

Index

1812 Spanish constitution, 44-5 and universal male suffrage, 44 1847 and 1851 labor laws, 71 1865 Yat rebellion, 27, 35-7, 50, 59, 62, 72-4, 76, 86, 363 and Atlantic revolutions, 39, 49, 72 as combination of liberal-democratic and Maya norms, 49 and democratic representation, 37, 47, 72 interpreted as race war, 36, 72, 358 and liberal republicanism, 37 and Maya coerced labor, 36 and memories of Q'eqchi' lower-class citizenship, 47 and political corruption, 36-7 and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 36, 72-4, 358 and republican citizenship, 38 as response to abuses of Mayas, 37 as time-knot, 37, 358 1868 Economic Society commission, 70 1871 Liberal Revolution, 28, 73, 76-7, 79, 108, 358 and modernization project, 79 as state-building project, 108 as time-knot, 358 1873 and 1874 tierras baldías laws, 81 1877 labor law, 140 1879 Liberal constitution, 76, 108 1889 Alta Verapaz special decree, 129 and indigenous smallholders, 131 and Maya commoner petitions, 131-4 1890s indigenista laws, 146 1894 national land law, 144-5

1897 coffee crisis, 11, 28, 155, 191, 227 1920 elections, and political violence, 243 1920 National Assembly elections, 234 1921 San Pedro Carchá municipal council elections, 244 1927 constitutional reforms, 257 and coerced labor, 260 and foundations for vagrancy laws, 257, labor strikes outlawed in, 257, 261 and literacy-based citizenship, 257, 261 and productive work, 261 and race and labor, 260 and restriction of Maya citizenship, 232, as victory for coffee planters, 257 and work as social obligation, 261 1929 stock market crash, 11, 262, 293, 362 1932 Central American Red Scare, 30, 233, 267, 293, 362 1945 constitution, 326-8 1947 labor code, 326, 336, 338-9, 354 1948 social security legislation, 326 1949 forced rental law, 341 1950 presidential election, 339 1952 agrarian reform, 11, 30, 314, 326, 342-51, 354-5, 363 and 1954 coup, 353 and campesino unions, 344-5 and capitalist development, 343 as challenge to Maya patriarchy, 342 as challenge to planter sovereignty, 344-5



378 Index

1952 agrarian reform (cont.) and reproduction of racialized difference, as challenge to politics of postponement, 346 agency, 2, 6-8, 16, 28, 79, 104, 114, 136, and coffee planters, 341 147, 194, 217, 228, 236, 346, 351, 357 and conservative efforts to thwart, 339 agrarian communities, 331-2 and deepening of local democracy, 313, agrarian reform, 325, 344. See also 1952 agrarian reform; Decree 900 341, 343, 345 as effort to increase national production agricultural commissions, 107-8, 143 of subsistence products, 343 alcohol-related arrests, 284 and empowerment of rural Mayas, 314, Alma y vida de Cobán (J. M. Eduardo Portocarrero), and emergent regional 344-5 and historical justice, 346 identity of Alta Verapaz, 228 and historical justice and memory, 342 Alta Verapaz and desires for national integrity and and increased social and political tensions, 341 agency, 196 and land productivity, 347 and differences from the western and mass mobilization from below, 12 highlands region, 10 and Maya land conflicts, 346-7 border war with Izabal, 148 and modified liberal-democratic capitalist expansion of, and differences from western highlands, 9 metanarrative, 343 and organization of rural space, 314 differences from other coffee regions, 186, post-coup reversal of, 352 and promotion of capitalist development, as free of racial mixing and colonialism, 270 and promotion of Maya consumption of as national model, 8, 233 symbolic renaming of, 270 nationalized manufactures, 343 provisions of, 344 anachronism, 2, 4, 18, 20, 51, 112 and Q'eqchi' demands for land and politics of postponement, 5 redistribution, 363 anti-Cabrera movement, 228, 234 anti-colonialism, 222, 281 and Q'eqchi' memories of land anti-communism, 263, 352, 365, 367 possession, 347-8 and Q'eqchi' demands for historical and 1954 coup, 352 justice, 363 and racial whiteness, 350-1 and Q'eqchi'-Germans, 348-9 anti-communist defense committees, 352 and racialized politics, 350 anti-fascism, 11, 30, 312, 315, 322, 355, 363 and radicalization from below, 314 and anti-German nationalism, 294 and redefinition of plantation spatial and and anti-imperialist nationalism, 30 and democracy, 313 territorial boundaries, 314 rural demand for, 340 global, 315, 363 and rural Maya land petitions, 342 and Guatemala City, 313 as time-knot, 358, 363 and middle class, 312 and undermining of planter sovereignty, and social reforms, 313 and teachers, 312 314, 341, 344 and undermining of state power, 314 and university students, 312, 316 and World War II, 310 1954 coup, 11, 351, 353, 363 anti-German nationalism, 11, 223, 269, 1985 transition to democracy, 370 271, 290, 308, 312, 315, 319-21, 325 affective bonds, 185 and anti-fascism, 294, 310 and fincas de mozos, 184 and anti-Semitism, 225 and German territorial sovereignty, 158 and calls to expropriate German

as plantation governance, 180

properties and deport Germans, 310



Index

379

and German economic predominance in and Q'eqchi' resident laborers, 170 Alta Verapaz, 225 and usufructary land rights, 61 and inability of planters to secure credit, ayuntamientos, 44, 47 Barrios, Justo Rufino, 79 and state fairs, 299 and unfilled expectations of social Batres Jáuregui, Antonio, 141 mobility and progress, 225 and abolition of mandamientos, 141 and World War I, 223, 225 Benjamin, Walter, 6, 14 anti-German wartime measures, and World and concept of Now-Time (Jetzt-Zeit), 6 War I, 225 boj, 35-6, 49, 57, 269-70, 282-4 anti-immigrant discourse, 105 and racial degeneration, 283 anti-imperialism, 11, 322 production and consumption of, 282-4 and Tezulutlán, 301 prohibition of, 282-3, 362 anti-Ubico demonstrators, 320 Q'eqchi' dependence on production for Árbenz, Jacobo, 313, 340, 355, 364 income, 283 and agrarian reform, 341 boundaries, 95, 98, 103 and Maya expectations for distribution of contestation of, 103 national plantations, 342 and efforts to turn Mayas into stable and modificaion of 1949 forced rental labor force, 85 and lack of fixity, 98, 346 law, 341 and Regional Planters Association and political modernity, 109 and Tzuultaq'a symbols, 95 campaign against, 340 and unwillingness to return nationalized boundary conflicts, 60, 99, 103, 109 and administration of mandamiento German properties, 335 archives, 24, 113, 371 labor, 99-100 Archives of Delinquency, 287-8 between Carchá and Cobán, 102 Arévalo, Juan José, 313, 321, 325-6, 328, and historical time, 99 and land titling, 100 and agrarian communities, 332 and mandamiento labor, 99, 103 and anti-communism, 328 and Q'eqchi' flight from mandamientos, and army support for coffee planters, 329 99, 148 and cultural reforms for Maya and Q'eqchi' labor, 147-8 assimilation, 329 and racialization, 99 and enforcement of vagrancy laws, 329 and taxation, 99 and prohibition of rural unions, 329 boundary-making and spiritual socialism, 325, 328 as defense of civilization against and unwillingness to return nationalized barbarism, 101 German properties, 335 and Maya cosmography and memories, artisan societies, 193, 195, 198-9, 212 Bourbon Reforms, 43-4 ASKI marks scheme, 299 Association of Agriculturalists, 233 Buß, Gerhard Enno, 296 Asturias, Miguel Ángel, 252, 297 and influence of studies with José Caal, Tiburcio, 97, 120, 184, 258 Vasconcelos, 253 ethnographic writing of, 292 cabildo, 41 and mestizaje, 29 Atlantic Charter, 312, 315 cadastral maps, 95 Atlantic revolutions, 39, 49, 72, 358 campesino unions, 344-5 August 1920 elections, 243 capital acquisition, 156 capitalism, 7, 13, 113, 138, 147, 371 Authentic Liberal Party, 353 and civilizing metanarrative, 84 autonomous peasant economy, 51 autonomy, 27, 266 and Maya reciprocity and solidarity, 69



380

Index

capitalism (cont.) and modernity, 12 prioritized over liberal democracy, 37 Carrera, Rafael, 3, 38, 46, 73 castas, 69 caste hierarchy, 72 caste war, 122-3 Castillo, José León, 242-3 Catholic Church, 39, 41 censo lands, 65-7, 81 censorship, 251 Central Coffee Bureau, 257 Chacón, Lázaro, 260, 263 Chisec, 100 citizenship, 265, 357 and civilization, 75-6 Maya desires for, 18 civil defense patrols, 369-70 civil-religious hierarchy, 48, 51, 240-1 and capitalist expansion, 69 and combination of town councils and cofradías into single system, 47 and mandamientos, 69 and Q'eqchi' communities, 48 and reduction of Q'eqchi' commoner local power, 47 and reinvigoration of indigenous hierarchies and mediation, 47 civilization, 228 and citizenship, 75-6 prioritized over liberal democracy, 37 and public conduct, 106 racialization of, 104 civilizing metanarrative, 13, 20, 55, 137-8, 150, 181, 217, 232, 266, 271, 312, 325, 357 and capitalism, 84 as counter to invocation of liberaldemocratic one, 266 disciplinary force of, 278 and European immigration, 13 and ladino nationalism, 193 and nationalization of German properties, 312 and October Revolution, 325 privileged over liberal-democratic metanarrative, 130 and Q'eqchi' contestation of, 113 and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 106, 137 and Q'eqchi' unsettling of, 134 and racial whitening, 84

re-entrenchment of in response to Q'eqchi' political mobilization, 232 and response to Unionist Club Freedom of the Indian petition, 237 and state-building, 84 and unproductive laborers as noncitizens, 278 and Western civilization as highest cultural form, 13 class hierarchies, and coffee plantations, 360 class mobility, and whitening, 19 Cobán, 39, 65, 67, 100. See also Cobán departmental fair and arrival of working-class women, 206 and demographic and socioeconomic changes, 197, 204 expansion of commerce, 206 and indigenous landscape, 341 plaza, as site of ceremony and spectacle, and public policing of social conduct, 208 and rural migration to, 197, 205-7 and socioeconomic inequality, 208 urban associations and modernization projects, 209-11 urban population of, 197 and urban reforms to address racial anxieties, 128 Cobán departmental fair, 299 Coc, Pedro, 88, 106, 133, 145, 184, 346 Coc Delgado, José, 94, 101-2, 106, 137 coerced labor, 2, 4, 7, 13, 20, 64, 68, 89, 104, 108, 142, 265, 360, 369–70. See also coercion and 1927 constitutional reforms, 260 abolition of, 28 and civilizing metanarrative, 82 and coffee crisis, 163 and coffee plantations, 80 continuation of after abolition of mandamientos, 142 drafts, 69 and exemptions from, 89 institutionalization of, 72 justified by claims of Maya unresponsiveness to economic incentives, 126 justified by unpreparedness for free wage labor, 19 legacies of, 353 and Maya peasant activism to end, 325



