichicastenango as represented by Bunzel (1952). Or, failing that, the offices will probably expand in number (1969: 271-272).

For other communities, Cancian's explanation is not unlike those advanced by Nash and Wolf. Protestants, orthodox Catholics, and other movements have provided competition for the loyalties of community members. Moreover, improved transportation facilities have enabled younger men to migrate from the rural communities to cities and commercial farms in search of wage work (1967: 294-296).

I base my own set of explanations to account for the changes in the politico-religious structure of Cantel partly on Wolf's conception of closed corporate and open peasant communities and partly on Kunakol's
explanation of economic autonomy versus dependence.
It seems reasonable to suppose that a community can
maintain a semi-autonomous governing structure only if
it is relatively self-sufficient. Yet this requires
qualification: communities that could sustain themselves
are nonetheless forced by external circumstance to change
their structure. Wolf's conception of the closed cor­
porate and the open peasant community takes this into
account, for basically he asserts that the structure of
any community develops from its interactions with the
wider society, be it hacendado, nation-state, or world
economy.

Basically, I assert the following. Until the middle
of the nineteenth century, most land in closed corporate
communities was held in common. Parcels of land were
assigned to individuals according to need. Although
rights to use land could pass down from parent to child,
the land could not be sold. Unused land reverted to the
community (McBride 1923: 115-115; Tax 1952: 60-62;
Wagley 1957: 59-76). By controlling land, the community
could control directly the wealth accumulations of their
members. This point Wolf overlooks and Cancian ignores.
If any man became too wealthy, the community had the
power to deprive him of his surplus land. His surplus
liquid capital could then be drained off in ritual ex­
penditure in the manner already described (pp. 4-5; see
also Ch. 2).

The reform laws, passed in 1857 in Mexico and in the 1880's in Guatemala, required the registration of individual land titles (Wagley 1957: 68; Whetten 1948). Obviously this generated pressures upon communities to break up their communal holdings; land speculators could snatch land from under the feet of their occupants, recalcitrant Indians could claim their assigned plots as their own, and national law (and national armies) would back the claims of both. Hence, the processes of wealth differentiation based on land ownership began or accelerated. Only conscripted labour and forced expenditure within the hierarchy could retard this process, and then only in an indirect manner. Nor were interest groups that controlled both national governments entirely disinterested, for plantations that displaced haciendas\(^2\) favoured the development of a landless proletarian force (Wolf and Mints 1957: see also Ch. 2 for their reasons). So did the emergence of factories.

For the sake of security, community members clung to the civil-religious hierarchy and the corporate structure of which it was a part. But inevitably, they were to lose their grasp. Modifying Kunkel's explanation, I assert that both institutions dissolved when one or both of two conditions occurred. First,
there develops one or more groups whose interests are oriented toward national movements, pressure groups, and associations, such as political parties, peasant leagues, labour unions, and religious movements. I suggest that such groups gain power at the expense of traditional elders and the civil-religious hierarchy they represent when they are able to reward their supporters materially, i.e., with increases of wages, redistribution of land, social services (e.g., medical clinics, agricultural extension programmes, and the like), or even employment. Second, there emerges sufficient outlets of investment that are alternatives to ritual expenditures to induce a large portion of persons with a surplus of wealth to invest in these outlets. This denies the civil-religious hierarchy much of the funds it needs to operate. Moreover, the creation of an entrepreneurial class often (though not always) means employment for a number of local persons; for fear of losing their jobs, they are likely to side with their employer if he and the principales disagree on whether he will or will not serve in the cofradías. I pursue these issues further in Chapter 2 and assess the validity of these assertions as regards Cantel in Chapter 6.

III. Plan of the Thesis

The thesis, then proceeds as follows. In Chapter 2, I develop in detail the explanation which is to be
assessed in terms of the Cantel data. As background, I include the ideal-typical features of the civil-religious hierarchy, of the closed corporate community of which it is a part, and of the open community of which it is not. I also discuss the features of an intermediate community type. Finally, I include further discussion of explanations, already outlined, accounting for the existence and demise of the civil-religious hierarchy.

The next four chapters deal with Cantel itself. Chapter 3 is a background ethnography of Cantel. Chapter 4 deals with the economic and political structure of Cantel, past and present. I examine the economic changes of Cantel, and assess its impact upon the politico-religious structure of the community. Chapter 5 deals with the contrastive sociocultural features of closed corporate and open communities (together with those of an intermediate type) which are directly affected by the politico-religious system and its changes.

The information of the present work is based upon a study that I conducted in Cantel between July, 1969 and July, 1970. My primary sources are interviews that I conducted with six regular informants and with other informants, with whom I met in sessions numbering from two to several. I also relied upon municipal
and church records for historical data, along with several older informants. I had hoped to gather individual life histories and census data, but Canteleños were reluctant to talk about themselves. The unstable political situation current at the time in Guatemala, combined with the fact that the jailing of union and political leaders during the counter-revolution of 1954 still remained fresh in local memories, may account for their reticence. A fuller account of the field situation appears in Appendix A.

In Chapter 6, I summarize the results, assess the explanations of my own and of other theorists in terms of them, and propose a method by which the validity of the explanation might be tested through comparison with other villages. Appendix A reviews the fieldwork on which this study is based, the field techniques used, and the conditions under which I worked. Appendix B is a glossary of Spanish and Quiche terms.

Throughout this study runs a theme. For all the virtues which anthropologists preach about cultural relativism--the merits of evaluating each culture in its own terms--few question the virtues of modernization. Modernization, for all its drawbacks, is on the whole a good thing. Nash is no exception; he praises the factory for the "sure penny" which it provides the worker and for the ease with which the factory has induced
change in Cantel without undermining its traditional structure (1967a: 29ff).

Yet Cantel has suffered. Unemployment has become commonplace; a sign on the factory gate says "but there are no jobs." In 1954, 900 worked in two shifts; in 1970, 720 worked in three shifts. An agricultural crisis is imminent. Chemical fertilizers postpone the day that the land will no longer support the Cantel population. Every inch of Cantel land, excepting the uncultivable rocky forest lands and the factory-owned river valleys, is planted in corn and wheat. Most Canteleños do not have sufficient land for their needs.

The demise of Cantel's civil-religious hierarchy, along with other aspects of its closed corporate structure, might be hailed by agents of change. The hierarchy inhibited investment of land and capital. But clearly the data show that Cantelenses are no better off for it (See Ch. 4). At least the corporate structure afforded a buffer which mediated between Canteleños and the outside world. This buffer has disappeared; few Canteleños have benefited from its disappearance.

In brief, it is high time for students of social change to remove their blinders of liberal political ideology and see the wider social consequences of their policies.
Footnotes to Chapter 1

1. Residents of Cantel. The term Cantelense, used interchangeably with Cantelémos is also used. Where a Spanish or Quiche word is introduced for the first time I will put the English gloss in parenthese. Appendix B contains a glossary of all Spanish and Quiche terms used here.

2. During his presidency, Barrios attempted to curb the power of the Church, a mainstay of his conservative rivals who had dominated the political scene in the years before his ascension to the presidency. Among the decrees he has signed were suppression of tithes, expulsion of the Jesuit orders from Guatemala, confiscation of Church property, the closing down of monasteries and convents, prohibition of priests wearing clerical garb in public, and so on (Jones 1940: 52-53).

3. Municipalidad refers to the mayor and council collectively. It also refers to the public building which houses their offices and meeting chambers.

4. Nash says that the officials and other leaders merely threatened to burn the factory; I have found not a single informant (out of a dozen or so) who concurs with that version.

5. Valladares Rubio claims that Barrios often signed orders for his victims' executions after the fact (1962: 438).

6. Other informants say the dispute occurred later.

7. The original reads:

Oido (sic) a los tiranos que hizo (sic) matires;
Aqui descansan los restos de una municipalidad y patriotas
Fusilado 4 Septiembre 1884
--M1pd. de 1958.

The translation is my own.

8. A closed corporate community is one whose structures (1) affect the control of wealth differentiation among its members, and (2) form barriers preventing outsiders from participating in the economic and social life of the community. The civil-religious hierarchy, the
central core of closed corporate communities, serves
the first function by requiring its members to hold office
and financially maintain its functions—or so it does,
if Eric Wolf is to be believed. Such communally-held
ideologies as institutionalized envy (whereby the
accumulations of one man draws the envy of others), also
hold the processes of wealth differentiation in check.

The barriers which exclude outsiders include rules of
village endogamy, whereby a person is discouraged from
marrying anyone not born in the village; prescription or
restriction of land sales to outsiders; and active dis­
couragement of non-natives from residing in the village.

These features contrast with those of open communities
which contain neither devices which restrict the personal
accumulation of wealth nor mechanisms which bar outsiders
from the village. A more extended discussion of these
types is provided on pp. 35-49. (The foregoing is abstracted
from Wolf 1967.)

9. Two of the villages that he cites provide questionable
support to his thesis. The civil-religious hierarchy
in Cheran has long since gone by the board, and even the
remnant brotherhoods do not require large expenditures
by their members (Beals 1946). In Santiago Chimaltemango,
a man is not required to assume office even when asked.
Wagley indicates no public pressure for a man to take on
a cargo. Indeed, some men refuse to serve because of
the sexual restrictions that are included among the
obligations of office. Some take on alternative service—
one man serves as Captain of the Dance—but not all
assume such service (Wagley 1957: 240-252). Only in
Panajachel is service obligatory (Tax 1953).

10. For Zinacantan, Cancian gives three reasons that its
religious hierarchy is unable to generate new high­
level positions: (1) few hamlets, if any, can afford
new chapels in which to house the new saints; (2)
the traditional structure probably cannot tolerate
many more new additions; and (3) creation of these
positions would mean the creation of many more low­
level positions (1965: 165n.).

11. There are a number of counter-examples to this asses­
tion, some of which Kunkel recognizes. I will discuss
this matter further in the final chapter.

12. For the distinction between plantation and hacienda and
the importance of the distinction, see Chapter 2.
13. This is not to say that civil-religious hierarchies cannot co-exist with enterprises that employ members of communities where such hierarchies are present. The factory in Cantel is an obvious example. This is to say, however, that conflicts will arise if local entrepreneurs refuse to deplete their capital holdings by refusing the duties of an office that require expenditure and time to maintain its ritual functions. This implies that the persons whom such entrepreneurs employ will be faced with divided loyalties—to their employers and to the leaders of the hierarchy—if conflicts arise. The owners of the Cantel factory had no such obligations to the community; hence, working for the factory implied no divided loyalties of this sort.

14. The first figure is taken from Nash 1967a: 19; the second from the president of the labour union. The 1964 census claims that 703 were employed in the factory in that year. The third shift was not introduced until 1967.
Chapter Two

From Corporate to Open Community: An Explanation

In this chapter, I will do two things. First, I will develop a typology of peasant communities: the corporate, the semi-corporate, and the open. Second, I will propose an explanatory framework, serving to account for the transformation in Cantel. For reasons discussed below, I regard Cantel before 1945 as a semi-corporate community, and not a closed corporate community in the strict sense of the term. The explanation will therefore concern the transformation of Cantel from a semi-corporate community to an open community.

I. A Typology of Communities.

A. The Uses of "Corporate." The concepts of "corporation" and "corporate" as used in Latin American ethnology has somehow escaped critical attention. In his treatments of community types, Wolf devotes scarcely a few paragraphs to the meaning of these terms (1965: 88; 1967a: 230-236; 1967b: 507). The full meaning of "corporate" can be inferred from his subsequent discussion of community types, but implicit definitions are risky at best.

In formulating the concept of "corporate", Wolf relies heavily upon the work of Fortes (1953: 25-29, cited in Wolf 1967b: 507). Basically, a community
is "corporate" if it contains the following characteristics:

1) It is "a bounded social system with clear-cut limits, in relation to both outsiders and insiders".

2) It "has structural identity over time".

3) As a whole, it "carries on a series of activities and upholds certain 'collective representations'".

4) It "defines the rights and duties of its members, (prescribing) large segments of their behavior".

5) Its members "maintain a body of rights to possessions, such as land". Wolf is willing to include communities with private land tenure under the rubric "corporate" (1967a: 231-2; 1967b: 507).

There are indeed parallels between Wolf's conception of "corporate" and the legal conception as formulated by Maitland (1961: 54; cited in Cochrane 1971: 1145). Both definitions recognize the rights of perpetual succession. Both recognize the existence of the corporation as a separate, fictional "person" or entity. Both recognize the power of the entity to hold land. Both recognize the power of the entity to make regulations.
Yet, analogies of dissimilar entities break down at some point. Wolf's formulation of "corporate" contains a fundamental difficulty: his insistence of lumping communities whose agricultural lands are held in private hands with those whose lands are held in common. One may grant that the community, even where its members own land privately, still exerts control over the free disposal of land. In some sense, this resembles a corporation—there is an estate controlled by the community. But it is not owned by the community. Moreover, land is controlled only indirectly; inequities in land ownership cannot be checked, as one community study after another has demonstrated (see below Ch. 6). Community pressures often do not prevent the sale of land to outsiders; the incursion of ladinos into Indian communities in recent years attest to that (see below Ch. 2). Thus, Wolf classifies under one rubric communities that should be categorized into two types. To this matter I now turn.

**B. Peasant Communities: A Typology.** For this study I offer a three-fold typology of peasant communities, two of which will employ the term "corporate". I justify retention of "corporate" because: 1) The term has long been used in anthropological literature, not only in connection with peasant communities but also with
unilineal descent groups of other pre-industrial societies; and 2) there are structural parallels between corporate communities (of both varieties) and corporations (see above p. 32ff.).

I follow Wolf's use of the term "peasant". A peasant community is one in which all or most members (1) are agriculturalists (2) who produce crops mainly for their own subsistence (i.e., for their caloric, replacement, and ceremonial funds), and incidentally for the market and (3) who are "subject to asymmetrical power relations which (make) a permanent charge on (their) production", a fund of rent, for which the peasant is obliged to provide (1966: 1-11). By this definition, Cantel was—and still is—a peasant community. The term "community" refers to any given municipio as a whole and not simply to its central village.

1. Closed Corporate and Semi-Corporate Communities.

Most Indian peasant communities of Meso-America that exhibit traditional organizational characteristics (hierarchical theocracies, community control of land, rules of village endogamy, and so on) show similarities to the indices of corporate bodies listed on p. 31. Yet the corporate ties of some communities are tighter than those of others. Some communities control their land through outright ownership; others merely impose
restrictions upon their sale and their use. In some, there are marked distinctions between rich and poor; in others, such distinctions are minimal. As I will demonstrate on the pages that follow, this justifies making a distinction between closed corporate and semi-corporate communities.

a. Closed Corporate Communities. The critical feature of the closed corporate community is a system of land tenure whereby the members own in common the agricultural land falling within the community's boundaries. Land is assigned to individual households by the alcalde or other high native official in the political wing of the hierarchy. Thus, although land is collectively owned, it is used by the individual householder. Assignment of land is based on need; unused land reverts to the community at large. Use-rights to a plot of land may pass from father to son, but the rights of disposal remain with the community. The community is corporate, then, in the sense of having in common a body of possessions, namely land (McBride 1923: 114-115; Tax 1952: 60-62; Wisdom 1961: 324-325; Wolf 1959: 214).

Other corporate mechanisms of the community serve to reinforce its collective control over its land resources. The civil-religious hierarchy, whose essential features have been discussed in the first chapter, is the most obvious and pervasive of these
mechanisms. The offices of the hierarchy exercise a claim over the individuals personal wealth and energy, redirecting them to activities beneficial to the community's relationship to its saints. At the same time these obligations prevent the emergence of a surplus available for enterprises that might otherwise be mobilized within the community "in terms of the outside world which employs wealth capitalistically" and act as an "opening wedge calculated to set up new tensions within the community and thus... hasten its disintegration" (Wolf 1967c: 509). The claim that the hierarchy exercises over individual wealth and energies, then, acts to ensure perpetuity of existence of both community control over land and community itself beyond the life spans of its constituent members.

The hierarchy performs other tasks of a corporate body as well. All members, rich or poor, are required to serve in some office, whether or not the particular office requires expenditure of personal wealth. All male members are required to take part in communal projects, whether they repair a road or bridge or patch up the edifice of a church or town hall. The senior officials of the hierarchy direct these projects and make sure that all men are present. The hierarchy, then, is the locus of all collective activities, and it serves to define the duties--office-holding and
communal labour—and the rights—the use of land—of its members.

Finally, the hierarchy plays an important role in defining the ethnic boundaries of a community (Wolf 1967c: 507; Barth 1969: 15-16; Siverta 1969a: 114-116). Only members may serve in the offices, work on community projects, and make use of land under community control. From the standpoint of the individual, the expenditure of his resources and energy for the community good reinforces his commitment to the community, its welfare, its values. His rights to community land, an indirect reward for his services, further reinforces his commitment. Moreover, most of his dealings with the outside world are channeled through the hierarchy. Colonial or national governments impose levies of tribute or corvée labour upon the community as a whole; the senior officials of the hierarchy distribute the burdens to individual members (Wolf 1959: 214). At the same time, officials of the hierarchy negotiate on behalf of the community with superior officials on such matters as taxation or levies of corvée labour (Nash, 1958). In terms of the outside world, the closed corporate community is a collective body analogous to the status of legal person of modern corporations.

This does not mean that factionalism within closed corporate communities does not exist, or that the
community is entirely free from political bosses, or caciques. There have been instances of political struggles even among communities organized along the strictest of traditional lines; caciquismo (political bossism) and factionalism are recalled in Tepoztlan in the past century, and Wolf cites other cases (Wolf 1967b: 301-315; Lewis 1951: 94-97). In Chichicastenango, distinctions were made between ruler and commoner in the nineteenth century (Bunzel 1952: 191). Nevertheless, political struggles and class divisions are contained within the boundaries of the community. Rarely does a member seek support of some outside faction to bolster his own position. Reluctance is based on uncertainty that the power-holding outsider will decide in his favour even if bribed, on the high cost of bribery, on fear of humiliation by an outside figure (Wolf 1967b: 304, 305-6). Moreover, symbiotic relationships between community and hacienda effectively block channels between community and wider society (Wolf 1959: 230; 1965: 88-90). Any office-holder, then, who tries to usurp his office for his personal ends must contend with the rest of the community without the aid of some higher official; his attempts at usurpation may well earn him a knife between his ribs or a bullet-hole through his skull (Nash 1968; Siverts 1969b). In the politico-religious hierarchies of closed corporate
communities, the individual is effectively subordinate to the group. Political and religious factions based outside the community are rare or non-existent.

Besides the hierarchy, other mechanisms serve to reinforce the community's collective control over its land resources and its members. The rule of village endogamy serves to prevent any ambiguities concerning rights over land use or disposal that might arise were an outsider to marry a member and reside in the community. Land, controlled by the community, may be used by members but not sold. Finally, the subordination of the individual to the group has its ideological reinforcements. All members are obliged to work hard and consume little, unspoken obligations of shared poverty (Wolf 1967c: 510-511). Woe to him who amasses wealth for purposes other than those benefitting the community, for he will be accused of witchcraft, or himself receive the curses of witchcraft—or a bullet wound—from an envious neighbour. Moreover, goods of foreign manufacture that do not fit in the consumption patterns of the community are shunned (Wolf 1959: 218-219; 1967a: 233-235; 1967c: 510-511; see also Foster 1965, 1967a: 300-316).

**Semi-Corporate Communities.** The defining characteristic of the semi-corporate community (as opposed to the closed corporate community) is private¹
ownership of cultivable land with constraints preventing its free disposal as a commodity. Few areas of land remain in the hands of the community and they are either woodlots, stretches unsuitable for cultivation or plots of inferior quality. The better land is in private hands. The distribution of land is unequal. Some members have far more than they need; others have less. The direct controls upon the allocation of land are gone. No longer is the allocation of land a matter for the alcalde or sindico, together with the town council, to decide. Hence the inequality; the dictates of supply and demand—effective demand backed by pesos and centavos—determine the allocation of land.

Land has become a commodity; but local constraints prevent it from being a complete commodity. The selling of land, though frowned upon, is tolerated if the buyer is a neighbour, a member of the same town or rural district, or at least a member of the same municipio. Yet condemnation is heaped upon him who sells to an outsider, a man who is not of Indian birth within the community. Sanctions supporting this proscription vary: in some communities, both buyer and seller receive bullets through their skulls; in others, members simply refuse to talk to either buyer or seller. These sanctions do not always prevent invasions by
outsiders. Indeed, many a closed corporate community was opened by speculators who lay claim to land (see below pp. 97-99). Indian members may sell land to outsiders, then leave the community to escape the consequences. Nevertheless, the sanctions serve to slow down penetration by outsiders.

In semi-corporate communities, the civil-religious hierarchy remains with its essential characteristics. All members still must serve; only members may serve. Wealthier members still must sponsor religious events, depleting their liquid wealth accumulations in the process. Senior political officials must have prior experience in lower positions, including the expensive religious posts; therefore, they must be older men. Prestige is gauged according to past service.

Nevertheless, the system has undergone greater or lesser modification. There have been structural changes imposed upon the community by the national government. In Mexico, an elective body of local officials augmented or replaced the political wing of the hierarchy. In Guatemala the indendente, a Ladino and non-member by definition, was imposed upon localities. This post was later replaced by a body of elective offices. Political parties and religious sects have both entered into the community, attracting a greater or lesser local following. The traditional leaders, the elders, retain
their control over the community. Nevertheless, they must accommodate to the pressures that the new political and religious factions exert. The nature of the factions and the kind of pressures they generate vary from one community to another and from one point in history to another.

Where elections are permitted or allowed, the elders must contend with political parties vying with one another for electoral posts. They may contend with the situation by supporting one party who sponsors candidates that meet with the traditional requirements of office, as in Cantel and in Chimaluta (McDowell 1969-1970; Nash 1967b: 130-132; Reina 1966: 93-95). They may "compartmentalize" the electoral offices, tolerating their presence while retaining the political-religious hierarchy. In that event, younger men who meet the literacy requirements of office are allowed to hold offices of the imposed council, while men qualified by age and experience assume the offices within both wings of the traditional hierarchy (Guiteras-Holmes 1961; Siverts 1969b; Nutini 1968).

In the meantime Protestant sects have made their inroads; they have perhaps even converted a few persons. Orthodox Catholics have also invaded some communities. Elders and their adherents may contend with either situation by redefining the converts as non-members of
the community, and by treating them as such. A few Protestants, Catholics, or men unqualified by previous experience may attain high electoral or appointive posts. This has occurred either through default—most Indians do not vote if they can possibly avoid it—or through action by the authorities of department or nation.

In the meantime, ideologies of institutionalized envy and of the cult of poverty remain in full force. Persons who amass wealth for individual display remain censured; so do those who buy goods that do not fit in with the traditional consumption patterns of the community. Nevertheless, they are structural contradictions. Those who have managed to amass property begin to live better than those with little, however much they attempt to conceal their wealth. In Santiago Chimaltenango, Juan Diego lives in a bigger house, eats better food, and chases more women than do his contemporaries—despite the virtues attributed to poverty and generosity and condemnation of high living in that community (Wagley 1957: 92-94).

Semi-corporate communities, then, also show signs of characteristics that are analogous to modern corporations. They exert control over the disposal of community land resources, although it no longer is owned collectively. Men must still serve in cargos; frequently they must also take part in community projects.
Thus the community exercises a claim over the resources and energy of its constituent members. The hierarchy retains a monopoly of political and ecclesiastical power over the community's affairs, even though political and religious factions have made their appearance. Consequently, officials of the hierarchy can still claim to represent its members in their dealings with the outside world. The individual remains subordinate to the community.

Nevertheless, the corporate structure of this type of community show cracks. Only woodlots and useless or nearly useless land remain under community control; the rest of the land belongs to individuals who have registered title over it. Factions have emerged to compete for political power with the hierarchy. Although the elders are in no immediate danger of losing either their political or ecclesiastical authority, they must nonetheless accommodate the pressures of the emergent factions or of the encroaching national government. Finally, the ideological cult of poverty shows signs of wearing thin. Amassing of land and liquid wealth for display is still condemned—but some live better than others. Moreover, many join the Protestants or Orthodox Catholics to escape the demands that the community makes upon their wealth (Cf. For example Nash 1960 and Chapter 4 below).
The semi-corporate community may survive for several generations. Yet if nation-oriented men find some way of gaining support of a significant proportion of the population, the cracks in the corporate community will break open. This sets the stage for open communities. I will discuss the contrastive conditions for the existence of semi-corporate and open communities later in the chapter.

c. Open Communities. Open communities lack the essential structures characteristic of corporate communities of both varieties. First, the community no longer owns or controls its agricultural land. Second, the community no longer exercises a claim over the wealth accumulations of individuals, nor need a man devote an entire year of unpaid service to the community. Third, political and religious functions are carried out by individuals, often supported by non-indigenous factions, who are more motivated by personal gain than by desire or compulsion to serve the community. The community is subordinate to the individual. Fourth, boundaries between insiders and outsiders become fuzzy or dissolve altogether. Finally, the ideologies associated with a cult of poverty break down. Neighbours may still envy a man's accumulations of wealth, but they are more likely to emulate him than accuse him of witchcraft.
All or most of the land within the open community is owned privately; only woodlots and inferior agricultural land remain in the public domain. Moreover, controls over the free disposal of land as a commodity are weak or absent entirely. A man may sell his land to anybody, insider or outsider. A neighbour might object to a man's selling his land to an outsider; in more isolated parts of the municipio, violence may be employed to prevent such a transaction from taking place (See Note 1 of this chapter.). Nevertheless, those who do not own land have no interest in the land of those who do. This is so partly because the community exercises no claim upon the wealth of the landed, and partly because the landless are engaged in work or enterprises unaffected by the decisions of landowners regarding disposal of their property.

In the meantime, the civil-religious hierarchy has disappeared; the community no longer exercises claims upon the wealth of its members. No longer does a man have to sponsor a religious or secular fiesta as a consequence of holding office. Men still must hold inferior posts—those that involve the menial functions of policing, street-cleaning, and message-running—without pay. Yet they do not involve financial expense. Moreover, they are usually served in rotation, so that a man serves for one week out of two or
three. Finally, communal labour is a thing of the past. Community projects still are carried out, but a man is no longer fined or put in jail for failure to participate.

In the place of the civil wing of the hierarchy rises a politicized municipal council. The higher posts include the executive (e.g. alcalde, sindico, and councilmen), filled by election, and the administrative (e.g. secretary, treasurer, and petty officials), filled by appointment. Although prior experience is an asset for these posts, it is not required; frequently unexperienced young men fill these posts. In any case, previous religious service no longer is a prerequisite. The administrators are always paid; the senior executive offices usually are. Consequently motivation of personal gain may induce a man to run for office, and often does. There are no financial obligations attached to the office that might affect a man's decision to run, nor are there sanctions compelling him to seek office. The offices are potentially personalistic and not communalistic.

The filling of electoral posts are accompanied by competition among political parties whose national headquarters may be in the nation's capital. Of course, the issues are almost always local. Nevertheless, financial backing and rights to use the party name come
from power-holders who live outside the community. Moreover, men running for office may see it as a steppingstone for higher posts—deputy in the national legislative assembly, minor official in the national cabinet, etc. Government is one based upon shifting alliances— alliances of factions within the community, alliances between local faction and higher power-holders. Moreover, administrative posts may be filled by supporters of the winning party. Whereas in the corporate community the individual and faction is subordinate to the community, the open community is subordinate to the individual and faction (For a case study of these processes in an Indian community see Friedrich 1965).

A Catholic organization whose dual function it is to administer church affairs and to propagate the orthodox version of the faith has replaced the religious wing of the hierarchy. Posts in the organization are unpaid (excepting the priest and sacristan). Nevertheless, they are filled on a voluntary basis and involve no expenditure of personal resources. Its functions are supported by voluntary donations and by funds supplied by national or international Catholic organizations. Surviving cofradías may try to compete with the organization; usually they are in the process of extinction.

This does not mean that orthodox Catholics have a
monopoly over the community's following; Protestant missions and churches often enjoy a healthy flock of their own. In the early phases of proselytization, Protestants bicker with the Catholics and with each other. Proliferation of Protestants often means proliferation of Protestant sects. Later, alliances begin to emerge for some purposes among different sects or even among some Protestant sects and the Catholic organization. Purposes vary: political alliances, movement for a school, support for an open-air revival.

Other corporate structures disappear. Distinction between insider and outsider cease to be important. Marriages may be effected between member and outsider. Outsiders move into the community as permanent residents. Senior governmental and ecclesiastical posts may well be assumed by outsiders. In the meantime, ideological constraints upon the accumulation of wealth weaken or dissolve. Efforts to conceal wealth differences diminish. Some now wear finer clothes than others. Some improve the facades of their houses. Manufactured goods that do not fit traditional consumption patterns appear on the market. Land is accumulated not for the sake of increasing one's capacity for generous sponsorship of religious fiestas, but to plant a profitable cash crop.

To summarize, corporate mechanisms characteristic of traditionally-organized communities are weak or
entirely lacking in open communities. There is no estate. Distinctions between insider and outsider are lacking. There are collective activities, but participation is neither compulsory nor effectively enforced. In both political and religious spheres, the community is subordinate to the individual and the factional alliance of individuals.

3. Summary and Synthesis.

The foregoing discussion portrays the three community types as ideal types, or as Brown prefers to call them, "extreme types" (1963: 179-180). The closed corporate community represents one polar extreme, the open community the other, and the semi-corporate community an intermediate type that combines the salient features of those polar types. There are, of course, communities that do not exhibit all features of one type or another. Thus one Cantelense informant tells me that when land was owned in common in Cantel, there were nevertheless large holdings owned by a few Cantelenses. Empirical barriers prevent the existence of communities corresponding to the ideal types; were the barriers absent, communities would correspond to ideal types, given the respective conditions formulated below. The aim of the present typology is to draw baselines with which to compare Cantel's past and present politico-religious structure. Once this is done, it is
possible to compare the ideal structures with the actual and compare the postulated conditions that hypothetically generate the ideal structures with those that actually generated the real structure. Brown implies this process when he writes:

*Extreme types* are used to classify in the hope that an explanation of behaviour of actual cases will be suggested by the comparison of the ideal and actual cases. The explanation can only be *suggested* because the properties of the extreme type, as the example of the folk society reveals, are not related by the hypotheses of a deductive system. . . . [The suggested assertion] would require much refinement, of course, but it might be transformed into a hypothesis which, in conjunction with others similarly refined, could be applied in the explanation of actual social processes. Yet unless these hypotheses formed part of a deductive system they would be of secondary importance in the use of extreme types. For they would be isolated hypotheses, and there would still remain the major work of relating the hypotheses to each other so that the presence of some explained the presence of others (1963: 184).

Now that the ideal—or extreme—types of communities have been formulated, I will turn to the formulation of the conditions that generate each type.

II. Community Types: An Explanation.

The past and present structure of neither Cantel nor of other communities appeared out of thin air; they were, and continue to be, products of historical processes, of webs of group relations that extend spatially to the national level and even the international, that extend temporally back to the Conquest and even well
before the Conquest. This means that, to begin with, structures of part-societies and part-cultures develop not only as a result of their particular ecotypes but also as products of their relations with wider societies. I will develop this set of assumptions in detail. Furthermore, there were sets of historical circumstances that contributed to the formation and continued existence of closed corporate communities, semi-corporate communities, and open communities. These suppositions will guide the discussion which follows.

A. Assumptions of the Study. The structure of a community is in part the product of its ecotype, "a system of energy transfers from the [natural] environment to man" (Wolf 1966: 19). There are two types of energy transfers: "a set of food transfers and a set of devices used to harness inorganic sources of energy to the productive process" (Wolf 1966: 19). Until recently, Meso-American peasants depended mainly upon human and animal labour, for effecting these energy transfers, i.e. on a paleotecnic ecotype. Many peasants still do. Therefore, there existed a low ceiling that limited their productive capacity. In recent years, however, peasants have adopted devices employing combustible fuels and requiring the skills supplied by technical training and science. The ceiling that limits their productivity has been lifted to a high level. Yet they have had to
pay the price of specialization and a high degree of dependence upon the market to obtain other goods (Wolf 1966: 19-37).

The different ecotypes imply variations in the organization of production. Men depending on paleotecnic modes of production depended upon their own efforts for obtaining the necessities of life. They were not completely isolated. There were necessities that had to be bought. There were times in which each cultivator had to hire labour or make arrangements for exchanging labour with his neighbours. But their dependence upon the outside world does not compare with cultivators dependent upon neotechnic ecotypes. By employing machinery, improved breeds of plants and animals, and fertilizer, the cultivator depends upon people who possess many skills that he does not. Moreover, he must pay for all those things somehow; he must therefore produce for the market. At one and the same time he must combine factors of production at the lowest possible cost and sell at the highest possible price in a products market. Moreover, he has competitors selling the same products on the same market. Therefore, he must reinvest part of his profit to permit expansion of his operation or go bankrupt. Nor does bankruptcy free the man from the market, for he must still eat and stay warm. He must work for
wages. Again, the availability of work depends upon a labour market.

With similar considerations, Kaplan formulates a so-called Law of Cultural Dominance:

... that cultural system which more effectively exploits the energy resources of a given environment will tend to spread in that environment at the expense of less effective systems. ... Put another way, the law states that a cultural system will tend to be found precisely in those environments in which it yields a higher energy return per unit than any alternative system available (1960: 75-76).

Thus, what integrates one culture destroys another.

The subsistence farmer who reinforces his bonds with kinsmen or neighbours assures himself of extra hands during harvest or help in case of crop failure. The commercial farmer or labourer who reinforces his bonds incurs obligations that his profits or wages will not cover.

Yet no part-culture or part-society stands alone, sufficient unto itself. Communities, be they of peasants, farmers, or proletarians, are but "local termini of a web of group relationships which extend through intermediate levels from the level of the community to that of the nation" (Wolf 1965: 86). Wider societies affect localities in at least two ways. First, they represent a source of income for local persons, either through jobs or through markets for what local persons produce. Second, they "exercise power to transfer a part of..."
from the producing community to people other than the producers" (Wolf 1965: 87). This means that the wider society "must also wield power to limit the autonomy of its constituent communities and to interfere in their affairs" (Wolf 1965: 87). One may add, as Frank does, that the powers that effect the transfer of surplus from producer to non-producer extend beyond the underdeveloped nation-state and involves the metropolitan nations of North America, Western Europe, and Japan. As Frank puts it,

... it is this exploitative relation which in chain-like fashion extends the capitalist link between the capitalist world and national metropolises to the regional centers (part of whose surplus they appropriate), and from these to local centers, and so on to large landowners or merchants who expropriate surplus from small peasants or tenants, and sometimes even from these latter to landless laborers exploited by them in turn. At each step along the way, the relatively few capitalists above exercise monopoly power over the many below, expropriating some or all of their economic surplus and, to the extent that they are not expropriated in turn by the still fewer above them, appropriating it for their own use (Frank 1967: 7-8).

One must discern, however, not only outside factors which affect the internal culture of the part-culture but also the "manner in which the part-culture is organized into the larger socio-cultural whole" (Wolf 1967c: 504-505). Hence the rationale of the three-fold typology of communities presented earlier: each type represents—or represented—specific adaptations to the
demands, opportunities, and limitations emanating from the wider society. The Spaniards, as we will see, imposed organizational structure and set of demands that differed from the Guatemalan government and power structure now imposes upon its communities.

This implies a historical dimension. There are now no closed corporate communities; yet they abounded in the last century and the two hundred years that preceded it. Semi-corporate communities began to displace closed corporate communities in the last century and now exist in abundance. Even they are now being displaced by open communities. It is my task, therefore, to account for the changes in community structure in terms of their adaptation to the changes of the wider social field.

Finally, there is an element of cultural inertia. "A culture at rest tends to remain at rest", as Harding's Principle of Stabilization puts it (1960: 54). Once the structure of a community has been established, it changes only with considerable resistance from its members. Thus, a political-religious hierarchy will demand from its community members commitments in time and resources long after they are unable to fulfill them. For this reason it is impossible to ignore the closed corporate community as a type even though there are few records available of Cantel prior to its becoming a semi-corporate community. The essential structure of
closed corporate communities was cast among most Indian villages by the seventeenth century. Only in the mid-twentieth century has any community thrown off the last vestiges of a corporate structure.

Thus the basic assumption of this analysis is historical: community structures of one type or another are products of the ecological and social circumstances in which they are found. Exploitation of agricultural resources bind the peasant to the soil. The existence of one ecotype or another binds the peasant to his neighbours or to the market. The obligations and opportunities that emanate from the wider society determine the structure of the part-culture. Once a given structure has set, it changes with new circumstances only with difficulty, but it does change eventually.

B. Historical Background: Closed Corporate Communities.

1. The Pre-Conquest Era. Some of the structural features of closed corporate communities were present within the pre-Conquest kingdoms of Meso-America. The theocratic form of government was nothing new for the native Guatemalans. The Quiche kingdom, for example, was divided into ranked patrilineages, "the priests of which were responsible for the administration of a geographic unit of the kingdom" (Ebel 1969: 144). Moreover, the administrative structure consisted of "a series of graded religio-administrative posts. . .within each
lineage" in which a potential leader "had to work his way up the political ladder and, as he moved higher, was subject to competition from persons of other lineages" (Ebel 1969: 144). Although heredity was probably the major criterion for recruitment and promotion, "the system tended to place in the highest positions the most experienced, competent, and religiously acceptable persons" (1969: 144). Carrasco (1961) describes a similar system of recruitment and promotion for the Aztec Calpulli, territorial units that were probably endogamous mononilineal descent groups. (See also Gibson 1964; Soustelle 1970; Vaillant 1941). Thus, the administrative structures of at least one Guatemalan empire, together with their criteria for recruitment and advancement, shows strong similarities to those of post Conquest civil-religious hierarchies. The essential difference is that kinship units no longer controlled the governmental structure of post-Conquest communities and that such communities lacked a supra-local nobility.

Both the Maya-Quiche and Aztec owned land communally, although rights to its use were exercised by individuals and not by calpulli or their Mayan equivalent as a whole. Only the nobility owned land privately, a privilege they retained even after the Conquest (Solorzano 1963: 24; Soustelle 1970: 79-80; for the lowland Maya see also
Thus, the provisions that the Spaniards later made for communal property likewise had their antecedents.

Ritual expenditures also had their forerunners. Among the Aztec, the *calpullac*, the head man of the *calpulli* who was elected for life, had to meet heavy expenses, for according to Soustelle,

The frequent district councils met in his house, and he was expected to offer the elders food and drink: even today, in a Mexican village, if an Indian who has an official position does not do the thing handsomely, he loses face; it was the same then (1970: 40).

The Spanish friar Toribio de Benavente, writes that some Indians, in the days before the Conquest,

labored two or three years and acquired as much as possible for the purpose of honoring the demon (deity) with a feast. On such a feast they not only spent all that they possessed but even went into debt, so that they would have to do service a year and sometimes two years in order to get out of debt (1951; quoted in Wolf 1959: 216).

Thus the main structural characteristics of closed corporate communities—communal land, theocratic hierarchies, ritual expenditure—were all present before the coming of the Spaniard.

2. The Conquest: The Uses of the Indian. Nevertheless, the essential features of the corporate structures within Meso-American Indian communities were reorganized to fit the needs of the Spaniard. According to Wolf, three interests brought Spaniards to the new world:
"Some came to the New World to find gold; others to find order; still others to save souls" (1959: 159).

In one way or another, the demands of all three interests required the control and exploitation of Indians. The colonists required Indian labour for their mines, for the extraction of their indigo, for their haciendas. The administrators, and the crown that they served, required the control of Indian labour to control the colonists. The Church required Indian souls, together with Indian assistance in the construction, maintenance, and administration of churches (see Wolf 1959: 156-173 for further discussion).

The need to control Indian labour spurred the formation of an administrative structure in Spanish America. At first, in the years following the conquest of the West Indies, the Crown was willing to accommodate the needs of the first settlers in the New World, for they had performed a service in bringing the pagan Indians under the sway of Spain and Christendom. The Crown thus awarded its soldiers trusteeships, or encomiendas, over the indigenous communities of the West Indies. The trustees (encomenderos) were to oversee the Christianization of their charges and provide for their welfare. In return, they had the right to exact commodity tribute and labour services from the Indians under their control. Needless to say, most encomenderos accepted the privileges
but not the responsibilities (Gibson 1966: 49-50; Jones 1940: 113-117).

Yet by the time Cortés' forces were fighting the Aztecs, the Crown was acting to abolish the encomienda. For, as Wolf points out,

If Indian labor made the wheels turn in this New Spain, then whoever was lord and master of Indians would also be lord and master of the land. With unlimited access to Indian energy, the colonists would soon have no need of Spain nor king; hence the Crown had to limit this access, supervise it, curtail it (1959: 190).

Charles I's first attempt to abolish the encomienda by decree lacked teeth, for Cortés granted encomiendas to himself and to his subordinates as his forces subjugated one Indian empire after another. Only after some forty years did the king manage to replace the encomienda with another system of labour recruitment, the repartimiento (Gibson 1966: 48-61; Jones 1940: 113-140).

Under repartimiento, the Spanish agriculturalist, rancher, or minor needing labour applied to the corregidor or other local official responsible to the Crown. Upon approval of his application, he received a specified number of Indians for a designated period and for specific tasks. Under a quota system, each Indian village was to provide a proportion of its male inhabitants for work under the repartimiento (Gibson 1966: 143-144; Jones 1940: 139; Wolf 1959: 190, 214).
At the time of the conquests, Indians lived in hamlets scattered throughout the countryside; this was clearly inimical to the interests of both colonist and administrator, for inaccessibility to Indians meant inaccessibility to labour. Moreover, they occupied land that colonists wanted. Nor were the friars entirely disinterested, for long distances between church and outlying hamlet hampered efforts of conversion. Thus the Indians were forced to relocate to more concentrated settlements. Under the provisions of the Law of Burgos, Indians were to be resettled near their encomenderos; each new community was to have a church (Simpson 1966: 32). Relocation of most communities, however, was postponed until the mid-sixteenth century. At that time the Mendicants directed the remodeling of town layouts to conform to the Spanish grid pattern (with central plaza, town hall, and church) and ordered the forced relocation of Indians still living in hamlets to the towns (Gibson 1955: 585). In Guatemala, Dominican friars directed the operation. As many as twenty hamlets might be consolidated into one village. Each consolidated village was allotted an ejido (communal land holding) of a square league. Usually the area of land assigned to a consolidated village was smaller than that in the original hamlets (Jones 1940: 169; Milla 1937b: 118-121).
The new communities were governed through indirect rule. A corregidor or other regional officer, always a Spaniard, controlled a region (corregimiento); rarely was he in charge of a single village only. The cabildo, or town council, ran the affairs of the village. The alcalde served as mayor and as judge in minor criminal and civil cases (major cases were referred to the corregidor). The regidores, along with the alcalde, legislated local ordinances. These officials were also responsible for allocating land parcels to individuals and for levying tribute and labour assignments upon individuals. Part of the tribute went to the caja de comunidad (community chest) to finance communal projects and the costs of administration. Serving as guardians of common lands, the town's cattle and sheep, the jail, and other community property were the mayordomos. Attending the church and cabildo as policemen, messenger boys, and street-cleaners were the alguaciles (Gibson 1955: 588; 1964: 179-186; 1966: 148-149). In Guatemala, colonial law provided for an alcalde, a síndico, and four regidores to govern each Indian community (Milla 1937: 124). Thomas Gage, who served as a priest in Chiapas and Guatemala between 1625 and 1637, has described the local governments as follows:

From the Spaniards (the Indians) have borrowed their civil government, and in all towns they have one or two alcaldes, with more or less regidores (who are
as aldermen or jurats amongst us), and some alguaciles more or less, who are as constables, to execute the orders of the alcalde (who is a mayor) with his brethren. In towns of three or four hundred families or upwards, there are commonly two alcaldes, six regidores, two alguaciles mayores, and six under, or petty, alguaciles. Some towns are privileged with an Indian governor, who is above the alcaldes and all the rest of the officers. These are changed every year by new election, and are chosen by the Indians themselves, who take their turns by the tribes or kindreds, whereby they are divided (Gage 1958: 227).

Hence, the governmental structures that were later to become the civil wings of politico-religious hierarchies were present in Guatemalan communities by 1637. That Indians took "their turns by the tribes or kindreds" strongly suggest that the governing body was a rotating system.

Originally, former Indian nobles (caciques) were given the reins of local government. They were allowed privileges denied other Indians (maceguales, or commoners)—to ride a horse, bear arms, wear Spanish clothing and to own land. Although these privileges were partly consequences of Spanish respect for status, they also were meant to "induce (the caciques) to function as cooperative puppet bosses in their communities" (Gibson 1964: 155; 1966: 149-150). Nevertheless, indigenous distinction between noble and commoner was later to dissolve.

