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## MICROFILM COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS ON CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

FORMERLY: MICROFILM COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS ON  
AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY  
AND  
MICROFILM COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS  
ON THE MIDDLE AMERICAN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Series: LXIII

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REDUCTION RATIO: 12

April Is This Afternoon

Correspondence of Robert Redfield

and

Sol Tax

1933 - 1944

(edited and with text by Sol Tax)

June 2, 1980

[pp 1 - 130]

MICROFILM COLLECTION  
OF  
MANUSCRIPTS  
ON  
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Series LXIII

No. 330

University of Chicago Library  
Chicago, Illinois  
June 15, 1980

## Preface

All of the surviving correspondence between Robert Redfield and me is to be found in the archives (Special Collections) of the University of Chicago Library. During the year 1969-70, at the center of Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, and with the advice and help of Ms. Miram Gallaher, the Center's great editor, my wife and I prepared it for publication. Many of the letters were handwritten, and undated; but between us we deciphered and put them in chronological order. The sections and the titles for the sections were mainly created by Ms. Miriam Gallaher. We included virtually all of the letters, and omitted perhaps less than we should have of their content, on the theory that it would be easy to cut out more when it came to actual publication.

All I needed to do was provide introductory and explanatory observations for each section; and as it turned out, I have not yet done this, and think it better to publish the letters without comments than to wait longer.

Sol Tax  
June 2, 1980

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I

DEAR DR. REDFIELD (1933-1937)

[textual matter to be supplied]

including a pen portrait  
and characterization of  
Dr. Redfield. (Also of Fox?)

Dzitas  
Yucatan  
Mexico

February 5, 1933

Mr. Sol Tax  
6231 University Ave.,  
Chicago.

Dear Tax:

.... I am today writing to Dr. Kidder to ask him First, if the extension of the Institution's ethnological work beyond my present Yucatan project is sufficiently probable that we may now select some one to do such new work and allow this person to make his plans accordingly; and Second, what his reaction is to you as candidate for such a position. I am writing to him fully, telling what I know about you, and recommending you for the work we have in mind....

We have been established here for three weeks, and have begun, with conditions quite satisfactory, a brief study of this place, in which the folk culture of the villages meets with the mode of life of the townsman.

I enclose a summary statement of the kinship terms now in use in Chan Kom. I would appreciate from you any comment, especially advice as to what facts as to terms to get that do not appear from the enclosed sheets. You will see that although some of the words are Maya, the categories are, on the whole, European. The chief point of interest is the extension of the older brother term. This expresses their notions of male dominance, and of the authority of the relatively older, first between the generations, and then within the same generation. It seems to be a simple scheme, and, as I say, chiefly European. Eggan might be interested in it, because it is not what it was in the days of the Motul dictionary.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

Manitowaning, Manitoulin Island  
Ontario, Canada  
July 13, 1933

Dear Prof. Redfield,

This is a most interesting place from some points of view, even if it is disappointing as far as learning anything about Indian Social Organization is concerned. Near this town is the 3rd largest Reserve in Canada -- about 2000 Indians -- beautifully situated on a peninsula jutting from Manitoulin Island into Georgian Bay. The land is heavily wooded and full of game. It is a pleasant place to work, and the Indians are most cordial, and really more pleasant to stay with than the white people around; but unfortunately there is practically nothing to get unless one is doing acculturation study.

In the first place, the natives are mixed Ottawa and Ojibway, with some Pottawatanni thrown in. The language is apparently mixed, and when you ask if kinship terms are one or the other, the Indians answer that they are both -- that they themselves cannot separate the two. It seems that whatever cultural differences there may have been between Ottawa and Ojibway, there is a stable mixture now.

But on the whole there is very little Indian left. Physically there are apparently only a handful (if any) full-bloods; linguistically, large numbers of the younger people and even some middle-aged can speak only English; and as far as culture is concerned, the Indians are to all intents and purposes whites. Some of them have heard vaguely about such things as clans in the old days, and some "peculiar pagan customs", but those things seem as odd to the Indians as they would to their white neighbors. Now they are all good Catholics (their homes are plastered with sacred pictures) and there are only a few vestiges of beliefs in magic and evil sorcerers.

On the reservation (the land of which is not allotted) farming and timber-cutting are the main occupations; cattle and chickens are kept, wheat and oats grown in addition to maize and vegetables. Centers of life are in a few little towns of the reserve, the most important being Wikwimikong. The latter is most interesting because it is an all Indian town on a European pattern. There is the general-store, it is run by an intelligent Indian woman who seems to know her business. There is the post office, and an Indian woman is post-mistress. There is an Indian blacksmith, Indian filling-stations and souvenir stores.

I visited a number of families and found them uniformly as "civilized" as the people in this Canadian town. All of the people except the very old ones spoke quite perfect English. A typical family is that of the King's (who have the post office); there were the father, mother, two daughters and a visiting young lady there. Conversation turned from the weather to their friends in Wisconsin and in Chicago (Indians who married whites) who come up to visit every summer, to the family photograph album....

I told them what I was trying to find out and they were as interested as I, but they were pessimistic about my finding anything. I found no evidence anywhere of a self-consciousness about their being Indian; and I doubt seriously if you would ever find any "marginal man" problem. It seems to me that the Indians have here a new kind of adjustment (new to North American Indians as far as I know) that works. They have a white culture and they enjoy it.

Peculiarly enough, even the very old people who cannot speak English have forgotten the kinship terminology -- except that for very close relatives. That, of course, makes my work quite impossible. They do remember a lot of folk-stories and Indian mythology, and they enjoy telling it, but it has

no religious significance, A Dr. Shaw here (M.D.) has recorded alot of the folklore, and he knows the Indians well; he opines that they will become more and more mixed with whites until they will disappear racially.

I confess that the situation here surprises me, and I thought it might interest you (not because the Indians have lost their culture so much as because they have no "problems" arising from their having taken the new).

Meanwhile, I had better leave here in a few days, since I'm supposed to be getting Ojibway social organization, and go on to more fertile fields. You know, I suppose, that I am married; my wife is a valuable aid in my work since it would be harder to approach the women and family life without her.

Meanwhile, the country is beautiful and the days cool, so we have enjoyed our trip immensely. Best regards to everybody.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

July 18, 1933

Dear Tax:

First, I congratulate you upon your marriage. It was a good thing to do. I hope I may soon have the pleasure of meeting your wife.

Second, I thank you for your letter just received. Your account reminded me of a visit I once paid to a Canadian reservation. The Indians lived in log cabins all neatly whitewashed, with window boxes. The men would come into the counter, and say, very quiet and polite, "A half pound of tea, please."

Third, I write to tell you that the question of policy has been

decided in favor of extending the ethnological work of Carnegie Institution into Guatemala. I am not empowered, however, to make any contract with a new member of the staff, because the financial powers of the Institution are in some doubt.

I would like to hear whether you are still interested in undertaking ethnological work in Guatemala, should the plans of the Institution mature.

Should you still be interested, I would like to propose an understanding whereby you would begin the study of Spanish with the likelihood, but not the certainty, that you would begin fieldwork about January 1935. I would, for my part, do whatever I could to mature these plans, and decide definitely upon you for the position, should it become actual. You would, however, remain free to take any other engagement which might offer itself, committing yourself in the meantime only to the learning of Spanish, and to the reading of the literature in the field....

The details of such a contingent arrangement as I am now presenting can wait for discussion until you return in the fall. I would like now only to learn if in general the suggestion interests you.

I hope that farther north you find all the kinship terms you need.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Redfield

128 South Sawyer St.  
Shawano, Wisconsin

July 28th, 1933

Dear Prof. Redfield:

Your letter, after traveling through a few states and provinces, finally reached me here, where I have settled to work on the Menomini. I suppose

you have heard what happened to me up in Canada and Minnesota-- how I finally found a group of cultured Indians only to discover that an ethnologist from Columbia is there and has been on and off for more than a year. And with such a lack of integration and communication, we still talk about the "American School"! Needless to say, that experience took the zest not only from traveling but from the project of studying the Ojibwa.

My opinion of myself as a student of the American Indian took a nice jolt yesterday. I have been looking for Pottawottamie Indians all summer (I know there are some scattered in Wisconsin); finally I discovered that there is a "Stockbridge Indian Reservation" that I'd never heard of; I went over there (it is near here) three-quarters expecting to find Pottawottamie, since I couldn't imagine who else could be there. I encountered an Indian on the road and stopped him. Among other things I asked him to what tribe he belonged. "Stockbridge", he replied. Puzzled by this, for I had never heard of such a tribe, I cross-examined him, and finally discovered that they are Mohicans. Cooper must have been wrong, or else these are the Mohegans or something, for it seems that there are 116 still in existence here. Unfortunately, according to this Indian, only one old woman of the group knows anything about the language even; of the culture, nothing seems left. By the way, this man was extremely proud of being an Indian (although the group is interspersed among white farmers) and is quite indignant because there are some people around who claim to be Indian and are really chiefly Negro. Anyway, it was all news to me.

Your news about Guatemala excites me, of course. I'm glad that the Institution decided in your favor (although I am worried lest you leave again this winter; by the way, I stopped to see Phileo Nash and he was overjoyed at the prospect of your being at Chicago all year) and I am glad

beyond words at the opportunity it may give me. I need hardly tell you that I am still interested; your paper at the meetings made me more interested than ever. You can be sure that I'll do my best to rate the position. I'm willing to start learning Spanish right away, and to learn all I can about the field (you know how meager my knowledge is now). Yes, by all means I am interested; and I am anxious to know just where I may work, but, as you say, we can talk about it in the Fall.

I have great hopes of getting some good material here; at any rate, I am going to stay the rest of the summer and make as complete a study as my ingenuity and the time allow. Fortunately we are happily and economically settled a few minutes from the center of the Reservation and it is a great relief after all the wandering to get into some intensive work.

Thank you much for your good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

August 1, 1933

Dear Tax:

Just a word to acknowledge your good letter of July 28th and to say that I will consider the contingent arrangement I proposed now in operation, subject to agreement as to period of employment, salary, and other details. After you have gone into the literature, especially Schultze's new book on the Quiche, I hope you will give me your opinion as to whether ethnological work for the Carnegie in Guatemala had best continue the work begun with the Quiche, or had better take up another group, perhaps Cakchiquel or Zutuhil.

I'm glad that after your long wanderings you have at last found some

Indians that are still Indians and that have not been appropriated by earlier claimants. Have you read Keesing's report (unpublished) on the present-day Menomini? While his report deals chiefly with present-day conditions, it also qualifies some of Skinner's description of the old culture, and I think you should read it. A letter to Wissler, who had the possible publication of the manuscript in hand, might bring a copy to you.

No, I do not expect to go away next academic year. Cole and Andrade will both be away in the autumnquarter; during the other two quarters our show will go on with the entire cast.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Redfield

128 South Sawyer St.  
Shawano, Wisconsin

August 7, 1933

Dear Prof. Redfield:

Thank you for your letter. How can I obtain a copy of Schultze's book on the Quiché? Obviously, not around here. Perhaps, if you have an extra copy, you could send it to me; or else perhaps better -- since I shall probably want a copy of my own -- you can have a copy sent to me C.O.D. either from the bookstore or from the publisher's? Possibly I could get a professional discount on it? I would appreciate it if you could help me to get a copy up here.

Fred Eggan told me about Keesing's work, but I have never seen it. I am writing to Wissler, as you suggest, and I may be able to see the MS. Thank you for the reminder and suggestion.

I can't report a great deal of progress here, although I am expecting things to break better this week. The Indians here are very wary about giving information about their families, since they believe that anybody trying to get such information must be attempting to remove them from the Reservation rolls. It is rather slow work to gain their confidence, although they are very friendly. One difficulty here is the virtual impossibility of getting an intelligent young man for a guide -- to show me who lives where and to introduce me to the various families; it seems that the people are very industrious, and the young men all have steady employment. It isn't easy to have to pick your own way around, especially, since the Indians live very much as whites do, and to visit them without introductions puts one in the class of a magazine salesman.

However, I think I'll get along better, since making friends is a cumulative process, and I hope to make something worthwhile of the work here yet.

I am glad you will be in Chicago all year; perhaps I can still hear your Middle America.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

August 9, 1933

Dear Tax:

Schultze's book on the Quiché is as expensive as it is heavy. The only copy around here to my knowledge belongs to the Department and cost it about \$10.00. So I have not carried out your request to order a copy for you, but await your further advice. If you are sure you have the time and inclination to read the book now, I will mail you the Department's copy. Let me know your wish.

In my limited experience, one of the most difficult and one of the most important parts of ethnological work is finding a role in the Indian community which is accepted by the people and which enables one to deal naturally and humanly with them. I hope you solve this problem soon as well as the more esoteric problems of kinship and the like. At any rate, I certainly can't imagine your not succeeding at anything.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Redfield

August 12, 1933

Dear Prof. Redfield:

Thank you for not ordering a \$10.00 book for me; it's almost cheaper to go to the Quiché and see for oneself. I think, however, that I would like to read the book now, if you could send me the Department's copy of Schultze. I suppose I can spare up the time, and I am anxious to learn something about the cultures down there.

Wissler is on his vacation (Shapiro writes from the Museum) so I doubt if I can get Kessing's report; perhaps if I write again they will send it to me anyway.

Fortune is smiling a bit more on me now; I think I have the complete kinship system of the Menominee, and I am trying to work out the old clans. A surprising thing here is that there is not even a tradition of clan exogamy; among the Ojibway that I talked to everyone said that intra-marriage was once frowned on, but here nobody ever heard of such a custom. Incidentally people here are born into clans, not named-into as among the Fox. I find it hard to swallow the idea that they are not exogamous; it would be hard to prove anything now, however, because the clans are so shot that the young

people don't know to which they belong (and "young" may mean anything up to fifty).

I have discovered the Pottawottamie finally, and before I leave Northern Wisconsin I shall get what I can from them. They are scattered among whites in a radius of about twenty miles from Waubesa.

I hope the Department won't miss Schultze's book if you send it to me; tell me if you want me to return it very soon.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

August 15, 1933

Dear Tax:

Schultze's book on the Quiché goes to you by mail today. The Department won't miss it; I think I am the only person at the University who knows of its existence.

You will find it an outstanding example of ethnography by the method of text-analysis. He has transcribed a great quantity of texts which fill most of his pages. From a study of these, together with, no doubt, supplementary questioning of informants, he prepares a sketch of the culture. But he did not, nor could he in the time he was there, participate in the native life or collect many cases. So I think you will find plenty left to do. I couldn't find any kinship terms for instance! But I did find the German "tol'ble tough", as Hück Finn puts it.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

August 17, 1933

Dear Tax:

I send you today three small publications containing some notes by Lothrop on the Guatemalan cultures.

They give glimpses of these cultures and some idea of how much has yet to be learned about them.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

August 21, 1933

Dear Prof. Redfield:

Thank you for the publications. I have not read much of Schultze yet, but I think -- for the dual purpose of learning my German better and learning something about the Quiché -- I'll translate it in writing. It doesn't seem to be a very full account, as you say, but there's certainly a lot more than in Lothrop's notes! Schultze mentions one Stoll, who has titles on Guatemalan ethnology; is there anything in his work, or isn't it available in this country? All in all, the field seems virgin enough.

Better than that, the Quiché apparently have one of those tremendously rich cultures, and if you know the remnants of these woodland cultures, you'll know why I am enthusiastic about going to one that is not only living but has something to live for. In a sense, these cultures here are to such as the Quiché as a stone age site is to an Egyptian tomb -- maybe just as valuable to science, but comparatively sterile in human interest.

I am not complaining, however. I have been working with a Pottawottamie group (if a wide scattering of farms can be called a group) and getting quite a lot of new stuff. That's easy, of course, because precious little was known

about them.

I have wormed my way into Menomini society by this time, and I can walk into any one of twenty homes and be comfortable; but there is not very much to get here, and too many disagreements that I can't iron out. I suppose I'll have something for my summer's work, however.

If you see him, will you tell Prof. Radcliffe-Brown that I am waiting to write him until I discover something about the Pottawottamies to tell him about?

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

August 23, 1933

Dear Tax:

You have undertaken quite a ~~cho~~<sup>ice</sup> in translating Schultze into English, but I know that I will understand it better if I can read it in English. We have some of Stoll's publications here at the University. They are of some value, Termer's more recent work, also listed in Schultze's bibliography, is probably more important. Then also one must read LaFarge's monograph on the Jacalteca.

You are right; the highlands of Guatemala are a very exciting place. I have seldom been so aroused as I was when I watched the Quiché praying at Chichicastenango.

I am glad that your work with the Menominee and Pottawottamie is going well now. I will transmit your message to Radcliffe-Brown.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

1934

15

CONFIDENTIAL

To: Sol Tax

June 14, 1934

From: Robert Redfield

If difficulties arise in Puerto Barrios, apply for help to representatives of the United Fruit Company. The consul is no good. The hotel is poor and expensive, but there is no other place to stay if you have to stay overnight, unless representatives of the United Fruit Company invite you to occupy a room in their building. Present the letter of introduction and they will offer you the use of their clubroom and bar.

Dr. McNeil is director of the United Fruit Company's hospital at Quirigua. I do not recommend that you stop over at Quirigua on your way to Guatemala City but that later, when you have made acquaintances among the Americans in Guatemala, you find an opportunity to visit the hospital and the site nearby. In case of sickness, you can, however, apply to Dr. McNeil for medical help. He is a person of great character and charm. There is also a so-called American hospital in Guatemala City. The staff is partly German and partly American. From what I know, I believe them to be quite satisfactory for any ordinary illness, and they are, of course, much more accessible than the United Fruit Company hospital, which is down in the tropics. In case of operation, however, I think I would try to reach Dr. McNeil.

The best hotel in Guatemala City is the Palace. It is good and expensive. Use it if you have only a very few days to spend in Guatemala City. For a longer stay, ask the advice of Oliver Ricketson or Alfred Clark.

Ricketson is a genial, hospitable person, who does not know much about ethnology and, I think, is slightly prejudiced against it. Mrs. Ricketson likes to talk about the Indians and one listens to her a good deal. It is to be recalled that a previous ethnologist, attempting to work among the Guatemalan Indians, enjoyed the hospitality of the Ricketsons and left a

very poor impression upon them. They live in a large and comfortable house. They know a good deal about Guatemala City. I will suggest in my letter of introduction that Ricketson give you a visiting card to the American Club, opposite which is Ricketson's office. This is convenient when you want to treat someone to a drink or read the latest papers.

Alfred Clark is one of the critical persons in the whole situation. He is enthusiastic, eager, with strong likes and dislikes. He has the important tourist agency and automobile supply house in Guatemala City. He knows Mexico well, also. His wife is a Guatemalan woman of charm. Clark's enthusiasm for the Indians is genuine, if somewhat sentimental and certainly unscholarly. He is liked by some of them and, I imagine, he is disliked by others. It will be recalled that a situation developed in Chichicastenango in which the priest tended to blame Clark for ill-will against the Padre, which was stirred up among certain Indians by the Ladino merchant group in that town. The Padre was tried by the bishop but exonerated of malfeasance. The matter has apparently quieted down, but I imagine there are still sensitive angles to that situation.

The Padre in Chichicastenango is a gentleman and a scholar, and a little temperamental, I fancy. He apparently had a great admiration for Professor Schultze, perhaps as representing European scholarship, which Padre very much respects. He took a strong dislike to the earlier ethnological worker in that town. From Clark you should find out the names of the Indians who have acted as informants for Schultze or for others, and something of the role of each of those persons in the life of this community. There is something I do not quite understand about the role in the native community of the Indian boys employed by Clark in his Inn at Chichicastenango. I have a suspicion they are looked down upon for taking this employment by their kinsmen. The gulf between the Ladinos and the Indians is a great

one, and one of the problems of work in the field certainly will be maintaining a friendly relation with both groups. I don't know how it can be managed.

Father Carlos Knittel at San Francisco El Alto, when I was there, spoke English and German as well as he does Spanish, and is very agreeable and friendly person without, I fancy, much close contact with the Indians. You → can talk to him fairly, frankly and freely. Ernest Lang at Momostenango speaks little or no English. Of all the European Guatemalans known to me, he is probably the closest to the Indians. My impression is, however, that he does not like to talk about them but prefers a gemütlich atmosphere and songs and beer in the Berliner manner. He is situated, however, in the middle of one of the most conservative parts of the Quiché country and is married to a Quiché woman. These facts make him an important person to be cultivated, if it can be done. Schultze got along well with him, so far as I know.

If Samuel Lothrop is in Guatemala, he is a person very much to be cultivated because of his first-hand knowledge with many parts of Guatemala and his general understanding of the general lay of the Guatemalan land, which is exceptionally better than that of any other man alive. He is more interested in historical and archeological problems than those of social anthropology, and there is a certain disillusion, almost cynicism, in his general attitude. From him, or perhaps from Ricketson, you can learn the names of Guatemalans who have some interest in local ethnology. There are such. One of them, a fairly wealthy man, has been marked down by Mrs. Lothrop, who told me she was interested in collaborating with him in some ethnological work.

I will provide a letter of introduction to the American <sup>consul</sup> at Guatemala.

City. The ambassador is new and I do not know him. I do not believe it will be necessary to present yourself formally to Guatemalan authorities. I will supply a general letter of introduction on Carnegie Institution stationery, which will in a way establish your credentials. My advice would be to rely on Ricketson's advice as to whether it is necessary to present yourself to Guatemalan authorities unless they look you up.

You may charge to the expense account of the Institution the cost of any official documents, such as passports, visas, all transportation expenses through and including Guatemala City to the place at which you decide to make your headquarters, including fares, meals, chair car seats, hotel bills where short stays are made, remuneration to informants and stationery and other office equipment. Personal equipment and supplies and living expenses, such as rent and food in the community in which you finally establish yourself, are not to come out of the expense budget, but all transportation expenses in going from one part of Guatemala to another, including cost of guides, horses and the like when carried on in the business of the Institution, are to be charged to the expense budget.

P.S. Please keep me informed of your address at all times and report promptly all changes of address.

Every two months please submit to me financial statement with vouchers appended. I will transmit it to T. Rogers Johnson at the Carnegie Institution headquarters. Whenever possible get vouchers for all items of \$5 and over, except for standard rates, such as railroad fares, passport fees and the like. Number the vouchers consecutively and have the voucher numbers appear in the statement beside the items accounted for.

Notes and records. Keep all notes in triplicate and transmit one copy to me every two weeks. This copy will be filed in Washington. Keep also a

combined itinerary diary, recording briefly your day-by-day activities. A copy of this record should accompany the field notes when sent in.

The cost of photographs made as part of the field project may be charged to the expense account. Positives and negatives should be kept separately. Keep a numbered file of these and from time to time transmit the negatives to Washington for filing.

Publicity. All requests for information coming from the press should be referred to Dr. A. V. Kidder, Lock Drawer 71, Andover, Massachusetts.

R.R.

June 27, 1934

Mr. Sol Tax  
6046 Woodlawn Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sol:

I estimate your expenses next autumn as follows:

Travel, Chicago to Guatemala City for

Mrs. Tax and yourself, including

passport, boat fare, railroad, meals

and tips enroute \$300

Expenses in and about Guatemala City

before getting established in a

smaller community 100

Travel in Guatemala, three months 100

Informants and supplies 100  
\$600

I believe this estimate to be liberal. Whatever money we can save will in the long-run return to us in the form of provision for extension of our work. We should do what we can, of course to keep expenses down, but to assure

you that you are amply provided for, I wish to state now that this \$600 has been earmarked for your expenses next autumn and that in an emergency it would be possible to add to this sum.

With best wishes for the summer, I am

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

September 4, 1934

Mr. Sol Tax  
2120 E. Menlo Blvd.,  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Sol:

Send me a line giving me your plans. If, as you once indicated might happen, you could visit us at Windy Pines (near Glenview), we should be delighted. I am in and out between that place and the University during September.

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

September 9th, 1934

Windy Pines  
Glenview, Illinois

Dear Sol,

I am in no hurry whatever to see you, but look forward to seeing you-- and Mrs. Tax too--in Chicago or better still out here, at any time your plans bring you this way. Please let me know some days in advance of your coming, as my plans are a little uncertain. I go in to the University on Wednesdays, and some weeks on other days too. We expect to move back to Chicago about the twenty-eighth.

I would like to know in general how your plans are shaping, and especially when you expect to leave for Guatemala. There is no urgency about your going from my point of view; I think the thesis ought to be finished first, without crowding. I have received a letter from Alfred Clark, very friendly, and reporting all quiet on the various fronts important for ethnological work, and conditions generally favorable. Probably Rubin has told you about meeting Clark and about how interesting he found Guatemala.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

We could and would be glad to put you up for a night here--we have a little guest house, at your service. You are cordially invited.

Apt. 210  
2690 West Boston Blvd.  
Detroit, Michigan

September 30, 1934

Dear Prof. Redfield:

.... I looked up steamship sailings and discovered that although United Fruit runs a ship to New Orleans every Wednesday of the year, they are skipping Guatemala on the 17th and running a boat directly to Tela, Honduras, on the 18th instead. That doesn't seem a practical way to go, so I am reduced to a choice of taking the ship on the 10th or waiting until the 24th. Since the latter would be a considerable delay, I would much prefer the boat on the 10th--a week from this Wednesday.

Since we are going to drive down, and since I want to be in New Orleans by Monday at the latest, it means that we would have to leave Chicago by Saturday morning at the latest.

Now work on my thesis is progressing satisfactorily, and I think I can have it in pretty good form by Wednesday. So if I should get to Chicago

say late Wednesday afternoon, would it be possible for the members of the Department to (1) read the thesis, (2) pass on it, and (3) if it is all right, give me an oral examination by Friday evening? It looks like a very tight squeeze to me, but it may be possible. I might mention that I have cut out as much wind as possible in my paper and it will probably be no longer than 175 or 200 pages.

If you think that is possible (and I realize there may be a matter of policy as well as time involved) will you try to prepare the Department for the ordeal, get their approval for me, and so on?

If you think that would not be possible, then what had better be done: have my thesis and examination await my return next year, or postpone our sailing? If you are convinced that the latter would be best, will you please let me know by return mail so I don't have to rush out of here without purpose? Otherwise, if I don't hear from you, I shall be in Chicago late Wednesday afternoon or earlier.

I'm sorry to cause you so much trouble about this business; but the United Fruit Company is partly to blame.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

1934 OCT 1 PM 8 24

SOL TAX

RECOMMEND THAT YOU POSTPONE SAILING UNTIL TWENTY FOURTH IN ORDER THAT WE HAVE OPPORTUNITY FAIRLY TO APPRAISE YOUR THESIS STOP DIMINUTION OF SALARY RETURN BY HALF MONTH WHICH WOULD PROBABLY RESULT CAN BE MADE UP TO YOU BY EXTENDING EXPENSE ACCOUNT PRIVILEGE PROPORTIONATELY STOP IF THIS SUGGESTION UNSATISFACTORY PLEASE WIRE=-

ROBERT REDFIELD

October 16, 1934

[To:] Mr. Sol Tax

[From:] Robert Redfield

Your thesis exhibits the penetrating understanding of the conventional problems in primitive social organization which I expected. I think it would be improved by a complete rewriting of the second and third parts. It seems to me there is little explicit connection between the analysis of the Omaha Crow types-which tends to be deductive-and the Fox materials. The materials remain an appendage to an almost logical analysis of kin-behavior patterns (psychological-sociological) and reflecting terminology.

Short of a rewriting - which I really think would be the better course- three simpler specific suggestions occur to me: (1) Following the quotation from Lowie, which introduces your third section, I expect, but do not find an explicit statement as to the thesis represented by Lowie and as to the line of criticism for development, which you propose to follow in contrast to that manifested by Lowie. I suggest you put in such a statement, so that the reader will know in advance the line of argument you are going to follow. (2) When you come to introduce the "principles" which form the basis of your analysis, the reader is left uncertain as to whether these principles have been expounded by Radcliffe-Brown or whether you have modified them, and if so, to what degree. (3) The end of this third part seems to be weak in two respects: (a) It does not return sufficiently explicitly to the problems of social organization, which you lay down in the first part, and (b) the relation of your general analysis to the Fox materials seems to me too brief.

New Orleans, La.  
October 22nd, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

As you may surmise, I followed your advice and didn't get us killed. The trip was quick and to the point and, excepting for those ever-stretching stretches through the Sovereign (if never Regal) State of Mississippi, rather pleasant. One observation that might interest you on the subject of Contacts of Culture: a ferry-boat operator on the Ohio who is bilingual speaking with a southern drawl to Southerners and middle-western to Northerners.

Arriving in New Orleans Sunday noon, we found that the Bienville, which you recommended, was all reserved for a convention beginning today; the management shunted us to the Roosevelt, which is under the same management. Fate thus taking a hand, we wound up at this Ritz; but to do Carnegie justice I ordered the cheapest room, which is five dollars. A hotel like this has its disadvantages for innocents like us: this evening, when we came up after dinner, we discovered that the room had been tampered with -- the bedspread was off--and although nothing seemed to be missing, I thought it prudent to advise the management of the state of affairs. I finally was connected with the housekeeper, who nastily explained that in all first-class hotels the maid comes in to prepare the bed for the night.

The day was spent on business. First I sold my car, so that I would have cash for the other things. Oddly enough, open cars are not in as great demand here as I thought they would be; it seems that it rains here occasionally. But after shopping around, with the aid of the hotel porter and others, I finally got \$150 for it. It should have brought more, but nobody seemed able to understand our loyalty to a car that had brought us here with no trouble whatsoever except for a flat tire that went flat while parked in a Memphis garage where it was parked while we were having lunch, a suspicious procedure to say the least. Anyway, we took the cash proffered.

Then we had our baggage taken care of at the United Fruit Company offices; we discovered that the reason why the port of Belize is being made is that a British Hondurisiac with a family of eight is going back home, and eight seems to be one-fifth of the total passenger list.

Then we went to the Guatemala Consulate. Confidently I tossed all the paraphernalia on the (as he turned out to be) Assistant Consul's desk, and with a few cheery words about how lovely Guatemala must be in the Autumn, we gazed hard at him and told him we would stay for a year. A bit dazed, he nevertheless began to fill out forms; in an hour he was finished, I had to sign things, and he took my fingerprints and \$22.00 and it was all over, although now it was distinctly we who were dazed. I was assured that this would not happen every year, and although I'm not sure, I think I have become a citizen of the Republic of Guatemala.

After lunch, we went out to Tulane; Blom wasn't there, but his secretary telephoned him and we were invited to his place for five o'clock, assured that "other Carnegie people" would also be there. In the interim we looked over the collections and the library, and although I (speaking now in my private capacity, understand) can't see the advantage of the original manuscript over a facsimile -- especially one that has a translation alongside -- we found them interesting. Incidentally I asked for and received copies of Tribes and Temples, The Year Bearer's People, and Sololá (McBryde's report); I didn't want to buy them, feeling sure that the Department of Middle American Research would be only too glad to serve the causes of Science; so I said I'd take up the matter with Mr. Blom.

We had a hunch that the other Carnegie people would be elite; our hunch → told us specifically that they would be the Milwaukee Smiths elite; so we went home to comb our hair or hairs. Then we braved the storm, although when

the taxi driver dropped us off in a questionable street in the French quarter, there was a moment when we thought that we might after all be the storm. But no: there was the Japanese boy in the eighteen room house, the → cocktails and the Robert Smiths. Robert Smith seems to be Ledyard Smith's brother; both are archaeologists, and Robert has just married a New Orleans girl; they are to be shipmates of ours tomorrow. They seem very pleasant and should be good company, if she can type.

Mr. Blom welcomed us royally (your letter saving us explanations) and was full of good stories. I had some private conversation with him, and it seems (a) that he is very proud of his accomplishments here, hopes to make Tulane the center of Middle American Research, and expects soon to erect the entire nunnery here very soon, (b) that he doesn't like direct lighting and has therefore ingeniously contrived to avoid it in his home for which he pay \$75 a month rent because it's on the wrong side of town, (c) that he will be glad to try to work Wisdom's monograph into his publication program and will see you about it in Chicago soon, (d) that I can have all of the Tulane publications free with the proviso that I send him reprints of my own, (e) that the pages of his new Journal of Middle American Research-- or whatever it is called -- are open to me, the more so because Dr. Kidder has told him that he'd like Carnegie things to go into it, and (f) that he believes in the Universality of Science -- co-operation rather than competition-- and more and more Scientists are coming through New Orleans.

Anyway, we came away a little dizzy, the cocktails making our cheeks blom (this unruly typewriter!). However I may sound at times, I really feel very favorably disposed toward everybody and everything here; Mr. Blom gave us a lot of good advice, and every assurance of help if we should need it.

I still feel very foolish about that Oral; my only consolation is that

maybe everybody feels after one of those things that he has made an utter ass of himself. I shall always think of [Harold] Lasswell with dread and of R-B [A.R. Radcliffe-Brown] with tenderness because he handed me a page of my thesis to read when otherwise I should have had to be silent probably forever. Thank you for ending my misery; however, I would have liked to inform Mr. Lasswell that he was arguing ad hominum just to prove that I did learn something from Mr. [Mortimer] Adler.

I shall write you an air mail letter when I arrive in Guatemala City; I expect I shan't have much to tell you except that I am cool once more-- but then again, you never can tell what will happen when explorers get going.

New Orleans is a grand town; we haven't had the nerve to try Antoine's what with spending \$22 for visas and so on; but the food generally is better here than elsewhere, I think. Gertrude and I want to thank Mrs. Redfield and you for the very pleasant party you had for us; I think I had at the time a little too much on my mind to be the best of company, but we both enjoyed everything very much. Best ~~of~~ regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

Sol

Guatemala City  
Guatemala, C. A.

October 28th, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

We had a very calm voyage, and it was very pleasant. I had the opportunity, therefore, to go over my thesis -- and it is ready to be sent back to Chicago as soon as I have figured out a very safe means of sending it (since there is

but one copy). We put in at Belize and Gertrude and I, among others, gave the town the once-over. There was a woman on board who was putting off at Belize to open a beauty parlor there; and it was only after we saw the place that we realized the tragedy of her situation. From far off, it is a pretty place, but God must have a ship's-eye view of the city or he certainly, in His Divine Judgement, would send another hurricane.

We left Belize at about 2:30 Friday afternoon, and the Captain opined that, barring storms and accidents, we should be at Barrios by sunrise. That was good news for everybody, since the train to Guatemala City leaves every morning at 7:40 and it seemed that we might have a fighting chance to make it. We did get our baggage on the dock before seven -- the officials having examined our visas on board ship -- and then we began the very nervous procedure of having it examined by one officious and darkly moustached officer. He was much more patient than any of the immigrants, needless to say, and wasn't at all interested in the waiting train. Finally, at the last moment he got around to ours. All of the bags he passed with a cursory examination, except one; after a bare glance at this he said it would have to go to Guatemala with our trunk to be examined. This was very disturbing, since we would not only have to pay express on it (no baggage except that which goes into the train with one -- hand baggage, that is) but Gertrude would have no clothes to wear until after Monday. There seemed nothing to do, but I appealed to a United Fruit official who happened to be around, and he induced the customs officer to look over the suitcase again. It appears that the Guatemaltecan was disturbed by the presence of a couple of spare purses in the suitcase, and when these were proved to contain no contraband, and to be old themselves, he passed the suitcase. There is no doubt, I think, that he simply established his authority by holding up the one bag.

Anyway, we just made the train, and were thus spared the necessity of spending a day and night in Barrios. Incidentally, both of us have nothing but praise for the S. S. Zacapa; the food and accommodations were excellent.

The train journey was fascinating, and I wouldn't have missed it for anything; the Guatemalan scenery has never been over-exalted....

