

## CHAPTER IV

### OBSERVATIONS OF THE INDIANS OF THE SAN MARTIN PAJAPAN REGION

The San Martín Pajápan area between Lake Catemaco and the coast is occupied almost exclusively by Indians speaking Nahuatl and Popoluca. The country is mountainous, rainy, and extremely fertile. The lower parts are covered with thick jungle; the higher, whether from clearing or through a change in soil, are open grass and oak country; while the slopes of the San Martín Volcano itself are covered with jungle and thick woods. This growth of jungle, a quantity of steep ridges and deep stream beds, and the mountainous quality of the interior have made it difficult of access and a natural refuge, for which reason, probably, it has been so well preserved to its original inhabitants.

At the time of the Conquest, Montezuma had Aztec garrisons at several points in this region. The Spaniards regarded it as part of the province of Coatzacoalcos, and some of the Conquerors held land-grants in the area. Early descriptions of the area are meagre, and not until 1746 do we get much information about the towns and inhabitants. In that year, Villa-Señor y Sanchez published his book, "Theatro Americano . . ." and though he deals only with part of the towns, he gives us some idea of the fertility and general state of the district, for which reason we quote him here at some length.\*

#### "CONCERNING THE JURISDICTION OF ACAYUCA AND ITS TOWNS†

The town of Acayuca (Acayucan) is the capital of the province of Guzacualco (Coatzacoalcos) at a distance of 100 leagues from the city of Mexico. It is situated on the northern coast, but the district starts to the southeast. Its temperature is warm and humid, and the land so fertile that it gives four crops of corn a year; and, as this has no outlet to other jurisdictions, this same abundance of crop is the cause of the Indians being very little energetic in working, because to make their fields, they only have to cut the bush and make holes in the ground with pointed sticks, and they do the same with beans, without using plow or any other implement of cultivation. Here the Alcalde Mayor lives, together with the Governor and Officials of the Indian republic. Its population consists of 13 families of Spaniards, 296 Indians, and 70 of Mestizos and Mulatos. It has a district church with a priest and a vicar who speaks the Mexican language. This is a

\*Villa-Señor y Sanchez, 1746. Chap. XXVIII., Page 366.

†Modern names are given in parentheses.

small number of preachers for such a backward administration and large number of parishioners, and some of the towns are at such distance from the principal town that they in many days do not have a chance of even hearing the sacred mystery of the mass, for which just reason it would be of service to both majesties to establish some mission in this province.

"The towns pertaining to this doctrine and government are: San Pedro Xocotapa located in the hot zone on the southern slope of the San Martin Mountain at a distance from the principal town of eight leagues, and it contains 358 families of Indians; the town of Macayapa (Mecayapan) is also located on the slopes of said mountain, but towards one-quarter northwest, two leagues distant from the last mentioned town, and is inhabited by 107 families; to the east of said principal town at a distance of one league is the town of Santiago Zoconusco (Soconusco), having 295 families; the town of San Juan Olutoa lies one league to the southeast, and in it live 97 families; in the same direction is the town of San Miguel Thesis-tepec (Tesis-tepec) three leagues from the principal town, and having 50 families; and the one named San Andres Zayultepec (Sayultepec) at a distance of two leagues, located between north and south, and with a population of 140 families of Indians; the climate of these towns is warm and humid and their trade and maintenance are their corn fields, beans, fruits, and rope of fibre (pita) which makes the best rope for general use, and has its market in many parts of this kingdom as substitute for the fine French twine which is brought here from Europe.

"The town of San Juan Tenantitlan is a republic of Indians with a governor and is the principal town of the curate of Chinameca (Chinameca). It is eight leagues towards the east from the principal town (Acayucan), and is situated in the hot climate. Its population consists of 50 families of Mulatos [Mulatos Milicianos], and 32 of Indians who speak the Popolucan in which they are preached to by a priest of their district church, and to which doctrine and government the following towns belong: the one of San Francisco Menzapa at a distance of eight leagues to east one-quarter northeast, inhabited by 63 families of Indians; and at the same distance is located the town of Oteapa (Oteapa) towards the east one-quarter south, and in this town are 69 families; following the same direction and at a distance of ten leagues is the town of San Felipe Cozolecaque (Cosoleacaque) with 51 families; the town of San Francisco Xaltipac (Jaltipan) lies at a distance of six leagues towards the east of the principal town and in it live 97 families of Indians who trade in the same fruits as those of the principality.