Index 381

and militarized recruitment, 124 and modernity, 281 and narratives of the past as justification, and October Revolution, 325 and payment of below-subsistence wages, and politics of postponement, 6 in public works, as planter discipline, 128 Q'eqchi' flight from, 110 and Q'eqchi' moral crisis, 360 and racial language, 19 and racial regeneration, 128 reform of, 28 reintroduction of, 28, 258 and road construction, 281 as slavery, 110 as solution for perceived Maya backwardness, 13 temporary abolition of, 28 and wealthy planter recognition of unsustainability, 163 and zapadores, 142 coercion, 185. See also coerced labor and creation of fincas de mozos, 165 and fincas de mozos, 178 and use of the past to justify, 259 coffee, 140. See also other entries beginning with "coffee" harvest, and Q'eqchi' labor strikes, 245 and increased state revenue, 4 as symbol of foreigners and exploitation, 247 coffee capitalism, 17, 20, 38, 152, 359 crises, blamed on Mayas, 162-3, 201 and Liberals, 359 coffee crisis, 213 coffee economy and ladino struggles with German predominance, 229 and World War I, 222 coffee entrepreneurs, 2 coffee expansion, 9 coffee plantations, 146 and adaptation of Q'eqchi' patriarchal norms, 180 as constriction of sociality, 168 cultural translations of liberal ideals and Q'eqchi' political ontologies, 178 and discipline, 169 and fragmented tenure arrangements, 166

gendered hierarchies, 360 and incomplete recognition of boundaries, 158 labor, as stigma of Indianness, 195 and limits to state expansion, 360 and physical punishment, 178 and racial, class, and gender hierarchies, 152 racialization of, 84 and racialization of resident laborers, 168 and rape, 182-3 state control over labor, 276 and stable labor force, 360 as security for rural Mayas, 346 as spaces of intimacy and violence, 185 and violence, 246 coffee planters, 17. See also German coffee planters; Q'eqchi' coffee planters; and alienation of Maya lands, 72 and appropriation of Q'eqchi' patriarchal duties, 179-80 and battles against agrarian reform, 349 and burning of milpas, 170 and censo lands, 66 and challenge to planter sovereignty, 2.80 and coercive violence, 170 competition, and Q'eqchi' search for better working conditions, 178 and destruction of laborer property, 350 and discipline, 341 and discouragement of recourse to outside authorities, 172 and disputes over plantation boundaries, and disruption of Maya self-sufficiency, and efforts to reinstate social order, 259 and efforts to thwart Maya mobility, 167, and efforts to thwart Maya political participation, 339 and falsification of laborer debt records, and firing of Decree 900 petitioners, 350 and forced removal of Mayas from communities of origin, 170 and frustration with mandamientos, 143 and high debts, 162 and incarceration of laborers, 170



382 Index

coffee planters (cont.) and influenza epidemic, 224-5 and labor acquisition through purchase of inhabited land, 143 and lack of concern for worker welfare, 308 and lack of a reliable labor force, 257 and Liberal Party, 247 and limits of liberalism, 178 and management of state officials on plantations, 171 and mandamiento and military exemptions, 173 and Maya racial improvement, 361 and need for resident labor, 166 and obligations to Maya laborers during influenza epidemic, 225 and obstacles to expanded production, and partial territorial sovereignty, 152, and patriarchal relations, 180 as plantation patriarchs, 152 and plantation as prosperity and civilization, 168 and preparation for agrarian reform, 341 and privatized discipline, 169, 178 and privatized mandamientos, 143 and promises to civilize Mayas, 127 and purchase of individually titled communal land, 29 racialization of, 136 refusal to allow collection of statistics on land, 342 refusal to improve working conditions, and removal of troublesome workers, 341 and resident laborer dependency, 173 and response to Great Depression, 262 and sale of labor rights, 175 and seasonal labor, 68 and state access to plantations, 275 and strikes, 341 and strikes and land invasions, 247-8 and subsistence land, 173 and threats to Maya subsistence lands, 170 united by anxieties about racial disorder, use of Maya institutions for land and

and usurpation of state role in policing the population, 170 and vagrancy laws, 233, 246 and violence, 246, 251 and whippings, 170 coffee production, 50, 62, 104, 358, 360 and disruption of Q'egchi' reciprocity, 108, 110 expansion of, 4, 73, 109, 131 and fear of Maya uprisings, 50 and foreign settlement, 2 and immigration, 62 and increased demand for Q'eqchi' labor and land, 62 and new settlers in Alta Verapaz, 2 and overlap with indigenous communities, 4 and popular discontent, 50 and Q'eqchi' moral crisis, 110, 115 and Q'eqchi' patriarch efforts to title parcialidades and private lands for coffee production, 88 and Q'eqchi' patriarch participation in, and Q'eqchi' social and political life, 62 racialization of, 136 and social dislocations, 197 and stable labor force, 360 and state expansion, 62 cofradía properties, Liberal state expropriation of, 82 cofradías, 41, 48, 58-9, 134, 306 growth of, 306 and mandamiento income, 69 and Maya cultural autonomy, 306 and Q'eqchi' household autonomy, 58 Cold War, 354, 363 collective contracts, 177 colonial-era institutions, 3 colonial-era titles, and land claims, 87 colonial exploitation, limited by bonds between Q'eqchi' patriarchs and commoners, 42 colonial land titles, as justification of land ownership, 89 colonial legal system, 41-2 colonial mediation, 37 colonial state, 39 colonialism, 7, 20, 26, 232, 325 and German settlement, 322 and modernity, 12

labor acquisition, 71



Index 383

colonization, and translation of indigenous cultural practices, 23 colonos, 67. See also resident laborers Comité de Unidad Campesina (CUC), 366 Comites Agrarios Locales, 345 Comites Agrarios Departmentales, 345 commodity exchange, and space, 17 commodity fetish, 152 communal lands appropriation of, 64 division of, 29 privatization of, 84 and settler access to, 65-7 subdivision of, 133-4 Communism accusations of as political retribution, 352 indigenous, fears of, 263 Communist Party, 251, 263, 366 disinterest in indigenous classes, 251 and labor unions, 252 and rural organizing, 263 Communist Party of Guatemala, 251, 352, concubinage, 181 Confederation of Guatemalan Laborers, 332 conflict, and concentration of land, 105 conquest, national debate over, 301 Conservative government, and restoration of colonial practices, 39 Conservative-era mandamientos, income from given to Maya town councils, 115 Conservative-restored republic, and merged civil-religious hierarchy, 47 Conservatives, 13, 115 and cooptation of Maya leadership structures, 80 and failure to act against appropriation of communal lands, 66 and free wage labor market, 70 and mandamientos, 70-1 and politics of postponement, 47 and pro-indigenous stance, 86 and refusal to enforce indigenous communal property rights, 66 Constitutional Assembly, 326-7 constitutional guarantees, curtailment of, 124, 316 constitutional monarchy, and indigenous equality, 44 containment, 204

contract violations, and resident laborers, contracts and rural Q'eqchi' violations of, 250, 266 and wage advances, 143 corporal punishment, 169 counterinsurgency campaign, 366, 368-70 counterrevolution, 351, 361 counterrevolutionary government, 364 courts, 287 and defense of honor, 278-9 and rural state expansion, 284 and shaman contestation of charges, 286 credit, extension of by German settlers, 157 crime, 205, 207 and racial anxiety, 128 racialization of, 287 criminality, 206-7 as threat to modernity, 287 cross-racial alliances, 134 cultural assimilation and education, 330 cultural translations, 22 curanderos. See shamanism customary land use rights, 89-92, 106 cyclical time, 16, 113, 357 cyclical view of history, 121 de la Cruz, Juan, 111, 113-15, 128, 147, 184 as embodiment of racial anxieties about urban space, 128 pilgrimage of, 114 racialization of as Maya, 259 and rumors of new conspiracies, 122-3 trial for sedition, 111, 115 as urban racial boundary-crosser, 123 de las Casas, Bartolomé, 301 death penalty, 272 death squads, 366 debt, and land loss, 146 debt contracts, 29 and Q'egchi' challenges to, 249 Q'eqchi' demand for end to, 232 debt peonage, 142 abolition of, 268, 275-7 coexistence with mandamientos, 83 and wage advances, 280 Decree 657, and prohibition on sale or exchange of resident laborers, 175 Decree 853, 341 Decree 900, 346. See also 1952 agrarian reform



384 Index

Decree 900 petitions, 347 Decree 1995, 275-6 Decree 1996, 275-9 Decrees 1995 and 1996, 276-7, 280-1 democracy, 13, 113, 138, 147, 310, 312, as challenge to Q'egchi' patriarchs, 72 238 and politics of postponement, 361 democratic constitutions, and rural Maya 366 empowerment, 38 democratic opening, 233, 265, 267 Democratic Party, 243 democratic representation, 44, 47 demographic growth, and precarity of rural life, 164 Department of Labor, 265 Department of National and Intervened Plantations, 321, 337 Department of National Plantations, 312 Departmental Agrarian Committees, 345 departmental and national fairs, 269, 293, 299, 303 and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 270 Departamento Agrario Nacional (DAN), dependency, 29, 173, 185 and fincas de mozos, 178 and German settlement, 322 and land concentration, 105 as plantation discipline, 174, 178 and Q'eqchi' reciprocity, 178 dictatorship, 325 Dieseldorff, Erwin Paul, 146, 156-7, 161, equality 166, 170-1, 177, 181, 225, 245, 251, 255, 261-2, 266, 271, 286, 292, 299, 346, 360 Dieseldorff, Heinrich Rudolf (H. R.), 63 191, 361 Dieseldorff, William, 105, 118, 123, 279, 318, 350 and agrarian reform, 350 and planter sovereignty and patriarchal power, 350 difference, racialization of, 357 discipline, 204 and racial and class boundaries, 244 discourses of disgust, 207 disease, 341 disenchantment, 8, 359, 371 disenfranchisement, as violation of Q'eqchi' norms, 47 Droege, Hugo, 317, 334, 349, 351

earthquakes, 29, 222, 225 economic modernization, 271, 305 economic nationalism, 300 economic progress, 268 education, 199, 266, 328 as solution for Maya cultural stagnation, Ejército de Guerrilla de los Pobres (EGP), ejidos, 50, 59, 65-7 and Q'eqchi' efforts to title land, 88 Q'eqchi' sale of plots on, 67 settler access to, 65-7 electoral politics, 233, 241, 339 limitations of, 246 and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 240 and rural labor unions, 339 and rural Maya political mobilization, 232, 239-40 and rural Maya political mobilization, elite ladino-German alliances, 233, 252, against Mayas, 251, 267 and reassertion of racial hierarchies for labor acquisition, 257 as response to radical Maya mobilizations, 362 elite Q'eqchi' women, and settler access to land through concubinage or marriage, Enemy Trading lists, 225 as challenge to Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 72 Maya notions of, 266 Estrada Cabrera, Manuel, 29, 146, 188, and 1871 Liberal revolution, 194 and appeal to urban plebeians, 193 and aristocratic moral reform, 194 and availability of historical agency and civilization, 228 and brutality, 193, 221 and celebration of ladinos over aristocratic Europeans, 188 and coffee crisis, 227 compared with other nineteenth-century liberal dictators, 195-6 and confiscation of German properties and assets, 225 and construction of hospitals, 213