Arriving here shortly after six, we went to the Palace Hotel, as per your advice; it may be the best hotel in town, and it has its virtues, but from the beginning we weren't satisfied. The rates, we were informed, are \$5.00 without and \$8.00 with bath. We decided \$5.00 was enough; they showed us to a room without even a window! After seeing others of the same nature, we finally got one in the attic that has windows, at least---bare as it is otherwise. Dinner wasn't very good, so we decided to settle in a pension as soon as possible. Today, therefore, we made arrangements in the Pension Geroult, where we made a very good bargain. We told the proprietor that after a couple of weeks, we should be in and out of the city for a month or two and wanted to keep our things in the pension as headquarters. He made us a rate of \$100 a month, or a flat \$3.33 (for both of us, of course) for every day that we were there. There is no private bath at this rate, but at the rate we've been spending money traveling, we should cut down on luxuries.

The City lives up to all reports; we have never been in a more charming place. However, we have not seen much of it yet.

Dr. Ricketson is not in the city, and will not be here for a couple of weeks. Mr. Clark we have not yet seen. Since air-mail will not leave here until Wednesday, I shall finish this letter to you on Tuesday, and then I shall have more to tell you about such matters. This letter, by the way,

is personal; I shall send you reports every two weeks, as requested, the first one about two weeks from now.

(to be continued)

PENSION GUEROULT  
9a Calle Poniente, Numero 7

Guatemala, 30 de Octubre de 1934  
(Tuesday, 9 A. M.)

This is our new home, and our address until further notice. We moved Sunday afternoon and are well satisfied. Monday morning our first task was to get out our trunk, and that took most of the morning. Then we went to visit the Consul General to register. The Consul, Mr. Marsh, has been here only three months, having been last in Yucatan, I think; you may know him from there. He appears to be a fine fellow, and we had quite a talk with him. He is interested in the country, and has taken a number of drives into the highlands; although he has chiefly an æsthetic interest, it extends also to the customs of the people.

After lunch we began our registrations with the various governmental bodies who require it; but since we shall have to have some more photographs we could not complete the job. Late in the afternoon I met Mr. Smith and Alfred Clark in the American Club by appointment; the former made an appointment with me to go to see some of the officials this morning; the latter discussed my work for a couple of hours. His interest seems very genuine, and he did not attempt to sell me anything. We decided that I should certainly remain in the City until after Mr. Ricketson should arrive (in about a week). After that, it appears that Chichicastenango would be as good a starting-point for our general survey as anywhere. Perhaps Quezaltenango or Sololá. Clark has close connections all over, it appears,

and he is very willing to help. He promised that when we are Chichicastenango and stay at his place, he would give us very low rates -- just so that he breaks even, he says.

It appears that the Carnegie people have a Ford truck here, in the charge of Mr. Ricketson; Smith and Clark both thought it would be well if I could get the use of that to make the survey. Apparently it would entail getting a chauffeur-guide to go with us, and even if Ricketson allows us use of the truck, I shall think carefully before taking it. I like Clark, and I don't doubt that he can be a great help to us. The oddest part of all of these people is their conception of ethnology; they seem to see only the ceremonies. I don't doubt that the religious life of the Indians here is not only the most striking aspect of their culture but also the most interesting; yet (though I may be wrong) I don't intend to chase over to a village just to see a ceremony. I'm not keen on even reporting a feast except in the context of the social and economic life of the village. One of the complications of work around here (as you know) is the unity of large sections ceremonially and economically; but I can't see any profitable way of tackling it except in terms of one village at a time -- tracing the contacts of people of the various places in terms of specific villages and groups of villages. However, I know very little about all that so far.

Since I shall be busy the rest of the morning, and the mail has to be in by 2 P.M., I'll sign off now. I might say that I feel quite optimistic.

Best regards,

Sol Tax

October 31, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Enclosed are two copies of my first expense account. Several explanatory remarks are necessary.

Vouchers are included for all expenditures for which I obtained them. They are not necessary (you told me) for S.S. and R.R. tickets and the like, and of course they could not be obtained for tips. There were some expenses for which I should have obtained them but didn't, such as for the combs and pencils. I did not know at the time that they were required; if the Institution wants them, I can write to Milwaukee and have them sent to you, but that will take a little time. Many of the small items for which there are no receipts were bought in the ten-cent stores; it will be impossible to get receipts for them, but I hope it will be all right.

Expenses from Chicago to New Orleans are made up from information obtained from the travel bureau, and I assume it is correct; as you prophesied, I broke just about even by driving, and in fact lost about \$2.00 -- gasoline taxes are terrific in the South.

You will notice that we have run a little bit over your estimates, and I don't think we have been extravagant. The result is that we have about \$250 to spend in the next two months. It looks to me as if that won't be quite enough, but whether it is depends upon how much traveling will be required. In the city I imagine we are living on about \$110 a month, and I suppose that in the smaller places around it will be less. I don't know yet how much traveling by mule-pack to the villages around Chichicastenango, Sololá, etc., costs; but I'm hoping we'll be able to keep it down so that we'll remain in the black.

So that you will understand my personal position in case something happens, let me tell you where I am financially.

I owe \$1150 to the Hattie M. Strong Foundation of Washington (the debt to be paid in small amounts without interest); I owe \$200 to my sister in Milwaukee (incurred in preparation for this trip). I have an account in the

Commonwealth and Commercial State Bank in Detroit, and my balance is now about \$75.00, although by the time you read this it will have been increased by the amount of my first salary check. In addition I have some \$60 in cash. You can see that I have used up most of a month's salary already. It is lucky for me that during the next couple of months or so most of our expenses will come from the Expense account so that we'll have a chance to catch up a bit.

If there are any expenses included in the enclosed accounting that you think should be paid out of my salary, you are at liberty to cross them out before you send the accounting to Washington. I have myself crossed off every item I thought was questionable.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

3 Noviembre, [1934]

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am sending this airmail because it contains what I think -- and what I am sure you will think -- is very good news. Shortly, it is that I have through the good agencies of Alfredo Clark, found a jewel for our purpose: a young Guatemaltecan who is very intelligent and extremely interested in ethnology and at the same time available.

His name, as he writes it, is A. Goubaud Carrera, but he goes by the Goubaud part as far as I'm concerned. He is about thirty years old, finished high school and a bit more at St. Mary's College in California, speaks, writes and reads Spanish (of course), English, and German. For a number of years he has been interested in an amateur way in anthropology generally and in Mayan linguistics and ethnography particularly. He has taken trips into the neighborhood to study Quiché and Kakchiquel, and knows a little about both

languages. Last year when Miss Reeves was here, he appears to have helped her considerably and when she went away he asked her to send him books on anthropology; he received Kroeber, which he has read, and a lot of B.A.E. reports and bulletins. He has quite a library of Guatemalan history and ethnology, and is as interested as one can be.

He has (with the help of another who he says knows German a bit better) translated the first 68 pages of Schultze-Jena into Spanish for the publisher; he has in addition translated a good deal of Stoll, and one bit of translation will be published in the Annals of the local Historical and Geographical Society. He has done a lot of work, besides -- chiefly linguistic -- and all as a hobby; so you see that he is not only interested, but capable.

He worked for many years with a British firm here until it liquidated; then recently Clark offered him the job of taking his tourists around when and if tourists come, and he accepted chiefly because it will give him an opportunity to get into the highlands among the Indians. He is most interested in making ethnology his life work, but he realizes that without scientific training he is handicapped. I think he asked Miss Reeves to try to make it possible for him to come to the States to study. He hasn't the means himself although he and his family are not, I think, poor.

Naturally he respects my training; and naturally I consider him a find, both for future purposes (I think you agree that part of our business is to develop natural resources, so to speak) and for the present work. I would very much like to take him with me, and he would very much like to go -- partly because he wants to do ethnographic work and partly because he wants the training in field techniques that he thinks I could give him.

I have made no promises, but I have said I would write to you. Meanwhile,

I spoke to Clark about the matter, and he was entirely agreeable and gave his blessing to the project. Of course I was afraid to take him from Clark just when the tourist season is commencing, but he seems quite willing, partly (he says) because his business is so uncertain, and partly (I think) because ~~he~~ is really interested in promoting the interest of science and, I suppose, of this young man. At any rate, Clark will certainly not stand in the way.

Goubaud will not require any remuneration if he comes with us, but I certainly could not take him along without paying his expenses. In the field, those expenses would be very small; and in fact in the end they may amount to nothing, since in many places he could act as a guide where otherwise I should have to have somebody else (for example, if I get the Carnegie truck, Clark says I would have to have a chauffeur-and-guide; and Goubaud would take his place on the survey). I think, therefore, that it would be very wise to take him under my wing as you took Alfonso under yours. If it works out all right, I would -- in the matter of publication -- consider him a co-worker (you know I'm not the jealous kind). If not, there is very little lost.

Please give me your advice on the matter as soon as possible. Ricketson is returning Tuesday and I shall probably begin my survey in a few days. As far as getting educated in the States (and of course at Chicago) I wish you would keep the matter in mind, but it can wait of course.

I have been making very good progress around here. I met Villacorte, and he is very cordial and will give us any cooperation we need. By the way, everybody is rather crazy about your Chan Kom; in Guatemala, at least, you are the World's Greatest Ethnologist. Clark is having his copy bound. I haven't finished reading it yet, but from what I have read, I think it will set a new standard for that kind of study. That's very parenthetical, however.

I have obtained the latest map and am having it corrected by the Authorities. (They have created a new Departamento and have rearranged a couple ~~of~~ more.) I also have obtained the latest census reports, and although they date from 1921, they seem very good because it is arranged by villages, etc., and also has figures on Ladinos, Indians, etc. I am going to try to have maps of the various departments made -- outline maps -- which I can then use for my various purposes; I think they can be made for less than five dollars. I have also had made 500 5X8 index cards on each of which I intend to put a village, with a slight map, data on language, costume, and other distinguishing features. I don't know how that will work out. I also have 500 3X5 cards for the index of people and other things, as you suggested. I think things are going along very well; I seem to have met most everybody around, and all of them are exceedingly cordial. If the Goubaud business works out, and I hope to hear from you next week on that, we may be very fortunate indeed.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

November 5, 1934

Dear Sol:

I have received with pleasure and satisfaction your two letters, one written from New Orleans and the other from Guatemala City on October 28th. I look forward with pleasure to a regular and an interesting correspondence from you.

Altogether, your account of Guatemala gives me some real pangs of regret that I am not with you and of desire to come down there. It is certainly a fascinating country.

I think I met the owner of your pensión at Lake Atitlán when I was there, and I went boat riding with him and his family.

Nothing startling has occurred here since your departure. Franz Blom spent a week in town and showed five reels of his motion pictures for us in the Assembly Room, after which about a dozen of us drank beer with him over at Hanley's.... I thank you for mentioning Wisdom's monograph. I took the occasion to follow up the suggestion and am hopeful he may publish it.

Rubin has probably communicated to you his suggestion that if you could produce a concrete proposition involving a definite amount of dollars for the collection of Guatemalan garments, Leon Mandel might come across. He seems favorably disposed toward the University at present.

Phileo has decided to write a Master's thesis comparing the development of the ghost-dance cult among three different North American peoples and is applying for a pre-doctoral fellowship from the Social Science Research Council to carry on this investigation in the field next year. I think it quite likely he will receive the fellowship.

Greta and I send all good wishes to you and your wife. We are cheering you on from the sidelines.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

November 6, 1934

Dear Sol:

Your letter about Goubaud bucked me up no end. It sounds like too good a break to get so early in the game. If he turns out as well as you think he will, I am sure that to pay his expenses will be a good investment. You are authorized to try him out on this basis. I am not clear how you

expect to keep him working for you without salary. You will understand this authorization as made subject to possible, but not probable, interference by Dr. Kidder, whom I am writing at once.

I also approve the commitments you have made for maps and filing materials.

Everything you say in this letter is so favorable that naturally I am delighted. We cannot expect it always to go so well, but this is certainly a good beginning.

I would make no promises to Goubaud about helping him in the future, but rather talk about Alfonso's experience and continue to stimulate his scientific interest and ambition. If he turns out well, of course something can be done for him, but he should not be told that directly.

With all good wishes,

Yours,

Robert Redfield

Care of  
Alfredo S. Clark  
7<sup>a</sup> Avenida Sur y  
18 Calle Oriente  
Guatemala, C. A.

November 12, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

The news of the day is that Goubaud, although as anxious as ever to get into ethnological work with me, is not as available as I was first led to believe. It appears that when I talked to him the first time -- before writing to you -- his pride kept him from admitting that he was too poor to give up his job now. I asked him specifically then if anybody was dependent upon him, and if he could get along with only his expenses paid; and he answered in the affirmative without hesitation. Later I spoke to Clark,

who told me that although he had once been wealthy, the family fortunes have shrunk, and he needs money; but I still thought Goubaud must know his own business and asked him again to be sure. Nevertheless, it now appears that Clark is right.

Goubaud is being paid only \$45.00 a month by Clark, but it must be that the cash is necessary to him. What happened is this: all week Goubaud very excitedly made plans with us about going on a long survey; it was apparent that if you approved, he would be overjoyed. We were to his home for dinner one night (he lives with a sister, and their mother and a brother are in the states where the latter is in school) and he and his sister both talked about it. There was no doubt in my mind all week that for his part he was ready to go. Last Saturday we took a trial excursion to some villages North of the city, and throughout there was no doubt of his intentions. But he must have been kidding himself, as well as me, all the time.

Your letter arrived yesterday morning, and I asked him to come over. I told him what you had said, and we had quite a discussion over how anthropologists are trained, what is scientific method, etc., etc. and after all that he told me that there is some family business pending, and that it might be cleared up in a month or so, but until that time he'd have to stay on the job. Maybe after that it would be cleared up, and then, if this end is still agreeable, he would join us. As a matter of fact, he had mentioned this vague family business before, just as vaguely; but as I see it he must have been (a) hoping that something would break before having to decide or (b) putting off the evil day when he would have to admit to himself and to me that he cannot go with us. At least he never intimated that he could not come with us.

Two interpretations of the present situation are possible: either he is actually poor, has no hope of getting richer, made up this yarn about family

affairs, and in fact can never expect to leave his job to become a student-ethnologist; or he is telling the truth, and in a month or two may be free, as he puts it, to do what he wishes. I incline to the latter view, perhaps from faith and hope but partly on the evidence. The family was, until recently, very well-to-do (for that we have Clark's statement, the fact that they live very genteely, the fact that he was in the States to school and that his mother and brother still are); they sold (or lost) some fincas within I. should judge the past year; in a case like that, there are often prospects in the offing, money coming in or estates settled or one thing or another. It is quite likely that Goubaud has reason to believe that something will come to a head shortly so that his \$45 a month won't be necessary to his family.

It appears on the whole that there is but one thing to do: to wait. In a few months, if he is right, we shall get together; if he is wrong, we can talk again after a few months. I want to keep his interest, of course, and I shall keep in communication with him. But I would certainly not advise offering him salary right now to do ethnological work, even if funds were available and seemed proper to the Institution; he is intelligent, but he needs training, very definitely. He is proud and, I think, a little conceited and perhaps a bit set in his ways. If he should come for simply expenses there would be almost certainly a social problem of his relationship to me, because for the good of his training he would have to listen to me and because of his age, etc., he might not be inclined to do so without reservations. If he should be paid a salary, beginner that he is, his value to himself would surely increase as he thought that his value to others was increasing. Such a thing might ruin his student career as an ethnologist. Of all this I cannot be sure, but I would rather take things slower with him, let him realize that anthropology doesn't need him so very much, and make him

appreciate the opportunity before him. I still think that he is intelligent, has excellent background, and has the makings of a good ethnologist.

We were out to the Ricketson's last Thursday evening for dinner; I had met them Wednesday at the office and was immediately very favorably impressed; in fact, of all the Americans we have met here, they and Clark are the only ones we genuinely like, and we like them very much. Clark has always been most helpful; only today we spent some three hours going over a thousand or so towns so that he could tell me what he knows about them. Ricketson denies knowing much about the ethnological situation, and it is probably true; at the same time, I haven't been able to get much from Mrs. Ricketson. She gave me a list of Indian villages which she made up in connection with her collection of costumes, but there is less on the list than I already know. I want to talk to her again tomorrow and get more; she ought to know something about Huehuetenango, at least, since they took a trip up that way.

Clark took me to meet a Mrs. Jessup who owns a large Finca where about 500 Indians work and live. You may have heard of her somehow. It appears that she has collected a number of folk-tales from her Indians, planning to publish them for children. Then somebody saw them, was impressed, and wanted to publish them. Or she wants them published as a scientific work or something. Anyway, one Simpson of the U. of California was here last year and was impressed by her manuscript and asked her later to send it to him, so he could show it to Kroeber and California could publish it. Well, Clark thought that if I could see a copy of the MS, and could interrogate her about the Indians, it would be a big break for Science; hence this visit.

Now Mrs. Jessup may have her points, but I'm very much afraid that Kroeber's kindly eyes won't see them; at least my not-so-kindly eyes didn't. I started the conversation by asking what Indians she got her material from;

she answered by saying that she got it from the tribes on the finca, but she has since checked it, and it is the same for all eighteen tribes, I may have been a little hoarse when I repeated the number eighteen, but I didn't argue much further; I discovered later on reading the MS that twelve of the eighteen tribes ("of Tecpam") are probably all Kakchiquel linguistically -- but the whole business isn't very studied. It appears that she has read the translation of the Popul Vuh, garbled it, taken legends as history, and in very unscholarly manner written a general introduction to her stories. She has chapters on Superstitions and on social customs generally, but since there is nowhere a mention of any region of Guatemala, not to mention linguistic group or village, they have very limited value. The stories, interesting as they are, naturally suffer from the same causes. Mrs. Jessup has a lot of good miscellaneous information, but it isn't the kind that does me a lot of good; in fact, it may only be useful after the ethnology has been worked out.

What I was chiefly interested in <sup>in</sup> our conversation was the problem of the fincas. When hundreds of Indians are drawn together from different places, speaking various languages, and live on a finca for generations, they must certainly develop an interesting social life; and how their languages and customs mingle must make an interesting study. There is a Mr. Fenton, an Englishman staying at the Pension here for awhile. He has a large finca in San Marcos (as well as some in Mexico) and his finca might make an interesting study; he says that practically all of their Indians came from Comitancillo (San Marcos) with their families a couple of generations ago, that Comitancillo is still going on as a live Indian village, and that the finca group keep up their connections with it. To study the village first and then the Finca group might be valuable, and I'm sure Fenton would be glad to co-operate. He is intelligent, and interested in the Indians chiefly

aesthetically. You may have met him; he recently read Tepoztlan and says there's nothing like it -- I lent him Chan Kom to read, because he seems to have a growing interest in ethnology. He's a D. H. Lawrence fan (information for the benefit of anybody who wants to know his hobby in order to get contributions to a cause).

Rubin did tell me about Leon Mandel and Guatemalan costumes; I haven't been down to Antigua yet (imagine being in Guatemala two and a half weeks and staying off all beaten paths, things as they are?) so haven't seen Frau Mann or her collection. I asked Clark yesterday who has the best collection of costumes in the country. He said that undoubtedly that woman who has it displayed in a store across from the Palace Hotel has the best, but it is not complete. (I forgot her name, but trust you may know it). He said that Frau Mann has the next best, though very incomplete, and that Mrs. Ricketson has another. The first is absolutely not for sale (says Clark); he doesn't know about Frau Mann's; but he added that Mrs. Ricketson has already invested \$3,000 in hers. It would appear from that that Frau Mann if for sale, would fetch a lot of money. Would Mandel pay into the thousands? There is another possibility, perhaps remote. Goubaud's uncle, it happens, is Minister of Education, and Goubaud tells me that some time ago he tried to induce his uncle to have the President write a letter to each of the towns that has distinctive costumes asking the alcalde to collect and send to the city a complete sample costume. The towns would certainly oblige, of course. Then a museum of costumes would be established. There would be some three hundred or more distinct costumes, and the objection of the uncle was that it would require a cash outlay by the government of three or four thousand dollars to make cases for the costumes (provided that a building could be found, which he considered likely). Since cash is

cash, he wouldn't approach the President with the proposition. With one of my minor flashes I suggested that if the President would ask for two costumes for each town, the duplicates could be sold for enough to care for the initial expense of the museum. That proposition may be pressed if you think that Mandel or others might be interested; of course you know as much as I do about the prospects of such a thing on this end, but it might be tried if we had some sort of promise that the duplicates would have a market. I shall meanwhile, when I get a chance, deal with Frau Mann.

During the past week I have had sort of a pipe dream about making a thorough survey of this country. At first it appeared that the best thing would be to establish a series of bases with the help of the truck, and work by mule pack from them into the surrounding villages; then as a sample trip, we (Goubaud, Gertrude and I) took a little excursion on the truck to Chinautla and San Antonio, north of here. I thought that we could remain in a particular village about two hours and in that time get notes on the layout of the village, its population in terms of races, its occupations, costumes and language (by means of kinship terms which might also give cultural distinctions). We enjoyed the trip very much, but we didn't find out an awful lot. At Chinautla we talked to half a dozen people, mapped the place very roughly, etc., but were stuck for time when it came to kinship terms. I was encouraged by the fact that they use native terms (not Spanish) and apparently have a different classification; but I was discouraged because it became apparent that a couple of hours would get us nowhere, since it would be necessary to get a genealogy or two to be sure of the kinship system. It is remarkable that although Chinautla is almost a suburb of Guatemala, all of the people come here often, and all speak Spanish, still their culture or language is intact enough so that they still have their kinship system. What will it be farther away?

But the survey can't be so quick, obviously.

I decided that so-called automobile roads were really not fit for cars and (having not ridden one) I decided I preferred mules. So I thought we might take a leisurely mule-pack trip north to Cobán, then west through Quiché into Huehuetenango, then south and east through San Marcos, Totonicipán, Sololá, etc. and back to the city. All in six or eight weeks. But I don't think that trip will repay the time at the present; I am very much afraid from the sample that we had, that we would miss more opportunities in our travels than we would profit from, since I know so precious little about the cultures, since in that period of time one has to know just what he's after when he gets to a strange village and plans to stay an hour or two, since our Spanish is not yet absolutely fluent by any means. Especially with Goubaud out for the time being, it seems much wiser not to take such an extended tour now.

Talking it over with Ricketson and Clark, it appears much wiser to tackle the Quiché country first, from Chichicastenango. Clark can get me mules and a guide and I can survey that country rather thoroughly, perhaps even settle in a village for a month or two (or, who knows? for much longer), get a clear picture of one group of cultures and then perhaps later make the survey when I have something to compare other villages to. I still want to make a thorough and intensive study of one village, of course, but it appears that the best program would be (1) make a small semi-intensive survey, (2) make a larger survey, more superficially, and (3) make an intensive study of a village.

Consequently, we are leaving for Chichicastenango Wednesday morning by truck. That will be our headquarters for a couple of months, anyway. But plans are not very definite, as you can see; I'm through working out everything

~~working out everything~~ long in advance.

Since I am finishing this letter on Tuesday, it will be tomorrow morning that we say goodbye to Guatemala. The best way to write us will be care of Clark, who will know our movements as they occur.

Sorry to have inflicted you with such a long letter. The news about Phileo sounds good. Give him my regards, and everybody else too. By the way, will you keep an eye on my thesis around there if convenient? Dorothy Harrington has it in charge.

Best regards to Mrs. Redfield from Gertrude and me; and of course to you.

Sincerely,  
Sol Tax

14 de Noviembre de 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield,

I want to write a note telling you how well the Ricketsons have treated us. They have given us the truck for our use as well as cots, blankets, utensils and a dozen other things that belong to the Institution. Mrs. Ricketson said to me today: "It belongs to the Institution, so you have as much right to it as we have" which may be true, but somebody else may have thought that the stuff came out of his budget, not mine, and have been less liberal. Furthermore, Mrs. Ricketson said that she doesn't know when they'll need the things, but when they do, they may as well buy more.

Ricketson put a new tire on the truck, and although he considered some form of bookkeeping so that I should be charged for wear-and-tear on the car, he didn't do anything about it. I wish you would write him when you get a chance, thanking him for his courtesy and generosity so that he knows it doesn't go unappreciated. I thanked him, of course, but I'd like him to know

that I have told you about it.

I don't know what I'd do for transportation around here; the train-line to Quezaltenango has been discontinued, and the bus-lines extend to only a few points. I'd have to go by mule-pack pretty long distances without the truck because obviously car-hire is too expensive. Besides, you can't imagine how much stuff we are taking to Chichicastenango tomorrow. We aren't taking any but work clothes with us, but equipment for work and travel will fill up the small truck.

I see now that without Ricketson's help -- which I didn't look forward to -- we could not have come close to living within our budget. I bought two quarts of white label for Pater Rossbach today. If you ever come down, don't forget to bring some snuff: he likes it and it is unobtainable here.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

November 19, 1934

Dear Sol:

Your thesis did not arrive until, I believe, Saturday. It was brought into my office this morning by Miss Doak. The deadline for filing these is a week from today. Miss Doak is unable to do the work in so short a time. Harrington is likewise unable to make the draft, and it will consume some time for him to find a substitute and get him properly to work. Furthermore, by employing Miss Doak to do the work over a more extended period of time, you can be saved from twenty to twenty-five dollars in typing expenses. In short, it is hardly possible to prepare the thesis for filing within the limited time provided, and an effort to do so would involve considerable

additional expense. I can see no good reason why your degree should be granted this quarter rather than next. If you include a later date for your Ph.D. in your subsequent biography, there is an advantage because people will say how much Tax has accomplished in the short time since he received his doctorate. For all these reasons, I have had the petition asking that your degree be granted in absentia changed to make that request for the winter rather than for the autumn quarter, and am about to turn you thesis over to Miss Doak for copying during the next six weeks. Harrington will undertake the task of supervising a proper draftsman, whom he will find. Please inform me how you are providing funds to take care of these expenses.

This ~~is~~<sup>will</sup> also acknowledge your letter of October 31st. I appreciate your giving me information as to your personal financial situation.

Nothing of importance has occurred here since my last letter. My teaching program has been changed to provide for my going to Yucatan and then to Guatemala in the early summer rather than in the spring. By that time you will be talking Quiché and Spanish fluently.

Mrs. Tax's letter for Greta I am taking home to her at noon today.

I acknowledge also, your diary up to November 7th, one copy of which I am sending to Mr. Johnson. It is just about what we need.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely

Robert Redfield

P.S. Miss Doak estimates that the cost of the typing will be from \$55 to \$60.

Harrington estimates that the cost of labor preparing the master set of essential diagrams will be about \$30 and that the cost of lithographing three or more copies will be about \$10 in addition. I am directing Miss Doak to proceed with the typing, but in view of the several weeks

we now have to complete the thesis for filing, Harrington will not make definite arrangements with the draftsman until he receives your approval of this estimate. Please answer by air mail.

R.R.

November 21, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am writing this at Chichicastenango, early Wednesday morning, in the hope that it will get to the boat this Saturday. The last time I wrote you we were preparing to take the truck out here, and indeed everything since has followed our schedule pretty well. The only unlooked-for occurrence has been a piece of rather good luck in finding an entree to the Indians here, but I'll start at the beginning.

Clark hired for me a young man called Raimundo Hernandez, a ladino, to drive our truck. (It obviously is impossible for me to drive here; have no license, know no rules, dont know the way). He is a very good boy and knows the country exceedingly well (he says he has driven the road hundreds of times, and he does seem to know every nook and cranny). Naturally, we enjoyed the scenery and got a good idea of the country as well; but you have taken the trip and can appreciate all of that. That was last Wednesday, and we were tired when, late in the afternoon, we arrived at the Inn. From what I understand, when you were here, the Inn was managed by a drunk-and-dope-fiend, but now there is a fine middle-aged German named Rohrman and his French wife. Both have lived in Guatemala all their lives, in Coban, and he especially knows that country very well, and has furnished information about the Indians there. He was for many years Finca manager, and also he built the road for the government. But his experience bossing Indians seems to have been extraordinary, for he seems to have become their good friend in

many ways, and his help when I get up into that country will be I think valuable.

At first I didn't like the Inn, pretty and modern as it is, simply because of my objection to tourist places, I think. Now that we have been away, and are back again, I appreciate it mightily. Three things happened during our first stay in Chichicastenango: we met the Padre, we went to Quiché and met the General, and we met Tomás Ventura.

I had your letter, and one from Alfred Clark, for the Padre; but since Herr Rohrman has become very close to him, probably neither was essential. We were very well received (with my two quarts of whiskey which the Padre, exercising his droll humor, thought should have been twenty-four, but which, I pointed out, were better than none) and in the days that followed became, we think and hope, very good friends. Everybody in Guatemala City seems to be in disagreement about the Padre and said they are curious to await our opinion. After a few days it seems to me that there can't be much argument about his sincerity; the only question is "sincerity about what?" I don't suppose that he is in agreement thoroughly with his superiors, but he is at bottom a religious man who has his own ideas about forms as well as about missionary work. Of his intelligence I have no doubt. On the subject of his character in other respects, I shall withhold judgment until I know him better. Meanwhile, he seems very sympathetic with our project, although Rohrman suspects that he is a bit jealous of us, since before we came he was the only man who has been among the Indians in the Cantones. It may be, but he didn't demonstrate it in any way, and has given us full co-operation.

He painted a very gloomy picture for us, and I have no doubt it is a pretty true picture. In the Cantones many of the women and children have never seen a white man, and they have a superstition that to have one look at them

(with blue eyes specifically) is eventual death. To have a white man touch one of them would bring on pretty immediate sickness. In general they fear, distrust, and resent foreigners. They hate ladinos, of course, and there are none at all in the Cantones; but in some ways foreigners are even worse. I noticed myself that in the pueblo here the Indians would never greet us or look at us with any friendliness at all, and on the road up here it was the same thing. Later, on the mule-trip, we passed many Indians, and when we greeted them they looked stolidly ahead -- except once, when, in answer to my smiling "buenas días," an Indian gruffly replied, "Pasa, pasa, hombre!" which rather chilled us. Our intention to study in the Cantones was not, and has not, been dimmed, however, as you shall see.

The General (Jefe Político) was in brusque and jovial mood when we found him in Quiché, and favorable toward us less because he had impressive documents from the city than because Clark had sent a letter and also some parts for his car with us. He gave us a circular to the Alcaldes and Commandantes. Back in Chichicastenango, on showing this to the alcalde, I received a similar one to the Principales of the Cantones. I hope never to have to use this, however.

Clark had told me about Tomás Ventura; in fact you may know him, since he is usually hired as a guide for people in the hotel. In case you don't he is a young Indian of 28 and handsome mien, literate and intelligent. Rohman brought him to town for us and I hired him for a guide; according to Clark (from whom I have since received a note) I made an unprecedented bargain with him -- his services, four mules, and Friendship for \$50 a month. With this entourage, we would go into the Cantones, where he has houses and property scattered around, and begin our studies.

It is time for the mail, so you will have to await the next letter

(which may possibly come when this does) for the story of our first trip from which we returned last night. Things, as you shall see, are starting very well for Chichicastenango. . . .

(to be continued)

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

November 21st, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

(Continuation of previous letter)

We finally got away with two pack mules, riding mules for Gertrude and myself, Tomás and a helper, Saturday morning, for a trip to Chicúa, a far-off canton about nine or ten miles south of the pueblo. I don't know if you traveled any through this country by mule, but you can imagine that progress is very slow; it was almost sunset when we arrived in the particular little valley that belongs to Tomas. All along the road there was no sign of hospitality, and after what the Padre and others had said about the attitude of the natives, it was not without some trepidation that we approached the little group of adobe houses. A few hundred yards before, however, Tomás' brother Diego ran out to greet us and escort us in; in the courtyard women sat weaving, and looked up at us and smiled as we came in and dismounted. We were led to one of the two rooms of the main house, where a surprise was in store for us. We had heard a marimba in the distance; now we saw that a marimba orchestra (marimba and drum) were playing in our very room, and that the room was clean and bare, the floor completely covered with pine-needles, and the doorway decorated in the same way. We entered, and small boxes were placed before us for chairs. The mules were unpacked meanwhile <sup>and</sup> our cots set

up. We continued to sit and smile, very pleased of course, and the little children came in and, especially when we gave them pennies, became very friendly.

After half an hour, we were tired of the monotonous tune on the vibrating marimba (they didn't play songs, but just went on and on) but didn't know what to do about it. Nobody spoke a word of Spanish except Tomás, and I finally thought I could settle things by giving him some money for the musicians. He stopped the music then, and we prepared to eat something. The situation was very peculiar. We had brought utensils and some staples of food, and Tomas told us we could use the fire in the other room. I asked if we could get some eggs or a chicken or something, but it appears nothing was available, so we just made some coffee and ate it with crackers. There was no intimation that we were expected to eat with the family, and as a matter of fact we preferred to start our own housekeeping for various reasons; the only trouble was that there was nothing to eat. Later, we went into the other room and they gave us some roasted corn, which was greatly appreciated. In the evening, everybody came into our cuarto where the marimba started up again, and we talked as well as we could to everybody -- there was a lot of laughing and good humor (I had cheap cigarillos and puros -- cigars -- to hand out) and all went well until bedtime; then everything was all right except that we almost froze to death.

The next day I learned all about the family, the canton, and a number of things about Tomás; we obtained some so-called limóns which tasted like nothing, some onions and a cabbage. All were expensive because scarce; only in the market are fresh foods really obtainable, and the market is in Chichicastenango on Thursdays and Sundays. We had a fire built in our room, good for cooking and warmth, but bad on the eyes; our chief trouble was that

we were not sufficiently organized to have our work done for us so that we could do ethnology -- that and the fact that there really wasn't enough food. Communication was not sufficiently easy between Tomás and us to make such arrangements gracefully without hurting the feelings of the family. Our Spanish isn't half bad, but it appears that our Spanish is different from Guatemalan Spanish. Numberless words, especially for common things, are different, and dictionaries weren't of much help. I had to draw a picture to get us some bananas from the market; how should I know that a banana is called "guineo" in these parts? So it is with at least half the words. Tomás speaks, reads and writes Spanish probably better than any Quiché; yet his vocabulary is weak, or else very different, and it was often hard to make ourselves understood. Needless to say, of course, we are hardly the best Spanish-speakers in the country ourselves.

At any rate, although ethnologically things went well, personally we weren't always very comfortable; and we came back last night for several good reasons; (1) we had seen as much as profitable of the Chicú part of the municipio, (2) Tomás and his entourage are moving today to Tomás' more permanent home, his ancestral home, in fact, Quejel, and it would be wise for us to move anyway, (3) we needed to make preparations for a longer stay -- get more food, etc., and make arrangements to have a servant in our place at Quejel. Tomás is moving his family today, I am getting my notes and correspondence up to date, and tomorrow or more probably Friday we shall go to Quejel. I have arranged with Tomás to have a servant for our use all the time -- it will be his brother Diego who is a nice boy and can be made to understand the meaning of the word cleanliness and who will be paid 15 cents a day -- we are going to take an oil stove with us, kindly lent by Mr. Rohrman, and we shall have arrangements to get food regularly.

I am enclosing a sketch map of the municipio; I made it myself, from observation and information, and I don't know how accurate it is. But it does for my purposes and it will give you an idea of our movements, But as far as distances are concerned, the map gives no good idea, for it is topography that is important. Quejel, for example, would be about thirty seconds from the pueblo by air; I doubt if it is more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  half a mile away. Actually, if you ask an Indian, he will say it is a league away (three miles, I think); and it takes a full hour by muleback. It is separated from the pueblo by a tremendous ravine that you may remember, and the path down and up is very tortuous. Economically (on our standard) it is very close, for I am sure a boy will go back and forth with a message for five or ten cents.

I might tell you a bit about Tomás, who is I imagine the closest of the Quichés here to a "marginal man". He says that he is one of eight adults here who is literate and has any notion of things on the outside at all. All he knows about geography are the names of the surrounding countries and vague notions of the United States where his tourists come from; Europe to him is a name that may stand for a city or a country. Yet he has been to the Capital; in fact the President's wife, when she was here, took a liking to him.