"The town of Santiago Moloacan (Moloacan), eighteen leagues from the principal town in direction east one-quarter southeast, is the principal of the district of the Ahualucos numbering 109 families of Indians including those of the town of Pochutla (Pochotla), which lies so close that it is only separated by the distance covered by one shot of a musket. At a distance of eighteen leagues is situated the town of San Cristobal Ixhuatla (Ixhuatlan), in warm climate and with 47 families. The town of San Francisco Ocuapa is the principal of the district of the Ahualulcos, is forty-three leagues distant from the principal town towards the south, and is inhabited by 4 families of Spaniards, 20 of Mulatos, and 20 of Indians, who are preached to in the Popolucan language by a priest of the district church of this town, under which lies the previously mentioned town, and the one of San Cristobal Huimanguillo, with its suburb San Pedro Ostitan, a distance of five leagues towards the south from the head town, and in these two the number of Indian families is 66; and in the same vicinity is that of Macatepeque (Mecatepec), one league towards the east with 18 families; and the one of Tecominucan, two leagues away following said direction and having 26 families of Indians, who cultivate the same fruits as those previously mentioned, and they are the only ones

in this jurisdiction who do, because though they have cattle and cultivate fruits and vegetables, it is only in accordance to the annual consumption of the inhabitants, as they, for the greater part, occupy themselves little with the cultivation of the ground.

"The province suffers from the great calamity that it at certain periods is flooded with grasshoppers, which destroy the plants and fields in the most sad way, and, as no human remedy has been found for such great destruction, the inhabitants have sought the favor of the divine forgiveness through help of the most holy Virgin, miraculous in the mystery of the pure conception, whose picture can be seen in the head town of this district, Chinameca, whose patron saint she is, because she has freed the fields from these obnoxious insects, and this marvel has been felt because when the insects abound, they take out the holy image in procession, then the number of insects diminishes and the destruction which they cause to the fields stops.

"This country is watered by the large river Guazacualco, which gives its name to the province. It runs from north to south, always running in the center of the province until it empties in the sea, and on its banks on each side grow trees of great height capable of serving as they, in fact, do for the construction of large ships, for which reason woods, spars, boards, and whole trunks are carried to Vera Cruz, and at the present moment this business is run by the Royal Hacienda. It is a fact that if the cutting of trees was more regular they would be more useful and the Bar of the Guazacualco river would be constantly protected if the town of Espiritu Santo would again be inhabited, but this town now is totally abandoned, and the name only remains of that which it once was."\*

At present, in the interior as at Mecayapa, mentioned by Villa-Señor y Sanchez, there are no avowedly "mestizo" or non-Indian families to be found.

If this description is accurate for its period, the Popoluca ("Populoco") area must have considerably diminished. Huimanguillo, there mentioned, is no longer in the definitely Indian territory; Chinameca has become a sophisticated town of the ordinary Mexican type. The Nahuatl group has been, on the whole, expanding, side by side with the Spanish.

At Piedra Labrada we were told that the following towns still speak Popoluca:

Ocozôtepec,  
Soteapan,  
Amamelóya,  
Ocotal Grande,  
Ocotal Chico,  
Aguacate,  
Cuilonia,  
Buena Vista,  
Piedra Labrada.

These towns make a small island, or rather a group of islands, scattered about among Nahua-speaking and Spanish peoples.

\*Abandoned because of frequent attacks by English Pirates.



## PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The physical make-up of the Indians does not appear to vary with the linguistic division, save that the Nahuatl groups may be a trifle broader in face, and heavier built than their neighbours. On the whole they are of good stature, estimated at about 1.65 meters for the men, with round heads, brachycephalic, and fairly high-bridged noses tending to mesorrhine with some platyrrhine. The brachycephaly is emphasized by a flattening of the skull just above the forehead, due in the men to the use of the tump-line from early infancy, causing the skull to come up to a conical point in back.

Musculature is heavy, especially in the legs (see figs. 44 and 50). Very small boys begin using the tump-line to carry fire-wood, ac-



FIG. 44—Tatahuicapa, Ver. Trading for arrows with the Indians.

customing themselves to considerable burdens, although in this respect they are not so specialized as the Tzeltal and other Chiapas tribes later observed, nor have they developed, as with these latter, a walk which, even when unburdened, suggests the burden-bearing habit.