In the meantime, the friars were going about
reorganizing their Indian charges. Paralleling the town government was an indigenous administrative structure of the church. Each priest had a retinue of Indian altar-boys, gardeners, messenger-boys, and a fiscal responsible for the care of the church in the priest's absence. In the early seventeenth century, cofradías were introduced, primarily to allow more Indians to participate in church affairs than previously, but also to keep a check on their "paganistic" activities. The festivities for which the cofradías were responsible furthered these ends, for, as Foster writes,

Indian love of pageantry was satisfied through the impressive observances of the day of the patron saint of each village and the processions of Holy Week and Corpus Christi. The clergy's power to give or deny permission to participate in these festivities gave them a powerful instrument of social and economic control which, at best, promoted sobriety and morality in the community, and at worst made possible exploitation of the Indians in the form of extralegal personal services (1953: 18).

The cofradías also were responsible for raising funds to support church activities, festive and otherwise. In Guatemala, the Indians were organized within the administrative body of the church itself. The fiscal was, according to Gage, "the priest's clerk and officer". He knew how to read and write and was "commonly the master of music". His was the duty to teach the youths of the community the "prayers, sacraments, commandments, and other points of catechism
allowed by the Church of Rome.

Other Indians staffed the church as cooks, butlers (chahal), gardeners, sacristans, servants, and stable-hands (1958: 230-232). Gage also does mention the presence of dance-leaders and fiestas. He adds that "the owner of a saint maketh a great feast in the town" and continues by stating that this "owner":

presenteth unto the priest sometimes two or three, sometimes four or five, crowns for his Mass and sermon, besides a turkey and three or four fowls, with as much cacao as will serve to make him chocolate for all the whole octave or eight days following. So that in some churches, where there are at least forty of these saints' statues and images, they bring unto the priest at least forty pounds a year (1958: 235).

Although he does not mention the presence of the cofradías that were to become widespread in Guatemalan villages, he does mention the elements present in a religious cargo system: individual responsibility for the care of the saint, together with the festivities celebrating its name and its expenses.

This period, which for Guatemala La Farge applies the term "Colonial Indian", was one during which the basic structure of the civil-religious hierarchy took shape (1940: 288-290). By this time, the Indians were relocated into concentrated settlements with communal land, their municipalidad had been established, their churches constructed, their religious associations organized. This was also the period in which, in
Guatemala at least, the Spaniards exercised maximal control. Beginning in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the Spaniards began to lose their grip upon the Indian communities in favour of the colonists. At this point, defensive structures of closed corporate communities began to emerge.

3. Consolidation of the Closed Corporate Community.

Beginning in various periods between the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, Spanish control over her colonies began to loosen. In some regions, notably in the Valley of Mexico, this followed from what Borah has called "the Century of Depression", (1952). In other regions, Spaniards found the colonies less valuable for exploitation; this was the case in Guatemala. In either case, regionalistic economies dominated by the hacienda emerged. I will first discuss the theoretical framework concerning the relationships between the hacienda and closed corporate communities as discussed by Wolf and Mintz in a seminal article on landed estates (1957). I will then briefly review the events that surrounded their emergence in Mexico and Guatemala.

According to Wolf and Mintz, haciendas tend to occur where markets are "limited to a locality or a region". They may specialize in a particular major cash crop, but they rarely exclude other crops needed for food for
themselves, their labourers and people within nearby localities. By committing land to both types of crops, the **hacienda** maintains a second line of defence on which it can fall back if its market grows unstable. Less committed to the demands of a national or supra-national market, it has few ties which bind it to units beyond the region or locality. (Thus) it retains a greater capacity than the plantation for self-regeneration after a slump (1957: 388-389).

Hence, the **hacienda** is capable of expanding production of a cash crop when its prices are high, and retrenching when and if the bottom drops out of the market (1957: 388-389).

Nevertheless, there is a drawback: because markets are restricted, **haciendas** must operate "within a situation of scarcity". The institutions from which capital can be borrowed by the **hacendado** for his operations are not only usually confined to a region but also prefer to lend small amounts with an eye at obtaining low, secure returns. Thus the **hacendado** relies on a low level of technology and a high input of labour. For this reason, he must rely on inducements other than wages to bring workers to his farm. He accomplishes this mainly by expanding his land holdings. Wolf and Mintz write:

"[The hacienda] needs this land less for purposes of agricultural production than to deprive its labourers of economic alternatives to participation in hacienda operations. It pre-empts
the agricultural resources to prevent any independent agricultural activities from being carried out by its potential labour supply; and it attempts to bar its own labour force from seeking economic independence outside the limits of the hacienda by cultivating land not owned or controlled by the hacienda (1957: 389).

After securing the workers, the hacendado allots them "subsistence plots and other perquisites that take the place of money (1957: 390). Debt also binds the worker to the estate. Rewards (sponsorship of baptisms and marriage, periodic fiestas, and the like)-- and punishments (the whipping post)--take the place of hiring and firing as sanctions (1957: 386-387, 389-395).

Nevertheless, there is a limit to the size to which the hacienda can expand. This limit is reached when the hacienda "has reached its goal of setting narrow limits to the economic alternatives open to its resident labouring population and to the potential labour supply in the community surrounding it" (Wolf and Mintz 1957: 389). The close personalized ties between owner and worker--the only mechanisms of control that the owner has in view of the lack of capital--can "no longer cope with the surplus of population nominally under its control (Wolf 1965: 96). At this point, the hacienda ceases to grow.

Paradoxically, the closed corporate communities remaining at the fringes are advantageous to the hacendado, for such communities constitute "a convenient
reservoir of laborers where men (maintain) their labor-power until needed, at no additional cost to the entrepreneur" (Wolf 1959: 230). The labourers have their own land to cultivate; the hacendado need not provide them with food and shelter for the entire year. At the same time, work on the hacienda provides the worker with income with which to purchase goods that he cannot produce himself and with which to meet his ceremonial obligations. Moreover, the hacienda acts as a buffer between community and outside intruders. Thus, there exists a symbiotic relation between closed corporate community and hacienda (Wolf 1959: 230; 1965: 91; Wolf and Mintz 1957: 389).

Yet this symbiotic relationship is hostile; this, the members of the community never forget. At any moment, the hacendado might seek to expand his operation. Even if he does not, the community faces other pressures. Landless mestizos might try to claim parcels of Indian land as their own; even individuals who live within the community might attempt the same thing. Either would weaken the community; individual economic interests and those of the community do not often correspond. Furthermore, communities might expand their holdings at the expense of other communities.
In this light, the defence and control mechanisms of closed corporate communities make sense. By preventing outsiders from entering the community—via proscriptions upon extra-village exogamy and pawning or selling of land to outsiders—the community prevents the formation of factions whose interests may lay with the hacienda or with nation-oriented groups. More importantly, the land resources do not fall into the hands of these factions. In the meantime, the communal ownership of resources force the commitment of individuals to the community, if only because the material well-being of the individual is tied in with whether the community can hang on to its land. The politico-religious hierarchy reinforces this commitment; not only are its activities financed by communally-owned resources, but also because all, not only a privileged few are involved in it at some time or another. In the face of outsiders, who constitute a threat both to individual and community alike, the corporate structure thus serves to solidify its members (Wolf 1965: 91; 1967a: 240-241).

There is evidence to corroborate Wolf and Mintz's assertion that the hacienda and the closed corporate community were symbiotic products of the so-called "Century of Depression" (1575-1675). Although some haciendas emerged earlier than 1575 to supply the needs
of mining camps, cities, cacao plantations, and so on. Nevertheless, the bulk of the food consumed by the colonists came from the Indians via tribute and encomienda (Borah 1951: 32-33; Chevalier 1963: 310-311). Under these circumstances, epidemics that the Spaniards had introduced into the New World led to a dramatic reduction of the Indian population. The estimated population of Central Mexico plunged from 11,000,000 in 1519 to 1,500,000 in 1650 (Cook and Simpson 1978; cited in Borah 1951: 3). In all of Meso-America, six-seventh of the entire indigenous population perished within that time period (Wolf 1959: 196). In Guatemala, one-third of the Indian population was wiped out in the first century following the Conquest (Dessaint 1962: 327). This meant a shortage both in labour and food for the colonists. The mining industry, which had been expanding enough to establish several mining communities in northern Mexico, came to a virtual standstill by 1580. Surface and shallow deposits were exhausted by that date; additional labour was needed to reach deeper deposits, and that labour was unavailable. In Guatemala, the alluvial deposits of gold had been exhausted by 1600, and what other mines were being exploited declined progressively in their yields (Jones 1940: 19). Solorzano cites the lack of available labour as one reason for the decline
in mining activity (1963: 156). Other industries declined for lack of labour. The silk-raising industry, a mainstay of the economy of New Spain, fell off. So did the cacao industry, an important export crop in both Mexico and Guatemala. Whereas cacao had been cited as the "only valuable crop in extracolonial trade" for Guatemala in 1573, the production of cacao had fallen off to a point where "by the end of the colonial period local production was only sufficient to supply local needs and often hardly that" (Jones 1940: 197, 198). Moreover, the gold and silver that swamped Spain led to rampant inflation in 1600, raising the prices for Spanish goods at the same time that the purchasing powers of the colonies plunged. No longer could the colonies depend upon the mother country for its necessities, nor rely upon her to buy the wools, dyes, and hides that New Spain could still supply (Borah 1951; Chevalier 1963: 50-83; Wolf 1959: 201). The indigo and cochineal industries that emerged in Guatemala at the beginning of the sixteenth century were plagued by competition with Mexico and other Central American areas that also produced these dyes, by pirate raids along the Atlantic coast, and by fluctuating prices on the Spanish market (Jones 1940: 200-201). Therefore, neither Guatemala nor Mexico could depend upon a steady income from abroad after 1585.
The decline in Indian population also meant a food shortage that reached crisis proportions. The situation was serious enough for Marin Enriquez, the Viceroy of Mexico, to order the establishment of a public granary in 1576 and for other cities to follow suit. A public granary was established in Guatemala City in 1585. Hoarding or purchase of foods was prohibited, prices were fixed, and trade in foodstuffs was restricted to public squares, legally designated market places, and the state storehouse (Borah 1951: 22-25; Solorzano 1963: 181-182).

The fact that neither New Spain nor Guatemala could rely upon the mother country for its manufactured goods threw the colonists back upon their own resources. This, combined with the shortage of labour and the depopulation of the Indian, proved auspicious for the hacienda. Since Spain had forbidden or severely restricted intercolonial and interregional trade, institutions allowing for a national, integrated economy were lacking. Moreover, mountainous barriers separated (and still separate) one region from another, while the diversity of ecological zones within each region allowed for some measure of self-sufficiency. The poor transportation systems did little to overcome these natural barriers. Regional economies in both Mexico and Guatemala were inevitable (Wolf 1955a: 181-182, 193-195; Chevalier 1963: 308-314 et passim).
The *hacienda* thus became the dominant institution in each region. Food shortages combined with the decimation of the Indian population facilitated their expansion. With the Indians decimated, the *hacienda* virtually cornered the market for agricultural produce. By 1600, the main supplier of food for the major cities were the *haciendas*; the *haciendas* of the Valley of Tlala and of the Tlajomulco region fed Guadalajara, and those of the Valley of Atlixco fed Mexico City in bad crop years (Borah 1951: 33-34).

Nevertheless, the depopulation, combined with Spanish labour regulations, left the *haciendas* with the prospect of a labour shortage. According to Borah, the forced labour mechanisms allowed by law (i.e. the *repartimiento*) failed to provide sufficiently for the needs of the *hacienda*. The declining Indian population, aggravated the shortage (1951: 35-36). The *hacendados* of New Spain therefore sought to circumvent the laws. Primary among them was the debt contract, whereby the landowner advanced sums of money to the Indian, who was then obliged to work it off on the *hacienda*. Frequently, the Indian incurred a greater debt while working, and thus bound himself to the *hacienda* for life. Where this happened, sons usually inherited their father's debts. Even for those Indians in less dire circumstances, the *hacienda*, with a comparative degree of economic
security and with the novelty of Spanish consumer goods available in its *tiendas de raya*, provided a more attractive alternative to the encysting communities. Indeed, entire communities might be absorbed into an *hacienda* (Borah 1951: 42-43; Chevalier 1963: 207-220; Gibson 1955: 592-598).

There was a similar situation in Guatemala. One reason that the Indian population had been relocated into concentrated settlements had been to make available a large labour supply to the colonists (Jones 1940: 169). The Indian depopulation had intensified this situation. According to Jones,

Many holdings formerly possessed by Indians had become unoccupied by the decline of the native population and by the pressure put upon it to establish itself in pueblos. Spaniards had set up claims to the best of such *terrenos baldios* [vacant lands] by occupancy. Assertion of royal sovereignty over such territories might not displace them but it did destroy any vestige of Indian title, and the decrease of their holdings made the Indians more dependent upon the Spaniard who could offer them work (Jones 1940: 137)

Efforts were therefore made to relocate—and keep—the Indian population around the capital city and in regions where large towns or haciendas were located. Often force was used; threats had been made to give each Indian living in Ciudad Vieja (the first capital of Guatemala) 100 lashes if empty houses built for the Indians were not occupied (Jones: 146).
Although Spanish control of the peripheral regions of her colonies, including Guatemala, began to weaken after 1720 (Colby and van den Berghe 1969: 62-66; Wolf 1955a: 191-195), the *repartimiento* system remained in force among villages located near urban centres and large landed estates. In Quetzaltenango, where "Don Ignacio Urbina" whose holdings included most of the land in the northern part of Cantel) ran his wheat and corn operations, *repartimiento* remained in force for all communities but Zunil. This occurred sometime between 1750 and 1800 (Solorzano 1963: 194-195). Some villages escaped *repartimiento* altogether, but they were located far from the cities and the *haciendas*; the villages of Huehuetenango and northern El Quiche are examples (Colby and van den Berghe 1969: 64-71; La Farge 1940: 286-287). Even these villages would become integrated into the economy with the coming of Barrios (see below).

The economic regionalism, together with the mechanisms of forced labour (which by this time included debt bondage), persisted into the period of independence. Although a Federation of Central America was formed in 1824, it dissolved in the intervening years between that date and 1839, the year that Guatemala withdrew from the federation (Jones 1940: 76, 91). Regional insurrection was common, as exemplified by an attempt in Los Altos (western Guatemala, which included
Quezaltenango) to withdraw from the federation to form a sixth Central American republic (Jones 1940: 45). Consequently, the Indian communities remained at the mercy of the hacendados in each region—and sometimes of each other. Battles among communities for land were endemic during that period (Solorzano 1963: 279-280). The mandamiento, a modification of the repartimiento system of labour recruitment, persisted into the Barrios regime. So did debt bondage (Jones 1940: 151-152).

Given these circumstances, two alternatives were open to Indian communities: maintain their autonomy via social defense mechanisms or else become appendages of haciendas. Unable to resist the haciendas, many communities joined them. Nevertheless, the haciendas of neither Mexico nor Guatemala were able to absorb them all; hence Indian communities survived at the fringes. Thus, the Sierra and Lake Tarrascan villages of west central Mexico, and such Nahuatl villages as Tepoztlan in central Mexico survived at their fringes (Lewis 1951: xxv; West 1948: 17; Wolf 1965: 90). In Chiapas and Guatemala, the haciendas of the Pacific coast and piedmont left intact the villages of the highlands (Whetten 1948; 1961: 8-16, 32-43, 92-102, 124-143; Monteforte Toledo 1959: 141-142). There
were other communities, particularly in the more remote regions of Chiapas and Guatemala, that remained entirely autonomous from hacienda influence for long periods. They were visited by few Catholic priests, the Spanish army was unable or unwilling to provide protection for non-Indians venturing into those regions, and elements of indigenous beliefs and social organization underwent a resurgence there (Colby and van den Berghe 1969: 64-69; LaFarge 1940: 285-288).

There is some evidence that, true to Wolf's predictions, the mechanisms of defence and internal social control characteristic of closed corporate communities emerged during the period of hacienda expansion. First of all, the nobility disappeared, either migrating or becoming absorbed into the community as equals. This process occurred at differing rates: Carrasco reports that caciques in some communities retained their land and their rights to govern into the nineteenth century (1952: 13; 1961: 493). Some even survived into the twentieth century, as in Tepoztlan (Lewis 1951: 50-51, 91-97). Most communities, however, had dispensed with the privileges of caciques by the eighteenth century (Gibson 1964: 163-164).

This tendency toward the leveling of class distinctions was the product of pressures generated from levies of
tribute and corvee labour, combined with depopulation within the villages themselves. These obligations, it will be recalled, were imposed upon the community collectively rather than upon individuals. Everyone in the community was in the same boat. Moreover, the depopulation of communities resultant from disease and emigration left the remnant population with even heavier obligations, for the quotas of tribute and labour often were not adjusted according to the fluctuations of local population (Gibson 1964: 210, 219; Wolf 1967a: 240). Finally, in the late sixteenth century, the Spaniards enacted a law that treated the community tribute debts as the personal debts of the alcaldes (or gobernadores) and member of the cabildos. Of this, Gibson writes

Indian officials unable to pay were jailed as criminals. Their houses, lands, and other properties were seized and sold, and the proceeds were taken as full or partial payment of tribute debts. The debts were held to be inheritable by the descendants and executors of deceased gobernadores (1964: 218).

Thus, being a cacique eligible for high office ceased to be a privilege attended by financial gain.

In the meantime, the rights of caciques to private properties ceased, and the communal principle of land ownership strengthened. Carrasco states that there were several kinds of communal property:
the fundo real, the site on which the town was built; ojido, land for the common use of all the villagers (mainly woods and pasture lands); tierras de repartimiento, land owned by the community but allotted for the personal use of the villagers; and finally propios, lands which were communally worked, or more frequently rented out (1952: 13).

Of the necessity of land and the dangers that outsiders might encroach upon their territory, the Indians were well aware. Gibson cites an Indian land title that contains the following exhortation:

This land is what our grandfathers and fathers left. . . . My sons, you must guard it as the town of God. . . . Never abandon what is God's. . . . All must not be lost when we die. . . . Spaniards come to seize what we have justly won. . . . We urge our sons to know, guard and keep the water, monte, streets, and houses of the town. . . . Sons of the town, guard the lands. . . . Here are its limits and its boundaries. . . . Do not forget. . . . Guard this paper (1964: 271, citing manuscript no. 1312, folio no. 22r, of the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico).

Indian communities made use of Spanish law to defend—and even extend—their holdings. Some Indian communities "denounced" neighbouring baldios (sometimes left by extinct communities), paid the fees of composición, and thus created buffers between themselves and their Spanish neighbours. Others defended their holdings by claiming "ancient possession" to their land, by invoking cédulas (royal orders) forbidding Spaniards to live in Indian towns, or by producing titulos (titles), genuine or counterfeit, showing original settlement by pre-conquest founders (Gibson 1964: 271, 286-288). Sometimes
Spanish friars, literate in the laws concerning land and able to withstand the pressures of neighbouring Spanish landowners, were able to come to the aid of their Indian charges. Indian land was not to be sold without the special review of the viceroy; resident priests and friars saw to it that land was not sold unless the Indian or community concerned were fully aware of the conditions of the sale. Likewise, they saw to it that settlers did not establish their farms closer to Indian communities than the legal limit of 1,100 varas (later reduced to 600). Thus Chevalier maintains that "defense measures seem to have been effective whenever missionaries were in direct control" (1963: 206; Gibson 1964: 286-287).

This is not to say that the system of communal land tenure, with its attendant laws of the Crown, saved communities from absorption into the hacienda; clearly they did not. The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 and of other Mendicants after that date reduced the effectiveness of these mechanisms, for many communities were left without resident priests to defend them (Chevalier 1963: 205-206; Gibson 1964: 112). This made it easier for Spaniards to acquire land by illegal means, as we have seen. Toward the end of the colonial period, communities were often obliged to sell land under their jurisdiction to make up their arrears of
tribute (Gibson 1964: 214, 218). Congregaciones, or forced relocation, usually resulted in loss of land (Gibson 1964: 283-285). The "long term advantage", writes Gibson, was "on the side of the hacendados" (1964: 292).

Communities that survived in the long run did so for one or a combination of the following reasons.

(1) The land of some communities were undesirable from the standpoint of the hacienda. For example, the mountainous character, cold climate, and forest made the territory occupied by the Tarascans of Michoacan undesirable for the raising of cattle or cash crops in large estates (Carrasco 1952: 16). These geographical circumstances were duplicated elsewhere in Meso-America. In Guatemala, land in the highlands are—and were—undesirable from the standpoint of the large landed estate. Whetten cites the following disadvantages of these lands: the cold temperature, which often freezes corn stalks; ear rot of corn grown in the region, resultant from excessive rainfall; the ability of the highland farmer to grow only one crop of corn, as compared to the several crops that the lowlander can grow; and the steepness of some milpa, which contributes to soil erosion (1961: 9-10, 139, 141).

(2) The haciendas reached their limit in the number of personnel that they could absorb without adding considerable capital to their
operations, as we have seen above. (3) Some communities were isolated from the regions of haciendas—examples include the villages of eastern Chiapas and of the mountainous regions of Huehuetenango in Guatemala (Colby and van den Berghe 1969: 64-69; La Farge 1940: 287-289; Wolf 1965: 90-91).

If the land of the community became the communally-held resource that sustained the community members' existence, if it became therefore a patrimony to defend against the encroachment of all outsiders, the civil-religious hierarchy became the social mechanism of that defense. The hierarchy did so partly by reserving the powers of land distribution to the alcalde and the cabildo. Thus, as of the 1880's, the alcalde of Santiago Chimaltenango was responsible for assigning land to individuals according to need and for taking unused land back in the name of the community (Wagley 1957: 59-76). In some Chorti villages where agricultural land of inferior quality was still owned communally, the alcalde had the same responsibility (Wisdom 1961: 324-325). This pattern repeats itself among some of the villages of Lake Atitlan (Tax 1952: 60-62). The fact that the local governments depended upon the produce or rental of some land for part of their revenues strengthened the bonds between land and government.

Thus the governments of Tarascan communities set aside
land (labeled propios) for the purpose of defraying their expenses; these lands were worked by communal labour drafts or, more frequently, rented out (Car-rasco 1952: 13). In Chichicastenango, some of the land was still owned by cofradías (1952). This pattern has also been reported for the post-conquest Aztec (Gibson 1964: 213-214). Monies from propio lands and from part of the tribute collected were kept in the caja de comunidad, a box with three locks; the alcalde kept one key while two principales kept the other two (Gibson 1964: 213). Thus, the local governments of Indian communities maintained direct control over their resources.

If the town governments constituted politico-legal reinforcements over the towns' hold over their lands, the cofradías constituted the ideological. To begin with, the activities of the cofradías, together with that part of the church administrative structure for which the Indians were responsible, were financed from the caja de comunidad, together with the financial contributions of the town at large. Community members were often obliged to pay a tithe to the church. Part of the funds from that source went to the cofradías. Religious officials were also required to make heavy financial contributions to religious activities, but their purses did not become the principal sources of
religious festivities until the late nineteenth century or later. Some cofradías maintained their own properties—land, shops or cantinas—to finance their activities. Thus, the religious sector itself of the town's governmental structure had partial control of community resources (Carrasco 1952: 13; Gibson 1964: 128-131; see also Bunzel 1952: 83-86 for a contemporary example).

The integration of the cofradías and church administration with the cabildo strengthened the bond between ideology and polity. As yet, there is no information as to when this integration took place; undoubtedly this varied from community to community. Nevertheless, the available evidence indicate that the secular and religious bodies were fused together by the eighteenth century, if not before. Carrasco reports that "the custom of making a religious office prerequisite for a civil one or for attaining the status of elder" was being practiced among the Tarascans by the eighteenth century (1952: 29).

There is evidence that between 1821 and 1900 there were also civil-religious hierarchies in Guatemala. In San Juan Ostuncalco, located near Quezaltenango, four principales had final say over the religious and secular affairs of the Indian sector. All had served in the lower offices of the hierarchy. The hierarchy was composed of
two alcaldes (mayors), four regidores (town councilmen), and an escribano (clerk) all chosen by the principales. . . . and an indigenous power structure composed of the principales, the chimanes (shamans), and their lieutenants. Both hierarchies were . . . under the control of the indigenous political leadership (Ebel 1969: 144-145).

In addition, auxiliares, and mayores performed their duties as patrolmen and tax collectors. There was also, at that time, a system of cofradías although, by the close of the century, service in them was not a strict prerequisite for obtaining higher office. The explanation was that "the entire population was 'Catholic' (and) there was no need for a religious test for office-holding. Whether there was such a "religious test" before the time of Barrios is unknown (Ebel 1969: 144-145, 148-149).

The municipalidad and cofrades were chosen at a meeting that included the principales, the incumbent members of the municipalidad, and former town councilmen (including the past alcaldes). Those elected had no choice but to serve. The system was rooted in, as Ebel puts it, "suspicion and defensiveness" (1969: 149). In his words, the municipalidad indígena used its officers to watch the Ladinos lest they encroach on communal forest lands or require their people to work on fincas or on roads beyond the legal limit. . . . [They] settled as many disputes as possible to prevent their going into the hands of Ladino officials (1969: 149).
There was a similar structure in Concepcion Chiquirinchapa, headed by *principales* and *chimanes* (shamans). There, few men could become *principal* without first having served as *varón* in the *cofradía* in charge of the image *Señor Sepultado*, or as first *alcalde* in the *municipalidad* (1969: 176-177). The *municipalidad* also had a protective function, although non-members were "although not necessarily...hostile, were nevertheless seen as alien..." Ebel cites the refusal of the community to accede to a proposed boundary change with San Mateo, a neighbouring *municipio*, as an example of the structure's role of defense. Such a boundary change meant a loss of communal lands to Concepcion (1969: 176). This system was present at the turn of the century, but it persisted into 1935, when the *intendente* system was introduced (1969: 175, 179). Ebel briefly describes a similar hierarchical structure for San Martin Sacatepequez; recruitment of officials, the role of the *principales*, and its defensive role were similar to those of the other two communities. The tasks of the *principales* included allotment of communal lands and the recruitment of obligatory labour. His reconstruction was based on interviews with informants whose memories go back to the turn of the century (1969: 187-189).

Other aspects of the emergent corporate structures in Indian communities in the period between the conquest
and the nineteenth century can only be inferred; there is as yet little documentation as to when they developed. Thus, information on village endogamy during that period is lacking. Spaniards were indeed prohibited by law from residing in Indian towns, but when Indians made that their own rule is uncertain. The sale of Indian land to outsiders was also a Spanish prohibition. That these were Indian prohibitions one can infer from ethnographic data of the 1920's and 1930's and from more recent data on conservative villages. Nevertheless, more concrete information on those matters awaits further ethnohistorical research.

5. Conditions Surrounding Closed Corporate Communities.

Given the foregoing considerations, what were the conditions giving rise to, and sustaining, closed corporate communities? Two probable answers may be disposed of at once. One, that civil-religious hierarchies of the post-conquest period were survivals of those existing before the conquest requires the assumption of a three-hundred-year "culture lag." Even if one accepts this concept, one must yet explain how culture lags are sustained, how they continue to lag. Another, that Spaniards passed a law providing for semi-autonomous communities, each with its own plot of land and its own government, does not account for the continued
existence of communities long after administrators of the crown lost their hold over the settlers. This explanation is useful, at best, only for explaining how corporate communities in Meso-America got their start. Besides it cannot be generalized to account for closed corporate communities elsewhere in the world. It explains only a particular set of events.

A more plausible explanation is that closed corporate communities emerged in regions where land was scarce—i.e., where there was hardly more land than that necessary to sustain the residents of a given community—and of poor quality. Indeed, one reason that the Crown was able to control "its" Indians was that they were located in densely populated regions. The Spaniards were never able to completely subjugate the Indians of northern Mexico, the Yucatan, Spanish Amazonia, or Southern Chile; whenever they lost a battle to the Spaniards, they had only to disappear in the bush to escape capture and to set up their encampments elsewhere. For the Indians of Meso-America and of the Andes, there was no bush to disappear into. Hence the Spaniards were able to control those Indians mainly by controlling their land (for further discussion see Steward and Faron 1959). In the meantime, access to the land by all was necessary if every Indian was to survive; hence their communal land tenure system and
and their requirement that the wealthy pay the expenses of religious ceremonials. Finally, the scarcity of this land provided a rallying point against outsiders, whose presence would leave even less land to go around.

Nevertheless, not all communities whose land is scarce are closed and corporate; examples are factory towns and labour camps of rural areas. Among present-day open communities of highland Meso-America, land is, if anything, more scarce than that of the closed corporate communities of the past (See Chapter 4 for data on Cantel.). Scarcity of land may be a necessary condition for the existence of closed corporate communities, but such scarcity is not a sufficient condition.

Wolf has suggested another explanation, this one accounting for the leveling tendencies in closed corporate communities: that they were the products of labour and tribute obligations that were imposed upon the community at large and only secondarily upon the individual. Indeed, the loss of Indians through disease and out-migration left the fixed tribute-payments and corvee charges in the hands of the remnant population. It is reasonable to suppose that these economic pressures accelerated tendencies toward greater egalitarianism and leveling. . . . It is possible that the disappearance of status distinctions between nobles and commoners and the rise of religious sodalities as dispenser of wealth in religious ceremonial were in part consequences of this leveling tendency (1967a: 240).

Yet this explanation is valid only for the period during
which these obligations were imposed upon the community at large. As Wolf himself admits, they were imposed upon individuals at the beginning of the eighteenth century, yet communities of this type persisted until the nineteenth (1967a: 240).

Another explanation has to do with the absence of nation-oriented Indian groups within closed corporate communities. We have seen that the behaviour of individuals was prescribed within narrow limits, and that transactions between members and outsiders were closely controlled, both by the community leaders themselves and by Spanish law. Dealings with Spaniards were confined to work arrangements, either through debt contract (peonage), through repartimiento, or through forced labour on public works projects. We have also seen that both Spanish settlers and administrators had but one interest in the Indian population—their labour. From the standpoint of the Spaniards Indians constituted labour reservoirs and little else. Only secondarily were they artisans and traders, and then mainly in goods consumed by other Indians. Other fields of activity were closed to the common Indian, the macegual. Farming and ranching was monopolized by the agrarian settler; the tasks of administration, by men of Iberian background; artisanry and trading, by Spaniards or criollos who belonged to a craft or mercantile guild. The Indian
had but one status in Spanish society: labourer combined with subsistence farmer.

This meant that the Indian had but two choices: stay in the community and accept his lot, or leave, either to work on the *hacienda* as a *peon* or to eke out a living in the cities or the mines as a marginal worker. If he was to stay in the community, he had no choice but to be yet another subsistence farmer and labourer. He could not be an entrepreneur, for to him to make one windfall after another would destroy the community. He had no land of his own—the land he worked was the community's. He could market no produce in the cities: they were distant, marketing activity was reserved to a privileged guild, and no banker would extend him credit. This does not mean that there were no local artisans or traders; but the artisans serviced the needs only of the Indian community and often worked their own plots. The traders confined their activities to regional Indian markets (Kaplan 1965: 80-84). To summarize, no special interest groups oriented toward the larger society existed within the communities of *macequales*—or could exist. I will suggest later that the existence of such groups are instrumental in destroying the corporate structure of Indian communities.

Yet a closed corporate community is defined not only in terms of homogeneous membership with a patrimony,
but also in terms of the mechanisms to defend that patrimony. For the community is under constant threat of encroachment upon its property by outsiders: large landowners seeking to expand their holdings, landless proletarians seeking ways of obtaining land, even other Indian communities seeking to enlarge their land resources. For this reason, sale of land is proscribed, especially to outsiders. For this reason, endogamic rules are enforced to prevent confusion regarding inheritance rights involving outsiders. For this reason, communities seek to minimize contact between members and outsiders by channeling them through the offices of the alcalde, the regidores, and the principales.

To summarize, then, I suggest the following: closed corporate communities are found where (1) land is scarce; (2) a patrimony (usually land) is owned jointly by the members of the community; (3) there is a danger whereby outsiders could usurp this patrimony; and (4) where no indigenous nation-oriented groups are present or likely to arise.

G. Historical Background: Semi-Corporate Communities

In the second half of the nineteenth century, new pressures came upon the corporate Indian communities of Meso-America in the form of land reform laws, passed in Mexico in 1857 and decreed in Guatemala in 1877. Under the provisions of these laws, land was to be
registered to private individuals, while municipalities and churches were forbidden to own land other than that which their building occupied (LaFarge 1940: 283; McBride 1923: 131; Wagley 1957: 66-68; Whetten 1948). This was nothing less than a frontal attack upon the patrimony which had been the raison d'être of the closed corporate community for some two to three centuries. Nor were the laws promulgated in isolation; in each of the two countries the government had sought to create a yeomanry, middle-class farmers, who they hoped would form the backbone of a developing economy (Wolf 1959: 245-246; 1965: 91-92). Thus, it was hoped, each of the two nations would enter the world market as strong competitors.

This is not to say that Indian communities did not include private landowners. Between 1824 and 1839, some church lands had been expropriated from convents that had folded and sold to private individuals. Solorzano cites one case in which the lands of the Convent Santo Domingo de Coban (located in Alta Verapaz in Guatemala) were sold to private individuals. One parcel of one caballería and one-fourth was sold for $86.00. Nevertheless, most land was communal and the conservative government, which assumed power in 1839, sought to maintain Indian lands as such (1963: 279-283).
The Indian yeomanry that the governments of both countries had (ostensibly, at least) hoped for, never emerged; yet the "reform" laws served a purpose consonant with the economic objectives of the governments—they created a large "free" labour force, a rural peasantry stripped of its lands. Among the objectives of Barrios and his presidential successors in Guatemala were, according to Solorzano:


Mexico and Guatemala were to try to accomplish these aims in two ways: through development of an export crop and through attraction of foreign capital. In Mexico, Juarez, Sebastian, Lerdo, and Diaz, the architects of the liberal "revolution" in that country "sought to develop the country's mineral resources for export and to attract foreign capital for their smelting, petroleum, and textile industries and for their railways" (Cockcroft 1972: 49-53; Wolf 1959: 247). In Guatemala, Barrios and his successors encouraged the growth of coffee production in the Pacific piedmont and in the central plateau region of the Verapaces. Barrios established coffee nurseries in every department, distributed coffee seedlings to every farmer unable to
pay for them, made land grants of one manzana to each farmer wishing to grow coffee, and freed the coffee industry from marketing and export taxes (Jones 1940: 204; Solorzano 1963: 346-349). Another major export crop, bananas, was financed by the investors of the United Fruit Company, which began its operations in Guatemala in 1906 (Monteforte Toledo 1959: 508). Until recently, bananas and coffee made up some 90 per cent of all of Guatemala's export; coffee still constitutes 35 per cent of all of Guatemala's exports in 1967 (Guzman and Herbert 1970: 197; Jones 1940: 213).

All of these exports require considerable investments of capital. Coffee, as Jones points out, requires a heavy initial investment and a delay of years before the trees come into bearing. In the present century, heavy machinery is necessary to prepare the coffee bean for export—shelling, polishing, and sometimes roasting (1940: 206). Bananas likewise require extensive investment, particularly in view of the major risks involved in growing and harvesting the crop: diseases such as sigatoka and Panama disease often may render large stretches of soil useless for further banana production, and windstorms often blow down heavy bunches of bananas. Mechanization in the form of overhead irrigation, pumping units for fungicides and fertilizers, and transportation facilities add to the capital
costs of the plantations (Whetten 1961: 131-132). Obviously, to justify the investment in these enterprises, there must be a high return.

According to Wolf and Mintz, a number of consequences follow from the large volume of capital that the plantation needs. The amount of investment required implies that the enterprise will fail if the market is unsteady and restricted to a region; the steady and voluminous market for its products are to be found mainly in developed countries. Therefore, the market must be international in scope. Unlike haciendas, plantations maintain no "second line of defence" in the form of subsistence crops should the market for its crop collapse; therefore the risk of marketing is high, and the level of productivity must be closely geared to the fluctuations of the market. This means that the factors of production, including labour, must be combined so as to yield the highest possible productivity at the lowest possible cost. The more plentiful the supply of unskilled labour, the lower its cost. Where labour is plentiful and cheap and where large amounts of capital are available, it is cheaper to pay wages to the worker than to maintain such capital-saving mechanisms as the extension of perquisites, the granting of personal credit, or the institutionalization of personal relationships between employer and employee. Such
perquisites run counter to the demands of rational management of extensive land areas for intensive production by decreasing "efficiency" and adding to the costs of administration (Wolf and Mintz 1957: 401).

Therefore, whereas the hacendado depends upon personalistic devices to bind the peon to the hacienda, the plantation owner relies on wages for the same purpose (Wolf and Mintz 1957: 396-401).

Solorzano is thus correct in saying that the developmental processes of the Guatemalan economy (he might have added the Mexican economy as well) would be retarded so long as its agrarian sector produced goods primarily for local or regional consumption (1963: 341). Without force, either of the stomach or of the point of the gun, the Indian whose work in the milpa (cornfield) satisfied most of his needs would be unwilling to work on the plantation or seek other work beneficial to the national economy. Unskilled labour would thus be in short supply. Indeed, LaFarge links the Guatemalan land reform laws to Barrios' desire to force the Indian population to work on the coffee plantations that were then developing during his presidency (1940: 283).

Whether or not the liberals had intended for the reform law to force a large-scale proletarianization of the Indian peasantry, proletarization was indeed its consequence. The Indians of many communities, whether out of ignorance or of defiance, never registered their
land titles. This left them open to unscrupulous mestizos or ladinos to register in their own name land occupied by Indians, then throw the original occupants out. There are today many villages in which the ladino or mestizo sector owns more land per capita than does the Indian. In other villages ladinos own better land even though the Indians may own more land per capita than do the ladinos. In Panajachel, the total area of land owned by 47 resident ladinos amounted on the average to \(8\frac{1}{2}\) times that owned by 125 Indians (Tax 1964: 158). Other villages show similar patterns of land ownership: Chinautla (Reina 1966: 47-48; 61-62), Santa Bualalia (LaFarge 1947), San Luis Jilotepeque (Gillen 1951: 19; Tumin 1952), Santa Lucia Utatlan (Suslow 1949: 45-48), and three Ixil villages in the northern mountainous regions of El Quiche, Guatemala (Colby and van den Berghe 1969: 107-109). The evidence from these villages indicates or suggests that ladinos became numerous and important to the village economies after liberals encouraged the planting of coffee and promulgated the land reforms in Guatemala. Thus the ladinos in Ixil country first arrived in that region in the 1890's as coffee cultivators, acquiring land by purchase or by displacement of Indians through foreclosing on debt or through fraudulent contracts. Although most land is still owned by Indians, the more desirable lands
of lower elevations are owned by ladinos (Colby and van den Berghe 1969: 72-73). Wagley reports similar occurrences elsewhere (1957: 65-69). Moreover, such ladino villages as San Carlos Sija, Sibilia, El Quetzal, and Barillas, all located in the midwestern highlands where the Indian population is densest, were established only during the presidency of Barrios or after (LaFarge 1940: 283; Solorzano 1963: 346). In Mexico, the ejido programme had broken ladino-mestizo semi-monopolistic control over the lands of communities by the time ethnographers came to study them (see for example Lewis 1951: 113-128; Nash 1970: 72-79; Vogt 1969: 19, 26-29).

Even in Indian communities where the mestizo or ladino had not penetrated, some of the Indians themselves registered parcels of land in their own name. The inevitable result was a division, this time within the community itself, between the haves and the have-nots. Suslow describes the process as follows:

Those with more land than the labor to cultivate it, hire jornaleros [day labourers] and then use the surplus to buy more land. The Indians without sufficient land must work as hired laborers to supplement their income. Thus the concentration of land ownership grows side by side with an increasing proportion of landless men available and seeking to work for wages (1949: 45).

Moreover, land holdings become fractured—and smaller—through bilateral inheritance, so that eventually "some
families are faced with the problem of either dividing a plot of land that is so small that none of the families will be able to eke out an existence from their respective part* or leaving the parcel intact to one son, forcing the others to seek other ways to make a living (Suslow 1949: 45). In Santiago Chimaltenango, land is privately owned and unequally distributed. Of 253 landowners included in Wagley's census, only 63, or 21 per cent, own more than 120 cuerdas, the amount regarded locally as sufficient to sustain a man and his family without his having to seek supplemental sources of income (1957: 85-87). The remainder have no choice but to rent land, work as jornaleros for the community's wealthier men, or—as in the case of most male villagers--work on the coffee plantations of the Pacific piedmont during the season of harvest (1957: 87-80). Yet Wagley's older informants insist that such a disparity of land ownership had not always existed, for land was once held communally. Under this arrangement, a man could obtain cultivation rights by paying a small rental fee for the privilege and obtaining permission from the alcalde. As of 1937, there were still 800 cuerdas (1 cuerda equals .1 to .5 acre, depending upon location) of inferior land that was being used under the same arrangements. Since the land had fallen into private hands, however, disparities existed and were increasing.
One informant insisted that "many of the young men
... sold their land and became workers". Indeed, work on the coffee fincas had not become a necessity until recently (he does not specify when). Wagley's study is thus the clearest example of the proletarianization of an Indian peasantry as one consequence of the land reforms (1957: 67-68, 85-89). Sketchier examples are reported for Santa Eulalia (LaFarge 1947), the Chorti of eastern Guatemala (Wisdom 1961: 324-326), the villages of Lake Atitlan (Tax 1964: 150-153), and Tepoztlan (Lewis 1951: 125-128).

Of course, different communities have reacted in different ways to the reform laws. In some villages of Mexico, McBride reports, land titles were vested in a trusted elder, and land continued to be parceled out on a basis of usufruct as before (1923: 91). In others, communal land tenure persisted well into this century; according to Tax, the milpa and forest lands of villages at Lake Atitlan, Guatemala, still were owned in common (1952: 60). So were those of several Chorti villages (Wisdom 1961: 324-326). Ebel reports the existence of communal land holdings in Concepcion Chiquirichapa and San Martin as late as the early 1940's (1969: 179, 188). Generally, however, the best agricultural land passed into private hands; eventually the only land remaining communal were mountains, woods, and inferior agricultural
land (Wolf 1965: 92; see also Lewis 1951: 129-157 for a vivid example of this pattern in Tepoztlan).

The effects that the transformation of land tenure had upon the politico-religious hierarchies of highland Indian villages are poorly documented. Contemporary studies of villages begin in the middle 1920's, and reconstruction of their past events depend upon the selective memories of older informants; thus the earliest date that ethnographies cover is ca. 1890 (Gibson 1955: 602-603). Travel sketches are either nonexistent or superficial. Therefore, a detailed reconstruction of the Indian villages of the nineteenth century awaits extensive ethnohistorical research in local and national archives of Mexico and Guatemala.

There are, nevertheless, fragments that may be placed together, providing a general picture of the structural consequences of the changeover in land tenure. Carrasco suggests one consequence:

In early times the tribute surplus and the public lands or cattle of the towns and of religious brotherhoods provided a substantial amount of the wealth consumed by the ceremonial organization. The loss of these public holdings increased the importance of the individual sponsorship of public functions. This is how the term mayordomo, originally steward or manager of a communal holding, has become the general term for the individual who sponsors with his own wealth a religious festival (1961: 493).

This does not mean that prior to the nineteenth century the individual did not assume financial responsibility
for the office that he assumed. As we have seen, individual assumption of such responsibility was common practice in pre-Columbian times and in the period following the conquest. It does mean that the most important source of financing of festive ceremonials became the individual, not the caja de comunidad, the tithes, or the property set aside for use of the cofradías.

A number of ethnographic referents, however fragmentary, accord with Carrasco's assertion. In all communities where the politico-religious hierarchy remains intact and where land is privately owned, the individual officeholder is the primary source of revenue for the community's fiestas. In Chimaltenango (Wagley 1957: 83-88), Chimaltenango (Wagley 1957: 252-258), Cantel (Nash 1967b: 126-129), San Luis Jilotepeque, (Gillen 1951: 82-91), Panajachel (Tax 1964: 44-46, 532-533), Contla (Nutini 1968), and Zinacantan (Cancian 1965: 80-107), the bulk of the revenue for fiestas come from individual office holders; only a small part of the revenue came from agricultural produce sold on the market, from liquor sales, or from what enterprises owned by cofradías could produce. There is less evidence to assess the reverse proposition: that where most agricultural land is owned communally, public functions are financed by communal resources and
general taxation. I have already shown that, according to Gibson, the post-Conquest Aztec financed their activities from a caja de comunidad (to which part of the tribute was allocated), from the tithe levied upon each community member, and from produce grown on cofradía land and sold (see Gibson 1964: 123f.). Unfortunately, there are no unambiguous contemporary examples. When and how the shift in financing public ceremonies took place awaits considerable ethnohistorical research of villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Carrasco's explanation does two things. First, it accounts for the existence for three centuries of closed corporate communities without one having to accept the leveling hypothesis that was formerly advocated by many anthropologists. That such a hypothesis is best scrapped is attested to by existing data. To begin with, there are substantial differences in wealth—especially in land ownership—among corporate Indian communities for which data are available. Some 12 percent of the 253 landowners in Santiago Chimaltenango own 36% of the total land (Wagley 1957: 85-86). 16 families of 116 own 50 per cent of the land in Panajachel; 6 families own 25 per cent of the land. Moreover, Cancian's data on Zinacantan suggest persistence of wealth differences over generations; the fathers of 26 of 45 men represented
in Cancian's sample who had assumed expensive first cargos also assumed expensive first cargos, while the fathers of 35 of 58 men assuming low-cost cargos also assumed low-cost cargos (1965: 115). Given these data, and given communal tenure of agricultural land in the period before the late nineteenth century, it is less tenable to assert that corporate communities remained intact for three centuries because of the wealth-leveling process generated by ritual expenditure than it is to account for the persistence of these communities in terms of communal ownership of their agricultural land.