He seems to run things around here as far as guides are concerned, probably because he is connected with the Inn, and they are the people who want guides. Here he was referred to as the "Prince" of the Quichés, and I was puzzled as to what was meant until I heard the story. It seems that a few weeks ago a couple of high officials of the United Fruit Company were up here dickering with Clark about tourists, and Don Alfredo had the bright idea to impress them with Tomás. Clark told them that Tomás is the Prince

of the Quichés, from a long line, etc., and he had Tomás dress in his best native garb. Now Tomas is a princely looking fellow anyway, tall and handsome, and he must have looked the part all dressed up. These men were in the living room here with Clark and the Rohrmans, and the prince was announced. He came in with arms folded and head high, stood at a distance and very haughtily stood silent and motionless. The men arose to greet him and he still stood frigidly; they spoke to him and he answered briefly. After a few minutes they invited him to drink with them, and Tomas refused. After some urging he consented with a gesture that said, "Oh, well, if it will please you!" (Always the courtesy of royalty.) Meanwhile, Mr. Rohrman had left the room because he could not control his laughter, and Mrs. Rohrman soon followed. She was followed by a worried United Fruit official who with great seriousness asked her, "When I speak to him, shall I say 'your highness'?" That was too much for the lady, and she answered, "No, just call him Tomás."

Tomás' father is a school teacher here, called a "professor" by his son; but he is not above walking to Chicau<sup>ud</sup> with a pack on his back (as he did once when we were there) or coming to the hotel to sell weaving that his wife (Tomás' stepmother) did, or (I hear) getting drunk occasionally. He is another of the eight literates (the others are either "professors" or Indian officials). I should mention that many children can now read and write. Tomás himself, from contact with tourists or for other reasons, is curious about the world, and an apt pupil. When I explained the facts of physical geography to him (the positions of the earth, sun, and moon, etc. by means of oranges and lights) he asked, "Where is heaven; where does Jesus Christ live?" Quien sabe? came in handy, but I can't tell if Tomás was serious or not.

I took his genealogy, and got the kinship terms, and found him an

exceptionally intelligent informant on any standards. He also showed an understanding of maps when I was making mine. I exchanged information with him on customs among his people and mine, and he talks readily on any subject and should make a good interpreter. One thing of exceptional interest that I shall look into. I was telling him about the old Maya civilization in the Petén, and he told me, out of the clear sky, that in the old days it was ice cold up there. I asked him where he had heard that, and he said that the Brujes (shamans) told him -- that they all knew it, because it was part of the information handed down to them. I suppose it is true, and maybe it is new to the scientific world; if so, the archeologists will no doubt be interested.

The government census calls the cantones "caserios", but they are not villages or hamlets in the ordinary sense. They are simply sections of the country, the boundaries usually small streams or dry ravines, enclosing perhaps fifteen household groups each surrounded by a piece of farm land and other lands where firewood is obtained. Ownership of tracts of land is entirely private, and once when I was with Tomás, he could not find enough firewood on his land, but he stopped looking when he came to the boundary. Here are estates comparable to our farms, then, and in some cases at least there is no greater distance between farms in different cantones than between those in the same one. What is a cantón then? There are usually natural boundaries; each is in a valley or two or three contiguous valleys and often there is intervening space; whether this is owned by somebody, I do not know, but I imagine it is. Furthermore, there is some sort of political organization, with a Principal and Alcalde Auxiliare heading each, under the jurisdiction of the Alcalde of the whole municipality, who is in the pueblo. But there is apparently no social life in the cantones as such, at least none formalized:

there are no fiestas, no funeral\$ no baptisms. I don't know about marriage exactly, but brujes (who are important in the marriages) are scattered in all of the cantones.

Actually, I imagine that the municipality is the really important social unit (aside from the household); there are no markets except in the pueblo, no churches, no fiestas, etc. Although some people never get to the pueblo, most of them do, and certainly all of the men. Life was described to me so: Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday everybody works in the fields and around the house; on Thursday, there is market, and people go to town to buy or sell; Friday and Saturday are work days, and on Sunday, again, they go to market. Besides, they go to town for other occasions. The whole municipality centers about the town, therefore, it would appear, therefore, that to make a thorough study of Chichicastenango would entail a study of the whole of its 30,000 people, or good samplings. Whether I shall attempt such a thing or not, I don't know. Another point: marriage appears to be usually out of the canton and always patrilocal; this at once gives cantons a sort of patrilineal family unity, and at the same time ties a web of family relationships through the whole municipio.

Two other little points may interest you. One is that while Clark and Mrs. Jessup said unhesitatingly that Brujes descend from father to son invariably yet Tomás says that they never do. Are there two different cultures involved in the controversy? I don't know yet. The other is that → in a very lousy article in the November 1934 Harper's Bazaar, one Mary McDuffie Hampton says (p. 173), "When a girl marries, he comes to live with her...The people practice a true system of trial marriage." Is she *just* cracked, as I suspicion? Or are there Indians in this neighborhood so opposite to the Chichicastenango natives? Maybe we'll know some day. There are lots

of little things coming up all the time to make life interesting.

This has been a long enough letter; if I missed something important it will probably come up in the Diary that I am sending along; if not, in later notes. I feel very optimistic yet. We have good connections, and it may take some time for the other people to learn to tolerate us, but as long as Tomas has friends, apparently it will be all right that far. We shall be around this place until after the big fiesta (Dec. 17th) anyway. Then it will probably be better to move on for awhile and only maybe come back here for intensive work.

Best regards to all from Gertrude (who is doing well, by the way) and me.

Sincerely,  
Sol Tax

November 24, 1934

Dear Sol:

I have just received your interesting letter of November 12th, as well as the postscript written two days later. I am sure you were right in not going too fast with Goubaud. It is much better to wait and feel the situation out a little more without committing yourself to an expenditure and a relationship which might not prove all you wanted.

I am writing Ricketson today to thank him for the aid he and his wife have given you. He is certainly a generous and friendly person.

The suggestion you make that a study of a Finca group might be worth doing seems to me good. I think you should follow up the possibility and spend a long enough time with such a group to be able to see the possibilities of such an inquiry.

If you find any one of the good collection of costumes is for sale and you can get a price, either Rubin or I will call Mr. Mandel's attention to the opportunity. The collection reported to you as the best is not doubt that of Mrs. Roach. If you get word that the government might accept your suggestion for financing their own collection and a museum, we might carry that suggestion also to Mr. Mandel.

I received a letter from Father Carlos Knittel, acknowledging his copy of Chan Kom, and assuring me of the welcome he will give to you and Mrs. Tax when you reach San Francisco El Alto.

At last you are really off on your survey and from now on your reports will be even more interesting than they have been in the past.

Yours truly,

Robert Redfield

December 2, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Just the day after I wrote to you last, I was a bit discouraged over things around here; but the past week has erased all that and I can again write in optimistic strain. You remember that when I wrote last Friday we were preparing to leave for Quejé for a somewhat lengthy stay. Tomás said that his house there was larger than at Chicúá and that we would be comfortable. What he did not emphasize is that the occupants of the house are considerably more numerous too, and it turned out to be quite a mess. The house in which everybody sleeps consists of three rooms: one is a very large one, constituting more than one-half of the whole; another is a very tiny cubby-hole off the large room and entered only through it; the third is a medium-sized room in which there is a large corn-crib taking up

practically all of the space. Now ordinarily Tomás' father, wife and seven little children sleep (in some mysterious manner) in the tiny cubby-hole; Tomás, his wife and three children sleep in the large room, which is also the living room for the whole family; a brother Diego and ~~the~~ family sleep in a separate little kitchen-house. Anyway, when we arrived, Tomás cleaned up the large room for us, spread pine-needles over the floor and so on; surveying the situation, I asked him where he would sleep, and he said in the corn-room. Meanwhile, we found that, having the common-room of the house for ourselves had the disadvantage of giving us no privacy at all; Tomás must have sensed this, and soon began ordering everybody to stay out; this meant that the family had no place to come into from outside. What was worse all round was that when Tomás' father came home in the evening he arranged with him to move his family's quarters into the corn-room so that they wouldn't interfere with us. You can see that the hospitality was perfect; but you can also see that to stay there for a week or longer was an intolerable prospect: no less than twelve people sleeping around the margin of the corn-crib! Tomás insisted that it was all right, but that was his courtesy; and we sensed some bickering between him and his father. We decided that it was all wrong and we would leave the next day. We arranged the departure so that we should not hurt his feelings (people were coming to the Inn for the weekend, and we sent a message to Mr. Rohrman to send us a message that a wire had come for us that some of our friends were coming) and things went all right.

I have had a chance since to make an examination of the housing situation in Quejel and other cantones, and it appears to be a fact that there is nowhere room for us. There are no villages at all, so no extra houses that are usually found in villages; most everybody has just about enough room for his family -- and since most of the houses have just two rooms, we would be taking half of

what they have. It is therefore apparent that for any protracted stay we would have to build ourselves a house (a matter of a hundred dollars or so) and it is obvious that that is impossible until we determine where we want to stay for at least six months. That is therefore not for the present, since I want to see more of the country before settling down.

Two immediate problems confronted us when we came back to the Pueblo: one, how to continue our work here, and two, how to manage things financially. The first matter has been settled very well, all things considered, and is the reason for my optimism. Tomás, who is a jewel, has been rounding up his friends from all of the cantones, and has been bringing them to us here or to Quejel; it is an hour's ride to Quejel for us, and when it is more convenient for the informant to get up there than here, we have been going to Quejel in the morning and returning at night. We have had excellent informants from a number of cantones in this way, and gradually we have been learning more and more of the culture. I am sending a first batch of notes to you this week, and you can judge for yourself our present status as far as ethnology is concerned. I am pursuing the genealogical and statistical methods and I find that I can get the information I wish in this way. At the same time, I intend to make a thorough (as thorough as a couple of weeks will allow) study of Quejel as a sample canton on and off during the next two weeks. I think I can do as well by staying in the pueblo nights as any other way, considering that I am at this time bound to be a bit more superficial anyway.

The financial problem I shall put up to you. The Maya Inn is a bit too expensive for comfort, of course; I told you that we were paying \$4.50 a day. When I found that we cannot stay in Quejel, I sent a message to Clark asking for a cheap monthly rate, and he agreed to let us stay here for \$100 a month -- just what we paid at the Pension in the city. So at that rate we are staying and when we go out on our daily excursions we get a packed lunch to take with

us. Now there is another matter: we invested about \$25 in staple food-stuffs to have with us on our travels, and that we are not using; we shall keep it until we start traveling again, and if we never have occasion to use it in this way, we shall keep it until we settle down. The question is, are we settled down now? You remember that the arrangement was that when we finally settled down to study a place, our living expenses were not to come from the expense budget; if this should be called "settled to study Chichicasteango" we should reasonably pay the \$100 from my salary. I don't think that this should be considered settled, however, and the compromise that I offered myself mentally while worrying about it is that we should not charge the groceries to the Institution, since we will probably use them when we are settled, but we should charge this hotel bill. I myself look upon the stay here as temporary, for I certainly do not intend to do ethnology from a hotel if it can be helped; but I leave it to you, who know the theory of this thing better than I do.-- and before I write up the next expense account I shall await your decision.

I received a check for \$100 which you had sent to me from Washington; I thank you kindly, for it appears that it will be needed. I am wondering, however, if you made this requisition on the assumption that Goubaud was to be with us; if so, of course a process of embezzlement is going on here. However I am being as careful with accounts as possible, and I think as economical as the circumstances permit. Our system is to write down every cent spent, daily, and then to consider each item to see if it is chargeable to expenses. I try to be as fair and honest as possible, but I hope you catch up any mistakes I may make before the account goes to Washington.

I have been hearing of a most interesting situation in the Cobán region. It may illustrate as well as any place in the world how half-breed castes

arise. It appears that for the last two generations the finca-owners (mostly Germans) have mixed with Indian women in a peculiar way with peculiar results. A great many finca managers and owners have been and are bachelors, or the women folks are in the city. They need cooks and housekeepers, and they get them now among the caste of half-breeds developed in the previous generation. These are the only good housekeepers because they can control the Indian servants (who are socially beneath them) with an iron hand; but they will not work for a man unless he will also make her his mistress. When a child is born, which is what the woman wants, the man is somewhat responsible, and eventually he has to give the woman a house and some money. This is more than a woman could expect from any other kind of life, apparently. I hear that there are whole streets in Cobán consisting of houses of such women and their families. The young girls grow up to become cooks and mistresses once again, so that the blood through the female line is gradually becoming whiter, while the young men go back to the Indians and marry beneath them. The whole business<sup>s</sup> is so recent that I imagine its entire history could be traced first-hand; yet it has reached stabilization that makes it a permanent institution. I have heard lots of stories about it; apparently practically every white man in Cobán today has a brood of half-caste (or quarter-caste) children, their wives don't mind it, appreciating the custom, and all goes on. From stories I have heard, these women are not very noble in character, being cruel to the Indians and spiteful towards a man on whom they have a hold. The whole business reminds me of the Nairs of India in an incipient state; it certainly should be of interest to the sociologists, and if we get a chance we shall go up there some time and look into it. Cobán seems to be a perfectly insane country anyway; I have heard of one German old lady who went from the boat directly up to the mountain wherein her finca was

when young, and has never come down since; there are two Americans -- old men and fabulously wealthy -- who have fincas and broods of children from native wives, who rule their households like patriarchs; at the place of one of them a young man came one evening to spend the night, and just stayed and stayed, and he's still there after thirty years, living in a house they built for him. This fellow is none other (I gather from the descriptions) than Robert Burkitt. There is one fellow who just died who left fifty-three half-breed children.

There are a lot of interesting things to tell you about this country, but I'll put them all into notes. Aside from those, I should mention that a Dr. Bryan, director of the Los Angeles Museum (once with the Field Museum, a student of Starr's, knows Cole, was director of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu and a charter member of the faculty of the University there) is here for the day. He suggests that Padre Rossbach might be able to write up what he knows of the Indians if his bishop is persuaded to give him an underling to perform the necessary services; thinking that Dr. Kidder might do the persuading, he will write to him on the subject. For my part, I don't think it can hurt; but if Kidder wants to take an interest, he should also arrange to publish what the padre writes so that the project will be more definite. I haven't any idea how much the padre knows that is of scientific importance; his interests seems pretty sentimental to me, but then we haven't really talked ethnology much. When I know a little bit more, I'll ask him about some things -- and his answers may give me some clue as to the nature of his knowledge. I have a suspicion that he doesn't think highly of Schultze's work, chiefly because he got so much from Flavio Rodas, who is a ladino whom the padre doesn't much care for. Apparently it is true, too, that although Schultze worked very hard and got a lot, he didn't get such an awful lot

first-hand. As for Ruth Bunzel, the padre almost sputters when he talks about her; I gather she's too Bolshevick and free-love for him, and the inference is that her conduct here wasn't always up to Church standards. The padre says he hasn't any idea what she found out here, because although both times she was here she stayed at his house, she never showed him a single note or asked a question of him. She fought both with Schultze and with Atwood here.

By the way, Atwood is supposed to have made some maps of this country; if so, would it be possible to have them sent to me here? I am having a very difficult time making my maps; there is nothing in the country accurate enough to help me, and I'm hardly a notorious expert. I am finally sending you one of this section, and it represents a compromise between what I see, what the Indians insist, and what the published maps show.

I haven't heard a word about my thesis; I know there must be fees to pay if it is in shape to be accepted by the library. The only thing I can think of to do is to send a check to Mrs. Harrington and hope everything will be all right.

We are both well (although we hurt from the mules -- yesterday we rode for five hours over country level enough to trot) -- and I fondly think we are losing weight and gaining health, but there is no scale in town.

Best regards to everybody from both of us.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

[P.S.] When is Dr. Andrade coming? I am enclosing only the map. The notes will follow. I'm sorry always to be behind my letters a bit, but I am really very busy and things take time; I'll have to take a day off from the Indians to complete my notes to date -- but it hurts me to do it because there is so much to get before I leave here.

December 6, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Your letters of the 19th and the 24th just received. All of your moves concerning my thesis have my full approval, and I shall be quite content to have the degree in Spring as in Fall. The only reason I rushed things when I left here was to give myself no temptation to stall in the revision of the thesis. Had I known that I had three months more time I probably wouldn't have had the ambition to work on the boat. I thought these could get to the library in the middle of December and be alright for Fall Commencement; I would have mailed the thesis from the boat (sending it back with the purser to be mailed in New Orleans) but I didn't want to trust it to anything but registered mail since should it be lost, so would I be. Anyway, I'm sorry the business caused you trouble, when you must be as sick of that thesis almost as I am.

I sent, by the last air-mail, a check for \$75.00 to Dorothy Harrington; I told her it was for graduation fees and the like and that I would send labor-expense money later. As things are, this \$75.00 had better be diverted to the typist and chart-maker, and I'll send more in a month. I hadn't thought the cost of either the typing or the charts would be so high, but I'm sure that nobody is overcharging an old friend (don't neglect to pass on that hint) so of course I approve everything. Please thank Pinky for me and tell him to go ahead and use his judgment: I think a long-distance call would be about \$21.00!

....I haven't made any definite plans for where we go from here; we shall be here until after the fiesta (ending the 23rd or so) and then probably we shall go to the lake for a couple of weeks, or possibly to Momostenango and to San Francisco El Alto first. If we do go west, perhaps

it would be best to continue in that direction for two or three weeks more, and maybe go up to Huehuetenango. Also, following your suggestion, we may go down to the San Marcos finca that I mentioned to you to see if it will bear protracted study some day.

I imagine you will not be here until August, and by that time we hope to know something about Guatemala. When we settle down here I rather imagine we shall have to build a house, or renovate an abandoned one; if so, we shall manage to make a place for visitors if it's possible.

Best regards to everyone.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

P.S. Why does your secretary put on 5¢ postage stamps?

December 13, 1934

Dear Sol:

I acknowledge with thanks your two letters written in November, reporting your first exploratory expedition, your diary from November 8th to November 20th, and your most recent letter of December 6th. I send your diary to Dr. Kidder, who, after reading it, transmits it to Washington for filing.

I think you are proceeding in a reasonable and efficient manner to get acquainted with the field and its problems. Your recent letters emphasize once more the central importance of the problem of communication with the Indians. Not only are they aloof and suspicious, not only do they talk a language which is not your own, but they have to be reached through another language and culture, which, to a degree, has to be mastered first. I am sure, nevertheless, that you will solve these difficulties with that combination of patience and enterprise which you possess.

I read with much sympathy and interest the account of your visit to the house in Chicua' 2nd. I could imagine so well my own feelings in similar situations -- that mixture of apprehension, frustration, curiosity and intense intellectual excitement -- and I supposed that you and your wife were enjoying and suffering from similar sensations.

Mrs. Harrington has turned over to me your check for \$75, and I will assume the duties of treasurer and disburse this money to the typist and chart-maker as needed. When your thesis is completed, it will be filed and the petition to receive your degree in absentia will be presented so as to provide for the granting of the degree at the Winter Convocation in March.

I do not expect to leave for Yucatan until June but ought to reach Guatemala some time in July. I will not forget to bring the snuff for Father Rossbach. Kidder is coming down in February and will look you up. Andrade sails for Guatemala from New Orleans on the day after Christmas and will go first to Guatemala City. His plans after that are uncertain. Is there anything you would like him to bring down to you?

We had the pleasure recently of a visit from Dr. Kroeber. Many of us here are planning to attend the Christmas meetings in Pittsburgh. Hansen will be back then from Yucatan and is to present a paper.

Will you do me the favor of mailing me two of the silver five centavo pieces. Greta has had the huipil made up as a blouse and we need some more coins to sew on it.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Robert Redfield

December 15, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am writing this from Quezaltenango. Under separate cover (so sent because it might get lost and I'd like to know if it does) I am sending you my notes and the third section of my Diary: The latter will more or less explain our movements, but briefly they were these: since a film company arrived for a few weeks to Chichicastenango, and since their presence there would seriously interrupt my work with the Indians, as well as, possibly, prejudice them against me ~~if~~ since they and we are all Americans and since they hate the movie people -- we decided it would be a good time to extend the survey to the West a bit. Therefore we started for San Francisco El Alto on Monday, but went on to Momostenango when we found the Padre absent for a few days. In Momostenango we stayed for three days at the awful hotel, met the Padre (Francisco Knittel, formerly at Sololá) and Ernest Lang, got along well, learned something, and left Thursday. Padre Francisco came with us to San Francisco El Alto, where we met the Padre; since he will not be there until after the 22nd, we just made connections and got an invitation to come after Christmas. Then we came down here to go to Huehuetenango, for which town we are leaving tomorrow.

Since I hadn't expected to go directly to Momostenango, I didn't think to ask Father Rossbach for a letter to Father Francisco; but he gave me a package of whiskey to take to him whenever we should get up there, so we had a sort of introduction. Besides, Tomás was along and knew him. We were disappointed therefore that he was rather cold when we first came. However, after we were settled in the hotel, and the danger of our bothering him was over, he warmed up considerably and we have no complaint to make about his hospitality. However, both of us dislike him, partly because of his personality,

partly because of his obvious lack of intelligence, and partly because of his attitude toward his parishioners. The contrast was too strong, I think, after knowing Father Rossbach; the latter has a warm gleam in his eyes when he talks about the Indians, or when one comes into his office. The sincerity of his attachment to the Indians, and his priestly fatherliness towards mankind in general is very apparent. With Father Francisco quite the contrary is true; he despises the Indians, say "they live with the pigs and like pigs" and seems to have no concern for their welfare in this world or the next. When he passes them on the road, and they take off their hats and bow before him to be blessed, he generally goes right on walking and talking and taps them on the head with the blunt end of a pencil -- afraid to soil his hands, I suppose. When we came upon the body of an Indian who had been killed by a fall down a barranca, I naturally expected him to do something about it, but he kept his distance, said nothing, and just laughed at the poor fellow for having been drunk. I am sure that the only reason he is here is because, as he said himself, it is an easy and free life. He has a contempt for ethnology too, and -- this should make you share our feeling about him -- mentioning that he had seen Chan Kom, expressed the greatest contempt for such details about a silly village that can't possibly interest anybody anyway... Why should I want maps, and why study the cantons, etc., etc.? I pointed out that Momostenango makes blankets and Chichicastenango doesn't (or Santa María, the eastern neighbor, doesn't); and he said that's because they have hot springs in Momostenango that are useful for blankets. But do all the cantones make blankets? Yes. But some of them are just as far from the springs as are some cantones of Santa María; and why should they and not Santa María people there make blankets? That presented itself as a problem to the padre, and he would no longer pursue his objections to details and maps. But of course his contempt for ethnologists is probably increased, so there.

You described Lang to me perfectly, with one error; he does like to talk about the Indians, and I suspect he had a toothache when you saw him. I think I sold him on ethnology when I started to get information from him on economic matters. He kept repeating to us (thank God for Gertrude and her German with him; I think it went over big), "No one has ever been interested in this before!", and he was very anxious that I get it all down, and straight. As a matter of fact, he does know a lot about the Indians, although he showed an elemental lack of ethnological training by handing me a ladino informant for kinship terms. My chief complaint against Momostenango (besides the hotel and the fleas) is that we didn't get to meet a solitary Indian to talk to; but Lang told us that when we want to return we should write two weeks in advance and he would have Indians for us. I should like to return, but nobody could drag us back to that hotel; if we can make arrangements with Lang to board there, I think it would be a good place to spend a month or so, because the comparisons and contrasts with Chichicastenango are striking. The Indians there all seem to speak Spanish, they are not shy of foreigners, they seem much less reticent (or at least they all greet one pleasantly); they have schools in all the cantones (thus also giving the cantones "capitals"; the women come to town to market and so on, the division of labor is different, with the men making the women's huipils and doing all weaving; the <sup>[Indian]</sup> calendar seems to be known by practically everybody and used in daily life, while ours is almost unknown; they have white and black magicians -- all sorts of differences.

Schultze got his calendar from Lang, and he got a lot of other things from the same source; Lang doesn't think he's so hot -- says he listened too much to Flavio Rodas; also it is apparent to me now that Schultze mixed up Momostenango and Chichicastenango all the time, with no warrant. By the way,

when you read my notes you will see a discussion of <sup>a</sup>discrepancy in the calendar correlation between my informant and Schultze. I checked up the dates by asking Indians in Momostenango and they all agree with Schultze's correlation (really Lang's I suppose); so he is right for Momostenango; if I'm right too, it's very interesting that the two regions are on a different date. How about the places between (Quiché, Chiquimula)?

Anyway, we had a gemütlich time with Lang, and left him and the Padre to drink a bottle of whiskey that I brought for Padre Carlos. In San Francisco we met the latter, and he seems nicer personally than his brother, we cannot visit him until after Christmas, however, since he will be gone. San Francisco El Alto is certainly the most beautiful spot in the world, isn't it? Anyway, we are going to Huehuetenango in the morning (I didn't accomplish anything of direct ethnological significance in Quezaltenango; only saw the Jefe Político, alcalde, etc., arranged to get some maps [I think the alcalde is so impressed that they may have maps made], got into the newspapers, got letters of introduction to Huehuetenango, and wrote notes, itinerary, and letters) and we'll see what we can see up there.

I'm beginning to think seriously that we'll do our first intensive study in Chichicastenango. Quiché presents as good an orienting ground as anything, and Chichicastenango is as good a place -- possibly the best -- as any in which to get the fundamentals. Besides, we have personal reasons for liking the place, not the least of which is our fondness for Tomás. I am certain now that the pueblo is a better place to settle than in a canton, and if we have to build a house I certainly wouldn't do it in a canton. In the pueblo we can buy one and remodel it, or build one, or rent one, or part of one. Obviously we wouldn't want to stay in the Maya Inn, which is a bad influence for ethnology in many ways -- and besides, we couldn't afford

it. But a house in the pueblo would be another matter; we have ladino and Indian connections both, and I imagine it would be foolish to waste them. Please tell me what you think.

I hope you find the notes all right; I had thought at first simply to copy my notebook, but I decided it would be better for me in organizing my thoughts and better for you in telling you what I have if I made some attempt to organize the material. Lots of it is obviously the result of ignorance rather than knowledge, but what can be expected after a few weeks?

I suppose that you will get this letter during the holidays. Both Gertrude and I hope you have, have had, or will have a good Christmas and that the New Year will bring you even more than the last year did.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

December 18, 1934

Dear Sol:

I have just received your letter of December 2nd, enclosing a map of the Municipalidad of Santo Tomás, Chichicastenango. The problem of how to provide a satisfactory living place for you and Mrs. Tax that will bring you into natural contact with the Indians and at the same time give you the necessary minimum of comfort, without too much expense, is apparently a most important one. I should think that before too long it will become advisable for you to select a canton in which to reside and to provide for such living quarters. If there is no other way to do this than by having a special house built for \$100 or \$150, you are authorized to do so. Is there no chance of inducing some of the less densely populated families to double up with someone else or seek some temporary less-satisfactory abode by offering a

good rent for the house they already occupy? In Mexico, it is sometimes possible to do this, as we have found from experience, but I suppose that the scattered distribution of the houses makes it a much less likely solution where you are. At any rate, I feel sure that it is only by going to live apart from the white man and among the Indians that you will get ultimately the sort of intimate study of the group for which we are working.

We are confident that you have the determination to work out this difficult problem and to get yourself established satisfactorily, and I want to provide the support that you need, even if it involves some increase over the expense estimate as we originally made it. With reference to your bill at the inn during the present month, my judgment is that you should charge this to expenses. I do not think that we can continue for a long period paying for this out of expenses, but at least during this first month or two when you are trying to work out the problem of permanent residence I would approve charging your board and lodging at the inn to expenses. The food you have bought can be charged to you personally and held for the time when you are keeping house.

The additional \$100 I had sent to you was to provide either for Goubaud or for any other unanticipated expense which you might incur before the first of the year. It is in addition to the sum for expenses already provided for the first three months.

Dr. Park and I fell into a great state of excitement at reading the paragraph of your letter dealing with the racial intermixture situation in the Cobán area. It seemed to us very important as giving an opportunity to study what might become an almost classic case of hypergamy almost from its inception. As you say yourself, it suggests the situation among the Nairs of India in an incipient state. Dr. Park was so interested that he is considering

going down to Guatemala with me to look at the possibility of setting up an investigation of this inter-racial situation as a separate project. I do not know anything of the climatic and other circumstances that would attend such an enterprise. I hope that before the winter is over you will have an opportunity to visit the Cobán area and give us a report as to the situation there with reference to the possibility of studying it as a separate project.

I am writing to Dr. Kidder, asking him if Atwood's maps are available.

Miss Doak has not yet begun to copy your thesis, but is engaged in verifying the references and in doing the other preliminary work. Harrington has decided to make the necessary drawings and charts himself and will begin the task this week. I will disburse the \$75 you have already sent me as needed to these two persons. More certainly will be needed later.

With all good wishes to both of you for continued favorable development, and with many Christmas greetings, I am

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

December 24, 1934

Dear Dr. Redfield:

We are back in Chichicastenango; having discovered that a rolling stone gathers only mozos that have to be paid, we are, until something happens to drive us away, here to study Quiché. Not that the prospects for the moment are overly bright, but we have hopes that time will heal wounds and everything will turn out happily. I'll tell you the trouble in a moment; first to report our activities of the past ten days.

When I wrote we were bound for Huehuetenango; from a personal point of view the trip wasn't so pleasant, but ethnologically it was everything that

I could have hoped for. The hotel there ("Galves") is run by a German couple, but they seem to have gone native and have perfectly succeeded in ruining a very nice place. To be short, the man is a conceited pig and his dining room a sty without pretensions even. But the neighborhood is an ethnological paradise just crying to be decently studied. I wish I were a nice liar so that I could give a glamorous account of our travels in Huehuetenango; actually we stirred from town only once, and that when a traveling salesman offered us a free ride to some archeological ruins. But I am not at all sorry, and feel that we exercised admirable self-control. With my funds as they are, I could plan only a few days there, and no expensive entourage; it happens fortunately that the city is a great center for Indians from all over the department, that there are always many of them in town. So it occurred to us to do a good survey right there, and I hired a mozo to round up Indians from different places -- one or two at a time -- to come and talk to me. In this way I covered as much territory as a romantic tourist does in three weeks. It is true that I had some extremely stupid informants, but that cannot be blamed on the method. The men were sometimes very shy, and twice they dashed out and away before I could put them at their ease; it probably would have been a bit better had I come to their homes instead of they to ours, but not enough to make it pay in the survey.

We spent three days there, and then returned to Quezáltenango (there are automobile roads to no place else) where the strain of the food and the rough traveling laid me low for a day. This traveling had been done, by the way, on a station-wagon that carries freight and mail through these parts. I recovered sufficiently to take a trip (on Clark's recommendation) to a couple of towns west of Quezáltenango -- Concepción, S. Martín Chili Verde, and (just passing through) S. Juan. I did this to discover the western limits

of Quiché (at least in that section) and to discover what I could discover.

By that time I found that the chief trouble with the survey I was making was that I didn't know enough yet about the culture of the country; it began to seem as if I would get more for my money after being thoroughly versed in, say, Chichicastenango language and culture. When I finish writing up notes of the survey and send them to you you can judge for yourself how successful I was; I am not sorry I went a-traveling, for I picked up some good bits of information and I got a very good general idea of the highlands that is useful in orientation. But to keep it up now seems a waste of time and money -- especially the latter, for whatever impression you may have gotten, traveling is expensive here.

Anyway, we decided to go back to Chichicastenango rather than to go, say, to San Marcos for awhile. It happened that the cheapest way to get back here was to take a station-wagon to Sololá (that which runs to the Capital) and trust to luck that we could get a car from there; we spent the night at Tzanjuyú, therefore, and found the scene very beautiful; it was too short a time to do any ethnology, and we didn't even cross the lake because it was Sunday and no regular boat was running (and there was no sense in spending money for a special one for a short visit). We had timed our return to Chichicastenango well, and Sunday was the day the film-company was leaving; it happened that they were coming to Tzanjuyú for a few days, so in the midst of moving them down, we were able to get a ride up. So everything was all right.

Now to the troubles. I have mentioned the film company before; they came here to make a blurb of Burrough's Tarzan and the Greek Goddess, or Tarzan in Guatemala, or whatever it will be called; most of the scenes were made here, but some will be on the Rio Dulce. I imagine it was partly Clark's doings

that they came here to Chichicastenango; certainly he didn't discourage them (for which you can hardly blame him, with a thousand or two at stake). Yet he must have known it would cause a flock of trouble, and it did. Taking pictures of the fiesta and other things kicked up a row that crystallized just on the day we came into real anti-foreign sentiment. There was no violence toward whites here, although unprecedented verbal insults were hurled at the hotel's guests on Sunday; but feeling is high. The padre is suffering from it especially, and has found it necessary to go to Quiche to get the support of the Jefe. I was told that two hundred of the leading men from the cantones moved en masse Sunday afternoon to the office of the Secretary and insulted and protested loudly, but nobody seems to have a very clear idea of what's what. What bothers me as much as anything is that Tomás Ventura (who worked for the film company as chief-rounder-up of the Indians) has aroused a great deal of sentiment against himself. I hear they have threatened to kill him, but he laughs it off. Mr. Rohrman insists that one day last week they lay in wait for him and beat him up, but he shows no sign of it.

Tomás has many friends, of course, and there is a faction of the Indians who are not anti-foreigner; he tells me that everything will be all right and our work can go ahead. Now I am not thinking of physical danger; we are still safer here by a long shot than in Chicago. But I don't know how long it will take for this hard-feeling to subside enough for me to get the most out of the ethnology. You might think that we would find it better to go to some other place, and you may be right; but we are anxious to settle down and learn Quiché as a starter, and I am hopeful that the Indians will get used to us around here and be able to distinguish us from tourists and movie-men. Anyway, we like these Indians and want their good will.

I imagine the thing to do is to feel our way slowly; if things turn out

badly for the work, it would be too bad to have made preparations to settle here. We certainly would like to know something by the time Kidder comes, and we are anxious to get going at the language as the opening wedge to the inside of the culture, We don't yet know a thing and its plenty discouraging sometimes when we think of the wide-open spaces ahead.

How long do you intend to say in Guatemala when you come in July? Are you coming alone? And so on. I imagine that when the end of July comes 'round we'll be thinking we'd like to come home, but such stray thoughts can be bridled.

Enclosed are the two 5 centavo pieces (I think the ones you want). Since it would complicate the Washington bookkeeping a bit if I put 10 cents in the expense account, will you ask Mrs. Redfield to accept them, please, as our contribution to the blouse?

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

1935

Chichicastenango, Quiché  
Guatemala, C. A.

January 1, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Please note, first the address above; since we are settling here more or less permanently the above address will reach us most quickly and at the same time save Mr. Clark some trouble. We plan to be gone occasionally for a week or two or three at a time (for work in San Francisco, for example, or in Nebá) but even so this is our best address.

I have three special topics today: The Indians vs. Foreigners about which you may be worried, How to Live, and a word about Goubaud. Concerning the first there is little to say except that matters are quiet -- have reached an equilibrium I suppose. The Indians have done no more demonstrating or insulting, but there hasn't been any occasion; some are still in jail. Tomás goes back to Quejel most evenings, but he admits he won't go unless accompanied by some of his friends; yet he insists that only a handful are anti-Foreign and anti-Tomás. That Tomás is scared is evidenced by one thing. He is proud and wealthy; Clark years ago offered him work in the inn, which he spurned. Yet when Clark was here last week Tomás very seriously asked for a job as a waiter in the Inn. It seems to everybody quite apparent that he wants the protection that it affords; at least that he wants to live in the pueblo. Clark deferred to me, and Tomás next wanted to be sure that I had several months' work for him so that he could live in the town. I therefore made an arrangement with him, to pay him fifteen dollars a month and I told him that it would be for at least two months. He was then very well satisfied, and has hired mozos to do his work in the mountains and will stay here beginning about a week (I think you know that he has a house in the pueblo) from now. Furthermore, he is getting all of his friends work here: for example, the young man who was until today Secretary at Chiché has taken a job as a waiter; he is one who helped the motion picture people. I think that the Inn is now conceived of as the point-at-issue, and Tomás and his friends are not evading it.

I don't believe anything particular is going to happen; it doesn't look to me as if things are approaching a crisis -- rather that the crisis has passed and things will ease off gradually. If no issue arises for a long time I predict that I shall have nothing particular to write on the subject.