The women do not use the tump-line, but carry loads on their heads, carrying a small ring of cloth for that purpose. This practice gives them a very straight carriage and great grace of movement. The large gourd borne by the woman in fig. 35 is a typical water-vessel, and when filled must have no small weight.

In common with most Indians of Mexico, these are capable of sustained travel on foot without fatigue. A guide who accompanied us from Piedra Labrade to Tatahuicápa, an eight-hour trip over a

very bad trail, was always ahead of the horses, obviously slowing his pace at times so that they might catch up, and less exhausted than they at the end of the day. Anyone who has travelled with Indians in Mexico can duplicate this experience.

Hair-form and distribution is typical, the form being straight, black, and coarse, its distribution sparse on the chin and rare or lacking elsewhere on the body. Short, straggly beards on the chins of the old men may have some correlation with the more long-faced type; not enough bearded people were seen, however, to assure this.

Eyes are dark brown, and fairly wide set. No marked Mongoloid traits were observed.

### LANGUAGE

The Indians belong linguistically to two stocks, the Nahuatl, and Mixe-Zoque. The Nahuatl is predominant, being spoken probably by a population of several thousand. The Mixe-Zoque is represented by one of the many dialects known in Mexico as Popoluca. The name is unfortunate, for the various Popolucas are unrelated; Berendt\* says of them, "It is a grave error to consider all these different . . . Popolucas as scattered parts of the same whole." The nearest dialect of that name to Pajápan is Popoluca of Puebla, which is entirely distinct, being associated with Mixteco.

No attempt was made to study the Nahuatl, beyond noting that the final *l* of the nominal ending *tl* was dropped off, as *cuauhuit* for *cuauhítl*, and that the *n* of the suffix *pan* was often omitted, Pajápan becoming Pajapa in daily speech.

Lists were made of Popoluca at Ocozotepec (called *teuj'ko* by the natives), and at Piedra Labrada, which while lacking in grammatical forms and very brief, supports Berendt's\* statement that the language belongs to the Mixe-Zoque stocks although the affiliation would appear to be more directly with Zoque, and not, as he said, with Mixe. Out of 145 words compared,† 85 show a recognizable lexical similarity, and root forms may be traced in many more. The verbalizing suffix given by de la Grasserie‡ and Lehmann‡ as *pa* or *ba*, appears in a majority of the Popoluca verba as *pa* or *pu*, corresponding to a general, although irregular, vowel-shift from *a* to *u*.

Many words have been replaced by Spanish; and elements introduced in recent times almost always have Spanish names. All men speak Spanish fluently, but the women ordinarily cannot. The native numerals only go up to seven, although we were told that some of the old men could count up to *monyi*, the Mexican *tzontle*.

\*Berendt, 1876. Page 9.

†See Appendix for word-lists and more full discussion.

‡De la Grasserie, 1898—Lehmann, 1922.

The presence of a Zoque group here on the Atlantic coast is of considerable interest, giving support as it does to Brasseur de Bourbourg's\* theory that the Mixe-Zoque people originally lived north and east of their present home in Oaxaca, being pushed back by the conquering Zapotecs. That theory offers the best explanation for the Pajápan dialect, on the supposition that a small group, split off from the main body, went north to take refuge in this mountainous country.

## MATERIAL CULTURE

### COSTUME.

The men in all the villages dress in ordinary Mexican-European costume of cotton purchased outside. Ordinarily this consists of white trousers and collarless shirt, sandals, and straw sombrero of local make, with a slightly smaller brim than that used by Mexicans. Ready-made coloured trousers and shirts are not at all uncommon. At Pajápan there is a store, and in the other villages traders coming in at fiesta times bring such goods. Their hair is worn short, and banged across the forehead (see fig. 44).

The women wear skirts and sashes of their own weaving (see figs. 35-36). The skirts are uncut rectangles, wide enough to reach from the waist to the ankles, and long enough to go well around the body and overlap, without hampering the legs. The width is obtained by sewing two strips together. These skirts are striped, either with broad bands of colour divided by lines, or narrow stripes on a coloured background, always running the long way of the cloth. Buff, grey, yellow, and blue predominate; red is more highly prized, but we were told that the red dye could only be obtained by trade. The other dyes are made from native plants.