Second, Carrasco's assertion suggests something of a compromise between the individualists and collectivists within a given community. Before the land reform laws took effect, there was no question of compromise: individual interests were subordinate to the community's in all matters, including land. Of Concepcion Chiquirichapa, one isolated community in Guatemala whose land, in 1935, was still held in common, Ebel points out that the good of all held precedence over the good of a few:

... in allotment of land, every effort was made to protect the interests of the poor and those who depended on communal pastures for their livelihood. This is not to say that individuals did not seek to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the community, but such actions were not considered to represent its highest values (1969: 176).
Nor did the attempt of one principal to take title to a parcel of land and sell it force the community to compromise its "highest values", for the town council could still veto that attempt—and did (1969: 179). Yet in communities in which land is owned privately, the collectivists lack direct means of controlling the individualists. The courts and the National police that back them have the power to uphold the individual's title to his land. The individualists thus become a clear and present danger to the community's corporate structure. They may buy out their neighbour's land, thus crowding out the poorer members. They may use their land in ways inimical to the community's interests at large. They may capture high political offices, then use them to enrich themselves further. They may sell their land to outsiders, leaving the rest of the community at the mercy of those over whom it has no control.

From this perspective, the shifting of financial sponsorship of public functions from the community at large to the wealthy individual assumes an aspect of compromise and of defense. The individual is free to use his land as he sees fit—but he must pay his dues by holding office every three to five years and by sponsoring its festivities. The money he spends on these festivities is unavailable for reinvestment. Besides, political offices are detrimental to personal gains, and therein
lies the compromise.

Other mechanisms fortify the defensive wall of the hierarchy. Prohibition of land sale to outsiders prevent or inhibit the entrance of people whose primary interests do not lie with the welfare of the community. Rules of village endogamy prevent the formation of sentimental ties with such people and minimize the danger that land will be lost to sons or daughters who inherit titles to land in the community and who, at the same time, might decide to move elsewhere or ally themselves with the interests of their non-native parents.

Given these considerations, we may now postulate the conditions requisite to the existence of semi-corporate communities. The first is that the community at large loses direct control over its land resources, especially its best agricultural land. In Mexico and Guatemala, this was the result of land laws that required the registration of individual land title and that did not recognize the legality of communal land titles. The laws were enforced indirectly as land speculators and individual Indians themselves registered their title to parcels of land. The process occurred at different rates in different communities.

This creates a situation in which the members of a community at large face two alternatives: control their patrimony by indirect means or give up their patrimony
altogether. Where they choose the first course of action, they continue with the mechanisms of control over the haves of the community. The sources of revenue for the fiestas, for the care of the saints, for mass, for maintenance of the church become the wealthy individuals. Propios, communal resources set aside for community needs, cease to exist; individual contributions continue as a source, but it is less important than before. The cult of poverty persists: the show of poverty draws praise; the show of wealth draws condemnation and witchcraft (or accusations thereof). In the meantime mechanisms are developed or strengthened to retain the land in the hands of community members.

This leads to a further question: what prevents the corporate structure of semi-corporate communities from dissolving completely? One possible answer lies in the pressures that the local poor generate upon the local rich. Envy is one pressure that is widely reported; the norm of generosity is another (for examples see Bunzel 1952: 91 on Chichicastenango; Foster 1967: 122-166 on Tzintzuntzan; Nash 1970: 95 et passim on Amatenango; Wagley 1957: 92-94 on Santiago Chimaltenango). Thus he who displays his wealth fails to provide aid to those in need, or defaults on his ritual obligations to his communities may well be ostracized, or even shot.

Social pressure may thus reinforce the corporate
structure. Yet this begs the question, for why is the corporate structure reinforced in the first place? I suggest that the answer lies in whether or not there exists within the community groups whose livelihood and power lies with extra-community interests. Further pursuit of this matter requires an examination of open communities, to which I now turn.

D. Historical Background: Open Communities. The very fact that some kind of compromise must exist between two potential factions of the semi-corporate community makes it incapable of preventing change in the long run. The pressures making for its dissolution are both internal and external; they have operated since the time of the reforms in both countries. Thus, the semi-corporate community must be regarded as something of a transitional form between the closed corporate community and the open.

There are internal pressures for its transformation. First, the concentration of local land into the hands of a few may be forestalled; yet no case study has shown that such semi-monopolies of land have been broken up completely or reversed. The fortunes of families may change; some men drink their holdings away, while others buy land, leaving estates of respectable size to their sons and daughters. Nevertheless, this occurs in every society, including our own. Concentration of land in the hands of the few means that others must rent land from
from those who have it, must work for them, or must
leave the community to seek a source of livelihood
elsewhere. Second, the increase in population that has
taken place means that there will be less land per capita
to go around (Wolf 1967a: 241-242).

These internal pressures alone do not mean that
the semi-corporate community will automatically transform
into an open community. If there is new land available,
daughter villages may form to accommodate the internal
surplus population of the original village; thus in
Guatemala San Francisco la Union was formed by the surplus
population of San Francisco el Alto in 1910 (Sposito
1970: personal communication). Nor will this transforma-
tion necessarily take place even where the majority of
members are landless, so long as there are other sources
of livelihood available. In Chiautla, near Guatemala
City, 125 families out of 165 own less land than necessary
to sustain themselves; they supplement their income through
cultivation of rented land, making of charcoal and pot-
tery, and wage work in the city (Reina 1966: 32; 41-72).
Yet the civil-religious hierarchy continues to function,
the cofradias retain the effective power of the Indian
community, and barriers to out-village marriage remain
To summarize: inequality of land ownership and high
population density alone are insufficient to account for
the transformation of corporate communities.

This raises the question whether external conditions have historically led to the transformation of corporate communities. Wolf suggests this to be the case in Mexico; increasing evidence suggests this to be the case in Guatemala. Wolf suggests that the Mexican revolution led, among other things, the breakdown of the regionalistic economy and polity that the hacienda had developed. By forcing the hacendado to submit to the central authority of the nation-state.

The Revolution reopened channels of relationship from the communities to the national level, and permitted new circulation of individuals and groups through the various levels (Wolf 1965: 92).

The end of debt bondage and of forced service, for example, allowed (or forced) large numbers of people to leave their communities to seek opportunities elsewhere or to tie their fortunes to such national institutions as political parties, labour unions, or ejido land commissions (1965: 92-93). There has thus arisen in Indian communities groups of what Wolf calls "economic and political 'brokers' of nation-community relations," or potentially nation-oriented members of the community, the men with enough land or capital to raise cash crops and operate stores, the men whose position and personality allow them to accept the new patterns of nation-oriented behavior (1965: 94).

These men have had to learn the behaviour patterns
appropriate to their dealings with national leaders or their agents, yet retain those patterns of behaviour appropriate to their communities. They have also had to learn "to operate in an arena of continuously changing friendships and alliances, which form and dissolve with the appearance or disappearance of new economic or political opportunities" attendant with every change in government or governmental policy. The more successful of these men have assumed the overt leadership roles of their communities (1965: 93-94).

Yet because of the personal successes of these nation-oriented men, the tendencies toward internal differentiation of local interest groups have intensified. Most of the members of these communities either lack access to these new opportunities or the ability to take advantage of them when they are available. Thus,

Lacking adequate resources in land, water, technical knowledge, and contacts in the market, the majority also lack the instruments which can transform use values into marketable commodities. At the same time, their inability to speak Spanish and their failure to understand the cues for the new patterns of nation-oriented behavior isolate them from the channels of communication between nation and community. Under these circumstances, they must cling to the traditional "rejection pattern" of their ancestors, because their narrow economic base sets limits to the introduction of new cultural alternatives (1965: 94).

Given the contrast between community-oriented and nation-oriented groups, and given further the conflicts between
nation-oriented groups of different interests, the village is "riven by contradictions and conflicts, conflicts not only between class groups but also between individuals, families, or entire neighborhoods" (1965: 94-95). That a shifting system of alliances between unstable groups with different interests will replace the corporate structure of a village is inevitable. Land, capital, and political "pull" is concentrated in the hands of the nation-oriented; the principales and their allies have nothing left but their santos and costumbre to command the loyalties of the faithful. Yet spirit does not sustain the body, and the have-nots will sooner or later join the nation-oriented haves.

The abortive revolution of Guatemala (1944-1954) was something of a parallel to the Mexican. As in Mexico, the Guatemalan government instituted some basic reforms: redistribution of land, legalization of labour movements and political parties, encouragement of peasant leagues, extension of suffrage to all males and all literate females, and the like. As in Mexico, the revolution created in local communities groups whose interests were attached to these programmes. In Cantel, a labour union was formed. In Cantel and in other villages, peasant leagues were established. Although some of those reforms were reversed in the
1954 counter-revolution of Castillo Armas, other, such as labour and political movements, were allowed to continue. (Further discussion of these movements, together with their impact upon Cantel's politico-religious structure, may be found in Chapter 4.)

The Guatemalan revolution had an impact upon local villages that was similar to that which the Mexican revolution had upon villages of Mexico. In Cantel, as we will see, a labour-agrarian coalition unseated the conservatives from the municipalidad and later from the church. The agrarian reformists almost performed a similar feat in Chinaluta (Reina 1966: 91-93) and in San Luis Jilotepéque (Gillen 1951: 71-73; Gillen and Silverts 1956). Yet in other communities, the corporate structure underwent a breakdown only as an indirect consequence of the revolution. In San Pedro Sacatepéquez (of San Marcos; there is another village of that name near Guatemala City), an alliance of Indian entrepreneurs (truckers, storekeepers, warehousemen, and craftsmen making tourist items) successfully resisted attempts of the town's principales to recruit them into the cofradías; the cofradías disbanded shortly thereafter and were replaced by voluntary hermandades (brotherhoods) of the Catholic church (Smith 1970: personal communication).

The circumstances under which open communities
exist are similar in some respects to those under which semi-corporate communities occur. In both types of communities, members are under pressure to register their private land titles. That some outsider might usurp an unregistered "owner" of a given piece of property remains a constant threat. Communities of both types are also under pressure, of both internal and external origin, to provide a labour force. From within, the unfavourable man-land ratio that population increases bring means that some of the community's sons and daughters must leave in search for work elsewhere. From without, entrepreneurs and their allies in government seek ways of creating an ever larger free labour force, and to integrate, in various ways, the community into the national economy and polity. In both of these respects, they differ from the closed corporate community.

Nevertheless, there are important differences between the circumstances surrounding the semi-corporate community and those surrounding the open community. The first has to do with the ability of nation-oriented individuals, the "economic and political 'brokers' of nation-community relations" as Wolf calls them, to mobilize local support for their programmes. As we have seen, the movements or organizations in which those 'brokers' are involved vary: labour unions,
peasant leagues, political parties, even religious missions. I suggest that the ability of these 'brokers' to attract a following hinges on a number of conditions. One is that his potential followers have a perceived need for his programme, a need that the community's traditional leaders are incapable of meeting. The most obvious need, and the most common in present-day communities, is a source of livelihood. As we have seen, the land reform laws in the two countries led to local differentiation of wealth based on land ownership. With each passing generation, land plots became divided up among the owners' heirs, only to be further divided among their heirs of the next generation; individual plots thus became smaller and smaller. Population increase led to further pressure upon the community's land resources. Sooner or later, most community members will either lack sufficient land to meet their needs or be landless altogether. At this point, the corporate structure ceases in its ability to provide the security for its community's members that it was capable of when land was owned in common.

This does not mean that the corporate structure—the hierarchy with its attendant ideological trappings—will collapse automatically. We have seen that politico-religious hierarchies continue to exist, their principes firmly in power, even in communities where large proportions of the male population must work outside
the community—Chinautla is a classical example. Yet this does mean that such a community is vulnerable to those politico-economic 'brokers' who can provide a visible alternative to the present pursuits of the landless and near-landless. An agrarista who successfully denounces a large holding of land is very likely to draw support from those who receive a share in the land redistribution that follows. A labour leader who successfully negotiates a salary increase or better working conditions for the workers of a farm or factory is also very likely to draw support from most of those workers.

This means, then, that there is a felt need for the programme. Land reforms are likely to be superfluous to persons who have plenty of land; so are labour reforms, for those persons are unlikely to have a real need to work on a farm or in a factory. This also means that the 'broker' must also have access to the power holders of the nation—politicians, governmental agents, large-scale entrepreneurs. A labour leader whose strikes are broken up by the national army is unlikely to command a following ever again in succeeding activities. An agrarista whose denunciation is reversed by a high-level bureaucrat will be similarly unsuccessful in future ventures. Therefore, the 'broker' must be capable of manipulating not only local
coalitions, but national alliances as well.

The role of the 'broker', however, need not be confined to the movement leader, government agent, or president of the local chapter of a national organization; a local entrepreneur is no less capable of fulfilling that role. He may begin by growing a cash crop or opening a local store. As the local or extra-local demand for his wares increases, he may expand his operations, employing one or two men and, later, more. He may complement the role of the 'broker' by supplying his needs and those of his followers. In any event, he contributes to the weakening of the traditional power structure in two ways: redirecting his wealth and profits into his enterprise or his personal consumption rather than to the cofradías, and by supporting financially the factions (led either by himself or by nation-oriented "brokers") that oppose the community's traditional leaders.

The presence of such political or economic entrepreneurs, then, creates further pressures upon the corporate structure of the community. The pressures are two-fold: competition for the support of community members and competition for revenue. Sometimes, it is true, the interests of nation-oriented groups and traditionalists complement each other or coincide. The most classical of recent examples is the tendency
for Mexican ejido programmes to actually reinforce the corporate structure of Indian communities (see Chapter 6 for a discussion on this matter). Generally, however, conflict is unavoidable. Those who wish to maintain a semblance of community autonomy vis-à-vis the nation, who observe and obey costumbre and the law of the saints, and who respect, honour, and obey the elders and their counsel can scarcely coexist with those who wish to "modernize" the community, who honour the Trinity in spirit but not with worldly goods, and who take counsel from the young but technologically well-trained. As conflict between the two (or more) factions intensifies, the "new men" find their strength not only in their following but also in those who stay out of the conflict altogether, for they are potential support lost to the traditionalists. As the material advantages of supporting the unionists or agraristas become more and more apparent, more individuals swell their ranks. In particular, the young, who fail to see the advantage of farming a small plot while watching their earnings disappear in fiestas, either give their enthusiastic support to the "new men" or at least join the ranks of the union as passive members. The municipalidad and church become ideological battlegrounds. Orthodox Catholics soon find their ranks swelling as people find they can serve God without denying Mammon; those that
do not join the Catholics join the Protestants. Among them are the community's entrepreneurs. Soon the principales find their young few in number, their funds diminishing, and their candidates for office losing. As the lieutenants of the "new men" control a majority in the municipalidad, they act to curtail even further the activities of the costumbristas. The civil-religious hierarchy collapses; its ideological trappings fade.

To summarize, then, semi-corporate and open communities are likely to occur where land ownership is private or, at least where the local governing body lacks direct control over its allocation and use. These types contrast with the closed corporate community, whose governing body does exercise such direct control over its land. Semi-corporate communities are likely to be found where nation-oriented groups are either absent or are unable to generate an alternative source of livelihood for its supporters. Open communities are likely to emerge where such groups are able to meet this need.

III. Epilogue.

The foregoing scenario does not mean that this (or any) set sequence of events characterizes the transition from semi-corporate to open community. We have seen that the law of uneven development applies to all communities, regardless of structural type. Nevertheless,
it does suggest the processes involved in the change. Whether or not they are evident in Cantel is a question to be examined in the next three chapters. Whether or not those processes are reflected in other communities is a question to be answered only in future research, the outlines of which are suggested in the final chapter of this study.

How closed corporate communities become semi-corporate ones cannot be answered by this study for Cantel, for data were either nonexistent or inaccessible. Nevertheless, the foregoing historical examination was necessary to contrast the conditions surrounding communities represented by contemporary ethnographies (semi-corporate and open communities) with those reconstructed on the basis of historical data (closed corporate communities). For although this study is an ethnograph of Cantel, the political, economic, and social processes that led to its opening to the outside world have their parallels elsewhere in Guatemala, in Mexico and elsewhere in the world. In the meantime, the circumstances that determine the existence of closed corporate communities are absent in Cantel and in other open communities. To be scientific in explanation is to be parsimonious. Yet to be parsimonious in explanation is often a questionable virtue, for the risk
of omission of an important variable or process is an ever-present danger in the social sciences.
Footnotes to Chapter 2

1. In this context, "private ownership of land" includes the owner's exclusive right to the growing of crops on his land and the right of his sons and daughters to inherit his land. The concept also includes the right to sell or pawn his land to another native of the same community; whether or not he may sell to outsiders depends upon the community. Generally, his rights do not allow him to prevent his neighbours from grazing their cattle on his land when it is lying fallow or when it is the time of year that his crops are not growing.

2. Even in Cantel, an American missionary who bought land in one of the more "acculturated" cantones of the municipio was threatened with his life by a group in Xecam, a less acculturated region. See Chapter 4 for further discussion.

3. One difficulty of the use of this term is that Wolf uses "open community" to refer to communities located in lowland regions of Mexico, Venezuela, the Andean countries, and parts of the West Indies. They were never closed corporate communities. Producing cash crops, the peasants of such communities relied upon infusions of capital from outside entrepreneurs. Consequently, alliances with outsiders constituted an essential characteristic of such communities from the time of their founding. A distinction should therefore be made. Perhaps "highland open community" may be appropriate for communities that once were closed corporate communities, given their location, but the term is somewhat cumbersome. For this discussion, I will retain the term "open community" to refer to communities that were closed at one time; where Wolf's use of the term is involved, I will point this out in discussion.

4. This does not mean that technological improvement is the golden road to modernity, or that communities exposed to the specialized society that has been a consequence of high-level technology will automatically dispense with their traditional leadership. Examples that illustrate the contrary abound. The Hutterites have made liberal use of mechanized farming equipment, and they must deal with the outside world
almost daily, whether to buy a new tract of land for a new settlement, to negotiate a lawsuit, or to market their wheat and livestock. Yet they have retained their form of leadership and rigid hierarchical structure, their beliefs and attitudes regarding themselves and outsiders, and their ability to reproduce new generations of Hutterites without losing many to the outside world (Hostetter and Huntington 1967). The pueblo Indians of Santo Domingo and of other pueblos of the American Southwest have also retained their hierarchical theocracies, and even control over their lands, despite the fact that many of their young men have jobs outside their pueblos (Dozier 1970: 9-10 et passim). I therefore suggest that while involvement in a capitalized, technologically advanced society may provide the necessary conditions for the breakdown of corporate community structures, they do not provide the sufficient conditions. I pursue this matter further later on in this chapter.

5. Thus, Wagley's informants advise him that the "worst thing" a Chimalteco (native of Santiago Chimaltenango) "could do is sell his land" and that only two had been known to sell their land to ladinos in the ten years preceding Wagley's visit (1957: 73). In Chichicastenango, the Indians regard their land as belonging to their ancestors; they merely "rent" their land from them, and thus selling or pawning of land is rare and accomplished with difficulty (Bunzel 1952: 17-19). In Tepoztlan, sale of land to non-Tepoztecans was unknown before 1942 (Lewis 1951: 124-125). Data from other communities reflect similar attitudes toward sale of land, especially to outsiders (see, for example, Guittars-Holmes 1951 on San Pedro Chenalho, Nutini 1968 on Contla, Vogt 1969: 37 on Zinacantan, LaFarge 1940 on Santa Eulalia, and Tax 1964: 175 on Panajachel).

6. This is not to say that Spanish control over the political and economic centres of the New World was weakening. The reforms of Phillip V and Charles III did reduce the clandestine trade and political patronage that had flourished under their predecessors, and thus strengthened the hand of the Crown (Gibson 1966: 168-170; Haring 1947). Yet the uprisings of the Tzeltal in 1722 and of other Indians in the same century, the shortage of corregidores and priests in northern Guatemala and Chiapas, the increased local influence of indigenous leaders as compared to regional colonial authorities, and the emergent regional economies dominated by the hacendados in Mexico (some of whom retained private armies) all point to a decline of control by Spanish authorities over the peripheral regions, at least of New Spain and Guatemala (Colby and van den Berghe 1969: 62-68; LaFarge 1940; Wolf 1955a: 193-195).
Chapter Three
The Geographical and Cultural Setting of Cantel

Cantel is one of several Indian municipios located in the highlands of mid-western Guatemala. As in other such municipios, the Indian language (Quiche) is still spoken, the women still wear the traditional Indian dress, beliefs such as the evil eye and the nagual persist, and the name of the patron saint continues to be honoured. Yet changes are altogether evident. Cantel is as much a community of proletarians as it is of peasants, the result of the textile factory located in its midst and of more factories in nearby Quezaltenango. Spanish is known to many and is the first (or only) language of some children of Indian parents. A growing number are embracing Protestantism or the official version of Catholicism. Although most still fear the sun's eclipse (March 7, 1970), some are aware of the scientific explanation accounting for it. Cantel is in transition.

I. The Geographical Setting of Cantel.

A. Location and Physical Environment. Cantel is located in the Department of Quezaltenango, about 180 miles west of Guatemala City (see fig. 3.1). It is seven miles southeast of Quezaltenango, the second city in Guatemala in terms of both size and industrial importance. A paved highway that links Quezaltenango
to the coffee-producing region of the western Pacific piedmont and the port of Champirico passes through Pasac, Cantel's factory settlement. The municipio embraces some 28 square kilometres (6,938 acres), and consists of the village of Cantel and eight cantones: Pasac Primero (in which the factory is located), Pasac Segundo, Chuisuc, La Estancia, Pachaj, Chirijquias, Urbina, and Xecam (see fig. 3.2).

The municipio of Cantel is mountainous, and level land is at a premium. Topographically, Cantel can be described as a river valley with a near-regular and sharply-rising ridge on the western side of the Samala River, and a more irregular and larger ridge on the eastern side. The village of Cantel is perched on an incline on the western side, some 800 feet above the river. Most of the surrounding land is milpa (cornfield) but the area near the crest of the ridge, and near the gorge toward the south side of the municipio is wooded. The factory town of Pasac Primero (hereafter referred to simply as Pasac) is located directly below the village on the east bank of the Samala River; it is accessible from the village only by way of three steep, narrow footpaths. North of that settlement is a narrow valley which contains the highway and a few scattered settlements with their milpa. A cliff of about 500 feet rises abruptly to the east of the valley. There extends
Figure 3.2 Municipio of Cantel

San Cristobal
Salcaja

Urbina
Chiriqui
Mountainous Area

Totonicapan

Quezaltenango
Pachaj
La Estancia

Nahuala

Almolonga
Pueblo
Chuisuo
Xecam
Pasac
from the cliff a large plateau, interrupted by *barrancas* (deep, narrow ravines) and hills. This plateau comprises Chuisuc, La Estancia, Pachaj, Chirijquiac, and Urbina. The mountains and the edges of the ravines remain wooded; the rest of the land is planted with either corn or wheat. Toward the east of the plateau rises a ridge, whose crest of nearly 11,000 feet in elevation separates Cantel from four neighbouring *municipios* to the northeast and east.

South of Pasac, the valley widens into the corn and apple region of Pasac Segundo. About \( \frac{1}{4} \) mile east of the river rises another cliff ending in a plateau higher than that of the five northern *cantones*.* This plateau also terminates in a ridge. To the south, the small valley ends in a deep gorge as the river wends its way to Zunil, Cantel's southern neighbour, and ultimately to the Pacific.

The wooded areas are confined to the ridges, mountains, and gorges of Cantel. Those areas are owned by the *municipio* of Cantel, and are reserved for firewood and lumber. Woodcutters must obtain a permit from the town hall. The predominating tree species are pine, fir, oak, alder, and cypress.

With an elevation averaging 8,000 feet, Cantel has the climate of a tropical highland region. The elevation is too high for even such subtropical fruits as oranges,
lemons, and melons. Apples grow and are becoming an important cash crop. Corn and beans grow, but in an average temperature that is too cold for more than one crop per year. On the plateau of Xecam, located at an elevation of approximately 8,700 feet, it is cool enough to grow potatoes.

There are two seasons in Cantel: rainy and dry. The rains begin sporadically in March and regularly in April. From then until November, the sky is clear in the morning and becomes cloudy around noon, with rain beginning in the early afternoon; it clears at night to begin the cycle anew. The canícula, a brief period in which no rain falls, in July, and the temporal, a period of continuous storm that lasts a week in August, interrupt this pattern. The rains cease in early November. From then until March or April, the hillsides become parched, dust settles everywhere, and temperatures often drop close to freezing at night.

The remainder of Cantel's land is under cultivation, Canteleños recognize four broad categories of land: tierra caliente, tierra arenosa, tierra fría, and tierra blanca in descending order of quality. Tierra caliente ("hot soil") is by far the best land. It varies from dark brown to medium brown in color, is closely packed, and has a high clay content. Such land is capable of producing 400 pounds of unhusked
corn per cuerda. Tierra caliente is also desirable for its use in making adobe bricks for construction. Land of this class is most desirable where it is level (in the valley of Pasac Segundo and in the plateaus of Chuisuc, La Estancia, Pachaj, and Urbina), but land of such soil located on the hillsides, despite the danger of erosion, is also highly prized.

Less valued by Canteleños is tierra arenosa ("sandy soil"). The soil of such land is looser and more powdery than that of tierra caliente and less capable of holding moisture. Its productivity averages around 200 pounds of unhusked corn per cuerda, and prices for such land ranges between 50 and 75 quetzales. Tierra fría is located in the regions of higher elevation, mostly around the hamlet of Xé'ul, located in the steep, eastern slopes of Xecam. Its yield of corn amounts to 150 pounds of unhusked corn per cuerda; its going prices range between 40 and 50 quetzales per cuerda. Since corn takes a longer growing season there than elsewhere in the municipio, tierra fría is used more often for growing potatoes or grazing sheep than for growing corn. Finally, tierra blanca, which has a high lime content, is nearly worthless for cultivation. Its value lies in its lime (cal), which is used for softening corn and for construction.
The settlement patterns in Cantel vary. Both the village and the factory settlement are tightly nucleated; there are few houses situated outside the village itself. There are, however, farms scattered throughout Pasac Segundo. In the rural cantónes, houses are located fairly evenly throughout the countryside, although there are small nucleated settlements in Chuisuc, La Estancia, Pachaj, and Xecam.

The village of Cantel is set out in the traditional Spanish pattern. The streets are laid out in a grid pattern together with a central plaza, the church facing west and the town hall, opposite, facing east (see fig. 3.3). The village itself lies on a steep incline; streets that run east and west slope at a 15° angle. All main streets are paved with cobblestone to prevent erosion during the rainy season; the main plaza, however, is left bare save a single flagpole in front of the town hall. A pharmacy, a butcher's shop (which doubles as the sala of one of the town's two surviving cofradías) and a general store face the plaza from the south; private houses and a government-run medical clinic face the plaza from the north. Additional shops and private houses are interspersed throughout the other streets of the village. Motor vehicles enter the village from a dirt road that leads northward from the village to join the national highway approximately
Figure 3.3  Pueblo of Cantel

- plaza
- public school
- health clinic
- parochial school
- municipal building
- Catholic Church
- school to teach the Spanish language
- Mercado municipal
one mile away.

The other settlements are laid out in a more or less unplanned fashion. In Pasac, the factory lies between the national highway and the river; opposite the factory, from the north, across a wide dirt street, are the factory workers' quarters and shops. The remainder of the settlement is located on the far side of the highway, houses being scattered on either side of a path leading to Xecam. The hamlets of Xecam, Chuisuc, Estancia, and Pachaj all consist of houses and shops facing, in a row, on either side of a path; there is a building in Estancia from which affairs of the rural cantones are conducted. Otherwise the houses, shops and most schools of the rural cantones lie scattered throughout the countryside.

E. Population and Demography of Cantel. According to the official census of 1964, Cantel has a population of 10,989; this means that there was a population density of 392.5 persons per square kilometre or about 1016.8 persons per square mile.

There has been a steady increase in population at least since 1921; the rate of increase has risen since 1950. The population rose from 6,657 in 1921 to 8,277 in 1950, an increase of 24.3% and an annual growth rate of 0.83%. Between 1950 and 1964, there was a population increase of 32.8%, raising the annual rate of growth to 2.3%.
If the official census for 1964 is to be accepted (see note 4), Cantel faces a population crisis characteristic of moth highland villages in Guatemala, Mexico, and Andean America. First of all, the annual growth rate in Cantel since 1950 of 2.3% may be compared to 1.5% in all of rural Latin America (Pearse 1970: 13). Second, this means that there is .63 of an acre of land per person, or 6.8 cuerdas. Since by local estimates, a family of five requires anywhere between 20 and 50 cuerdas of cultivable land and since not all land is cultivable, the average-sized plot of land per person scarcely meets his needs. Local inequality of ownership intensifies the population-land problem (see Chapter 4 for further discussion).

II. The Material Bases of Canteleño Existence.

The bases of Cantelense existence is still agriculture; corn and beans constitute the staple of the Cantelense diet, and much of both crops is grown locally. Nevertheless, no fewer than 700 Cantelense men and women work in the factory, and an estimated 200 to 300 more find work in the factories of Quezaltenango or elsewhere, while maintaining their residences in Cantel. This fact has partly—but only partly—been responsible for Cantel’s transformation in its politico-religious structure (see Chapter 4).
A. Agriculture. The primary agricultural products of Cantel are corn and wheat. Beans (including the lima bean) make a notable third crop, and apples are increasing in importance. The following table records the amounts of each crop produced, according to the 1967 records (the most recent available) of the municipalidad of Cantel:

Table 3.1
Agricultural Goods Production
Cantel in 1967 (by crop)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Amount (in hundredweights)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habas (dried lima beans)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apples</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides those, small amounts of squash are also planted. A few farmers also plant peaches, but excessive rainfall during the bearing season causes fungi to form near the stem of the fruit resulting in rot and causing peaches to fall from the branches before they mature or ripen. Plums are also present but unimportant.

1. Agricultural Technology. Although Acción Católica has provided Cantel with an agronomist, Cantel agriculture is no picture of modernity. Men still prepare
the soil with azadones, large hoes whose heavy steel blades are six to eight inches wide and almost as long. Corn is still planted in clumps instead of rows, beans and squash are still planted with the corn. Mechanized plows and harrows are known but unused; horse-drawn plows are used only on large, level stretches of land. Weeding is done by hand (a few use herbicides but high cost prevents its wide-spread use). All crops, even wheat, are harvested by hand. Only those with large wheatfields make use of mechanized harvesters-threshers, and those are rented.

The rugged terrain of Cantel, together with the small sizes of most individually-owned plots, have prevented the mechanization of agriculture in Cantel. According to the 1964 census, 872 of 1,672 land owners in Cantel owned less than one manzana (1,725 acres) of land; another 410 owned between 1 and 2 manzanas (1.725 and 3.45 acres). The cost of buying and operating such machinery is beyond the means of most Canteleños; the crop yields would scarcely justify the costs of buying, operating, and maintaining tractors and their attachments. Co-operatives have been formed with the buying and sharing of machinery as one of their objectives, but they have failed (see Chapter 5). Moreover, much of the agricultural land is located on hillsides too steep for tractors to be used; barrancas,
steep and narrow trails, and other barriers prevent motor vehicles from reaching many level areas.

What technological innovations in agriculture that have been introduced into Cantel, then, have been of a non-mechanical sort. Foremost among them have been chemical fertilizers, needed especially to replenish the nitrogen and phosphorus that was being rapidly depleted (volcanic ash has left large amounts of potassium in the soils of Cantel); animal manure was insufficient for that purpose. Two dealers in the main village—one for Esso of the United States, and the other for Elefant of West Germany—provide all the fertilizer for some 1550 customers. Other innovations include rotation of crops (corn with wheat), experimentation with improved varieties of corn, and the practice of planting corn in rows instead of clumps, of planting beans and corn separately, and the like.

2. The Agricultural Cycle of Cantel. The climate of Cantel is so cool that only a single crop of corn can be grown, as compared to the several crops that can be grown in Guatemala's coastal areas (Whetten 1961: 139). The agricultural cycle of Cantel is adjusted accordingly.

The yearly cycle begins immediately after harvest, as landowners and their workers start turning the soil with their large, heavy steel hoes (azadones). If the
soil has lain fallow, the worker must clear the brush, turn the smaller growth of weeds under, and harrow the soil, all with machete (a large knife used for chopping and slashing) and azadón. To clear and turn one cuerda of soil requires four days. If the ground was planted the previous year, the earth is simply turned over. Depending upon how thoroughly the job is to be done, the time required to turn one cuerda of soil varies between one and two days. Workers are paid by the cuerda: Q2.00 to Q3.00 per cuerda for clearing, turning, and harrowing, Q.50 to Q1.00 per cuerda for turning the growth and turning the soil. Obviously, this is a time-consuming task. Work on the larger pieces of land begins almost immediately after the harvest in November; work on others does not begin until late December or early January. Those individuals who are working for a particular patron on a semi-permanent basis are assured of full-time employment; those who do casual labour are assured only of sporadic work, as the need arises.

The planting of corn begins in February in the colder regions of the municipio (tierra fría) and in March, in moderate areas. In warmer areas along the banks of the Samala River corn is planted in April. Beans (including lima beans) are planted with the corn. Ayotes (a round, hard-shelled kind of squash) are planted on Candlemas (dia de la candalaria), the second day of
February. According to local belief, ayotes will turn yellow and sweet if the sky is yellow on that day (i.e. has a thin cloud cover filtering the sun so as to give a yellow effect to the sky). Chilacayotes (a long squash) are planted two weeks after the corn.

Most Cantelense peasants plant their corn in the traditional fashion. Spacing their planting about 40 inches apart, they bury some four to six corn seeds and plant another three or four bean (or lima bean) seeds nearby. As the corn grows, bean vines will wrap around the stalks. Squash are planted every 25 to 50 feet apart in the same field as the corn and beans.

All corn and beans of any one field must be planted in one day; the corn and beans of all a man's fields must be planted within a short period of time, preferably on the same day. Failure to do so means that corn planted late might be damaged by frost and corn planted early might dry before the dry seasons arrive, and thus rot. Therefore labourers are hired in gangs. A group of labourers may organize themselves, and work for one patron after another during sowing season. A group of patrones may, as an alternative, pool their permanent labourers (mozos) and agree to have the group plant the fields of one patron one day, and move to plant another's the next. Sowing is paid by the day rather than by the cuerda; daily wages average around Q.50. The demand
for workers reaches one of its peaks during sowing season (the other is during harvest), and work is available to all who want it.

During the months of April through October, the demand for agricultural labour slacks off considerably. Cornfields are weeded twice; the first weeding takes place in late May or early June, and the second takes place in September or early October. Hilling of corn is done at the same time. This involves building mounds of earth at the base of the stalks to prevent blowdowns by high winds. Other than those periods, demand for labour is low. Those with permanent arrangements with patrones get the jobs. Others must seek odd jobs wherever they can find them: painting houses for the fiesta titular (August 15), working as handy-man in the houses of richer peasants, cutting firewood, making adobe bricks. Those who use chemical fertilizer apply it to their rows as soon as the corn shoots appear on the surface.

The harvest begins in November. Again gangs of labourers are recruited in one of the two ways mentioned above (p. 141). The doubling of stalks to dry before harvest reported for villages in Chiapas (see Vogt 1969: 50), is not practiced in Cantel. The harvesting proceeds as follows: corn is removed from the stalks, which are left to stand as support for the beans. The corn
ears, unhusked, are piled, later to be put into nets and carried, by horse or human carrier, to the yard of the landowner's house. There the man and his sons husk the corn, selecting the best-looking corn for seed. Then they spread out all the ears on the yard in a single layer, leaving them until the corn is dried. Later they are stored unshelled in a large wooden container, approximately five feet tall and six to seven feet in length and width. When the women use the corn, they will rub the dry ears together, breaking off the kernels from the ears.

The women harvest the beans after the men have finished harvesting the corn; they usually wait until the bean vines have dried and the pods are easy to pick. They shell the beans at home.

Wheat is planted in June. Some peasants plant their grains in rows; other broadcast their grains. Weeding takes place in August; the smaller farmers weed by hand, while some of the larger use herbicides. Harvesting takes place in October. Although the smaller farmers harvest their wheat by machete, the larger farmers now hire machines to cut and thresh the wheat. Those who still harvest their wheat by hand thresh it by piling the cut wheat some two feet high in a circle. They then lead a team of horses continuously around upon the pile until the grains have broken from
the stalks and settled to the bottom. This completed, they winnow the wheat by pouring the grain into a shallow basket, suspended under a tripod, that contains small holes at the bottom. As the heavy grain slips through the holes to a cloth on the ground below, the breeze blows the chaff away.

3. Agricultural Work Arrangements. Exchange labour arrangements are sometimes made in Cantel; a man and his brothers may give each other a hand. Two compadres may help each other, but this, my informants tell me, is rare. Nevertheless wage labour is the rule in Cantel. Many work casually. Yet, labour is not simply viewed as a commodity that can be bought or sold on the market. Rather than choosing the apparently most efficient worker out of a pool of men looking for work, the patrón prefers to employ the same man (or crew or men) year after year. One informant summed up the reason thus: "if a patrón or dueño (those terms are used interchangeably for "employer") hired the first mozo (day labourer) that came along for each day of work, the mozo would perhaps do a poor job, take his pay, and go. But if he hires the same mozo every day, every year, he will be obliged to do good work." This is employment insurance for the mozo as well, for he will be the first to be hired when there is work to do and the last to be laid off when the demand for work slackens.
Casual labourers—those with no particular dueno—nevertheless find work during the sowing and harvest seasons.

When a man needs a worker, he makes enquiries to his relatives first, then to his ritual (baptismal) co-parents, godparents, or godsons (compadres, padrinos, ahijados). Failure to find workers from those enquiries does not prevent him from looking further; frequently a man will have many non-relatives working for him.

Unlike other villages of highland Guatemala, Cantel’s men do not migrate en masse to the coffee plantations to work. Those that do, often engage in skilled or semi-skilled labour because, for political reasons, they are unable to work in the factory (see Chapter 4). Most unskilled labourers are able to find enough work within the municipio to sustain them throughout the year. Because of the intense heat and high incidence of malaria prevalent on the coffee plantation of the Pacific piedmont, men avoid working there if possible.

E. Factory Work. Although most Canteleño men work as cultivators, either on their own land or on that which others own, some 703 men and women work in the Fábrica de Textiles Cantel. Unlike local agricultural work, there are no seasonal fluctuations in labour demand; nevertheless, the introduction of new machinery since 1960 has cut the work force from a high of between 900 and 1,000
in 1959 to the present level.

This cutback of the labour force, together with the union and the legislation allowing and restricting its activities, has had far-reaching consequences upon the political and religious structure of Cantel. I will briefly discuss the broad organization features of the factory, reserving for the next chapter the organization of the union, the conflicts between labour management, and the effects of both upon the structural core of Cantel.

The factory produces thread, broadcloth, bedsheets, and towels. Although this factory is less diversified in its production lines than most in North America, it is more diversified than other textile factories in Guatemala or elsewhere in Central America. According to one of the directors of ICAITI (Instituto Centro-Americano de Investigación y Tecnología Industrial), a research institute on Central American industrial development based in Guatemala City, most of the textile plants in Central America specialize in the production of thread or of broadcloth, but not both.

At one time, the Fábrica Cantel was the largest textile concern in Central America. According to Nash, it produced nearly seventy per cent of all cotton goods purchased in Guatemala (1967c: 21). In recent years, however, the company has undergone increased competition
for the market in cotton products. Part of the competition has come from newly-established mills in Quezaltenango, and Guatemala City. Other pressures have been generated by the Central American Common Market (CACM). The lowering or elimination of tariffs for goods produced within the five countries (Panama is excluded) has opened the Guatemalan market to cotton goods produced elsewhere. According to the same director of ICAITI, a Japanese company has opened a mill in El Salvador whose thread he regards as finer than that made in the Cantel factory. Meantime, a Colombian company has opened a cloth-producing firm in Nicaragua; its products have provided stiff competition for Cantel's broadcloth. As a result, the company has been forced to modernize its operations and to cut labour costs. Thus the labour force at the factory has dwindled.

1. Recruitment into the Factory. The factory requires its workers to be 18 years of age and to have a cédula de vecindad, a registry of citizenship required of everyone at 18, to prove it. Although the ability to read and write is not strictly required, preference is given to those who have it over those who do not. As one might expect, preference is given to the sons (and sometimes daughters) of factory workers over those not employed by the factory. One applies for work either
through the office of the administrador or through the labour union (the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Fabrica Cantel, hereafter referred to as the STFC).

Those hired go through a two-month period of probation, during which time the salary is half that of non-probationary workers--$0.80 per day as compared to the minimum wage of $1.65 set by national law for textile workers. During this time, the individual is assigned to different tasks to determine which, if any, he is best suited for. Once this is determined, he goes on to learn it under the direction of a skilled operator. Sons whose fathers work in the factory are assigned to work alongside them. At the end of the period, the administrador meets with the secretary-general of the labour union to assess the skills of the newcomer(s). The final decision on retaining or dismissing the newcomer rests with the administrador.

2. Factory Organization. The factory is owned by two brothers (the Ibarguens), whose offices are in Guatemala City. They are mainly concerned with the marketing of their products, although they make periodic trips to inspect the factory and the factory-owned farms that grow some of the cotton used by the factory.

The administrador has the general responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the plant itself. It is he who hires and fires. Below him are the spin-master,
the weaving master, and the dye-master, technicians who oversee the operations of their respective departments. Responsible to them are the technical engineers of each department (repairmen responsible for the maintenance of the machinery), the *caporales*, foremen who are responsible for the performance of their workers, and the production line workers themselves. An office staff takes charge of the administrative details of the factory: record-keeping, payment of wages, and so forth. Finally, a custodial staff maintains the buildings and grounds (for an organizational chart, see fig. 3.4). The *empleados*—the administrador, the machinists, the bookkeeper, and the secretaries—are all ladinos. The others, including the *caporales*, are mostly Indians, three-fourths of which come from the village or municipio of Cantel.

In the line of production, there are three major departments within the factory: spinning (*Departamento de Hilatura*), weaving (*Departamento de Tejeduría*), and dyeing (*Departamento de Tintorería*). In the spinning department, the process of refining raw cotton begins with the fulling mills (*batanes*) in which the cotton is opened, cleaned, and shrunk under moisture, heat, and pressure. This completed, the cotton goes to the carding machines (*cardas*) for disentangling and combing of the fibres, after which the fibres will be drawn out (*via*
Organization of Factory

Solid arrows indicate authority
Broken arrows indicate pressure.

Ibarqüen y Hnos.
(Guatemala City)

Administrador

Office Staff
1) Controller
2) Purchaser
3) Marketer
4) Secretaries

Technical Maintenance Crew
1) Electricians
2) Mechanics
3) Carpenters

Spin-Master
1) Spinning Dept.
2) Spinning Mills
3) Spinners
4) Looming Machines

Weaving Master
1) Weaving Dept.
2) Winding Machines
3) Looms
4) Bedcloths
5) Towels
6) Napkins, Tablecloths

Dye-Master
1) Dyeing Dept.
2) Dyeing Machines
3) Printers

CUSTODIANS

S.T.F.C.
1) Secretary-General
2) Sec. de Actas
3) Sec. de Conflictas
4) Sec. de Organización
5) Sec. de Finanzas
6) Sec. de Asuntos Exteriores
mecheras or flying frames) and spun (through the continuas de hilar, or spinning frames). The thread is then wound up into conical spools. Some of the thread is shipped to the clothmaking firms of Quezaltenango or Guatemala City or to the company's retail outlets in the same cities. Most of the production-line workers, some 300 in number, work in the spinning department; they are paid by the hour and earn the daily minimum wage of $1.65.