Getting ourselves fixed here to stay has been -- and is -- somewhat of a problem. When Mr. Clark was here he made us what was for him no doubt a great concession; he offered us room and board for \$90 a month. I told him, as I have written you, that we don't think the hotel would be quite as good for our work as a house in the pueblo. Even if it were, however, \$90 is more than we can afford. What with insurance and debts, not to mention clothes, we might just about break even at that rate, but no better. And if we can't save a little in the field we'll be in a bad way generally. But what choices are open to us? We can possibly get a house in the pueblo and fix it up comfortably; running expenses would be down but the initial cost spread over six months would bring it up very much. The cheapest solution that I can figure is rather a peculiar arrangement that we shall probably have to accept. The only available place in town that has a floor belongs to Father Rossbach; it consists of one very large room, but there are two additional rooms without floors. All three rooms we can have for \$3.00 a month. There is a good Ladino cook in town who will cook all of our meals for us for \$5.00 a month -- and will do it in her kitchen so that we won't have to build one -- besides the materials. We can get a boy to do all of our work (including carting the meals) for \$3.00 a month. That sounds very cheap until one begins to add things up. To show you how things are, I'll make a rough estimate.

#### Initial Expense

Furniture; beds can be built for about five dollars apiece; mattresses are hard to get, and cost all the way from \$3 for native straw ones to about \$20 for a fairly comfortable one. We would try some way or other to get by on \$25 for beds. Wardrobes and things have to be made, and cost about \$6

apiece; smaller cabinets about \$1.50; desks and tables about \$2 or \$3 apiece; all the chairs we need about \$3. A mirror, I hear, costs about \$5.00 here (or rather in the city). Altogether it appears that we couldn't furnish that room for less than about \$50. Possibly less; I have tried to rent things from Clark, but he has nothing extra, and there is no such thing as a second-hand store even in the city ..... 50.00

Furnishings: Blankets can't be had as cheaply as one might suppose. We have a few thin ones from the Ricketson's but (our house-boy will need some too -- he will sleep on one of our Carnegie cots) we would need at least two good ones. \$20 for those. Washbowls and pitcher and miscellaneous pottery will come to about \$3.00. A couple of pillows will be at least \$6.00 Dishes will account for another \$3.00. I don't see how these things could be bought for less than ..... 35.00

A water filterer -- an absolute necessity that everybody here has, at least ..... 8.00

A small gasoline stove for making tea and coffee that can't be sent over practicably ..... 8.00

Wiring for electricity (fixed price) ..... 3.00

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104.00

Running Expenses (per month)

Wages (cook \$5.00, boy \$3.00, laundry \$2.00) ..... \$10.00

Groceries (including firewood) (consensus of opinion)..... 25.00

Rent ..... 3.00

Electric lights ..... 1.75

84

~~83~~

Miscellaneous (such as coal for braziers) ..... 2.00

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\$ 41.75

Reducing the first cost to a monthly average would bring the monthly cost to around sixty dollars, which is something better than ninety, but still a far cry from the low cost I had vaguely expected. However, I suppose we can afford that, and it is the arrangement we are making. As a matter of fact I've no doubt that before we are finished it will be closer to seventy (things I've left out will readily suggest themselves to you -- and if not, certainly to a female housekeeper) but even that is all right. I have written all this to you because (1) it is on my mind now, and (2) if you hear the police are after me here for writing checks with no money in the bank you will know why. Anyway I like to keep financial matters straight between us so that any argument we ever have will be on better subjects.

It will take us a week to get into our establishment, and we have to take a couple of days off to go to the city to get the things we need ( and our things that we left there). But meanwhile the work has been going along very well here and that keeps me from being discouraged. I shall be very glad when we do get settled because then we shall feel as if we are part of the community. I only hope it doesn't all fall through.

Goubaud was here last week when Clark was -- with a lot of tourists. He told me that he had received a letter from Miss Reeves, that Miss Reeves says that she had had dinner with Dr. Kidder and that Dr. Kidder had said that Goubaud was now working for the Institution. She therefore congratulated him. I didn't know that things had gone so far with Goubaud, and now that may all be changed again. But I had a chance to talk with Goubaud, showing

him my work and comparing notes, and I was again impressed with his knowledge. Also, he again evidenced his desire to devote all of his time to ethnology and linguistics here -- now his hobby only -- and to work with me to get some scientific training. Unless he is shyly holding something back again, only the small salary that he gets from Clark is now holding him back; he admits now that his family needs that help. Do you think it would be at all wise -- if possible -- to pay him a little salary (say \$40 a month) so he would be able to quit his job? I am thinking that perhaps if you put it in the form of a fellowship of \$500 a year it might work out all right. If he will do it (and unless there is more mystery I think he will) he can stay with us here at comparatively little expense; and after a few months he could go up to Nebaj or some place to do a study of his own for <sup>comparative purposes. In this way I think he could be made</sup> comparatively quickly into a pretty good ethnologist, and then you could see if you wanted to do more for him. It seems to me that the investment has a very chance of paying dividends later -- and meanwhile wouldn't be an entirely frozen asset because he would be getting something, anyway, in the field here.

I, of course, did not say anything to Goubaud about such a project, so if you think it isn't such a good idea there is no loss or disappointment to anybody.

.... We have been spending most of our time since I wrote to you last learning the language. I wish there were some way of memorizing nonsense-syllables, because then I think it would be easy; unless we are being greatly fooled (and I suppose Andrade will show us that we are just plain ignorant) the grammar is the easiest imaginable. After three days I got so that I could make up sentences -- and quite complex ones, too -- from my notes, and be easily understood by the Indian boys around the hotel. Of course Tomás is an exceptionally good informant, I'm sure, but I know that I could never do that well with German composition after three days -- even with a grammar all written for study.

As soon as we know a bit more of the language, we are going to cultivate the women in Tomás' family (and Gertrude will especially); they understand no Spanish at all, and working with them will do us a lot of good with the language as well as give us a lot of information we can't get from men very well. We want to work very hard the next two months, so we know something and can begin to branch out a bit.

When we get to the city we can settle all of our accounts, with Clark and others, and can make up an expense account; you can expect it within two weeks, I think. As for the notes -- well, you may say that if I wouldn't spend all of my time writing you nonsense I might get them in sooner; but I answer that this is New Year's night and by rights a holiday anyway -- and all spare moments are taken with preparing for the next day with Tomás; but you will get another batch soon now.

And what would you do if you received from me a letter all on one page?

Best regards to everybody.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

P.S. I hope you take seriously my hints about money-in-the-bank. I should hate to have a check come back all the way to Guatemala.

January 2, 1935

Dear Sol:

I have received your letter of December 15, your Diary; covering November 21st to December 15th, and your Notes, pp. 1-30. As usual, I will transmit the Diary and the Notes (one copy) to Dr. Kidder, who will then send them to Washington for filing.

May I suggest that you put the place in which the entry is written in the margin of the Diary, under the date -- not in every case, but where it

would make it easier to follow your itinerary?

Under separate cover I send you new blanks to be used in preparing expense accounts (which, note, are to be sent in monthly hereafter), and forms for receipts for expenditures.

I found your notes exceedingly interesting and evidence of excellent results, for the first exploratory period, and in view of the many difficulties to be encountered. There are so many points of interest in your first report that I am not going to begin to comment on them. I will merely say that I, at least, am very pleased with the quality and quantity of this first rote-summary.

Kidder (who leaves for Guatemala about January 15th) wrote me expressing some slight surprise that apparently you were going to make your intensive-study in the Chichicastenango region, in view of the fact that that was where two ethnologists had already worked. He went on to say that he realized that this very fact was some reason for doing more work in the same place, and that he had entire confidence in our judgment. I replied that it was not yet decided where you were going to settle, that you would do more exploratory surveying before deciding, but that, as he said, there was some wisdom in building on a foundation already made.

I expect you to exercise the big share of the responsibility in making this decision. I think, however, that when the decision is made, we must have excellent reasons for the choice. One consideration will obviously be that of practical expediency -- that is, where access to the subject-matter is made under favorable auspices and with suitable living conditions. You will agree with me, however, that this reason alone is not going to be enough short of impossible practical circumstances in other areas. It seems to me that the most important single consideration will be furnished by the "frame

of reference" in which you see your intensive study to lie, that is, will be determined by the larger problem with reference to which you are doing ethnography.

If that frame of reference is merely the spatial and recent temporal relations of the Guatemalan cultures, then I suppose any place is as good as another in which to begin, and mere expediency will be determining. But if I know you, you are not long going to be satisfied with a merely historico-geographical frame of reference. Some problem in social anthropology is going to begin to take definition as a frame of reference for your ethnographic work. For my part, I do not care what it is; you must feel it grow upon you in the light of your scientific predilections and of the materials with which you have to deal. It may be a comparative morphological study of Mayan cultures, such as R-B has done in Australia and elsewhere. That would be interesting and highly worth-while. There is the interesting problem involved in asking the question, Why, in Guatemala, did the Spanish-Indian contact produce two folk cultures, while in Mexico, generally speaking, it produced one? There is a group of interrelated problems in the accommodations achieved in terms of caste, class and ethnic group out of Spanish, Indian and recent European contacts -- the Indian, ladino, European "race-relations" problems. There is apparently a possible special problem in the contributions of competition on the one hand and tradition on the other to the division of labor and the economic organization of the highlands. And there must be many more groups of questions, each one of which can be asked, not merely in Guatemala, but in other places and times, and so come to form a guiding-frame for investigation -- a first hypothesis.

In short, I have only two suggestions: that the decision be made partly in terms of a preliminary interest in one or more such problems, and that you are sure you have visited and sampled enough of Guatemala before

making the definite decision.

One factor in considering the Chichicasteango region is an unknown one: What did Ruth Bunzel accomplish, and on what is she going to publish? I failed to ask her (again) these questions when I saw her in Pittsburgh recently, but I have written her....

Hansen read a paper on the development of black magic in the city in Yucatan, and Miss Bunzel rose to remark on the great amount of magic (including, apparently, black) among the Quiche. What she meant apparently was that she didn't believe we had got close enough in Yucatan to know about black magic, and that she believed that there was plenty of black magic in Chan Kom. There isn't of course. Margaret Mead pointed out that apparently in Yucatan black magic is not a culturally-patterned technique for handling conflicts within the in-group (as it is in Dobu); it is used against outsiders, and in the city, to a degree, everybody is an outsider. This is sensible, and consistent with the facts and the hypotheses, as I know them.

Linton read a good paper on three parts of culture: "Central core", "specialties", and "alternatives." Miss Mead showed how anthropologists had failed to report those behavior-traits that are not sharply emphasized and concentrated around central tendencies. Sapir said some more about culture and personality, and Scudder Mekeel classified the problems of social anthropology. Elsie Clews Parsons talked about Mitla. She is going to offer us, for publication in our series, a great big book she has written on Zapotec ethnography. R. B. Dixon has just died, and nobody knows what is going to happen at Harvard. I spent some time with Lloyd Warner.... Collier gave an excellent talk on the plans of the Indian Bureau, and in the evening there was a conference on anthropological assistance to the Bureau. Somebody is probably going to be appointed liaison man, "Advisor on Native Peoples to the Commissioner,"

or something of that sort.

With all good wishes to you both,

Yours truly,

Robert Redfield

January 7, 1935

Dear Sol:

I will briefly answer your letter of December 24th, reporting your explorations in Huehuetenango and Quezaltenango, and the regrettable complication brought about by the film company.

The impression I get is that you have been going ahead at full steam, in eagerness to get things going promptly, and especially to have something to report to Kidder. I am very admiring of your zeal, but it seems to me that now is probably a good time to relax, take it easy for a period, and allow the anti-foreign sentiment in Chichicastenango to cool. Can't you declare a short retreat at the winter solstice (a little late!) and simply study at Quiché for a time? Or perhaps get an invitation to visit somebody on a finca, and have a little recreation while looking at Guatemala from a different angle?

What we need most to know at this juncture is not so much substantive ethnology as, first, how best to plan and execute an ethnological survey of Guatemala, and second, upon what basis and with reference to what problems, theoretical and immediately practical, to select a local community, representing a culture, for intensive work. I think this is what Dr. Kidder will be most interested in hearing from you.

At any rate, take it easy; we have a long program ahead of us, and the sort of study we want depends on intimate and natural communication with the Indians, based on relations of confidence.

I am asking Mr. Johnson to send \$200 expense money to your bank. I . . .

have not yet received word as to the form in which our budget for 1935 was approved.

I do not expect to stay in Guatemala more than a fortnight. Dr. Park is talking of coming with me. I don't know if he really will.

With best wishes,  
Robert Redfield

Chichicastenango  
January 16, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield,

Notes, expense account, itinery<sup>ry</sup> are all going out under separate cover. And I wanted to write you a long letter in answer to yours, but there isn't time enough before the mail goes out.

We know have our own place in the pueblo here and are living strictly Indian-Ladino lives; I imagine it will work out well. By this time I suppose you realize from my letters that the pueblo, rather than a canton, was the best place to settle. If you think I'm wrong I know you will say so: and it isn't too late to do something about it. But on that little point I'm pretty sure; and now Andrade has seen the situation and thoroughly agrees with me. He says this reminds him of the Hua<sup>c</sup>ste<sup>c</sup> situation, and there it would have been foolish to settle in a home in the woods to do ethnology.

I want to write you at length concerning reasons for picking Chichicastenango. You may be disappointed that I haven't a series of definite hypotheses testable only here -- but I have good reasons nonetheless for starting my study here.

In a hurry,

Sincerely yours,  
Sol Tax

January 17, 1935

Dear Dr. Rafield:

I have three of your letters to answer; I sent you a note by regular mail, but it wasn't sufficient to discuss the problems you mention -- also, expense account, itinerary, and notes are coming by regular mail.

We spent a few days in the city last week, collecting our belongings and making some purchases incident to settling here. Dr. Andrade arrived when we were there, so we were able to welcome him to Guatemala. Since he wanted to study Quiché I suggested that he come here, where I had connections and informants all ready for him. He has been here a week now and I think is making progress; at least he has the phonetics all worked out. Naturally he will be a great help to us.

Prof. Andrade has met Goubaud and talked to him, and shares my opinion of him completely; he is very favorably impressed with his intelligence and knowledge -- and on the subject of native linguistics too. I told him the subjects of our communication respecting Goubaud and he is anxious to get him to do linguistics if he can. I am awaiting your reaction to the suggestion that I made and of course have said nothing to Goubaud. Andrade is going to live with us, starting a day or two from now, and it seems to me that if we are going to get Goubaud interested and start giving him some training, the next two months would be an ideal opportunity -- with both Andrade and we here.

We are fairly decently settled now and getting to work on ethnology again. We have been making many more connections, and now we have had the good fortune to get hold of the only female in the municipio who knows Spanish well -- is, in fact, literate. She is about 19 and unmarried; I am hoping that she will be to Gertrude what Tomás has been to me. I have succeeded in breaking

away to some extent from Tomás' circle, to make wider my acquaintance with the Indians, and, I hope, in making more good friends. I realize that this is not the kind of community in which one can know everybody, but I want to get to know a cross-section intimately. Don't think that I have lost sight of objectives here: eventually I want a really intimate study of this place, but it will have to be a different kind of "intimacy" than you achieved in Chan Kom.

Which leads me, of course, to the topics under discussion. In your letter of January 7th you suggest that we take a vacation, or at least get away from this place for awhile. We won't follow your suggestion for awhile anyway, if for no other reason than that I don't want to miss the very trouble you want us to get away from. Think of this: the Padre tells us that some seventy years ago when water was first brought into the village the local Indians refused to have anything to do with it, that Indians had to be brought in from outside (families and all) and there were veritable riots because the Indians thought these outsiders might stay. When the Electrical plant came there were also violent objections. When the Mayan Inn came -- with the beginning of Foreigners -- you know yourself what happened. With each innovation the conservatism of the Indians was shocked (and by the way the Padre claims that a small Ladino element leads them on, which is interesting in itself); they thought something bad was going to happen, especially that their children would die. It always wore off in a few years, of course. Now the last, perhaps the greatest shock was the coming of the foreigners two or three years ago and this hasn't worn off yet; such occurrences as the coming of film-people and now weekly batches of tourists tend to perpetuate it. Now it must be remembered that the Chichicastenango Indians are an extremely strong in-group who won't countenance marriages even with other Indians if

they can help it; they want their own customs and no interference. The Padre feels that they are putting up their last fight -- instinctive, he calls it -- for racial (or cultural) life. Assuming that a broad and representative sociological surge is being enacted, I want to be able to define it and put into non-mystical terms. What are the causes and the symptoms of whatever is occurring here; if their euphoria is disturbed by a feeling that their culture is being swept away, and the foreigners are the "goats" now, as the padre thinks -- here is a chance to see what it means when euphoria<sup>a</sup> is disturbed and all that. Whatever is the truth of what is happening, it is probably one of the important stages of culture-contact. You don't really want me to miss it, do you?

In a previous letter you wished to know my reasons for picking Chichicastenango to study. As far as previous work is concerned, I think we are all agreed that it is an advantage rather than a disadvantage; in this case, it is really neither (unless Miss Bunzel will publish a lot of good stuff) for Schultze-Jena, the more I see of it, appears worse and worse. And now that I know a bit about the language, it seems that even the texts are pretty bad; Andrade can explain the linguistics only on the grounds that Schultze-Jena is a geographer.

Aside from the question of the local Crisis, there are many good reasons for picking Chichicastenango as a starting place for work in Guatemala. I have outlined the Quiché situation in my second batch of notes (or as you call them, note-summaries). For a series of scientific problems it seems desirable to get a foundation in Chichicastenango, rather than in Momostenango or San Francisco. It ~~may~~ be that it is better in Nebáj or another place farther North in this department, but from what I can learn of those places I imagine not. Chichicastenango is of greater importance, judged on local standards than Nebáj, for example. Geographically, the Totonicapán cultures are more

central, but historically they have suffered influences that stepped them up on the acculturation scale. Aside from those "scientific" problems, there are the historical problems, and Chichicastenango has the advantage of being the scene of the discovery of the Popul Vuh; to see what is remembered of the contents of that will be of interest to many, and Chichicastenango seems to be the safest place to do that.

Why Quiché instead of Mam, for example, (or for that matter places in the South or East), as a section to work? For one thing, it is central in the group of Highland cultures; but chiefly there is the accident of our having come here first and having seen specific problems that have bearing on general problems. Besides, it is most readily available. These may not be the best of reasons, but right now they seem to me sufficient.

I suppose that we could have made a longer survey and visited all parts of the Republic and perhaps have satisfied you more. I know that we could spend the next six months in traveling and learn something all the way. I have two good reasons for not doing so: one is money, and when you see our expense account you will appreciate that. We could burn up about \$2000 traveling around this country -- with no effort at all; and I think I started to work too young in life to be able to do that with pleasure. My conscience hurts as it is. The other reason is more lovely; I think that we can get a lot more out of traveling if we do it in the form of short and definitely-planned-with-a-specific-purpose excursions as we know more and more about one culture. I know that we shall begin to get hunches about what we ought to find in a particular place; or at least we'll be curious about a certain region for reasons that will come up in our work here. Then it will be more profitable to spend our time and money to make an investigation. I look for a sort of intermittent swinging from intensive to extensive work and back again.

As for a long-time view of researches in Guatemala, I think that I could map out a pretty fair program for several workers for at least five years if that much is wanted. I can't imagine doing much more than cornering a section of the country and working out some special problems in three short years. Naturally, I am hoping that you will be able to expand down here. Andrade has become interested in working out a good linguistic map (which will be to some extent a cultural map) and due to the economic nature of the country -- through which, by settling for periods in well-chosen towns, one can get linguistic informants from wide areas -- I think it can be done accurately in a comparatively short time. His work and our work will, I think, work in very well together.

The expense account-blanks have not yet arrived, and I have to send an accounting without them. I saw the voucher-forms that Andrade has, and they present a problem; there are laws in this country which require stamps on all bills and receipts, and are very complex, and I don't know how it will work out. Besides, the vouchers are in English, and you can't blame a person for not wanting to sign something he can't read; how about getting a batch printed in Spanish?

Best regards to everybody.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

January 19, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am enclosing my second batch of notes, second expense account, and fifth itinerary. Since I have not received the new Expense-account forms, I have had to make this one old-style.

It was a considerable task to get this batch of notes together, probably because I have not enough specific information on the territory covered to make it easy. I hope they are all right. I have some information not included in the notes, but I have it on the index cards in my file; when I have enough to make it worth-while (and by that I mean when I have something I can write intelligently about) I shall write it all up together. Anyway, I hope these notes are satisfactory; sometimes I have the feeling that I'm not doing what is expected when I make a sort of synthesis of the material instead of simply typing up all the information I have and sending it in unorganized -- but I feel that there are the general impressions I have that could not be recorded in that way in connection with the information I get and I think this way of doing it will be more helpful to me and at the same time give you a better picture of what I think is what.

The itinerary isn't much, since very little new material was gathered in those two weeks; since time cannot be recalled, however, that certainly will have to do.

I am rather afraid that you are as tired of reading about financial troubles as I am of writing about them. I shall not, therefore, say much about the enclosed expense account. I have discovered that we are gradually getting poorer and poorer at this job; and we have decided that we cannot afford the expense of furnishing this place. Since what we have had to buy here (of a permanent nature) we cannot take home with us, we are charging such things to the Institution and it will remain their property, being stored here for our or somebody else's future use. I hope this will be satisfactory. Up to the first of the year (this expense account runs over that) we ran a few dollars over the \$700 that I had; traveling and living here, even as economically as possible, has run over my expectations, at least. Since January first we have

been on a spending spree (which I think is over as long as we stay here) and I hope that the budget comes through soon to take care of our bank account.

I expect it will be advisable to do some traveling this Spring -- we want to get that view of Finca life and we would like to spend some time at the lake, and we would also like to take a look at the Coban situation -- but even so I think that from now on the purse-strings can be held more tightly. We are paying our living-expenses while here out of my salary, and that cuts out hotel bills. I shouldn't forget to mention that we are going to spend a few weeks at San Francisco and Momostenango before coming home, But altogether, of the six months remaining, we shall probably be in Chichicastenango at least four.

Andrade is getting the language quite rapidly, with the help of Tomás chiefly. He is expecting his batteries from the city today, and then he will begin to record. Sometime this weekend he is coming to live with us here.

We are satisfied with our new quarters, and I think that ethnologically they will work out all right -- certainly better than at the Inn and probably better than in a canton. Time will tell, I suppose. Of one thing I am becoming satisfied, and that is that the Indians are getting to know us pretty well and are able to distinguish us from the tourists. They come to us for work, to sell us things, etc., and at the market we are, far from insulted, encouraged to do business. We are not speaking Quiché yet, but we have our start and I suppose it will come gradually; at least we hope so. Now Andrade tells us that we have picked the most difficult Maya language he knows -- phonetically at least; we knew it was hard, but not knowing other Maya tongues, we innocently thought it was easier than it is.

I dreamt last night that I was offered a position in the Bursar's office at the U.C. They needed an honest man badly. All right, interpret it.

Best regards to all.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

January 24, 1935

Dear Sol:

I thank you for your letters of January 1st and January 17th. The brevity of this reply reflects only the pressure of time. I am really very appreciative of the full reports you send me.

I accept your judgment that Chichicastenango is the place in which to begin work in Guatemala. The reasons based on expediency are very persuasive, and so far as we are able to see, that area is as favorable as any and more favorable than many for the development of scientific or historical problems.

Of course I am interested in the fact that your interest has been captured by the problems involved in the impact of foreigners upon the native community. If you develop this problem, you know as well as I how congenial it would be to my own interest. My suggestion that you take a vacation was based purely on sentimental and humanitarian considerations directed toward the field ethnologists.

I have written Dr. Kidder, who, I believe, is now on his way to Guatemala or has already arrived, asking him to look into the matter of Goubaud and give his advice as to whether or not he should be employed on the terms you have indicated. Whether or not funds are available in the budget to add Goubaud will depend, in large part, on how much you are likely to charge to expenses during this year of work in Guatemala. Can you anticipate your probable expenditures for informants and transportation for the year?

On the one hand, we want to conserve expense monies, while on the other

I want to relieve you so far as possible from exceptional expenditures for personal maintenance. Motivated by this latter interest, I propose that you charge to the expense item the difference between the cost of purchasing furniture and furnishings for your living quarters in Chichicastenango and the amount that may be realized by the sale of these furnishings when you leave. I will approve this charge if in the light of the conflicting need to conserve expense funds you think it wise. I estimate that after setting aside \$300 to provide for your return transportation to Chicago about \$600 can be allocated to your expenses. Most of any remuneration which Goubaud would receive would have to come out of this, but we could, if necessary, help out from other parts of the expense item in our budget.

Please take the initiative in notifying me in advance when you need to draw additional expense money. One two hundred dollar check has been deposited to your credit in your bank.

It occurs to me that if Goubaud might divide his time between ethnological work and linguistic assistance to Dr. Andrade, we might reasonably ask Dr. Kidder if a portion of his stipend during the period while he was also helping Andrade might be provided from Institution funds outside of our ethnological budget.

This letter is stripped to the most meager details of business. Had I time I would go into sympathetic and interested response with reference to your experiences and progress in the field. I would apologize for the bad winter weather, and would, in general, make myself out quite a pleasant fellow. Without time to do all this, I fall back upon past association and hope you will bear with me.

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

January 30, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... You will notice in the enclosed itinerary my enthusiasm for Dr. Andrade's recording machine. The more I see it, and the more I think of it, the better it seems for ethnology. I am not precipitously suggesting that we try to get one, but I will say that if it were a matter of method simply that involved no expense I don't believe there would be a moment's hesitation. Dr. Andrade intends to improve his machine -- make over the main part of it so that it will work mechanically (by means of a weight) rather than through batteries -- and I am thinking that when he makes a new one, two might be made instead for relatively little additional expense. That is a matter of the future, however, and I mention it only to let you know what I am thinking.

You will notice in the last two Itineraries that we have been lying a bit low, following your advice to some extent. We have not attempted to force new connections, but have been idling along with the old. I think, however, that the situation is gradually easing and we shall be more bold. Being in this house is a great help; each day several Indians come here to sell us things (different ones, I mean) and if that is an indication, we are being accepted more and more into the community. We get along well with the officials of the town and I think that we shall have an opportunity soon to be of some service to the community; I have suggested our desire to do something. I think that on the whole we have a right to be optimistic about progress here.

Best regards to all.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

February 12, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am enclosing two copies of my Itinerary-Diary for the past two weeks.

I have your letters of January 24th and February 1st, for which I thank you....

Your statement that we may charge to Expenses the difference between the cost of our furnishings here and the amount for which it will be sold is agreeable to us, but I think that to sell it when we leave would be poor business; since we are going to be in the country again, and will probably be confronted with the same problem when we return -- and since the sale of furnishings is bound to bring very little -- it would appear wiser to store the furnishings here for later use. If you think not, we shall, however, try to sell the things and credit the amount realized to the expense budget.

As to estimating expenses for the remainder of our stay here this year, a problem is presented. I think that we could stay within any budget you can give us, but the more you can give us, up to a certain point, the more we can do. If we stay in Chichicastenango and give up the idea of traveling, I think we could do it for about \$475 from January 1st. That would include mule-trips and the like around here. If we took one excursion, say to San Francisco El Alto for a few weeks (and Momostenango) the total would be run up to \$550. If we should go to the Lake for a week (and there are reasons why this would be valuable) it would run the cost up to almost \$600. That is the budget which you have set.

...I have a strong urge to run around this country and exploit all of its possibilities, but I am suppressing it. I resist the temptation because I know I can get more out of traveling when I know one place well. You can't imagine how rich Guatemala is sociologically; in fact I am only now beginning

to appreciate it fully.

I'll give you a local example that will probably get you as excited as it has us, but I shall have to ask you to keep part of the information to yourself for Andrade's sake -- since he wants to check up on it a bit before astounding the Linguistic World (or anyway the Romance Language World). Here: I have told you that in practically all of the pueblos there is a healthy ladino population. These ladinos never do manual labor, such as carrying loads or working in the milpas (although they have milpas and hire Indians to work them). They are the store-keepers, loan-sharks, and habilitadores and in a sense exploit the Indians. They form a sort of caste, and are the Spanish-speaking part of the population. That much is common knowledge. Now I have also mentioned that north of Chichicastenango is the town of Santa Cruz Quiché (the Capital) which has quite a ladino population; and northeast of Chichicastenango, and east of Santa Cruz is Chiché, a town whose permanent residents are practically all ladino. All of these ladinos follow the regular pattern, and in the municipios of these three pueblos the population is chiefly Indian.

But there is a peculiarity. In the municipio of Santa Cruz Quiché, between the pueblo of that name and the pueblo of Chiché, there is an aldea called Chitalúl. The first peculiarity of this place is that it is a real "aldea" -- a small village -- rather than a misnamed canton. The second peculiarity is that it is entirely ladino (although ladinos are otherwise found almost solely in so-called pueblos). The third peculiarity is that these ladinos work their own milpas, carry loads, go to market, etc. exactly as if they were Indians! The fourth peculiarity is that these ladinos (and this is the secret part for the time being) apparently speak a sixteenth-century Spanish, probably the only people in the world who do. The fifth peculiarity probably will explain all of the others: whereas the ladinos of the pueblos around here have come here

within about the last hundred years (Stephens says there was only one of them here when he passed through) the population of Chitalúl have been here from time immemorial (and the Indians here recognize that difference).

What might not one find if he should study this town, in relation to Indian culture, early Spanish culture, and the rest of the ladinos? Now that's the sort of thing that one finds in this country; I don't imagine that this particular neighborhood exhausts all possibilities. Besides abnormal ethnographic and linguistic conditions that abound here -- now that Andrade has been here we are sure that this little country has more in it to be studied linguistically than any place ten times its size -- there are all these little things that I imagine will keep popping up around us, each one potentially a classic study in something or other.

That's why I am so tempted to explore around, and at the same time so anxious to learn more with which to explore. Of course we intend to spend a little time at Chitalúl anyway, but it would probably take months to do a decent study of the place, and I suppose it will have to wait. But if I am not mistaken, we shall not be able to scratch the surface of possibilities in ten years; what we need here is more ethnologists and sociologists.

.... Things are sailing along quite smoothly now, but I am getting the sort of thing that cannot be written up in any form until it is completed. I have tried to get more on brujería, but it wasn't very successful and I have decided to let that sort of thing come naturally, that is, when I get a good lead in the course of other work I shall follow it up. Meanwhile I am doing my favorite kind of work, getting concrete facts about people and censuses and so on. I intend to make as thorough a study of the pueblo (in itself, ladino and Indian, and in relation to the cantones) and of at least two cantones as

I can in the time I have here. That is the only way, I think, in which one can get a concrete knowledge of social organization, economics, and politics as they are actually practiced here. As I said, I think that common beliefs and religious and magical practices will come out in due course (on the theory that they permeate everything).

As for the language, we are doing the best we can, but don't be too disappointed if, when you come, we cannot speak it. I might mention that there is not a local white man or ladino who can speak it, although there are some who are supposed to be able to. Ernesto Lang, as nearly as I can make out, speaks Momostecan only to get along well with. It is hard for me to imagine that in six months (or maybe in five times six months) we will be able to speak it well enough to get into the feelings and beliefs of the Indians in their own language. It is hard enough to do that, I suppose, when both the ethnologist (or sociologist) and the subjects have the same native language. We shall have to try, however, for the Spanish spoken here is pretty fragmentary.

You can't imagine what a relief it is to have it warm here; the last few days have been the first in which we haven't shivered more or less all the while -- and huddling over a stove in the evening isn't conducive to good thinking or working. Now for the first time the weather is something like what we were led to expect, and we are hoping it stays so. We hear that you have had quite a spell of cold up north, but remember when your lip begins to curl with contempt that you have steam heat.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

P. S. I forgot to explain why it might be advisable to go to the Lake for a time. Aside from the natural interest surrounding linguistic and ethnological conditions at the Lake ( and the linguistic boundaries are by no means settled) there may be an opportunity to study the Chichicastenango trouble down there. Clark is very soon starting construction of a hotel at S. Lucas Tolimán (which may or may not be a Zutugíl village) on the Lake. Heretofore this village has not been opened to tourists at all, but by the time we come back next winter I am sure it will be flooded with foreigners. Now it might be very instructive to go down there when they are starting construction of the hotel. Everybody will understand that a large hotel for strangers is going up, and I am willing to bet that if there is any strong reaction at all it will be favorable. I am also willing to bet that some time during the next winter, when the tourists have invaded the market-place and the church, there will crystallize an anti-foreign sentiment. My notion is that unless they have had recent past-experience in that sort of thing people don't realize what contact means, and the business that the process of construction brings will make them lean favorably towards the new hotel. Later, when the tourists come, there are sure to be some people who are displeased, and some more who are in some way hurt by the business ( and maybe even disgruntled at being fired or something) and they will play upon the superstitions of the ones who are indifferent (not necessarily consciously and maliciously) and adverse sentiment will develop quickly. Naturally, I would like to see this going on, if it will go on; and if I am wrong I want to see why. Therefore a visit to San Lucas while the hotel is going up, to see not only the general sentiment but to note who are the people benefited to start with (for future reference) might be well worth the trouble and expense.

I think that Clark's activities (which are increasing in scope yearly) are

the important developments that are going on in these towns now. Trade contacts do not seem very important; it is true that some small merchandize from the outside world has entered the markets, but since the pattern of the people seems always to have been the acceptance of articles of trade from the outside when they are able to buy it -- little distinction being made now between articles from other parts of Guatemala and things from Europe or Japan or the States -- this type of contact here does not have much effect on their mentality. How much effect it will eventually have on the culture, I do not know; they are negligible now. To show that economic contacts don't bother the people, I might cite an interesting fact: in the pueblo, some ladinos have set up a corn-grinding mill, and a great many pueblo Indians bring their corn to be ground. The Indians recognize that the corn is ground better and I have had no evidence at all that there are any objections to the machine. I think that almost any material improvement could be introduced without trouble today; what seems really to bother the Indians is new social contacts.

Sol Tax

P.P.S. Please put \$200 in the bank for us. If you want to put more, O.K. for it will save us \$1.00 a month bank charges to have a large balance.

February 13, 1935

Dear Sol:

I acknowledge with thanks your second batch of notes, second expense account and fifth itinerary. I have pointed out to the Washington office the difficulty of using the recent forms printed in English in a Spanish-speaking country.

Your notes are as usual very interesting. My attention was particularly attracted by the emphasis upon the municipio as a social unit of critical importance. It certainly looks as if the highland region is a good place to

study the interrelation of the culture group, the in-group, the economic organization based on the division of labor, and the formal political structure imposed by the modern state. Also, as you say, it may be possible to get something good as to the influence of certain particular factors of social change, such as army service or seasonal labor on fincas, upon the folk cultures.

The suggestion you make that your furniture could be bought as property of the Institution corresponds substantially with my suggestion that the difference between the purchase price and its future sale price be charged to the Institution. Do it the second way if you prefer.

....I expect to leave for Yucatan about March 17th. Expect me in Guatemala toward the end of April.

With best wishes to you both and Dr. Andrade,

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

February 18, 1935

Dear Sol:

.... By this time you must have received my letter with reference to Goubaud, in which I indicated my entire willingness to have him employed, provided you feel that our expense account can be extended that far in the light of demands you might have to make upon it. I further suggested that Dr. Kidder could determine the matter as he is to be in Guatemala shortly. If Kidder has by now not arrived and the matter presses for decision, please send me an air mail letter.

I suggest that you prepare a memorandum with reference to ethnographic texts taken with the use of such an instrument as Dr. Andrade has. We might incorporate it in the plan of our work in future years. In the meantime, is

there a possibility that you could have the use of Dr. Andrade's instrument at certain times, or further collaborate with him in securing the texts which would be of use to you as well as to him?

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

February 19, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am feeling very optimistic these days, notwithstanding the fact that we are again having freezing weather, so -- although I haven't anything particular to say, I'll say it.