Ordinarily the women do not wear any other clothing, save in the towns nearest the railroad. In time of fiesta, however, they do wear blouses, which are bought from traders. Cheap earrings and necklaces, preferably rosaries are worn.

The hair is done in two braids; on the head it is drawn tight and parted down the middle. Bright-coloured flowers are placed over the ear or worn in a chaplet by women of all ages.

### HOUSES (*tek!*).

Dwellings are built with palm-roofs and stick or dirt walls, with a rectangular ground-plan. The essential frame-work consists of four uprights on which two long plates are laid, following the lines of the two long walls of the house. The corner-posts are often of very heavy, squared logs. Between the plates four cross pieces are

\*Brasseur de Bourbourg, 1859.

laid, with ends projecting. From these the frame-work of a gable or of a hip roof is built up to the ridge pole. Thatching-poles are laid along this frame-work, parallel to the ground. The members are tied together with vines (see figs. 31 and 34).

The wall (*tuk'ntana*) is of sticks or roughly split boards set into the ground and standing independent of the house. If the wall is to be of mud, the sticks are set about 20 centimeters apart, and cross-sticks are interwoven at the same interval, forming an open wattle. On this a mixture of mud and grass is built up. For a stick or board wall, the upright members are placed at an interval of about a centimeter, and bound together by passing long, slender vines in a loop around each for the length of the wall.

The thatch is of grass bundles, from 20 to 60 centimeters thick. It is allowed to hang low over the eaves (see fig. 31).

The floor is sometimes partially boarded to serve for storing corn, and the space over the cross pieces is often similarly made into an attic, for corn or general storage.

The fire and kitchen may be indoors, but are usually in front of the house, or under a wall-less shelter hard by. The metate is supported on a low table, with legs sunk into the ground. The fire-place itself consists of three stones, to support the round-bottomed pots (see fig. 49).

The doors face south, to get the sun, and away from the constant cold winds and rainstorms coming down from the volcano to northward.

Community structures are built on the same principle as ordinary houses, with the exception of some churches. The *Cabildo*, or Town Hall, is always mud-walled, usually a little larger than the dwellings, and provided with windows and hinged doors (fig. 45). Large shelters of thatched roofs without walls are maintained for shade, and for the common preparation of food at fiesta times. (See Social Organization, fig. 51).

The churches may be, as at Ocozotepec and Mecayapan, merely unusually large buildings. Whenever possible, however, they are tiled roofed, and occasionally, as at Tatahuicápa, of brick and stucco. The plan remains a plain rectangle with a gabled or hip roof. At Tatahuicápa the very simple facade shows a faint echo of Spanish tradition (see fig. 33).

Near the Trans-Isthmus Railroad some attempt at decoration of houses was observed. At Mizapa the church, although grass-roofed, was white-washed, with a dull red and ochre stripe painted around



it, floral designs on the side, and a crude facade painted on each side of the door. At Chacalapa several houses had stripes and floral decorations. This is the most sophisticated section of the Indian country.

#### WEAPONS.

Ethnologically, a feature of unusual interest is the revival of the bow and arrow among a people who had almost forgotten its use. At the end of the Diaz régime, archery was, as with us, an amusement for children, who made small bows of sticks, fitted probably with unpointed arrows. Such play outfits may be seen in many Indian houses today in Southern Mexico. They are not much superior to the blunt-ended arrows and cotton-stringed bows sold to American children, although they are in more common use. About

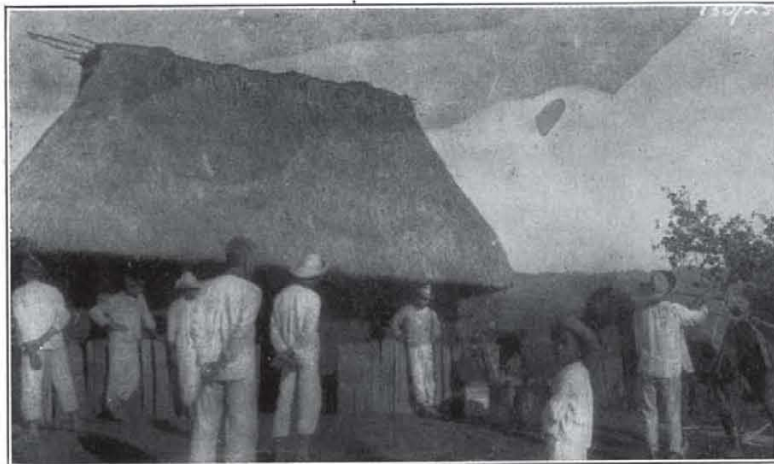


FIG. 45—Ocozotepec, Ver. The Municipal House.