The threads that are to be woven into cloth at the factory itself are then transferred to the weaving department; if the design is to be woven into the cloth, threads for the cloth whose design is to be woven in are sent to the dyeing department. Some of the threads are drawn through warping machines (uridoras) then transferred to the looms (telares) as the warp of the cloth. There are a few old looms left, made in Oldham, England, around 1910; most, however, are newer and more efficient looms made in Germany. Whereas only four old machines can be operated by one person, twenty new machines can be operated by a single person. Obviously this has meant a reduction of loom operators, and the cutbacks in labourers has been greatest in the weaving department. The company began replacing the old machines in 1960. At one time, there were as many as 350 workers in the weaving department; now they
number some 180. The operators of both the warping machines and the looms are paid by piece. Beginners tend to make around $1.25 to $1.50 per day, the more experienced earn $2.00, and the most skilled can earn up to $3.00. Looms are specialized according to product: broadcloth, towels, bedsheets, tablecloths and napkins.

The dyeing department employs some 120 workers. All threads and cloth go through the mercerizing process, one in which the thread or fabric is treated with a caustic alkali solution to strengthen it and to make it receptive to dyes. The cotton is then either dyed or hand-printed. This completed, the thread or cloth goes through a finishing process, then is shipped on to one of the retail shops owned by the company.

There are three shifts of eight hours each on Mondays through Fridays, and three shifts of four hours on Saturdays. The day shifts are divided into four-hour segments: the first shift lasts from 6:00 to 10:00 in the morning, then 2:00 to 6:00 in the afternoon; the second shift lasts from 10:00 AM to 2:00 PM, then 6:00 to 10:00 in the evening. The four-hour interval allows the worker to tend to his crops or do other chores around his house during the day, and thus has been favoured among factory workers. The third shift, introduced in 1968 as a measure to
increase production, lasts from 10:00 PM to 6:00 AM. Workers on the night shift are given a bonus.

The Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Fabrica Cantel (STFC), represents the production-line workers, their caporales, the custodians and gardeners. Technicians, mechanics, carpenters, office workers, and administrators of all levels are not represented. Since they are given higher pay than the production-line workers and are filled exclusively by ladinos, there has been no need for an organization representing their interests. The union was formed in 1945 under the auspices of the Arevalo administration and for a time was a powerful organization. Through the union, workers won pay increases (and eventually a minimum wage), improved medical services, a six-grade school for children of workers, the four-hour interval in work-shifts, and the decrease in work-hours from ten to eight. In July, 1954, the union went into eclipse as a result of the counter-revolution of Castillo Armus. Although it was re-established in 1955, the union has never regained its former strength. Factory workers are not required to join the union, although the minimum wage is paid only to union members. The union may strike only when the labour relations board of Guatemala declares it legal. The company has been known to reach an agreement with the union, only to renege on its
promises later. Finally, the union has been unable to prevent the company from hiring workers on a probationary basis, then dismissing them at the end of the two-month period. I pursue these matters in detail in the next chapter.

C. Other Occupations. The fact that most Canteleños are either factory workers or cultivators does not preclude the existence of other pursuits. Some occupations are exclusively those of the poor: cutting firewood or planks, adobe brickmaking, bricklaying, painting, barbering. None of those occupations are lucrative; all with the exception of barbering and fire-wood cutting are pursued during the slack months of the rainy season.

There are also a number of shops that service the needs of Canteleños. By far the largest number of them are the pulperías, general stores of various sizes that sell carbonated drinks, cigarettes, canned goods, aspirin, and other manufactured items. Some sell beer and wine; but those goods are absent in Protestant-owned stores. The cantinas double as general store and liquor store; they are licensed to sell hard liquor as well as beer and wine. Other shops are more specialized: butchers (which specialize in either beef or pork but not both), bakeries (which often function as general stores), and pharmacies (one of which doubles as a general store).
Other shops offer services rather than goods. By far the greatest number are the *molinos de nixtamal*, gasoline-run corn mills which grind the corn used daily in Indian households. Barbershops are also common. There are also carpenter shops, tailor shops, a radio shop, and even a private "gymnasium". One of the tailors in Cantel is an agent for a fertilizer concern. Finally, a number of buses run between Cantel and Quezaltenango, carrying passengers and cargo for fifteen cents. By far the most frequent and regular bus service is between Pasac and Quezaltenango; four local lines are in service. Two autobuses run between the village itself and Quezaltenango, each leaving and returning once in the morning and once in the afternoon. There are also autobuses connecting the cantones of Pachaj and La Estancia to the city; each line runs once a day.

D. The Market of Cantel. The bulk of goods that change hands in Cantel flow through an open air market that is held every Sunday in a partially-sheltered plaza, constructed in 1958 for that purpose. The main plaza was once the market place; a few vendors still sell their wares there. As in most regional markets found in highland Indian villages of Meso-America, vendors of the same wares cluster at the same spot. Corn and bean vendors line the street
outside the market place (see map, fig. 3.5). Vegetable sellers and itinerant butchers occupy the west building. Vendors of hand-woven cloths and dresses line the walls of the same building. Every village whose wares are offered for sale in Cantel have a partial-monopoly over the production of these wares. Lumber, ocote (pitch pine for lighting fires), and grinding stones come from Nahuala and Santa Catarina Ixtahuaca. Pottery comes from San Cristobal Totonicapan and Totonicapan. Hand-woven cloth for women's skirts come from San Cristobal Totonicapan. So do embroidered huipiles (women's blouses). Huipiles with woven designs come from Totonicapan and Quezaltenango. Wooden furniture comes from Totonicapan. Blankets come from Momostenango and San Francisco el Alto. Leather goods, baskets, and fope come from El Quiche and Coban. Vegetables come from Zunil and Almolonga. Panela (brown cakes of crude sugar) come from the Pacific coastal regions, as do tropical fruits, chiles, yuca (manioc), and raw cotton. Cantel itself specializes in corn, beans and wheat. The regional market of Cantel has its limits; goods made in the regions surrounding the San Marcos-San Pedro Sacatepequez area to the west, the Lake Atitlan area to the east, and the Huehuetenango area to the north seldom come to Cantel. Even the potato sellers from Todos Santos (a village
Figure 3.5 Plan of the Municipal Market of Cantel
in Huehuetenango) who appear in Quezaltenango seldom come to Cantel.

Besides the major market in Cantel, there are smaller markets held in Pasac on Saturdays and Mondays. A few foreign traders come to hawk their wares, but most will be in the major market of Totonicapan on Saturday or the one in Zunil on Monday. The selection of goods is consequently local, and most sellers are from Cantel itself.

Often it has been asserted that the regional market is one common feature of corporate communities (of either type). Given the low amounts of capital available to every person of such a community, the market provides an outlet for persons with something to sell, but who lack the capital to provide for the overhead necessary to start a store (rent, inventory, etc.). Moreover, the semimonopolistic specialization of each community in one or two crops or crafts assures its producers of something of a market for what they produce. This minimizes the risks which the low-income producers can ill afford, yet allows them access to buyers whose purchasing power is low and extremely irregular (Kaplan 1965: 84-86; Nash 1967a: 94-99; Wolf 1967b: 509-510).

My information on the Cantel market suggests some revision to these assertions. As the next chapter will
show, there has indeed been a growth in the number of local businesses as a result of the increased wages that unionization has brought. Nevertheless, the Monday market in Pasac is recent; the Saturday market began after unionization. The regional market in Cantel has benefitted from the wage increases of the 1940's and 1950's, despite the availability of capital for permanent businesses that those increases have generated.

E. Material Culture. At a superficial level, Cantel shows few signs of large-scale modernization. Indian men wear western clothing, but almost all Indian women, even young girls who cannot speak Quiche, wear the "traditional" huipil (blouse) and long, wrap-around skirt held together by a tight woven belt. Houses, even new ones, remain traditional windowless adobe cubicles whose doors open onto a bare-earth patio. Adobe walls continue to separate house-holds from each other and from the street. The tasteless tamalito and tortilla, made of corn mash soaked in water containing lime, remain the staple of every household.

Yet changes are making their appearance. A few Indian girls are wearing western dress. The walls of some households have become elaborately decorated. Some houses in the pueblo and Pasac have water piped to their houses, for which the owners pay a fee. Some
have electric lights. The corners of all the main streets of the *pueblo* and Pasac are lighted. Non-traditional foods supplement the *Canteleño* diet.

1. Food. The basic staple of all Indian households, and even of most *ladino* households, is maize. It is consumed in three forms: *tamalitos*, a cylindrical cake which is prepared by wrapping it in corn leaves and steaming it in a pot; *tortillas*, a flattened cake cooked on a heated *comal*, or large circular ceramic griddle; and *atole*, a corn gruel. All are made from *nixtamal*, a dough-like substance made by soaking dried corn overnight in water mixed with *cal* (lime) to soften it. The corn is then cooked and ground, either by a *mano* and *metate* or by machine. Many women now take their corn to a nearby mill for grinding; only those who cannot afford the cost of one *centavo* grind their corn by hand.

*Chile*, prepared in a tomato-based sauce, serves as a condiment for *tamalitos* and *tortillas*. Indeed, those staples, together with coffee, constitute the morning and noon meal for most families. Some add beans to their diet, and many supplement their diet on Sundays and *fiestas* with spinach, tomatoes, wild greens, *guisquil* (a cactus fruit), beets, and meat (either pork or beef; few families or none eat mutton).

On festive occasions (*fiesta titular*, or festivity
of the municipio's patron saint, weddings, birthdays, and funerals), paches become the main meal. These are cakes of rice or potatoes garnished in the centre with meat and a red condiment called achiote. Chicken and turkey is reserved for those occasions. On Semana Santa (Easter Week), bread made with wheat flour and corn meal (elote) that has not been soaked with lime is served and exchanged with neighbours. On the nine days before Christmas, nine host families serve sweetbreads and sweetened rice atoles to the pilgrims retracing the search of Christ's family for lodging (posadas).

2. Shelter. The typical town dwelling consists of a walled yard with the house itself lining one or two of its edges. The house consists of windowless rooms containing one entrance that leads to the yard. Newer houses may have a window or two facing the yard, or less often, the street. Few houses have doorways leading from one room directly into another.

Most houses have a bedroom, a sala (living room and guest room which sometimes functions also as a workshop), and a kitchen. The kitchen usually lacks a chimney, and the room is often black from years of accumulated smoke. The traditional kitchen consists of three stones forming a hearth, with the fire in the centre and the cooking pots on the stones when the women of the house are cooking. In recent years, hibachi-like
cooking stoves have been introduced. Every kitchen has a flat grinding-stone (metate) and a cylindrical stone roller (mano). In the sala are chairs and a table; hanging on the walls are calendars, religious pictures, family photographs, and perhaps a crucifix. The entire family usually shares the same bedroom; where there are large families, two rooms at most serve as bedrooms. Wealthier families also have electric lights in their salas and bedrooms.

The yard is usually either bare or has a few corn stalks growing. Inevitably families keep dogs, chickens and pigs, all of which are allowed to wander freely into and out the rooms of the house and into the streets. Some houses also contain stalls for horses or cattle. Almost all houses have a large wooden box covered with straw for corn storage. The more traditional houses have a temescal (sweat bath) in one corner of the yard. Wealthier families often have water faucets and a cement washbasin.

The walls of almost all houses are of adobe, whitewashed and unadorned; only a few have walls made of sticks and mud. Roofs are of red, semi-cylindrical tile, one tile overlapping another to shed the rain; thatch roofs are rare. The floors of most houses are of packed earth; the floors of houses belonging to richer families are cement.
Houses in the country are similar to those of the pueblo. Often, however, outside walls may be of wood and mud or be lacking altogether. Houses with thatched roofs and stick walls are more common in the country than in the pueblo.

Finally, there are row houses owned by the Cantel factory that are rented to their workers for Q2.00 to Q3.00 per month, depending upon whether or not electric lighting is provided. Those apartments lack a patio and are considerably more restricted in space than are village houses. They usually consist of a larger main room, which doubles as a sala and bedroom (the sleeping quarters may or may not be curtained off) and two smaller rooms, one of which serves as a kitchen and the other of which serves as a dining room or sala. Some apartments may have wooden enclosures for chickens or a pig.

3. Clothing. All Indian men of Cantel wear western clothing and are sometimes indistinguishable in appearance from ladinos. When working, the men wear cotton or wool pants of grey or light blue, and sometimes wear a yellow band around their waists instead of a belt. Some wear shoes, but most wear calzes, footwear similar to shoes but with the toes and lower heels exposed. Traditionally, all men wear straw or felt hats, but most younger men have
stopped wearing them. On Sundays in church and on
festive and formal occasions, men wear hats, pre-
ferably felt, dark blue or black coats, white shirts
with or without tie, dark-coloured pants, and shoes.
The poorer wear what they usually wear at work, al-
though they may wear a coat as well. There was a time
in this century when men wore a typical dress character-
istic of their community, but this has long since past
(see Chapter 5 below). Some of their clothing is
store-bought, but many have their clothing made at
local tailor shops.

The Indian women of Cantel continue to wear the
traditional traje tipico although of a generalized
design that is found everywhere in the Quezaltenango
valley. Their dress consists of a huipil, a blouse
that is uncut except for the neckline and sleeves, and
a long, wrap-around dress made of hand-woven material
some fifteen feet long and six feet wide when open.
A multi-coloured woven belt holds the material fast
to their waists. Generally, they either wear sandals
or go barefoot; on rare occasions they wear women's
shoes of western design. The huipiles come in various
designs. The most popular is made of white bleached
cloth with embroidery, generally of floral design,
about the neck and shoulders. This design is said
to have been characteristic of San Cristobal Totonicapan,
a village located in the northeast edge of the Quezaltenango Valley, but this design is also common in San Andres Xecul, Olintepeque, San Francisco el Alto, San Francisco la Union, and San Juan Ostuncalco, all of which are located in the vicinity of Quezaltenango. Also fairly common is a huipil whose rich and elaborate design is woven into the huipil itself; this one was characteristic of Totonicapán, but its design, too, is popular outside the boundaries of that community. Less common is a design characteristic of women from Quezaltenango; it is less elaborate than the Totonicapán design and its horizontal bands are more distinct. Finally, some women wear a plainer, machine-made light blue huipil with white decoration.

Skirts also vary in design. A design said to be characteristic of Canteleñas at one time seems to have fallen out of favour and now is worn by the poorer women. This is a blue-green skirt with tie-dyed stylistic designs commonly portraying human and animal figures. A similar skirt is more popular; the tie-dyed design is more complex and colour vary from blue to green to violet. Some come in several colours. This is a Salcajá design. Another popular design is that of solid stripes of various colours, with thin black bands containing white, tie-dyed human characters woven between them. This design was once characteristic of
San Cristobal Totonicapán, but it is now found, together with the Salcajá design, throughout the Quezaltenango Valley.

Wolf suggests that an important marker of boundaries between corporate communities is characteristic dress design (1967b: 512). This seems valid for some villages of the Quezaltenango region. The purple open-sided huipil and knee-length skirt of Zunil women is found only in Zunil; the same is true of the zigzag huipil design of Almolonga women. Whether this is true of all villages in that region is a matter of debate, however. San Andres Xecul shows most signs of a corporate community; yet the dress of their women is identical to that of Canteleñas (for further discussion of this issue, see Chapter 5 below).

Although Canteleño dress is worn by women and girls of all ages, not all Indian girls wear such a dress. In one Indian family, one of the girls was wearing western dress, although her sisters wore Indian dress. In other Indian families, girls attending secondary schools in Quezaltenango wear the schools' uniforms that are required by regulations. Whether this trend is significant or not is moot. At the moment almost all Indian women and girls wear Indian dress and it appears that they will continue to wear Indian dress for many decades to come.
III. The Round of Life.

A. Forming a Family. The basic social unit of Cantel is the nuclear family household, i.e., a household composed of a man, his wife, and their children. Sometimes, the parents of the husband or wife will live with them. Usually they are the parents of the husband, but not infrequently they are the parents of the wife. A joint household composed of two brothers and their families is also present in Cantel. Most such arrangements are made for financial reasons. A newly married couple cannot afford a new house and thus will live with the parents of one partner. A younger brother who has recently married may live with his older brother until he has enough money to buy or erect a house of his own.

A long period of betrothal precedes marriage and the formation of a new family. At one time, the father of the boy or girl to be married determined the marriage partner. Although the personal preference of the son or daughter now largely governs the choice, the family is still much involved in the process of betrothal.

The process begins with a period of courtship. The boy and girl may meet at night in front of the girl's house and talk. He may "accidentally" meet her as she is carrying water or laundry from the pila (fountain) to her house. In any case, the boy expresses his love
for her during the course of their conversation and asks her hand in marriage. Formerly her refusal sometimes meant eventual assent to his proposal; nowadays the girl's reply, yes or no, is final.

When a couple agrees to marry, the period of pedimiento begins. The boy tells his father that he has found the right girl, that she is of good family, that she is a hard worker. If the father agrees, he begins to make arrangements to make a formal request for the girl's hand. He selects a tertulero, a man of good reputation who is at the same time an eloquent and persuasive speaker. He buys the gifts that will accompany the meetings with the girl's family at which time the request will be made. At the same time, the girl has made her wishes known to her mother; her father has acquired a tertulero of his own.

On a given day, the tertulero (a term meaning both go-between and eloquent speaker) representing the prospective groom's family goes to the house of the girl's family. The tertulero first presents the father with gifts of candles, chocolate and, if neither family is Protestant, cigarettes and aguardiente (a sugar-cane liquor similar to rum). He then tells the father that his clients wish to speak to him on an important matter concerning his daughter's hand in marriage. The father agrees to a meeting at his house on a given
date; the matter ends there.

On that day, the tertulero, together with the father, mother, siblings, and other close relatives of the boy, walk in an entourage to the home of the girl. There, the tertulero of the other family greets them and ushers them in. The girls of the groom's family present the girl's father with substantial gifts of bread, chocolate, flowers, candles, and (excepting again in the case of Protestants) cigarettes, beer, and aguardiente. The tertulero representing the groom and his family makes the request. His opposite consults his representatives. Then, at this time, the father of the girl either requests some time to think it over or begins negotiations concerning the arrangement. If he requests time to think the matter over, the negotiations begin at a third pedimiento. In either case, the girl's family conveys their reservations through their go-between about the proposed marriage. Will the boy become a good provider? Will he stop chasing other girls when he marries? Is he a good religious man? The boy's go-between makes his counter-assertions. Yes, he is a good worker and has land and money. No, he doesn't chase all the girls in the village in the first place. Yes, he is a religious man; after all, he was altar boy in the church five years ago. Thus the negotiations continue. At a third (or fourth)
pedimiento, the tertulero of the girl's family conveys his clients' decision.

Formerly, there might have been as many as six or seven pedimientos. In addition, the boy was obliged to bring firewood to the girl's house—sometimes as many as twenty loads (by human carrier). This is no longer practiced. Indeed, the issue may be resolved in the boy's family's favour in as few as two pedimientos. Where this occurs, the tertulero brings his clients with him at his first encounter with the girl's family.

When and if the girl's parents give their consent, the date of the wedding is set; usually, marriage takes place between one and two years after consent. Formerly the boy was obliged to work for the girl's father during the interim, but this is no longer practiced. In the days before the marriage, the relatives of both families prepare the house for festivities and cook the food. Marriage takes place either on Sunday or the day of the patron saint of the municipio or one of its cantones. At the church, the priest (or pastor) conducts mass (or church service), then performs the marriage ceremony, asking the groom and bride to reaffirm their desire to marry, then presenting a ring and coin necklace to the bride. The priest (or pastor) then puts a single chain around the necks of both groom and bride, symbolic of union, and pronounces them man and wife. The entourage
composed of the bride and groom, their respective families, godparents and tertuleros and their relatives then marches to the groom's parents house, where the meal is served and the gifts are presented. The marimba and dancing begin after the dinner, and the festivities may continue well into the following morning. There is none of the mock abduction of the bride by her groom's family, or the mock battles between the men of the two families that has been reported elsewhere.

The groom and bride consumate their marriage in the household of the groom, where they may spend some three or four years before establishing a residence of their own. The girl must learn to co-operate with her husband's mother and sisters; often she must change her accustomed routines to fit that of her new in-laws. Consequently this means that conflicts between her and the other women will arise. In the meantime, her husband feels somewhat less than a man, having to depend upon his parents (or his older brother) for a place to live. This feeling persists even after a first child establishes them as adults in the community. Consequently, the couple seeks ways of establishing their own household, even if they have to rent a house or apartment.
2. Growing Up in Cantel. According to all my informants, practices preceding childbirth are unattended by ritual. Consultation with the zanjorín and performance of rituals ensuring an easy birth were all denied. Women of more traditional families are, however, confined some ten days before the expected birth and confinement continues for ten days after birth. At one time, the afterbirth was buried to ensure that no harm would come to the child, but many families have discontinued the practice. During the period of confinement, the mother is given a daily sweat bath "to ease delivery". Although 72 women went in 1969 to the local medical clinic for their deliveries under the care of the nurse, the vast majority still have their babies at home, attended by the midwife.

Persistent enquiries yielded little information on naming practices. At one time the parents of the newborn child went to a diviner to ascertain how the child should be named; he consulted the Mayan calendar to determine the date of birth and based his suggestion on the result. Only a few hold to this practice today. Most children are given a Spanish name and its Quiche correspondent: thus Domingo has its correspondent of /aku/; Marcos, of /marku'/; Pedro, of /lu'/; Isabel, of /šper/; and Lucia, of /lu's/. Some informants say
that the first-born son is named after his paternal grandfather. Thus, in the household where we lived, the oldest son, a six-year-old boy named Domingo, was named in this way; so was a local druggist-storekeeper, an aged man, named Tomás.

Parents and their older children indulge their very young, handling them with loving care and speaking nonsensical words of affection. Babies and toddlers are carried about on their mothers' backs when they work or go on an errand. At the age of two or three, however, discipline becomes strict. A child who throws his tamalito on the floor is admonished that such waste is sinful. Children begin to work early in life. A girl of four or five fetches a piece of laundry to be washed from the basket to her mother. By seven or eight, she is washing the laundry herself, cooking the tamalitos, taking the corn to the mill to be ground, and so on. A boy likewise works alongside his father, outfitted with a small hoe to work the soil. At four or five he carries small loads and makes feeble attempts to turn the soil; at seven or eight, he carries substantial loads and works the soil proficiently. Some children attend school—all are required to by law—but large numbers of children are kept out to assist in the household tasks. Even those who attend school are often pulled out to assist in the sowing, harvesting, or
other tasks requiring many hands. Consequently, it is not uncommon for children to graduate in their teens, if they finish elementary school at all.

Children learn their tasks by observation and imitation. Parents rarely give verbal or explicit instructions to their children on the performance of a task. Even an autobus driver of our acquaintance said that he learned to drive by watching his older brother (a taxicab driver) drive, observing the way he shifted gears and operated the foot pedals. After some six months, he himself took the wheel and became proficient shortly thereafter. In the same manner, the boy watches his father hoe, plant corn, weed, make calzados (mounds) at the base of the corn, and harvest—and helps. The girl watches her mother launder, cook, and grind corn, make tamalitos and tortillas—and helps. Thus they acquire the necessary skills at an early age and will have had considerable experience in their tasks by the time they reach marriagable age.

3. Domestic Relations. The sexual division of labour within the household is clearly defined. The men work the fields, build or repair the house, milk the cow, feed the larger animals, haul wood, and harvest the corn. The women cook, launder, cut wood for their cooking fires, feed the chickens and other small animals, haul water, harvest the beans, and tend the children.
No man would be caught cooking or doing other women's chores.

Nevertheless, both men and women work in the factory. At one time, tending the mechanical looms was woman's work; according to McBride of 500 workers tending the looms in the factory, most of them were women (1945: 66). Today, however, the number of women working in the factory has declined; of the 700 workers in the factory, 200 of them are women. Even so, this sometimes compromises the role of the man as breadwinner for his family.

Within the nuclear family, the father is dominant; within extended-family and joint-family households, the oldest male runs the household. It is he who controls the purse-strings of the household and who doles out the money that his wife needs to buy food and other necessities, to have her corn ground, to pay the maid, and the like. All money which his wife and children earn must be turned over to him. He determines whether his children are to work or to go to school. He, with his oldest sons, has the privilege to go down to the cantina. He is served first at all meals. The male children, while subordinate to their father, are likewise accorded special treatment. At mealtime, they are served after their father and before the mother and her daughters sit down to eat. They are given treats of
candy or ice cream that are frequently denied their sisters.

This does not mean that the dominance of the father or oldest male is absolute. If his wife works in the factory, his authority is tempered somewhat. Moreover, private ownership of property is so absolute that what a woman brings to her new household upon marriage is hers; it does not become household property, nor does her husband exercise any claim over what she owns. There are extreme situations in which the woman owns the house in which her family lives. In one case with which we are familiar—we lived in such an household—squabbles between the man and his wife were not uncommon. The man had come home late from the cantina once too often, and the woman complained that, among other things, the money he had spent on licor was needed to provide food for the children. Even she found it necessary, however, to hide her drinking or reserve her bouts for Christmas or the death of her next close relative.10

4. Extra-Familial Relations. Cantelenses reckon their kinsmen bilaterally. This is strongly suggested by their terminological system of kinship (see Table 3.2 and Fig. 3.6). Canteños distinguish between their siblings and their cousins, but there is no distinction between cross and parallel cousing. Similarly,
Table 3.2

A List of Terms of **Cantelense** Kinship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Biological Relationships</th>
<th>Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. a+m&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>/nutat/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. a+f</td>
<td>/nunan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mom&lt;sup&gt;+&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>/nuwats/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. mom&lt;sup&gt;+&lt;/sup&gt;, fom</td>
<td>/nučak/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. aof</td>
<td>/wanp/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. a+aom</td>
<td>/nutiyatata/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. a+aof</td>
<td>/nutiyachuchuʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. a+moa-m</td>
<td>/us oxolnutiyatata/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. a+foa-m</td>
<td>/us oxolnutiyaʃ'ok/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. a+fmoa-f</td>
<td>/umialnutiyatata/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. a+foa-f</td>
<td>/umialnutiyaʃ'ok/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. a=a</td>
<td>/wis'ok'il/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. a=m</td>
<td>/nuk'axol/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. a=f</td>
<td>/numial/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. a+a+m</td>
<td>/numam/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. a+a+f</td>
<td>/watit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. aoa-m</td>
<td>/uk'axolwachalal/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. aoa-f</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. a-a-m</td>
<td>/uwinumamalal/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. a-a-f</td>
<td>/uwinumamali/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

a. The notation in column one is taken from Romney’s system (1964). (m) refers to “male”, (f) refers to “female”. 
to "female", and (a) refers to person of either sex. The symbols referring to relational links are (+) for ascending link, (-) for descending link, (o) for sibling link, and (\=) for affinal link. The relationship between ego and his alter are specified by these notations written out in strings, the symbols of linking relatives and those of relational links appearing in alternation. The symbol for ego is listed first, followed by those for the intervening relatives; his alter appears last.

Figure 3.6

Kinship Chart

The numbers correspond to the terms listed on Table 3.2
Cantelenses distinguish their aunts and uncles from their parents, but no distinction is made between father's brother and mother's brother, nor between their respective sisters. Moreover, there is no merging of generations, either on the father's side of the family or on the mother's side. All of those characteristics strongly suggest bilateral reckoning.

Cantelenos belong to a kindred called a wachal axik, which is composed of a group of siblings, their parents, the parents of their parents, and their offspring. The term is derived from wachalal or "group of brothers". At one time, a common ancestor was recognized; he was selectively traced to ego through both male and female lines, but I was unable to determine what non-kinship factors favoured one link over several possible alternative ones. An ancestor is no longer recognized today.

Mutual aid among members outside the immediate family is sporadic. Brothers may help each other with the harvest and lend a hand to their father with his (especially if inheritance of the father's property is at stake), but other tasks are the responsibility of the household head, his unmarried sons, and his hired help. When the cofradías were functioning, a close relative would lend some money to an appointee, or take his place if the appointee were unable to assume the post. Whether the wachal axik was an economic unit is an unresolved
question; most of my older informants denied it, but one former Presbyterian preacher indicated that men who recognized a common ancestor helped each other in all phases of agricultural work some fifty years ago.

As in other communities, Cantelenses establish ties of ritual kinship (compadrazgo) with other persons through baptism and marriage. A child rarely obtains an additional set of padrinos at confirmation. Those ties are established only among Indians; ladinos are seldom involved. The ties serve to establish relations of respect between the godchild or couple (ahijados) and their padrinos, and between the real parents and their ritual counterparts. Thus, an ahijado is obliged, even in adulthood, to greet his padrino in a formal manner, tipping his hat and slightly bowing while shaking hands, and to use the formal term (Usted) for "you". So, to each other, do the compadres (co-parents). Nevertheless, those ties do not involve obligations beyond the ritual. A padrino may offer fatherly advice to his ahijado. He may give him small gifts on his birthday or on other occasions. But he is not obliged to enter into exchange labour relationships with either compadre or ahijado. He may provide aid to his ritual kinsmen in times of emergencies, but the person concerned will be expected to have asked members of his kindred first. This institution has become weakened by the
incursion of Protestants, who have discontinued the practice among themselves.

5. Dying in Cantel. When a man is aged and close to death, he has hiswife or other close relative to round up his sons and daughters to whom to apportion his land and personal effects. Sometimes, if he has more land than he needs, he will have long since allotted some of it to each of his sons as they marry. Ideally, the father will apportion his land to his sons and daughters in equal amounts. In practice, he may tend to give more to his sons than to his daughters, and he gives the larger lots of land, or the more desirable land, to the son or sons who have helped him the most in his lifetime. In the present day, some Indians register their wills with the municipalidad. Many do not do so, however, and disputes concerning inheritance abound, many of which end up in the office of the alcalde.

When death occurs (or is about to occur) the relatives of the deceased (or dying) ask three persons to prepare the body for burial. They may be distant relatives, ritual kinsmen, or close friends. On the day following the death, the three, together with the spouse of the deceased, wash the body and dress it with the deceased's best clothes. In accordance with the belief that any opening will allow insects and evil beings to enter and attack the soul of the deceased, the persons
preparing the body bind the jaw shut with a cloth strip running vertically over the head. They also stuff the ear and nasal openings with cotton.

In the meantime, arrangements for the funeral are being made. Every entrance to the house is lined with black drapery. The relatives, ritual kinsmen, and friends of the deceased gather in front of the house. The pallbearers, which include the three men (or women) who prepared the body, carry the elaborately-carved coffin from the house to the church near the head of the procession; flower bearers (men if the deceased was a man; women if she was a woman) precede the coffin. The spouse and immediate family follow. Services follow: the priest says requiem mass and eulogizes the deceased; the close friends of the deceased have a few words. If the deceased was a member of a dancing fraternity or a sociedad, he has an honour guard of his compatriots waiting outside the church. Then begins the steep ascent to the graveyard overlooking the town; members of town and cantón alike are buried there. After a brief graveside service conducted by the priest, the coffin is lowered. The entourage retires to the house for a feast.

The obligations to the dead do not end then. The black drapery remains hanging until it falls off. For nine days after death, the members of the household
pray at the family altar, supplicating a safe journey for the soul and at the same time urging the spirit of the deceased to leave the house. Even after the ninth day, the family has other obligations. One year after the death they make a pilgrimage to the graveyard and conduct a service at the burial site. The poorer families merely recite prayers; the richer hire a band. Finally, on the Day of the Dead on November 1, families "visit" their deceased. On the belief that the spirits come back to their burial sites on that date, the families burn candles and conduct a brief service, hiring professional rezadores to recite the responsos. They also picnic at the site: children fly kites constructed for that day, vendors hawk chuchitos (tamalitos with small pieces of meat), paches, and other festive foods, and friends and relatives visit each other. At night, many of the families construct temporary tent-like dwellings over the gravestones or near the vaults of their deceased, there to spend the night. Next day, the priest conducts mass at the cemetery: festivities die down soon afterward.

V. Politics, Polity, and Religion in Cantel.

As required by national law, Cantel has a body of officers, collectively called the municipalidad, composed of the alcalde, who combines functions of chairman of the council and of judge in minor civil and criminal
cases; the **síndico**, who is responsible for all matters concerning Cantelense real estate, and local government monies; and seven **concejales** (sometimes called **regidores**) who are charged with making ordinances, approving the annual budget of the **municipio**, and other aldermanic tasks. The **alcalde** and **síndico** draw monthly salaries of Q80.00 and Q65.00; the **concejales** are unpaid. All of those posts are filled by popular vote every two years. In addition, there are a number of paid appointed officials, all of them **ladino**: the **secretario**, who records the minutes of council meetings and the proceedings of court cases in the **alcalde**'s offices, and does the paperwork for the **alcalde** and **síndico**. The First Official (**oficial primero**) keeps records of marriages and registers local citizens for the **cédula de vecindad**, a certificate required of every adult citizen who wants to work. The Second Official (**oficial segundo**) maintains records of births and deaths in the community. There is also a treasurer (and his assistant) and a chief of police. The telegrapher and postmaster share the same building as the other officials but, of course, are employed by the national government.

There are also a large number of minor posts to which local citizens of 21 years or over are appointed. They include the **mayores**, of which there are 24 in the
pueblo and each cantón. They serve the combined functions of policemen, messenger boys, and street-cleaners. They serve in turns, one group assuming duty for one week and resting for two. The chief of police is in direct command over the group in the pueblo, and in indirect command over the groups in the cantones. The mayores of the cantones are led by their alcaldes auxiliares, one for each cantón. The alcaldes auxiliares, also appointed by the alcalde for a year, take turns in maintaining a rural office in La Estancia for a week. Their functions are primarily that of judge in minor civil cases among citizens of the cantones. Finally, 27 guardabosques are delegated the duty of watching the forests of the municipio, arresting persons cutting without a permit. These duties are also served in turns of three. Those appointed to any of those posts—mayor, alcalde auxiliar, or guardabosque—serve without pay.

The political struggles that Nash described as characteristic of Cantel in 1954 seem to have died down since. Although one of the candidates for the national presidency spoke in Pasac on January 26, 1970 (this was Mario Fuentes Pieruccini of the then-governing Partido Revolucionario), the local campaigns of the 1970 election were sporadic and quiet ones. Most of the campaigning went on in the factory town;
there sound trucks, leaflets, and political slogans painted on walls were in evidence. Even then, campaigning was hardly intense or continuous. Elsewhere, including the pueblo, sound trucks were few, leafleting sporadic, political symbols and slogans almost absent from the walls. The turnout was poor; of over 5,000 Cantelenos who were eligible (and required) to vote, only 1,297 voted.

Briefly, the dampened political activity in Cantel may be attributed partly to the political troubles that were—and still are—occurring in Guatemala. Kidnapping of prominent officials (including the West German ambassador to Guatemala, who was subsequently shot), assassinations carried out by both leftist and rightist groups, and harassment of political commentators, intellectuals, and the like have obviously dampened political ardour even at the local level. Most Cantelenses were reluctant to express their political opinion. Virtually all the issues discussed or advocated publically were local and comparatively non-inflammatory.

What ardour is lacking in secular politics is made up in the religious. It began in 1948 when the municipalidad required all citizens, even those who had served in the cofradías as high officials, to serve as mayores. The struggle intensified with the coming
in 1949 of a resident priest (the first since 1939, and the first permanent one since the Barrios regime) and the formation in 1951 of Acción Católica. For five years, the struggle continued between the catequistas and the costumbristas. When the cofradías began to succumb, the catequistas directed their attacks against the Protestants. Before long, the Protestants fought among themselves. Since politics in both the secular and the religious spheres were central to the structural changes in Cantel, I reserve further discussion of these matters for Chapter 4.

For the present, however, I outline briefly the religious situation in Cantel. Most activities carried on in Cantel are under the auspices of Acción Católica. Its members are responsible for the festivities of the fiesta titular, a six-day festival that celebrates the patron saint of the town and municipio, la virgen de la asunción de los ángeles (the Virgin of the Assumption); her day is August 15. They provide the altar boys, the fiscales, and other auxiliary personnel to assist the priest and maintain the church. They handle the administrative and financial affairs of the church, and carry out its functions of proselytization; for that purpose, they have an elected body of officers, and they have four suborganizations, one each for men, women, boys of 10 to 18, and girls of the same age
range. They are responsible for other festivities, including the posadas on Christmas, the activities of Easter Week, and minor festivities celebrating the patron saint of each cantón. The social service programmes sponsored by the church are run under their auspices; these services include a medical clinic, a night school offering courses in homemaking and agronomy, a six-grade parochial school, and three branches of a credit union.

In the meantime, the Protestants have been active—and divisive. The Presbyterians and Pentacostals (viz. the Iglesia de Dios, which has no connection with the Church of God) have the largest following; their pastors each claim a following of over 500. Also having followings in the hundreds are the Cramaristas (followers of a German preacher by the name of Kramer, who founded the Iglesia de la Asamblea in Guatemala), and the adventists. Other Protestant groups include the Iglesia Principe de Paz (like the Cramaristas, a church founded in Guatemala), Jehovah's Witnesses, and Baptists. There are also innumerable churches of local or departmental origins, such as the Israelistas, Esposa del Cordero, and Elim. There is a strong propensity for splinter groups to form around leaders who have "felt the spirit" or who simply disagree with their old sect's interpretation of the Bible. There
are also sub-groups of Presbyterians and Pentacostals with opposing beliefs; there were at least two factions within each of those two denominations. All of those groups have proliferated in recent years.

Despite their proliferation, the Protestants have neither a school of their own\textsuperscript{11} nor social services of other sorts; their fighting among themselves has prevented the rendering of these services. In recent years, they have been able to establish alliances strong enough to sponsor revivals, but not all churches sponsor these revivals, nor do their members attend them. The Presbyterian minister, for example, has yet to go to a revival (although the youth organization of his church was a sponsor of several of them). In the meantime, there has been a recent tendency for some Protestants to resolve their differences with the Catholics. Some Protestant children attend the parochial school; two children out of a class of 18 that graduated in 1970 were Protestant. One of the directors of the school board is a Presbyterian.

\textbf{VI. World View and the Supernatural in Cantel.}

Although \textit{Cantelenos} have undergone changes in several respects—their knowledge of the autobus and the factory machine, many have gone to school, they have given up the \textit{cofradías}, and so on—they retain many of their old beliefs. A man claims that he and his fellow
no longer believe in the naguales, the night spirits who waylay late travelers; yet his wife covers her baby's head for fear of the evil eye (mal de ojo) of a visitor whose glance is enough to harm the babe. At the closing ceremonies of the schools, the alcalde and school master praise the advances of education, the victory of knowledge over superstition. Every schoolboy knows how eclipses come about. Yet virtually every family is behind closed doors, burning incense and praying at the family altar during a partial eclipse of the sun. Outside, the streets are deserted.

It appears that some of the beliefs have been discarded. One, that the nagual could be kept out of the village by erecting a cross at each of the village's four corners, seems to have disappeared. There are only two crosses left, one is in bad repair, and the crossbar of the other is missing. Many obviously do not take their beliefs seriously; few Catholics now kneel or even cross themselves as they pass the Church.

Yet, Canteleños prefer not to let their beliefs be shared too freely, especially with outsiders. Pressures that would force them to hide what they believe, of course, abound. Their own church sponsors a health clinic and a course in personal hygiene. Their school includes in its curriculum courses in natural
science; mal de ojo and concepts of hot and cold foods are not included. The catequistas' burning of the miraculous San Simón is fresh in local memories. Government agencies constitute another source of pressure. Practising witchcraft is illegal. Social workers will lecture on the falsity of el aire (the airs) as a cause of sickness. The Canteleño has much reason to put into two compartments his beliefs: the overt, that which he recites or tells the priest, the social worker, the schoolteacher; and that which he believes.

There are signs of a belief in local spirits. Most are indigenous beliefs. There is a spirit for the sun, for the River Samalá, for Chojolóm, the mountain of the skull, for every landmark in the municipio of Cantel. They are members of El Mundo, The World (for a parallel in Chichicastenango see Bunzel 1952).

There are indeed signs that these beliefs persist. There are still zanjorines (practitioners of white magic only) and hechiceros (practitioners of both white and black magic), to whom the general term brujo applies. San Simón is said to be hidden in the Cofradía San Buenaventura, though the presidente of that cofradía (now officially a sociedad) denies it. One may see an occasional Canteleño sit in front of the image of San Simón in Zunil, making a request, presenting the
caretaker with cigarettes and aguardiente as part of the ritual. Old beliefs persist; they are likely to for a long time.

VI. Summary.

Cantel is a village in transition. Old beliefs persist; yet that does not prevent Canteleños from going to the medical clinic when sick. The hoe, the digging stick, the winnowing basket remain the primary implements of Cantelense agriculture; yet Canteleños are familiar with machines—some operate them at the factory every day. Elaborate marriage arrangements persist; yet they are simpler than they were two generations ago. Processions for the patron saint still persist; yet the cofradías are gone.
Footnotes to Chapter 3

1. The term *nagual* refers to an animal who shares the fate with a man. If a bird sickens or dies, for example, a man also sickens and dies.

2. In Cantel, 1 *cuerda* is equal to .108 of an acre. Land units vary from village to village. One *cuerda* in Chinautla, for example, is equivalent to .2 of an acre (Reina 1966: 47).

3. *Tierra caliente* is strictly of local usage and is not to be confused with the tropical lowlands that geographers refer to with the same term.

4. There is some question about the accuracy of this figure. Local inhabitants, including a North American missionary, believe the population to be much higher—estimates range between 14,000 and 20,000 (the missionary estimates 17,000). That there is reason to believe this is suggested by the official figures for the cantón of Chuisuc. The census lists 12 dwellings (*viviendas*) and a population of 45. Yet there were obviously more than 12 dwellings when I was there. In 1965, some 43 children were attending the two-grade schools in Chuisuc.

5. The conversion rate is based on Whetten's Formula (1961: 121). According to his calculations, 3 *manzanas* equals 5.2 acres, and 4 *manzanas* equals 6.9.

6. Based on sales records of the two dealers. There were no dealers in Pasac or the rural cantones.

7. They are usually foreigners: the dye-master is a Mexican; the spin-master and weaving master are Spaniards.

8. A *metate* is a flat sone upon which the corn is laid; the woman grinds the corn by rolling a stone cylinder (the *mano*) over it.

9. Thus on the day of the Señor de Esquipulas, patron saint of La Estancia, the priest married some ten couples at the chapel, all at the same time.

10. Some women do drink in public, but they are roundly condemned by men and other women.

11. A school founded by the Adventists was present at the time of Nash's visit, but it has since folded.
Chapter Four
The Polity and Economy of Cantel

In Chapter Two, I suggested statements accounting for the existence of communities of three types. A closed corporate community occurs where (1) a superior authority allocates an area of land to the community for the use of its members at large; (2) where the members constitute a reservoir of labour for some purpose (work on the hacienda, control of settlers via control of the labour supply, etc.); (3) where encroachment upon communal land is a clear and present possibility; (4) where alliances between local factions and national interest groups are weak or absent; and (5) where investment outlets for individual accumulations of wealth are nonexistent. Semicorporate communities occur where (1) laws recognizing only individual land titles are effectively enforced; but (2) where the other four conditions remain in force. Open communities are found where (1) land is owned privately and (2) where one or both of the following conditions are in force: (a) there are investment outlets for individual accumulations of wealth, and (b) there are alliances between local factions and strong nation-oriented interest groups. In open communities, the threat of outside encroachment is a dead issue;
the problem is either to adapt to the demands of outsiders who control local land resources anyway or, to compete on the open market with outsiders using the products of land resources still in local hands. In the meantime, labour demands will have become voluntary, even in semi-corporate communities.

There develops the next question: does the present and past politico-religious organization of Cantel conform to those predictive statements? Inevitably, ethnohistorical data on Cantel are uneven. At present, there are not enough data on Cantel to ascertain whether or not it was a closed corporate community at one time and whether it was the product of the community having been a labour reservoir for the country's haciendas in the Pacific piedmont region to the south. There are enough data, mostly from informants, to establish that Cantel, prior to 1944, was a semi-corporate community and to suggest that there was neither investment outlets nor strong factions allied with outside interest groups. There are also enough data to indicate that Cantel is an open community and that its present structure is the product primarily of alliance of its nation-oriented groups with powerful outside interests: the labour union, Acción Católica Rural Obrero (hereafter referred to as Acción Católica), and Protestant groups, especially the Presbyterians.
In this chapter, then, I will begin with a review of the economic and political situation of Cantel prior to 1944. This will include a section on the available data concerning Cantel's status as a closed corporate community. Primarily, the review will reconstruct the economic bases of Cantel, its politico-religious structure, and the linkages binding the one to the other. I will then reconstruct the processes of change that the 1944 Revolution generated in Cantel, especially those which the labour union brought about. Finally, I will synthesize the interrelationships of the present day between labour union, gremial organization of wheat farmers, and the current religious and political organization of the community.