In the first place, we took a trip up to Chitalul, the ladino town that I wrote about, Andrade was disappointed, for although they speak a somewhat different Spanish, older in some few respects than regular Guatemaltecan (and a lot more refined, he says) it is not of any particular importance. But I was not at all disappointed: the people are as different from the ladinos around as are Spanish peasants, and as different from Spanish peasants as we are. Racially they seem almost pure-blooded Europeans, with lots of blondish people around; physically they are much healthier -- much more wholesome looking -- than these ladinos; in fact it was only after the contrast that we came to realize what a degenerate lot we have here. I venture that morally they are miles above these wholly lazy, dishonest, weak ladinos of Chichicastenango. The whole difference (maybe) comes from the fact that the Chitatultecan are workers; and it is literally true that in their physical lives they are as much like the Indians as it is possible to imagine. It was almost a relief to see their round smiling faces under loads of lena, or over the grinding-stones. We were greeted very hospitably, and Andrade did a good

job of opening the way for work there for us or somebody else. I do not want to appear over-enthusiastic about these people, but I do think they represent a phenomenon; apparently they have contempt for other ladinos (and probably visa-versa) and at the same time do not mix with the Indians. If they were widespread they would be a middle-caste; they seem to be Spaniards with Indian material culture, and probably a lot of the rest, while the ládinos here are mixed-bloods with (if I may be unanthropological) no culture. All three of us can testify that we felt a great mental or spiritual relief (or something) when we saw them and talked to them.

Some day I shall write you something about the ladinos here, and I think you will understand.

We have been coming along very well in the work; I have been studying the canton Quejel rather intensively, and am getting some very concrete ideas of what's what. Just to pick out one thing that I have found: there is extensive and open polygamy, with one man having as many as six wives; in two different cases men are living with both a mother and her daughter-by-a-first-husband, → and in one of the cases, two daughters! (and you know that Brenda Séligman -- if I remember correctly -- bases her theory of kinship on the prohibition of just that). Nor does there seem to be any disapproval of any of that. Yet (and I'm just feeling for something here) polygamy is not institutionalized in the sense that it is in Africa, for example. I don't quite know what I mean by that, but light may come.

I just remembered -- I suppose you will need some more money to pay for work on my thesis and also to pay graduation fees, etc. I think that the enclosed check for \$75 should cover the cost; anyway, I hope so. If not, please write me and I shall send more. I am sorry to have put you to the nuisance of being a financial agent -- but didn't Ruml become Treasurer of Macy's? You need experience.

I received a letter from Dr. Kidder the other day, and he plans to come up here soon. Andrade is going to Quezaltenango for two weeks this coming Monday, and if Kidder doesn't come before then, we have written him and asked him to come when Andrade is on his way back to the Capital. Our aim is to talk to him at the same time, for the matter of Goubaud is interesting to us both, and there is a further matter of a new recording machine that Andrade wants that he thinks we may be able to arrange to use in conjunction. Therefore, if Kidder cannot come here when we are both together, he may think it necessary for me to come to the City when Andrade leaves. I don't want to do that, however (time, money and my aversion to getting bumped around on these roads being my reasons).

What I started to say is that I am very cheerful these days in spite of the weather; and on the same note I close, Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

February 26, 1935

Dear Sol:

Jessie Doak Howe has just taken your thesis to the dissertation desk where it has been accepted. I will see that Mrs. Harrington informs me as to what fees must be paid incident to graduation. Your degree should be awarded in absentia at the March convocation.

... Your account of Chitalul excited me quite as much as you would have liked it to, and the more I hear about Guatemala, the more rewarding it appears to be as a field for social science research. I think that this little by-product of archaeology, which we have started in Middle America, is in the long run likely to prove something pretty important. The Chitalul situation, as you

indicated, may provide a certain degree of control on the question of Indian-Spanish acculturation, and it will certainly be important in working out the natural history of status relations between Spaniards and Indians. When you speak of the important fact that the ladinos in Chitalul have been where they are for much longer than have the ladinos in the Indian towns, you point, of course to a difference which must somehow involve the explanation, but which is itself, of course, not the explanation. There must have been circumstances attending the settlement of this early group (Did they bring Spanish women with them?) which explains why they went counter to the whole Spanish tradition and assumed economic parity with the Indians. It is certainly very fascinating. I have said nothing to anyone about the linguistic aspect of the community. If a study of Chitalul should seem something to recommend, I would like very much to get a direct hand in it myself.

If you think it advisable to go to San Lucas Toliman before I get down there in order not to waste the opportunity provided by the hotel construction go ahead and do so, even if it strains the budget. I read the last page of your letter, however, to indicate that a visit to that community could wait a little.

I have written Mr. Johnson asking him to deposit money in your bank, suggesting the expediency of depositing \$400, if he sees no objection. You will receive from him a statement of the sum which he does deposit.

The Social Science Research Council has organized a Sub-Committee of Culture and Personality to deal with problems in the field of acculturation to which anthropologists have given attention, or ought to give attention. The committee, consisting of Linton, Herskovits, and myself, with Donald Young ex officio member, will have its second meeting on Saturday of this week. I will bring with me to Guatemala whatever documents embody the results of this

committee's endeavors.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

February 26, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... News is all very good, the most important being our conversations with Dr. Kidder, of which I shall give as complete account as I can.

Dr. Andrade and I had, in the past week, reached an accord about our plans. He saw that Guatemala -- and its linguistic problems -- is quite different from what he had expected; and gradually it occurred to him to do the country systematically in a way that a linguistic area had never been done. For my part, as you know, I too wish to make this a real study, thorough and systematic. It was obvious to us, therefore, that we would both profit if we made out plans together. We decided that, one way or another, we would make a thorough linguistic and ethnographic study of the country. We both think that in the space of about six months -- now that we have a grounding in linguistic and ethnographic data of Guatemala -- we can do a survey that will be more than a survey; we think that we can make in that space of time accurate linguistic and cultural maps by municipios and have a line on all of the important problems. If Andrade should be able to come for six months at a stretch next year, we could do it in one sweep; if not, it would take two periods. In any case, it would be economical to go together. Our plans, as we thought of them, called for this thorough knowledge of the whole country -- and probably a preliminary publication on the whole; then the next years to be devoted to (a) sample studies and (b) special problems.

Dr. Kidder flew up from the city Saturday morning, and flew back Sunday morning. He spent the whole day with us -- even having his lunch and dinner here. We didn't understand until later why he took to our general plans so readily; but in the afternoon he told us of the Institution's policy of winding up all present projects in ten years. Our plans of doing a thorough job instead of just picking off a study here and there appealed to him because it seems to lead to definite conclusions in a limited amount of time. He immediately agreed to furnishing a truck for us next year and to improving the recording machine for the use of both of us. It appears that there will be some extra money this year.

About the recording machine: the one that Andrade has here does not belong to the Institution, but to him and another man at the University, so that he cannot leave it here for my use. He wants to build a new and better machine next year, and it is this that Kidder approved. Dr. Kidder asked me if I wanted a machine for use in our project, but I replied that I thought I would be able to use Andrade's. Andrade intends to leave the new machine in Guatemala; when he is not here I shall have the use of it. When he is here, he will likely as not work in the same place that I do. Certainly, if our plans for the next year go through I shall not need a machine for then. And I would not ask the Institution to buy a machine for our use that I would not need for two years, if at all. If in future years I do need one, it would be better to have another made, since the machines are not standardized and improvements could no doubt be made.

Dr. Kidder is everything that I had heard about him; you know that we had never met him, and I assure you his visit was a pleasure. I was especially glad to see with what broad vision he views the work here; he told us that the big problem with which we are faced is the contact of our civilization on

other peoples, and it is that that he wants these projects to solve, if possible. That is hardly an archeological point of view.

On the matter of Goubaud I cannot offer much news. Dr. Kidder met him in the Capital and was favorably impressed. But he has left the matter for me to settle. It appears that we could hire him, pay him about \$50 a month, and offer the possibility of his getting money to come to the States to school. But I shall be here for only about four months more, and to offer him \$50 for four months -- and then nothing in the way of education beyond that -- is hardly an inducement to a man. I doubt if he would accept it. If we could say that if all goes well he can certainly come to the States next fall, he would probably give up his present job; but Kidder says he has to ask the Rockefellers or the Guggenheims for money for that. If we could promise him a future with Carnegie (if all goes well) he would probably accept too. But Kidder says he is not at liberty to do that since the policy of the Institution is not to become responsible for more people. I shall see Goubaud tomorrow and shall speak frankly on the subject; it may be that he will take his chance.

.... I asked Dr. Kidder about my own status and future, and he explained in detail that facts that you probably know. But his inference was that if all goes well (i.e. if I am not fired) I shall be on this project for ten years -- and then several years to write up the material. I asked him if the Institution would be glad or sorry if I was offered (and accepted) a part-time position with a University. He said they would be glad, that "in a short time I will, if I turn out well, be worth more than they alone can afford to pay me." Of course I have nothing of the sort in view, and I told him so. If you see an opening sometime in the next century, remember please that I am in a position to accept it since, win lose or draw, I'll need another job.

.... The work is coming along better and better all the time; I think that

I shall take a few days off at the end of this week to write up an account of Chichicastenango culture as far as I know it. I think that I have a good outline of it now, and I want to organize it. I am getting another informant- interpreter next week to replace Tomás, since I want to start on another canton and also I want to be sure that I'm not too much influenced by seeing things through the eyes of one interpreter-guide. Before I finish here I intend that I shall have used all of the intelligent young men of the tribe in this capacity -- no very foolish boast since there are only four or five. I shall not mention any recent discoveries, but rather save them for the notes to give you some incentive to read them.

... Except that Gertrude turned her ankle yesterday on a barranca everything is all right. Best regards to all.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

February 28, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I have received your letter of the 13th....

Your apparent change of plans suggests to me that we might change ours. Since you will be here in April, I think we should surely stay in Chichicastenango until you come; then, if you will be so kind, you may stay with us here a week or two and offer suggestions, perhaps check up some of my interpretations, and generally look over the place. When you come here, by the way, we have a room for you in our house -- furnished with Andrade's cot -- that, while it may not be as comfortable as the hotel, has other innumerable advantages (one of which is that for two days a week the hotel has no room whatsoever for guests other than the Tour people). We would like to have you with us; if you live at the hotel you won't be able to do much with the Indians; and besides think

of the money our budget will be saved.

To get on with the story, we could wind up the work here and if you still have time -- and inclination -- we could go a-visiting together. We might go to San Francisco El Alto and Momostenango; one purpose that might be served by the visit then would be to determine how much I (or we) can discover of essential information in how short a time -- with the Chichicastenango background we have. This would enable us to gauge our speed for the big survey with Andrade next year. I think two or three weeks would do the trick on a survey, but we may as well test it. We might also take a look at San Lucas at the lake and see how the Maya Inn problem is shaping out. We might also go to the San Marcos Finca I have mentioned so we could figure out together what there is to the Finca problem. Finally, we might go to Coban together.

I have no idea how much time you will be able to spend here, but I hope it is enough to do some of the above, anyway. I feel that I have a pretty fair grip on Guatemalan ethnology now, and I'd like to show off. Besides, I think it is a good idea to have you with me at this early stage of the project here to set me straight, point out problems, etc. Of course if your plans don't call for a month here, we can't do much of this.

.... The matter of Goubaud is more or less settled now. I talked to him last night and, as I had guessed, he is not willing to give up his present position for \$50 a month for four months without any certainty of having anything after that. On the other hand, he will gladly go to the States for training any time the opportunity offers (the sooner the better). You see, since the tourist season began Goubaud has risen considerably: he is now Tour Manager and says he has received three raises. I don't know how much he is earning, but I hardly blame him for not wanting to accept a temporary change.

....Now that you will be in the field, I do not know what to do with

itineraries, expense-accounts, etc. Shall I send them to you in Yucatan? I hope this letter reaches you before you leave Chicago; else it would have to travel all over the Americas.

.... Have a good trip! Best regards to Mrs. Redfield from Gertrude and me.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

March 12, 1935.

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am enclosing the ninth Itinerary. You will see by it that I didn't take time off to write up notes; instead, I just collected my material for my own benefit. To have organized it and typed it would have taken several days (judging by past experience) and I am getting a bit too jumpy about the time left to want to waste any of it.

I am optimistic again after a few bad days occasioned by first being laid up a couple of days and then discovering that the information I had been getting for a week wasn't so hot. But I am going ahead full steam now with three excellent informants and of course feel good again. Also, I have high hopes that a capable female will start work with Gertrude in the morning: the lack of a good informant has gotten her down considerably. You know in a place like this (contrasted with a little village) one has to have a connection to get anything; one soon runs out of possibilities of "soaking" things up.

This letter is addressed to you in Yucatan; maybe you don't want the Diaries there, but I imagine that you will, since Washington might get worried if you don't send my doings on to them.

While sick I took the opportunity of reading Chan Kom through at a sitting,

so to speak. If I were writing the review, I would mention the fact that there is only one typographical error (second parenthesis-mark missing, last paragraph, P.9); more remarkable, with one exception, there isn't an unequivocal statement in the text. That exception Gertrude noticed (my excuse is that I was sick): on page 6 you write :It is situated...about 14 kilometers south (and a little east)of Chichen Itza"; then on page 18 you say "Chan Kom lies... about 20 kilometers south of Chichen Itza". Maybe you mean 14 kilometers south and six kilometers east (from that point) of Chichen Itza, but then you should have "20 kilometers S.E.". I suspect that on p. 18 the figures were from Alfonso's pacing the trail, and on p. 6 ~~for~~ your pacing it.

As for the contents, I verified my first impression that it is about the best ethnographic monograph written; reading it through as I did made me feel, at the end, that there is absolutely not a thing that I don't know about Chan Kom. That's the first time I have ever felt that way about any group, including those that I have studied and that in which I was born.

Naturally knowing this place a bit, I was mentally comparing the two all the way through; and it may interest you to know that Chan Kom might as well be in Siberia for the feeling of differences that one gets. I'm afraid that if we ever write about Mayan Culture, all we shall be able to talk about will be tortillas. We'll talk about those things soon, I hope.

Sincerely,  
Sol Tax

March 13, 1935

Dear Sol:

Your conversations with Dr. Kidder have settled most matters requiring immediate decision in a manner quite satisfactory to me. I agree that Goubaud

should be offered four months' work at \$50 a month, with the understanding that a permanent place with the Institution cannot be assured him, and that provision of money for his ethnological education is no better than a long chance, depending not only on his promise of worth but on the unlikely good fortune of finding outside support for such a purpose.

I am very much interested in the proposed joint survey with the recording machine, and will give it my hearty support in future discussions with Kidder. I think you have a chance of putting the frontier of field method a big step forward.

Yesterday I had the pleasure of signing your diploma. Apparently your degree is to be awarded this afternoon. My congratulations.

I sail next Tuesday for Progreso.

Yours as always,

Robert Redfield

March 19, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Yours of the 26th received, with the final accounting for my thesis, etc. I suppose you have received the second check for \$75.00 that I sent you, which makes it \$150 in all; since you have spent \$170.30 on my behalf, I still owe you \$20.30. I may as well wait until you come here to pay you, since you probably would have trouble cashing a check in Chan Kom anyway. Meanwhile, I thank you heartily, trusting that it is a PhD who is doing so.

I have little excitingly new to report; I have been working with 4 different informants last week and this, and am rapidly filling <sup>in</sup> /my ideas of this place. Meanwhile, Gertrude is now spending eight hours a day with one of the two literate women I have made such a fuss about; her name is Tomasa

Felica (I have mentioned her before under the name of her step-father, Xaper), and we now find that the extent of her literacy is the ability to write her name; she used to know the alphabet, but has forgotten it. Her Spanish is remarkable for its lacunae, and that is easily explained on the ground that she probably doesn't have a chance to use it from one year to the next. Gertrude is using her ability to weave (she is among the best weavers here, I think) as an excuse for getting as much of her view of the culture as she can; but meanwhile, Gertrude is also learning the technique of weaving (without any technical terms, however, since neither of us knows the warf from the woop).)

For the past month I have been trying to figure out the relation of this culture to the distinction between folk and urban people or what you have. If it is a matter of folk-beliefs, these people have them all right; if it<sup>is</sup> a matter of complete naiveté, they have that too -- as complete as one can imagine (and that goes for every last person here too). I have been trying to decide how "integrated" the culture and the personalities are; and of course I have been handicapped by the lack of objective criteria by which to judge -- those unfortunately not having been provided in my education. The culture runs along very smoothly largely because there is as excellent a political organization as one can imagine; economically the people get along so-so; religiously there seems to be fair unanimity and troubles are easily solved. On the other hand, there seem to be as many conflicts as in Chicago; the culture is not that simple little one we like to think a Folk has -- in fact, I should be willing to gamble right now that it has all the complexities of a rural community of ten thousand in Illinois. Furthermore, I do not believe that its complexity can be explained on grounds that Chichicasteango is a cog in a larger economic machine. My personal hunch is that it can be explained

on the grounds simply of size; no person knows a tenth of the people in the municipio, and there are no smaller units that I can recognize as "cultures" in any sense. The only thing that holds the culture together -- makes it as homogeneous as it is -- is the political organization and the limitations imposed by little outside contact as well as strong conservatism.

Those elements that make Chichicastenango seem "primitive" I think may be explicable entirely on the grounds that the people are abysmally ignorant; the wisest Indian here doesn't know as much about the world as a child among the Fox, for example. Right now one would consider the Fox a folk people because of their homogeneity as an in-group and because of the self-sufficiency of their own culture (socially and religiously); but on any criteria of sophistication -- that does not, however, affect the culture -- they would not be folk people. Well, if here one must call Chichicastenango a folk culture on just the opposite criteria, then something may be funny about the whole conception. There are lots of possibilities of course, and I have formed no final judgment; but I shall be very glad to have the chance to talk about the matter with you.

I am not taking any texts of prayers, but I am discovering just where all of the prayers occur, and next year in just a few days all of the prayers can be recorded in two or three days. I think that will be much better. I might say that this is one of those cultures where there aren't any folk-tales; I am quite sure that old people never tell their children any stories; rather, they go in for advice and "doctrines" as they say. I think that the only myth there is here is the mixed Catholic story of creation, etc., starting with the birth of Jesus and ending with the birth of the first child Adam and Eve. I don't think that they have mixed up any of the old mythology (such as is found in Popul Vuh); if they really ever had any of this, and the Popul Vuh is about

the only evidence -- and that may have been a story of the princely class in Utatlan only -- it seems to be lost. The present myth is not pure Catholic but extraneous elements are very easily explicable as new ones worked in to fit the culture and explain customs here.

By the time you come, I shall have a very good picture of the economic and social life, probably most of the political and religious organization and notions. What I shall lack, of course, is a view of the personality of the typical person here -- since I can't talk to a typical person. Our view of the culture will be objective, rather than subjective: of course I should like to have both, but I assure you it is a physical impossibility short of about ten year's residence here -- if then. I am disappointed, but I think that we had illusions on the subject, and that had we known we should never have expected to get the culture through the native language. There is a possibility that it is our fault, and there is no way for me to answer such an accusation except to tell the accuser to come and try it himself. But I may add another point: assuming that I were a Fortune (and I have a tendency, deep in my heart to treat his statements about his powers as I do those of a Spiritualist) and that by this time I could converse pretty decently in the language, how much farther along would I be? I should still have to spend months getting the objective picture, and when I finished that I wouldn't trust my own analyses of people or their personalities from my knowledge of the language. It's dangerous enough to draw conclusions about how people think back home. In the long run I suppose objective evidence -- of behavior, <sup>not</sup> words -- is a prerequisite to anything's clicking in ethnography.

These arguments may sound like nice rationalizations, and maybe they are; but I have always thought that social science will never be able to deal with anything but objective phenomena and that our business is to figure out what

they are and how they can be used to our ends. Sure, speech is objective -- but then only if you have the whole speech, and not your impressions from a stray conversation. I can't help but notice that your work on Chan Kom (however much knowledge of the language -- on Alfonso's part, at least -- may have helped to give you the elusive spirit of the culture) depends for all of its conclusions on perfectly tangible observations.

Nevertheless, I hope that one of these years I can stay in a place long enough to learn the language as well as Malinowski, for example, knew that of the Trobriands; then I shall be able to see for myself how much truth there is in our ethnological rule that you have to speak the language to do good ethnography. Maybe I am wrong.

I have no idea how letters get from Guatemala to Yucatan; probably they go to New Orleans first, but I hope you get this one -- and those in the future -- before I see you here.

We are both well, the weather is very nice; the pueblo is alegre, what with fiestas of sorts every Friday now. I hope you will be here for Holy Week; it is the second big fiesta of the Indians here.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

Grey Castle  
Pass Christian, Mississippi

March 20th, 1935

Dear Sol,

I shall be able to stay in Guatemala only a week or ten days. I am coming to learn what I can from you, on the ground, about the ethnological problems in Guatemala. How we spend the days I have is largely up to you. I will take

any trip or trips that you want to make. I have been to Momostenango and San Francisco El Alto, and am therefore somewhat disposed, personally, to visit some other places; but if that is logically the next matter on your list, I will tag along.

I accept thankfully your offer of Andrade's cot in your establishment.

Expect me about April 24th. I will write you again from Yucatan (which I hope to reach Sunday).

Yours as ever,

Robert Redfield

Chichicastenango  
Depto de Quiche  
Guatemala, C. A.

March 25, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am enclosing the 10th of my Itineraries, which will tell you most of the news, I think. Your letters of March 4th and March 13th received, thank you.

.... You will notice in the itinerary that I suggest buying the pueblo here some gift on behalf of the Institution, and that something for the Indian school might do. In case this is the last letter you get before coming down here, will you remember -- if you approve of the gift -- to look around in the City here for something to bring up here? I don't plan to get to the Capital before you come. I should think that \$15 or \$20 might be about the right amount to spend. I need only say that the school has nothing at all in the way of books for either teachers or students, or of equipment. Maps, a globe, or simple history or geography books might do some good. It might be a good idea to let the President know in some way that we are giving such

a gift (little as it is), since he is apparently very interested in Indian education, perhaps more in Chichicastenango than elsewhere because this is the most backward place (I think). Andrade called on Mr. Schlesinger, the Minister of Education -- as did Kidder -- and found him intelligent and interested. I shall do the same later, and if you have the time you might be interested in doing so also; the excuse might be to ask his advice on what we can give the school -- but in that case maybe \$20 will appear too small. By the way, Schlesinger is a close relative of Goubaud.

.... Thanks for signing the diploma; another autograph.

Sincerely,  
Sol Tax

March 31, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

....Your letter from the Grey Castle received this morning, and we are disappointed that you will not stay here as long as we had thought. We had looked forward to a month, anyway. As it is, I think the best plan would be this: you to stay with us about a week (assuming you will have ten days in the country) so that I can go over with you what I have here: then we could go to the Lake, for I am beginning to think that my next intensive study will be down there. Then, when you leave, we shall come back to Chichicastenango to finish this study. I think this is a good plan because I shall have the advantage of your advice in the middle of the field work here so that I can do in the last month or so anything we decide needs to be done -- such as the pursuit of some special problem that you may point out.

As for ~~out~~ taking an extensive survey around the country as I had once planned, I think that will be rendered unnecessary if our plans for a

systematic survey next year go through. So even if you were going to stay longer I think that we would have abandoned that idea as uneconomical. But the Lake is another story; aside from the ethnological interest inherent in a place with so many villages of different languages and presumably different cultures, there are special matters of interest in comparison of certain lake villages with Chichicastenango.

I have described enough of the economic situation here so that you can appreciate what an important study Nahuala or Santiago would make for comparison. If it is true that the land there is communal, I suspect that we may be able to draw some pretty shrewd conclusions as to the differing effects on the general culture of different types of land tenure. This may be possible because it is reasonable to suppose that broadly both Chichicastenango and one of those two villages have a very similar cultural base, with, perhaps many important differences directly traceable to the economic differences. Naturally the question of cause as well as of effect would have to be dealt with.

The reason I should like us to go down to the Lake, therefore, is so that we can get some idea of how one can live there (the villages mentioned are supposed to be closed to foreigners) and also to see if the land situation is really what we have heard it is. Then we could better prepare for next year. Please let me know when and where you will be in the city?

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

Chan Kom, April 4th [1935]

Dear Sol,

Your letters of March 12 and 19th reached me here yesterday just at a time to buck me up. I was in a doldrums of disinterest out of which

I was stirred by your remarks about CHAN KOM, about "folk", and about your work and problems. One of the Chan Kom boys happened to go in to Chichen, and fetched your letters out here on his return.

The not insignificant stimulation I got from your letters reminded me what an advantage it is to have someone with you in the field with whom one can talk over what one is doing and thinking and seeing and being puzzled and baffled about. If that someone is also one's wife, so much the better.

I appreciate very much the kind words about the CHAN KOM book. The job was an easy one to do, as such jobs go, because it is a small and simple community, and because of Alfonso's close personal acquaintance with it -- to name only two reasons. Your task in Guatemala is much more difficult.

I have been going over the village since last I was here, trying to get some account of the changes that have taken place since I was last here. They are not hard to record, but I'm blamed if I can make anything important out of the material.

Also I have been doing odds and ends -- checking up on doubtful points (and so far I have found nothing of any consequence to correct), and looking into thumb-sucking and such topics, under the influence of Margaret Mead. Again, the facts are not hard to get; but what of it?

The contradictory statements in CHAN KOM about the distance it lies from Chichen attest my carelessness. The fact is that Chan Kom lies 20 kilometers from Chichen by the trail in use at the time the study began. Before we were through, the people had opened a new road to Chichen, which reduced the distance to 14 kilometers (this is also the airline distance). Perhaps Mrs. Tax's attentive reading revealed to her another similar "bloomer." On p. 15 I say that with one exception, all surnames are Maya. On p. 184 I say that without exception they are all Maya. In fact, the woman with the Spanish name died

between my noting the fact and my noting it again. Mrs. Tax may also have noticed that the caption to Plate 13a say that the h-men is kneeling at the altar, whereas he isn't -- he is standing at the left of it. Also, the fellow who re-drew the diagram on p. 125 misspelled "altar."

You are certainly right in saying that CHAN KOM rests on "tangible" observations. Whenever we were able to get anything that could be a document a table, a map, I felt cheered. On the other hand, my personal acquaintance with the people, and to a larger extent, Alfonso's, were necessary elements. It would not have been possible to turn over all our<sup>v</sup> notes, texts, etc., to someone, no matter how well trained in ethnology, and expect him to produce an account of the culture as good as what we, having lived there, could produce. At the same time my dissatisfaction with CHAN KOM (which tends to increase) is due in part to a feeling that it would have been much better if I could have understood the casual and natural remarks and asides made by one native to another. Occasionally, when I did understand them, I was always glad of it. Is this tradition of our craft that "you have to know the language" only a fetich? I do not think so. I look forward to talking with you about it.

I look forward also to talking about "folk." I agree that to make the concept of any durable worth it will be necessary to develop definative characters of folkness. I am very doubtful about it. From your letter I can't gather enough of what is on your mind to write about it. I am not sure what you mean by "complexity". Complexity, in the sense of "a great number of parts and inter-related beliefs and institutions," is of course consistent with folkness. In this sense Zuni is a very complex culture. Also I am interested in learning what kind of conflicts are characteristic of Chichicasteango and the cantones. Certain kinds of conflicts -- inter-personal rivalries, suspicions, etc.

(Dobu; NW coast ), are certainly characteristic of many folk cultures. Well, we'll talk about it.

Your suggestion that I might arrive in Guatemala for Holy Week seems to me good, and I regret that I lacked the sense to consider my itinerary with that view. I have made reservations on the plane of April 20th for Guatemala City. There is, you know, only one plane a week from Merida. I am going back to Chichen tomorrow, and from there in to Merida as soon as I can get transportation. I will see if I can change my reservation to the plane of the thirteenth, but I doubt very much if I can, because those planes are generally filled up pretty well in advance.

I am sorry you were sick; I hope you don't do it again. I hope Mrs. Tax's weaver-lady turns out to be a useful line of communication.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

Merida

Later: I can't find out yet if I can change my reservation. If I do, I'll wire you. If not I won't.

R.R.

TELEGRAFOS NACIONALES  
Guatemala America Central

TELEGRAMA

9 de Abril de 1935

FLYING SATURDAY GUATEMALA WILL PROCEED CHICHICASTENANGO AFTER BUYING SCHOOL PRESENTS

REDFIELD

April Is This Afternoon

Correspondence of Robert Redfield  
and  
Sol Tax  
1933 - 1944

(edited and with text by Sol Tax)

June 2, 1980

[pp 131 - 307]

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ALAN GREEN  
1933-1958  
CORRESPONDENCE

APRIL IS THIS AFTERNOON:

CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT REDFIELD AND SOL TAX, 1933-1958 11/4

Edited and with Text by Sol Tax

II. Almost Colleagues 4/27/35 - 5/9/37

[ pp 131 - 307 ]

Palace Hotel  
Guatemala, C.A.

Saturday [April 27, 1935]

Dear Don Sol and Doña Gertrudis,

The state of personal and professional contentment in which I leave Guatemala is owed very largely to you two. I wish to record my appreciation and my thanks.

You have taken such a good hold on the ethnological project that I congratulate the Institution on the fact that you are doing the work and not I. Kidder shares my feeling of satisfaction and confidence.

The two weeks spent with you were delightful. I thank you for your warm hospitality. I know how much I shall enjoy telling Greta all about it.

Ricketson is not well, but I have communicated with him through Kidder. One Hodgson, a finquero, is said to own a good launch of suitable size, now at San Lucas.. He is hard up, and Ricketson thinks he would sell or rent it. He is to occupy Ricketson's house when Ricketson goes, but is now at his finca. I recommend that you write Ricketson asking him to take the matter up with Hodgson, and get a definite offer before he (Ricketson) -- and you -- leave June 1st.

A second possibility would be to rent one of Weymann's boats by the month. Clark feels sure this would be cheaper than buying and re-selling.

The baile documents have been waiting until they could be sent up by some person. None has appeared. I have told the office to send them to you by registered mail.

I have left a package containing two blankets at the CIW office. I will thank you for bringing them up with you ....

Hasta la vista,

Robert Redfield

[P.S.] I hope the bread, butter, etc, which I sent today arrived promptly.

April 29, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

..... Your letter from Guatemala City arrived this morning; we both thank you for the kind words. The foodstuffs have not yet arrived, but we thank you for that, or those, too. The box of school-presents was here awaiting us when we came, so there is no more to worry about; the manuscripts arrived this morning, so they are all right.

I shall write to Dr. Ricketson about the boat situation; in a friendly moment the other day I talked to Mr. Weymann at Tzanjuyu, but although I know I could rent that small outboard at least, we did not come to any terms. The launch that you mention might do better.

Talking to the druggist's wife in Panajachel the other day we learned that Santa Catarina is by reputation the dirtiest place on the lake, that a couple of years ago they had a pestilence of some sort that wiped out half the town; but that also they are the lake's best navigators (because no launch comes there, of course). Speaking of the dirt, I shall also have to study up this summer on How To Clean Up the Tropics and use Panama and Cuba as textbooks.

.... My cold is very gradually clearing up; otherwise we are both well. We are anxious to hear how you came out on the Race back home.

.... Except that I had to buy \$2 worth of stamps this morning to help out the post-master, and except that that Contractor to whom we advanced \$3 came yesterday to say that he would come to work tomorrow, and except that that drunken fellow that we met Good Friday came again for more money, there is nothing new.

Best regards,

Sol Tax

May 6, 1935

Dear Sol:

The baby was born just fourteen hours after I reached Chicago. What do you think of that for nice timing? Greta and young James are getting on splendidly. I have had much pleasure in telling Greta about what you and Mrs. Tax are doing so well in Guatemala.

The meeting of the summer institute for social research has been fixed for June 15 and 16. Blumer, who is in charge of the program, welcomes the prospect of your contribution to the program. It can be arranged for either of these two days to suit your convenience.

We have just learned to our regret that Linton will not be able to be there.

Yours as ever,  
Robert Redfield

May 9, 1935

Dear Sol:

Thank you for your letter of April 29th. There is still time to change any decision about the community in which you want to work. I seem to remember that Shattuck found malaria in Santa Catarina but not in any of the other villages of the Lake. It might be well to write him for information as to the health situation in those villages.

My augmented family is flourishing. We plan to move out to the country Sunday.

Best regards.

R.R.

May 21, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Congratulations on James ! Also on your timely arrival.

We have only a few days more here, and I am just cleaning up some odds and ends. Nothing new or exciting has been happening, and what there is can wait until I see you.

I have heard (from Clark) about Malaria in Santa Catarina, too. I shall check it up in the city next week. I confess that even if I were willing to take a chance on it myself, I would not care to subject Gertrude to such a nuisance-disease. If Santa Catarina is really the only village on the lake with Malaria, it would appear foolhardy, don't you think, to pick it out to study at length? We'll have to think that over seriously this summer.

I have heard from Hodgson about his launch. It appears to be of a suitable size, but he wants \$250. I know nothing about launches, but that seems a lot. I have communicated with Weymann, asking him for a definite offer on a rental proposition. I told Hodgson that I would consider his offer with my superiors; also that I was negotiating with Weymann.

I have not received the letter entitling me to the 25% discount; perhaps it came to the Fruit Co. office in the city. If not, I shall have to pay full price and get the refund later. I have reserved passage on the S.S. Metapan sailing on June first, as scheduled. I shall be glad, of course, to come and read a paper before the Institute, and either Friday or Saturday will be suitable since I shall come for all the meetings.

Your huipil is about finished, and Gertrude herself is doing the sewing on it; she says that her charge is 2 pesos. I realize that three and a half cents is a lot for only two day's work, but then Gertrude is not an ordinary Maxeña, and besides there is the high cost of living to consider and the fact

that she hasn't been working steadily.

We have arranged with Mr. Clark to take both us and our baggage to the city this Sunday in his supply truck. This comes out even cheaper than it would if we sent for the Institution truck.

We shall arrive in Chicago sometime Friday afternoon, June 7th and will go right on to Milwaukee. I shall communicate with you from Milwaukee next. My father has rented a place for us, but until I can tell you the address, I can be reached at his place -- 2120 East Menlo Blvd., Milwaukee, Telephone Edgewood 3792.

Hasta luego,

Sol Tax

MEMORANDUM, S. Tax to Dr. A. V. Kidder

Phonographic Recording Machine

I have written to Dr. Redfield on the subject of obtaining a recording machine for use in the Ethnological Project; but there has been no time for him to communicate with me. I am taking this opportunity to explain what advantages I think such a machine would have in this work.

As far as I know, a recording machine has never been used in ethnological research; in fact I doubt if it has even been discussed as a research technique in this field. Yet I am convinced -- having witnessed the use to which Dr. Andrade puts it for linguistics -- that its advantages are such as to make its use highly advisable. I shall outline what I think are the chief points in favor of the recording device:

I. The taking of texts in the native language is a recognized technique in ethnology; for some things, such as prayers, the method is necessary. In

the taking of such texts, the recording-machine has certain advantages over simple dictation -- and as far as I know no methodological disadvantages:

A. When the informant dictates a passage he must pause, recollect where he left off, etc., and he leaves out much of what he would otherwise include. On the other hand, when he can speak freely and fluently into a microphone, what he has to say is apt to be natural, complete, and accurate. That he can speak fluently, and that he does better has been demonstrated here by Dr. Andrade.

B. The intonation and expression -- lost on paper -- is retained in the recording.

C. Greater accuracy of translation is assured, since the best translator -- or several of them -- can listen to the record and translate it. If the passage is only written, this is impossible, since it is difficult to read back the script intelligibly. This matter is important in a place like Chichicastenango where the only Indians who know Spanish are young and the only ones who know prayers are old -- so that the person who gives the text cannot translate it.

D. The work can go on much more rapidly in many cases. For example, It would take months of steady work to write out from dictation all of the prayers in use here; on the other hand, it would take only days for the Indians to recite them into the microphone. What one could do with the machine, therefore, would be to get all of the prayers on records; since it would take too much time and money to translate, analyze, and publish all, only a sampling need be handled and published. But all of the prayers would be available on records for any later scientist who may be interested in them.