1910, or shortly thereafter, large groups of outlaws came into the Pajápan country for refuge, who immediately proceeded to take all fire-arms from the Indians. The latter thus found themselves not only defenseless in the presence of a well-armed enemy given to plundering their villages, but deprived of the means of hunting, an important factor in their food-supply.

The Indians reverted to the bow and arrow, which, at the time of our arrival among them, had been developed for some fourteen years into a powerful weapon (fig. 47). We found here a situation which must in some degree re-enact the original evolution of the bow and arrow at the time of its first invention. In many respects these weapons here are unique among primitive tribes, and in each case the distinctive character is one of incomplete development and still active experimentation.



The bows (*bekcin'*)\* average about 1.15 meters in length, are unbacked, plain, with a slight tendency to a reverse curve. Saragossa wood is preferred. The fish-arrows (*kaapi'*) which have a pointed, very heavy iron wire head, average 80 centimeters in the shaft, and 50 in the head. Light reed shafts are preferred. Deer arrows, with laurel-leaved heads of hammered iron, are about 60 centimeters in the shaft, with a head averaging 10 centimeters in length. Ordinarily, the arrows are notched. Feathers are never used (fig. 46).

The unique characters to which I have referred occur in the complete lack of standardization of any part. The statement given above summarizes the general type, and the form towards which the bow-makers are tending. At present, it may be said that no two bows or arrows are of the same length. Some bows are finely smoothed, rounded on one side, flat on the other; some are knotty, retain part of the bark, and are almost flat, or faintly convex, on both sides. In most cases, the curved side is towards the string, but not in all. The string itself may be of ixtla, hennequen, or cheap, commercial cord; it may be finely braided, two or three-strand rolled, or a loose, fuzzy twine. The detachable end may be tied in a loop with a bowline or square knot, or made fast with a timber hitch. The fast end is usually tied with a clove or timber hitch.

The deer-arrows are fairly well standardized, probably because the difficulty of working the iron enforces a standard, small size of head. Fish arrows, on the other hand, show the widest possible

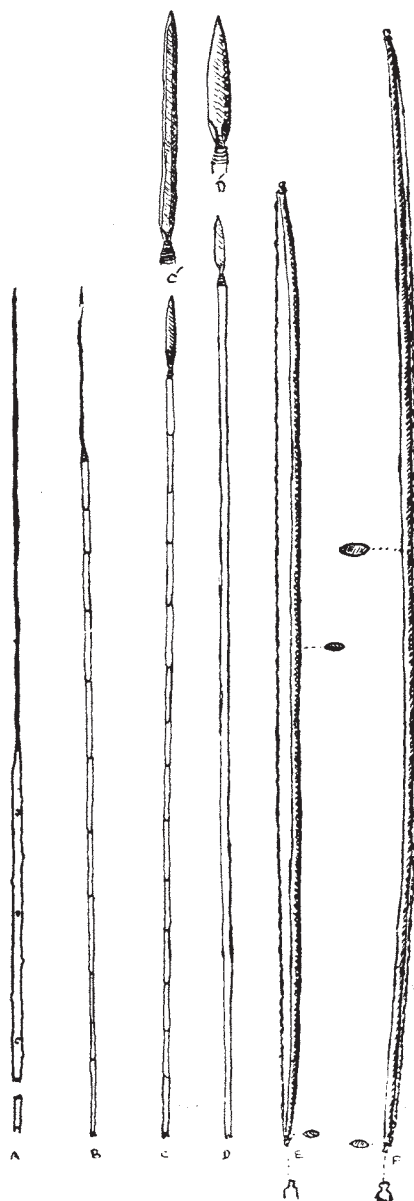


FIG. 46—San Martin Pajapan, Ver. Bows and Arrows.

\*"Popoluca" names are given.

variation. There is no constant relation between the shaft and the head. The shortest observed was little over 80 centimeters in total length; the longest, taller than the man who sold it, and twice the length of his bow, was 1.75 over all.