I. Polity and Economy of Cantel Prior to 1944.

A. Cantel as Closed Corporate Community: Early Documents. Most of those documents that are available concerning Cantel deal with disputes between the municipio of Asuncion Cantel and the finquero Ignacio Urbina, who owned a large tract of wheat land that occupied the present cantón of Urbina and northern Chirijquiac. An early document of the National Archives of Guatemala (Al. 18, exp. 54.883 leg. 6074) recognizes the legitimacy of Indian titles to land surrounding the cities of Quezaltenango (then called by its Quiche name, Xelaju) and Momostenango, located
north of Quezaltenango. According to the document, the rights were established by conquest in 1300 and were reaffirmed by signature of Pedro de Alvarado, a lieutenant of Cortez who led the conquest of the Quezaltenango Valley in 1524. This document, however, specifies by name neither Cantel nor other subdivisions of the Quiché empire.

The first mention of Cantel occurs in a document of the National Archives, dated 1762, in which Ignacio Urbina of the jurisdiction of Quezaltenango applied for a permit to sell wheat in Guatemala City (Al. 22.22/Exp. 3.951, leg. 195). Three documents record land disputes between the same Ignacio Urbina and the municipio of Asuncion Cantel. The first document, dated 1777 (Al. 57/Exp. 53.101 Leg. 6022, Fol. 1), records claims made by Asuncion Cantel and its eastern neighbour, Santa Catalina Ixtaguacan (the present Santa Catarina Ixtahuacan), which "maintain rights to lands owned by Ignacio Urbina". The document does not specify whether those rights (derechos) are those of use only or of ownership as well. The claim rests on the contention that Urbina had "illegally extended the boundaries of his land into ejido (communal) lands of the two municipios, registering the ejido portions in his name. No documents concerning the outcome of the dispute were available.
The second document is a complaint filed by the municipio of Cantel in 1778 that Urbina allowed his cattle to run free to graze in the public lands of the pueblo (Al. 45-8/ Exp. 3958 Leg. 195). The third document, which Urbina himself filed with the attorney-general (fiscal) of the Audencia of Guatemala, a Dr. Francisco de Saavedra y Carbajal, accuses the Indians of Cantel of having forcefully occupied his land (Al. 15/ Exp. 47188 Leg. 5483). There were no documents available concerning the outcome of that confrontation.

Two other documents also concern public lands in Cantel. One is an undated enquiry into the value of a piece of land obtained by the Urbina family in Cantel (B 108.1/ Exp. 33272 Leg. 1419). The other, dated November 9, 1841, is a solicitation filed by the Ministro General del Gobierno requesting the Court of Justice to order the sale of the part of the ejido of Cantel which had been assigned to a Mateo Colop and which he, subsequently, had wished to sell (B 108/ Exp. 85876m. Leg. 3637).

These documents allow something of a sketch of the land situation in Cantel during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. First, that at least some pasture and agricultural lands were public is apparent from the land that Urbina had tried (and probably succeeded) to expropriate from the municipio.
All of the cantón of Urbina and northern Chirijquiac is level and planted in wheat. Since Urbina had sought a permit to sell wheat in 1762, and had cattle in 1778, it is likely that the ejido lands in dispute were either used for wheat or pasture, or could easily have been converted to land for such uses. Colop's attempt to sell his portion also suggests that at least part of Cantel's agricultural land was communal. Second, it is clear that there were disputes concerning land in those two centuries. Urbina's expansion of his holdings were either a threat to Cantel's resources, or were viewed as such by the Cantelenos of that time. Moreover, since the surname Colop is as common in Cantel as Smith is in North America, some of Cantel's own members apparently attempted to appropriate for themselves the public lands of the municipio.

Obviously, much more documentary work remains to be done concerning the economic and political structure of Cantel. Whether Urbina had attempted to absorb Cantel into his holdings is moot. Whether all of Cantel's holdings were communal remains to be investigated. The politico-religious organization of Cantel prior to 1920 remains to be reconstructed. Whether or not the social defensive devices characteristic of other corporate communities emerged in Cantel during those two centuries is likewise moot. Nevertheless, those
documents indicate that questions concerning Cantel's status as a closed corporate community are worth pursuing.

B. The Economy of Cantel. Prior to the founding of the factory, Canteleños depended upon cultivation of corn and wheat and raising of sheep. The factory, introduced in 1883, was providing an additional source of income to Canteleños by 1910. As we will see, this new source of income did little to alter the politico-religious structure of Cantel.

1. Agriculture in Cantel. Whether or not land was owned privately in the nineteenth century, it is apparent, from the statements of older informants, that agricultural and pastoral lands were owned by individual families by the early part of the twentieth century. My oldest informant, a former union leader, whose memory begins in 1910, claims that his father owned all the land that he cultivated; he received his share in 1923 at the age of 29. Another informant, a druggist, who recalls events that occurred in 1920, makes a similar claim and insists that his neighbours also owned the land they cultivated. Although it is possible that inferior agricultural land remained in public hands (as was the case elsewhere in Guatemala), both of these informants denied this. Only woodlands were retained by the municipalidad. Other older informants echoed these statements.
The alienation of Cantelenses from their land was a clear and present threat. This threat came primarily from municipios adjacent to Cantel. In the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, a group of men from Totonicapan tried to blaze a boundary through the region in Chirijquiac. Upon hearing what was happening, a group of Canteleños set out, captured the men, and clapped them in jail. An agent of the national government, incensed that neither he nor the government had been informed of the situation, awarded part of the land to Totonicapan. A similar dispute took place between Cantel and its northeastern neighbour, Salcaja, over an area of forest land. According to older informants, Salcaja invaded that region, blazed a boundary, and expelled a Cantelense guardabosque who happened to be on patrol there. This touched off a minor feud; national troops were called in to quell the disturbance. Some informants assert that the massacre of the Cantelense municipalidad was the result of this feud; others say that the incident occurred around 1900, long after the massacre. In either case, the national government awarded the piece of land to Salcaja. The nationalist party (the Partido Acción Revolucionario, see pp. 275-280) managed to get that land back in the 1940's, but it was returned again to Salcaja in 1950.
Cantel has also had land disputes with private individuals. We have seen that there was trouble with the Urbina family in the eighteenth century. There are few documents, however, concerning the relationships between Cantel and the Urbina family, and there are no documents that indicate when or how the Urbina family lost its holdings. There are no records of land disputes between Cantel and other private individuals. Since the municipio of Zunil, also a Quiche community, separates Cantel from the Pacific piedmont region, it is unlikely that Cantel was threatened with extinction by expanding coffee fincas.

Land was available for sale only to members, and there was an order of priority. Land was to be offered for sale to one's relatives first, then to neighbours, then to members of the seller's pueblo or cantón, then finally to community members outside the pueblo or cantón. My older informants could remember only one instance in which a Canteleño sold land to an outsider; they were unable (or unwilling) to recall the details of the transaction or its consequences.

All older informants agree that corn was the staple crop of Cantel; they deny, however, that wheat was of any importance before the 1944 revolution. A few families with large areas of land grew some wheat, but most farmers concentrated on corn, beans, squash,
and lima beans. A large number of families, however, did raise sheep; this was confined to the plateau regions of La Estancia (which at that time included Chuisuc), Pachaj (which included Chirijquiac and Urbina), and the lower levels of Xecam. McBryde corroborates this data. Cantel was, according to him, an important market for sheep and pigs (none of my informants mentioned pigs as being of any importance); yet nowhere does he mention Cantel as being among the important sources of wheat. He does not mention Cantel as a surplus producer of corn, but he mentions no other community as having that distinction either (McBryde 1945: 27-28, 38, et passim).

There were few specialized businesses in pre-revolutionary Cantel. Most of them were pulperías, general stores. According to one informant, who had served as mayor in 1937 and was charged with collecting the sanitation fee for that year, there were only twelve such stores in the entire municipio; there are, of course, many more than that now (see below pp. 269-273). There were a few specialty shops: beef shops, pork shops, barbers, a pharmacy, a bakery, several cantinas, a few tailor shops, and a carpentry shop specializing in coffins. There are many more existing today that did not exist before 1945. They include corn mills, radio shops, bicycle shops, dry goods shops, autobuses,
furniture shops, and public baths.

By far most of Cantel's trading activities were carried on through the Sunday market, held until 1958 in the plaza in front of the church. As is the case today, the furniture of Cantelenos came from Totonicapan, the pottery came from San Cristobal or Totonicapan, tie-dyed threads came from Salcaja, rope and leather goods came from Coban, and so forth. The two markets in Pasac were products of the 1944 revolution and were absent before that year.

The factory was founded between 1883 and 1885, under the auspices of Urbano Sanchez, a Spanish financier who bought a controlling share of some 6,000 stocks worth $1,000 (pesos, the Guatemalan currency at the time) each from the national government which issued them. The factory consisted of some 15 looms driven by water power provided by the Samala River and an unknown number of carding and spinning machines powered in the same way (McBryde 1947: 66; Solorzano F., 1963: 364). The textile industry was one of several government-sponsored enterprises initiated by Barrios to attract foreign exchange (Solorzano 1963: 343-372). The factory stands out as having been the first of several machine-run textile factories in Guatemala.

The establishment of the factory met considerable resistance from the local residents of Cantel.
Informants say that there were widespread fears that the factory might force the inhabitants of the community out of Cantel, taking over the rest of the land. Indeed, some informants claim that the factory owners had removed the occupants of the factory site without compensation; others say that some compensation was offered. There were also widespread fears that the factory owners would impress the entire male working force into low-paid service at the factory, through the legal means of the mandamiento. In any case, the factory would destroy costumbre, the traditional ways of life of the community.

Whatever their fears were, the local inhabitants translated them into action one night by invading the factory site and burning a building, still under construction, to the ground. This provoked, according to one local version, the massacre of the municipalidad that Calderon ordered and Barrios, as a part of his "pacification" of the western highlands, authorized as a post mortem gesture (see pp. 1-2).

Initially, no Canteleño would work in the factory. Most of the early workers came from neighbouring municipios. According to my oldest informant, a union leader who was also one of the early workers at the factory, the massacre remained fresh in the minds of local Canteleños for years. Nevertheless, Canteleños
eventually began working in the factory. By the time this same informant began working at the factory in 1910 (at the age of 16), the factory employed some 200 men, most of whom were from Cantel.

By that time, the factory had expanded its operations. Machines run by hydroelectric power had replaced the older water-driven ones. There were now some sixty looms. Three thicknesses of thread and two kinds of broadcloth (plain and striped) were now being produced. The market for cotton, however, was still confined to Guatemala; no cotton good made in Cantel reached the other four central American nations. Workers were paid by the day: 1 real\(^7\) for the men; \(\frac{1}{2}\) real for the boys. The working day was ten hours; the working week was six days. Despite the long hours, my informant recalls, the factory provided a steady source of income under less taxing working conditions than did agricultural labour. Thus an increasing number of Canteleños applied for work.

Between 1910 and 1960, the factory expanded steadily. 500 operators, most of them women, were employed at the looms in July, 1936; there is no information for that year on the number working at the carding and spinning machines (McBryde 1936: 66). By 1960, close to 1,000 workers were employed in the three departments. In the meantime, the factory had
expanded its lines of production to include tablecloths, towels, bedsheets, pillowcases, and dyed and printed broadcloth.

There is no evidence of a union prior to 1945, although a few informants say that attempts were made to strike. Nash asserts that there was some labour trouble in 1906; on that date workers presented demands for higher wages and shorter work hours. Nash does not indicate whether or not there was a strike, nor does he state how the management resolved the problem. My oldest informant denied knowledge of that confrontation. A younger informant, a Presbyterian minister asserts that there was a strike in 1941, during the period when Jorge Ubico, a military dictator not known to deal kindly with labour movements, was in power (1931-1944). Unfortunately, this informant was unable to give details of the incident, and others, including the former union leader, deny that such a strike occurred.

Nevertheless, the factory did initiate some programmes for its workers. Construction of row houses assigned to the workers on a rent-free basis began in 1910, and additional houses were constructed between that year and 1945. A two-grade school was started between 1928 and 1935; it had been expanded to four grades by 1939, the date of one of my informants'
enrollment. Electricity was installed in the main street of Pasac in the mid-1930's; public buildings and some of the row houses were electrified later. A medical clinic was also established in that decade. By the eve of the revolution, wages had increased to 8¢ a day for gardeners and janitors, 15¢ a day for workers paid by time, and up to 20¢ a day for workers paid by piecework. Even then, such wages compared favourably with those of the agricultural worker, who was being paid 4¢ daily with meals and 8¢ without. Moreover, work at the factory was steady; agricultural work was not. Nevertheless, the workers harboured major grievances. The technicians in charge of each department often beat their Indian subordinates. Workers were often compelled to work overtime or lose their jobs; they were unpaid for the extra hours. A day's absence from work, even for reasons of illness, meant loss of a job with no chance for reinstatement. Finally, no worker was allowed time off for the town's major fiestas, even if he had been appointed an official responsible for conducting such festivities. The workers were ripe for unionization.

The economy may therefore be summarized thus: the main activity of Cantelenos was subsistence farming. Even factory workers owned or rented a plot of land for growing corn. Yet a large proportion of Cantel's population
were engaged in factory work. If one ignores, with McBryde, the factory workers who are not loom operators and thus accepts his estimate of 500 workers in the Cantel factory for 1936, one still may conclude that those who worked in the factory constituted a sizeable proportion of the total Canteleño work force. If one estimates for 1936 a total population of 7,512 (calculated by interpolation between the 1921 population of 6,585, and the 1950 population of 8,277), this means that 6.5% of the total population (children included in the calculation) worked in the factory in that year. There were no figures for either year of the number of people who were economically active. In 1964, however, 3,014 Canteleños, or 27.4% of the total population of 10,989 were of that category. If one applies that ratio to the 1936 estimate, one arrives at the rounded figure of 2,058 for that year. This means that almost one-fourth of the economically active persons of Cantel were working in the factory. Nash estimates that about one-fourth of the economically active were employed by the factory in 1954 (1967b: 6).

These considerations question Kunkel's assertion that communities in which external wage labour has become significant and in which wage labour and cash relations have become important will necessarily adopt the social organization of the nation. If this means,
as he says, the replacement of a politico-religious hierarchy by separate political and religious institutions, the elimination of compulsory service in a politico-religious hierarchy, and the emergence of paid political positions, then the Cantel of pre-revolutionary days does not support his hypothesis. Wages were important to Canteleños. So was money. A large proportion worked in the factory before 1944. Although exchange agricultural labour was present, wage work was even more prevalent. One needed money to trade in the Sunday market; direct barter of goods was nonexistent. Yet, as I will show in the next section, the politico-religious hierarchy was intact, all members (excluding Protestants) were obliged to serve in the cofradías, and paid offices were nonexistent.

C. Religion and Polity in Cantel Before 1944.

Prior to the 1930's, Cantel had a civil-religious hierarchy that resembled the ideal types put forth by Cancian (1967), Carrasco (1961), Nash (1958, 1967b: 126-130), and Wolf (1959, 1967a, 1967c). The offices of both types were fused into one integrated body. The younger men assumed the lower offices with menial functions; the older men, having served in the lower offices, occupied the senior posts with important secular or religious responsibilities. There was a
recognized body of *principales*, composed of former senior officials of both wings of the hierarchy. Punishment for refusal to serve in office of either wing was jail. Yet incipient changes began to take place in the second quarter of the twentieth century. First, the *intendente*, a post that Jorge Ubico imposed upon all *municipios*, displaced the *alcalde*, reducing the function of that post to that of judge in minor disputes among Indians. By 1935, owing to presidential decree, those refusing to serve could no longer be jailed. Meanwhile, the Protestants gained a few converts, enough to found a Presbyterian Church. Nevertheless, the *cofradías* survived, and the political offices were still filled on the basis of age and prior service. The major changes did not take place until the years following 1944.

1. *Organization of the Civil-Religious Hierarchy.*

The data that follow constitute a reconstruction of the civil-religious hierarchy as it existed in 1920; this is the approximate date that most of my older informants are able to recall with greater or lesser clarity. There were discrepancies regarding details among my informants: they disagreed on the relative positions of the *mayores del campo* (or *cantones*) as compared to the *mayores del pueblo* (or *centro*); they also disagreed on the names of some of those posts. I will indicate those
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discrepancies as I discuss those offices in detail.
A general scheme of the civil-religious hierarchy
appears on Table 4.1, p. 214.

The civil wing of the hierarchy was made up of
an alcalde primero (mayor), an alcalde segundo (vice-
mayor), a síndico (caretaker of municipio property), four
regidores (councilmen), two policías, six auxiliares
(assistants to the alcalde in charge of the cantones),
16 mayores del centro, 12 mayores del campo, 6 ajchimiles,
and 18 guardabosques. The religious wing was made up
of church officials and cofradías. There were also
sociedades that functioned during Easter Week, but
because their officials worked only during lent and
Easter Week, holding of posts in those organizations
did not count toward advancement in the hierarchy. The
church administration was composed of two mayordomos
(first and second) who directed the operations; two
fiscales who acted as custodians, and four chaúales
(alter boys). There were seven cofradías: two with
large memberships and heavy responsibilities; a third
with a large membership but comparatively light respon-
sibilities; and four with small memberships and few tasks.
The two cofradías with major responsibilities—the Cofradía
la Virgen la Asunción (that cared for the patron saint of
the municipio and also observed the Dia de Concepción) and
the Cofradía San Buenaventura (charged with the task of
Table 4.1 Political-Religious Organization of Cantel (Circa 1920).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Wing of Hierarchy</th>
<th>No. of Posts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil</td>
<td>Religious</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Alcalde Primero</td>
<td>Mayordomo Primero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Alcalde Segundo</td>
<td>Mayordomo Segundo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Síndico</td>
<td>Alcalde, Major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cofradías</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Virgen 1a</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Asunción</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>San Buena-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ventura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sacramento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>Regidor Primero</td>
<td>Alcalde, Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regidor Segundo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regidor Tercero</td>
<td>Mayordomo, Major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regidor Cuarto</td>
<td>Cofradías</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Virgen de Dolores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Cruz</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>San Antonio</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>San José</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Major Cofradías</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3) a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Policía (2) a</td>
<td>Mayordomo, Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alcaldes Auxiliares</td>
<td>Cofradías (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fiscal (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Ayudantes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Major Cofradías</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(18; 6 each)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Minor Cofradías</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(16; 4 each)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>Mayores del Centro Chajales (4)</td>
<td>56 d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mayores del Canton (12) b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ajchimiles (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guardabosques (18) c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

a. The numbers of posts are indicated in parentheses where they are not clear from context.

b. There were only six cantones at that time: Pasac Primero and Segundo constituted a single cantón and Urbina was a part of Chirijquiac.
Table 4.1 (Continued)

c. The post was reserved for those thought unable to continue a cargo career, because of poverty or poor character.

d. If guardabosques are ignored, the total number is 38. There was also an unspecified number of sirvientes in the parish house.
burying the town's dead)—together with the Cofradía Sacramento, each were composed of an alcalde, a mayordomo, and six ayudantes. The other four—Cofradía Santa Cruz, Cofradía la Virgen de Dolores, Cofradía San Antonio, and Cofradía San José—each were composed of an alcalde, a mayordomo, and four ayudantes. All of those offices were graded into some six levels; they were linked to each other by chains of command. Exercising their veto power over the decisions made by the senior officials of both wings of the hierarchy were the principales, retired senior officials.

Every man began his cargo (office) career by serving in an office of the lowest levels (Level VI on Table 4.1). The youths (generally in their teens) who were expected to assume higher posts became mayores or achimiles in the civil wing or chajales in the religious. There were two kinds of mayores; those who served in the pueblo itself (mayores del pueblo or del centro, of which there were 16) and those who served in the outlying cantones (mayores del cantón or del campo; two came from each cantón—since there were 6 cantones in 1920, they totaled 12 in number). The mayores of both categories had essentially the same tasks: cleaning and maintaining the plaza, streets, and trails; keeping order; arresting drunks, brawlers, and other violators of minor ordinances; running messages between municipalidad and cantón or
departmental capital; and other such menial chores. **Mayores** of both categories served on alternate weeks. There is a disagreement among my informants as to whether the two categories of **mayores** were equal in rank or whether the **mayores del centro** were ranked higher than the **mayores del campo**. Some, including my two oldest informants (the union leader and the president of the **Sociedad San Buenaventura**, a survival of the **cofradía**) maintained that they were equal; others (including a retired Presbyterian minister now living in Quezaltenango) maintained that the **mayores del centro** were ranked one step above their counterparts of the **cantones**. Ricardo Ishcol B., a Guatemalan sociologist who visited Cantel in 1949, indicates that a distinction was made between the **mayores** of those two types, but he does not specify whether they were ranked (1953: 27). Nash makes a distinction between **alguacil**, a post occupied by youths charged with running messages and maintaining the streets and fountains, and **mayor**, a post occupied by young married men charged with police functions, but none of my older informants repeated this assertion despite my attempts to elicit this. Two informants (including the **presidente** of the **Sociedad San Buenaventura**) did assert that **alguacil** was another name for **mayor del campo**; Nash does not make the distinction on that basis, however (1967c: 26). There is
a possibility that such a distinction existed prior to 1920. Unfortunately, my oldest informants were younger than his.

Also in the civil wing were six ajchimiles, who served as attendants to the alcaldes primero and segundo and to the sindico. Like the mayores, they served on alternate weeks. Each ajchimil on duty was to sleep at the door of his master's room at night, prepared to run errands or messages as needed. During the day, he served as usher to visitors who had come to see the alcaldes or sindico. Whenever a senior official went on a mission, his ajchimil followed him carrying his staff, cloak, and other belongings. This was a highly honourable post, a position de gran confianza (of great trust), and one to whom sons of former high officials were assigned. The guardabosques were charged with patrolling the municipio's forests, arresting persons cutting without a permit or non-Cantelenses caught cutting within the boundaries of the municipio, putting out small fires, and so forth. They were terminal posts, reserved for youths of poor families whose sons were not expected to continue to higher posts in the hierarchy.

Four chajales constituted the lowest level of religious offices. They served as altar-boys, assisting the priest in his rituals at mass. They also cleaned the church, ran errands, and messages for the priest.
mayordomos, solicited donations of money and goods for the church, and so forth. There was also an unspecified number of sirvientes who maintained the parish house, prepared and served the meals when the priest was present, and so forth. Like the guardabosques, however, the sirvientes were sons (or sometimes daughters) of poor families.

All levels of offices above the sixth were filled by married men. Indeed, most of those offices involved duties that only a man's wife could perform: cooking and serving meals during fiestas, washing dishes and utensils, and other such chores. Virtually all newly-married men of means who had served as mayor, a.jchimil, or chajal as youths became ayudantes of the cofradías; there were no fifth-level civil offices. The tasks of the ayudante were similar to those of the offices of the sixth level: running errands and messages, attending to the alcalde and mayordomo of the cofradía in the performance of their tasks, and the like. Yet their responsibilities were greater than those of the mayores. They were charged with keeping guard of the sala (salon) that housed the cofradía's saint. When the fiesta approached, the ayudantes decorated the church and plaza with arches and other paraphernalia, strewed pine needles in the path of the procession, procured the food and drink to be consumed, dressed the saint
in new clothes, and performed similar tasks. Two ayudantes accompanied the alcalde when he went to Quezaltenango to make the necessary arrangements with the priest for saying mass. They also shared the costs for sponsorship of the fiesta and for maintaining the sala throughout the year. They were the ones who gathered fresh pine needles from the mountains for the floor of the sala, who bought the crepe paper for the ceiling decorations, who replaced the ever-burning candles in front of the saint. Moreover, the post of ayudante was a task for the household as well as for the man. Wives of ayudantes helped with the meals. Sometimes the brothers or young sons of an ayudante helped him with the pine needles or errands. Consequently, the prestige of service came not only to the man but to his household as well.

My older informants disagree on the ranking of ayudantes. A few equalized the ayudantes of small cofradías with the mayores. Those expressing the contrary view said that the ayudantes needed their wives to perform their tasks; the mayores did not. A few others suggested that since the tasks of ayudantes in the Cofradías San Buena-ventura and Virgen la Asunción were more arduous than the others, they were more highly ranked than the others. The fiesta of the Virgen la Asunción (the patron saint) lasted six days; its members also held a fiesta for the
Dia de Concepción. The duties of San Buenaventura, meanwhile, included digging the grave and bearing the coffin of deceased Canteleños. Thus, the high rank of the cargos of these cofradías would be obvious. Yet other informants contradicted that assertion. The tasks of those cofradías, it was true, were more arduous, but there were also more men to perform the tasks; they traded off weekly in performing these tasks. Besides, all cofradías were involved in preparing the fiesta for the patron saint, not just the Cofradía Virgen la Asunción. In the case of San Buenaventura, if there were many deaths in a short period, other cofradías came to their aid. This synthesis summarizes the arguments that I elicited from informants when I suggested the views contrary to their assertions.

The number of positions at that level was considerably less than that if Level V: 14 as compared to 34. The civil wing included two policías, who gave the orders to the mayores. They were responsible for receiving those arrested by their mayores, overseeing the maintenance of order at the fiestas and at the Sunday markets (there were no markets in Pasac then), and jailing those arrested. They also were expected to stay at the municipalidad day and night (so were the mayores, but the ones on duty traded off). The civil wing also included six auxiliares (their official name: alcaldes
auxiliares), one for each cantón, each of whom had charge of two mayores of his cantón. They were responsible for enforcing the directives made by the alcalde or by the council. He also mediated the minor disputes among the residents of the cantones, and referred them to the alcalde if the parties concerned failed to resolve their differences. For that purpose, the auxiliares took turns sitting in a public building in La Estancia.

Neither the auxiliar nor the policia had financial responsibilities for their posts; no man could serve, however, who had not been an ayudante and mayor.

In the religious wing of the fourth level were two fiscales, charged with the custodial functions of the church. They were responsible for keeping order in the church, using their chañales for that purpose. They also assisted the priest in his ritual, kept valuable objects of ritual in a locked room when not in use, and accepted the requests for use of the church by cofradías and by families whose children were to be baptized or married. In theory they were to keep brujos from making their rituals in the church; in practice they ignored the rule. They also, with their chañales, solicited donations for the church. The four mayordomos of the minor cofradías served as their alcaldes' chief assistants and performed tasks of the alcalde if he were ill or otherwise incapacitated. They also traded off
weekly with the alcalde in maintaining watch over the sala. Finally, the mayordomo shared with the alcalde the lion's share of the costs of maintaining the sala and sponsoring the fiesta.

At the third level were offices involving considerable responsibility. The regidores of the civil wing were councilmen; they, with the two alcaldes and the sindico, met weekly to pass local ordinances, decide whom, among the citizenry of Cantel, should be chosen to meet the quota of forced or low-paid labour imposed by the national government through the mandamiento, decide on this year's projects to be accomplished through the mandatory communal labour then in force in Cantel, determine which of the town's young men should be inducted into the national army to meet its quota for Cantel, and to determine the ways of raising this year's revenue for the operation of the municipalidad. They also met, again with the alcaldes and sindico, as a judicial body to hear criminal cases on non-felonous but serious infractions of the law and the mediate disputes which the alcalde primero alone was unable to resolve. Each regidor also was in charge of specific functions. The first regidor (sometimes called antiguen) oversaw the operation of schools within the jurisdiction of Cantel. The second regidor overlooked the operations of the market and, when the first gravity-feed water system was
installed in 1916, oversaw its operation and maintenance. The third regidor was in charge (with the síndico) of overseeing the use of public lands and maintenance of paths and streets within the municipio. The fourth regidor was in charge of sanitation. A number of my older informants suggested that the national government imposed these special functions on the municipalidad in the 1920's.

Within the religious wing at that level were the posts of alcalde of minor cofradías (4 in all) and mayordomos of the major ones (3 in all). The alcalde directed all activities of his cofradía. The image of the saint was kept in a room of the alcalde's house; this became the sala of his cofradía, the place where any person could come to worship or light a candle, the place where a brujo or sanjorín made supplications on the behalf of his client. He shared with his assistant, the mayordomo, the task of keeping watch over the sala. He directed the activities connected with the fiesta, hiring a priest, making arrangements for the use of the church on the day of his cofradía's saint, hiring a marimba band and presiding over the ceremonies, processions, and on the saint's day. His wife directed the preparation of the feast. The mayordomo of the major cofradías (of which there were three) performed functions parallel to those of his counterparts in the
minor cofradías. His tasks, however, were of a greater magnitude in the Cofradías Virgen la Asunción and San Buenaventura, for the tasks of organizing a major fiesta and of burying the dead required considerable skills of co-ordination (see discussion on the alcaldes of major cofradías below).

At the second level of the hierarchy were the posts of síndico and alcalde segundo of the civil wing and alcalde of each of the three major cofradías in the religious wing together with the mayordomo segundo of the church. Those were posts of great authority and considerable responsibility. The síndico was charged with controlling the finances of the community and with keeping watch over the use of public lands. He issued the permits to wood cutters. He represented Cantel in land disputes with neighbouring municipios; he kept the title to lands under the jurisdiction of Cantel. He also sat at council meetings when it met as a legislative or judicial body. The alcalde segundo functioned as vice-mayor, and also attended the meetings of council.

The alcaldes of the major cofradías, needless to say, had tasks parallel to those of their counterparts of the minor cofradías. The magnitude of their tasks, however, were much greater. My older informants report that the salas of the major cofradías were more frequently visited by the local citizenry and by shamans than
were those of the small cofradías; this was true, for some still unknown reason, with the Cofradía Sacramento. The fiestas of the Cofradías San Buenaventura and Virgen la Asunción were large, well-attended, and lasted several days (three in the case of San Buenaventura; six in the case of Virgen la Asunción). Frequently, the other cofradías brought their saints to the main procession of those two cofradías. On those days there were often three marimba bands playing at the same time on the plaza. Arches of pine and cypress branches abounded. Several masses were said in the space of a few days. The Cofradía Sacramento also had a large fiesta (celebrating the day of Corpus Cristi on a movable date in late May or early June, depending upon the year), but, according to all my older informants, it never approached the magnitude of those of the other two major cofradías. Obviously the responsibility for organizing and co-ordinating the activities of the two major fiestas was tremendous. So was the financial responsibility. To this was added, in the case of the Cofradía San Buenaventura, the responsibility of carrying the coffin and digging the grave every time a death occurred in Cantel. Sometimes the cofradías Virgen la Asunción and Sacramento came to the aid of San Buenaventura whenever more than one death occurred in a week; occasionally the members of one or more small cofradías might come to their aid. The
co-ordination of this task, nevertheless, fell upon the shoulders of the alcalde and mayordomo of the Cofradía San Buenaventura. The mayordomo assisted the alcalde in his duties and took on the latter's tasks in his absence.

This reconstruction brings up a number of incongruities. The first is that the alcaldes and mayordomos of major cofradías were ranked, according to the accounts of my older informants themselves, above those of minor cofradías, while the ayudantes of all cofradías were of the same or similar rank. Yet this seems to be the case. The grandfather of our landlady began his career as a mayor, then assumed the post of first ayudante in the Cofradía Virgen la Asunción. My informant, the former union leader, claimed to have followed the same course in the early part of his career. Three informants did claim that usually the muy listo—very intelligent—assumed the posts of ayudantes of major cofradías; two of the three denied that they were of superior rank to those of minor cofradías, however. At the other end of the scale, all of my informants denied knowledge that men who became alcalde primero or mayordomo primero skipped the offices of Level II. When I confronted my informants with this discrepancy, most countered with the assertion that there were more hands in the large cofradías to do the extra work. To co-ordinate the
extra tasks, however, required unusual leadership ability and experience—and more money, since the alcaldes and mayordomos of those cofradías still bore the lion's share of the expenses. They were unable to recall, however, whether there were differences in the expenses borne by ayudantes of one cofradía as compared to another.

A second incongruity has to do with the status of the Cofradía Sacramento. Although the fiestas in that cofradía were larger than those of the minor ones, they did not approach the magnitude of the other two major cofradías. Despite repeated questioning, I was never able to ascertain why the alcalde and mayordomo were accorded the rank that they were. Yet two of my informants recalled instances in which an alcalde of that cofradía became mayordomo primero of the church in his next round of service.

The highest officers of the civil-religious hierarchy were the alcalde primero of the municipalidad and the mayordomo primero of the church. The alcalde primero was the external representative of the secular community; the mayordomo primero filled the same role for the ecclesiastical. The alcalde was the man through whom national officials dealt with the community; to him fell the task of pursuading the national authorities to reduce their quota of compulsory labour and military service,
to reduce their levies of head taxes, to provide materials in construction of municipal streets and roads. His was the duty to report major crimes to the Jefe Político (governor) of the Departamento of Quezaltenango, and to turn the accused over to him.

He presided at all council meetings. He was also charged with mediating between disputing parties, and he was expected to resolve most of them without having to call a judicial session of the council. He disposed of minor criminal cases (drunkenness, brawls, responsibility for minor accidents, and so forth).

He was also charged with keeping the patron saint of his office, San Andres, in a sala at his home, and with sponsoring a mass, procession, and community feast on the saint's day, November 30. He also paid for half of the expenses of the changing of the municipal officers at midnight, New Years' Eve (attended also by a mass and community feast) and of the community feast on the day of national independence, September 15. The alcalde segundo, síndico, and regidores shared the costs for the other half. Finally, he was charged (together with the alcalde segundo and the síndico) with seeing that the cofradías had all staffs, candles, candleholders, and other effects on the day of the changeover of the personnel of each cofradía.

The mayordomo primero was the director of all
activities related to the church. His was the responsibility for obtaining a priest on Sundays. Since there was no resident priest in Cantel between the period of Barrio's rule (he was responsible for expelling foreign Catholic clergy, leaving numerous small communities without a resident priest) and 1949, the mayordomo had the ultimate responsibility of maintaining the church and parish house in good repair, of keeping church goods, and of deciding who may or may not use church facilities. He kept the keys to the church; as we will see later, this became one focus of contention between the cofradías and the first resident priest of Cantel. He represented the church in all ecclesiastical matters that affected the community. Finally, in the absence of a regular priest, he became the final local authority in the interpretation of the Bible; the frequent deviations from the orthodox interpretations led also to ultimate confrontations between priest and cofradía.

The principales formed a body with the power of veto over any decisions made by the alcaldes, síndico, and regidores in the civil wing and by the mayordemos and alcaldes of cofradías in the religious. They were men who had served in the offices of the top three levels. They also formed a junta which, together with the two alcaldes of the municipalidad, the síndico, the regidores, the mayordemos of the church, and the alcaldes and
mayordomos of all seven cofradías, made appointments for the coming year's officers at all levels. To be a principal was to be recognized as having given of one's resources and time for the good of the community, to have performed one's duties satisfactorily in the eyes of the saints and of the local spirits that inhabited every part of Cantel. Formally, no rank differentiated one principal from another in terms of level of highest office served; one principal had as much a say in the outcome of a decision as another. Nevertheless, both the community at large and the body of principales recognized among themselves those who had given the most of themselves to their community. The opinion of a former alcalde primero carried more weight than did that of a principal who had gone no higher than alcalde of the Cofradía San José.

2. Recruitment. The procedure for recruiting officers in both wings and at all levels was the same. In April a junta (meeting) was called by the alcalde primero; attending the meeting were those principales who cared to come, the senior officers of the munici­palidad (including the regidores), the mayordomos of the church, and the alcaldes and mayordomos of the seven cofradías. The meeting began with discussion on who should be chosen for ajchimiles, mayores, chajales, and gardabosques. All persons present suggested names
of boys who had arrived at their teens. Each was considered in terms of their family background, their wealth, the ability of their fathers to lead. By consensus, the list narrowed to that of the nominees; the list was approved through discussion rather than by vote. The officials followed the same procedure for the ayudantes: questions were raised as to who had married recently and who had not served for some time. The discussion accompanied consideration of candidates for all other posts: how long had it been since Juan X last served? How well had he done? Did he have money, and was he trying to hide the fact? So the discussions continued. There might be as many as two or three such meetings.

When the junta drew up a complete list, they called a general meeting, a sesión. There the alcalde primero announced the name of the "nominee" for each post, and asked for others from the audience. Usually there was none; one informant suggested that local gossip was sufficient to inform the senior officials and principales who was ripe for appointment to what post. The alcalde then asked the audience to confirm the nomination. Usually, the confirmation was virtually unanimous; usually the nominees objected. A few refused publically; most of the others waited until the officials came to their doors. The most frequent refusals were based on lack of money to sustain the cargo; lack of time to
execute the duties properly; lack of ability to meet
the demands of office or to lead; inability to speak
well publically; and prior service in another cargo
a few years before. The officials persisted. The
constant refusers were dragged off to jail and kept there
until they relented. Several informants stated that
the officials included the persistent refusers in the
list to fill the community's quota of draftees for the
army or for work gangs constructing roads or public
buildings. Sometimes the refusers were threatened with
this possibility; other times they were simply captured
and shipped off without warning.

The new officials of the municipalidad were sworn
into office New Year's Eve. None of my informants were
able to provide more than a sketch of the proceedings.
First, there was midnight mass. After this, the crowd
filed out of the church and waited in the plaza in front
of the municipalidad for the swearing-in ceremony. The
ceremony began. A principal (informants differ on
whether he was the most respected man of the community)
acted as master of ceremonies. The gardabesques were
the first to be installed, then the mayores, then the
ajchimiles. The policias and the auxiliares followed.
Then came the regidores, the fourth being the first to
be installed. When the first regidor accepted his post,
he made a speech of thanks on the behalf of all regidores.
Then followed the síndico, the second alcalde, and the first alcalde. The departing officials made their speech; the incoming officials made theirs. The speeches having been made, the entire community was served a meal, consisting of naches and coffee or atole. The incoming senior officials paid for the meal and the midnight mass.

The cofradía officials were installed on the day of the patron saint of each cofradía. The following list shows the saint's day for each cofradía:

- La Virgen la Asunción: 15 August (the cofradía also observed the Día Concepción, 8 December)
- San Buenaventura: 14 July
- Sacramento: Corpus Christi; movable date
- San Antonio: 13 June
- Santa Cruz: 3 May
- Virgen de Dolores: Good Friday; movable date
- San José: 19 March

The ceremonies connected with the changing of the officials began with the novenas, evening prayers that were held in the sala on each of nine days preceding the fiesta (novenas for the Cofradías San Buenaventura, Virgen la Asunción, and Sacramento were held in the church). The new officials attended each of the nine novenas, and the outgoing alcalde offered prayers asking the saints to guide the new officials in the proper execution of their duties and observation of costumbre for the coming year.
On the morning of the fiesta, the new and old officials assembled in the sala for the last prayer that the outgoing alcalde would conduct; the current officials of all cofradías were present. The wives of the officials then served the officials and guests coffee and atole. Toward late morning, the officials and guests lined up for the procession, the outgoing alcalde standing at the end of the line to the right of the image to be carried, the outgoing mayordemo standing at the end of the line to the left. The incoming alcalde preceded the outgoing alcalde; the incoming first, third and (where there was one) fifth ayudantes preceded them. Likewise, the incoming mayordemo and second, fourth and sixth ayudantes preceded the outgoing mayordemo. With the procession thus formed, the ayudantes took the image from the altar and placed it upon the litter, then lifted the litter upon their shoulders. The paraphernalia that had gone with the saint—all the candles that were to be used for the following year, candleholders, silver cross, glass case in which the saint had been housed, incense burner—were also taken from the altar, but only the incense burner was taken on the procession (the alcalde's wife bore the burner, full of burning incense, in front of the saint). The outgoing alcalde and mayordemo carried their escudés. The procession then moved out of the alcalde's house.
and made its way on the principal streets of Cantel towards the central plaza.

On the plaza itself, in front of the municipal building, stood the senior officials of the municipalidad: the two alcaldes, the síndico, the four regidores. When the procession arrived, the outgoing and incoming senior officials presented themselves to the síndico. At this point, all the paraphernalia of the cofradía was produced and presented to the síndico, the man responsible for the safekeeping of community property, for inspection. He counted the number of candles to be sure that there were enough for the upcoming year. He made certain that all the candleholders, silver cross, varas, drapery, and saint's clothing were there and in good condition. He checked the glass case. He made a note of the items that were missing or needed replacement; the outgoing cofradía was to replace them. Who carried the goods and how they were produced for inspection, I was never able to ascertain.

The inspection completed, the procession entered the church for the celebration of mass and for the changing of the officers. The old and new officials sat in the front. After mass was celebrated, the mayordomo installed the new officials, starting with the ayudantes, next the mayordomo, then the alcalde. The old mayordomo and alcalde spoke as they surrendered
their varas and cloaks of office to the mayordomo of the church, recounting the life of the saint whom they celebrated, expressing hope that they had served their tasks well and that the saints would give the incoming officials the guiding wisdom to do the same. The new alcalde and mayordomo likewise spoke as they received their varas and cloaks. The ceremonies completed, the image, this time borne by the new ayudantes, emerged from from the church, preceded by the officials. The new senior officials and the old had now changed places, the new alcalde and mayordomo bearing their staffs of office. The procession then moved along all four principal streets of the town, then entered the house of the new alcalde. A meal of paches and coffee or atele were served first to the officials of all cofradías and of the municipalidad, who sat at a table in the sala, then to the guests of the community at large who cared to crowd themselves into the courtyard of the house. A marimba band began playing in the street outside the house; on the days of the Virgen La Asunción, San Buenaventura, and Sacramento, another marimba band (sometimes two or three) played in the central plaza. Zarabandas, dances held in the towns cantinas, likewise took place. The festivities continued the entire night; sometimes they continued without interruption for days. The outgoing officials paid for the morning coffee and sweetbreads, decorations,
and mass; the ingoing cofradía paid for the meals and marimba.

3. Functions of the Cofradías. The cofradías performed functions regarded vital to the relations between the community and the saints. The fiestas constituted not only a respite from the mundane tasks of caring for the fields or working in the factory, but also served to renew the community's relations with the saints, on whose good will the community depended. Failure to observe their name meant the danger of either drought or excess rain. Corn ears might not fill out, or rain might fall during November, endangering the harvestable or harvested ears with rot.

Thus, it was important that the duties to the saints were carried out. These duties involved the entire community. The officials of every cofradía were expected to be present when a cofradía, regardless of size, held its celebration. The town's principales, municipalidad, officials, and cofradía leaders sat in the front rows of every mass. On the days of San Buenaventura and the Virgen la Asunción, the saint of every cofradía was present in the procession (informants differ on whether the same was true for the day of Corpus Christi); the saint of every cofradía was carried into the church on the days of those two (or three) saints. The special guests to the morning prayers and the meal following the
procession included all senior officials of the cofradías, as well as the two mayordomes of the church and the senior officials of the municipalidad. In 1952, the refusal of the priest to allow all the images into the church touched off one of the conflicts between Acción Católica and the cofradías (see below pp. 293-294).

The cofradías had other functions. During the spring planting, the alcalde or a cofradía blessed the fields when planting was completed. The Cofradía San Buenaventura buried the town's dead, as we have seen. This same cofradía also housed the image of San Simón, a large cloth doll stuffed with straw, dressed in ladino clothing and seated in a room or hut separated from that housing the image of San Buenaventura. To this image were attributed magical powers enabling it to grant the requests of its visitors for wealth, power, love, or vengeance upon an enemy in return for gifts of cigarettes, aguardiente, copal¹³, and incense.

4. The Consequences of Service. The statements of my elder informants suggest that a man who served in the hierarchy often depleted his resources. Debt as a result of service was common; sometimes a cargo-holder had to sell his horse or cow, his house, even a piece of land, either to keep from borrowing money or to repay what he had borrowed previously. The current presidente of the Sociedad San Buenaventura claims that his father
was obliged to sell five cuerdas of land when he served as mayordome of the Cofradía Virgen la Asunción. The Presbyterian preacher's uncle had to sell a horse to rid himself of the debt he had incurred while serving as second ayudante in the Cofradía Virgen de Dolores.

Even in those offices to which no financial obligations were attached, the incumbent lost much valuable work time. Families whose sons served as mayor, gardabosque, ajohimil, or chajal had to manage for periods of time without his help. The families of auxiliares and policías lost a half-year of their family head's labour power; those of cofradías officials lost not only that but also labour-time of the official's wives. The mayordomo de la Iglesía and the senior officials of the municipalidad, all of whom served full time, had either to hire workers to till their fields or forgo a year's crop.