Index 385

and continuation of mandamientos, 146 and corruption, 221, 223 and debts to caudillismo, 196 and diatribes against corrupt aristocrats and Europeans, 193, 362 and differences from other nineteenthcentury liberal dictators, 196 and educational uplift and social mobility, and electoral fraud, 203 as embodiment of ladino nationalism, and expansion of public education, 195 and failure to fully resolve politics of postponement, 229 forced resignation of, 233, 237 and honorable working classes, 194-5 and influenza epidemic, 225-7 and institutionalization of liberalism, 218 and ladino nationalism, 194, 197, 202, and Liberal clubs and associations, 29, 193, 362 and mandated unions, mutual aid societies, and artisan societies, 195 and Minerva festivals, 11, 29, 191-2 and modernity for urban plebeians, 193 and modernization, 209 and modification of 1879 constitution, 203 and nationalism, 193 opposition to, 229, 233, 235 and organization of urban working classes, 198 overthrow of, 1, 29 and patronage politics, 195, 215 and police-state apparatus, 195 and political opposition to, 221 and political repression, 195, 220 and political terror, 193 and prohibition on commerce with blacklisted German firms, 225 protopopulism of, 193, 196, 227-8, 362 and racial silencing, 195 and reign of terror, 195 and rural political opposition, 233 and secret police, 193 and silencing of racial discourses, 197 and social mobility, 193 and social welfare societies, 212 and staged state theater, 29

and strategic blend of liberal-democratic and civilizing metanarratives, 217 and technical schools, 212 and Unionist clubs, 234 and urban modernization, 29, 212 and urban plebeians, 201 and US pressure to take anti-German measures, 225 and welfare associations, 29 ethnic clans, 39 ethnicization, 290, 307, 362 ethnographic writings, 308 eugenics, 268, 271, 274 post-World War II shifts away from, Eurocentricity, 14, 113, 371 European immigration, 13, 30, 78, 251, 253 and mestizaje, 253-4 as solution for perceived Maya backwardness, 13 Europeanization, 307 Europeanizing modernity, 20 export production, 50 and Maya lands, 4 extra-economic coercion, 82, 142 fascism, 355 war against international, 312 Felice, Eduardo, 127, 137 female respectability, 206 fertile lands, conflicts over, 97 feudalism, 13, 113, 138, 312, 325, 343 fichas, 173, 185 fincas de mozos, 28, 68, 143, 146, 151, 186-7, 240, 360-1. See also coffee

plantations and 1894 national land law, 144 and acquisition of land and labor, 186 and boundary markers, 168 as colony, 169 and combination of affection and violence, 28, 185 and commodification of Mayas, 151 compared with mandamientos, 163-4 creation of, 165-9 and creation via purchase of Mayainhabited lands, 165 and debt, 154, 176 and dependency, 154 and direct relationships between coffee planters and laborers, 163



386 Index

freedom, 8, 116, 324 fincas de mozos (cont.) and erosion of civil-religious hierarchy, and liberalism, 110 Maya notions of, 266 freedom of the press, curtailment of, 258 and erosion of native mediation, 240 expansion of, 143 frontier, 16, 97 and laborer dependency on coffee frost, 359 planters, 187 and damage to crops, 111, 120 and management of sentiments, 185 and hope for imminent historical rupture, modeled on ethnic clan lands, 166 and myths of interracial love and fugitive laborers, 121, 178 harmony, 151 as national model, 233, 238 Gálvez, Mariano, 46 and partial territorial sovereignty, 28, gendered ethnicity, 304 gendered hierarchies, and coffee plantations, 152, 187 and patriarchal affection, 153 and patriarchal relations, 186 General Association of Agriculturalists, 341 and plantation judicial system, 28 General Resettlement of the Indians, 23 and planter sovereignty, 163, 185 Generation of 20 intellectuals, 251-2, 254 and precarity of rural life, 164-5 and Constitutional Assembly, 326 and privatization of labor acquisition, 163 and disinterest in indigenous classes, 251 and privatized discipline, 163 genocide, 367 and racial capitalism, 151-3, 162 German abandonment narrative, 298-9 and racialization of laborers, 151, 163 German assets, freezing of, 316, 318, 321 and reconstitution of ethnic clan lands, German capital accumulation, 151 German Club, 156, 294-5, 302, 308 165, 181 and reduced Maya mobility, 154 and celebration of Guatemalan and representatives before state independence, 252 authorities, 28 and Nazism, 294, 301, 303 and resident laborers, 142, 186 German coffee plantations, 148 as security for rural Mayas, 164 rapid expansion of, 360 and stable labor force, 68, 151, 164, 360 German coffee planters, 361. See also coffee and subsistence lands, 151, 163 planters; planters as tenuous political formations, 163, 185 and adaptation of Maya patriarchal and translation of communal labor ethics, 179 reciprocity, 151 and civilizing metanarrative, 181 and translation of Q'eqchi' ethics and and concentration of productive land in ontologies, 153, 181, 186 Alta Verapaz, 158 and translation of Q'eqchi' patriarchal and consolidation of racial ascriptions protections, 151 and hierarchies, 151 and fincas de mozos, 360 and violence, 151, 153 food shortages, 131, 164, 187, 213 and limited Q'eqchi' mobility, 153 and mandamientos, 82 and Maya civilization, 187 forced rental law, 341 and partial sovereignty, 168 foreign settlement, and coffee production, 2 and purchase of indebted plantations, 151 foreign settlers, 38, 63-4, 73 and self-perception as patriarchs, 179-80, Foucault, Michel, 14 fragmented land tenure arrangements, 60, sexual unions with Q'eqchi' women, 188; 158 see also rape and territorial sovereignty, 18 free labor market, 264 free wage labor, 28, 113, 124, 357 and translation of Q'eqchi' practices to and politics of postponement, 359 plantation patriarchy, 181



Index 387

German economic predominance, 201, 281 and Altaverapacence desires for national integrity and agency, 196 and ladino frustrations with, 228 German immigration celebration of, 255 interwar celebrations of, 255-6 and interwar period, 256 as national model, 233 German and ladino coffee planters, conflicts among, 225 German-Maya mestizaje, 252-6, 266, 297, as national model, 30, 233 as racial solution to stalled development, as remedy for Guatemalan ills, 254 German National Socialism. See Nazism German nationalism, 269, 315 erman plantations, redistribution of, 325 German properties confiscation of during World War I, 225 expansion of, 151 fate of, 334 nationalization of, 8, 12, 29-30, 311-12, 319, 321, 326, 355 nationalization of and debates over use, nationalization of and inflamed racial anxieties, 323 nationalization of and public response, 321-3 and public response to, 322 transferral to Department of National Plantations, 312 German return to Guatemala, and Q'eqchi' anxieties about retribution for disloyalty, 334 German school, 308 German settlers, 10, 18, 20, 63, 103, 363 and familial metaphors and models, as feudal and colonial holdover, 322 as feudal lords, 313 as imperialists, 313 and Nazism, 270 and reliance on ethnographic knowledge, and return to Alta Verapaz, 333 and shamanism, 291 and similarities with Tzuultaq'as, 333

Germans, 314 deportations of, 8, 30, 316, 319 and hope of receiving expropriated properties, 334 and post-World War II return to Guatemala, 334 and preparations for intervention and expropriation, 317-18 racialization of, 148, 151, 162 Goubaud Carrera, Antonio, 292, 333 government responsiveness, lack of, 37 Great Depression, 30, 233, 262, 267-8, 276, 293 and coffee planter responses to, 262 and destabilization of coffee prices, 262 Guatemalan economic recovery from, Guatemala City, 324 Guatemala-Germany Free Trade agreement, 148 Guatemalan anti-fascist, pro-democracy movement, 315 Guatemalan Civil War, 309 Guatemalan coffee planters, and lack of credit, 225 Guatemalan intellectuals, and doubts about Mayas' capacity for civilization, 82 and Indian problem, 106 Guatemalan left, and shift of focus to rural Maya laborers, 261 Guatemalan nationality, temporary ethnicization and Europeanization of, Guerrilla Army of the Poor, 366 habeas corpus, 112, 124 habilitación, 280 habilitadores, 143 health, 268 Herrera, Carlos, 237, 243, 250 military overthrow of, 251 and Q'eqchi' electoral support for, 239 Hispanism, 301 historic justice, 313, 334, 348 historical time, 14, 17-18 and October Revolution, 355 and Q'eqchi' struggles, 147 honor, 208, 271, 278-9, 287 and downtrodden mothers, 309 and multiracial sociability, 215 and urban working classes, 207



388 Index

honorability, 193-4, 227 and ladino nationalism, 193 and participation in modernization projects and liberal associations, 228 of urban plebeians emphasized over the rich, 214 honorable ladino artisans, as non-Maya and nonwhite, 202 honorable working classes, 198 and modernization projects, 212 hybrid formations of modernity, 25 hybrid, intercultural worlds, and native mediation, 23 hygiene, 197, 214, 288 and marketplace, 197 and racial and social anxieties, 341 Icó, José Ángel, 1, 18, 21, 232-3, 242, 245, 255, 260-1, 263, 265, 325, 332 arrest of, 249, 264, 333 blamed for labor strikes and land invasions, 248 blamed for Q'eqchi' radicalization, 246 and campaign for indigenous-only municipal council in San Pedro Carchá, and Carchá Agricultural Association, 333 cast as outside agitator, 248 charges of sedition against, 239 and Comunidad Agraria, 339 and connections with German and ladino elites, 240 correspondence with Jorge Ubico, 264 departmental inquiry into, 248 and documentation for vagrancy law exemptions, 332 efforts to negotiate with Erwin Paul Dieseldorff, 245 and electoral politics, 239, 241 and exemptions for laborers, 241 imprisonment of, 265 and the Indigenous Agricultural Community of San Pedro Carchá, 332 and land invasions, 261 and Maya electoral politics, 240 as new type of Maya intermediary, 241 as new type of native intermediary, 240 and nonparticipation in civil-religious hierarchy, 241

and operation outside Q'eqchi' patriarchal institutions, 242 as party organizer, 240 and Q'eqchi' political mobilization, 232 represented as social deviant, 260 represented as threat to social order, 248, and representation of rural Mayas, 242, 261 as target of state officials and coffee planters, 242 as unrecognized coffee planter, 241 immigrant settlers, 103. See also German coffee planters immorality, 207 and the upper classes, 201 imperialism, 312 import-substitution industrialization, 300 incarceration, 170, 266 indebted properties, purchase by German planters to expand control, 360 indecency, 206-7 india bonita pageants, 304-5, 308 Indian problem, and landowner exploitation, 106, 138 Indianness, stigmas of, 195 indigeneity and contradictory place in nation, 306-7 racialization of, 307 separation from via Liberal associations, 203 indigenismo, 114, 134-5, 147, 270, 307-8 and critiques of coffee planter treatment of workers, 307 and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 306, 330 Ubico-sanctioned version of, 308 and undermining of Maya peasant activists, 330 indigenista liberals, 141, 146 Indigenous Agricultural Community of San Pedro Carchá, 332 indigenous communities, and incorporation into plantations, 9 indigenous culture and association with the countryside, 305 and Cobán departmental fair, 299 equated with subversion, 368 indigenous domesticity, 305 indigenous education, 134, 141 indigenous knowledge, 79 indigenous labor, increased demand for, 3