E. Since the ethnologist is not always a trusted phonetician, texts that

he has written cannot always be trusted for linguistic research by others. The records, on the other-hand, can be used by all. As a matter of fact, texts written and translated by ordinary methods aren't always trusted even by other ethnologists.

II. In ethnological field-work, there are always opportunities of one kind or another that are missed that -- with a good recording machine -- could be accepted.

A. Occasionally one is able to witness a small ceremony, and of course can write in his notebook only the gross features; to get the rest would require a knowledge of shorthand of the language -- a practical impossibility. With a recording machine at least a few of these ceremonies might (with luck) be taken in toto as far as their oral part goes. The substance of the speeches could of course be translated later.

B. Occasionally one is witness to conversations among the Indians in a place where he might have a recording machine. Occasionally a heated discussion might occur. Only with a machine of this kind could advantage be taken of such opportunities. A crystal microphone placed anywhere in the room could pick up the whole affair. The microphone might be set up in the home of a friend and visitors not even know it is there (the apparatus being in another room). Even for goings-on-out-doors it might be possible to get recordings.

C. Most practical use in this respect comes in one's daily contact with informants. A day seldom passes without the informant volunteering some anecdote relative to what we are discussing; often the point of things is in his expression. The best that can be done without instruments is to summarize what he has said and to comment on how he has said it; with instruments, however, one just has to tell him to say it into the microphone.

I don't refer only to texts in the native language now: I have heard many things in Spanish that I wish were on records. I imagine that even for answers to questions the phonograph would be very useful. For example, something very surprising may come out; then I could question the informant in the record and everybody could see just what the answers are worth. Furthermore, since the aluminum records in use can be played back immediately, one might in some cases find it advisable to play a record made by one Indian to another to get his reaction and to lead him on in the subject. The same might even be done in going from "tribe" to "tribe."

III. With a recording machine one could devise entirely new methods of research suggested by the machine itself and suited only to it.

A. Since Andrade has found that the Indians are willing and able to speak freely and fluently before a microphone (and it should be even easier with a far-off crystal microphone) one could simply ask one after the other to say something -- anything -- into the microphone. Since what they would say would presumably represent something on their minds, it would be of great interest. Naturally such records would furnish many leads to be followed up; but in addition, the comparison of what different Indians say under different circumstances -- especially when correlated with their social positions -- would appear to be of considerable interest.

B. In addition, a variety of somewhat-controlled experiments might be devised. For example, one Indian after another might be asked to speak a piece as if they were giving advice to a newly-married couple. Such records, with study, would give an objective insight into the values of the culture not to be obtained easily in any other way. It may be that by the use of such laboratory techniques the whole ~~completion~~<sup>lection</sup> of ethnological methods and results might be changed.

IV. One of the difficulties in ethnology is that the conclusions one writes are not always trusted. In archeology the data is usually presented alongside the interpretation. This can be done to a limited extent in ethnology as well (witness Redfield's Chan Kom) but since a great many "facts" in ethnology are inseparable from interpretations colored by a lot of intangible observations it cannot always be done. Statistical-schedule methods take care of part of the difficulty. More could be taken care of if a great deal of information were indelibly stamped on records instead of written only in notebooks. If in the report it were pointed out that such-and-such a conclusion was partly based on the expression and intonation in a record -- and that, furthermore, colleagues had listened to the record and agreed to the interpretation -- others could use the information with more security. What this would amount to is that a substitute would be found for the unattainable presence of more than one ethnologist in the field at the same time.

One other fact may be emphasized: that the records obtained by the ethnologist could be used as more text-material by any linguist working in the same field. Since Dr. Andrade will in fact be working in the same field this is a factor to be considered: no record would be wasted in the end.

June 7, 1935

Dear Sol:

I enclose a program of the Institute for Cultural Research. You will note the hour for which your paper is scheduled. The title is of course makeshift. I am leaving for the east on Saturday but I hope to return in time to be present at the session. I enclose also a carbon representing a revision amounting to 5¢ of one of your expense accounts. This was sent to me by Mr. Johnson.

Kidder wants a report of about one thousand words on the whole Guatemalan Ethnological project, both as to what was accomplished this year and as to what its plans are for the future. Please be thinking that over as we should have it in shape before the month is out.

Hasta la vista.

Robert Redfield

[ Postcard postmarked June 10, 1935, from Milwaukee Wisconsin ]

Dear Dr. Redfield,

Just to let you know that we arrived safely Friday and are just about settled now.

I shall come to Chicago Friday morning and plan to leave again Saturday afternoon. Whether Gertrude will come too, I don't yet know ....

Until Friday.

Sol Tax

Mr. Sol Tax  
2209 East Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Sol:

I am leaving for the east sometime Saturday but hope it will not be too early to prevent me from attending the session at which you are to read your paper or at least from seeing you. If you are planning to drive from Milwaukee to Chicago on Friday, perhaps you would stop in at Windy Pines on your way. If you find yourself able to do this, will you please let me know by mail or telegraph. I will remind you that our place is on the southeast corner of Lake and Milwaukee Avenues about four miles south of Wheeling.

As ever yours,

Robert Redfield

June 19, 1935

Dear Sol:

While with Dr. Kidder in New York I spoke of our extra budgetary needs, and received from him assurance that extra funds could be furnished to cover all the items we noted when we were together Friday. This includes the purchase of a launch at about \$250 and \$150 for providing a house in a lake village with necessities. I set down \$50 for mattresses.

I did not include any provision for a stop-over in Yucatan, but if you would like to do this on the way to Guatemala, it is still possible to ask for the money. I understand that Morley is going down to Chichen in October.

Did I speak to you about Dr. Kidder's request that we provide a statement of about 1500 words on the ethnological-sociological work for the Year Book for 1935? As the important development is the new program in Guatemala, two-thirds of the report should be taken up with this. Will you draft such a report, stating the problem of an ethnological survey of Guatemala, the plans for the future in this regard, and the work done this year and plans for the next, and indicating one or two of the social anthropological questions suggested by your work in Chichicastenango?

It was my intention to ask you to take the Osborne-publication on textiles with you to read. I will mail it to you now.

Greta says she did not at first see your handsome textile present from Guatemala; I was making so much noise about my sandals. She wants now to express her thanks and appreciation to you and Dona Gertrudis.

We caught you up and whirled you about in the birthday party in a very unceremonious manner, so that I am afraid we did not express our pleasure at your visit. We were very glad you came, and hope you can find occasion soon to do it again.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

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June 20, 1935

Dear Sol:

When we were in Guatemala did I not mention to you the efforts of a group of students working on Latin-American problems to organize a committee or conference of workers in that field? Their attempts have resulted in the formation of a small group and in the issuance of a first information bulletin, a copy of which I enclose. Please send it back to me.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

June 24, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... I shall prepare a thousand word statement on our work in Guatemala, and mail it to you, I expect, this week. I have never seen a Carnegie year-book and do not know in what form the statement should be, but since you will incorporate mine with your own, you can edit what I say to suit.

.... We hope to be down to see you soon, but I don't know when; we both enjoyed the last visit so much that I imagine we shall find a good excuse to come to Chicago shortly. But you remember, meanwhile, that Milwaukee is hardly farther than Chicago from Windy Pines.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

June 27, 1935

Dear Sol:

The Washington office asks me to explain the discrepancy between your Voucher 73 here enclosed in the amount of \$21.00 and the corresponding item

in your May expense account for \$15.00. Was it not your intension to charge the room at the hotel to the Institution? Please return the voucher with your reply.

I am sending you under separate cover a copy of a section of a Carnegie Yearbook which deals with our research program. Please return it when you have looked it over.

.... With best wishes to you both.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

June 29, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Yours of the 27th received yesterday, and the reprint of the Yearbook this morning.

I am enclosing also two copies of my contribution to the Yearbook. I had it written before your reprint came, and I changed our report to the extent of inserting our names in the text. I realize that in some respects this paper does not fit the spirit of the Yearbook; I had a difficult time trying to pick out what I wanted to say and then getting it into a thousand words, and I thought it better to give a general picture of what there is in Guatemala and what we are after than to give a detailed account of just how we worked in Chichicastenango. If you don't find it satisfactory, send it back and I will try again.

You will see in the paper that I have crystallized my notion of what our Big Opportunity is in Guatemala: to determine the effects on culture of different social conditions (such as size of population, ecological arrangements of the group or class, economic independence, etc.). You couldn't do that by taking

different tribes all over the world because their cultures have no common source; but in Guatemala these peoples are all genetically (and closely) related, and fundamentally they all have the same culture (on the basis of "traits" the highlands are all a culture area I don't doubt) so that we can probably disentangle the effects of these social factors.

Dr. Kidder writes to ask me if I would prefer an Eyemo (standard-size film) motion-picture camera that they have around or a small-sized, less conspicuous, cheaper-to-run camera that could be bought for me. Since I think the films will be used for reference only, and not for commercial exploitation, I imagine a small one would be sufficient. I am not answering Dr. Kidder until I hear your opinion.

Sincerely yours

Sol Tax

July 2, 1935

Dear Sol:

.... I think the statement you made for the Yearbook is excellent. I understand better than ever the nature of the problems in Guatemala. Your classification of the different kinds of interacting factors which go to define the social situations in Guatemala is most helpful. Have you any objection to adding a paragraph with reference to the proposed ethnological-linguistic survey? Did you have an opportunity to talk this over with Andrade when you were here?

I am in favor of recommending to Dr. Kidder that the small-size camera would be most useful for your purposes. If this is your judgment, will you please express it to him?

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

July 3, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... Didn't I mention that, when we were in Chicago, I spoke at length to Dr. Andrade about our plans. We did not work out a budget, but we agreed in general, again, to join forces next year. Except that he will take a week or two to go again into Mam country, we shall be together at the Lake.

You are undoubtedly right in suggesting that I add something to that <sup>e</sup>affect in my Yearbook statement. I could say something of the advantages of such joint work, and also of the possibilities of the recording machine for ethnological work; but I have two reasons for thinking it might be better simply to mention the fact of our co-operation. One is that to do the possibilities justice I should have to devote considerable space to a subject that hardly fits into the tenor of the rest of the paper; should I devote enough space to it, I will have tied two stray dogs by their tails, and should I not, then one of the dogs will appear a tin-can. The other reason, practical rather than literary, is that I hesitate to give forth great promises when, if they should fail, another would have to share blame. A simple statement of fact, however, will compromise nobody, and I suggest adding the following sentence to the last paragraph of my paper:

The survey will be conducted jointly with that of the Linguistic Project under Dr. M. J. Andrade.

If you should disagree with me on this point ( and I do not feel as strongly in the matter as I may sound ) I shall be glad to write more.

Yours sincerely,  
Sol Tax

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July 5, 1935

Dear Sol:

.... I accept your suggestion with reference to the brief statement as to the association of the linguistic project and the ethnological survey. I am about to turn in to Dr. Kidder a report of our activities for the Yearbook which is in large part drawn from your memorandum. Please accept again my thanks for doing this job for me and for doing it so well.

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

July 8, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

As I recall it, Dr. Andrade said that our 1936 budget should be in by August first. In that case I suppose we should get together some time pretty soon. I am writing only to tell you that I shall be able to come to Chicago at short notice, so that any time you decide -- and are able to meet with Dr. Andrade -- and want me, you have but to write or wire and I shall take the first train. That applies to any day this week as well as any time later.

I received a letter from Blom acknowledging my own referring to LaFarge's article on the Calendar and telling me that he has sent mine on to LaFarge. Blom also renewed his suggestion that I write an article <sup>for</sup> ~~on~~ Maya Research. If you think it would serve some useful purpose I could expand the thought I wrote you for the Yearbook; if not, I shall not take the time.

I have not forgotten that I must take some time this summer to rewrite part of my thesis for publication; I shall talk to you about that when I see you.

Sincerely yours,  
Sol Tax

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July 9, 1935

Dear Sol:

Perhaps sometime next week my decks will be sufficiently clear so that I can suggest that you come down to have a talk with Andrade and me on plans for next year.

I think it would be a very good thing<sup>g</sup> if you would find time to contribute an article to Maya Research, something I should have done long ago but failed to do. You will do the Institution a good turn if you will send Blom something....

Your sincerely,

Robert Redfield

WESTERN  
UNION

1935 JUL 19 PM 5 14

SOL TAX= 2209 EAST KENWOOD BLVD MILW=

CAN YOU LUNCH WITH ANDRADE AND ME TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY NEXT WEEK STOP WILL YOU AT NINE OCLOCK TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY TALK TO MY CLASS IN COURSE RACES AND NATIONALITIES ON THE NATURE OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL GROUPS IN THE CHICHICASTENANGO AREA AND THE RELATIONS AMONG THEM WIRE REPLY COLLECT=  
ROBERT REDFIELD

[Reply penciled on back of telegram:]

WEDNESDAY SATISFACTORY ON BOTH COUNTS WILL COME IN THE MORNING  
SOL TAX

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July 19, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I can come to Chicago equally well Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday. Shall we set Wednesday, then, as the day? If I do not hear from you further, I shall be down Wednesday morning and shall see you in your office before noon. I am able to change my plans, however, at a moment's notice, so do not hesitate to suit your own convenience in the matter.

Thank you very much for the pictures; we enjoy them a lot.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

July 25, 1935

Dear Sol:

That was a good job you did for me in my Races and Nationalities class, and I thank you for doing it....

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

July 25, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am enclosing those reports of your Committee on Acculturation; I forgot to give them to you before leaving Chicago, but since I had not read them, I am not wholly sorry for my neglect. I think both statements are swell, and I have a feeling that when the "Outline" is filled in most of us will know for the first time what the much vaunted problems of acculturation are! Of course I object, in you paper on Definition, to part of the concept of culture, but this is an old argument between us and I won't press it except to say that, if culture is represented by the extent to which the mental worlds of individuals

are alike, it is a very poor thing indeed.

I was in to a boat place last night and picked up some information. In the first place I was advised to have nothing to do with an outboard motor if I can help it -- mounted outside or within; they are not dependable and do not handle well. You see, inboard motor boats are run just like automobiles, and have forward and reverse gears, brakes, etc. Outboards have nothing; in order to start the outboard motor you push the boat into the lake and, once free try to start it up. If it works, all right; if not, you have to wangle you way back to the pier one way or another. Since outboards have no reverse it is often difficult to get the boats safely into port. Another disadvantage of an outboard motor is that the lubricating oil is mixed with the gasoline, and the consumption of the former is terrifically high. An inboard, as I said, runs like an automobile, about 9 miles is run on a gallon of gasoline and oil lasts 500 to 1000 miles.

New inboards run in price about like automobiles. A sixteen-foot utility (not fancy) boat comes to \$595 F.O.B. Detroit; smaller ones are cheaper, larger ones more expensive. Like automobiles, there are second-hand boats on the market at great savings, and since (a) boat-owners have a tradition of careful handling of boats and (b) boats are not used much throughout the year, a boat even five years old seems to me to be perfectly dependable. I saw one like that -- a beautiful large boat, 22 feet, sturdy (Dodge motor) and very splendid all round. They want \$675 for that. Now judging by that price, I imagine that we may be able to buy a boat that will suit our purposes (perhaps smaller than that Dodge) for around \$500. Since shipping will come to between \$100 and \$200, you can see that we should have to figure on some \$700 if we determined to buy a boat here.

For your information in helping you to decide this matter, I shall quote

from my correspondence in Guatemala.

On May 4th Ricketson wrote me:

"I am in receipt of a letter from Willard Hodgson...advising me that he would be glad to sell his launch. It is in storage in San Lucas, and, he informs me, in good condition. It is equipped with a 32-HP Johnson outboard, but the motor is installed inboard. The boat is seaworthy for ordinary work and can seat six people with comfort and eight if you do not mind crowding. He is asking \$250 for it, but if the Carnegie will take immediate delivery, he will accept \$200 at once."

He added that Hodgson would not rent the boat.

On May 6th Hodgson wrote me:

"It is what is called a Johnson Matched Unit, utility model, 17-1/2 long, with a beam of five feet if I remember correctly. Powered with a Johnson 32 H.P. outboard motor, it can seat 8 people with comfort (like three people on the back seat of a car). Both hull and motor are in good condition, though the former probably needs a coat of paint right now ...

"The motor has never failed me yet in my excursions, it is sometimes hard to start, but a little knowledge of this type motor, and some experience with it, makes it <sup>e</sup>asy to operate.

"The hull is of light construction, and I cannot recommend it for use when the lake is rough, but for that matter the lake under those conditions is dangerous for any craft. With a moderate sea running the boat behaves very well, and in general I would say that you would find it a serviceable and satisfactory craft for all conditions except when the waves are high and dangerous.

"I will sell the boat for \$250.00 cash, payable on delivery."

....I would prefer to buy or rent a boat in Guatemala, since it would save a lot of trouble; but of course there is no selection there, and I have heard of nothing that sounds better than Hodgson's so I am not sanguine about going

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down this Fall dependent on what I can find there.

I am not an expert with boats (having in fact never driven more than a row-boat) and naturally suffer occasional doubts. I don't think that I can be blamed for feeling that we should reduce chances of accidents to a minimum.

I shall look at boats more, meanwhile, and especially at Johnson Utility models (the kind Hodgson has) and I hope that we can make some progress in the matter soon.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

July 30, 1935

Dear Sol:

I have just talked over with Dr. Kidder our plans for the remainder of this year and the next in Guatemala. He speaks with knowledge and recommendation of the Johnson outboard motor. Also he emphasizes the expense and practical difficulties of getting a boat into Guatemala duty free. It might take months to accomplish this. It now seems best to me to trust the matter of the purchase of the Hodgson boat to Martin Bennett at the Carnegie Institution Office in Guatemala City. What would you think of telling Bennett to what use you plan to put the boat and asking him to buy the Hodgson boat if he thinks it will reasonably meet these demands? If we could buy the boat now, we could ask Bennett to see that it was put in condition and made ready for you to use as soon as you reach Guatemala.

I think there may be a way in result, if not in form, to secure you some increase in remuneration for 1936. Will you kindly let me know about how much your living and that of Mrs. Tax cost you in Chichicastenango for a month last year?

As I now look at the budget it seems very doubtful that we will be able to make it cover a salaried assistant in 1936 if we buy a truck from the budget of that year as seems advisable. I am very sure that Wisdom would not go for his expenses only. But Collier might. Shall I get in touch with Collier and see if he would be interested, or have you another suggestion to make?

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

July 31, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... I shall write to Bennett about the Hodgson boat; I trust that I am able to tell him that any expenses he incurs in buying or fixing the boat can be charged to our account? I shall ask him to look not only into the Hodgson boat but also into any others he may hear about. There may be something on Lake Amatitlan as well as Atitlan I suppose. I shall not write him until I hear from you again; and when you write me will you please suggest some way in which Bennett can get the money to pay for a boat if he needs it in a hurry?

I do not know Collier well, but everything I know about him leads me to think well of him as an assistant in this work. For one thing, Andrade has had hopes of turning him into a linguist (shattered for the time being, I believe, by the proselyting of R-B) and would be very happy to have him in our field. Collier would be exposed both to ethnology and to linguistics and I suppose would drift into that which is his closest interest. For him, of course, this would be an advantage; for us, it would give us in one man, possibly, assistance both in ethnology and linguistics (and I might say that in my opinion Andrade won't find another person so soon that he would care to have as an assistant). That Collier doesn't speak Spanish is unfortunate, but of course not a real

barrier unless you plan to keep the assistant for only one field season.

.... Thank you for your efforts in our behalf as far as increased salary is concerned. In answer to your question, we spent about \$65 a month of our money in Chichicastenango....

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

August 1, 1935

Dear Sol:

As soon as I hear from Andrade, I will write Bennett, asking him to look at boats, and buy the Hodgson boat, if satisfactory. I will send a copy of the letter to you, and you can write him also. I will arrange to have money transferred from our budget to his office account.

I will approve the charge of yours and your wife's living expenses while in the field to the expenses of our project, up to a total amount for the year of \$400, and not to exceed \$60 in any one month. You can keep account for the first month; after that we can fix a per mensem rate.

We will look up Collier at once....

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

P.S. Would you consider Jess Jennings as assistant without salary next year?

I understand that he speaks Spanish and would like to go. On the other hand, I am inclined to think that he ought not go but stay at the University and continue his work for the doctorate. Write me at once your judgment.

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August 3, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... We were very happy to hear your decision about allowing us living expenses in Guatemala; we can well use the money that we shall save. Thank you very much.

Although Jennings has been doing chiefly archeology, I think, I would accept him gladly to help us in Guatemala. I think he has a swell personality and is quite smart; I hardly doubt that he would make good. But if you think he should stay here and get his degree, that is another matter and I have nothing to say about it. I rather think that the question with him resolves itself into a choice between ethnology and archeology; if he stays and gets his doctorate it would be in archeology, wouldn't it? While if he comes to Guatemala and takes care of his degree later it would be in ethnology I imagine. Doesn't the immediate question depend upon what he wants for a specialty?....

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

August 5, 1935

Dear Sol:

Could you lend me the map you made showing distribution of Indians in Guatemala? And could you give me the total figures for Indian and ladino population? ....

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

August 7, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am enclosing the map that you wish. In addition I am enclosing that population map that I made several weeks ago; on this map I have now drawn in the linguistic boundaries shown on the other but corrected in parts where I know them to be wrong.

Population: (1921) .....2,004,900

Indian .....1,299,927

ladino ..... 704,973

.... I spent a few hours in Madison Monday and talked to Linton. In the course of conversation he mentioned that he has a student whose chief interest in life is to get into the Middle American field. He reads Spanish fluently but has never practiced speaking it. Linton is strong for him, but the boy is still only an undergraduate. Still, if others fall through, you might be interested in looking into him.

I suppose that you will hear from Jennings one of these days. By the way, I am not sure that it would be advisable for the assistant to be working at the Lake. It may be better to have him work in a town near Chichicastenango (one like Patzite for instance) because then he could get the phonetic system from Andrade and also I would know something about the country in which he is working. We can discuss the point some time I suppose.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

August 8, 1935

Dear Sol:

Thanks for the map and the figures. I spoke recently to Leppard, cartographer, and members of the Geography Department, about advising us as to making maps. He would be glad to talk to you.

.... Could you arrange to see Linton's student? We should look over all easily available possibilities. I think a speaking command of Spanish is essential, however.

.... Jennings arrives Saturday night; I am to see him Sunday.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

August 9, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

It happens that I did meet the student of Linton's that I wrote you about. He is living with the Lintons -- exchanging work for board -- and was home when I was there. His name, if I remember correctly is Stout; he appears to be intelligent and very serious and for some reason extraordinarily interested in Middle America and the old Mayas especially.... I was thinking of this boy for the future rather than this year, and I told him that if he is interested in Middle America he cannot lose anything by arranging to live with one of the Mexican families in Madison so that he can learn to speak Spanish. Naturally I gave him no undue encouragement for work with us at any time.

The matter of my speaking to the Geographers in Chicago brings up the matter of our coming there. You remember I said it would be advisable for us to come down for a few weeks to use the library, and you suggested that if we should come in September we could live in your house, which would be vacant. If it is

still open, may I accept that invitation with thanks? If for some reason you must cancel the invitation, that is all right too. You said you would leave this part of the country about September first? Or was that sooner or later? We would like to see you when we come to Chicago, of course, and want to make our plans accordingly. We can come conveniently any time after about the twentieth of this month.

I suppose that Leppard will be leaving the University in a few weeks too, and possibly all the members of the Geography Department will be going; then an opportunity to talk with them when we are there next month will be missed. Would it be advisable for us to come down earlier than we had planned, or for me to make a special trip and stay a day or two?

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

August 12, 1935

Dear Sol:

Jennings has decided to remain here next year and work toward the doctorate. He would like very much to go to Guatemala and is hoping that in the following year a similar opportunity may be offered him. To whom shall we now look for a possible assistant this year? Shall I write a letter to Collier? In his favor it is to be said that he is very charming, very intelligent, and interested in Social Anthropology. Against approaching him are the facts that his health is not very good and that his control of Spanish is probably not good.

.... I am sorry to withdraw my handsome invitation with reference to my house, but to my surprise and profit our tenants decided to occupy it during September. A second trip down here would of course be paid for out of the Carnegie Institution expense account. I am leaving about the 25th of August to

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be gone a month. If you want to talk to the Geography people you had better come before the end of August. Let me know your inclination.

Sincerely yours,  
Robert Redfield

August 13, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... I think that we shall come to Chicago about the 21st or 22nd of this month. We are planning to take a week off now and go to Tama, Iowa to visit our Fox Indian friends -- a sort of postman's holiday. We shall return to Milwaukee about the 20th, and in the meantime if you must communicate with me you can address me care of the Clifton Hotel, Tama, Iowa.

→ Dr. Kidder wrote me, enclosing a manuscript that Flavio Rodas sent to Morley; it is on the symbolism in the designs and costumes of the Chichicasteango Indians. Dr. Kidder wants to know if it should be published, and if so, whether separately or as an appendix to something of ours or of the proposed work of Dr. Lila O'Neale. The manuscript is just what one would expect -- at least half wrong; I shall bring it when I come and we can consider what to write to Dr. Kidder. I am afraid to say point blank that it shouldn't be published because after all it isn't all bad and conditions are peculiar; we are not magazine editors and I think should rather try to correct than reject such things. At the same time I am not in a position now to correct everything in the MS that I think is likely to be wrong; and of course there is no telling what Rodas' reaction to editing would be.

We hope to see you in a week, I hope.

Sincerely yours,  
Sol Tax

August 16, 1935

Dear Sol:

If you will let me know just when you will reach Chicago after coming back from Tama, I will arrange a meeting between you and Jones. A recent letter from Kidder instructs me not to make any commitments with reference to a possible assistant until later in the year and asks me, if possible, to cut down my budget. Should he succeed in getting approval for salary increases, he will need to finance the increases out of savings in the separate budgets. We can, however, go ahead to talk to Jones or Collier without making any promises.

If the Rodas manuscript can wait until I see you, let us take it up when you come.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

Detroit Michigan

September 23, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I received a letter today from Goubaud, telling me that he had sent you a cable accepting your offer to him to work with us. You may wonder how this came about suddenly, so I shall tell you what I know about it.

When we left Guatemala, Goubaud was still considering the offer you made him, but not very seriously. He was apparently set in his job with Clark. In midsummer I wrote to him, just a friendly letter, and included the following paragraph -- more to be polite than anything else:

"If you are planning to accept Redfield's offer about working with us I think it would be wise to let me or him know very soon, since the budgets for this and next year are being fixed within a few weeks."

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Now I hope I haven't got us into a jam; I think that taking Goubaud on your terms is perfectly safe, but now there is a question of the money. If I remember correctly, you offered him some \$50 a month and field expenses, and I think you limited him to some three or four month's trial period. That ought to come to some \$300. Is that still feasible?

Perhaps (unless we have to back down altogether, which would be very much too bad, I think) it would be better to have him start about January first, when Dr. Andrade comes.

We shall pass through Chicago on the way to Milwaukee the first days of next week, and if you will not be too busy we can discuss the matter. I am hoping that we shall have more time together than last time. I spent so much time with Dr. Leppard (profitably, too) that you were already gone when I came to your office.

I hope that you have had a very pleasant vacation; Gertrude joins me in greeting Mrs. Redfield and the children.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

September 26, 1935

Dr. Sol Tax  
9810 Lawton  
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Sol:

I write this letter to provide for the possibility that I miss you on your trip through Chicago this week.

When I was in Guatemala, Goubaud indicated that he was being paid \$75.00 by Clark and that he could not act as your assistant for any smaller amount. In the letter I have just received from him he repeats this figure. He does not say

when he would be able to begin work with you, but I judge that he is expecting to begin as soon as you reach Guatemala. If you will approve, I will write him offering him a three months' position at \$75.00 per month, with field expenses paid, beginning January 1st. I will indicate that this is a trial arrangement and that no commitments beyond a three months' period are involved. There is enough money left in the budget if we employ no other assistant.

A letter just received from Mr. Bennett informs me that he has bought the Hodgson boat for \$200 and expended \$61.00 in making a trip to Atitlan and in buying paint, tarpaulins and other necessary equipment. He will have the boat ready for your operation when you arrive except that it will have no awning, an improvement which he recommends but leaves for your consideration. When you come through Chicago please ask me for the correspondence with Bennett about this boat so that you may familiarize yourself with the details of your naval equipment.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

October 2, 1935

Dr. Sol Tax  
2209 East Kenwood Blvd.  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Sol:

I return your expense account for the month of August, thinking that you may perhaps be able to supply the vouchers to certain of the items. I think especially of the second, sixth, and seventh.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

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Milwaukee, Wisconsin

October 5, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I have reserved our Steamship accommodations through the Stocks Travel Service, in the University Information office. They inform me that in order to get the 25% discount they will need a letter to the United Fruit certifying that both of us are employed by the Institution and going to Guatemala to do research. Will you please write such a letter and send it over there? I had thought that last year's letter would cover this year too, but apparently not.

I shall return the August expense account to you as soon as I get the vouchers. I didn't get any because I was told once that only items <sup>over</sup> about \$5.00 require a voucher. For some of the items it is difficult to get vouchers. For example, "small stationery supplies" and "utensils for use in field" were 10-cent store purchases, and I can't imagine the girls in the various departments signing the voucher book. I think I would rather pay for such small things myself than go to the trouble of getting vouchers.

I shall get vouchers for the binoculars and for the gifts (silk, etc.) that I bought. An uncle of mine has a store here and I buy lots of things through him or at his place. He got me the binoculars cheap; and he had three or four hundred skeins left over from the days when silk was used here that he sold us for \$2.50 (when the original price was \$15 or \$20). I think I can make good use of silk in Guatemala for gifts to weavers.

I thought the binoculars might prove invaluable when our navy is stuck in the middle of the lake and we want to see if the people on shore are happy or sorry about it.

I have bought a dozen dollar watches; they should prove useful on our survey.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

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October 8, 1935

Dear Sol:

I am today sending to the Stocks Travel Service a letter needed to secure the reduction in transportation charge.

It was not my intention to ask you to provide vouchers for purchases less than five dollars in amount. I hope you will be able to provide vouchers for most of the larger outlays.

.... Mr. Hubert Herring, as I think you know, operates a so-called "seminar" in Mexico every summer, in the course of which selected tourists are exposed to lectures by specialists in various aspects in the Mexican field. A year ago last summer I participated in the seminar. Now Mr. Herring is planning to try one out for Guatemala during the Christmas holidays. Yesterday he was in my office asking if I could not join the group. This I cannot do, but I suggested that he might take advantage of your presence in Guatemala at that time. He will probably write you a letter asking if you could meet him in Madison sometime next week. I think he will offer you a modest sum for giving a few lectures and possibly other assistance during the week following Christmas, either in Chichicastenango or in Tzanjuyú. I should think it would be to your advantage to cooperaté with him and make available to his people your knowledge of Guatemalan ethnological and social conditions. We can arrange a sort of loan by the Institution to Mr. Herring of your services for that week so that you may be free to accept the stipend he will offer.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Redfield

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October 10, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Enclosed is the August expense account, with a voucher to cover two items.

Thank you for recommending me to Mr. Herring; he has not yet communicated with me.

Gertrude is anxious to say goodbye to her mother in Detroit before we leave; therefore we are planning to buy a ticket through from Milwaukee to Detroit to New Orleans (so that we can check our baggage to New Orleans). Naturally I do not expect to take all this railroad fare from Detroit to New Orleans rather than Milwaukee to New Orleans, although we shall actually be starting South from Detroit. The distance is no greater from Detroit than from Milwaukee, but since Eastern Railroads have higher rates than Western and Southern, the fare is somewhat higher.

Have you a suggestion in this matter?

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

October 11, 1935

Dear Sol:

I suggest that you charge the fare from Detroit to New Orleans to your expense account.

I am sending you August and September accounts to Washington.

We are looking forward to your report before the Seminar next Tuesday.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

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New Orleans

October 22, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

We arrived last evening, and took care of visas, etc., this morning. Unless something unforeseen occurs, we are set to sail tomorrow.

At this time I want to tell you again how our finances stand:

<u>Institution funds on hand Oct. 1st .....</u>	<u>\$430.06</u>
Expended to date .....	\$284.00
Estimated expenditures	
to Guatemala City .....	50.00
Estimated expenditures	
to Tzanjuyú .....	50.00
Simmons Co. bill, and freight	
on beds (estimated).....	50.00
Est. exp. to Nov. 1st .....	<u>434.00</u>

I am not charging any expenses of our stop-over in Chicago to the Institution on the grounds that it wasn't Institution business, and I would as soon have it looked upon in my own conscience as a doubtful favor to your <sup>*Benjamin, The above estimates include lots of little*</sup> items, such as freight and baggage charges and such as costs on the launch that are hardly more than guesses; but the guesses should even themselves out, and I imagine that when we come to Tzanjuyu ( and it will be close to Nov. 1st) we shall have only the \$150 that you said you would have placed to our account in the bank. If you didn't put that in, by the way, some of my checks will probably bounce.

I do not know when you will be able to put some more money in the bank; if, as you said, you cannot get any until December 15th, my only hope is that the checks I write in Guatemala will be stalled long enough in transit for us to have

a chance to make them good then. It is almost certain, I think, that if we have to remodel or build a house at the Lake (meanwhile living at Tzanjuyú) that \$150 left over will not carry us through the month of November. I must mention that our personal fortunes are at such an ebb that we shall not break even ourselves until December first; so we cannot help out our expense account balance very much. The only point is that we are probably all right if you can get some money into the bank as soon during December as possible.

We are both well and looking forward to a better year than last.

Gertrude asks me to add her thanks to mine and deliver all to Mrs. Redfield and you for the nice supper last Tuesday. We both enjoy visits with your family very much.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

October 25, 1935

Mr. Sol Tax  
c/o Carnegie Institution  
12 Calle Oriente, No. 7  
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Dear Sol:

Thank you for your itemized estimate of expenditures. I have asked Mr. Johnson to deposit \$150 to your account in the Detroit bank. I made this request about a week ago but have not yet heard that the deposit has been made. I assume that it has been done, or will be done shortly.

Dr. Kidder writes that he will not be able to get additional funds until the middle of November. It might take another ten days or two weeks to get the money actually in your hands, but I am assuming from your letter that if the \$150 has been deposited, as I suppose it has, you will not need draw on further funds before December 1.

Kidder also writes that Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation is interested in a young man who might be a suitable member of an ethnological field party, and suggests that possibly if he turns out to be suitable he might accompany you during part of next year. If I hear any more on this subject I will of course write to you.

Goubaud has not yet replied to my formal offer. I will recall to your mind that Mr. Bennett, who certainly was very efficient and kind in the matter of the launch, has not sent in a final statement of his expenditures. Will you please see that he does this?

With all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

October 30, 1935

Dear Sol:

I enclose correspondence from and to Goubaud which explains itself. I will do nothing more about a possible assistant until I hear what your inclination is after you have selected your new community. Dr. Kidder writes that the person Keppel had in mind is not suitable for your party and will not be recommended.

I am assured that no later than December 1, funds additional to the \$150 that I asked be deposited to your credit, will be placed in your account in the Detroit bank.

No deduction in your salary will be made for the week during which you will be assisting in the seminar. You are perfectly free to accept Mr. Herring's \$100. Dr. Kidder is also glad that you have made this connection.

I hope everything is going well. Phileo Nash is with us this week. He and Edith are to be married on Saturday.

Sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

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[Encl.:]

September 12, 1935

Dr. Robert Redfield  
Dean of School of Social Sciences  
Chicago University  
Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Redfield,

On my return from a 3 weeks trip through the highlands of Guatemala, I had a letter waiting for me from Dr. Tax, advising me of his return to Guatemala in the latter part of October. He suggests in said letter that I advise you very soon if I accept your offer about working with him "since the budgets for this and next year are being fixed up within a few weeks." As Dr. Tax's letter was dated the 9th of August and I did not get it until today, I thought it best to advise you of my decision by telegram and therefore I beg to confirm mine of today's date reading: "Your offer accepted writing."