Ordinarily, bow-using tribes standardize their weapons very exactly in form, decoration, and either by an absolute measurement or

by a set relation to the body of the archer, as we standardize skis. Moreover, the number of arrows to a set is often prescribed; as, with the Lacandone, a quiver must contain one arrow of each kind made; or, with the Navaajo, arrows are always made in fours. In the Pajápan country there is no such specification. The number of arrows varies from one to four, and deer arrows may or may not be included. The metal used for these arrow-points is thick fence wire for the fish arrows, and old discarded files, bought in the villages by the railroad, for the deer arrows. These files are cold-hammered by the Indians to the desired shape.

It would be interesting if the development of this weapon here could continue; however, guns are rapidly being re-introduced, and probably the bow

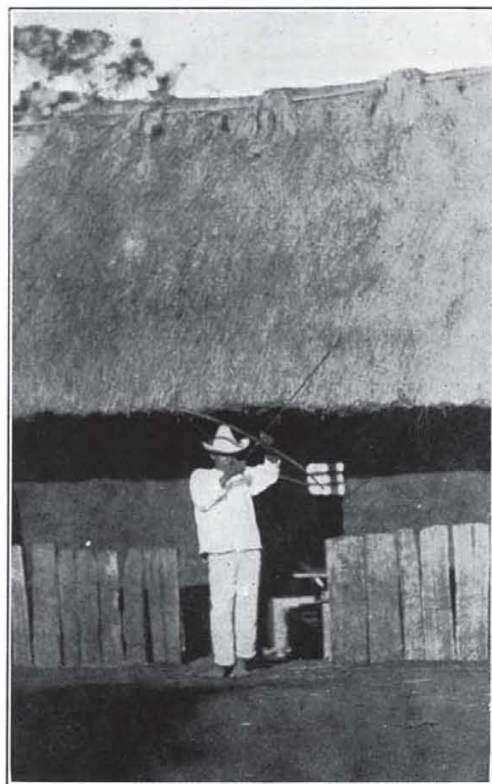


FIG. 47.—Ocozotepec, Ver. Popoluca man showing the use of bow and arrow.

will disappear, unless the easily-made arrow for fishing, already by far the more common, is retained for that use.

The names "fish" and "deer-arrow" are taken from the Indians themselves. The deer-arrow, we understood, is also used in fighting, and the fish-arrow, while best adapted to shooting fishes, is certainly put to many other uses.

The fire arms now coming back are the usual percussion-cap, muzzle-loading fowling-piece, with a few bolt-action rifles provided by the government to assist the Indians in keeping the country free of refugee outlaws, which, when properly armed, they seem well able to do.

## ARTS AND INDUSTRIES

## TEXTILES.

The loom in use is the usual, narrow, simple type, with single heddle. The head stick is made fast to a branch or stick in the wall; the foot is fastened to the weaver (see fig. 59). Weaving is done by the women. This loom weaves long, narrow strips of cloth for skirts (see costume). Both warp and woof are handled in double strands of fine cotton thread.

The ribbed weave of the sashes is more intricate. We did not find out how it is done, or if a special loom is used (fig. 48). Looms are seldom to be found in use, as weaving is only done as the cloth is needed.

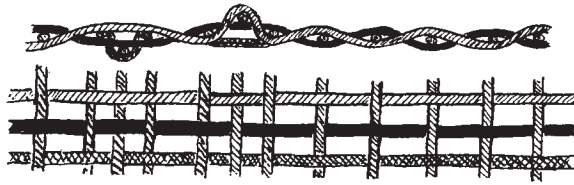


FIG. 48—Tatahuicapa, Ver. Drawing of Weave.

The spindle is a stick about 18 centimeters long, with a clay disk near the bottom for a weight. The lower end is placed in a small half-gourd for spinning.

## WOOD-WORKING.

The native mandolin, or *jarana*, is made by the men. In shape and size it resembles a ukelele, but is adapted to playing actual tunes. Tobacco pipes are made, with very small bowls and reed stems. (See also the description of bows and arrows under Weapons). Chairs and squatting seats are made of wood. The chairs are of a simple European model, straight-backed, with a square seat. All the pieces are nicely mortised into each other, and held with wooden pegs or, occasionally, nails. The work is neat and well finished. Squatting seats are simply squared light logs, with a handle at one end and often concave on the under side to save weight.