and nonparticipation in cofradías, 241



Index 389

indigenous lands, increased demand for, 3 indigenous mobility, as threat to planter sovereignty, 308 indigenous peasant economies, 50 indigenous political projects, 25 indigenous social organization, 63 indigenous spiritualities, 20 indigenous subsistence production, 20 indigenous women, and constant threat of violence, 308. See also rape indolence, 4, 73, 112, 114-15, 141, 148, 162, 201-2, 265, 277-8, 287 and the wealthy, 201 inflation, 174 and 1897 coffee crisis, 155 influenza epidemic, 29, 223-7, 362 infrastructure, 268, 271, 299 and modernity, 280 insecurity, 341 Instituto Indigenista Nacional, 329 Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 329 intellectuals, and anti-fascist coalition, 315 interracial relationships, and patriarchal politics, 182 interwar coffee boom, 256-7 interwar immigration, 256 intimidation, 184. See also coercion itinerant vendors, 197, 206 justice, Maya notions of, 266 Kaqchikels, and mobilization for nationalized land, 324-5 labor, racialization of, 112, 114, 147, 151, labor acquisition, and purchase of inhabited land, 143 labor battalions, 142 labor contracts, Q'eqchi' Unionista demand for abolition of, 236 labor crisis, 151 labor disputes, as threats to planter sovereignty, 336 labor and land reform, and Q'eqchi' and ladino political leader responses to expectations of, 332 labor laws, 275 confusion over, 328 labor mobilizations, crackdowns on by state

labor movement, repression of, 264 labor problem, 251 labor raids, 117 labor recruiters. See habilitadores labor rights, 328 labor sharing, 57 labor shortages, 4, 69, 102, 130, 162, 332 blamed on Maya customs, 70 blamed on Maya hatred of labor, 126 and coffee production, 68 and jurisdictional boundaries, 102 labor strikes, 7, 29, 233, 241, 245-7, 249, 266, 362 coffee planter responses to, 247-8 as expression of reciprocity and solidarity, 241 and government crackdown on, 250 and military repression, 251 outlawed in 1927 constitutional reforms, 257, 261 and Q'eqchi' political mobilization, 233 violent repression of, 7, 258 labor time, 246 commodification of, 357 as part of plantation capital value, 174 rural Q'eqchi' repossession of, 245-6 labor unions, 195, 209 dissolution of, 265 labor unrest, 257 laborer debt, 29, 83, 176, 178, 280 difficulty repaying, 174 and fincas de mozos, 178 and politics of postponement, 176 and Q'eqchi' reciprocity, 178 and reduction of mobility, 174 Los Lacandones, 111-12 ladino, shifting meanings of, 227 ladino anti-imperialist nationalism, and German nationalism, 301 ladino artisans, 202 and Communist Party of Guatemala, and labor unions, 252 and national progress, 202 and opposition to Estrada Cabrera, 229 radicalization of, 251 ladino coffee planters, and calls for nationalization of German properties, 225 ladino indigenistas, 122, 134 ladino nationalism, 194-204, 227, 229

officials and coffee planters, 232



390 Index

ladino nationalism (cont.) racial defects of, 253 and civilization, 195 and Tezulutlán anti-imperialism, 302 and civilizing metanarrative, 193 land, 266 land claims, 236 and continued racialization of Mayas, and memories of land possession and and exclusion of Mayas, 195 dispossession, 30 and fluid social and racial hierarchies, 227 land concentration, 105, 342 and Generation of 20 intellectuals, 252 and foreigners, 105 and honorability, 193-4, 228 land division, and efforts to eliminate and inclusion of Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 202 ambiguities, 95 land invasions, 7, 29, 233, 241, 245, 247, inclusiveness of, 229 Indianness as foil of, 227 249, 261, 266, 362 and liberal-democratic metanarrative, coffee planter responses to, 247-8 193 as expression of reciprocity and and new social identity, 227 solidarity, 241 and participation in public festivals, 227 and government crackdown on, 250 and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 202, 227 and prior histories of possession, 29 and race performances, 227 and Q'eqchi' political mobilization, 233 and racial silencing, 193, 195 and violent repression, 7 and rejection of mestizaje, 195, 202, 227 land and labor reform, and reduced and shifting meanings of ladino, 228-30 dependence on coffee exports, 343 and shifting racial discourses, 202 land loss, and debt, 146 and shifting racial identifications, 229 land privatization, 4, 66, 72, 78-9, 81, 114, and social mobility, 193-4 116, 131, 133-4, 145, 359, 363 and urban modernization, 228 1889 special decree for Alta Verapaz, 129, 131-4, 145 and urban plebeians, 193 and 1894 national land law, 144-5 and whiteness, 194 ladino political violence, as backlash to and border wars, 148 1920 elections, 243-4 and coffee production, 4 ladino racial anxieties, and sanitation, and conflicts between Q'eqchi' patriarchs and commoners, 132 243-4 ladino reformers, and multiparty and Conservative restrictions on, 64 competition, 331 institutionalization of, 80 and Liberal state, 83 ladinos and Liberals, 359 and anti-German nationalism, 270, 290 and anti-imperialist regional identity, 293 and mapping, 86 and aspirations to social betterment, 196 and Maya commoner petitions, 131-4 as authentic spirit of Alta Verapaz, 302 and Maya mobility, 84 blamed for Estrada Cabrera dictatorship, Maya resistance to, 67 and Q'eqchi' moral crisis, 115 229, 253 and claims to peaceful conquest, 270, 301 and settler access to land, 67 and desire for full participation in and stable labor force for coffee progress and the civilized world, 188 production, 84 as insufficiently civilized or European, and tensions beween Q'eqchi' commoners and patriarchs, 133 land redistribution, 344 and local political power, 245 and membership in Liberal clubs and and Alta Verapaz, 314 associations, 199 expectations for, 30 and modernity, 193 and peasants and workers, 344 and postponed modernity, 188 and rural Maya mobilizations, 314, 323 and racial and class boundaries, 244 land speculation, 81, 145



Index 391

	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
land surveying, 96	and multiclass and multiracial
and Q'eqchi' memories of land	membership, 199
possession, 109	and philanthropy, 204 and political patronage, 198, 203
and Q'eqchi' role in, 166	
land surveying and titling, 91 and coffee plantation labor acquisition,	and schools, 198 and social mobility, 208, 228
79	and social and moral uplift, 199
high costs of, 87	as tools of political resistance, 233
and indigenous memories and archives, 92	as vehicles for political patronage, 193
and labor acquisition for coffee	participation in and separation from
plantations, 85	indigeneity, 203
and lack of guaranteed secure ownership,	liberal-democratic metanarrative, 13, 20,
87	116, 138, 187, 202, 217, 266, 271,
and Maya cosmography, 92	278, 281, 312, 357
and Maya political marginalization, 85	1954 coup and death of, 363
and native mediation, 93	anti-aristocratic and egalitarian impulses
and Q'eqchi' historical memory of land	202
use, 91	and anticolonialism, 281
and reinforcement of Maya communal	and ladino nationalism, 193
bonds, 91	Liberal Party use of, 13
and remaking of territories, 109	and Minerva festivals, 217
and renegotiation of local political power,	and nationalization of German
79	properties, 312, 322
land tenure arrangements, 17, 38	and neglect of republican aspects, 202
land titles/titling, 91, 100, 359	and promise of citizenship and
and conflicts over boundaries, 100	emancipation, 13
imprecision of, 79	and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 106
and Mayas, 87	and Q'eqchi' Unionists, 236
and social anxieties, 87	and Q'eqchi' unsettling of, 134
landless proletariat, 50	Q'eqchi' use of, 13
landowners, and fear of 1945 constitution,	and Unionist Club Freedom of the Indian
327	235-6
Latin America	and vagrancy law, 277
and anti-dictatorship sentiment during	liberal developmentalism, 364-5
World War II, 314	Liberal land privatization laws, 67, 81
and anti-European regionalism, 222	Liberal modernization, 78
and colonialism, 20	Liberal Party, 13
and metanarrative of democracy, 222	and coffee planters, 247
and racialized exclusion, 20	and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 358
Latin American elites, doubts about self-	Liberal rebels, 74
rule, liberal rights, and democracy, 13	Liberal reform, 79
legal equality, 76, 108	abolition of Maya town councils, 80
legitimacy, 39 Liberal clubs and associations, 29, 193, 195,	and native mediation, 44
198–9, 212	liberal republicanism, 37, 39 and caste hierarchy, 72
and differentiation from others, 200, 208	as threat to Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 72
and Estrada Cabrera, 199	
and ladino nationalism, 193, 228	Liberal revolution, 73 and state expansion, 80
and ladino and Q'eqchi' patriarch	Liberal state
membership, 199	and abolition of Maya-controlled town
and Minerva festivals, 220	councils, 4, 76
ana minor na resurtato, 220	50anens, 4, / 0



392 Index

Liberal state (cont.) and conversion of Mayas into stable labor force for coffee production, 78 and dismantling of Maya caste hierarchy, 77, 80 and disruption of Q'eqchi' reciprocity and mutual obligation, 78 and efforts to fix boundaries, 78, 80 and efforts to thwart Maya migration, 78, 80,85 and erosion of Q'eqchi' patriarchal authority, 186 and formal equality, 80 and governability, 78 and institutionalization of land privatization, 4, 80 and institutionalization of mandamientos, 4, 78, 80, 82 and land privatization, 83 and mapping, 80 and modernity, 78 and political marginalization of Mayas, and profitability, 78 and promotion of European immigration and land ownership, 78 and public works projects, 78 and racialized scheme of national progress, 78 and representation of Mayas as threats to national progress, 76, 78 and state expansion, 80 and undermining of Q'eqchi' patriarchal authority, 109 liberalism, 7, 188 and dangers of extension to Mayas, 47 and limits of, 177 liberal-state ontologies, 147 limited citizenship, as defense against fascism and dictatorship, 327 literacy-based citizenship and 1927 constitutional reforms, 257, and discrimination against Mayas, 261 opposition to, 261 Livingston reforms, 46 Local Agrarian Committees, 345 Local Committee on Uncultivated Lands, 299 local democracy, and agrarian reform, 341 local governance, and native intermediaries, 36

Maya exclusion from, 2 local political power, 257 lower-class ladinos, and demands for justice and end to exploitation, 320 lower-class Q'eqchi's and alliance with lower-class ladinos, 113 and resistance to mandamientos, 138 lower-class working women and challenge to patriarchal order, 194 increased numbers in Cobán, 197 and increased sexual and economic autonomy, 194, 197 and modernity, 194 and urban public spaces, 194 lower and middle classes, and postponed modernity, 361 management of difference, 308 and racial capitalism, 151 management of sentiments, and plantations, mandamiento laborers, and pressures to enter commercial transactions, 117 mandamientos, 68-71, 83, 103, 113, 141, 146, 359, 371 abolition of, 139-44, 275 as anachronism, 114, 125, 140 and application to women and children, 116, 135 and associated costs for planters, 143 challenged in local courts, 233 and civil-religious hierarchy, 69 as civilizing force, 127-8 coffee planter opposition to abolition of, 140 coffee planter reliance on, 70 coffee planter violations of time specifications, 117-18 and coffee production, 4 and disembeddedness from social relations, 116 and disruption of communal norms, 113 and disruption of reciprocity, 115, and disruption of subsistence and economic activities, 113, 116, 118 exemption requests, 116, 119-20, 122 and exploitation of Q'eqchi' reciprocity and solidarity, 69 and hemispheric antislavery movements,