I spoke with Mr. Clark about the matter and he is agreeable to let me work with Dr. Tax as arranged by you with him. I understand that the arrangement with Mr. Clark is to the effect that I would work with Dr. Tax 2/3 months, receiving the same salary as I am getting now from Mr. Clark, viz: \$75.00 a month. I presume that some sort of arrangement will be made with Dr. Tax with regard to living expenses while working with him, as this salary would not permit me to pay hotel accommodations at Lake Atitlan.

I am very glad to be able to work with Dr. Tax in practical field work under his guidance, and trust that this will enable me to obtain requirements for the fellowship which I sincerely desire for going to the University to learn the many things I have to learn before I am able to do real work.

Since the beginning of August I have had the pleasure of accompanying Mrs. Matilda Geddings Gray of Lake Charles, Louisiana and Miss Dolores Morgandanes of the Department of Middle American Research of the Tulane University, on an Expedition through the highlands of Guatemala, studying and obtaining the

beautiful ~~waves~~ and costumes of the Indians of Guatemala, which Mrs. Gray is presenting to Tulane University. Tomorrow we fly to Coban to work that section of the Country. As we have covered up to now some 50 different villages and towns in Guatemala, this trip has been extremely useful in obtaining data on the commerce and textiles of the Indians of Guatemala.

I would esteem it a favour of you if you will kindly confirm to me the above arrangement, advising Mr. Clark direct of final arrangements so that he may know when I am to start work with Dr. Tax and when this term of work ends. Awaiting the favour of your esteemed news, I beg to remain,

Very sincerely yours,  
Antonio Goubaud

[Encl.:]

October 1, 1935

Mr. Antonio Goubaud  
4a Avenida Norte, No. 19  
Guatemala, C. A.

Dear Mr. Goubaud:

Returning from an absence of a month, I find your letter of September twelfth. I should be pleased if arrangements could be made so that you could act as Dr. Tax's field assistant during three months of the coming season. Dr. Tax plans to go to Guatemala in October, but the joint ethnological-linguistic survey, with Dr. Andrade, will not really begin until the first of the year. Therefore your services would be most useful from January 1st to March 31st. Please let me know if this period would suit you.

I cannot, however, offer you employment for any part of 1936 until I receive assurance from Washington as to the budget for that year. I have written asking if assurance can be given. When I have an answer, I will write you again. I hope very much that the suggested arrangement may prove to be possible.

Cordially,  
Robert Redfield

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[Encl.:]

October 7, 1935

Mr. Antonio Goubaud  
4a Avenida Norte, No. 19  
Guatemala, C. A.

Dear Mr. Goubaud:

Assurance having been given me as to the budget for the next fiscal year beginning January 1st, I am now in a position to make specific the offer which we have discussed before.

I offer you employment as ethnological assistant to Dr. Tax on January 1st, 1936 to March 31, 1936 at a stipend of 75 quetzals a month. Your traveling and field expenses within Guatemala during the three months' period will be paid by the Institution. This does not extend, of course to expenditures of a purely personal nature but includes food and lodging as well as any small expenditures made to Indians or the like.

It should be understood that Dr. Tax is to have full authority to decide details of the work and to make such arrangements for your place of study and for conference with him as he thinks best. He is to determine the place in which you spend the three months. It may be a village on Lake Atitlan or more probably a small town in the Chichicastenango region, possibly Patzite. It is essential for your work that you take up residence in the community chosen, in a room or small house, so that you can live as intimately with the Indians as possible. In such a town as Patzite I believe the conditions should be fairly comfortable but in one of the smaller villages on the Lake you will have to put up with some physical discomforts.

Beyond this three months' period there is no commitment, on the part of the Institution or the University of Chicago, of any sort. I do not see that the work you might do with Dr. Tax would be immediately convertible into academic status. The three months' period would, however, give you an opportunity to see

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how you like ethnological work and whether you care to go on with it. It would also give us an opportunity to learn these facts, in any case any opportunity to make use of you in the future should appear.

I hope very much that you will find yourself free to enter into this arrangement. It would be a great pleasure to me to have you participate in our work. Please communicate with me at once.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

[Encl.:]

October 23, 1935

Dr. Robert Redfield  
The University of Chicago,  
Chicago, Ill.,  
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Returning from an absence of a month, I find you two letters of October first and seven which I now beg to answer.

I wish to express to you my deepest appreciation for your kind efforts in making it possible for me to do three months' field work under Dr. Tax in Guatemala.

I very much regret, however, that due to the change which has occurred in the time set for this work viz: January to March 1936 instead of October to December 1935, I am unable to join Dr. Tax and Dr. Andrade for the ethnological-linguistic survey. As much as I keenly wished to start my ethnological training under Dr. Tax, upon his return to Guatemala, I am not free to do so.

I wish to thank you again for your kind offer and with compliments, I beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

Antonio Goubaud C.

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[Encl.:]

October 30, 1935

Mr. Antonio Goubaud  
4a Avenida Norte, No. 19  
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Dear Mr. Goubaud:

I regret very much that the change in field plans of Dr. Tax and Dr. Andrade makes it impossible for you to join the work this year. As it will take Dr. Tax some weeks to make ready his new base of operations at Lake Atitlan, and as Dr. Andrade is not able to go to Guatemala until after Christmas, the systematic field work is not likely to get under way much before that time. It was this circumstance which made me suggest that you might begin work with Dr. Tax after the first of the year.

I hope very much that your later circumstances may make it possible for you to suggest again your participation in our field program.

Your sincerely,

Robert Redfield

Carnegie Institution  
12 Calle Oriente #7  
Guatemala, C.A.

November 5, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am sending this to you air-mail, just to let you know that we are well. By the next boat I shall send you a diary to date which will give you a complete account of our activities (or inactivities). I asked Mr. Clay Judson of Chicago to call you when he reached Chicago, which should have been a week ago. He must have told you that we were stranded in Barrios due to storms; that difficulty cost us just about a week's time.

I do not know if Goubaud has written you; if not it will be news to you that

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he has rejected your offer because Clark's busy tourist season starts in January.

I suggested to Dr. Ricketson that since the Institution would be paying our living expenses here this year, we might be able to get in some groceries free of duty. He agreed, and is quite sure that there will be no trouble. Consequently I have placed an order for quantities of canned goods with a New Orleans exporting house. I think that we shall thus save considerable money.

The boat is ready and waiting for us, says Mr. Bennett; he fears, however, that it will be impossible to put an awning over it, due to the construction of the craft. I think we can get along without.

I hope that \$150 you ordered for us reached the bank before some of the checks that I wrote, and I rather imagine that it did. Our financial status is just about what I expected it would be by this time, although the Barrios hotel is more expensive than the others where we usually stay.

However, you will receive our October expense account together with our Diary (which I am writing in the new notebooks) <sup>and</sup> you can judge things for yourself.

We bought your blankets and will keep them in the City until Christmas, when the Herring party will come.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

November 12, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am sending herewith the latest leaves of my <sup>Diary</sup>; they tell you about everything I know, so I have nothing to add. I wonder what you think of the notebook system as compared with what I did last year? I think that for the sort of thing that we have been doing so far it is very good, with only the disadvantage of being able to make but one copy besides the original. Of course,

if you find it difficult to read my handwriting, that is a terrific disadvantage. The real test of the system will come when we are doing the real ethnology, and have no doubt that I shall have to compromise with it to some extent. You see, I take the notebook into the field with us and try to get things in there as they are originally told me; in talking for long periods ~~of~~<sup>to</sup> Indians, however, the account might not make sense without reorganization; so I may have to take notes in other notebooks and then re-write them for this one when I come back. It may then be argued that I could typewrite the notes; but I prefer this because I have a chance, at any rate, of getting in first-hand notes.

I am enclosing also a copy of something I wrote at the request of Herbert Weinstock for Three Americas. If you don't approve, in whole or in part, for any reason, you will have time to write to him or to Mr. Herring asking that it be changed or not published. You have my full permission, of course, and your judgment in such matters is better than mine.

As for the work here, you see that we have not yet visited all of the villages, and for that reason I do not want to decide what we are going to do. I like San Marcos and Santa Cruz very much, and you remember how we liked Santa Catarina and San Antonio. I am beginning to think that comparative studies of each pair, and then both pairs, would be very enlightening. But we are bidding our time and it will take several days before we reach a conclusion.

We are both well, meanwhile, and enjoying the climate and the view, though growing more impatient each day to become settled somehow and somewhere.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

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Panajachel, Depto. de Solola  
Guatemala, C. A.

Nov. 14, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield,

Thank you for your letter of October 30 which I received yesterday. Thank you also for the correspondence concerning Goubaud. With reference to an assistant here, we both know that a good man would be invaluable. There is such a lot to be studied in Guatemala that it is simply a matter of the more men in the field the better. Those, if ever you are in doubt, are always my sentiments.

Enclosed you will find a few more leaves of my Diary. You will read in them that we are planning to undertake a project a little more extensive than that about which we talked. We have had a difficult problem to settle here, and many times I wish heartily that you were here to help us. Since, unfortunately, you are not here, we have had to muddle along ourselves; and if I weren't buoyed up now by such a spirit of confidence that I can hardly believe it to be false, I would be fearful that I have blundered.

I am very anxious to hear what you have to say, therefore, and I would appreciate your writing us an air-mail. I would send this air-mail except that it would cost so much. After all, our program is still somewhat tentative, and if you think I am wrong, you can still put a useful damper on my enthusiasm before it goes too far.

Meanwhile, we are looking forward to a year about a dozen times as instructive as last. Next year I may think the same about this, but now I am appalled when I look back at our pristine state of ignorance just a year ago when we came to Chichicastenango. I think that the notes I gave you probably show that ignorance, so I need hardly describe it further. But the future now looks pretty swell.

If you will address your letters to Panajachel from now on, they will reach us a day sooner.

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The lake is too beautiful for words..

Please remember us to Mrs. Redfield and the children.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

November 14, 1935

Dear Sol:

The meeting last Tuesday of the seminar on racial and cultural contacts was devoted to discussion of the four reports which had been delivered up to that time. Each of the four faculty members of the seminar prepared a written memorandum of comment on one of the four reports. Your report fell to Blumer. I enclose a copy of his comment.

In the course of subsequent discussion it was suggested that another interesting question would be whether or not there is a difference in the religious fervor and the degree of religious organization as between the Chichicastenango type of community and the Atitlan village type of community. This suggestion follows, no doubt, notions of Durkheim and Mauss to the effect that where people occasionally come together to celebrate religious rites their religious activities may be more elaborate and extensive than in the case where they persistently and continuously live <sup>to</sup> next to one another. I don't know whether or not there is anything in the idea.

Dr. Kidder has provided another \$150 to you and has sent the check directly to the Guatemalan office. Please inquire there for it. Will you let me know if this \$150, with the \$150 deposited in the bank some three weeks ago, will be enough until January 1, or if not, about how much more is necessary.

Your sincerely,

Robert Redfield

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November 15, 1935

Dear Sol:

Do you have with you any materials indicating the idea that wind and disease are related in the thinking of any of your Guatemalan peoples, whether Indian or ladinos? If you do, could you lend me such notes, sending them by air mail? Perhaps you can refer me to copies of your notes which are on file in Washington.

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

November 25, 1935

Dear Sol:

I acknowledge with thanks your diary for the period ending November 12th. By the time you receive this acknowledgment I hope that you will have settled upon a place in which to do your work and that the problem of securing some one to run the launch will have been resolved.

I was distressed to hear that Doña Gertrudis found the exertion and strain of those preliminary exploring trips too much. I hope she will not have any recurrence of that discomfort. Do take it easy; there is plenty of time.

I liked your little paper for Weinstock's magazine. I think it would be good to have it published. I gathered from your letter that you had already sent it to him and I look forward to seeing it in print.

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

Panajachel,  
Guatemala, C.A.

December 1, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... Thank you for the copy of Dr. Blumer on the paper I gave. Reading his account makes what I said sound a bit thin; it seems to me (and my memory may be faulty) that I did myself raise the problem which Mr. Blumer purports to suggest himself. But that doesn't matter. If I may now, I would like to discuss briefly the question of castes in Chichicastenango. I think in the first place that the social classes are not nearly as caste-like as the impression of them may be (partly my fault, no doubt). Each of the classes tends to be endogamous, they lead different economic, political, social and intellectual lives, and each is self-conscious of its identity. There is some degree of <sup>✓</sup>sevility in the attitude of the lower to the upper (although, I am sure, no real feeling of inferiority). But on the other hand, there is no oppression, or consciousness of oppression; except where money is influential there is the same Law for both groups; a ladino does not lord it over an Indian (and for every service which an Indian performs for a ladino he expects pay). Thus conditions are really quite different from those in the American South. Indians are considered poor and uneducated, but I have never heard of them spoken as an inferior people. Thus you don't have the present German-Jewish situation.

As for the Chichicastenango groups being castes in the sense of Indian castes, there is of course no comparison. There is a complex of religion or even of cultural tradition to back up the class distinctions; there is no feeling of unsurmountable barriers. Although cases of intermarriage are indeed rare, I feel convinced that little more than uplifted eyebrows would accompany the news of one. The ladinos naturally look forward to "good" marriages, and marriage with an illiterate, poor town-homeless Indian would not be a very good one. Does that call for a caste-explanation of the endogamy?

Now I have never referred to the classes as "castes", although I have sometimes used the expression caste-like. Hereafter I think I shall steer clear even of

that, because I see how misleading it can be. Being economic and intellectual classes, they naturally are also social classes; and because the same class is both richer and better educated, on the whole, there tends to a super-sub organization. When, coupled with this, there happen to be certain cultural differences (such as the presence of windows in ladino homes and their absence in Indian homes -- regardless of wealth, and I must point out that nobody would object to an Indian's cutting a hole in the wall of his house, but he simply doesn't see the point in it; and such as the prejudice of the ladinos against working in the fields or carrying cargo, no matter how poor -- and this may be explained on the grounds that due to the Indians' lower standard of living such work would not bring enough to the ladino to keep him as he is accustomed to be kept) which we in our culture recognize as being associated with higher and lower, it is no wonder that the system in Chichicastenango has many aspects of a stratified organization. But essentially, I don't believe that it is one in the caste sense.

A clear understanding of this I believe will answer Mr. Blumer's questions. The intermediate groups (the literates, the foreign, and the servant Indians) do not, of course, form intermediate castes, but are simply intermediate in some respects which, in my report, I tried to isolate. Furthermore, there is no "cherishing of hopes and ambitions to be identified with the ladinos" on their part. When they are like the ladinos in some respects they are immediately identified with the ladinos in those respects. Nobody is trying to keep them down, so of course no bitterness is engendered. There really is no "system" for them to become reflective about, unless it is the Capitalist system, and the Indians are thorough capitalists. Any Indian not a miser quits carrying loads when he can afford to; also, he hires some other Indian to do his odious municipal services when his time comes. His race or costume doesn't keep him poor; it is lack of capital goods to start with that does, and he knows it. Any Indian could send his children to school (everybody encourages it) and thus give them

intellectual background; most of them don't want to, any more than they want to become ladinos in any other cultural way. They were taught to approve of their own way of life.

When a man gets into one of the intermediate groups, he usually congratulates himself on it (for by being there he recognizes that in the respect that he has become like a ladino he approves of ladino ways) but there is nothing for which he yearns that he cannot get (except riches). The intermediates can hardly be bitter, therefore, against the ladinos; they are, if anything, more sympathetic. Whether the ladinos, on the other hand, "give them special recognition as a superior group, but still ... exclude them" is a question which, I trust, will now be seen to have been based on a false premise.

How much of the confusion about Chichicastenango is my fault, I do not know. Certainly some is. No doubt the members of the seminar were translating the situation I described into situations elsewhere that were more familiar to them. I deeply regret that I did not consider that that was the case; I should certainly have tried to emphasize the dissimilarity to castes, rather than the similarity of the Chichicastenango groups. I hope that this discussion does something to correct my error.

Incidentally, I shall have a lot to say, I think, about social groups after this year's work. I am beginning to see that there are other types of ladinos than those in Chichicastenango.

Except that it is very windy here, and I am suffering from sore-throat and head-cold, things are going along very well. This field-season looks as if it will be very productive.

Best regards to all our friends from Gertrude and me.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

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December 4, 1935

Dear Sol:

I have read with much interest the diary accompanying your letter of November 14th. You have certainly been under a pressure of difficulties. It certainly demands all one's energies and patience, when one is trying to get scientific work done while at the same time struggling with practical problems, such as boats and furniture, and while also having to make new personal relations. I am admiring your enterprise and courage.

It was too bad that you had so much difficulty with the bunch. I hope it is now fairly well under control. Probably Weymann will buy it when you are through with it; and will pay a fair price if he is helped to see that the Institution is under no pressing obligation to sell it, but could store it for some other work some other season.

I have thought over your situation, and your proposed plan of study, but I do not feel like expressing an opinion so far back of the driver's seat. You are on the ground, and you must decide. The suggested double comparison of two pairs of villages appeals to me very much, because of the hope it offers of isolating, to some extent, the effects of certain specifiable factors, populational, ecological, or historical. The sooner we are in a position to define problems, and say what facts are relevant to them, the better.

On the other hand, there is so much to study, that I suppose we must be careful not not undertake too many tasks at once. I, too, <sup>am</sup> ~~and~~ used to the idea that continued personal residence is essential to a thorough study of a community. The continuity of the flow of life should not be too much broken to the observer. Living in Panajachel, you will be interested also in Panajachel; and as that place is probably much like, and yet in significant respects different from, Chichicastenango, it is probably important to study.

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I believe that by the time you have been living there, making trips to the other villages, you will know about how much you can accomplish using Panajachel as a base. I confess that I cling to the assumption that one must actually live in a community thoroughly to study it.

Would it help if you began to anticipate a certain number of deferred publications, and thought of your field work in terms of these? Like this (I set down three titles only so that you will substitute others):

- I. The Ethnography and Linguistic Geography of Highland Guatemala
- II. Chichicastenango: Tribe and Caste; Market and Church
- III. Atitlan: Road, Mountain and Lake, and Their Influence on Village Organizations (! ? !)

What you report about the kinship terms of San Marcos is very interesting, suggesting, as it does, possible corresponding differences of social organization.

I was much interested by the news from Chichicastenango. You will certainly want to go back there some time for another period of work.

Jennings has applied for a pre-doctoral field fellowship to get experience in social anthropological work with an Indian-Spanish group, leading to a hoped-for career in our Southwest and Mexico. At my suggestion, he is suggesting Guatemala, and quoting me to the effect that C.I.W. would provide transportation, so that the fellowship would be no more expensive than any other. I do not know if anything will come of it.

It is a cold, snowy day. I am enjoying a few days of relaxation in bed, provided me by a bad cold. Dr. Cole is still confined to the house.

The morning paper brings me news of the death of Professor Breasted.  
May I show your diary to Andrade?

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

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December 9, 1935

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am enclosing the latest editions of my Diary, which will tell you our story in detail. I feel now as if we have completed a stage of our work, and will now enter another. For the next month or so we shall work only in Santa Catarina (perhaps paying an occasional social call at San Marcos) and with conditions as they are, I think we can accomplish very much. One must admit that things have turned out peculiarly in that town.

.... I see now that we have overlooked one item of equipment which will probably be necessary here, especially when Andrade is with us. That is, light army cots that we can easily take with us in the launch. We shall need three. I think that we had better buy them in the Capital here, because I have had so much trouble with importing things ( and have put Mr. Bennett to much trouble too ) that I hesitate to start another shipment going. If Andrade feels like buying three cots and bringing them with his baggage, he can; but I think it would be more trouble for him than the difference in price is worth. We shall see him in the Capital, I imagine, when he comes (or else he will come here before we have to go to the City) so we shall know that if he does not bring the cots we must buy them.

We shall send you an itemized statement of our living expenses for the first complete month that we have had our establishment. If the difference between what we would have charged to expenses under the old plan, and what we are now charging, is greater than sixty dollars for the month, I shall then debit our account by the surplus. As far as I can see, this is the only feasible method of bookkeeping for us. But in about two weeks you will see it worked out and can then judge.

I never answered your suggestion about testing the hypothesis that there is

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greater religious fervor in a community that gets together rarely. I have been thinking and observing and have yet no good evidence on the point. I very much appreciate your sending me such specific suggestions; stuck off as we are, they help a lot.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

December 16, 1970

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Enclosed are the latest days of our Diary. Some of it is written in indelible pencil because my fountain-pen-point broke and I shall have to wait with it until we go to the City. Please excuse the added difficulty; I could not make copies with an ordinary pen, and I didn't want to write with a black pencil because it would rub off in time.

Thank you for your air-mail of the 4th. You will see from the Diary that things are going along very smoothly now, and I feel myself that we are getting a lot done. We are now concentrating on Santa Catarina, as you will see; and, with only one difficulty, conditions there are now ideal. The one difficulty is of course the poverty of Spanish in the town. Between everybody there, however, I feel confident that we can get just about everything. Gertrude has even greater difficulty with the women than I have with the men; as far as she can discover there is but one young woman who speaks any Spanish at all -- the daughter of the <sup>my</sup>Intendente, who once worked for six months for ladinos in Panajachel. The others are all friendly, but when Gertrude talks to them in Spanish they simply turn helplessly to their husbands for an interpretation. Naturally, we are getting something of the "lengua", but that process is too terrifically slow, you know.

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I think that our plan is going to work out very well indeed; for one thing, I am getting more confidence in the launch, and we are not afraid to go out at any time or come back at any time (except when the lake is exceptionally bad). For another thing, as we become more and more accepted into the various villages, the opportunity to stay in them for longer periods of time becomes irresistible. We have a good base here in Panajachel, and I see no reason why we cannot use it and still undertake periods of sustained residence in the villages.

You may think I am becoming crazy on the subject, but the more I learn about Santa Catarina the more convinced I am that there is much less whole-community life, except in a purely formal way, than one would ever think possible in a place so small. In a way I am disappointed, because the contrast with Chichicastenango is not as great as I had expected; but on the other hand the unexpected makes the study the more intriguing. It may even turn out that culture-pattern factors here override what one would suppose to be almost inevitable results of a small concentration of population. I confess I am puzzled right now.

I have studied with interest your suggestions (by means of publication-titles) for the direction of our work here. I think that eventually I shall be able to write the three things that you mention -- I mean the work so far has been in that direction -- but I like to day-dream about a lot more than that. If we go on with this work for the length of time that Dr. Kidder suggested last year (and especially if we get some assistance) I envision a grand publication on the ethnography of the highlands including data arranged in some way on every section. This would be descriptive, and I think would be one of the end-products of the project. Then as another end-product there might be a book on the sociological problems suggested and resolved. All this need not be my work alone; in the second publication mentioned Yucatan might be included, and the work be co-operative in some way. Meanwhile, as by-products, I think that during the next years I can manage to write articles, some descriptive and some theoretical; if they are

published elsewhere, all right, and if not, the Institution might want to publish them in a volume (some articles reprinted from other sources) of Miscellaneous Ethnological Papers on the Mayan Area, and including others of yours, Villa's and whatever others there may be, so as to get them all together.

You see, I don't like to write even a descriptive monograph about any place until I know as much as possible about all places. Tentative articles are all right -- sort of to let the trade know what is being done -- but I don't like to write a volume on Chichicastenango, for example, and then spend the rest of my life correcting mistakes that could have been avoided by a wider experience.

But there is a personal matter that I feel must be discussed pretty soon, and I am going to start it right now. When I took this position with the Institution the understanding was that it would last three years anyway, if everything went all right. Now we enjoy the connection, and if you and Dr. Kidder see fit to keep us on longer, we shall be happy. But I think you can understand why we do not want to come down here for eight months out of the year indefinitely; for one thing, that makes it almost impossible to raise a family, and for another, it stifles us socially and intellectually in what should be the most broadening years of our lives. It may be that we are wrong, but we do not feel now that such a sacrifice is worthwhile, even if it results in a successful career. We would like to be able to look forward to a more settled life in the near future. What do you think are the chances?

I trust that you are over your cold; I was also disturbed to hear that Dr. Cole has been ill. Down here, the news that filters through is that Alfred Clark is very seriously ill; it may be exaggerated, as we hope.

With best wishes for a happy holiday season for the Redfields,

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

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January 2, 1936

Dear Sol:

I have received another installment of your diary on which I have ~~had~~ not time to comment, interesting though it is. I am glad to hear that the launch is proving manageable as well as serviceable.

I note with interest your expansion of my suggestions with reference to a publication program. I like aiming high but I also like to feel that current achievements are keeping step with the program for the future. How would it be if you worked out a sort of time schedule for the next five years, both with *periods of fieldwork and with reference to* reference to the preparing of manuscripts for publication?

From one of the last paragraphs in your letter I understand that you look forward to a period of only a few years of concentrated Guatemalan field work and that you would welcome some arrangement whereby you could spend part of your time in this country connected with some suitable institution and only half of it, perhaps, in the field. I agree that that would be very desirable. I can only say that that has always been in my mind and still is, and if any opportunity to recommend you for such a connection occurs, I will not let it go. No such opportunity appears at the moment. The skies of anthropological employment are somewhat better. I have just been told that the Field Museum restored its pay cuts and gave increases to certain members of the staff. The requests to fill positions, this autumn, in the few cases brought to my attention, have been for full-time employment as teachers of Sociology with anthropology on the side.

A letter just received from Hubert Herring tells me he is not going to Guatemala. He suggests that Charles Thomson be asked to take my two blankets back to the United States. It is probably now too late to get this request to you or him, and I can only hope that you have found some one good natured enough to be imposed upon in this way.

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.... Dr. Cole is better but still lame. He is back at the University teaching.

Andrade leaves Chicago for Guatemala on Sunday. I will see that he knows where to find you at Panajachel.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

P.S. I have just been looking over Andrade's new printed forms for the linguistic survey. I think you will like them.

RR.

January 7, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Enclosed is the last part of our Diary and our Expense Account for December.

The expense-account is terrifically high, but, as you will see, everything wasn't spent during December; old bills that we paid in the City are included, and also of course we have on hand for future use supplies that were paid for in December.

I have tried half a dozen ways of figuring out our living expenses in order to see if we have exceeded the \$60 a month allowed. Due to the fact that our grocery supplies from the City and from New Orleans lap over from month to month it is next to impossible to give an accurate picture for any one month. We have taken inventories and so on to see just how much sugar and salt were consumed in given periods; but we have never had what might be called a "typical" month, so they don't do much good. December is not complete because we did not have a cook all month, and also we were in the City a few days; neither is November, of course, for we were in the hotel most of the month. The result is that I cannot in fairness give you an accounting for "the first month" as you suggested by which to judge other months. Nor are we apt to have typical months very soon. For January

we have no cook, and our expenses will be low; furthermore we were not here the first few days. February will be a typical in that Andrade will be with us, and we shall be at a loss to know what to do: will we charge him board, will we keep track of just how much soup he eats, or will we just charge him a third of all our expenses ( in which case we shall certainly fall below the \$60 since rent, etc. will be the same ).

There is only one thing I can think of doing, and that is to make a note of just how much of the total I turn in on the expense account each month went for living expenses. At the end of the year you can then judge whether we owe the Institution money or not. To that end, the following is a table of our living-expense share of the November and December expense accounts:

Month	Total	Rent	Wages	Groc. & etc.	Chickens	Firewood	Gasoline	Laundry
Nov.	\$8.43		1.75	5.13	1.00			.55
Dec.	\$57.65	10.00	5.60	36.35	2.69	1.26	1.60	.15

The total for thirty-five days, the time up to Jan. 1st that we have been established, is thus \$66.08 and the daily average about \$1.89. Figures do lie, however: of the thirty-five days, we were away for four days, so that the daily average for the time actually spent here is \$2.13. To put this as our daily average would be unfair, for most of our expenses went on while we were away. All I can say is that our living expenses have come very close to the \$60 a month allowed. A longer-time average will be better, however; I haven't included our New Orleans grocery bill, since it is not paid; but at the same time we have consumed only a small fraction of those groceries.

You will notice with alarm that there is only \$69.24 left in our account. Since I still owe bills (groceries, beds, etc.) totaling about a hundred dollars which I shall have to pay this month, you see that I need more expense money. If

you will have some more money put into the bank on, say, February first, it will be appreciated. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that at this time last year I had had \$900 expense money, and this year, up to now, also exactly \$900.00. I think we shall run over last year's budget, what with our living expenses being paid, but we haven't yet.

The Herring Seminar (with Herring absent) was a success in that all of the students were happy at what they received; I think it was a financial failure, for there were only fourteen paying members. It was very dull because aside from the Faculty there were no intelligent people; they were all just tourists. We didn't enjoy it at all; there were a dozen annoyances; but it gave me an opportunity to work up some very nice lectures.

Mr. Thomson took your blankets to the States; he said he would express them from New York. You may have them by this time; if <sup>so</sup> you will notice that the blankets are black, while I think your others were blue. We looked unsuccessfully for blue ones, and if you don't like these we shall gladly take them off your hands and perhaps in June there will be blue blankets in the market that we can bring you. Please let me know.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

January 13, 1936

Dear Sol:

This is a belated reply to your letter commenting on Dr. Blumer's remarks as to your report before the seminar.

The central question of fact raised by your report to the seminar and Dr. Blumer's comment upon it seems to me: Is there a general <sup>icall</sup> cultural pattern of hierarchy arranged status-groups to which newly established groups tend to conform?

I do not know whether there is, but it seems to me that the Chichicastenango ethnic groups are, by your own account, much like castes. Certainly there is not a completely worked out caste system, as there is in India -- and as there is, perhaps, nowhere else. But you say "Each of the classes tends to be endogamous; they lead different economic, political, social and intellectual lives, and each is self-conscious of its identity. There is some degree of servility in the attitude of the lower to the upper ...." In these words you have summarized the characters that make these classes approach close to castes. It does not seem to me necessary to a caste-society that there be a belief in the inherent inferiority of the subordinated group. It seems to me that absence of consciousness of oppression, rather than its presence, is a character of caste-society.

It seems to me illuminating, rather than misleading, to point out the respects in which the Chichicastenango situation, while not a rigid caste-system, is a race-class system with many caste features.

I wonder why you pick out the matter of windows to illustrate the cultural differences between the Indians and ladinos when there are so many more important differences: <sup>c</sup>Costumbres, marriage customs, etc. And I wonder if your explanation why the ladinos do not work ~~in~~ the fields is wholly adequate in view of the occasional very poor Indian, and especially in view of the agricultural ladinos at Chitatal. Further, it seems to me that if economic advantage controlled marriage-choice without the influence of class- or race-preference, we would find marriages between poor ladinos and wealthy Indians. And finally, if there is a status-system basic to the social situation and influencing changes to conformity with itself, I would not expect the people to be reflective about it, but rather to take it for granted without much reflection. There might be occasional resentment against the exploiting caste (remember the drunken Indians who vituperated

the ladinos!) just as the lower castes in India complain about the Brahmins.

As for the status, interests and possible sense of conflicts of the "new groups," I feel we do not, at least I do not, know enough to say anything.

I showed your letter to Blumer and he comments as follows:

"On reading what Dr. Tax says, I realize the great danger to one, like myself, who tries to interpret something that he knows very little about. Dr. Tax has an intimate knowledge of the groups in Chichicastenango - my knowledge is confined to what he said, and apparently, even here I failed to understand properly what he meant to say.

"Nevertheless, I still feel that there is value in studying the relations between the various Indian groups and the ladino group in this municipio, from the standpoint of the principles of caste and class. I should agree with everything that you have written, and would add to them merely one or two statements.

"It is my impression that the following are true: that the Indian group and the ladino group are status groups standing in a subordinate-superordinate position; that the fact of birth rather permanently identifies an individual as belonging to one or the other of these groups; that this identification is made both by the individual and by others; that the individual follows the practice and code of his group, and is expected to do so by others; that marriage inside of one's own group is just taken for granted, and hence, that intermarriage is scarcely thought of, much less occurring; that each group has essentially an established occupational role; that there is an exclusiveness in the case of each of these two groups, as is suggested by the lack of intermarriage, bilateral political organization, and divergent ceremonial practise. Such traits I judge to be traits of a caste relationship, although the question of what particular label one is going to use is of no special importance.

"What I do think is of importance, however, is the question whether the emergence of new groups in such a society seems to threaten the existing organization or scheme of relations between groups. In what I would call a class society, the

appearance of a new class always upsets the equilibrium and leads to an attack on the existing hierarchy; in a caste society the emergence of new groups normally leads to their encysting in new positions without challenging or disturbing the prevailing organization. This is why I raised the question concerning the new Indian groups in Chichicastenango. From what Dr. Tax has written in his letter I gain the impression that the new Indian groups have followed this latter pattern by becoming accessory status groups who do not challenge or exert a strain on the existing social organization. I still feel that it would be of importance to see whether this is true of Indian groups elsewhere in Guatemala."

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

January 15, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Enclosed is more Diary; I am not very pleased with the way things are going -- very much too slowly -- but I suppose that better times will come.

I have been thinking of your proposed five-year time-schedule with regards to field-work and writing, but I have not come to any write-able conclusions. I am hoping that I shall be able to work out something of the sort before the end of this field season.

Is there no chance at all of your being able to come down here this Spring? The days you spent with us last year did me a lot of good, and I have been secretly hoping you can manage again.

I have written to Prof. Andrade in the City, where I suppose he still is, but have not heard from him yet. You probably know he will not be here until about Feb. 1st, since he is going first to the Mam country.

I have not gotten over a slight sick-spell, but generally speaking we are well -- slightly discouraged, but still going.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

January 21, 1936

Dear Sol:

I have your letter of January 7th with your expense account and diary. I think it would be best for you to turn in all living expenses on your monthly account. I think our agreement was that your expenses should not exceed \$60 in any one month. You can manage this by postponing the reporting until the next *month* certain items in case the actual cash outlay in any one month exceeds \$60.

Miss Wallace was here yesterday and told us something about the seminar in Guatemala. Apparently she had a wonderful time and thought most of the others did. The seminar is something that cannot be taken too seriously. Perhaps I should have emphasized that fact to you, and then it might have been more pleasant to you also.

The blankets have arrived. I thank you very much for getting them. We like them better than the pair that they were secured to replace.

I have been reading over your accumulated diary, and have two suggestions to make.

The first is with reference to the diary. It seems to me you can save yourself some time by making the diary reports less detailed. Now that your first contacts have been made, it will be enough briefly to set down how each day was spent, and to transmit to me, as separate documents, all notes which have ethnological value. I have found your diary very interesting reading, partly because you so frankly state your experiences, disappointments, and even occasional mistakes. But I think for the purpose of record, it will no longer be necessary for you to report so fully. On the other hand, the reduction of material to documentary form should proceed.

The other suggestion I hesitate to make. My own experience has been that advice from the home base toward a field worker may come just at the right time,

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or just at the wrong time. There are occasions when a worker in the field is uncertain what to do, and then a suggestion from outside resolves a dilemma or moves his mental fly wheel out of dead center. I doubt if you are even in that condition and feel therefore that my suggestion may fall in the second class of cases. In these, the suggestions seem irrelevant, or without understanding of the field conditions. Please, therefore, dismiss the following inquiry if it seems to you out of <sup>order.</sup> center.

While I am impressed by your continued zeal and efficiency in securing such objective material as may be reduced to maps and schedules, your diary at the same time shows some of the great difficulties you face in securing more intimate materials as to the content of native life. Chief of these is, of course, the language difficulty. I am still wondering if the fact that you are not continuously resident in the community that you are studying is not another difficulty. Reflecting back on some of my own experiences and particularly considering Alfonso, I wonder if sometimes the most profitable thing one can do is to do nothing. Alfonso sometimes falls short in that his accounts intend to be literary, and also in that he lacks the scientific understanding and imagination which you have. On the other hand, he has a habit of just sitting around with Indians and apparently wasting time, without making any attempt to secure any information, but just living beside them day in and day out, including the nights, that brings him en rapport with the natives.