Whether or not it was common for a man to deplete his resources to the extent of impoverishing himself or his children is moot from a strictly methodological point of view. There are no records to indicate the amount of debt that each official incurred. Even contemporary studies are unlikely to produce precise results; Carstian makes such an attempt, but he had to draw his conclusions from tenuous indicators (see his 1965: 86-126). Financial matters among the Tzotzil and the Quiche, as ourselves,
are regarded strictly as one's own concern, not to be shared with their own friends, let alone a non-indigenous stranger.

Nevertheless, the material that my informants have given me suggest the likelihood of the following two conclusions: (1) that service in the cargos meant such a loss in work-time and resources that valuable goods had to be sold, but (2) that usually liquid and surplus capital reserves were used up, without necessarily implying that a family would end up with less land than needed to live on. The grandfather of my landlady served as alcalde primero twice, yet her father, three uncles, and two aunts still had large areas of land (she never specified the amount). She herself had a house and admitted to having 110 cuerdas of land within the municipio and 800 cuerdas of land in the Pacific piedmont, not far from Retalhuleu.

5. Other Religious Societies. Apart from the cofradías and church administration, there were a large number of religious societies. Estimates of their number varied among my informants between 10 and 18. All functioned only in connection with the festivities of Easter Week. None began their activities before the First Friday of Lent; none continued after Easter Day. The three most important sociedades (all of my informants, for once, agreed on that) were Justo Juez (referring to
the image of Christ bearing the cross); Senor Sepultado (the image of Christ in the coffin); and the Virgen de la Soledad (referring to the image of the grieving Mary). The first two still exist as organizations no longer antagonistic to Acción Católica; the image of the third is carried by members, all women, of the Sociedad of the Virgen de Dolores (not an offshoot of the defunct cofradía of the same name). The names of other sociedades given by my informants include the Señor de Tres Caídas, Señor de la Calumnia, La Señora de la Misericordia, San Pedro, San Miguel Arcángel, Señor de Esquipulas, San Rafael, Ángel de San Gabriel, Jesús de Gran Poder, Jesús de la Paciencia, San Juan and La Virgen Magdalena.

From the accounts of my informants, they were voluntary societies; one became a member either by working on the image or by contributing money or goods. There was only one presidente for each small sociedad and one presidente and three vocales (committee men) for each of the three major sociedades. The image was kept in the presidente's house, but the sala in which it was kept was open to the public only during lent and Easter Week. The presidente was not obliged to finance the costs of the sociedad, although he did serve pachos and atole to the participants on the night of the procession. Service as presidente did not count towards advancement in the hierarchy itself.
There was a procession involving all images on the four Lenten Fridays before Easter, on Palm Sunday, and on every day of Easter Week. Each procession began at the municipalidad, then moved to the house where the image of San Pedro was kept; after a brief interlude where refreshments were served, the entourage progressed with the image of San Pedro to the next house. The same train of events followed with each house keeping a saint visited in succession; the images of Justo Juez, La Virgen la Soledad, and Senor Sepultado were the last. The entourage then proceeded to the church, where mass was held. The events usually began about noon and ended in the early hours of the morning. The conflict between the cofradías and Acción Católica also centered around the priest's "expulsion" of these saints from the church.

There were other organizations that were outside the structure of the hierarchy itself. Among them were the dancing societies, whose members re-enacted a historical or legendary event: The Dance of the Moors, the Dance of the Conquest, the Dance of the Deer, the Mexican Dance. They were held during the fiestas of each of the three major cofradías. The principales and other prominent community leaders also allowed their homes to be used as "posadas", or "inns", which re-enacted, for the nine nights preceding Christmas, the fruitless search by
Joseph and Mary for lodging.

6. Pre-Revolutionary Modifications of the Hierarchy. A few incipient changes developed in the 1920's and 1930's. The Presbyterian church established a mission in the pueblo in 1917; three other churches, the Gramaristas (Asamblea), Pentacostals, and Adventistas followed suit during the 1930's. The local comandante, a military chief who directed the Sunday drills in which every Canteleño male over 18 was required to participate, announced that every Protestant convert would be exempt from the drills. When the principales and cofrades marched from Cantel to the colonel of the army base in Quezaltenango to protest the action, he removed the offending comandante from the post in Cantel and replaced him with another.

There were additional pressures upon the civil-religious hierarchy in the 1930's. In 1931, the national president, Jorge Ubico, decreed that all municipios should be headed by an intendente, appointed to serve as executive and judge to the municipio. He was to preside over all meetings of the local council. He was to judge on all minor criminal cases and disputes. Every intendente was to be appointed by the Jefe político; his term was to last for two years, at which time he was to be transferred elsewhere.

In Cantel, the post of alcalde primero was abolished.
The alcalde segundo was to serve as judge in minor cases and to preside over the regidores. All of the ordinances of the council, however, were to conform to the directives of the intendente which, through him, had been promulgated by the jefe político who, in turn, made his decisions in conformity with the directives of Ubico himself.

Other administrative positions appeared by virtue of the decree: secretario, a literate who was charged with keeping the minutes of the council meetings, registering the local citizens for the cédula de vecindad (a permit which allowed a citizen to work) and keeping records of births and deaths; and a tesorero, charged with maintaining the financial records of the municipalidad. This meant that the second alcalde became the topmost post in the civil wing of the hierarchy; from then on, the most senior official was referred to as simply "alcalde" (or "alcalde municipal" to distinguish him from the most senior posts of the cofradías). Ubico also decreed that non-service in the cofradías was no longer punishable by jail.

At the same time, Protestants assumed some of the paid posts within the municipalidad. The tesorero between 1934 and 1936 was a Presbyterian deacon, according to a retired Presbyterian minister. The second official of 1940 to 1944 (a newly created post in 1938), in charge of keeping records of deaths, was a Pentecostal
Nevertheless, the principales retained control over the Indian community. Officials were still being selected on the basis of traditional criteria. The alcalde, the sindico, and the regidores had all served in religious offices, according to my informants. They included the grandfather of my landlady, who served his second term as alcalde from 1940 to 1941, and who had, before assuming the post, been alcalde of the cofradia Sacramento.

The depression also caused difficulty for the hierarchy. Indeed, one of the cofradías (my informants could not agree on which one, but it was a miner cofradía) folded. Jobs were scarce in the factory (there are no figures available for the number working between 1930 and 1936) and my informants recall fiestas as being triste, unexciting. Nevertheless, the hierarchy recovered. The cofradía that had folded was back in operation by 1941.

B. Summary and Conclusions. According to my information gained from informants, Cantel in the period prior to 1944 was a semi-corporate community. There was a civil-religious hierarchy. When young, all men served in the lower offices. The wealthier served in the higher offices; they often went into debt or sold part of their capital goods as a result. Protestants,
the depression, and the system of *intendencia* all exerted pressures upon the hierarchy, but they modified the hierarchy rather than destroy it. There were other aspects of a semi-corporate community as well. Land was privately owned; yet *Canteleños* recognized an order of priority of persons to whom land may be sold, and enforced that order of priorities through gossip and sometimes violent confrontation. There were incipient factions whose beliefs and actions were oriented toward outside groups rather than toward the community--these were the Protestants. Yet their numbers were small; they numbered no more than 100 according to the most liberal estimates of my informants.

The conditions under which Cantel existed seem to have accorded with those formulated in Chapter 2. There were no strong, nation-oriented groups capable of rewarding their followers with income or social benefits. The rewards of being a Protestant were spiritual rather than material. Nor was there a union that could intercede on behalf of *Canteleños* who worked in the factory, a union that these workers could control for their own purposes. Therefore, although a large proportion of *Canteleños* worked in the factory, it was a source of income no different from work on the coffee *fincas* of the Pacific or for a local dueño. For the wealthy, there were no investment outlets other than land and
service in the hierarchy. A few Protestants did open general stores in the 1930's (and possibly earlier), but they were few in number and small in scale of operations. The market was too narrow to allow for much expansion.

II. Polity and Economy of Cantel between 1944 and 1954.

In 1944, a series of events took place that led to the overthrow of Ubico and his supporters, ending for a time military dictatorships in Guatemala, and initiating a brief era of reforms. A series of demonstrations and strikes staged in Guatemala City by students, teachers, lawyers, and workers led Ubico to resign on June 29. His attempt to retain hold by appointing in his place a junta led by Frederico Ponce proved to be temporarily successful: on October 20, 1944, a regiment led by three liberal leaders overthrew the junta, exiling both Ubico and Ponce and establishing an "interim" government (Silver 1969: 29-39).

At first, the reformist triumvirate started inauspiciously for the Indian. There were fears that the "interim" government might become permanent. Moreover, on October 22, an Indian mob in the bicultural village of Patzicia, located 50 miles west of Guatemala City, massacred some 20 ladinos during a major disturbance. The government ordered a regiment and tanks into Patzicia; there the troops were given orders, which they carried
out, to shoot every Indian in sight (Silvert 1969: 38).

Notwithstanding, the triumvirate—composed of two military men, Col. Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán and Col. Francisco Arana Javier, and a civilian, Jorge Torriello—ordered a series of conferences that was to result in a new constitution and an election that was held on December 11, 1944. The constitution was to prove auspicious for Canteleños working in the factory, for among its provisions were legalization of labour unions, strikes, and collective bargaining. The constitution also extended suffrage (limited previously to literate males) to include all males and literate females, and legalized political parties and political campaigns (Whetten 1961: 333; Guatemala 1945). Enforcing these provisions was a schoolteacher by the name of Juan José Árvalo, whose vaguely-defined programme of "spiritual socialism" impelled him to translate these reform laws into action. Elected to the Presidency on December 11, he took office on March 15, 1945. This combination of circumstances was to, of course, benefit the Canteleño as it was to benefit the Indian of other communities. It also spelled the end of the hierarchy in Cantel.

In dealing with the political and labour situation in Cantel between 1944 and 1954, I will first discuss the national provisions and programme for unions, then discuss the local establishment and progress of the union
in the Cantel factory. I will then review the economic consequences of unionization. Following this, I will discuss the course of political events in Cantel, reviewing the conflicts that developed between the supporters of the cofradías and principales, and the supporters of the Unionists and late-coming catequistas (catechists).

A. The Economy in Cantel after 1944. The Constitution of 1945 provided the legal basis for the union in Cantel, as elsewhere. The Confederación de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CTG, The Confederation of Workers of Guatemala) helped the factory workers to organize the union. Through the union, the workers forced an increase in their wages and secured other, non-monetary, benefits. The wage increases stimulated other businesses in Cantel. A counter-revolution, however, that occurred in Guatemala in 1954 resulted in a temporary eclipse of the union and a gradual weakening in its bargaining power. Because none of the major reforms were reversed, the union's weaknesses did not become evident until the 1960's, when the company began installing modern, labour-saving looms in its weaving department. From 1960 on, the union fought unsuccessfully to prevent the gradual cutbacks in the factory's work force which resulted. Cantelenos found work in Quezaltenango and landowners found a secure source of
income in the fixed prices of wheat that came with a wheat-growers guild and marketing board, but they were insufficient to prevent a slump in 1969.

1. The Labour Movement. The Constitution of 1945 made a number of specific provisions for labour that affected the workers of the Cantel factory. Among them were:

1) The right of workers to organize to protect their rights through unionization, strike, and collective bargaining leading to labour contracts.

2) The fixing of minimum wages according to the nature of the tasks.

3) The establishment of a six-day week and an eight-hour day, together with pay for overtime work, annual paid vacations after one or more years of uninterrupted work and regular pay during legally-recognized holidays.

4) Provision for severance pay to employees removed from their jobs without just cause.

5) The establishment of tribunals to settle disputes involving labour (Guatemala 1945; Whetten 1961: 102-103).

The National Assembly passed on February 17, 1947 a labour code spelling out in detail the laws and procedures of the labour provisions of the 1945 Constitution. The code provided for procedures involving strikes and
arbitration. Industries where unionization could or could not take place were specified: no union was to organize at establishments employing fewer than 500 persons (this was reduced to 50 in 1948, allowing for unionization in rural areas). Minimum wages were provided for (Whetten 1961: 102-103, 333).

The Arevalo government, which lasted from 1945 to 1951, sought to create a national bourgeoisie sustained by a strong industrial working class. To encourage the growth of such a working class, he supported unionization of industries at the expense of unionization of the farm worker. Indeed, he suppressed by armed forces uprisings of farm workers in San Marcos, who had protested their low wages and refusal by the government to intervene on their behalf. His policies were oriented toward the co-operation among workers, plantation owners, and factory owners. Thus, in 1945, he called factory and plantation owners, workers, and government men to a congress in Escuintla, there to work out recommendations for the socio-economic development of the country. At the same time, Arevalo sought to prevent or forestall the infiltration of Communists or militant leftists into labour federations. He expelled members of the Partido Comunista (PC) from the country in 1946 and 1948, closed a school oriented toward theory of proletarian organization and revolution, and
discouraged affiliations between Guatemalan labour organizations and international ones (Monteforte Toledo 1959: 292-293, 310-312).

The Confederación de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CTG), the first labour union in Guatemala, was more militant than was the Arevalo government; the two often worked at cross-purposes. Contrary to Arevalo's desires, the CTG affiliated itself with the CTAL (Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina). Both organizations condemned "American imperialism" and sought laws to protect workers from "capitalist exploitation" (Monteforte Toledo 1959: 291). The CTG sought to recruit industrial workers and again contrary to Arevalo's wishes, farm labourers. Many unions, however, rejected the Marxist orientation of the CTG and formed separate confederations, the most important of which were the Federación Sindical de Guatemala (FSG), a union of railroad and farm workers, most of whom worked for the United Fruit Company, and the Federación Regional Central de Trabajadores (FRCT), a union of artisans and farm workers in the vicinity of Guatemala City. Membership in the CTG declined and went into eclipse (Monteforte Toledo 1959: 290-292).

Arbenz, who took office in 1951, followed a militant leftist policy toward labour unions. He encouraged the reorganization of the CTG, which took on the name
Confederación General de Trabajadores de Guatemala. The organization was to embrace not only industrial workers but also those on the plantations. He allowed, even encouraged, the affiliation of the confederation with international labour organizations. He also forced through the legislative assembly a comprehensive land reform law, under which the unused land of large land owners was to be expropriated and redistributed to landless peasants. He also fostered the organization of the Confederación Nacional Campesina de Guatemala (CNCG) to enforce its provisions. Among the holdings that were expropriated were the unused lands of the United Fruit Company; this incident incited the American government to finance a coup d'état, which Carlos Castillo Armas carried out in the summer of 1954.

The Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Fabrica Cantel began in the year 1945, under the auspices of the CTG. Since the Cantel factory employed over 500 workers, they could legally form a union and thus became one of the first unions in Guatemala. Two officials from the CTG and another from its regional branch in Quetzaltenango conducted a general meeting to which all production-line workers were invited (the custodians were excluded at that time). Those interested were urged to attend a series of training classes, the end of which time the union was to be formed and the officers elected. Initially,
the workers were suspicious. One informant recalls having fears that the meeting and training might be traps that the new government set up to capture its potential opponents, perhaps even repeating the events of Patzicia and San Marcos. Others expressed disbelief that after Ubico the government would have concern for the welfare of the Indian. Indeed, Arevalo's initial policy of suppressing farm worker's unions—a move, surprisingly enough, supported by CTG—led many workers to suspect the motives of both the government and the CTG. The administrador also exerted pressures against the workers joining the union, although none of my informants would tell me what form those pressures took. In any case the officials found themselves obliged to spend long hours talking to workers individually or in small groups, assuring them both of the purity of their motives and selling them the advantages of a union.

The meeting was held, the training sessions began. The officials informed the local workers of their constitutional rights to organize, to strike, and to negotiate with the company on working hours, working conditions, wages, time off from work, and non-wage benefits. They stressed the power of the government to force the company to negotiate at a tribunal if it proved recalcitrant and to call in the troops or the national police in extreme cases. The officials
taught their trainees the general techniques of recruitment, the holding of meetings, and of exerting pressures upon the company. They imparted to their trainees detailed procedures permitted under the law with regard to negotiation, strike action, and appeals to higher authorities in the event negotiations broke down. At the end of the period of training (informants differ on its length), the officials called another general meeting. At that time, interested workers signed up to join, elected their officials, and accepted the charter from the CTG and from its international affiliate, the CTAL (Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina).

In the years between its organization in 1945 and its temporary suspension in 1954, the union made significant gains for its workers. The average daily wages jumped from 15 cents in 1943 to 50 cents in 1945 and 80 cents in 1948. In 1952, when the national union (by then reorganized as the Confederación General de Trabajadores de Guatemala, or the CGTG) approved and sent to the government a demand for the minimum wage of Q1.25 for industrial workers, the union in Cantel went on strike. The government assented to minimum wages that varied with the nature of the occupation; for textile workers, the minimum wage was to be Q1.20. Initially the company demurred, threatening to fire
the union officers and all other participants of the strike. When the union countered with threats to bring the matter before a labour tribunal, the company relented.

The union made other gains, either by its own actions or by those of the government or the national labour organization. National law provided for the eight-hour day and the six-hour week. The labour union secured not only that but also the working half-day on Saturdays and the staggered shifts whereby every worker had a mid-day four-hour break. National law also provided for days off with pay on legally-recognized holidays. The union was able to win not only this concession from the company, but also time off (without pay, but without having to make up for lost time with overtime work) for the fiesta titular and for Easter Week. Job security was another gain of the union: no worker could be dismissed for absenteeism unless it were chronic or he lacked a legitimate reason for being absent. Workers were to be allowed to make up for lost time on Saturdays. Other gains were also the product of union pressure: further electrification of workers' houses; the construction of a public pila for workers; the increase in the number of grades in the factory school from four to six; and the staffing of a medical clinic with a doctor.
In addition, the union provided benefits for its members on its own. It opened a commissary in one of the factory-owned buildings, selling goods to union members at reduced prices. Members were eligible for accident insurance through the Institute Guatemalteco de la Seguridad Social (IGSS). The union maintained a fund, financed by union dues, to aid any member disabled by sickness or accident during the period he was out of work. The union also maintained a fund to defray the funeral expenses of any member or his family. Eventually it also sponsored sports and social events in conjunction with the recently politicized municipalidad of Cantel.

The dependence of the union upon the good will of the government became all too evident when the army under Castillo Armas crossed the border from Honduras, marched to the capital with little resistance, and deposed Arbenz and his officials. An anti-Communist purge followed. Persons connected with the organization or operation of a labour union were arrested and jailed on suspicion of having Communist connections. Those found guilty were shot or given long prison terms; the others who were found innocent were released after a few weeks. Castillo Armas decreed the annulment of the 1945 Constitution and the convening of a congress to formulate a new one. Land that had been redistributed
was returned to its original owners, including that expropriated from the United Fruit Company.

Although none of the major labour reforms were reversed, the counter-revolution produced, nevertheless, a series of events that eclipsed the labour movement in the short run and weakened it in the long run. Labour leaders were arrested as suspected Communists; even when they were released, the companies refused to rehire them, using as a pretext the charge of Communism. The CGTG was disbanded. Although Castillo Armas did not outlaw labour unions, he annulled the 1945 Constitution and replaced it with one which deprived unions of virtually all effective bargaining power. Labour leaders had to receive government clearance before assuming their posts. Reorganization of farm labour unions was prohibited, until 1947, then allowed to take place slowly after that. Strikes were prohibited during the harvest season (Whetten 1961: 104-105). The changes were reflected in governmental policy: of the 3,970 disputes brought before the labour tribunal 90% were decided in favour of the management (Monteforte Toledo 1959: 299).

The counterrevolution, of course, affected the STFG. Fearing jail, many of the union leaders fled the village and the country; some were captured. The administrador of the Cantel factory dismissed all workers
who had held posts in the labour union; he also, without success, attempted to force the remaining workers to sign "yellow dog" contracts. The union went out of operation: no officials were elected for 1955, general meetings ceased, pending disputes were withdrawn.

The union survived the purge; the remaining workers reorganized the union in 1955. Virtually all of the gains that the union had made in the preceding decade remained intact. Wages were still Ql.20, the eight-hour work day with its staggered shifts remained in force, and holidays continued to be allowed. Nevertheless, the union never regained its former strength. The two-month period of probation was instituted; new workers were paid half wages and were forbidden to join the union. The union itself was no longer affiliated with a national or international federation, thus losing the bargaining power that such affiliation could have brought.

A strike that occurred in May, 1969, illustrates the low bargaining power of the union. Unrest developed as a result of the arbitrary acts that a Mexican administrador had committed since his appointment to the post in 1966. Ordered to find ways of reducing labour costs, he had dismissed older loom operators (whose skill and experience in operating the looms resulted in increased output of cloth and therefore
higher wages), replacing them with newly-hired workers on probation. He compensated those dismissed with less severance pay than they felt they had earned. Others were being dismissed for trivial reasons. Some, for example, had been dismissed for coming to work late, others were fired for lodging complaints. The problem was compounded by the addition of the evening shift in 1967. The union demanded, in accordance with national law, that workers on that shift be paid an extra 5% for working at night; the administrador refused; the company backed him. The matter went before a labour tribunal. The tribunal decided in favour of the union and declared a strike legal.

On May 5, 1969, the strike began. For a time, it threatened to erupt into a political confrontation. The administrador threatened to remove the privileges—factory school, medical clinic, and low-cost transportation between Pasac and Quezaltenango. The workers refused to return. Members of the Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (FAR), the main leftist guerilla organization in Guatemala, passed out literature; so did the Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajadores (PGT), the Guatemalan Communist party. Contingents of the National Police were sent to guard the factory. Three days after the strike began, the company informed the union and the labour tribunal that it was prepared to negotiate. After
negotiations, the company agreed to the following: (1) it would replace the administrador; (2) it would raise the daily wages for night work to Q1.80, well above the rate required by law (the minimum wage at that time was Q1.60—it was raised to Q1.65 in January, 1970); (3) cease and desist on arbitrary dismissal policies. In return, the union agreed to send their men back to work.

One month after the strike, the company announced that all new workers were required to sign a contract agreeing to the following: (1) they were to sign on for four months; (2) in the first two months, the workers were to accept probationary status; and (3) renewals of such contracts were to be left to the discretion of the administrador. The publicly-stated rationale was that the company wished to open the opportunity of work to as many Cantelenses as possible. Night workers also found that, although their wages were higher than those before the strike, they were less than the amount agreed to; the increment amounted to the legal 5%. The union protested; the company refused to change its policy. Finally, a meeting was held. After discussion, the membership voted down motions to strike and to bring the matter up to the labour tribunal; the main arguments against both motions were that the strike and legal funds were depleted, and that the union would be taking
considerable risks, given the political situation in the country, if it resorted to militant action again. Since then, the company has posted a sign on the gate indicating that there are no open positions.

The union, then, served to make significant gains for its workers. Its membership in the CTG (and later, its reorganized successor, the CGTG), together with the legal support it obtained from the Arevalo and Arbenz governments (especially the second), gave the union sufficient bargaining power to obtain wage increases, holidays and vacations, and other non-monetary benefits. Although the union went into an eclipse following the Armas takeover of the national government, and never regained its former strength, those gains have never been reversed. Nevertheless, its bargaining power has weakened, as the events surrounding the 1969 strike illustrate.

Since 1960, Cantelenos have sought work in Quezaltenango or other cities (including Guatemala City) as a result of the layoffs at the factory in Cantel. Many have maintained residence in Cantel. Figures on their number are non-existent. Local estimates range between 50 and 200, with most suggesting 100.

2. Other Movements and Organizations. In 1952, the local branch of the CNUG (Confederación Nacional
Campesina de Guatemala), the national peasant league, was formed. Initially, the wealthier members feared expropriation of their properties. The members of the league, however, proved to be more interested in the unused land of the coffee plantations of the coast. None of my informants knew of any Cantelién@s who received land under the reform law; the counter-revolution came before any grants could be made. The organization served mainly to organize peasants (campesinos) into a voting block and to obtain improved seed varieties and fertilizers from the government.16

In 1961, another organization, this one defending the interests of the community's wheat growers, formed in Cantel under a newly-passed law providing for a wheat marketing board and a national guild of wheat-growers. Under this law, enacted to stimulate the production of Guatemalan wheat and to reduce wheat imports, the board was to fix the prices of wheat, thereby minimizing the risks for producers, and to see that every hundred-weight of imported wheat sold by the board was matched by a hundred-weight of domestic wheat. The guild was to provide fertilizer, equipment, and financing to its members at reduced prices and interest rates (Guatemala 1963).

According to my informants, small amounts of wheat have always been grown; prior to 1947, it was grown
mainly for local consumption. At one time there were two water-run mills, both located in Pasac at the banks of the Samala; all wheat consumed locally was ground there. Between 1944 and 1961, however, farmers began selling a portion of their crop to mills in Quezaltenango. Few cultivators, however, devoted more than a small proportion of their land to wheat; corn was (and is) the preferred staple among Canteleños. To commit most of the land to wheat for sale to the mills was to incur a considerable risk. Wheat prices tended to fluctuate; moreover, Guatemalan consumers regarded (and still regard) domestic wheat as inferior to that imported from the United States. Conditions of altitude prevent the cultivation of hard wheat; only the soft varieties can be grown in the country. Thus, wheat cultivation had never been regarded as a lucrative source of income (Monteforte Toledo 1959).

The 1961 law has changed the situation. Fixed prices have minimized the risk of growing wheat. According to a former president (an agronomist) of the local wheat guild, the amount of wheat produced jumped from 2,000 quintales (hundred-weights) in 1961 to 20,000 in 1967. During the same period, the area of land devoted to wheat jumped from 1,100 cuerdas to 10,000. According to the same informant, larger farmers plant a greater proportion of their land in wheat than do the smaller;
this is because it is more profitable to grow wheat than to grow corn. In 1969, the current price of a hundredweight of wheat was Q4.50; the price of the same amount of corn was Q3.75. Moreover, more wheat can be produced on a unit of land than can corn. In 1967, it took 17,000 cuerdas of land to grow 30,000 quintales of corn (meaning that each cuerda produced 176.4 pounds of corn); in the same year, 10,000 cuerdas produced 20,000 quintales, an average of 200 pounds to every cuerda.

In summary, it appears that smaller farmers prefer to devote their land to their traditional staple crop, corn; larger farmers prefer to devote surplus land to wheat.

Growing wheat has other advantages, prerogatives associated with the membership in the Gremial Nacional de Trigueros (National Wheat Grower's Guild), of which there is a local branch in Cantel. Members are eligible to buy fertilizer and seed at reduced prices. Members are kept informed of recent developments in research: improvements in varieties of wheat, techniques of increasing productive efficiency, advice in seed and fertilizer selection, and so forth. Members have the privilege of storing their grains in facilities owned by the gremial; likewise, they are eligible to sell their wheat to the marketing board which, in turn, sells it to the mills. The gremial also serves as a cooperative, whereby members may buy or rent tractors, threshing machines,
and other equipment. Finally, the *gremial*, in co-operation with the banks of the country, extends credit to its members for fertilizer, seeds, and where the farmer's operation is large enough to justify the expense, the rental of equipment.

The *gremial* has been an aid to the *Canteleño* economy. Virtually all members market their wheat through the board; even the smaller growers find the security of fixed prices worth the 10¢ per hundredweight marketed that they must pay as dues. Since its founding, the local *gremial* has purchased equipment, mostly tractors (with plow, harrow, seeder, and cutter attachments) and threshing machines; members, usually those with larger stretches of land, rent them out. Nevertheless, the *gremial* has not been without difficulties. In 1963, a faction accused the current treasurer of having embezzled funds derived from rental of equipment, and of having rented the equipment to non-members, and pocketing the proceeds. Supporters of the treasurer maintained that members had damaged some equipment and were covering up their errors by blaming the treasurer. The matter was still unresolved the year after I left Cantel.

Nevertheless, the primary beneficiaries of the *gremial* have been the larger farmers. Only they can use the machines efficiently. The unit costs of renting the machines, buying gasoline and oil, and paying for
any damages incurred while in use are such that the small farmer could not use them profitably. Moreover, the agronomist says that marketing wheat is the main income source of only the larger farmer. The small farmer combines wheat farming with other work to earn cash.

Other economic institutions have linked Canteleños to the outside world. In 1965 Acción Católica started a credit union for factory workers in Pasac. By 1969, the organization had opened two additional branches in Pachaj and Xecam. Because membership requires a bank deposit of Q100, however, its credit facilities are closed to most Canteleños. In July, 1970, when I was about to leave Cantel, a Peace Corpsman was trying to open another credit union in the pueblo. He said, however, that local moneylenders were trying to persuade the alcalde to thwart his project. In the meantime, the priest, an Austrian, opened a weaving co-operative in Pachaj; he had arranged for the importation and marketing of hand woven goods in Vienna. All of those enterprises have involved comparatively few persons. The largest branch of the credit union (in Pasac) has fewer than 100 members; the weaving co-operative has twenty.

3. Consequences of the Union Upon the Local Economy. The expansion in the number of businesses--and
the kinds of businesses—reflect the impact that the union has made upon local incomes. Table 4.1 shows the number of businesses operating within the municipio that are required by law to pay the sanitation fee. They do not include such enterprises as carpenter shops, tailor shops, pharmacies, or radio repair shops, many of which came into existence after 1945. Nevertheless, they provide some rough indication of the incomes earned by Cantaleños during these years. They do not necessarily reflect population increases for there are years in which the number of businesses declines.

The total number of general stores (including the almacén and the cantinas, which stock the same goods as the general stores) show a steady increase from 23 in 1947 to a peak of 63 in 1964. Other businesses show similar increases: the corn mills, the traveling traders, the bakeries, the barbers. Only the wheat millers deviate from this pattern; the decline in their numbers in 1959 reflects the fact that they were losing customers to the more modern and efficient mills in Quezaltenango. The others reach their peak between 1955 (the barbers) and 1966 (the meat shops), and their numbers fluctuate within small ranges in that decade. They reflect the gradual rise in workers' incomes within the same period of time.

Beginning in the years between 1965 and 1967 (with
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General Store</th>
<th>Cantina (First Class)</th>
<th>Almacén</th>
<th>Corn Mill</th>
<th>Wheat Mill</th>
<th>Meat Shop</th>
<th>Bakers</th>
<th>Barbers</th>
<th>Traveling Traders</th>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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Source: Oficina del Tesorero, Municipalidad de Cantel.

Notes:

a. Cantinas and general stores appear under one category (pulperías) until 1950. After that date, stores selling hard liquor were required to obtain special licenses.
b. The union-owned store. It was classified "first class" because of its large volume of sales and diversity of merchandise, as compared to other stores in Cantel. The store went out of business in 1968, owing to its decline in sales.

c. In 1962 and 1963, the treasurer entered the name of the store owners for the two years on the same page. Since some were in business in 1962 but not 1963 and others were in business in 1963 but not in 1962, it was often impossible to tell which business was operating in which year. The year of the entry was usually left out. Hence the records for those two years were impossible to use.
the exception of the corn millers), a slow, steady decline sets in. General stores (of all three categories) decline from 53 in 1964 to 50 in 1969; the almacén has gone out of business by 1969. The wheat mills have disappeared by 1967. Meat shops begin a downward trend in 1967; bakeries, in 1965; and itinerant traders, in 1964 (if not before). The barbers reduce in number earlier (in 1956, although their numbers plunge in the years between 1959 and 1961). The corn mills peak later, in 1967 and 1968, but they, too, decline in number in 1969. The decline turns into a major slump in 1969, as the data for general stores, travelling traders, and meat shops show. These data thus reflect the trend, begun in 1959 or 1960, of modern machinery replacing men. Even the introduction in 1967 of the evening shift does nothing to reverse the trend.

The businesses not subject to the sanitation tax exhibit the same trends. There were tailor shops in the years prior to the 1930's, but they numbered two or three; at least seven now exist in the municipio, only two of which were in business prior to 1944. There were no furniture shops prior to 1944; the only carpentry shop in the municipio made coffins. All furniture came from Totonicapán: tables, chairs, wardrobes, and, for a few, beds. There are now three: one in the pueblo, one in Pasac, and a third in La Estancia. All make furniture
in addition to coffins. There was only one pharmacy before 1944: now there are two. Both are well stocked and sell not only drugs but also a wide variety of miscellaneous items, ranging from the food items that most general stores sell to pencils, paper, notebooks, matches, and other goods. The one radio shop in town is less than ten years old; so is the bicycle shop. The first autobus running between Cantel and Quezaltenango began in 1948 in the pueblo. The first one in Pasoar began a year later. The first autobus running between the cantones and Quezaltenango began in 1956. Cantel's "gymnasium", an open courtyard, began in 1966; it was used mainly to teach students wrestling and boxing.

If a large number of businesses have started since 1944, a few have folded in recent years. Cantel's "gymnasium" folded in 1970. A radio shop began in 1958, but folded five years later when its newly-arrived competitor attracted many of its customers. A fruit juice "factory" began in 1967, only to fold a year later, the result of squabbling among its owners. Some of the longer-established businesses have also failed. A beef shop that had existed since 1929 failed in 1968. Even the Cantel factory has had its setbacks; a glass factory that the company started in 1966 shut down in early 1970.
In recent years, then, the labour union has been the main stimulus of Cantel's economy. The records of the treasurer's office suggest that there was a steady expansion in the years that followed unionization. That the number of businesses fluctuated rather than declined after Armas' takeover of the government suggests that the basic reforms remained unaffected and so did the outcomes. But the union's weakness after the takeover shows up in the recent tendency of a slump among local businesses. The union has been unable to arrest or reverse the gradual rise in the unemployment of local factory workers. The development of the Gremial Nacional de Trigueros has also helped the local economy by providing a secure market for wheat and by extending credit facilities to cultivators who might otherwise lack them. Even the Gremial, however, has failed to reverse the gradual slump of Cantel's economy.

B. Polity and Religion in Cantel after 1944. The political struggles that developed in the 1940's in Cantel were related directly to the labour union. In 1944, a single slate ran for office and won by default; the senior officials and principales had selected them, and a nearly unanimous majority of Canteleños affirmed their selection. In 1946, the situation had changed; the principales lost control of some of the seats on the council. The 1948 election broke their hold on
the municipalidad. With the coming of a resident priest in 1949 and the forming of Acción Católica in 1951 the struggle shifted into the religious sphere. The struggle led to the folding of the cofradías one by one. Some were absorbed into the church; others persisted as independent sociedades. In the meantime, the Protestants recruited those dissatisfied with the struggle and became a major force by 1960; by 1969 there were approximately 2,000 Protestants and at least 14 sects.

I. Politics: 1944-1970. The interim junta, which retained its power until Arevalo assumed office on March 15, 1945, scarcely affected the political processes in Cantel. Most Canteleños were unable to participate in the national elections of December 1944, for only literate males could vote (Silvert 1969: 44). Nevertheless, both literate and illiterate males could vote in the municipal election. Consequently, the officers that the principales and senior officials of the church, cofradías, and municipalidad nominated won overwhelmingly in the municipal election held in the same month. The fact that illiterate males had to vote publicly reinforced this tendency; few wished to go on record opposing the desires of the town's community elders. No opposing slate of candidates entered the ballot.
In the years between 1944 and 1946, events at both the national and local levels began to break the monolithic power of the community's elders. In 1945, three parties entered into a coalition, and, for a brief period, was the only party in Guatemala. Tensions arose within its ranks, however, and in 1947, it dissolved into its three constituent parties: the Renovación Nacional (RN), composed of petty bureaucrats; the Frente Popular Libertador, composed of professional people and technicians; and the Partido Acción Revolucionario, which represented the interests of industrial workers and peasants. The split was brought about by the conflicts in interests that these factions represented and by the encouragement of Arevalo himself, who hoped to create a loyal opposition. Other parties emerged, however, and the two-party system that Arevalo had hoped for never materialized (Monteforte Toledo 1959: 310-314). Rightist parties emerged to win a few seats in the biennial elections following Arevalo's rise to power. So did parties representing regional interests. Examples from Quezaltenango included the rightist Partido Independiente Anticomunista del Occidente (PIACO) and the arbençista Partido de Integridad Nacional (PIN), both of whom ran slates in Cantel. Even in 1952, when there was a party (the Partido Revolucionario Guatemalteco, or PRG) that held an absolute majority in the Chamber of
Deputies, no fewer than five parties were represented (Silvert 1969: 162-166). Parties also tended to be short-lived. The FPL held a majority in the Chamber of Deputies in 1948, yet was dissolved by 1950 (Monteforte Toledo 1959: 312; Silvert 1969: 163-164).

There was also a tendency for parties and party leaders to assume contradictory attitudes. PAR favoured an alliance with the Partido Comunista (PC), yet Arevalo, the leader of PAR, had expelled communists from Guatemala during his administration and discouraged the existence of unions with international affiliations. The CTG and the PAR government, as we have seen, worked at cross-purposes, yet the PAR regarded itself officially as a strong unionist party. PAR also had a tendency to generate unresolvable conflicts within itself, such as those between its peasant and worker factions.

The contradictions of parties and factions at the national level made themselves felt at the local. In Cantel, the union created a group whose interests were soon to conflict with those of the elders and of those peasants who did not work in the factory. As the incomes of the factory workers began to rise, they began buying goods that they could not afford previously. It soon became apparent that the worker was better off than the peasant, or so his spending habits suggested. Sooner or later, the principales began asking workers
to serve as ayudantes in the cofradías. The workers were ill-disposed to see their incomes rise, only to be destroyed by ritual expenditure. As one former factory worker told me:

Before the union came, I was always in debt. After I joined the union in 1946, my wages doubled, and I started getting rid of my debts. Six months later, one of the old men (a principal) asked me if I wouldn't like to be third ayudante of the Cofradía Sacramento. I tell you, sir, I told him to go to the Devil. If I had joined that cofradía, I would never have gotten out of debt, my children would have gone hungry and barefoot. He didn't do anything; he just said that the saints would abandon my household, that my crops would fail. I've been growing corn for thirty years, mister, and I haven't had a bad crop yet.

This informant claimed to have been one of the first to refuse to serve outright. At first only a few refused to serve. Even after the cofradías lost their hold upon the municipalidad, they were still able, for two years at least, to keep all seven cofradías staffed. Nevertheless, many workers resented the prospect of rising out of poverty only to sink back again via the cofradía. Meanwhile, the peasants, especially the wealthier, resented the possibility that the factory workers would become wealthy without serving their community.

There were, however, other pressures that moved factory workers to political action. The union leaders were aware of the possibilities of community development. The newsletters which they received contained accounts of school building programmes, water
projects, and electrical installations that were taking place in other communities and in some of the poorer barrios of Guatemala City. Some of the union leaders had gone on tour of other regions or of other countries. These leaders came to the opinion that the community elders of Cantel were holding community "progress" back, that money that could have been spent on medical clinics or agricultural extension programmes were being wasted on festivities, food, and drink. To disseminate their viewpoints among their workers, they held evening programmes with films and guest speakers dealing with the matter of local development.

In 1946, the union entered local politics. At the meeting of the local branch of PAR, called to nominate the candidates for the next election, the presiding officer called for nominations for fourth regidor. The principales submitted the name of their candidate. The union leaders then submitted the name of their candidate, surprising the principales that anyone would oppose their authority. Debate followed; the principales, whose supporters at the meeting outnumbered the unionists, had their men nominated for the PAR slate.

The unionists withdrew from PAR and held a convention of their own, drafting their position papers and
nominating their own slate of candidates. They accused the PAR of defeating the aims of the revolution and of backing old men who knew nothing of progress and cared less about social justice. They favoured the idea of expanding the gravity-feed water system from one pila in the town centre to several and of installing the water system in the cantones. They also pushed for construction in the pueblo of a six-grade school financed by the national government.

With the formation of this party, the posts of the municipalidad were contested for the first time in the community's history. A small anti-communist faction also put up a few candidates. All of my informants who lived during that period recall that it was a lively campaign. All three parties sent sound trucks around the pueblo, Pasac, and La Estancia. Walls were plastered everywhere with campaign slogans, party symbols, and the names of candidates for alcalde. The deputy from Quezaltenango spoke for the PAR candidate; the president of the Quezaltenango local of the CTG spoke for the unionist candidate. Leaflets were prolific at the factory and at the Sunday market in the pueblo. On Election Day, workers for the unionist party went from one factory family household to another, urging them to vote.

The unionist party won three seats on the town council; PAR won the other seat together with the posts
of alcalde and sindico. The town council subsequently became deadlocked on numerous issues. On the issues of expanding the water system, of establishing the school, and of extending electricity to private homes, the councilmen voted along party lines, deadlocking in a 3-3 tie. The council was able only to dispose of the day-to-day issues: imposition of taxes, maintenance of existing roads and paths, and disposition of disputes. No new projects were started.

In 1948, the unionists launched an aggressive campaign against the local PAR and the principales whom they represented. The unionist candidates accused the PAR's representatives in the municipalidad of having violated their own government's principles by voting against the school and the water system. This was one example of what happened when old men were allowed to run the affairs of the community. The PAR countered with charges that the unionist party was run by the politically immature. While the school and water system might be good things, it was dangerous to rush into agreements with the national government without examining the obligations that the community might incur as a result. Only those who had served the community at lower levels and who had learned "how to govern" in the process could be entrusted with the high posts of the municipalidad. Finally, the unionists candidates
were self-seeking demagogues, more interested in enriching themselves than in serving their community. If this were not so, they concluded, why were the young unionist candidates in such a hurry to become alcalde and regidores?

The results amounted to a local revolution. The unionists had taken the posts of alcalde and the first three regidores, leaving to PAR the posts of sindico and fourth regidor. The anti-communist faction, now allied with PIACO, the regional anti-communist party, won no seats and ran a poor third in the voting. Having gained control of the council, the unionist party pushed through its water project and its school. Owing to the financial backing provided by the national government, construction of the school began the same year. 20

The major blow to the cofradías and to the principales came in the form of an ordinance that required all able-bodied men from 18 to 55 to serve as mayores, gardabosques, and auxiliares, regardless of age or prior service. This meant that even those who had served as alcalde of a large cofradía were required to become mayor if appointed. Refusal to serve was punished with jail or fine. In response to the measure, the cofradías created the Comité Organizador de Cofradías to encourage appointees to serve. The Comité also filed suit in one of the two Courts of First Instance (Juzgados de Primera
Instancia) in Quezaltenango, declaring that current and past religious officials should be exempt from duty as mayores and that the ordinance in Cantel should be declared illegal. The court rejected the case, stating that such exemption was a violation of the separation of church and state, as established by Barrios' decrees in the 1870's and reaffirmed by the Constitution of 1945. Its funds depleted by the case, the Comité was unable to appeal the decision.

From then on, conditions worsened for the cofradías and the principales who controlled them. One by one, wealthier persons refused their appointments. The ordinance had severely compromised the prestige of these cargos. Nor did the elections of 1950, 1952, and 1954 alleviate the situation of the cofradías and principales. The unionists won a majority in 1950. In 1952, the unionists affiliated themselves with the Partido Revolucionario Guatemalteco (PRG), and again carried a majority. They repeated the performance in 1954, winning all posts but that of alcalde.

In the meantime, the prestige of the unionists increased. They had expanded the water supply system in the pueblo. They had, after a brief delay in 1949, completed the national school building by 1954, dedicating it at official ceremonies in the same year. A bridge that had been washed out in the 1949 floods was
replaced with a stronger one.

Nor did the counterrevolution of 1954, in which the unionists either fled the country or were jailed or shot by the Guatemalan Army, help to re-establish the civil-religious hierarchy. In part, the national government may have arrested any such process. All local officials were appointed by the national president, who had suspended the 1945 Constitution and waited until 1956 to replace it with a new one. These officials were by and large members of the old PIACO, which had never won an office. Even they (perhaps especially they) were disinclined to consult the principales on community matters or allow them veto power over their decisions; the alcalde who served out the 1954 term was a Protestant, and so were two of the regidores. The patron saint of the alcalde, San Andres, was not celebrated that year. The officials of the town for 1955 were also appointed; when elections were again allowed in December, 1955, the candidates of Castillo Armas' party, the Movimiento Democrático Nacional (MDN) won all six posts. The MDN continued to control the municipalidad until 1958.

Both the appointed councils and the MDN-controlled councils continued with community development projects. The expanded water works project was completed in late 1954 or early 1955. All main streets of the pueblo
were lighted by 1956, and some homes had electricity by that date. In the cantones, work on a gravity-feed system began in 1954; the main pipeline was completed by 1957. Curiously enough, the MDM council was also instrumental in forcing the factory to pay a municipal tax; the national government sustained the ordinance in 1957.

Since 1958, the council has changed hands several times. The Partido Revolucionario (PR), an offspring of the old PAR, was in power from 1958 to 1964. Political instability in the country led to the appointment of a conservative council in 1964, although, unlike the situation in 1954, the PR members of the council were not dismissed before their term was up. Members of the right-wing Partido Institucional Demócratico (PID) were elected in 1966, followed by the Demócraticos Cristianos (DC) in 1968. The Partido Revolucionario again took power in 1970 during my stay, only to lose to the DC in 1972. Clearly, no one faction dominates the municipalidad in Cantel. Nor are political parties the same faction in different guises. DC is dominated by Acción Católica with support from liberal Presbyterians. PR draws most of its support from the factory workers, although the union has sometimes supported the DC—it did in 1968. Curiously enough, both surviving cofradías supported the PR, a reflection of
their earlier association with the PAR. Meanwhile, the coalition between the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) and the PID drew its support mainly from small shopkeepers and fundamentalist Protestants.