147



Index

393

institutionalization of, 4, 80, 82 and insufficient remuneration for subsistence, 117 jailing of resisters to, 121 ladino control of, 116 Liberal administrative changes to, 115 and liberal-democratic metanarrative, and lower-class Q'eqchi' resistance to, 134 militarization of, 112 national debates over, 112, 137 opposition to reintroduction of, 258-9 and planter benefits, 69-70 political disputes over reinstatement, 258 and pressures on rural lower-class Mayas, pro-abolition petitons and reports, 138 Q'eqchi' flight from, 99, 112-13, 121, 130, 147 and Q'eqchi' health, 116-17 and Q'eqchi' moral crisis, 115 Q'eqchi' patriarch efforts to protect commoners from, 359 Q'eqchi' patriarch exemption requests, 107-8 and racial capitalism, 128 and racialization of Mayas, 115 reinstitution of by Conservative Party, 4 reintroduction of, 146, 232-3, 256, 258-9 as reintroduction of colonial repartimiento, 69 resistance to, 62 as slavery, 103, 112–13, 124–5, 135, 141 as solution to coffee labor shortages, 69 as threat to Q'eqchi' autonomy, 116 as transgression of Q'eqchi' morals, 119 as vestige of colonialism, 140, 142 and wage advances, 69 mapping, 86, 92 and capitalist expansion, 85 and labor acquisition for coffee plantations, 85 and land privatization, 86 and mandamientos, 85 and Maya cosmography, 86 and Maya knowledge, 109 and Maya political marginalization, 85 and plantation sovereignty, 168 and politics of postponement, 168

and production of new agricultural practices and social relations, 168 and Q'eqchi' spirituality, 95 and Q'eqchi' patriarch participation, 86 and state power, 95 and taxation, 85 masculinity, 107, 279 Maya agricultural and social practices: translation into civilizing metanarrative, 55 Maya assimilation, 329 Maya autonomy, threatened by labor and land demands, 115 Maya calendar, 16, 42 Maya caste hierarchy, 81, 233 Maya citizenship, 325 and Central American republic, 44 Conservative and Liberal limits to, 13 ladino fears of, 243 limited by 1927 constitutional reforms, and politics of postponement, 238, 356 Maya civil-religious hierarchy, 340 and autonomy, 58 Maya class divides, 57-8 and rise of new intermediaries, 115 Maya commoners and alarm at threat to subsistence production, 121 and constitutionalism as challenge to local authorities, 45 and inability of patriarchs to defend communal interests, 121 and Q'eqchi' patriarch erosion of reciprocity, 121 Maya communal properties, privatization of, 80 Maya cosmography, 55 and Q'eqchi' morality, 119 Maya cosmological landscapes, 79 Maya cosmology, and Xucaneb's revenge, 113 Maya culture, 307 folklorization of, 308, 362 German appropriation of, 30, 270, 291-2, 308 ladino appropriation of, 30, 270, 290, persecution of, 269-70, 308, 310 and Q'eqchi' patriarchs' efforts to reassert authority, 30



394 Index

Maya culture (cont.) Q'eqchi' patriarchs' uses of, 270 Q'eqchi' patriarchs as true representatives racialization of, 51, 285 relegation to the past, 289, 308 state appropriation of, 292 as threat to modernity, 310 Maya folklorization, 269, 306 and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 304 Maya historical memories, 313, 354 Maya institutions, and coffee planter cooptation of, 71 Maya knowledge appropriation of, 292 use in ladino and European land petitions, Maya labor appropriation of, 63 and increased demand for, 73 pursuit of by local officials, 122 Maya land, alienation of, 63 Maya land titling, and risks of, 87 Maya leadership structures, co-optation of Conservatives, 80 Maya medicine, 288 commodification of, 289, 292 as threat to national health and safety, Maya migration, 66, 85, 91, 98-100 planter efforts to thwart, 185 Maya mobilizations, 323-5 Maya ontologies, 147 historic justice and reciprocity and solidarity, 313 Maya peasant activists and efforts to end coerced labor and vagrancy laws, 325 and political parties, 331 Maya peasant economy, 38, 59 Maya peasants and disruption of racial and social hierarchies, 350 and efforts to propel October Revolution from below, 331 and mobilization for land, 355 rounded up as vagrants, 332 Maya political activism, and racial darkening, 350 Maya political agency and 1865 Yat rebellion, 38

disavowals of, 38 and ladino fears of, 243 Maya political marginalization, and Liberals, 78 Maya political mobilization and coffee planter efforts to thwart, 339 and escalating violence and retribution, and political representation, 244 Maya political ontologies, 307, 310 active disavowal of by state officials and coffee planters, 7 in expansion of capitalism, 371 persecution of, 309 Maya practices, as anachronistic, 5 Maya practices of solidarity and reciprocity, policing of, 309 Maya resistance to capitalism, portrayed as backwardness, 4 Maya rights as citizens, 239 Maya rituals, and social mobility, 58 Maya seasonal migration, 51-4 and autonomy, 54 and coffee planters' efforts to end, 170 and microclimates, 51-4 Maya sexual labor, and German nationalism, 298 Maya smallholders, and debt, 134 Maya subsistence production, 131 disruption of, 63 need of reforms to protect, 131 Maya territorial sovereignty and autonomy, Maya town councils, Liberal abolition of, 80 Mayas as agents of modernization, 305 and alcohol-related arrests, 283 as anachronisms, 76, 113, 233, 263, 368 and association with unproductive labor, commodification of, 151 contestation of racialization, 113 and demands for justice and end to exploitation, 320 and desire for citizenship, 266 and desires for land and subsistence production, 266 and marginalization from local political power, 83 as noncitizens, 270 and politics of postponement, 5



Index 395

racialization of, 4-5, 113, 125, 127-8, 130, 148, 151, 205, 238, 260, 265, 307, 309 as relics, 270 represented as aliens to modernity, 368 represented as incapable of capitalism, represented as lacking economic desires, represented as threats to national progress, 5, 125, 368 and small-scale coffee production, 159 and vagrancy laws, 276 and visions of regional economy, 108 Mayas resistance, racialization of, 73 Méndez Montenegro, Julio César, 321, 364 merchant creditors, 65 mestizaje, 30, 233, 252-6, 266, 362 between Germans and Mayas, 266 calls for, 255 and European immigration, 254 interwar celebration of, 255-6 and racial improvement, 252-6 Mexican Revolution, 29, 223-4, 362 microclimates, 52-3 middle class, and anti-fascist coalition, 312 middle-class professionals, and opposition to Ponce Vaides, 320 military coup, 251 military officers, 324 and anti-fascist coalition, 320 military repression, 364 millennial revolt, 28 milpas, 50, 65, 143, 247 Minerva festivals, 191-2, 216-22 as access to Western civilization, 11, 29, 191-2, 219 and citizenship, 218 as civilization of the poor, 218-19 and corruption, 221 criticism of, 221 as display of Guatemala on world stage, and education, 192, 217, 219 and Estrada Cabrera dictatorship, 219-21 and foreign investment, 191 and increasing disgust with, 222 and ladino agency, 195 as liberal-democratic and civilizing metanarratives, 217

and modernity, 217 and national unity, 216 and politics of postponement, 191-2 and progress, 192, 217 and Q'eqchi' and ladino participants and organizers, 11, 219 and silencing of racial discourses, 219 as staged spectacles, 193, 216, 219 as symbols of reign of terror, 193 minimum wage increases, 338 Ministry of Development, 140 Ministry of the Interior, 100, 105, 340 Ministry of Labor, and uneven enforcement of labor laws, 336 Misiones Ambulantes de Cultura Inicial, 330 mixed-race children, 254 German legal recognition of, 317 mixed-town councils, 4 modernity, 12, 21, 75, 270, 365, 370 and civilizing metanarrative, 14 and coerced labor, 281 as contested historical processes, 22 contested notions of, 113 desires for, 196 as ethical imperative to change, 14 and Eurocentricism, 12 and forward movement of time, 14 geographical and temporal locations of, 7 and infrastructure, 280 ladino aspirations to, 196 ladinos' notions of, 196 and liberal-democratic metanarrative, 14 liberal-democratic notions of, 196 and linear time, 37 metanarratives of, 18, 30 as particular temporality, 14 and politics of postponement, 151 postponement of, 10, 188 Q'eqchi' alternatives, 371 Q'eqchi' patriarchs' aspirations to, 196 Q'egchi' patriarchs' notions of, 196 and slavery, 28 and social betterment, 196 and struggles over the meaning of, 22 and technological progress, 196 threats to, 20 unfulfilled expectations of, 298 urban space as projection of, 211 Western culture and, 196 modernization, 270, 281, 293 and time, 14



396 Index

moral crises, and competing ontologies, 122 National Renovation Party, 321 morality, 208 nationalism, 269, 293. See also anti-German mountain spirit ethics, 16 nationalism; German nationalism; mountain spirits/deities, 52, 114, 128 ladino nationalism; Nazism; Tezulutlán multiracial sociability, and honor, 215 and articulation through moral economy, municipal boundaries 136 fluidity of, 79 and gender, 136 and mandamientos, 98 and modernity, 12 and Q'eqchi' patriarch challenges to, nationalized German properties 101-2 debated in Constitutional Assembly, 327 and taxation, 98 expectations for redistribution of, 325 municipal conflicts redistribution of, 314 and Maya labor for public works, 337 and rural laborer demands for redistribution, 8 and planter location strategies, 100 municipal council elections, and political nationalized plantations, 321, 325, 334, platforms, 340 municipal councils, 44, 258, 337 and abuses of laborers, 337-8 and labor law applicability, 328 and administrator unwillingness to implement the law, 338 and opposition to mandamiento drafts, and anti-reform administrators, 349 258 and opposition to reintroduction of as bastions of conservative politics, 339 mandamientos, 258-9 debate over use of, 325 Q'eqchi' marginalization from, 280 debates over in Constitutional Assembly, and Q'eqchi' political mobilization, 245 and urban improvement, 212 and demands for redistribution of, 328, municipal elections, 340 municipal intendentes system, 272, 274-5 and denial of worker benefits, 338 municipal memorias, 209 and efforts to limit reform, 339 municipal officials and efforts to thwart Maya political and reproduction of Q'eqchi' partriarchal participation, 340 reciprocity, 279 labor strikes, 338-9 and vagrancy laws, 279 and laborer requests for Ministry of municipal politics, and national political Labor intervention, 338 and patronage politics, 335 parties, 340 mutual aid societies, 195 and plantation sovereignty, 337-8 and social hierarchies, 204 redistribution of, 314 and uniting of Q'eqchi' and ladino men, and requests to plant or rent property, as source of state income, 334 narratives of the past, as justification for unauthorized redistribution of, 335 coercion, 259-60 and violent physical punishment, 338 National Agricultural Department, 344 and worker demands for higher wages, national boundaries, 307 National Defense Committee Against Nationalized Plantations Department, 344 Communism, 352 native mediation, 23-4, 36-9, 41-2, 64, National Police, 270, 272, 282 240, 275, 358

and 1865 Yat rebellion, 358

and colonial administration, 41-3

and communal consensus, 24

and Catholic Church, 43

and administration of colonial society, 39

national progress

threats to, 76

and work, 261

Germans as hindrance to, 322

Q'eqchi's' role in, 137



Index 397

crisis of, 36, 49, 78, 109, 359-60 crisis of and emergence of new intermediaries, 184 and cultural translations, 22 and definition of communal boundaries of inclusion/exclusion, 24 and democratic constitutions, 38 and fincas de mozos, 240 and hybrid colonial culture, 42 new forms of, 266 and state sovereignty, 36 and transition to capitalism, 24 and translations between Catholicism and Maya religion, 42 Nazi Party. See Nazism Nazism, 11, 293, 295, 315, 363 and anti-communism, 295 and anti-communist appeal to German coffee planters, 295 and German associational life, 294 and mixed-race families, 317 and racial purity, 296 Now-Time (Jetzt-Zeit), and disruption of coerced labor and land dispossession, 6