## OTHER CRAFTS.

The arrow-points mentioned under Weapons are made locally. The fish-arrows have for head a length of heavy iron wire, about 3 millimeters in diameter, hammered at the end to a four-sided point. The head of the deer-arrow is a laurel-leaf shaped piece of iron, hammered out from a file, with a shank at the butt to insert in the end of the shaft. It is ground smooth and is fairly sharp all around.

Pottery is undecorated and simple. The typical form is nearly a sphere, with a wide mouth and slight curved lip. (See pot carried by woman in fig. 35). Gourds are used as much or more than pots.



Baskets are of wickerwork, with split reed warps and splint frames.

Metates are ordinarily bought from stores in the outside towns, but old metates found buried in the neighbourhood of prehistoric sites are much preferred, and used whenever obtainable. Volcanic rock, suitable for making metates, is to be found in the area, but presumably the Indians prefer excavation or purchase to the toil of manufacture (see fig. 37).

## FOOD SUPPLY

### AGRICULTURE.

The rich soil of the jungle sections is ordinarily used for farming, in preference to that of the more open, grass and oak country.



FIG. 49—Piedra Labrada, Ver. Populca Indian woman grinding corn, and girl baking tortillas.

It is possible, indeed, that the open land is produced by partial exhaustion of the soil due to "bonanza" methods of farming.\* Abandoned fields that we saw were growing up in grass and small, thick second growth.

The jungle is cut, and the dead wood burned on the field, after such wood as may be useful is carried off. On the whole, the clearing here is neatly done, the fields being fairly free of rubbish. The soil is prepared with a digging stick, only the top soil

\*The effects of soil depletion from Mexican Indian methods of farming are described in detail in O. F. Cook's "Vegetation Affected by Agriculture in Central America," 1909.



being disturbed. There is no plowing. Old machete blades are used for weeding.

Corn is the staple crop, and to it the larger part of every field is given over. With it are planted beans, melons, papaya, pineapples, and sweet potatoes. Gourd trees are cultivated, and a bush with a red fruit called in Spanish *ajon*, used for flavouring meats. Two crops of corn a year are raised except at Piedra Labrada where three are usual.

Small coffee plantations are made in jungle or woods handy to the town, the underbrush being cleared out.

#### DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

Pigs are kept by all families for food, and also serve as scavengers. Poultry provide both meat and eggs. Keeping cattle is rare if not unknown.

Besides cultivated plants and flocks, many wild fruits are eaten, and game, especially birds and wild pig, are important. The Indians hunt fish with spears, arrows, and traps in the many rivers of the country.

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The general governmental system is that of a Mexican district, with its center at Pajápan itself. The individual villages have each their *Presidente Municipal* and *Secretario*, elected as in any Mexican town. The feeling, however, is not that of belonging to the district as a whole, but of independent villages related to each other only in so far as their interests join, and as the local officials at Pajápan can make their influence felt.

#### INTER-VILLAGE RELATIONS.

The local native garrisons, or "Guardias Municipales," maintained by the government to suppress banditry, occasionally serve also as the nucleus for village war parties, in the occasional disputes over lands or rights. Thus Tatahuicápa, a town of some four hundred families, is sometimes



FIG. 50.—Piedra Labrada, Ver. Indian boy with bow and arrow.

hostile with its neighbour on one side, Mecayapa, because Mecayapa, although smaller, is the head town of the sub-district. It has also had fights with Pajápan, its other neighbour, over the ownership of a coffee plantation.

It must not be inferred that the villages are constantly quarrelling, rather the reverse. Although the Pajápan people came and destroyed the Tatahuicápa brick-kiln when the latter were building their new church, and they, in turn, had recently possessed themselves anew of the coffee land, Indians of Pajápan came freely to partake of the general hospitality of the Tatahuicápa fiesta.