Although the municipalidad is no longer a part of a civil-religious hierarchy, the fear that individuals may use the offices for their own purposes or establish a dynasty remains. No individual has been elected alcalde twice, although two have made the attempt for a second term. That this fear is still present was evident in an issue which determined the election results for 1970. The president of Acción Católica for 1969 was elected secretary-general of the STPC in December of that year. He then resigned that post in January, 1970 to run for alcalde on the DC ticket. The STPC quickly withdrew its support of the DC and sponsored a slate on behalf of the PR candidates. A committee calling itself the Trabajadores y Obreros Conscientes (both trabajadores and obreros translate as "workers") distributed a leaflet condemning the DC candidate as a "traitor who . . . chose to abandon his comrades, who number more than 700, to be on the side of a dozen hypocrites" [referring to the DC slate], and suggesting that

If he were, by chance, to win the election, he would assume office as alcalde, taking the same oath as he did as secretary-general of the STPC,
and, even more arrogantly, renounce the office to run for the office of Deputy of the national Chamber of Deputies.

He was further denounced over the loudspeakers at the Sunday markets and at the factory during the changing of the shifts. The result was inevitable: the PR candidates obtained 555 votes; the DC candidates, 438.

In reply to my question "why do you think [name of the PR candidate] won", all of my informants attributed the result to that issue.

2. Religion: 1944-1970. Even after the unionists threw the principales out of the municipalidad in 1948, the cofradías retained their importance in the religious life of the community. The church still had no resident priest; no Catholic organization outside of the cofradías and sociedades existed. The only religious alternative to staying with the cofradías was Protestantism, an idea still unacceptable to most Cantelenos. Thus all seven cofradías were able to find personnel. Even a few wealthy persons served, some repeating service as needed. Nevertheless, the revenues of the cofradías decreased. Food was now served only to the members of the cofradías and their guests on the saint's day; others were served coffee or atole and sometimes sweetbread. For their revenues, the cofradías began to rely less and less upon the financial resources of their members and more and more on the contributions of those who
cared to contribute and on their selling of illegal aguardiente.

In 1949, the first resident priest since the 1870's arrived in Cantel. My informants who lived in that time were unable to describe in detail his first meeting with the cofrados and principales, but it was anything but cordial. When he asked the mayordomo for the keys to the church, the mayordomo refused. Knowing that the church was registered in the name of the municipalidad, he walked to the alcalde's office and returned with an entourage of mayores. Faced with the prospect of jail, the mayordomo relented. The catequistas, of course, cited this incident as an example of the cofrados' intransigence, of their refusal to submit to the authority of the Church, and to accept orthodox doctrine. The cofrados recall the priest as having been arrogant, demanding, hostile to the way the community honoured its saints. They resented his claim to superior authority over the town's principales.

Whatever happened at the first few encounters between the priest and the cofrados, it is nonetheless evident that he asserted his authority over the Cantel church. He dismissed the two mayordomos and fiscales, replacing them with a non-Canteleño sacristan and pair of fiscales that he recruited through the Bishopric of Quezaltenango. He tolerated for a time the worship of
saints of his parishioners, but denounced such worship publicly as paganistic. When the cofrades responded to these measures by boycotting Sunday mass and showing up late to mass celebrated on religious holidays, the priest sought support from the younger factory workers and campesinos of the village. He formed a male choir and organized a committee whose purpose was to seek converts for the orthodox version of the faith. At first, his efforts were unsuccessful. Several times he delivered a sermon to a near-empty church. Later, he began to attack the wasteful expenditures of the cofradías and to condemn the drunken profligacy of the cofradía leaders and the principales. Why, he asked, should the young factory worker or campesino earn his daily wages only to see them siphoned off to some drunks who called themselves spiritual leaders. Faith to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit was better expressed in the sacraments of marriage, communion, and baptism than in the spending of such huge sums of money that a man's wife and children would go hungry. This line of argument, according to the original leaders of Acción Católica, led many Canteleños to reject the cofradías and to accept the sacraments. Two years after the priest arrived, the committee joined the Acción Católica Rural Obrero.

Although there is an organization of the same name
in Mexico, Acción Católica is a movement based in Guatemala, founded in Zacapa in 1942. It is a lay organization with a three-fold function: to take charge of the everyday administrative functions of the church, to secure new converts, and to sponsor social service programmes. The programmes, as the present sacristan readily admitted, are aimed not only to benefit mankind but also to win converts. Thus anyone, not just Catholics, may take advantage of the school, the medical clinic, and the other social services that the organization has sponsored.

Initially, Acción Católica was oriented simply toward winning converts by direct methods: knocking on doors, passing out literature, holding meetings on Monday nights. Acción Católica branched out into four organizations: Acción Católica Rural Obrero for men, Madres Cristianas for women, Juventud Cristiana Católica Masculina for boys, and a corresponding Juventud Cristiana Católica Feminina for girls. Each organization had its weekly meetings; each provided its members not only the chance to discuss the Holy Spirit but also an opportunity to socialize. Acción Católica, together with its subsidiary organizations, branched out into the cantones, each with its officers and inspectores, charged with disseminating the true faith. Nevertheless, before 1952, Acción Católica still had an active following
that, according to the most liberal estimates by the catequistas themselves, numbered only 150.

In 1951, a second priest took over the parish in Cantel. Unlike the first, he tended to involve himself in local politics. He supported the PRG during the 1952 elections. Whenever the union went on strike, he urged his parishioners' support of the strikers, often making his appeals during Sunday mass. He was instrumental in forming the Unión Campesina, a local branch of the CNCG.

He was also militantly orthodox and, indeed, was responsible for the siege between the two factions breaking out into open warfare. In the lenten period before Easter, he watched with displeasure the Cantelense practice of filling the church with saints from every sociedad of the town after every procession. The processions were always late by several hours, the cofrades were usually drunk and, worst of all from his standpoint, the saints crowded out the congregation at mass. Finally, on Easter Thursday, 1952, he refused admittance into the church all saints images except those of Justo Juez, the Virgen de Dolores, and the Señor Sepultado. This created a major row. The cofrades and principales pleaded with the priest without success. Finally, some of the cofrades shouted threats to kill him. This brought the mayores out of the
municipalidad to protect the priest and the alcalde on
the telephone to call out the national police. With
the police standing guard, the crowd dispersed at
midnight and the remainder of the festivities of Easter
Week went on without further incident. Nevertheless,
all Canteléños remember Easter Thursday, 1952 (some
differ on the year), as the day that the priest "threw
the saints out of the church".

After that incident, the priest added more restric-
tions. No festivities were to continue after midnight.
No drunken person, whether principal, cofrade, or
ordinary local person, was to be allowed into the
church, even on holy days. He recognized as legitimate
sociedades of the saints only the three whose saints he
had allowed into the church; the others were to be
disbanded. He announced that the seats in the front
part of the church were no longer to be reserved for the
officials of the cofradíás. From then on, cofrades
who attended Sunday mass were to be treated as any other
celebrant. Finally, he raised the fee for saying mass
on the saint's day of each cofradía.

The cofrades responded with a suit, filed again in
the Court of the First Instance in Quezaltenango, to
restore the saints to the church. The judge rejected
the suit, on which grounds I was unable to ascertain.
The cofradíás undertook other measures. The Cofradía
San Buenaventura discontinued its practice of opening the graves of the town's dead, giving the reason that the costs in money and time were now beyond its means. Some cofradías began to exclude non-sympathizers from its functions. Finally, according to some informants, one of the cofradías invited a visiting priest into its sala for coffee during Easter Week. There, the cofrades began to interrogate him about his activities in the Quezaltenango branch of Acción Católica, his position on church authority, his opinion about the supernatural power of saints' images. As the session continued, some of the cofrades threatened to give him a beating. Two young girls of the household ran into the streets screaming that the cofrades were killing the priest. The alcalde called the departmental officials asking for a contingent of the national army. Only when the soldiers appeared did the cofrades release the priest.

There were other incidents. In 1953, members of Acción Católica "discovered" the image of San Simón in the tool shed of the Cofradía San Buenaventura, dragged it out into the main plaza and burned it. The cofrades made another image and hid it at a more inaccessible place. Again the catequistas discovered it; again they burned it. In 1959, the same incident recurred. According to the presidente of the Sociedad San Buenaventura, there is no longer an image of San Simón; other
informants believe that such an image exists and is well hidden.

In 1955, Acción Católica opened a second front in its battle with the cofradías (and, by this time, with the Protestants) with a series of social services. A parochial school of four grades opened its doors in that year, and so did a medical clinic; the clinic started in La Estancia, then was moved to the pueblo. The school expanded its grades to six in 1959. The other programmes came in the 1960's: the credit union, the weaving co-operative, and the evening classes in agronomy and home economics.

The cofradías folded one by one. The first one to collapse was either the Cofradía Santa Cruz or San José; it folded during the period in which the first priest was present. A few cofradías joined the church as sociedades and now celebrate the saint's name with a novena, a bomba or two, and coffee in the parish house. They include the Sociedades Santa Cruz and Sacramento. The Sociedad Sacramento still holds a procession on the day of Corpus Cristi. The two sociedades that have chosen to remain outside the church, San Buenaventura and Virgen la Asunción, have both remained in the same house and under the direction of the same presidente for over ten years. Both still hold processions, both of which are poorly attended.
In the meantime, the Protestants were busy recruiting the new faithful. The former Presbyterian minister estimates that the number of Presbyterians increased from 290 members to 340 in 1956 alone. The Pentacostals claim to have recruited 75 new converts in the same year. Indeed, if June Nash's estimate of 40 Pentacostals for 1954 is to be accepted (1960: 49) then that sect had done particularly well. From estimates of the Catholic sacristan of Cantel, the Presbyterian minister and three of my leading informants who are Pentacostals, there are 200 in the church in the pueblo, another 50 in Pasac, 200 in La Estancia, and smaller numbers in other cantones. The period between 1955 and 1959 seems to have been one in which the number of sects proliferated. In 1952, the cousin of the former Presbyterian minister founded the Getsemani Presbyterian Church in Pachaj, the result of a dispute between these two men. The Pentacostals branched off (or split off) in that same period; the church in Pasac was founded in 1955. The Jehovah's Witnesses began their church in 1959. A second spurt of proliferation seems to be in progress at the present. On the programme sheet of a revival held in August, 1969, six of the nine sponsors listed were less than three years old. There were many more that were not sponsors of the revival.

The increase in the number of Presbyterians in that
period seems to have been the product of the conflict between the folk and orthodox Catholics. Marco Antonio de Paz, the priest in Cantel between 1956 and 1960, thinks this to be the case; so do the former and present Presbyterian ministers. The father of the present Presbyterian minister recalls having observed the arguments between cofrades and catequistas and concluding that neither side could be supported by "good men". He joined the Presbyterian church because of the gentleness of the missionaries and because of the church's stress on a moral life, abstention from alcohol, and kindness to others. Other Protestant converts of that period also gave the conflicts between the two Catholic factions as the main reason for their decision.

Thus the decline of the cofradías has not meant the end of factionalism. Catholics berate the Protestants for abandoning the true faith and leading others to religious error. Protestants condemn the Catholics for taking orders from Rome and for failure to allow the true spirit of the Lord to move them. Protestants have also taken to fighting among themselves. A familiar pattern is for newly-converted Protestants to choose the Presbyterian church of either branch. Later, they will argue with the preacher over the interpretation of some biblical passage or the conduct of one's life, then either join the Pentacostals or other existing group
or found one of their own. There are no fewer than a dozen such local groups that have organized since 1966. Of nine church groups that sponsored a revival in August, 1969, six were less than three years old. The lack of intensity that has characterized local politics in recent years has been made up by that of religious fighting. There are a few signs of detente between the Catholics and Protestants. The Presbyterian minister is a member of the parochial school board, and all three of his older daughters have graduated from the school. The children of at least three Pentacostal families are now attending the parochial school. Both religions were represented in all three slates in the 1970 election. Nevertheless, religious conflicts continue. The Pentacostals broadcast over loudspeakers their weekly cultos to the annoyance of their neighbours. The Presbyterian minister condemns the fundamentalists for their jumping and shouting at their revivals and cultos as a display of the behaviour of savages.

III. Conclusion.

It is apparent that the entry of union officials and their followers into local politics precipitated the decline of the civil-religious hierarchy. The principales and cofrades lost their hold upon the municipalidad and thus could not control the decision-making of that body. They were unable to reverse the ordinance compelling
all able-bodied males to serve as *mayores*, nor could they reinstate the *mayordomo* of the church to his position after the priest had expelled him. Lacking sanctions more effective than vague ideals of good citizenship to enforce their appointments, the *cofrades* staffed their organizations with increasing difficulty. *Acción Católica* provided a way out for those who wished to, publicly at least, remain good Catholics without incurring debt. The proliferation of Protestants was a byproduct of the confrontation between *cofrade* and *catequista*.

Nevertheless, to suggest that power politics alone led to the dissolution of the hierarchy is to beg the question. Neither Ubico's decree forbidding the jailing of persons refusing to serve in the *cofradias* nor the presence of Protestants in Cantel prior to 1944 prevented the *cofradias* from finding personnel. The depression forced one *cofradía* to fold, but it was back in operation by 1941. There were two nation-oriented groups present in Cantel: the *intendencia* (the *intendente* and his assistants) and the Protestants. Yet the hierarchy lived on.

I suggest that the decline of the hierarchy involved relations of economic and political power. The union had produced economic results: wage increases, better work hours, and fringe benefits. The programme
of its party, which supported such public works projects as schools, electricity, and water was strengthened by their gains made in the factory. Hence to support both union and party was an obvious gain for the factory worker on one hand and the community resident on the other. The union attracted support of the factory worker for its aims; the unionist party attracted community support for its goals. Yet such gains would have been impossible had the national government and the labour confederation been unsympathetic with them. Political power was thus no less important a factor than the economic inducements. Acción Católica accomplished its aims for similar reasons, for Catholics could now express their beliefs without incurring major expense and a lifetime of debt. Yet such an organization could not have existed with an anti-clericalist government in power in Guatemala City.
Notes to Chapter 4

1. There are uncollated documents in the capitol building and in the national archives in Guatemala City. Unfortunately, I lacked sufficient time to go through them. Many of them were uncatalogued, and it would have taken weeks, if not months, to locate them and put them into workable order. I hope to work on those documents in the near future.

2. For a statement of the field techniques used and of the informants interviewed, see Appendix A.

3. Another informant, whose father was involved in the feud, said they had killed the trespassers.

4. Nash claims that the Urbina estate was broken into parcels in 1870, but he does not say how (1967: 120). I have encountered no documents that make such a claim.

5. The information is second or third hand. Since none of my informants were living at the time the factory was established, the information comes through my informants from their fathers, or grandfathers.

6. There had been a separatist movement among western highlanders in the 1880's. In 1884, Barrios conducted a tour with his army to discourage these sentiments. Cantel was not the only municipio whose officials had been massacred. On the day of his visit to Quezaltenango he ordered an Indian principal shot. He also ordered executed the municipalidad of Santo Domingo Suchitepéquez, San Gabriel, Cerre Gordo, among others and, while in Ritalhuleu, he ordered a blacksmith, a president of Xecul, shot (Valladares Rubio 1962: 438-440).

7. A real equaled about a cent in U.S. currency at the time.

8. The monetary unit at the time was the quetzal, which has always been exactly equal to a U.S. dollar (if one ignores the service costs involved in changing quetzales for dollars).
9. There were exceptions. Persons occupying high offices were allowed time off in the interest of maintaining harmonious relations with the community. Mayores, however, were not allowed time off. This meant that a man could not work during his tenure in office, and that reinstatement in the factory was unlikely.

10. Nash's informants include a "Manual H", an 81-year old man who was living in the community by 1878. My oldest informant was born in 1893 and was 77 when I interviewed him in 1970.

11. A marimba is an instrument similar to a xylophone, but with keys made of wood instead of metal. They are large instruments, and anywhere from two to four men will play it simultaneously.

12. Standards of office. They were silver discs on which were engraved the sun's rays radiating outward from an image of the cofradía's patron saint. These discs were attached to long, black wooden staffs.

13. A resinous substance whose smoke is believed to carry the shaman's incantations to the spirits.

14. Thus he offers detailed expenditures for two cargo-holders and general information on the debts and expenses of 12 others (1965: 82, 83). In none of these cases does he offer an explanation on how his informants got out of debt or how their service affected their overall wealth standing. Nor is it likely that he could have received such information. He relies on indirect indicators to support his contention that the leveling effect of wealth is negligible: the rank of offices leading to the post of First Alcalde (Alcalde Viejo, as he calls it), the rank of first offices assumed by fathers and sons, the prestige of wife's father vis-a-vis that of her husband, and a few genealogical charts as illustration (1965: 112-114, 115, 117, 118-122).

15. I never found out what was contained in the literature and, owing to the unsettled political situation, I found it unadvisable to probe very deeply.

16. Reina (1960) says that the Unión Campesina in Chiatlalté also served primarily as an agricultural extension agency, concerned with obtaining fertilizers and improved seed for its members.
17. Data on these businesses were either non-existent or unavailable. The town treasurer denied having them.

18. That Canteleños were heavily dependent upon outside income sources may be roughly gauged from the 1964 census concerning land ownership. According to Nash's informants, 20 cuerdas of land was sufficient to grow the corn and other crops that a family of five needed for its own use and to sell on the market to obtain the goods it could not produce itself. According to most of my own informants, 50 cuerdas was the amount needed.

The following table shows the distribution of land ownership according to the 1964 census (I have noted the question of accuracy of censuses in Appendix A):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Land per Finca (&quot;farm&quot;)</th>
<th>In Manzanas</th>
<th>In Cuerdas (Canteleños)</th>
<th>Number of Landholders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - .99</td>
<td>0 - 15.9</td>
<td>870</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 -1.99</td>
<td>16 - 31.9</td>
<td>410</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -4.99</td>
<td>32 - 79.9</td>
<td>302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -9.99</td>
<td>80 - 159.9</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-31.99</td>
<td>160 - 511.9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-63.99</td>
<td>512 -1023.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64-640</td>
<td>1,024 -2048</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,676</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The amount in Cantel's cuerdas was obtained by converting manzanas into acres, using Whetten's formula (1961: 121), then reconverting the amount in acres into cuerdas (1 cuerda in Cantel equals 0.108 of an acre).

If Nash's standard of sufficiency of land is accepted, then at least 52.5% of all landowners in Cantel must seek a supplementary income source. If that of my informants is accepted, the percentage needing an additional source of income rises to at least 76.3%. Both estimates are necessarily conservative, for there is no way of determining how many landowners holding between 16 and 32 cuerdas have less than twenty and how many owning between 32 and 79.9 cuerdas own less than fifty. In either case, most Canteleños (assuming the census is correct) had to seek income sources in addition to that which a plot of land provided. The wage increases that the union brought undoubtedly affected many of them, directly or indirectly.

20. Informants could not agree on what national party, if any, represented the labour interests in the 1946, 1948, and 1950 elections. Some insisted that PRG was around in 1950, but others named PIN, FPL, and RN as competing. Municipal records concerning the elections for those years were lost, according to the present secretario. In 1952 and 1954, the PRG represented the labour unionists.

21. According to my informants who stated that the FPL was the unionist party in 1948, the win coincided with the national FPL's gaining a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The schools and the expanded water supply system came as a result of this alliance between the local and national majority party.

22. In 1970 the PR candidates for alcalde and regidores received 555 votes (44.8% of the total), the DC candidates received 438 (35.4%), and the MLN-PID candidates received 246 (19.9%).

Under Guatemalan law, a tribunal Electoral reviews the results and allocates the seats on council to the parties according to the election results. In 1970, the PR candidate held the posts of alcalde, sindico and first, third, sixth and seventh concejal. The DC candidates were awarded the posts of second and fifth concejal and a MLN-PID candidate was awarded the remaining post of fourth concejal.

23. He had informed me of his intention to run for alcalde as early as October, 1969. He did not, however, mention plans to run for the president of the STFC at that time.

24. For obvious reasons, I am withholding its name.

25. The school was aimed at attracting students away from the Adventists who also operated a school at that time. The Adventist school has since folded, and Protestants now attend either the parochial or the national school.
Chapter Five

Ideology and Interpersonal Relations in Cantel: Past and Present

In Chapter Two, I suggested that there should be changes in the ideologies and interpersonal relationships within a community to fit in with the structural changes of the same community. Within open communities, the endogamic restrictions of the community should be relaxed or eliminated. Resident outsiders should be regarded as village members by virtue of residence; they should participate freely in community affairs. The cult of poverty should weaken. Wealthier persons should feel sufficiently free of the envy of their neighbours to eat better food, wear better clothing, live in better houses. "Foreign" goods that do not fit in with the community's traditional pattern of consumption should become commonplace. In this chapter, I will assess these predictions in terms of the information on Cantel.

1. External Interpersonal Relations.

There is no evidence of changes in the marriage patterns among Cantelenses in the years between 1934 and 1969. In some years between 1934 and 1944, there are as great a percentage of cases on record showing marriage with outsiders as there are in the years following
1944. My informants are evenly divided on whether there were indeed rules of village endogamy. Similarly, persons of non-Cantelense origin were regarded with ambivalence. Some non-natives held the important posts of the parochial school (including a principal from San Francisco el Alto), the school of castellanización (which involves teaching the Spanish language to monolingual Quiches), and administrative posts in the Catholic church and the municipalidad. Nevertheless, the elected officials were all born in Cantel. I will review all these matters in turn.

A. Village Endogamy. I derived my information concerning village endogamy from two sources: municipal records and statements from older informants. The records of the Catholic church rarely disclosed either the place of birth or the place of residence of the marriage partners. Marriages between Protestants were sporadically recorded in the files of the Protestant churches.

The municipal records covering the years from 1933 to 1969 gave the places of origin of the partners concerned; only in the years between 1933 and 1941 are there omissions of these data, and those are few. There were records of marriage in the years prior to 1933, but they without exception failed to disclose the
places of origin of the partners who recorded their marriages. Nevertheless, since the hierarchy was still in (somewhat modified) existence between 1933 and 1944, the records for those years should suggest the patterns of exogamy and endogamy in the earlier years in which the hierarchy existed.

As the data in Table 5.1 show, there is no significant difference in the rates of exogamy of the five-year periods preceding 1944 and those following. Indeed, the percentage of exogamic unions is higher in one five-year period before the revolution (19.3 in 1940-1944) than the highest percentage among the five-year periods that follow the revolution (17.8 in 1955-1959). Obviously, there are no significant differences. For all five-year periods, most percentages of exogamic marriages range between 12.6% (1935-1939) and 14.4% (1945-1949). The percentage of exogamic marriages for 1965-1969 (13.2%) is not much higher than that of 1935-1939 (12.6%). Obviously our prediction is rejected. There is no evident trend.

This raises another question: is Cantel to be regarded as an endogamous village at all? There is no absolute standard to which the percentages of Cantel can be compared. One may indeed compare Cantel's figures to those of at least one other of the Guatemalan villages that Tax, among several others, has labeled
Table 5.1  Endogamous Marriages\textsuperscript{a} in Cantel, 1935-1969, by Five-Year Intervals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five-Year Period</th>
<th>Total Marriages</th>
<th>Exogamous Marriages</th>
<th>Exogamous Marriages as Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1935-1939</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1944</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-1949</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1954</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-1959</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-1964</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1969</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a} By "exogamous marriage" is meant marriage between one partner born in Cantel and an in-marrying partner.

\textsuperscript{b} A table recording the data year by year may be found in Appendix C.
"endogamous" (1937). In Panajachel, of 134 households, 21, or 14.9%, involved partners who were "foreign" Indians. Nevertheless this percentage is not strictly comparable to those of Cantel, for there is no way of determining from it the annual ratio of exogamous marriages to the total number of marriages, a ratio that I have determined for Cantel. There are no comparable data on other villages; virtually all the ethnographers of all other villages state that endogamy is prescribed or preferred. Until comparable data are gathered from other communities—either from their municipalidades or their churches—there is no way of answering that question.

My older informants are divided on the question of endogamy. Three of them who were living in the thirties recall that couples were strongly urged to "marry their own people". Yet another two recall instances in which a man or woman married a "foreigner", suffering no reprobation as a result. No one is condemned today for marrying an outsider. Indeed, to marry one who holds an important administrative post may raise one's esteem in the eyes of local people. Both the principal of the parochial school and the director of the Spanish-language institute are married to Cantelenas. Both men are actively involved in community affairs and seem highly regarded for their services (see below pp. 311-312).
Whether or not Cantel may be regarded as an endogamous village (as Nash asserts, but without evidence⁶), it is clear that more Canteleños marry other Canteleños than marry non-Canteleños. Such a pattern is congruent with social barriers designed to keep outsiders out. Yet no trend is evident; the rate of endogamy has remained the same throughout the period of change within Cantel's community structure. Endogamy is strongly preferred among Canteleños, but such a pattern is obviously capable of co-existence with an open community structure. Propinquity seems to be a stronger explanation: Canteleños marry other Canteleños simply because they are neighbours. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that those who do marry outsiders marry ones from neighbouring municipios. In 1969, of 13 Canteleños marrying outsiders, 11 were from adjacent municipios (primarily San Cristobal, Totonicapán, Quezaltenango, and Zunil). In 1936, three of the five exogamous marriage partners of Canteleños were from adjacent communities; the other two were from municipios within the Quezaltenango valley.

These considerations suggest that (1) the rate of exogamy in Cantel shows no difference in the years between 1935 and 1969; (2) that while preferential endogamy may yet co-exist with closed corporate community
structures, nothing prevents the co-existence of such a pattern with open communities, and (3) that propinquity is probably a better explanation to account for the "rule of endogamy" that students of Meso-American ethnology have attributed to the villages of Meso-America. These considerations also suggest that there is only a general definition of what "village endogamy" means. Is a village "endogamous" because more Cantelenses marry other Cantelenses than non-Cantelenses? Is Cantel to be regarded as "exogamous" if its out-marriage rate is greater than that of Contla? I suggest that the answer awaits further comparative studies of marriage rates in Meso-American villages.

B. Other Inter-Personal Relationships. Before 1944, there were few opportunities for Cantelenses to meet outsiders; indeed, they appeared to have avoided such opportunities when possible. The only voluntary associations that had extra-community ties, the four Protestant sects, involved the few Cantelenses who were willing to risk censure of their Catholic contemporaries. Otherwise, all associations with outsiders were the result of government compulsion: work on the plantations or the factory under the mandamiento or the vagrancy law, military drills on Sundays, and forced labour on public works projects (especially roads). The union was outlawed; the Catholic action group was non-existent.
Since 1944, Cantelenos have involved themselves with national organizations of every variety. The union seems to have provided an opening wedge. It was the union that first introduced the Club Deportes, a sports club that has involved local youths in soccer and basketball games with other clubs in Quezaltenango and elsewhere. It was also the union that sponsored joint social events with those in Quezaltenango. Other organizations have involved Cantelenos in regional or national conferences: Acción Católica, Protestant sects (especially the Presbyterians and Pentecostals), the wheat guild. The schools have also increased an awareness on the part of Cantelenos of the existence of an outside world, the view of a world free of local spirits and dominated by forces discoverable through scientific methods of enquiry.

These organizations have instilled into Cantelenos something of a tolerant attitude toward non-Cantelenos. Whatever the trends in out-marriage, none of my informants have spoken ill of in-marrying outsiders, nor have I seen acts unfriendly committed toward them. Indeed, there are instances of non-natives marrying Cantelenos and assuming an important role in the life of the community. The principal of the parochial school, a native of San Francisco el Alto, has held posts in Acción Católica several times, has been on several committees (including
one organized to introduce a new school into Pasac Segundo, and another concerned with co-ordination of community development projects), and seems no less regarded locally than if he had been born in Cantel. A Protestant from Olintepeque, the principal of an institute charged with teaching Spanish to Quiche monolingual children, has also been on committees concerned with the construction of schools; he is one of the principal leaders of the Pentacostal sect. Both men helped tabulate the results of the 1970 election.

Nevertheless, Canteleños still prefer to keep outsiders at a distance. Both the outgoing and incoming municipalidades were composed entirely of native Cantelenses. The outgoing alcalde was from Pachaj; the incoming alcalde from Pasac. The others were likewise either born in the pueblo or in one of its cantones. Neither of the two men mentioned had held public office. Moreover, local people continue to distrust outsiders. Canteleños claim to own less land than they actually do. Politics are rarely discussed, even among the Canteleños themselves. Indeed, Canteleños do not like to talk about themselves to outsiders; to do so might reveal information that could lead him or others to harm (see Appendix A).

Land has long since become a commodity. Even I was approached by a Canteleño who wanted to sell me a parcel of land. Nevertheless, sentiment against the sale
of land to outsiders is still strong. A missionary bought a house site and a cuerda of milpa in Chuisuc. In a week's time he had received several threats to kill both him and the seller. Only by discussing the situation (he was fluent in Quiche) with the Catholic and Protestant leaders of Chuisuc and nearby Xecam was he able to pacify his neighbours.

In summary, Canteleños have long since accepted dealing with outsiders as a necessary burden. Nevertheless, they remain reserved toward non-native residents and visitors alike. This suggests, therefore, that dissolution of corporate community structures does not necessarily mean that distrust of non-natives will likewise dissolve.

II. Ideologies Concerning Wealth.

In Chapter Two I asserted that wealth control mechanisms had their ideological reinforcements: institutionalized envy, the cult of poverty, "structural ignorance" of goods that did not fit into local traditional consumption patterns. There is evidence that such tendencies did exist in Cantel at one time and that they are now disappearing. Clothing, for example, was more uniform in design and quality forty years ago than now. Houses were similar in basic design, although some houses were of adobe while others were of pole and thatch. People did try to hide their wealth, but the motive seems to have
been as much desire to avoid service as fear of the
ever of neighbours. Many women still hide their
purchases under cloth.

Around the 1920's, both men and women were wearing
clothing of a design typical of Cantel. All women,
according to my informants, were the cotton blue-
green skirt referred to in Chapter 3, together with a
huipil of green and black zigzag design. The men wore
white, untailored shirts and black pants. If this
is true, then Cantelenses were clothing that was dis-
tinct from that of other villages and thus reinforced
their consciousness as Canteleneños. Moreover, my infor-
mants insist, the clothing was made of the same material--
cotton. If there were wealth distinctions, they were
not reflected in the clothing worn.

The distinctions in wealth were plainly evident
in 1970. The poorer women tended to wear the blue-
green skirt and simpler huipiles; that they were poor
was reflected by the fact that their clothing appeared
tattered and well-worn. The wealthier women tended
to wear the more expensive wool (or mixed wool and cotton)
dresses of striped design, embroidered sometimes with a
blue strip of satin at the base. That they were evidently
new dresses on Christmas, Easter, and during the fiesta
titular reflected their wealth. To be sure, some women
saved their finery for such occasions. Nevertheless,
many others wore such dresses as everyday clothing. Moreover, there was a tendency for the prices of skirt material to rise during the week before the major festivities. In the week before Easter, for example, the price of skirt material rose from the usual Q15.00 per piece to Q18.00. Wealth distinctions were less evident among the men, for all wore straw hats, cotton shirts, light jackets, and denim trousers when they worked. The wealthier wore tailored jackets and felt hats on ceremonial and festive occasions, but otherwise were indistinguishable from their less well-off contemporaries.

A few of my informants insisted that women started wearing embroidered huipiles and non-Cantelense skirts after the factory was unionized. Nevertheless, others say that the embroidered huipiles were introduced earlier, and this corroborates with McBryde's observations. He notes that in 1936 Cantelense women wore embroidered huipiles that were indistinguishable from that worn by women from San Andres Xecul, San Cristobal Totonicapan, and San Francisco el Alto (1947: 89). Moreover, McBryde notes that "from Cantel to Momostenango, .. . the same peg-bottom, ill-fitting and shrunken blue denim suits, of modern European design, make all Indian men indistinguishable as to provenience" (1947: 127). It is apparent, therefore, that Cantelense costume was similar to that
of today well before 1944. Obviously, uniformity of
dress is not necessarily a cultural marker of corporate
communities.

The dwellings in Cantel appear to be similar today
as in the past. Indeed, most of the adobe houses in
use in the pueblo today are between fifty and 200 years
old, according to my informants. There are a few
houses made of pallisades and mud with thatch roofs in
the pueblo. There are more such houses in the country.
Indeed, the difference in house types seem to reflect
more a distinction between town and country than a
distinction in wealth.

Nevertheless, a few families have taken to decorating
the facades of their houses. One family built a house
with a red tile facing in the front. Another, that of
the current Presbyterian minister, built an arch over
the doorway to the yard. The members of both families
expressed no fear of the envidia of their neighbours,
though they did admit that most wealthy persons were
still reluctant to show their wealth in such displays.

Indeed, in several ways, Canteleños are still re-
luctant to openly display their wealth. Women still
cover their baskets when they go to market; they do
not wish to let their neighbours know what they are
buying. Indeed, there are inconsistencies in such
behaviour. The woman whose family installed the red
tiles facing in the facade of its house and who dresses well still insisted to my wife that "you should not let your neighbours know how rich you are". To this day she covers her basket. Wealth is concealed in other ways. The walls of even the wealthiest families are either bare or covered with family pictures and calendars. Some wealthy families have poured concrete floors, but others have retained their earthen floors. One or two families have installed kerosene stoves, and others have constructed large cement wood-burning stoves; nevertheless most use either the three-stone hearth or the raised metal hibachis in kitchens that still lack a chimney. Transistor radios are becoming popular, but they are inexpensive and do not reflect wealth distinctions. Few household seem to be without one.

Nevertheless, there are other signs that the propensity to conceal wealth is breaking down. Two sons of an Indian tailor each own a motorcycle and do not hesitate to use it. Bicycles, which in Guatemala are more expensive than those in the United States and Canada, are becoming evident; several men who work in the factories in Quezaltenango each own one. There is even one Indian family that owns an automobile.

It appears, therefore, that a cult of poverty no longer characterizes the attitudes of Cantelenos. Indeed, some families are open about displaying their wealth.
This does not mean that flagrant display of wealth is approved. Concealing of wealth does remain a general practice. Nevertheless, wealthier people wear finer clothing, eat better food, and live in larger houses than do those less well off.

III. Conclusion.

It is apparent, therefore, that not all features postulated for semi-corporate communities necessarily co-exist. Despite the existence of the civil-religious hierarchy in the years prior to 1944, the exclusionary mechanisms were weak. There is no evident trend in patterns of endogamy. Land was sold according to a schedule of preferences, but no informants categorically deny that land was sold to outsiders. There is evidence, however, that there were pressures for persons to expend their wealth in ritual, or at least conceal it. According to my informants, there are greater wealth differences reflected in dress, in meals, and in housing than there were prior to 1944.
Notes to Chapter Five

1. Most records prior to 1934 disclosed the names of the bilateral relatives of the contracting partners. There was no way of determining from the names the places of origin of the contracting partners. About half of the persons recorded carried such Spanish names as Garcia, de Paz, Morales, Ordoñez, Cortez, Hernandez, Rodriguez, Diaz, Nolasco, and Ruiz. While the remainder carried such Cantelense names as Colop, Yac, Poz, Sam, Salanic, and Ulin, there was a handful who carried names characteristic of non-Cantelense Indians. Moreover, some of these names occur in other communities. Salanic, for example, recurs in San Cristobal Totonicapán. According to local tradition, a family by that name moved from San Cristobal in the late nineteenth century to buy a large tract of land in La Estancia and to settle there.

2. The rationale is as follows: if maintaining barriers to outside incursion is essential to the existence of closed corporate communities, then one of them should be a rule proscribing the marriage of any Cantelense to any non-Cantelense. The purpose of such exclusion is to prevent the loss of land to outside hands through inheritance, whereby a son or daughter who opted to move to the community of his non-Cantelense parent would nonetheless be able to control the land tract located within the boundaries of Cantel. Were this to continue, a situation might arise whereby the community exerted no control whatever over its own land. A rule prescribing endogamy within the municipio prevents this issue from arising in the first place.

3. For a table showing rates of exogamy for each year, see Appendix C. Records of Cantelenses marrying into other municipios were unavailable; hence the data show only those Cantelenses marrying outsiders who registered with the municipalidad of Cantel.

4. If one employs the chi-square test in comparing rates of exogamy before 1945 (the year of the unionization of the factory) with those after, it is clear that there are no significant differences between the rates of those time periods. The number of endogamic and exogamic marriages appear below:
Comparative Rates of Endogamy and Exogamy in Two Time Periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Marriage</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>1933-1944</th>
<th>1945-1969</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Endogamous</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1501</td>
<td>1751</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exogamous</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>331</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td>2082</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = .00556\]

\[p = .90\]

This test upholds the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the rates of endogamy or exogamy in one time period as compared to the other, and the alternative hypothesis that there should be a higher rate of exogamy in the 1945-1969 period than that in the 1933-1944 period is rejected.

5. Nevertheless, the authors of some of the more recent ethnographies have produced interesting results. In San Bernardino Contla, of 2,254 persons who have married, 96 have married outside the municipio (1968: 281). In Amatenango del Valle, 87 per cent of all marriages occurred within each of the two sub-divisions of the municipio. Nash gives no figures on the rate of exogamy of the village itself (1970: 6). Concerning Zinacantan, there is no information beyond that of one hamlet (Paste), in which 80 per cent of all marriages involved partners from the same hamlet, and the remaining 20% involved a partner from a neighbouring hamlet. There is no information concerning endogamic practices elsewhere in Zinacantan (Vogt 1969: 149). While this information helps clarify the meaning of endogamy, it does not negate the fact that a full-scale comparison is necessary for a definition of the concept.

6. The only statement that Nash makes on this matter is that Cantel "is nearly endogamous" (1967c: 6).
Chapter Six
Summary and Conclusions

In accounting for the changes in the politico-religious structure in Cantel, I have synthesized the approaches of two theorists. Wolf stresses the importance of power of nation-oriented groups in effecting structural change in corporate communities; Kunkel stresses the importance of external sources of livelihood in effecting the same changes. In this chapter, I propose to show that neither explanation by itself is sufficient to account for the changes in Cantel and that a synthesis of these explanations is closer to the mark. I also propose to demonstrate that the functionalist explanation of Cancian is inadequate for accounting for the change in Cantel because one cannot assume community isolation for the purpose. Finally, I propose directions for further research in the study of stability and change in corporate communities of both Latin America and places elsewhere.

I. An Assessment of Other Explanations.

In Chapter One, I reviewed briefly explanations accounting for the existence or elimination of politico-religious hierarchies that other theorists had previously advanced. They include Cancian's "functionalist" explanation and those explanations emphasizing external factors that Kunkel, Nash, and Wolf have advanced. I now
offer a critical review of these explanations, assessing them both in terms of theory and in terms of the present ethnography of Cantel.

A. A Functionalist Explanation: An Assessment.
The reader will recall that Cancian regards the expenditure of time and money by Indians in the so-called religious cargo system as a means of reinforcing their commitment to a distinctive Zinacanteco system of values. Loans needed to finance a cargo system reinforces ties between actual and ritual kinsmen. The fiestas bring together people from diverse parts of the municipio to renew friendships and bonds of compadrazgo and kinship. Indians are rewarded for their efforts by increase in their prestige by a notch or two; their expenses lessen the likelihood that they will join the ladino community or accept its life-ways. Nevertheless, Cancian continues, there must be enough offices to accommodate all men who are able (although perhaps unwilling) to serve. Because the population of eligible male Zinacantecos has increased dramatically, however, waiting lists for the more prestigious offices have lengthened and the offices have been incapable of accommodating all who are prepared to serve. Nor, for various reasons, has it been possible to increase the number of cargos to keep pace with the population increase (see Ch. 1,
note 10, this study). Therefore, the cargos have been unable to perform their maintenance function in recent years. This leads Cancian to predict that the religious cargo system will disappear, although he does not state exactly how. He simply says that an uncontrolled economic surplus, combined with unfulfilled desires for prestige within the cargo system, will lead a part of the Zinacanteco population to seek outlets elsewhere (1965: 187-194).

This set of explanations is unsatisfactory on theoretical grounds for several reasons. First, such explanations as these require an assumption that Indian communities are isolated from the rest of the country and the rest of the world. In Chapter Two, I demonstrated this to be historically false. One knows, from reading Cancian's explanation, that there is a set of Indian values to be maintained; one way is to exact service, and therefore commitment, from Indians in a set of offices and to reward them. But why do those values exist in the first place? Why is a cargo system needed to reinforce such values, whatever they may be? A more satisfactory alternative--satisfactory because it accords with the facts of history--is to view the cargo system in terms of social defense. Even Cancian cannot resist making some assertions of this
sort when he writes that

this enforced expenditure of wealth prohibits many excursions into the Ladino world of consumption that Zinacantecos might otherwise make (1965: 136).

or again:

In Zinacantan, to, the cargo system provides substantial insulation against the pressures for change that exist in the environment (1965: 136).

Second, Cancian states that the "cargo system seems to be a very satisfactory way of converting economic surplus into social position," so long as the "traditional norms are held by all Zinacantecos and the alternatives to being an Indian are unattractive." He goes on to say that "if and when the norms weaken and the non-Indian environment becomes more attractive, the expenses of cargos may only add to individual motivation to reject the traditional system" (1965: 136).

These statements not only strengthen the necessity to have a look at the extra-community environment, an undertaking he never assumes, but also raise the question as to why Indian norms persist under some conditions and weaken under others. This question, he never examines. Rather, the reader receives the impression that the religious cargo system is a self-perpetuating value-maintaining device that will go on forever so long as the eligible male population remains in equilibrium with the number of cargos. Put
another way, one cannot predict what happened in Cantel (or in Zinacantan either, for that matter) from what Cancian says about Zinacantan. Why did the union attract so many supporters away from the traditionalist faction in Cantel? To assume that some vaguely-defined value system is a constant or a final cause is, it seems to me, an error that prevents raising such questions as these. The basis of any value system must be examined.

Third, to state that the increase in population of eligible office-holders relative to the number of offices will ultimately eliminate the cargo system is a logical and empirical error. There is nothing that should prevent commitment to a traditional system even if every eligible male is unable to serve. There are other possible ways for demonstrating one's commitment to the system: one can become a member of a voluntary religious society, such as the Castilleros and Voluntarios in Zinacantan (Cancian 1965: 190). One can become a member of a dancing team, such as that in Santiago Chimaltenango or in any of most other villages in highland Middle America (Kurath 1967: 158-190; Wagley 1957: 171-181). The number of cargos could increase, as Vogt suggested, or full-scale hierarchies could develop in two of the hamlets in Zinacantan (Vogt 1969: 271). Even if all males cannot participate in the
cargo system or in the sodalities affiliated with it, there is no reason that the cargo system cannot remain the focus of community integration. Even today, Chichicastenango has maintained its traditional religious beliefs and practices despite the fact that only a small proportion of the male population can participate in the cofradías. Repeated attempts by a priest and Acción Católica to remove the cofradías from the church have met with failure (Bunzel 1952; Gruhn 1969: personal communication).

These considerations point out that Cancian's explanation can only partially account for the persistence of the civil-religious hierarchy in Cantel prior to 1944 and its elimination in the years after that.

No doubt service in the civil-religious hierarchy in Cantel reinforced the commitment of Canteleños to their beliefs and values of generosity, of sharing poverty, of maintaining good relations with the local spirits of the municipio. One can also say that the order by town officials, which required all men, regardless of past service in the hierarchy, to serve as mayores dampened or destroyed the sense of prestige associated with service in the cofradías and thus undermined the traditional system of values in Cantel. Yet the explanation as stated by Cancian is such that one can ignore the
the labour union and the fact that it attracted a large following. This is the result of taking any value system as given and of ignoring the larger social context in which the hierarchy, along with the institutions that oppose it, occur. Thus, Cancian's explanation allows one to ascertain the functional mechanisms whereby the ruling of the municipalidad damaged the ability of the cofradías to recruit its members. It does not explain, however, why the ruling was made in the first place or why the value orientations of Cantelenos changed so much that a faction could be voted in by majority vote and could continue unopposed by the larger majority who did not vote, even after that faction had made its ruling.

Further, Cancian's explanation predicts a situation that was diametrically opposite to that of Cantel's. None of my informants indicated that there was an increase in the number of participants prior to the decline of the cofradías. Rather, the decline in participants was steady and unrelenting. One by one the cofradías folded or joined the church as orthodox sociedades. At the least, this suggests that the explanation is not necessarily applicable to all, or even most, villages. Indeed, it is questionable whether the explanation is applicable to Zinacantan.