October Revolution, 11, 313, 343 and challenge to civilizing metanarrative, and challenges to Maya relegation to the past, 355 and coerced labor, 325 and Cold War in Latin America, 363 and decentralization of state executive power, 326 and deepening of local democracy, 313 and Europeans as anachronistic feudal agents, 325 and expectations of land redistribution, 12 and fears about Maya preparedness for civic participation, 326 and historical time, 355 and land and labor reform, 343 as many revolutions, 355 and Maya peasant efforts to propel through political parties, 331 and modernization, 313, 325 and modified liberal-democratic narrative, 343 multiple meanings of, 313

and racial darkening/whitening, 350-1 and radicalization from below, 355 and radicalization of Maya peasants, 326 and recognition of political parties, 327 and redistribution of nationalized German plantations, 325 and relegation of Mayas to the past, 326 and rise of partisan politics, 340 as separation from past, 325 shaped by World War II, 325 and social reforms to limit planter sovereignty, 313 and state intervention to civilize Mayas, and transition to modern capitalism, 342 and unpaid labor, 325 and unwillingness to return German properties, 334 and vagrancy laws, 325 and World War II, 313 Operation Ashes (Operación Ceniza), 368 Orellana, José María, 250, 257

Pacay Turkheim, Jesús, 339, 353 Panzós massacre, 366-7 PAR controlled-municipalities, 341 parcialidades, 59, 88 partial territorial sovereignty. See planter sovereignty Partido General de Trabajadores, 366 Partido Liberal Auténtico, 353 Partido Renovación Nacional, 321 partisan politics, 241, 339-40 as challenge to Maya civil-religious hierarchy, 340 as challenge to Q'eqchi' patriarchs, and challenge to reciprocity of municipal politics, 340 and ladino reformers, 331 and Maya peasant activists, 331 and October Revolution, 340 as rupture of civil-religious hierarchy, and rural labor unions, 339 Party of German National Socialist Workers. See Nazi Party patriarchal bonds, 366 patriarchal politics, 366 Patzicía violence, 324-6

Peace Accords in 1996, 370

and nationalization of German

properties, 313



398 Index

peaceful conquest, 8, 269, 294, 363 commemorations of, 300, 302 German interpretations of, 303 meanings of, 300, 302 and racial purity, 303 romanticized mythologies of, 301 peasant subsistence economy and coffee labor shortages, 68 and undesirability of working outside community, 68 Peasant Unity Committee, 366 periodization disciplining power of, 357 and management of difference, 18, 76 and the modern versus the nonmodern, 15 and racialization of difference, 357 philanthropy, 199 physical punishment, 178 plantation debt, and Q'eqchi' reciprocity, plantation dependency, and Q'eqchi' norms of mutual obligation and reciprocity, 177-8 plantation economy, 28, 361 and women, 171 plantation labor and time, as essential part of plantation value, 176 plantation patriarchal politics and affection and sexual violence, 183-4 challenged by laborers, 246 and gendered hierarchy of paternal care, 171 and nationalized plantations, 337 and Q'eqchi' contestation of, 249 and reproduction of racialized difference, and romanticized mythologies interracial love, 183-4 use of Q'eqchi' patriarchal norms, 184-5 and violence against resident laborers, plantation sexual labor economy, 10, 150, 182-3, 298, 308, 360 and German-Q'eqchi' unions, 308 plantation space, rural Q'eqchi' repossession of, 245 plantations. See also other entries beginning with "plantation" administrators of, and racialized and gendered hierarchies, 171

hierarchy on, and gender, race, and class, illegal detention on, 170 jails on, 169 labor management strategies on, 179 as loss of social and economic reproduction, 179 as moral decay, 179 oversight of laborers on, and alcaldes auxiliares and caporales, 171 racial hierarchy, 177 as space of contention, 170 state officials, 171 wages on, 176 planters. See also coffee planters; German coffee planters; planter sovereignty; Q'eqchi' coffee planters abuses, 233, 236 debt, and 1897 coffee crisis, 155 patriarchal politics, 350 planter sovereignty, 139, 162, 171, 185, 187, 240, 275, 345, 350, 360, 362 and affective politics, 158 and agrarian reform, 344-5 challenged by Q'eqchi' political mobilization, 232 and coffee planters, 152 and Decrees 1995 and 1996, 276 incompleteness of, 158 legacies of, 353 limits imposed by October Revolution, and limits of liberalism's promise, 185 and management of state officials on plantations, 171 and nationalization of German properties, 325 and October Revolution, 325 Q'eqchi' challenges to, 362 O'eqchi' Unionist challenges to, 236 and sexual and racial violence, 349 state challenges to, 270, 272 threats to, 336 police, 287. See also secret police and rural state expansion, 284 police state, 309 political clubs, 198 political competition, 340 political emancipation, 2 Q'eqchi' Unionista demands for, 235

boundaries of, 167



Index 399

political legitimacy, 41 political parties, 327, 331 political polarization, 246 1950 presidential election, 339 political prisoners, 351 political repression, 220, 250-1, 257-8, 272-3, 282, 306, 310 and radicalization, 251 political violence, 243, 249-50, 266, 367 as backlash to 1920 elections, 243-4 and countryside, 250 and nationalization of German properties, 326 politics of postponement, 5-6, 20, 30, 125, 152, 161, 168, 188, 221, 236, 266, 269, 310, 326, 361 and 1952 agrarian reform, 346 and 1954 coup, 363 and August 1920 elections as rupture, challenged by labor strikes and land invasions, 362 and charges of anachronism, 5 and citizenship, 357 and coerced labor, 20 and demand for Maya labor, 73 and demands for expansion of democracy, 229 and dispossession, 20 and enclosure, 20 and forced labor, 20 and free wage labor, 357, 359 as justification for coerced labor and limits on democratic participation, 6 and laborer debt, 176 and ladino backlash against Q'eqchi' political mobilization, 244 Maya disruption of, 265 and Maya historical immaturity, 127 and Mayas as alien to modernity and as socially deviant, 288 Minerva festivals as end to, 219 and protopopulism, 193 Q'eqchi' challenges to, 233 and Q'eqchi' contestation of, 7 Q'eqchi' inversion of, 6 and Q'eqchi' memories of land possession, 30 Q'eqchi' rejection of, 236 and racialized plantation economy, 361 and state fairs, 307

and Unionist Club Freedom of the Indian, and Unionsist Club Freedom of the Indian petition, 237 and violence, 20 Ponce, Fidel, 124 Ponce Vaides, Federico, 312, 320, 324, 363 and anti-German nationalism, 321 and appeals to nationalism, 313 and appeals to rural Mayas, 313 and creation of Department of National and Intervened Plantations, 321 and differentiation from fascism, 321 and experience in Alta Verapaz, 321 and expropriation of German assets, 32T and nationalization of German properties, 312, 321, 363 overthrow of, 324 urban opposition to, 321, 323-4 and validation of popular demands, 321 Pop, Victoriano, 77, 96, 104 popular justice, 293 Popular Liberation Front, 321 popular masculinity, 273 popular memory, 260 popular sovereignty, 44, 358 populism, 361 Portocarrero, J. M. Eduardo, 228-9 postcolonial nations, and racialized violence, 372 Preventive and Penal Law Against Communism, 352 primitive accumulation, 26 private property, 59, 108 privatized mandamientos, 143 Proclaimed List, 316-18 production of difference, as a tool of labor management, 19 progress as linear and developmental, 14 postponement of, 188 and racial difference, 78 Progressive Liberal Party, 263 prostitution, 197, 205, 207, 243, 282, 284 and racial anxieties, 128, 243 as threat to national health and welfare, 284 protopopulism, 201, 214, 228 public health, 207 and racial degeneration, 197



> Index 400

El Q'eq, 24, 28, 150, 152-3, 188, 361 as inversion of Q'eqchi' ethics, 150, 168-9, 178-9, 186, 361 and limited Maya mobility, 153 and plantation discipline and surveillance, 168-9, 361 and plantation sexual labor economy, 182-3, 186, 361 and planter sovereignty, 153-4, 158, 361 as Q'eqchi' interpretation of plantation life, 152-3 and racial capitalism, 28, 153-4, 158, 165, 187, 361

Q'eqchi' archival records, value of, 87 Q'eqchi' autonomous peasant economy, as threat to coffee export production, 51 Q'eqchi' coffee plantations and denial of mandamiento exemptions, 107-8 and lack of state recognition, 359 Q'eqchi' coffee planters, 106, 108-9, 259. See also coffee planters; planters and efforts to protect commoners from excessive labor demands, 109 and ineffectiveness in securing mandamiento exemptions, 119 and state refusal to recognize, 107-8, 161 Q'eqchi' commoners and accountability of Q'eqchi' patriarchs, and autonomous peasant economy, 51 and communal solidarity and reciprocity combined with individualism, 51 and disenfranchisement, 48 and frustration with Conservative policies, 49 and increased demands on labor, 49, 109 and lack of representation from Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 49 and patriarch appropriation of communal land, 132 and popular sovereignty, 44 and Q'eqchi' patriarch inability to defend interests of, 120 and revolts against patriarchs, 49 and search for new intermediaries, 120 and state monopolies on alcohol production, 49

and undermined access to communal resources, 49

O'egchi' communities and coexistence of communal reciprocity and liberal individualism, 63 and construction of coffee plantations, 86 and divisions between patriarchs and commoners, 145 and erosion of communal solidarity and reciprocity, 132 obstacles to coffee production, 62 and representative accountability, 48 and transformation of communal properties into private properties, 86 Q'eqchi' concubines, and German abandonment narrative, 298 Q'eqchi' democratic ideologies, 49 Q'eqchi' ethics of reciprocity and solidarity, Q'eqchi' historical memories, 12, 355 Q'eqchi' insurrectionary politics, 232 Q'eqchi' laborers demands on, 73, 110 and labor actions during harvest, 250 and labor strikes, 246 and land invasions, 246 racialization of through debt and dependency, 176 and resistance to planters, 153 Q'eqchi' memories of land possession, 109 and 1952 agrarian reform, 347-8 and Decree 900 petitions, 348 and plantation boundaries, 167 Q'eqchi' moral crisis, 69, 110 and coffee production, 115 and mandamientos, 115 and privatization of communal lands, 115 and Xucaneb's revenge, 120 Q'eqchi' patriarch-commoner relations, 86 deterioration of, 73, 122 rupture of, 114 Q'eqchi' patriarch-ladino indigenista alliances, 114, 122, 134, 147, 195 Q'eqchi' patriarch-Liberal alliances, 116 Q'eqchi' patriarchs. See also native mediation and accumulation of wealth, 61 as agents of national progress, 107, 134, 137-8, 159-61 and alliances with Conservatives, 86 and appropriation of communal land, 133 and assertion of superiority over European planters, 137