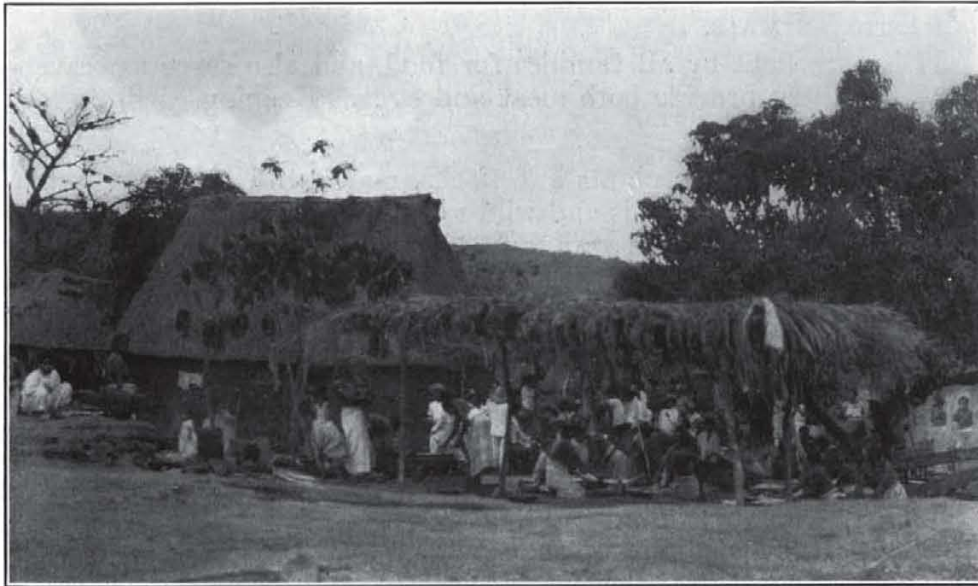


FIG. 51.—Tatahuicapa, Ver. Women preparing tortillas for the Fiesta.

#### FAMILY GROUPS.

At Piedra Labrada we had occasion to observe a single family, attached to no village, whose organization, thus noted in isolation, may be taken as typical of the whole area. The father is the head of the family, and carries on business negotiations as far as they affect the whole. Individuals, however, have their own possessions and rights. One of his sons, hiring out to us, made his own bargain, and, in other cases, where we bought textiles woven by the women, either the women did the trading, or dictated the price charged by the men. In case of marriage, the man pays the woman's father, in goods and labour. Once the marriage is completed, the new couple sets up its own unit independently. Between such separate groups the ties are very much the same as those between related families

among ourselves, with, perhaps, less recognition of the influence of the original head of the family.

The men work in the fields, cut wood, hunt, and take a hand in shelling and stacking corn. Women also work in the fields and cut wood, but their chief care is the house and the kitchen, drawing water, grinding corn, and weaving.



FIG. 52.—Tatahuicapa, Ver. The Village Saint, San Isidro.

#### COMMUNITY PROPERTY AND LABOUR.

Ownership is individual in all smaller things. Land, however, forms of labour which affect the village as a whole, and property connected with religion are common. The village land has been allotted to it originally by the government, individuals hold parcels so long as they occupy or cultivate them. Fighting the present



plague of grasshoppers, and occasionally the clearing of large new areas are undertaken co-operatively.

At the time of a fiesta, food must be prepared for the whole village and a tremendous number of guests. This is done by all the women, working together under big sheds maintained for that purpose (fig. 51). The village of Tatahuicápa owned a bull, which was killed on the day of the fiesta for distribution to all guests and to the village. Evidently this was not an old custom, at least in this form, for none of the men in the village knew how to slaughter the animal, and one of our men had to do it for them.



FIG. 53—Ocozotepec, Ver. Indians beating drums in honor of their Saint.

## RELIGION

All the Indians of San Martín Pajápan are Christian in doctrine. In each village the church, always the most important building, houses the patron saints (fig. 52). Near to it are lodgings kept for the occasional visits of the priest. These visits, and the Saint's Day of the town, are the occasion for fiestas, a combination of ceremony and celebration. Drumming, music of flutes, *jaranas*, and various foreign instruments, such as mouth-organs, accompanied by rattles, begin sometime before the fiesta proper. Dancing is done before the saint, as a rite, and generally as an amusement. Often, as at Ocozotepec, the image, there a Virgin, is moved out into a bower of green branches hung with streamers (fig. 53). Whenever the saint moves, whatsoever the occasion, drums must be rolled, as



when the saints and altar were brought forward for us to photograph at Tatahuicápa. Aguardiente is brought in from the Mexican towns for the fiesta, and a supply of rockets which are set off all during the period. General hospitality is extended to all comers.

The visit of the Priest is occasion for baptisms, confession, and mass. The photographs of the saints at Tatahuicápa were wanted for affixing to pardons to be made out by him. The priest is maintained by the village during his stay.

At this time the doorway of the church and the priest's house are decorated with palms. The inside of the church is hung with palms, streamers, coloured paper, and flowers.