To summarize, Cancian's set of explanations may
account for the mechanisms of persistence or transformation of civil-religious hierarchies. It does not, however, state the conditions under which such hierarchies persist or decline.

B. Explanations Involving External Factors: An Assessment. Most theorists who have tried to explain the existence of civil-religious hierarchies in Meso-American corporate communities emphasize the role of the hierarchy in regulating the external relations of such communities. The hierarchy is one mechanism whereby the overlords of the past and present have been kept at arm's length from the community, channeling their demands through trusted elders of the community. At the same time, the hierarchy has served to order the behaviour of community members themselves, forcing everyone to adapt to the impoverished circumstances to which the forces of history—the conquest, the epidemics, the relocations, the "liberal" reforms—have led them. Theorists vary in their emphasis. Kunkel, for example, concerns himself with correlating the degree of economic autonomy of the community with the existence or non-existence of politico-religious hierarchies. Wolf emphasizes the structure of power relations between community and nation. Nash combines in an unsystematic fashion both the economic and the political factors.

In this study, I have attempted to combine in something
of a systematic way the roles of economic and political factors in accounting for the existence and elimination of civil-religious hierarchies. I will now review, again in both theoretical terms and in terms of the present ethnography of Cantel, the relative merits of these explanations.

Nash has been regarded as the primary authority of indigenous political relations in Guatemala (see the Seminario Integracion Social Guatemalteca 1956 and Adams 1957); thus, his explanations must be given serious consideration. As I stated in Chapter 1, Nash regards the politico-religious hierarchy as a mechanism that provides a degree of "insulation" for the community from the pressures of the national government and of the economic interests that it represents. The hierarchy facilitates the Indians' "struggle to keep hold on their ethnic identity" while their culture hangs on to a "precarious economic niche" (1964: 303). Basic to this "economic niche" is a technology capable of a low level of productivity. This is reinforced by the pressures of bilateral inheritance, which fracture estates into ever smaller individual holdings with each generation. The obligations of holding office, which cost the holder time that could be spent in productive activities, and of sponsoring fiestas, serve to further level distinctions of wealth. Nash accepts leveling in its literal sense--
it militates "against the rise of social classes based on wealth and economic power distinctions" (1967b: 98-99). At any one time, some families will be wealthier than others, but these "leveling mechanisms" ensure against their maintaining these positions over two or more generations. Finally, Nash suggests that rival movements—labour unions, peasant unions, political parties—foster competition with traditional organizations for the loyalties of community members and thus bring about the downfall of the hierarchy. He does not state, however, the conditions under which some movements might succeed and others might fail to bring this about.

Nash's explanation contains a number of difficulties. First, he does not state the conditions which give rise to civil-religious hierarchies or the leveling mechanisms of which they are a part. Second, his idea that there is an intergenerational "circulation of the elite" is yet to be supported by solid data. In Cantel, I knew of families that lost their wealth; I also knew of families that maintained their wealth over at least three generations. Unfortunately, for reasons indicated in Appendix A, I was unable to obtain a count on the relative number of families of each circumstance. Furthermore, the fact that almost every community in Meso-America has undergone an increase in population calls this possibility to question. Since
there is less land to go around with each succeeding generation, price increases of land are inevitable. Poor families, and even those with moderate means, are able to obtain land, or more land, only with difficulty. Thus upward mobility is unlikely for most families. On the other hand, some wealthy families are capable of buying up the holdings of those who for some reason have lost their wealth. Suslow has demonstrated for Santa Lucia Utatlan that wealthy families have increased their wealth in this way (1949). Thus, that wealth leveling occurs in this cyclical fashion is unlikely.

Third, Nash does not demonstrate the conditions under which competitive factions succeed in eliminating the traditional hierarchy. In his study on Cantel, Nash does not examine the reasons for the union party's political success. The role of Acción Católica and of the Protestants in competing with the hierarchy likewise gets little mention. Consequently, one is unable to find a clue as to why the PRG or Acción Católica made considerable progress in gaining supporters in Cantel, but why Acción Católica has failed to gain support in places such as Chichicastenango. I have suggested that Acción Católica gained converts partly because it provided an outlet for being a good Catholic without having to incur debt and partly because it provided social services: the medical clinic and the school.
This occurred in a context where structural defences had already collapsed and where population pressures had vitiated the utility of protecting land against outside encroachment.

Nash is correct, therefore, in saying that the authority of the *principales* were considerably undermined when the union was organized in Cantel and when a party supporting its interests competed for and won a number of offices in the *municipalidad*. His explanation, however, does not state why the union made its initial successes in the first place, why the unionist party won its offices, and why the traditionalists were unable to muster enough support to oust the unionists in the years before the 1954 counterrevolution. As I will suggest shortly, Nash has left out of consideration the fact that the union was able to provide its supporters an increase in material benefits as the result of its activities within the factory.

In contrast to Nash, Kunkel offers an explanation that emphasizes economic factors to the exclusion of political ones. His basic thesis, as I indicated in the first chapter of this study, is that indigenous social and political structures tend to persist in communities whose members are virtually self-sufficient so far as the provision of food, clothing, and other basic necessities are concerned and where wage labour, im-
portation of food, and exportation of a cash crop are unimportant to their local economies. The political and social structures of localities tend to become similar to those of the nation where the community is not self-sufficient and where either external wage labour or exportation of a cash crop is important. Among the politico-religious characteristics that are present in "self-sufficient" communities are the integration of political and religious structures, the absence of a priest, the financial support of each religious festival by one or a few persons, the compulsory holding of religious office, and the hierarchical arrangement of religious offices. The reverse of these characteristics will be found in communities integrated into the national economy.

Kunkel offers few linkages connecting the economy to the polity. He does state that the existence of the possibility of wage labor, or of producing goods for the market, brings about a consciousness of the value of time and work, and more and more people begin to look upon materially non-rewarding obligations as something to get rid of, since it hinders the possibility of earning money (Kunkel 1959: 58).

Thus he hypothesizes that compulsory service will be gotten rid of and that the costs of fiestas will be spread among many people as the local economy becomes integrated into the national. He makes no corresponding
linkages for the other hypotheses. He states that the political and religious wings will separate as the local economy becomes an integrated part of the national, but his reasoning is weak:

"together the political and religious structures of the hierarchy make a formidable structure which imposes very great demands upon the time, labor, and resources of individuals, while it clashes with the national pattern. The separation permits, furthermore, the separate development or decline of the two hierarchies (1959: 58)."

He does not show why the two organizations fused together should make such major demands upon individuals that a religious hierarchy would not do (as in Zinacantán, where the religious hierarchy has long since separated from the political). He also does not show how the separate development or decline of the two hierarchies should be consistent with the national pattern, for presumably the non-existence of either hierarchy accords with the national interest if the aim of national policies is social and political integration of the community with the nation. Hence their decline, separate or otherwise, accords with such integration.

He does not state why resident priests should not be found in economically independent communities, nor does he state why a hierarchy of religious offices should disappear in economically integrated communities.

There are other difficulties in Kunkel's explanation. His failure to examine carefully the historical
relationship between communities and larger colony or nation leads him to include in his sample communities that are the products of special historical circumstances. Tusik was formed by survivors of the War of the Castes in 1847; Potam was not finally conquered until 1890 and was thus more or less autonomous until then. Neither, therefore, has a historical basis of comparison in common with the other communities of highland Mexico, which have a history stretching back almost to the Conquest and which have had a long period of time to adjust to the pressures exerted by the overlords of New Spain and Mexico. Indeed, from the standpoint of comparability, it would have been better to have examined the highland communities (e.g. Mitla, Tepeztlan, Cancuc, Chenalho) separately from those of the lowlands (Soteapan, Sayula, Chacaltianguis), since the histories of the former are radically different from those of the latter.3

Finally, by making a strict emphasis on economic factors, Kunkel takes a position that Engels labeled "mechanical materialism." In a letter to Joseph Bloch, Engels writes that

According to the materialist conception of history, the ultimately determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I has ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the only determining one he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase.
The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure--political forms of the class struggle and its results... also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form (1959: 398-399. Emphases in original).

In a peasant society (as in any society), the relations of production are important in determining its structure, but even Marx and Engels concede that they are not the only ones. As I stated in Chapter Two, the aims of the Crown in establishing Indian communities were partly economic--to control Indian labour--and partly administrative--to control the colonist through control of Indian labour. Obviously, one can scarcely separate the political and economic aspects of these means and ends without distorting the facts of history and of human society.

Kunkel's hypotheses find some support in the data on Cantel. Doubtless Kunkel would regard Cantel as a participant in the national economy. Wage labour is important: between one-fifth and one-fourth of Cantel's working population works in a factory (either in Cantel or in Quezaltenango); the agriculturalists sell wheat to the mills in Quezaltenango. Virtually all goods that Canteleños do not make themselves are bought and paid for with money. Canteleños do not have enough land to sustain all of them; some must seek outside sources of income. In brief, Cantel participates in a national economy.
The present politico-religious structure in Cantel sustains Kinkel's predictions. The political and religious organizations are separate. There is no hierarchy. No man is required to serve in office (except that of mayor), and no office requires expenditures of the incumbent's resources. Fiestas are financed by voluntary contribution. No one man pays for their entire costs.

Nevertheless, the situation in Cantel's past reveals empirical difficulties in Kunkel's hypotheses. Whether or not Cantelenos had at one time enough land to sustain them is moot; what evidence there is, is contradictory. Clearly, however, there were many working in the factory—probably as much as one-fourth of the economically active. Moreover, they were dependent upon manufactured goods as early as 1936; women bought Cantel cloth for their huipiles and Cantel thread with which to embroider them (McBryde 1947). Cash was important then, even if to obtain only these commodities. The only aspects of Cantel that accord with Kunkel's indicator of an autonomous economy was that Cantel did not export wheat or other goods to a national market. There is no evidence to indicate whether Cantelenos imported foodstuffs.

Although indicators generally point to Cantel's participation in the national economy, we have seen that the politico-religious hierarchy was very much alive. The political and religious offices were linked. To
serve was an obligation, this obligation was backed by jail or conscription into the armed forces, and service involved expenses for a fiesta. The expenses were shared by members of a cofradía, and most of these expenses were paid for by their leaders. Thus, the data on Cantel prior to 1945 do not meet Kunkel's predictions.

Kunkel's failure to regard political power relations as one possible "independent variable" (as he puts it) also reduces the power of his explanation to account for the transformation in Cantel. The labour union was the product of political activities; it would never have started without the backing of the government and the CTG. Only through the process of politics and the vote did the union party remove from power the principales and their supporters. The only economic aspects of that transformation were the inducements of increased wages and fringe benefits that the union was able to win for its workers. Furthermore, the decline of the cofradías can be explained only partially in terms of the economic: joining Acción Católica was one way of escaping the financial obligations of the cofradías. Yet the power struggles between Acción Católica and the cofradías also led to the latter's decline.

Wolf bases his explanation of the existence and elimination of civil-religious hierarchies on the structure of power relations. The creation of closed
corporate communities was the product of the Spaniards' desire to keep the colonists in check by controlling their labour supply of Indians. Yet this arrangement suited the purposes of the hacendado inasmuch as those communities that he was unable to absorb during the period in which he expanded his operation served as labour reservoirs. In either case, the civil-religious hierarchy served as a defense mechanism—prevention of the use of surplus goods and funds in ways inimical to the community or to Indian interests—and as a mechanism to ensure that the community's members conducted their behaviour according to the norms of shared poverty. Finally, he explains the breakdown of corporate community structures in terms of the ability of nation-oriented politicians or other marginal men to mobilize support for their interests or movements within the community while maintaining the support of the power-holders at the national level. In advancing this explanation, he makes only brief mention of the reform land laws of Mexico and of the role of material rewards in mobilizing local support for national movements or interests (1965: 90-95; 1967a: 230-238; 1967c: 505-513).

In his explanation, Wolf neglects important considerations. First, he underplays the powerful integrative force that communal ownership of land has upon the corporate structure of a community. Any member failing
to fulfill his obligations of office or behave as a good Indian—impoverished, unassuming, generous, unostentatious—could have been expelled from the community or have his allotment of land taken away from him. Such a sanction is weaker in communities where land is owned privately, and those who have taken care to register their land titles cannot be punished for their deviant behaviour by such means. At best, such deviants can be harassed by their neighbours. Second, Wolf does not explain why some marginal men who attempt to displace traditional elders succeed in doing so while others fail. Success has something to do, Wolf writes, with their ability to change their behaviour to fit the situation of the locality or of the national group. Yet it is doubtful whether good acting alone is sufficient to elicit lasting support from either the rank and file of community members or the bureaucrats of the national office. Wolf is correct in saying that the "new power holders have moved upward mainly through political channels" and that their success in bringing changes within local communities are based on their ability to manipulate political alliances. He does not show why some of these power-holders (or aspirants to positions of power) succeed in winning local support while others fail.

I maintain that the explanation advanced in Chapter
Two fills these gaps. I have already stated reasons to suppose that corporate communities that have maintained their communal land holdings are better able to withstand external and internal pressures tending toward their dissolution than those whose land holdings are private (see Chapter Two). That is the reason for my formulating two categories of corporate communities, not just one.

Furthermore, it seems to me that if inhabitants of an Indian community abandon their traditional leaders to support a nationally-based movement, there must be something about the movement that is visible and desirable to its new supporters. I have discussed the incentives for joining the union, the union party, Acción Católica, and the various Protestant sects in Chapters Two and Four. Thus, the ability of the union to procure increased wages and fringe benefits was an important incentive to join. The absence of financial obligations associated with Acción Católica and the Protestant sects attracted many Cantelenses, especially those wage-earners who were loath to see their newly-won pay increments swallowed up by the ritual obligations of the cofradías. These considerations suggest that the programmes of the movements themselves were no less important in attracting supporters than whatever charismatic ability the leaders might have had.
II. An Alternative Explanation: An Assessment.

In Chapter Two, I suggested that semi-corporate communities were found where (1) national laws forced the private ownership of land; (2) investment outlets were lacking; and (3) nation-oriented groups capable of rewarding materially their followers were weak or non-existent. I suggested that open communities were found where one or both of the latter two conditions were present. In Chapters Four and Five, it became apparent that most of the basic features of semi-corporate and open communities were present in Cantel under conditions predicted in the second chapter. Some peripheral features, however, did not occur as predicted. In this section I will review the explanation point by point, examine the data in terms of the explanation, then suggest a reformulation of the explanation in light of the data on Cantel.

To begin with, there was a civil-religious hierarchy in Cantel. Before 1944, the hierarchy survived pressures tending toward its dissolution: a depression, an attempt by Ubico to control local affairs from the national capital, incursion by the Protestants. These pressures modified the hierarchy, but did not destroy it. Evidence given by my older informants indicate that there were neither strong nation-oriented groups nor steady investment outlets in Cantel at the time.
After 1944, the hierarchy tottered under the pressure of a labour union, then collapsed. The union demonstrated its capacity to win important concessions from the factory on behalf of its supporters. Support from the national government was obviously essential to its strength. The local support that the union gained was enough to remove the conservative faction from the municipalidad in 1948. Acción Católica, which had effectively displaced the cofradías from control over the Catholics by 1960, derived much of its membership from union men. Moreover, the fact that one could be regarded a good Catholic without becoming impoverished in establishing the fact appeal strongly to Cantelenses. Thus, the information on Cantel seems to sustain the assertion that civil-religious hierarchies are inversely associated with strong nation-oriented groups.

Other assertions, those concerning wealth control, seem to be confirmed by informants. For a man to build a larger house than his neighbours, wear better clothing, or eat better food was universally condemned. Wealth distinctions were reflected in these differences, but attempts were always made to conceal such facts. No one thirty years ago would have put up a red tile facade or an artificial arch in the entrance to his house and yard; indeed neither of these improvements were made until 1970. Wealth distinctions seem less
concealed now than they were in 1944, but attempts are still made to conceal such distinctions.

Other aspects of the explanation are not so unambiguously sustained by the data. The assertion that village endogamy is found under the same conditions as those under which civil-religious hierarchies are found is ambiguously supported by the data on Cantel. At least, there have been far more Canteleños marrying Canteleñas than those marrying outsiders in the years between 1935 and 1945. Yet the same pattern is evident in the years following 1945. Further, only three of my informants asserted that marriage partners from Cantel were preferred to those from outside. This suggests that an alternative explanation is in order; I have suggested propinquity. Other mechanisms of exclusion were not evident from the assertions of older informants. There was a schedule of preferences as to whom land should be sold: close relatives first, then neighbours, then community members, then outsiders. All of my informants deny, however, that there was a rigid rule that forbade the sale of land to outsiders. The only indication that outsiders were barred from community activities was the rule that all members of the cofradías and municipalidad had to be Canteleños by birth. For the latter, this rule seems to have persisted into the present.

These considerations suggest that the present
explanation that pertains to the external relations of
the community must be modified. One possibility is that
Cantel, owing to the presence of a factory, is a
situation exception to the general run of corporate
communities. The presence of "foreign" Indians who work
at the factory does represent an opportunity for
"native" Canteleños to add to their list of prospective
mates. "Foreign" Indians also expand the list of
prospective buyers of Canteleño land. The possibility
thus exists that these "foreigners" were accommodated
into the life of the community on the principle that
those who behaved as Canteleños were accepted as such.
If these foreigners behaved themselves, why reject them?

Another possibility is that propinquity is the
determining factor of exogamic marriages. Most
"foreign" Indians who married Canteleños came from
municipios adjacent to Cantel (see above, p. 309). Most
Cantelenses who married among themselves came from the
same village or the same canton. If this is accepted, then
one may say that propinquity fits in with the need for
communities to exclude outsiders, but that "endogamy"
may well persist long after the civil-religious hierarchy--
the core of the corporate community--has collapsed. Even
so, this leaves unexplained the question of sale of land
to outsiders--its apparent grudging acceptance in Cantel
and its strict prohibition in other communities.
Another possibility is that corporate communities must be flexible enough to accommodate outsiders if they are to survive. This means that incoming members, either by marriage or by land ownership, are obliged to accept the dress, modes of behaviour, and restrictions to which members themselves are subject. If this explanation is accepted, however, some difficulties remain. Civil and religious offices, as we have seen, were held only by native-born Canteleños. This means that non-natives could escape the obligations of natives. Moreover, there are communities in Guatemala in which outsiders were not allowed to sleep overnight, let alone reside for a lifetime. This raises the question as to the range of variation between these extremes that one is willing to allow before excluding one community or another from the category of corporate communities, or the number of categories of corporate communities that one is prepared to formulate.

Obviously, none of these matters can be resolved on the basis of one case study alone. If Cantel is a situational exception to what we expect of the treatment accorded outsiders by members of corporate communities, then this can be borne out only by comparison with communities in which factories are absent. The same applies to the second and third explanation. I now turn to the matter of inter-community comparison.
III. Inter-Community Comparison: A Prospectus.

Whichever of the foregoing explanations make the most accurate predictions on circumstances under which civil-religious hierarchies are maintained or eliminated, none of them can be confirmed by one case study alone. I have attempted to assess the relative merits of each explanation in terms of the present ethnographic information on Cantel. Nevertheless, for any explanation to apply to more than one community, a statistical comparison must be made of an extensive sample of communities. Preferably this sample should be as random and representative as possible; every region within the highlands of Middle America (e.g. the Tarascan area of Jalisco and Michoacan, the Nahuatl region of Morelos and vicinity, Oaxaca, Chiapas, Huehuetenango, the Quezaltenango Valley, Lake Atitlan, etc.) should be represented by at least one community. Unfortunately, a perfectly random sample is impossible and a perfectly representative sample is unlikely.

There are other considerations involved in comparison. Each community represented should have a roughly similar history; otherwise a base from which variations may be detected will be lacking. Thus, Kunkel's decision to lump highland communities with one broadly similar set of environmental conditions and histories with lowland communities with quite another was scarcely defensible.
Only at a higher level of generalization is such lumping possible, and only after the variations within each category of communities have been established. There may be structural similarities between an open lowland community and an open highland community. Yet they may be the product of divergent historical processes; it is the task of the comparative ethnologist to isolate these divergent processes before proceeding to find out what similarities these processes have.

Another consideration concerns the relative advantages of precision of method and technique versus their obtrusiveness. Cancian, together with other workers in the village of Zinacantan, have succeeded in establishing a level of precision unprecedented by other studies of Meso-American communities. He is correct in asserting that the usual way of attaining the production of a report showing how the native system makes coherent sense as a way at looking at the world and a way of living leaves to much to the imagination of the anthropologist. The more powerful his intellect and imagination, the more likely the anthropologist is to use this power to create coherence, whatever the actual situation. Careful attention to extensive samples may help avoid these dangers (1965: 3).

Nevertheless, extensive samples in any one locality have two drawbacks. First, census taking may reach a point where it becomes overly obtrusive. Accurate information requires informants who are willing to co-operate. I suggest that census taking could well offend people to
the point where they begin to give false or inaccurate responses to questions. That this situation could have emerged in Cantel had I pressed on with a census became apparent at the time of my work (see Appendix A). Second, there has been a tendency in recent years to focus, in the name of precision, on a limited region, so that much is known about too little. Alfonso Villa Rojas of the Instituto Interamericano Indigenista expressed to me his dissatisfaction that twenty anthropologists were studying villages in the vicinity of San Cristobal de las Casas (Zinacantan among them) whereas there were other villages about which information was either sketchy or non-existent altogether. Helms notes this tendency, justifying her study of the frontier Miskito on the basis that few studies of such peoples in Latin America exist (1971: 1). Therefore, precision has a point of diminishing returns.

I suggest that a sample similar to Kunkel's work is in order. A sample should be taken of villages that uniformly represent each culture area. Where case studies of a given area are lacking (such as the region around the isolated village of Tumbalá in eastern Chiapas), efforts should be made to study a village in that area. While this may cause inconvenience and delay, the representativeness of the resultant sample will provide a sounder basis for the testing of theories than is now
the case

IV. Epilogue

Cantel is a village in transition. In the nineteenth century, most Cantelenses depended upon what they could grow. The political, religious, and economic institutions reflected this, for their ability to continue this mode of life depended upon their ability to defend their land against encroaching outsiders and to prevent an overly wealthy class from monopolizing the land resources of the municipio to the exclusion of the many. The civil-religious hierarchy served both functions, as we have seen from what evidence is available.

Yet even in the nineteenth century, there were economic and political forces that would eventually change the mode of livelihood of the Cantelense and the politico-religious institutions within which he lived. The land reforms of 1877 outlawed collective ownership of land, weakening the community's ability to defend the land against outsiders and local monopolists. The expropriation of a tract of land for a factory reflected this weakening. As the population increased and parcels of land became fragmented into ever smaller holdings with each passing generation, the working population relied less and less on what it could grow itself and more and more upon wages from the factory. The obsolescence of the hierarchy
became increasingly apparent, as the younger workers came to resent the obligations of spending their newly-won wages in ritual fiestas. The union, which had brought the workers increased earnings in the factory, and the new religious organizations, which did not require indebtedness to express one's religious beliefs, soon displaced the hierarchy. Cantelenses now relied more upon the external world for their material and spiritual welfare than upon the resources of their own village.

Yet the dependence of Cantelenses upon an industrialized economy has not resulted in the high, dependable wages that Nash eulogized in his phrase, the "sure penny", (1967). Whatever the job situation during his visit in 1953 and 1954, unemployment was high by 1970. New workers might be laid off after two months of work. A sign was posted on the factory gates to indicate that jobs were unavailable. The world energy "crisis" had driven food prices up in 1973 and 1974. Corn, for example, was 8¢ a pound in 1974 as compared to 4¢ a pound in 1970. Yet the minimum wage for factory workers in 1974 was the same as it had been in 1970: $1.65 per day. Clearly the benefits of an industrialized economy have not been extended to the people of Cantel.
1. Thus our landlady is the granddaughter of a man who served twice as *alcalde*; the post was unsalaried at the time and required considerable expense. Neither she nor her siblings were suffering from grinding poverty. She owned a large tract of land in the rich coffee-growing regions of the Pacific piedmont—80 *cuerdas* by her own account, 800 according to her sister-in-law. Another, whose grandfather owned large areas of land, still owned a large tract, operated a corn mill, and at one time owned a partnership in a bus line.

2. June Nash lists a number of possible factors contributing to the rise of Protestantism in Cantel. Basic among them were (1) the fact that persons wishing to escape the cycle of drinking and poverty were able to do so only by joining a Protestant sect and enlisting the support of their fellow members; (2) the unwillingness of the poor or enterprising to assume the posts of the *cofradías*; (3) the desire of townspeople wishing to advance themselves in education or wealth to join with a powerful external ally, the Protestant sect; and (4) the religious temperament of some people, which accords with the Protestant mode of religious worship (Nash 1960). The third explanation has some possibilities, but the reason that the "Protestant ally" was powerful must be explained. The first and second explanations beg the question—why was there a desire to abandon the *cofradías* and its associated patterns of drinking where none existed before? The fourth is a peripheral issue; presumably there have always been marginal people whose religious temperaments did not accord with their folk Catholic contemporaries. The question now to be raised is: why the change?

3. I assert this from the premise that any two communities (or other territorial units) must have some similar characteristics before their differences, together with the conditions that foster them, can be isolated. From the standpoint of precision, Kunkel would have had a stronger base for his hypothesis if he had compared communities whose historical and ecological backgrounds were similar. In this connection, it is worth noting that none of the tropical lowland communities—Tusik, Chan Kom, Sayula, Dzitas, and Chacaltianguis—have a hierarchy of political or religious offices, or force
a single official to bear all the costs of fiestas attached to his office. Among these communities, only Tusik had a combined political and religious organization, and it is non-hierarchical. In Potam, the only northern Mexican town represented in Kunkel's study, all these characteristics are present except the responsibility of individuals for sponsoring fiestas (Kunkel 1959: 144-151 et passim). Wealth equalization devices are present in all of these communities except Potam; this indicates that means other than forced expenditures are employed (Kunkel 1959: 159).

This suggests that Kunkel would have had stronger bases for comparisons if he had first placed communities into three categories—the highland, the tropical lowland, and the northern desert—and added more examples to the third category. In this way, he might have deduced different explanations for similar community structures arising from different historical and environmental contexts and have accounted—finally—for the differences of community structures in terms of these different contexts. Wolf's discussion of the closed corporate and open communities was a start in that direction.

4. According to a Presbyterian missionary and rural sociologist living in Quetzaltenango, the inhabitants of Nahuala (located in the department of Solola) forbade non-Nahualeños to sleep overnight. This restriction was relaxed soon after the Inter-American Highway was built through the municipio.
Appendix A

The Field Situation

I. Circumstances of the Study.

The work on which this study is based was conducted in Cantel between July, 1969 and July, 1970. My wife and I first arrived in Quezaltenango in early July; through the offices of Fr. Louis Maria Attems, Priest of the Parish of Cantel, we were introduced to Cantel and were able to rent two rooms of a parishoner's house. We lived there, a block from the village centre for the remainder of the year. At first, throngs of curious children who tended to peer through the doorway and window hampered our work somewhat; as the novelty of our being the town's latest gringos wore off, however, it became easier to work—and live—in the village.

From the beginning, I thought it best to live in circumstances as similar to those of the villagers as possible. By local standards, we were well off: we had a cement floor, a raised bed, a sink with running water, a cabinet for dishes, and a wood-burning stove made of cement. Nevertheless, we used a wood stove instead of a kerosene one. This put us in touch with a woodcutter who was a valuable source of information. We lived with two Indian families whose daily life-ways we were able to observe first-hand. Finally, by living at a level not much higher than that of other
villagers, we seem to have put many of our informants at ease. We were, I think, more approachable than we might have been had we lived in more luxurious circum­stances.

II. Techniques.

The primary techniques with which I gathered inform­ation on Cantel were observation, formal and informal interviews, and examination of municipal and church records. We were invited to feasts of various sorts: birthdays, a municipal feast, Easter feasts, weddings. Even those events afforded us little more opportunity than to observe what was going on. We never took part in community ceremonies, and there were indeed none in which we could have taken part. (I was almost converted into a Pentecostal, however—for approximately ten seconds!)

The records in the church were disorganized, and of little more value than a source of baptismal and marriage information. From the municipal offices I was able to obtain data on marriages and on businesses paying the sanitation tax. Information on businesses other than those paying that tax and on any businesses before 1947 was unavailable.

Interviewing was my principal source of information. Information which I obtained in this way was cross-checked with that of other informants. On the rare instances where rituals were being performed (i.e. among the
Sociedades San Buenaventura and Virgen la Asuncion) information concerning their details were checked by observation. I conducted all my interviews in Spanish, and I learned enough of Quiche to keep my translators honest while they translated the recorded texts of Quiche ritual into Spanish. While there were times that I regretted my decision to work in Spanish, as during the time that this limited my participation in social and ritual situations, the several months that would have been necessary for me to learn Quiche would have left un gathers a good deal of information on Cantel. Moreover, all of my principal informants had a good command of Spanish. Further, the literacy rate is the highest in the department among the Indian communities.

My questions were phrased as neutrally as possible. That is, I tried to avoid suggesting answers to my questions. When I talked to an informant for the first time, I acted as if I knew nothing of the subject being discussed, even though I might have some information on it already. I did this for two reasons: to avoid suggesting answers and to obtain a different version of the matter should there be one. In this manner, I was able to get two sides of the story concerning the disappearance of the funds of the Gremial de Trigueros. This way of framing questions consumed a
good deal of time, but I think that it paid off in greater accuracy of answers than those that might have been obtained by non-neutral questions and in obtaining two or more versions of the same story.

In reconstructing Cantel's past, there were special problems. The imperfections of older informants' memories plagued the task of reconstruction from beginning to end. Some said, for example, that there were two sets of mayores, one ranked above the other; others denied this. I have recapitulated the main contradictions among my informants in Chapter Four. Another problem had to do with the sensitivity of such matters as the unionization of the factory and the politico-religious battles between the unionist party and Acción Católica on the one hand and the principales on the other. I was careful to handle these matters delicately; even so, a few of my interviews were terminated shortly after I brought the matter up. By and large, I introduced these issues gradually and in as oblique a manner as possible. Thus, I asked about the formation of the factory, the type of goods produced in 1920, and other such matters before turning to the union. Knowing when and how to ask such questions was a matter of "feel" and several months passed before I was able to handle these matters judiciously. I found out when and how the cofradías lost their power, for example, well over a month after
I began my stay in Cantel.

I interviewed some twenty informants, six of whom I interviewed intensively and on a regular basis. The six included a druggist, a self-made man who learned to read and write in Spanish without the benefit of formal education. He was my oldest regular informant, capable of remembering events as far back as 1920; his was also the clearest memory among my older informants. Most of his information accorded with that of my older informants, and thus I have regarded him as reliable. A second regular informant was the current minister of the Presbyterian church of Cantel. He was well informed both of the current and past events of the community and, owing to his capacity as minister, was no ignoramus as regards national and international events. He was a frequent participant of seminars and conferences sponsored by his church. He was also capable of independent thought: once he expressed the opinion that the Christian practice of revering the cross, a symbol of Christ's suffering, was sadistic. A third informant was a Protestant tailor, a former alcalde of Cantel, and a principal organizer of the 1964 census. Like the druggist, he was a self-made man and prided himself as an innovator. He was the first to use fertilizer in his fields and was at the time one of the two local dealers in the product. The fourth informant was the
sacristan of the church, well-informed both of events of the village and of the world beyond. Indeed, his information constituted important guidelines for furthering my work in the first days of my stay in the village. The fifth informant was the current presidente of the Cofradía San Buenaventura. At first he was reluctant to talk to me; later, as I came to be better known in the village, he consented to be interviewed. He was my most important informant on the structure of the cofradías and its relationship to the municipalidad in the 1940's. His father, whose memory unfortunately contained several gaps, was able to recall some of the earlier events of the cofradías. The sixth man, a busdriver of 23, served more as a guide than as an informant, for he was too young to recall the principal changes in his village. He was invaluable, however, in guiding me to persons who could recall such events.

I interviewed other informants in periods varying from two sessions to several. Among them, my most valuable informant was a man who recalled events occurring in the 1910's and who claims to have worked in the factory during that year. He was one of the first officials of the union, although he remained in PAR after the union formed its own party. He was strongly loyal to the principales, and he was one of the first to protest when the priest "threw the saints out of the
church*. At times, unfortunately, he was unable to remember all the details of the organization of the civil-religious hierarchy. He was an important source of information on the events surrounding the early days of unionization. Unfortunately, his daughters, wary of my motives, pressured him into terminating our interviews. Two other informants also provided valuable information on the union. One was a local weaver; the other was a worker at a sugar processing plant in Mazatenango who came home on weekends. Both were dismissed as factory workers in 1954. My informants also included a former Presbyterian minister, capable of remembering events to 1925. Other informants included a brujo, who provided the texts of ceremonies ranging from those involving divination to those "rejecting* the evil spells of an enemy; the president of Acción Católica, who was involved in the battles with the principales; the alcalde of Cantel, also a member of Acción Católica; the current president of the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Fabrica Cantel, who provided much of the information on the recent struggles of the union with the factory. My informants also included an agronomist, a former member of Acción Católica who later fell out of favour with the organization. They included a woodcutter, who gave his views on the religious struggles of the 1950's. They included my landlady and her
sister-in-law, both of whom were valuable informants to my wife. Finally, I had the opportunity to visit Sr. Marco Antonio de Paz, a former priest (who left the clergy to marry) who was resident in Cantel between 1956 and 1960. He confirmed most of the statements made by my informants regarding the events during that period.

Initially, I had hoped to record life histories of my key informants, especially my older ones, and to conduct censuses on the religious and political world-views of Cantelenses. I soon learned that neither endeavour was possible. There were several reasons for this. First, Cantelenses are reluctant to talk about their personal lives. When I made appointments with two of my key informants for work on their life histories, they began to cancel them, with the usual apologies. When I finally began a session with one of them, he gave a general overview; when I probed for specifics, he continued with the same overview. When I asked him why he had joined the Protestants, he said that he'd thought the Catholics were "bad people", that they were "taking orders from the pope", and so forth. Later, in another interview, when I asked him why he thought people in Cantel became Protestants, he ventured the opinion that it was because of the fights that had gone on between the catequistas and
traditionalists, volunteering that this series of events had led him to consider Protestantism. Cantelenos seem well prepared to talk about other people, seldom about themselves. Soon, it became apparent that to gather some information by asking impersonal questions was better than to offend my informants by asking personal questions—and lose all chances of securing any information at all.

Second, Cantelenos seem unlikely to offer accurate information on matters they consider sensitive. Our landlady insisted that she had little land of her own; her sister-in-law claimed that she indeed had some 800 cuerdas on the coast. Later, our landlady admitted to having 80. Another time, one of my principal informants and I visited a man engaged in growing apples for commercial sale. He insisted that he had but 3 cuerdas in apple trees; later, my informant said that he had 25 cuerdas in trees. On political matters, most informants were opaque. Even the bus driver, with whom we became close friends, refused to express the reasons for his support of a particular candidate in the 1970 election. It was clear that such matters could scarcely be measured by a census.

To summarize, I found it more judicious to use unobtrusive means of gaining data than to use more direct approaches. That Cantelenos would have been
resentful had I pressed on with the census or life histories was clear from their "cancellations" and their evasions once the sessions began. Another field worker, who was conducting a study on marketing patterns in the Quezaltenango region, thought Cantelenses to be more reticent than informants from other Indian communities. Cantelenses were not as reticent as the members of Domingo Pueblo (White 1935); yet they are wary of outsiders, and will give information as they see befits their interest. The events of the 1940's, the counter-revolution of 1954, and the religious struggles of the 1950's are still not erased from local memories. Nor are non-Cantelenos who enquire into these matters likely to be trusted on these matters without first having become bien conocido in Cantel.
Appendix B

Glossary

A

administrador, director of factory operations and personnel, hired to execute the directives of the owners.

achiote, a red condiment, used in making paches.

aguardiente, a cane liquor similar to rum. Literal translation is "burning water".

ajchimil, attendant to the two alcaldes and sindico.

alcalde, mayor of the municipio. Formerly there were two posts, one being that of vice-mayor. The term applies also to the senior post of each cofradia.

almacen, a large general store.

alguacil, another name for mayor del campo, according to some informants.

arroba, Spanish measure, equal to twenty-five pounds.

atole, a thick corn gruel.

auxiliar, administrative head of a canton. Formal name is alcalde auxiliar.

ayudante, one of four (or six) junior officials of a cofradia.

azadon, a large iron hoe used for turning the soil before planting.

B

barranca, a narrow, deep ravine.

batane, a fulling mill, used for opening raw cotton.

bomba, a rocket, used to announce an important event or an important phase of a ceremony.

brujo, a sorcerer; the term usually connotes a practitioner of black magic.
cabecera, the administrative centre of any municipio or departamento.

cañe, a shoe with open toe, side, and heel.

calzado, mound built up at the base of a clump of cornstalks to retard breakage by high wind.

campesino, peasant

canicula, a period during the rainy season in which no rain falls.

Canteleñon, Cantelense, a native of Cantel; the term is nowadays extended to permanent (especially Indian) residents, born in Cantel or not.

cantina, officially, a store in which hard liquor may be legally sold. Locally, a place where one may drink.

canton, administrative subdivision of a municipio.

caporal, factory foreman.

carda, carding machine.

cargo, any political or religious office. Literally, the term means both "office" and "burden".

caserño, a hamlet or settlement lacking the status of canton.

catequista, a member of Accion Catolica, an activist orthodox Catholic organization. Loosely, any supporter of the movement whether he is a member or not.

chajal, altar boy within the traditional civil-religious hierarchy of Cantel; the lowest religious cargo.

cofrade, a current member of a cofradia, a general term applied to all officials of a cofradia.

comandante, the drillmaster of the Sunday drills in which all males were obliged to participate until the 1944 revolution.
comadre, co-mother. See compadre.

comal, a large, flat ceramic griddle.

compadre, co-father, the relationship of biological father and godfather of a child.

comisario, within the present administrative structure, the chief of police.

concejal, councilman; this term has replaced regidor.

continuas de hilar, spinning frames.

copal, a resinous substance used for ritual in sorcery. The thick smoke is thought to convey the sorcerer's message to the supernatural world.

costumbre, the traditional way of doing things in a village; until recently, such ways were tantamount to law.

costumbrista, broadly, an adherent to doing things in a traditional manner; narrowly, a defender of the cofradías and the hierarchy during the struggle with the union party and with Acción Catolica.

cuerda, a unit of land equivalent to .103 acre.

culto, any religious ceremony, including those of Protestants.

curandero, native curer.

D.

departamento, administrative subunit of the Republic of Guatemala, roughly equivalent to the Canadian province or the American or Mexican state.

dueno, landowner; employer.

E

ejido, communally-owned land, now restricted to forest areas; at one time, such lands included agricultural land and pastures.

escudo, silver standard of the senior officials of the cofradías and of the municipalidad.
/evangelico/, any Protestant.

F

finca, Guatemalan term for a large landed estate.

fiesta, any feast or celebration.

fiesta titular, community-wide celebration of the municipio's patron saint.

finquero, owner of a finca.

fiscal, custodian of the church; a post in the civil-religious hierarchy.

G

gardabosque, forest ranger, an obligatory post; formerly a low-ranked terminal post in the civil wing of the hierarchy.

gremial, a guild; the term applies to a local branch of a national organization of wheat-growers.

H

haba, lima bean.

hacendado, owner of a hacienda.

hacienda, large landed estate, especially those with low capital and which employ labour by means other than wages.

huipil, untailored blouse worn by Indian women.

I

iglesia, church.

intendente, civilian administrator of every municipio, appointed by the jefe politico during the period of Ubico.
**J**

*jefe político*, until 1944, the governor of each departamento; nowadays the term *gobernador* is used.

*jornalero*, day labourer.

*junta*, general meeting of townsmen to confirm appointments to office made by the *principales* and senior político-religious officials.

**M**

*madrina*, godmother.

*mal de ojo*, belief that looking at a young infant will cause illness to the child.

*mandamiento*, a system of forced labour recruitment whereby every Indian town was obliged to provide a quota.

*manzana*, a unit of measurement of land, equivalent to 1.725 acres.

*marimba*, a large instrument, somewhat similar to the xylophone, with wooden keys. It is usually played by three to five men.

*mayor*, a menial post which combines the functions of town custodian with policeman. Formerly, a post held by boys and young unmarried men. Distinctions were made between *mayores del centro* (town *mayores*) and *mayores del campo* or *mayores del cantón*, *mayores* in charge of the *cantón*. Nowadays, all males are subject to unpaid service as *mayores*.

*mayordomo*, senior assistant to the *alcalde* of each cofradía.

*mayordomo de la iglesia*, one of two officials in charge of running the church and its affairs. Until 1949, they were the topmost posts in the hierarchy; in 1949, the post was abolished.

*mechera*, flying frame.

*metate*, grinding stone for corn.

*milpa*, cornfield, which also includes bean and squash plants.

*molino*, mill, usually referring to machine-run corn mills.
mozo, domestic or agricultural worker; the term usually refers to a permanent employee of a landowner.

mundo, in local cosmology, the world of spirits.

municipalidad, the town hall; the term also refers to all of the town's officials collectively.

municipio, administrative subunit of the departamento, equivalent to the county or municipality.

N

nagual (naval), in Mesoamerican ethnology, the kindred spirit which a specific person shares with a specific animal; when either dies, the other dies at the same time. According to local belief, such spirits waylaid travelers at night.

nixtama1, corn dough from which tamalitos, tortillas, and atole are made.

novena, a series of nine prayer sessions which proceed an important celebration.

O

obrero, worker.

ocote, a stick of pitch pine, used to start cooking fires.

oficial, one of two administrative posts charged with keeping birth and marriage records and with issuing cedulas de vecinidad, or certificates of citizenship.

P

paches, rice or potato tamales steamed in large leaves and containing a piece of meat and sauce in the centre. Used for festive occasions.

padrino, godfather.

panela, brown cakes of unrefined sugar.

patron, an employer.
patojo, child or youngster.

pedimiento, a formal request for a girl's hand in marriage, made by the family of the boy to that of the girl.

pila, a public fountain.

plaza, main square of the pueblo of Cantel.

policía, formerly, the head of the mayores del centro. Now used interchangeably with comisario.

pom, Quiche term for copal.

posada, a series of nine processions commemorating the search of Joseph and Mary for lodging prior to the birth of the Christ child.

presidente, the head of a religious sociedad; now the head of any organization.

principal, community elder, the retired official of any senior post of the civil-religious hierarchy; now defunct.

pueblo, the village of Cantel, the administrative centre of the municipio.

pulpería, the official term for any small general store.

Q

Quetzal, unit of Guatemalan currency, exactly equal to the U.S. dollar.

quintal, a Spanish measure of weight, equivalent to 100 pounds.

R

real, the unit of Guatemalan currency until 1925. Its deteriorating value of exchange on the world market led to a monetary reform which established the quetzal.

regidor, councilman, the former name.
rezador, professional prayer reciters, used on the Day of the Dead and for other purposes involving the souls of the dead.

S

sala, a room set aside for housing the saint of a cofradía or sociedad; the living room.

secretario, paid official charged with keeping records of council meetings.

Semana Santa, Easter Week.

sindicato, a labour union.

síndico, senior official in charge of keeping titles and other records of community property. Represents the community in disputes involving such property.

sociedad, formerly, a religious organization charged with keeping saints during Easter Week and the lenten season; now, religious societies with large, semi-permanent memberships. The term applies to the remaining cofradías which did not join the church.

T

tamalitos, steamed, unflavoured cakes of nixtamal.

telar, a loom.

temescal, small huts used as steam baths.

tertulero, generally, any eloquent speaker; more specifically the go-between in any transaction concerning pedimiento.

tesorero, the treasurer of the municipalidad.

tienda, local term to refer to any small general store.

tierra arenosa, sandy soil, regarded as inferior by Cantelenos for purpose of cultivation

tierra blanca, soil composed largely or entirely of lime.

tierra caliente, a rich soil high in clay content. Regarded superior for cultivation and adobe-making.
tierra fría, soil located in areas of higher elevation.
tortillas, flat unflavoured cakes of corn.
trabajador, worker, especially of the factory.

V

vara, a staff of office, made of wood painted black and tipped with silver.
vocal, committee member; formerly, a member of a religious sociedad.

W

wachalaxik, a bilateral kindred; it may have been a non-unilineal descent group at one time.

Y

yuca, manioc

Z

zanjorín, practitioner of white magic; theoretically the term applies only to those who abstain from black magic.
## Appendix C

### Table of Marriages Recorded, by Year

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Total No. of Endogamous Marriages</th>
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Wolf, Eric


Wolf, Eric and Sidney Mintz

Zavala, Silvio and Jose Miranda