Index 401

attempts to represent rural Mayas, 330 and citizenship, 200 and civilization, 200 and civilizing metanarrative, 107, 113 as coffee planters, 61-2, 78, 88-9, 134 and coffee production, 86, 159 and cofradías, 134, 306 and combination of patriarchal politics with liberal individualism, 184 and competition for land with immigrant settlers, 103 and conflict resolution, 57 and critiques of European coffee planters, 107, 137 and defense of commoners, 107 and democratic challenges, 28 and differentiation from Maya plantation laborers, 195, 199, 304 and efforts to protect commoners from coerced labor and land dispossession, and efforts to title parcialidades and private lands for coffee planting, 88 and efforts to title tierras baldías, 89 and erosion of local political power, 134 and failure to protect commoners from state intervention, 119 and failure to represent commoner interests, 36, 73 as guardians of Maya culture, 293 and inability to protect commoners, 359 and individual tiles to communal land, 359 and ladino nationalism, 195 and land claims, 90 and land distribution, 57, 59, 92 and land petition disputes, 98 and legitimacy, 43 and legitimation of land ownership, 89 and legitimation of new property regimes, and liberal discourses and metanarratives, 78, 89, 106-7 and mandamiento exemption requests, 88, 119 and marginalization on town councils, and membership in Liberal clubs and associations, 199 and modernity, 193, 280 and petition for abolition of mandamientos, 126

and political corruption, 36 and politics of postponement, 188 and postponed modernity, 188 and purchase of land as private property, and relations with rural Mayas, 306 and representation of commoner interests, 43, 48-9 and resolution of disputes, 43 self-representation as protectors of indigenous race, 137 and social betterment, 196 and social mobility, 193 and state refusal to recognize as coffee planters, 119, 136 and strategic appropriation of folklorized Maya culture, 306 and strategic self-representation, 304 and transformation of communal land into private coffee plantations, 109 and translation of reciprocity and solidarity into capitalism and mandamientos, 69-70 Q'eqchi' political mobilization, 248, 250 and articulations of communal solidarity, and challenge to coffee planter sovereignty, 232 and demand for control over municipal councils, end to debt contracts, and full rights as citizens, 232 and electoral politics, 232-3 and indigenous-only municipal councils, and labor strikes, 233 and ladino backlash, 244 and land invasions, 233 and local political parties, 333 and local political power, 245 meanings of, 249-50 and political violence as reponse, 232 and promises of liberalism, 232 and racialization of Mayas as anachronisms, 233 and redefinition of Q'eqchi' mediation, 233 and repression, 257-8 and responses of violence and retribution, 7 and unsettling of Alta Verapaz social and political order, 232 and violent reprisals and persecution, 266



402

Index

Q'eqchi' political modernities, 2 Q'eqchi' political ontologies, 6, 22, 369, 371 military dismantling of, 370 and modernity, 21 and modernization, 79 Q'eqchi' political power, 72 Q'eqchi' rural-to-urban migration, 205-6 and disruption of racial boundaries, 206 and social dislocation caused by expansion of coffee production, 206 Q'eqchi' spirituality cave ritual, 111, 115, 130-1 dangerous potential of, 259 ritual pilgrimages, 95 Q'eqchi' subsistence economy, 63 as indispensable to settler visions of progress and freedom, 63 perceived as backward, 63 Q'eqchi' territorial claims, and historical time and lineage, 60 Q'eqchi' Unionists, 29, 235-6 and abolition of debt contracts, 29 and contestation of politics of postponement, 6 and electoral support for Carlos Herrera, 239 and Maya citizenship, 29 Q'eqchi' villages, and disagreements over land petitioning or purchase, 98 Q'eqchi' women and acclimatization of German immigrants, 181 as concubines, 10, 360 as cooks, 10 as domestic and sexual servants on plantations, 182 as domestic servants, 360 and response to sexual violation, 183 and restoration of honor in courts, 183 O'egchi'-Germans, 254, 297 and 1952 agrarian reform, 346 and agrarian reform, 348-9 as allies of the masses, 254 and betrayals by German fathers, 298 and coexistence of interracial unions and Nazism, 297 and genealogical time, 297 as intermediaries, 254 as low-level state employees, 287 and petitions for fathers' land, 353-4

and petitions for fathers' expropriated property, 335 as reformers, 331 and troubling of political and racial boundaries, 351 and unfulfilled expectations about modernity, 298 as unstable social class, 254-5 Q'eqchi's and belief in wage labor, 337 challenge to liberal-democratic narrative and to narrative of state territorial sovereignty, 8 and challenge to obligatory labor for municipal councils, 336 and contestation of temporal categorization, 147 and declarations of freedom, 249 and efforts to produce coffee, 159 and efforts to title land, 88 and need for wage advances, 279 and participation in land surveying, 18, 109 and role in production of scientific geographies, 109 racial anxieties and nationalization of German properties, 323 and urban space, 128 racial capitalism, 28, 114, 148, 151, 188, 356, 358, 361-2 consolidation of, 28, 114 and fincas de mozos, 151-3, 162 and management of difference, 151 racial darkening, 350-1 racial degeneration, 197 and alcohol, 283-4 and disease, 197 and exploitation, 106, 113 and urban space, 194, 197 racial hierarchies, 259 and 1927 constitutional reforms, 260 and coffee plantations, 360 Q'eqchi' challenges to, 233 reassertion of for Maya labor recruitment, 257 racial improvement, 253, 268, 361 and class mobility over time, 19 and genealogical time, 298 and historical immaturity, 19

and mestizaje, 254



Index 403

racial order ladino fears of disruption of, 244 legacies of, 353 Q'eqchi' disruptions of', 250 racial purity, and German interpretations of peaceful conquest, 303 racial regeneration, 106 and coerced labor, 128 racial silencing, 195 racial violence, and nationalization of German properties, 326 racial whitening, 19-20, 194, 202, 252-6, 350-1 and anti-communism, 350-1 and civilizing metanarrative, 84 and mestizaje, 253 and October Revolution, 350-1 and urban public spaces, 194 racialization and coerced labor, 104 and exclusion, 20 and modernization, 148 and progress, 148 racialized class boundaries, disruptions of, racialized discourse, global shifts in, 329 rape, 182-3 reciprocity, 20, 38, 42, 48, 51, 59, 73, 115, 250, 266, 313, 336, 358-9 disruption of, 78, 108, 110, 304, 359 and labor sharing, 57 and Maya cosmography, 119 and Maya efforts to recreate on plantations, 167 and Maya peasant economies, 38 and plantation debt and dependency, and Q'eqchi' contestation of unpaid public works labor, 337 racialization of, 51 reducciones, 39 Regional Planters Association, 340 Reina Barrios, José María, 142 and abolition of mandamientos, 142 assassination of, 146 and reintroduction of mandamientos, 146 repartimientos, 41, 68-9 Republican Party, 243 resident laborers, 67, 88-9, 128-9, 138, 142, 146, 164, 171

and autonomous spaces on fincas de mozos, 153 as capital, 176 and coffee planter removal of access to subsistence land, 170 and contract violations, 173 demasculinization of, 171-2 and dependency on coffee planters, 173 efforts to increase autonomy, 360 efforts to limit planter power, 360 and efforts to recreate Q'eqchi' ethics on plantation, 167 and languages of slavery, 234 and loss of autonomy and selfgovernance, 177 and marking Tzuultaq'a sites, 167 Q'egchi' patriarch translation of commoners into, 88 and resistance on fincas de mozos, 163 and resistance to planter dependency, 170 and self-regulation, 169 and spaces of agency and autonomy, 170 subsistence production as subsidy for coffee production, 170 violence against, 170 revolutionary indigenismo, 329, 331 revolutionary millenarianism, 112, 121 Revolutionary Spring, 314, 354. See also October Revolution revolutionary time, 236, 262, 265, 346 Reyes, Celso V., 231, 250 Ríos Montt, Efrain, 368 road construction, and unpaid labor, 274, 281 Rossignon, Julio, 37, 63, 66 rumors, 260 as cultural knowledge, 123 rural discontent, 73, 268 rural education, 313, 362 rural labor unions, 331, 339-40 as challenge to Maya civil-religious hierarchy, 340 prohibition of, 329 and pressures for reform from below, 339 spread of, 339 rural Maya expectations, and land and labor reform, 332 rural migrants, 207 rural modernization, 268, 280 rural peasant leaders, violence against, 352



404 Index

rural peasants and workers Sapper, Karl, 152, 158, 302-3 Sapper, Richard, 104-5, 156-7, 165, 246, and demands for redistribution of nationalized plantations to workers, 249, 251, 360 Saxcoc, 83, 86, 88, 98 and democracy and social equality in scorched-earth campaign, 367 October Revolution, 313 seasonal time, 50 and radicalization of October Revolution, seasonal work, 70 secret police, 235 rural Q'eqchi's, 6 sedition, 63, 111, 115, 239 and agrarian communities, 331 shamanism, 16, 42, 269-70, 282, 284-8, and agrarian reform, 345 362 and agrarian reform as historic justice, as anachronism, 285 and coffee planters, 286 and challenges to patriarchal plantation National Police campaign against, 285 as nonmodern, 285 politics, 246 and flight from plantations, 246 persecution of as anti-modern, 362 and historic justice of agrarian reform, racialization of, 286 as threat to public health, 285-6 and invocation of civilizing and liberal-Sierra, Pablo, 38, 65-6, 123 democratic metanarratives, 138 Sillab, 92, 96 and labor strikes, 246 slavery, 2, 8, 13, 28, 113, 116, 124, 138, and land invasions of coffee plantations, 6 277 and liberal-democratic metanarrative, and mandamientos, 124 138 and protests of resident laborer status, meaning of rights and freedom to, 246 234 social deviancy, 288 and mobilization against unpaid labor and for redistribution of nationalized as threat to modernity, 282 plantations, 331 social justice, Q'eqchi' unfulfilled desires for, and municipal councils, 337 social mobility, 193, 204, 267 and opposition to local power of Q'eqchi' and ladino nationalism, 194 patriarchs and ladinos, 340 and revolution from below, 326 and Liberal clubs and associations, 208 and rural labor unions, 331 and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 193 and security of fincas de mozos, 164 social security, 313 and troubling of political and racial and 1945 constitution, 327 boundaries, 351 social welfare, 199, 214 and vagrancy laws, 331 and discipline and mobility, 204 solidarity, 20, 51, 57-9, 250, 266, 313, 358 rural racial tensions, 324 disruption of, 29, 304, 359 rural-to-urban migration, 129 and urban racial anxieties, 204-16 and labor sharing, 57 Russian Revolution, 29, 223, 362 space, 17 construction of, 17 San Juan Chamelco, 65, 292 Q'eqchi' experiences of, 95 San Pedro Carchá, 35, 39, 65, 77, 80, 86, spies, 193, 272, 282 spiritual socialism, 325, 328 101, 115, 186, 244 split national time, 270, 288, 309 sanitation, 243-4, 268, 271, 274-5, 357, staged modernization, 299 362 and racial and class boundaries, 243-4 state discipline and surveillance, 282 and social and political disorder, 324 state employment sanitation officers, 272, 287 and aspirational ladinos and Q'eqchi'-

Santa Cruz, Rosendo, 146

Germans, 270, 280, 287, 309



Index 405

and national progress ago	planter limitation of 172
and national progress, 280 and participation in national progress,	planter limitation of, 173
287	precarity of, 57, 164 racialization of, 51, 84
and policing vagrancy, 362	regulation of, 357
state executive power	and subsidization of coffee plantation
centralization of, 274	labor, 68
decentralization of, 326	as subsidy for coffee production, 117
state expansion, 63, 73, 240, 268, 270–1,	threatened by labor and land demands,
274, 281, 284, 293, 359–60, 362, 371	115
and coffee production, 62	suffrage, 44, 327
and Liberal reform, 79	supernatural forces, 114, 121
and Liberals, 80, 359	surveillance, 123, 198, 244, 370
and plantations, 275	and Q'eqchi' mobilization against, 249
and spies, 272	T
and state employment, 270, 280, 287	Tanchi-Raxaha, 88–9, 106–7, 133, 145,
unevenness of, 360	165, 346
state intervention, 238, 274	taxation, 49, 78, 84
and Maya protection and assimilation,	teachers, 324
329	and anti-fascist coalition, 312, 315, 320
and mothers, 280	and opposition to Ponce Vaides, 320
and social justice and morality, 309	technical schools, 212
to weaken indigenous autonomy, 91	temporality, 31, 357
and workers, 280	and civilization, 5, 75, 103
state officials	territorial sovereignty, 18, 39, 361
and access to coffee plantations, 309	terror, 272, 363, 366
and pressure on Q'eqchi' municipalities to	Tezulutlán, 30, 269, 300, 319, 363
rent land to settlers, 65	and anti-German regional identity, 363
state territorial sovereignty, 17, 55, 370	and anti-imperialism, 301
limits of, 28, 177	as anti-imperialist, 30
state theater, 195. See also Minerva festivals	and ladino anti-German nationalism,
state-directed modernization, 271, 280	302
students, 324	tierras baldias, 66, 89–90, 165
and anti-fascism, 316	and fincas de mozos, 165
and anti-fascist coalition, 312, 315, 320	Q'eqchi' lands designated as, 81
and Constitutional Assembly, 326	time, 12, 355, 358
and general strike, 320	accumulation of, 26
and opposition to Ponce Vaides, 320	as central to political contests, 357
subalterns, and demands for justice and	as civilizing force, 127
restitution, 26	genealogical, 297
subsistence crisis, 122	as liberatory, 358
subsistence economies, 50	and modernization, 14
subsistence plots, 185	Q'eqchi' conceptions of, 16, 57, 113
subsistence production, 20, 51, 57, 65, 266,	as social construction, 15
269–70	subjectivity of, 15
crisis of, 109	time-knots, 9, 26, 37–8, 50–1, 358
decline in, 164	1865 Yat rebellion as, 358
disruption by coffee, 128	1952 agrarian reform as, 358
and gendered household economies, 57	Tiul, Fabian, 88, 106, 133, 184, 346
and importance to Q'eqchi' sociocultural	town councils, 41
worlds, 249 Maya loss of access to land for, 82	and marginalization of Q'eqchi's on,
iviaya ioss of access to fally for, 82	306



406 Index

Tzuultaq'a(s), 16, 52, 55, 79, 92, 110–11, 119, 333, 347, 359. See also mountain spirits/deities; Xucaneb; Xucaneb's revenge and agency, 16 agrarian shrines to, 55 army approriation of, 368 and land surveying and titling, 93 and Q'eqchi' ethics, 17, 56 and Q'eqchi' patriarch authority, 42 and similarities with German settlers, 333 Ubico, Jorge, 307 and annual inspection trips, 272-3, 293 and anti-communism, 263 and anti-German nationalism, 315 and appeal to middle- and lower-class desires for modernity, 30 and betrayal of promises of modernity as social justice, 309 and centralization of state power, 274, and challenges to planter sovereignty, 30, 270, 272, 362 and choreographed spectacles, 270 and civilizing and liberal-democratic metanarratives, 271 and declaration of war on Germany and the Axis powers, 315 and departmental and national fairs, 299 and domestic pressure, 320 and economic nationalism, 300 and eugenics and sanitation programs, 274, 309 and extension of public services, 273 and fluid national boundaries, 307 forced resignation of, 312, 320 and indigenismo and marginalized rural and urban classes, 270 and management of difference, 308 and Maya folklorization, 269 and modernization, 293 and municipal intendentes system, 272, and nationalism, 271 and persecution of Maya cultural practices, 269, 309-10, 362 and political repression, 30, 264-5, 272-4, 282, 293, 306 and politics of postponement, 269, 310 and popular justice, 293

and populism, 11, 273, 280, 293, 309 and repression of the labor movement, and repudiation of Maya political ontologies, 310 and rhetoric of social justice and morality, 309 and road construction, 274 and rural education, 30, 362 and rural state expansion, 30, 270, 362 and rural support, 273 and sanitation, 362 and sanitation and eugenics programs, 11, 30 and split national time, 309 and state centralization, 30 and state discipline and surveillance, 282 and state expansion, 270-1, 275-6, 293, and state intervention, 30, 270, 273-4, 280, 309 and strategic celebration of Maya culture, and support for European fascists, 294 and suspension of constitutional guarantees, 320 and terror, 272 and US pressure, 315, 320 and vagrancy laws, 30, 277 validation of anti-fascism and overthrow, 315 Unionist Club Freedom of the Indian, 1, 29, 235, 237, 243, 255, 265 and abolition of debts, 265 and agency in national progress, 236 and coerced labor, 2, 4, 265 and demand for rights as citizens, 235 and demand for freedom of labor, 235 demands of and politics of postponement, and languages of slavery, 2 and liberal-democratic metanarrative, 235-6 and political emancipation, 4 Maya citizenship rights, 265 petition, 235, 237 petition responses, 5, 237-9 petition to National Assembly, 235-6 politics of postponement as response to petition, 5 Unionist clubs, 234-5



Index 407

Unionist Party, 1, 29, 243, 246, 250-1 vagrancy laws, 30, 233, 246, 272, 275-9, contradictory platform, 234 282, 332, 357, 362 disinterest in indigenous classes, 251 and coffee planters, 233, 279 and politics of postponement, 238 contestation of charges under, 278-9 and unification of political opposition, and liberal-democratic metanarrative, unpaid labor, 281, 325, 328, 336-7 and modernity, 282 rural Maya avoidance of, 337 and municipal officials, 279 and rural Maya contestation of, 336 and plantation labor supply, 276-7 and rural Maya mobilization, 331 and prohibition of boj production and unproductive laborers, 278-9 consumption, 282 urban labor movement, 339 and racialization of Mayas, 278 rural Maya challenges to, 331, 337 urban landscape, 211, 215 urban modernization, 29, 194, 204-16 and social deviance, 277-8 and alliances between honorable lower Vasconcelos, José, 252-3 and middle classes and elites, 209 Vela, David, 301 and morality, 198 venereal disease, 136, 243, 284-5 and sanitation, 198 Verapaz, 39, 62, 64, 72, 99 urban plebeians, 204, 361 Verapaz railway, 153–5, 188 Villacorta, José, 122, 127 and confounded racial categorizations, violence, 7, 170, 184, 246, 266, 345 and nationalized plantations, 338 and honor, 208-9 and mobilization of discourses, 214-15 and politicization, 243 and shaping of city, 215 and state and planter responses to stigmatization of, 208 Q'eqchi' mobilization, 246 voter suppression, 244, 340 and urban social reforms, 208 urban racial anxieties, 204-16 voting restrictions, 47 urban reform, and racial and class boundaries, 244 wage advances, 68-71, 82-3, 143, 156, urban space, 194, 207 174, 279 and contracts, 143 as challenge to orderly progress, 194 and debt peonage, 280 and disease, 194, 197 and disruption of racial boundaries, and mandamientos, 82 prohibition of, 276, 280 and ladino fears of social disorder, return of as Maya rebellion, 249 wage labor market, 143 modernization of, 227 welfare associations, 29, 128, 193, 195, ordering of as disciplining and 198-9, 204, 212, 228 empowering, 212 whipping, 170, 360 and patronage politics, 215 women, 202 and racial anxieties, 128 and appeals to authorities to stop planter and racial boundaries, 216 abuses, 172 and racial degeneration, 194 and participation in mutual-aid and remaking of, 211 welfare societies, 202-3 and social and racial divisions, 215 as plantation cooks and corn grinders, and working women, 194 171 US government and plantation economy, 171 and nationalization of German and state patronage, 202 properties, 320 working-class, and racial boundaries, and support for 1954 coup, 351 206 usufructary land rights, 59-61 workers' unions and cooperatives, 198



408 Index

World War I, 29, 222, 225, 362 and anti-German measures, 225 and disruption of trade and access to credit, 222 World War II, 30, 271, 310, 355 and anti-dictatorship sentiment in Latin America, 314 and disruption of trade, 310 and Guatemala's entrance into, 11, 310, 314 influence on October Revolution, 325 and nationalization of German properties, 314

Xucaneb, 28, 97, 110–11, 114–15
Xucaneb's revenge, 28, 111–14, 147, 259–60, 360
and abolition of slavery, 124
and capitalism, 112
and class divisions between Q'eqchi'
commoners and patriarchs, 120
and coffee production, 28, 120
and cross-racial alliances, 113, 128

and erosion of Maya subsistence economy, 120 interpreted through 1920s Q'eqchi' political mobilization, 259-60 and Liberal modernity, 112-13 and mandamientos, 112-13 popular memories of, 114, 360 and private property, 28 and Q'eqchi' moral crisis, 28, 113, T2.0-T and Q'eqchi' patriarchs, 120 and racial hierarchies, 128 represented as revolt against labor and modernization, 130 represented as revolt against progress and modernity, 112 as time-knot, 360

Yat, Jorge, 27, 35–8, 49, 54, 56, 240, 260, 358 Ydígoras Fuentes, Miguel, 340, 354

zapadores, 142, 371