As I think over what I have just written, I feel that your case and Alfonso's are probably too different to be compared. Still, I do raise the question with you: Would it be better to study the community in which you are now living, or move into a community which you can study, where there are a considerable number of persons to whom you can talk, and where you can maintain a residence?

Your reply to this inquiry may take the form of assuring me that your present

procedure is leading you where you want to go; if so, I am quite content....

Sincerely yours,  
Robert Redfield

January 29, 1936

Dear Sol:

This will acknowledge the installment of your diary representing the period up to January 15. It is very interesting, but does not cause me to change the suggestion I made in my last letter which was sent you by air mail. It seems to me that the most radical material represented in this installment is that which you secured in Panajachel rather than anything obtained in Santa Catarina. I await your recommendation as to what ought to be done about it, if anything.

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

January 29, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Enclosed is my Diary of the past two weeks. I am following your suggestion in respect to brevity. When I come to new places I shall be relatively detailed, but where it is possible to write notes more systematically I agree with you that to write them separately would be preferable.

As you know, Dr. Andrade came about two weeks before we expected him; he has started with Panajachel, and is making amazing progress. The day after tomorrow we start making a systematic survey. I like his system so well that I am adapting it to our ethnological survey, and have been engaged the past week in making a systematic questionnaire based on the experience I have. I am about finished now, and I think it will serve very well; next week's mail will, I think, bring you a copy from which you can judge for yourself.

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I very much appreciated your suggestions in regard to our work here; you have seen from my last diaries that I have, indeed been in dire need of advice. It happened that your letter came when Andrade was here and we were preparing for the survey (which, by the way, I think can be a lot more thorough than I had expected); therefore I could postpone a decision on what to do here for about two months, or until we finish the survey. It may be that with this questionnaire that I have now I can get as much comparative material as I need and can, indeed, study one place more thoroughly, as you suggested. I shall, of course, let you know what my thoughts in the matter are as they are developed.

Meanwhile, our optimism is restored.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

February 4, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Enclosed you will find January expense accounts for ourselves and Dr. Andrade.

It seemed to all of us much simpler to include Dr. Andrade's living expenses on our account. We have computed that our expenses will jump during the time he is with us at the rate of about \$25.00 a month; instead of charging him that amount cash, and having him put it in his expense-account with a voucher from us, we have simply allowed ourselves that much more in our accounting. Thus in a normal month, we shall account for \$85.00 living expenses instead of \$60. Since Dr. Andrade was with us just half of the month of January, we have included living expenses to the amount of \$72.50.

We went to Atitlan today to start work there; tomorrow and as many days thereafter as we require we shall spend in Atitlan. Prospects are bright for speed.

I have not completed <sup>my</sup> ~~by~~ questionnaire, but I have enough done to start work

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and will finish it in-between times in time to get all of the Atitlan material. The reason for the delay is that (1) the Kidders, with Ricketsons, Valliants, etc., spent most of one day here, (2) Mr. Robert Garrett and daughter of Baltimore spent two days here and Dr. Kidder asked us to show them around (he is an Orientalist, and Trustee of Princeton), and (3) the President of Guatemala made all plans to come and although he never did come, excitement was rife here, and especially for us, for we were expecting him to make use of our launch -- and there were telegrams and what-not.

There is no particular news; the Kidders will be back later for a longer stay; Alfred Clark is very sick again and Padre Rossbach has gone to the Capital to see him. Clark will go to the States if he can.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

February 17, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I think that I am finally able to answer the two important questions which, in the past month, you have put. The first is, Can I formulate a definite five-year program in respect to both field-seasons and possible publications? The second is, Would I not be better off now studying either the village in which we are living or move to another village and study it alone?

Answers to both are resolved from a conception of what our work here should be; it has taken a long evolution for me to work out that conception, and it will require some explanation. I am not at all sure that you will agree to the propositions I have to put, and of course I feel not only open to suggestions but, if need be, to reversal.

You remember that when we first came to Guatemala, we hadn't the vaguest idea

of where we were to work and how the problems would shape themselves. Last Spring, having some notion of the diversity of Guatemalan cultures, we planned future field seasons thus: five months of intensive work in some chosen town, and 2 or 3 months (with Andrade) of survey of the surrounding towns. When we came here to the Lake for the first field-season under that plan, it appeared to me that a better plan under the circumstances was to study not one, but four towns, semi-intensively, and survey the rest more lightly.

We had some seven or eight weeks of pursuit of that plan; whether due to the method, the particular towns, or to our abilities, we had no striking success (although it is possible that in the three months still left after Andrade goes our labors would, if continued in the same direction, bear fruit). A change of procedure (which under the circumstances seems called for) could, I suppose, take one of two directions: we could go back to the original plan and do one town intensively, or we could, for sufficient reason, abandon that plan entirely and (as I am going to suggest) launch a long-time systematic extensive study of the Highlands.

In suggesting such a change, I think we can never be accused of choosing an easier road; when I point out what it entails, I think you will see it will be a very tough job from all points of view. But as I come to appreciate more and more that what is characteristic of Guatemala is its diversity, and as I vision the scientific problems presented and see that they are dependent on that very diversity, I am becoming convinced that it is the only honest road. I shall not be able to discover anything spectacular for two or three years, and except for minor comments I may have nothing to write; but when results are counted up at the end I should have more substantial material and more verifiable conclusions than I could get any other way.

I should like now to outline my arguments for what I propose. I am taking

for fact that

1. our object here is to do the ethnology and sociology of the highlands as completely as possible in a limited time, and in addition to gather special data for the solution of particular problems to which this region might lend conclusions.
2. that although in matters of fundamental belief and practice there may (or may not) be great uniformity in Guatemala, yet the striking fact is the diversity of municipios in ecological, economic, and social set-up under a common governmental system, and common Church, and with constant inter-municipal communication, and this diversity is not resolvable into anything like geographical "culture areas".

Since such is the case, it appears to me that the ethnology will be, or should be, a study of all of the municipios in their similarities and their diversities (leading, perhaps, to a classification and what conclusions may be drawn from it) and their interrelations. Furthermore, it seems likely that the most promising special problems here will be suggested by, or have bearing on, the varieties of, or the variations found in, the municipios.

The proposal, therefore (to state it most bluntly), is to study all of the municipios. There are some 200 to 250 municipios that would have to be studied, and any multiplication of those numbers by days or weeks will demonstrate the seriousness of the business that I am suggesting.

The offhand objections to the proposal are (with my comments and answers)

1. Since in the limited time we could hardly go very deeply into the cultures, as we go along, where, at any point, would

we be if something should happen to terminate the project prematurely?

*indent* → If terminated after about three years we should have important comparable information on most Guatemalan towns, useful as a basis for future work by anybody or for drawing conclusions. If terminated after one year, there will be the same for a smaller number of towns, but including some in most parts of the highlands. There would be no intensive studies, whereas under another plan there would be one. In the nature of the problem here, I would prefer the former.

2. At best, you would have to know Guatemala culture pretty well in order to undertake such a work and expect good results. Better go on for a few years making intensive studies and then undertake this job.

Yes, you do need background first; even if, two years ago, we had known the situation in Guatemala we could never have undertaken this study. But we have studied several towns pretty well and feel that we know enough to go on. After all, you don't get the most out of intensive work, either without having studied the whole thing.

We are ignorant of certain things about the local culture; as it happens, however, we know most thoroughly just those things -- geography, economics, social, political, religious set-up -- that we will need to know for the extensive study. Obviously, any

extensive study will have to specialize in kinds of information that can be handled objectively and with some certainty; native "psychology", sentiments, beliefs, values, etc., we are indeed still weak on; but there would never be a possibility of getting them quickly so we shall have to leave them out more or less anyway.

3. But then the ethnology you will get in your study will be pretty narrow; you are more or less limited to objective things, and no modern anthropologist can be satisfied with that.

Granted, and if the project were to end with this extended study, I would agree that the Ethnology of Guatemala is still undone. Also, of course, I would have to say the same thing if three towns were intensively studied. But there is this virtue in the study I propose:

that every ethnologist has to get the part that we will be getting, and that, furthermore, most ethnologists get that part first. There should be no objection on that score, therefore.

But of course this project will not (presumably) end with the extensive study. Half of the time will be left for intensive and special studies.

4. Wouldn't it be better to become thoroughly immersed in the more mental aspects of local culture first on these grounds: if in those respects the culture is relatively uniform, you will have that part once and for all, with the advantage that in the extensive study you can include information on it; and if in those respects Guatemala is not homogeneous, then you can get the variations at the same time.

I think that nobody will deny that you cannot get trustworthy information on such matters in a few days or weeks; that's just the sort of thing for which the most intensive kind of study is required. You can neither discover nor check up on sentiments or values in a short time, so under no circumstances would their inclusion in a quick study be valid.

If in these "subjective" respects Guatemala is relatively uniform, then it would be more economical (since it would particularly matter where they were studied) to work them out in a place or in places discovered in a wider study to be particularly valuable to work.

If, on the other hand, Guatemala is not homogeneous in these matters, it seems safer to wait until more is known about the objective parts of the culture in the whole country. The idea would be to classify the cultures in some way from the data obtained; if ~~there~~<sup>there</sup> are five classes then at least five intensive studies should be made. It seems reasonable to suppose that this selection for the study of subjective aspects would be safer than a purely random one. I am assuming in this statement that cultures more or less each hang together and that where you find two cultures differing in respects a,b,c,d the chances are that they will differ in x,y,z also. True or not, there probably is better than a purely chance correlation, and thus the sample chosen for study better than a random one.

5. With 200 to 250 towns and a matter of 3 or 4 years in which to

do them, it looks impossible. You will wander around and get a glimpse at each town and the result will be confusion rather than anything else. A rolling stone gathers no moss!

Not unless it is equipped with a moss-catcher! The success of the whole business obviously depends on careful planning and some sort of system. Leaving the argument, I shall describe what I think <sup>would</sup> ~~you~~ be necessary traveling and ethnological equipment.

As far as transportation equipment is concerned, of course a motor truck is the essential item. Funds for the purchase of one for our project are already set aside, I understand; the question is in finding the best one for our needs, and that would be taken care of during the summer. We would sell most of the furniture and household goods we now have, and bring a few new things from the states. Everything should be arranged in advance, and packed well for economy of space and for ease in setting up house-keeping. The idea would be to come to a town, find a room or a house of some kind, and set up housekeeping for a period of one to two weeks (or something less). We shall be like gypsies, but we want to prepare ourselves for as many conveniences as possible in such a life, for the period of time will be long. We shall need folding chairs, tables, wash-stand, etc.; we have good cots, stove, lamps. Since we want to be independent as far as possible, and do not want to waste time cooking, we shall bring along large canned-food supplies. We have learned that it is seldom possible to live off the country and remain healthy enough to work. We should have a chauffeur (especially when Andrade is here, so that our movements can be somewhat independent if necessary) and somebody to do the housework. With Andrade that would be five, rather an inconvenient number to carry in the cab of a truck; our distances will probably be very short, however, and we can

probably work something out.

More important for the success of the work will be the "ethnological equipment". The whole extensive study becomes something very worthwhile or becomes a waste of time, depending on how this is worked out. As a matter of fact, however, I think it can be worked out very well. For another purpose (the survey with Andrade) I began to make a questionnaire; it was only when I began to see the possibilities in the questionnaire that I worked out this proposal for a more ambitious study. The idea, as I see it, is to have a printed (or mimeographed) questionnaire that, before I am finished with it, and finished revising it, will probably run to about 60 pages of blank charts, blank tables, blank spaces for other things. This will be the repository of conclusions for any one town. It will include information on the geography of the town, its relations to other towns, the makeup of its population and relations of its classes; its economics, markets, trade; its kinship, family, and household arrangements; its gross political setup; religious hierarchy; magic, and the calendar; customs surrounding the life cycle; and something on folk-beliefs, spirits, and folk-lore.

This questionnaire will be arranged in more-or-less logical order; but it will not be used very much directly. In addition there will be slips on which will be written specific questions intending to lead to answers to be written in the questionnaire. For each town this set of slips will be arranged in the order of asking, with a separate pile for Gertrude. For example, they may start with questions to be asked in the Intendencia, of the officials, and then go on to questions for the Indian Interpreter, then for others, etc. There will of course be several thousand slips of this kind (for purposes of economy I can devise a system whereby there will be guide-slips with questions interleaved with blank slips for answers in any one town) for each town.

In addition, there will be a shorter questionnaire (simply marked parts of the larger) of the most important -- combined with easiest-to-get parts of the large one -- and a smaller number of slips arranged in order for this. Coming to a town, I might then stop with the completion of the shorter questionnaire if I think that is enough. In addition still, I shall have a special very-short questionnaire that could be filled out in a very short day, or even from a dependable informant found elsewhere. This I shall have to work out, to get in it such information as will make it possible for me to judge pretty well that the town is not enough different from a neighboring town to warrant more study.

The details of all this will have to be worked out with great care, and of course I shall need your help.

The method of work will be to go to the towns that have automobile roads first; this has the advantage of speed and convenience, and the further advantage that in that way I shall cover all sections of the country in the first part of the study. After that, the truck will be used to establish bases, and mules will have to be resorted to.

In the first town, if possible, the entire questionnaire will be filled out; the thing will be arranged so that the whole can be filled out in ten days or so. In the second town the short-questionnaire will be filled out, and if it appears necessary, the whole thing again. I judge that in the whole business the complete questionnaire will have to be filled out for some 30 municipalities; the short questionnaire for perhaps 75 or 90 towns, and the one-day questionnaire for some hundred. Obviously, these are guesses of mine. The whole business should be accomplished (without assistance from others) in 80 to 90 weeks.

Now, the immediate question is this: if you approve of this plan, wouldn't it be wise if, when Andrade leaves, I work out the questionnaire tentatively and

use it on the Lake villages? If the project goes through, the lake villages should all be done on the uniform questionnaire; there will never be a more convenient time than this (with the launch); it will give us a chance to try out the questionnaire so that we can revise it; it will give us some judgment of time to be required. Andrade will be here ten days more; then it would take a week to ten days to work out a complete questionnaire (which I have only about half-done) and I should have time to undertake the work here.

I am sending this air mail because the matter is rather urgent. I hope that you will think well of this proposal, of course, but I am well prepared for any disappointments. I realize that half the success of our project depends upon a careful decision now, and trust that you will not try to be "kind" to me and will be as hard-boiled as you can be (which is plenty).

Dr. Kidder will be here soon, I think, and I shall take the liberty of showing this letter to him.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

P.S. I almost forgot to mention the matter of publication. If this business goes through all right, I think I know how I would like to publish. This summer, when we prepare the questionnaire, etc. for use, I would like also to write an apology or explanation for it. I would make some attempt to describe the general problem in Guatemala; I would then tell how we are going about to handle it. But, in addition, I would describe the questionnaire itself -- which would entail a description of the basic phenomena that are found here (municipios, races, cofradias, etc., etc.) I would be more or less telling all I know.

When the broad study is finished, I would like to publish the results in some detail and very quickly (if necessary even in mimeographed form)

so that anybody who wishes can point to special problems in which he is interested and which he thinks Guatemala can shed light on. Then together with what we have already seen, we can plan the program for the future.

I do not know if we could stand the gaff on a job like that for seven or eight months; if we could, we might manage it in three years -- but we are faint at the thought. I am still hoping that we can get some assistance here.

February 25, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... We have almost completed a hasty survey of the lake villages. What I have found I shall write you (but for some towns it won't be much, since we made mostly one-day stops); what Andrade has found, I shall mention briefly: Quiche does not border on the lake; S. Lucas, Atitlan, S. Pedro, and S. Juan are the "Zutuhil" towns, and all the rest are "Cakchiquel"; no two towns have the same language, and the differences -- even between close neighbors -- are in vocabulary, phonetics, and grammar (although generally slight); there is some fusion or evidence of diffusion in border towns; finally, and perhaps most important, Zutuhil and Cakchiquel are certainly no more than dialects of one language -- and maybe they will turn out to be sub-dialects of a dialect of a language.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

February 26, 1936

Dear Sol:

I read your letter of February 17th as in substance a proposal that you devote your entire time in the field during a period, beginning next fall, or perhaps at once, to the accumulation of standardized information on the 200 or 250 municipios of Guatemala. You propose to develop a series of schedules or questionnaires to guide the collection of this standardized information and to serve as the principal body of records of the results of the survey. You suggest that the items and topics to be included in the survey be drawn from your present knowledge of Guatemala. You indicate that in not all the municipios would the same range and extent of information be collected, but that in advance of beginning the survey, or perhaps after it had begun, you would devise a plan for sampling, so that while certain data would be secured on all municipios, other data would be secured only from such municipios as appear to be notably different from others.

My opinion is that the field program should not be formulated so as to postpone the making of intensive studies until a survey has been completed, but that the survey and the making of intensive studies should be carried on together.

I am of this opinion because I think that survey and intensive study tend to strengthen and guide one another. If only one group is studied, no problems arise for comparative scientific treatment. On the other hand, I do not believe that the collection of facts on a questionnaire basis can alone result in the delimitation of problems in social anthropology. It is by intimate, long-time, acquaintance with culture groups that one gains insight into the nature of not only that culture, but of culture and society in general. I do not think it wise to postpone or even suspend the making of intensive studies until a systematic

survey has been accomplished. I think that an alternation of experience between intensive knowledge of one group and extensive knowledge of many groups is most likely to prove scientifically fruitful. I think that in three years of ethnological touring, the investigating and reporting would tend to become routine and would stultify scientific imagination. (Incidentally, I think it would be arduous and enervating.)

Is it not true that Andrade's program is a combination of survey with intensive study of particular languages? Even if Andrade should decide to survey all the Maya speaking people before resuming intensive work, I would not think your situation parallel to his, because in studying a group of related languages it is easier to set down, for purposes of a survey, the information which is relevant to a comparative study.

My proposal follows:

(1) Develop the technique of ethnological survey along the lines indicated in your letter. Accompany Andrade whenever he carries on linguistic survey, and do ethnological survey at the same time. Alone carry on this survey for additional time during each field season; but in no field season devote more than half your time to survey -- one-third would be better.

(2) Carry on intensive work on the culture of a defined community under circumstances where the natives are friendly, where living conditions are tolerable, and where you are able to converse freely with at least a few intelligent natives. Be an actual resident in the community you are studying. In that community strive to collect as much intimate, personal and case material as you can. Accomplish this end immediately by following one of three alternative courses.

- a) Stay where you are and study Panajachel;
- b) Move to another community (on the lake presumably) fulfilling the conditions stated above; or
- c) Go back to Chichicastenango and resume the intensive study of that community and that culture.

I regard the "boring in" to a culture through increasingly rich and more intimate personal acquaintance with it as essential, primary and inescapable in social anthropology. The survey is something we are going to do in addition to the other, in order intelligently to classify social situations and isolate problems for study. But I think the portrayal of one or a few cultures and communities is not to be postponed. One way in which science proceeds is out of the intensive knowledge of a special case. Relations between factors are recognized, tentatively, in this special case, and a hypothesis results from this single case, which leads one next to study just that situation or those situations where the same related factors are apparently present, or, better, where all of them are present and yet the result is different. Your survey will make possible the intelligent expansion of the program. It will raise ethnological work to a new level of intelligent procedure. But it will be all the more valuable if constantly related to and controlled by intensive knowledge of a particular base of operations.

I hope you will write as frankly as I have when you reply to these suggestions.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

Panajachel  
Guatemala, C. A.

March 6, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... I have thought over carefully what you write in your air-mail of the 26th, and I have this to say in reply: that I find myself in disagreement with some of your propositions but I am (for the time being, at least) going to conform to your conclusion. I think that we shall have time this summer to

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argue the matter out satisfactorily, and meanwhile I can let the idea of an extensive study ride.

We have chosen what I think is the most practicable of your three choices for work the remainder of this season: to study Panajachel. Not only are we already settled, with many connections, but there is here more of a Spanish-speaking population than in any other place; furthermore, there is Juan Rosales here, a man who is intelligent and educated and whom Andrade taught to write his own language fluently. And with all that I see no reason to believe that Panajachel is less interesting or important ethnologically than any other town around here.

I still hope to spend more time at some of the other lake villages before we come home, and I think we shall be able to manage. But (except for occasional days, perhaps) we shall work in Panajachel from now on. I have been writing up a summary of what I know to date about the whole Lake region; you should get that (together with our February expense account) in the next regular mail.

Miss Lila O'Neale came this week to work on textiles; she is taking advantage of our connections here and is starting on the Lake villages. She is staying with us. Since we are working in town, she can take advantage of Nemesio and the launch.

Dr. Kidder is working on a site near the Capital and probably won't be out this way for weeks.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

March 30, 1936

Dear Sol:

This will acknowledge the receipt of your expense account for February

and the documents summarizing your notes on the Lake towns.

.... The many interesting points raised by your report on the Lake towns will have to wait for discussion until you are back in this country. I was particularly interested in the problem you raise as to the absence of a collective sense among the peoples of the Guatemalan villages and towns. This problem seems to me an outgrowth of a primary distinction you made between the "town nucleus" and the "vacant town." I think a problem, or rather a group of problems of great interest and importance, may be defined here. You seem to be talking about two things which are different although related: the presence or absence of solidarity, or sense of collective loyalty and responsibility; and the extent and intimacy of personal relations in these communities.

I gather that you find that neither of these traits is positively emphasized in most of the communities with which you have had to deal. On the other hand, your notes indicate that a social organization, in a formal sense, is present and well developed in most of these communities. That is to say, there are fairly complex institutions which maintain the life of the community and into which each individual fits and has a part. Thus, perhaps one problem could be stated in some such terms as these: What relation, or lack of relation, is there among the three sets of phenomena; collectivistic sentiment, intimate personal relations extending throughout the community, and well developed formal social organization?

Naturally I reflect upon the two communities in Middle America which I know something about. I enclose a tabulation in which I have set down some of the observable facts which might be used in making up one's mind whether the disposition of the community is collectivistic or not. Such matters as whether a man knows the number of his neighbor's children, or whether a neighbor can leave the community on some errand without the knowledge of his

neighbors, are not of particular importance in determining whether the people are collectivistic or not. I should think one would look for a crisis in which the community was threatened, as for example a drought, an epidemic, or a land quarrel. In such circumstances do they pray, fight and work as a unit?

Your information on these subjects from the Lake towns suggests to me the importance of getting a closer personal acquaintance with one or more of them. One wants to know under what circumstances personal relations do take a place outside of the intimate family.

Andrade is back but I have not yet seen him. Radcliffe-Brown has just returned from the Orient. Charlotte Gower is giving courses here this Spring, while Harry Hoijer is in Madison.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Redfield

TOWARD AN INDEX OF THE EXTENT OF "COLLECTIVISTIC" OR  
"COMMUNAL" SENTIMENT IN MIDDLE AMERICAN VILLAGES AND TOWNS

	Chan Kom	Tepoztlan
Land-rights of community defended against other communities (inter-village land disputes)	Yes	Yes
Political authority of community defended in open public meeting	Yes	Perhaps in emergency
Patron-saint of community an object of general local appreciation; all natives regard patron as theirs	Yes, decidedly	Not strictly true. But "Tepoztecatl" a local mythical hero, celebrated in a fiesta
A public center to the community, occupied by church and public buildings	Yes	Yes
Market place	No	Yes
Principal saint-fiesta (or equivalent) celebrated by whole village; most natives participate	Yes	As in your description of Atitlan
Single civic leadership recognized (as distinguished from formal authority)	Yes	No - factional disputes serious
A general meeting-place for men (not throughout day; but occasionally)	Yes	No - too large a community. But sub-community loitering places
Gossiping among women general (well, market, washing-place)	Yes	Yes

[Encl.:]

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	Chan Kom	Tepoztlan
Inter-household visiting; some custom (e.g., novena), to favor this	Yes. But many exceptions	Moderate, not marked
Houses built cooperatively	Until recent times	No
Public work done cooperatively	Yes	Yes - but in sub-communities
NB: <u>Net</u> community gatherings	Family gatherings at birth	No
	" " " marriage negotiations	Yes
	" " " death	Yes
Intimate knowledge of activities of neighbors	Yes and no - striking ignorance of the sort	?
Men have knowledge of number and age of neighbor's children	No	?

April 14, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Thank you for the comments and suggestions contained in your letter of the thirtieth. Before returning this summer, I think I shall be able to give pretty definite answers to your questions, at least for some of the Lake towns. One short comment I can make now: you suggest a problem as to the relation between collective sentiment, extensive personal relations, and formal social organization. The latter is strong in these towns, the former two apparently rather weak; what strikes me is that the formal organization takes the place of, or performs the functions of, or makes unnecessary the development of strong social sentiments -- and the personal relations which in towns such as these would be more or less requisite to strong social sentiments. A group of individuals is set apart each year just to take care of town crises, regular and irregular, and personal sentiment is subjugated to town authority (without a fight) before it can spread to become "social sentiment". In addition to the "annual" organization (juzgado, cofradias, etc.) there is the group of Principales, and through them is established a gerontocracy which reflects the more mature representative sentiments of the town as well as traditional policy. Since these organizations have the power to engage the town people in any necessary activities, there is no necessity for collective spirit or action except through them.

The government of one of these towns is not representative in our sense: the officials are not put there to carry out the expressed will of the people. They are not subject to recall or anything of the sort (such a notion just doesn't fit). The so-called "elected" offices are not really elected, for the Indians take turns at them; they are most comparable to "committees" formed to carry out traditional duties -- and during the year of office they are embodied with a sort of divine right and infallibility and are not really responsible

to the people. The Principales are those who are old and have "gone through the mill"; they are informally recognized as the supreme authority in the town, but do not have executive or judicial functions, but simply decide questions of policy in the town's relations to the wider government.

The government is "representative" in the sense that its members are taken (by accident or design) from different parts of the town ~~and different parts of the town~~ and different families. Any sentiment that springs up in the town will be ably expressed, therefore, without any resort either to drumming up sentiment by over-the-railing talk or to mass-meetings.

These questions are still confusing to me, and I hope that we can make more headway towards definitions and criteria when we talk about it this summer.

Dr. Kidder spent the Easter weekend with us, and there are several resultant things that I must discuss with you.

First, there is Juan Rosales. I have mentioned him several times, and I am sure that Andrade has mentioned him to you. Dr. Kidder met him here and was very favorably impressed, and I am sure that you would be too. As a possibility for helping us in our work down here he has it way over Goubaud. His education is not so great (the equivalent of Junior High School, I should judge) but neither is he spoiled by bad scholarship. He is very wide-awake and intelligent; above all he seems to be one of these natural-born scientists. He seems entirely honest, with a penchant for exactness and thoroughness both. He is, of course, pretty ignorant, but he picks things up very quickly, and once he senses what is required (and that he does very quickly) he is prone to take the question in hand and make suggestions and additions. To get some idea of what he amounts to, ask Andrade for particulars as to what he did in the language, and then take my assurance that he does at least as well in everything else.

Andrade, as you may know, left some work for him to do; I have thought, since I have been working with him, that there are a number of jobs around Panajachel that I can leave him, too. Andrade thought that he could use him in other towns, too, and I am sure that we can. Now when Dr. Kidder met him he thought of still other things in which Juan can be of help -- in the study of agriculture, in the location of archeological sites, etc.

Rosales has been a school-teacher, and he was interested to know if we had more work for him, for otherwise he would re-enter the school-system in May. I therefore put the matter up to Dr. Kidder (not having done anything in the way of promising myself) and thought that the opportunity was far too good to pass up. He therefore gave Juan assurance that his services would be in demand by one branch or another of the Institution indefinitely. Naturally, I suppose that Andrade and we get first call -- since he is our discovery and since we can use him most. The work that Andrade left him will take him about three months or a little more; from the time we leave Panajachel to the first of the next year will be seven months. The question is, therefore, your approval of our keeping Juan at work for four months at worthwhile ethnological data-gathering jobs. That will carry him to the first of the year. The cost of those four months to our budget will be about \$100. Needless to say, I hope for an affirmative answer.

The second question is our immediate plans. I am pointing our work to finish Panajachel (or at least wind up our present studies here) about the fifteenth of May. The work has been going so fortunately, that I am confident that it can be done. Then we want to spend ten days getting additional comparative material in other lake villages. We plan, then, to leave Panajachel on the 26th of May. (That happens to be the date on which our month in the house is up.)

After winding up our affairs here, we must in the first place make definite plans for next year. Assuming that you have beaten me, or will beat me, in the argument of extensive vs. intensive studies (and all things considered I imagine you are right) we have to find a good spot for another intensive center next year. The major choice seems to be between (a) a town at one of the edges of the general area that we have been studying (roughly a Cakchiquel or Quiche town) and (b) a town in a quite different area -- such as that to the West of Quezaltenango or that to the North of the Capital. There are arguments for both. In either case I have some towns in mind that I would like to visit; if we decide on (a) I think we should pick a town with a specialized industry, such as pottery, and one like Santa Apolonia might do well; if we decide (b) we would prefer to go West of Quezaltenango, probably into San Marcos.

In any case, some exploratory work is called for, and I suggest that we do that after we leave Panajachel. In addition to traveling for this purpose, there are some other trips I would like to take: perhaps two into the Eastern part of the Republic that we don't know at all. (These trips conceivably would change our plans for next year.) In the first place, I would like to see some of these towns in which there are supposedly no Indians; in the second place, I would like to see some towns that had (in the old days and may still have) non-Maya speaking Indians. If there are Indians there yet (as I suspect there are) a study of one of their towns might help us to isolate Spanish and Maya factors.

Therefore I suggest that we spend some time on traveling when we leave here. I also suggest that we use the Capital for a base, not only for geographical reasons, but because there are two jobs I think it is high time I did there. One job is that of collecting data from Government offices, etc. annual reports, and so on, for I think that Departments such as those of

Education, Health, Agriculture, have done more good work than I have thought. Another job I want to do is to get some good lawyer to go over Guatemalan Law and Constitution with me, I am fairly burning with questions. If we should do all this before we leave the country (and I think we should) I think we would have to remain in the country three or four weeks after we leave Panajachel.

Then there is still another thing. We have on various occasions talked to people who have made the trip from Guatemala to the States by train, going through Mexico of course. Since we have exhausted possibilities of learning anything from the sea-voyage, we have been thinking about the Mexican trip. Don't you think that if we take such a trip with an itinerary suggested by you that we would learn a lot of use to us in this field? We would like to take about two weeks for the trip, so we could see some Mexican villages, depending upon you for more specific plans. I mentioned this to Dr. Kidder and he was rather enthusiastic. He says it wouldn't cost much more, and he also said that if our budget cannot stand it, he would supply some extra. Yours will be the really expert opinion, however, and we await it.

Dr. Kidder asked me my plans for publications; I told him what I had written you, and after a little discussion, I promised him the following -- before coming to the field again, if possible: About three publishable articles, one for Maya Research, one for the Anthropologist, and one for the local Annals. If they are not published by those journals, the Institution would publish them in its Papers. Also, two comprehensive manuscripts on our work to date, one on Chichicastenango and the other on the lake. These would not be published, since I would prefer to keep revising them, but they would be filed. Since I shall do my best to keep my promise, I am looking forward to a busy summer. At least I shall be more or less up to date before starting out again.

I realize that plans for staying in the country longer might upset your

budget calculations; that will be enough to upset them, of course. But on the other hand I have been telling myself that if we are here longer this Spring and summer, we will be here correspondingly less in the Fall, so it should come out even.

There has been so much to say about future plans that I haven't said much about our work now. We have a very solid foundation now for our work in Panajachel, and it is going along very smoothly; I have little doubt that we shall come home with a better study than we have of Chichicastenango. We have gotten into things better than in Chichicastenango -- we have more friends -- we have a better opportunity to study ceremonial life, since I am welcomed into cofradias, etc. This is all besides the help that Rosales gives me on more objective features of the culture. There is nothing I can think of to complain about!

Best regards to everybody.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

April 20, 1936

Dear Sol:

I will write briefly in reply to your letter of April 14th, but answer your principal enquiries at once.

First, I approve the employment of Rosales to do ethnological work for you at \$100 for four months, during your absence. You may commit the budget to this expense. This is in addition to a commitment of \$100, to be provided to Rosales for linguistic texts he is to furnish Andrade. You do not say just what you will have Rosales do for you, but I assume that is clear in your mind and that you will inform me. I suggest a definite arrangement with Rosales

as to how he is to spend his time, and how he is to report and send the materials he collects. He sounds like a good bet, and I am delighted that you have found him.

Second, I strongly recommend that you make some exploratory trips into other parts of Guatemala before you leave the country this year. I doubt that you can make more than two trips out of the Capital in the time that you have allowed yourself. Can you make the trips you want to make, and maintain yourself in Guatemala City between trips and while collecting the material you want to get there, at a cost of \$200 additional to the regular monthly maintenance allowance that is now provided you? If so, you may consider this money as available.

Third, I am favorable to the idea of a return through Mexico, provided you are not disinclined to the exertion (I understand the trip by rail is uncomfortable), and provided the cost is not too great. Can we not leave decision on this point until May? In another two weeks I shall have information on Andrade's estimated expenditures for the rest of the year. Can you let me know the cost of return by rail as compared with return by boat?

I defer, therefore, full discussion of a possible route. At first consideration I would recommend a stay of a few days in a Oaxaca village, and thereafter trips from around Mexico City to several different kinds of communities. Mrs. Parsons' book on Mitla is now in type; I could send you the galley proofs and you could read them while traveling to or staying in the village she describes.

Your plans for publication strike me as excellent. Certainly we must keep the ordering of data abreast of its collection. I should think that the preparation of the three articles, and of tentative manuscripts on Chichicastenango and the lake villages, should be accomplished before return to the field and that the program for next season be set so that this determination to accomplish can and will be adhered to.

It is probably not useful to continue by mail either our discussion of the role of extensive survey, or of the social organization -- social sentiments -- personal relations problem. You will find me hard to argue out of the position that intensive and extensive field work should be combined!

I come to small business. Have you any information on pisotes or squirrels in religious ritual? You remember we saw these animals (stuffed), hanging together with fruits, before the santos in the cofradia houses. I am collecting information on pisotes in Middle American festal ritual. And is there any ritual or ceremony involved in fetching or planting the poles for the voladores? Is the voladores not practiced in the lake villages? And are there any "sacred clowns" in any of the festal dances, and if so, what are they like, and what are they called?

I am to collect bibliography published in 1935 on Middle American ethnology and sociology and to summarize field work done in Middle America in that year for an "Annual of Latin-American Research." Do you know of any field work being done in Guatemala besides your own, and have you encountered local papers or other publications that I ought to know about?

As I complete this letter there arrives your "Journal" for March 13-April 4, with news of the work done in kinship systems. Congratulation!

Will you please bring me six, large-sized San Pedro shirts, in a variety of handsome colors?

You will be pleased to hear that Alfonso Villa is getting on well, established with his wife in a little house in Tusik, and is sending in good materials, including full genealogical tables.

All well here, and without important event. Saludes a su muy estimada señora.

Sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

April 26, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I shall answer the business in your air-mail of the 20th first. I have not yet completed an outline of the work we are going to leave with Juan Rosales; I am expending considerable thought on that, since we want to make the best of the opportunity. I may outline some of my conclusions to date:

1. Working with him, I have been making up a number of very intensive schedules covering most parts of the culture, and to be filled out with information from a good sample of the households. These I am filling in as much as I can, more to perfect the schedules than to get the information. One of his chief jobs will be to get these schedules filled in for households which I am specifying, I might say that if we succeed in this, we will have carried the schedule method in ethnology a dozen times farther than it has ever been carried. As you know, I have great confidence in it, and this should be a test for us. If my schedules tell us enough about what we want to know about Panajachel culture to make them obviously worth the time and trouble, they will not only justify the method itself, but indicate how a relatively untrained assistant can be employed to good advantage.
2. I am making a list of very specific assignments of a non-objective nature. For example, I find, in the course of my work, that the Moro dance hasn't been given here for some forty years, and that there is at least one man here who participated in it the last time. An interview with that man, to get a description not only of the dance as he remembers it, but also some light to find out why it hasn't

been given since, is called for. I haven't time for that, and besides I should have to do it through an interpreter; it is one of the things assigned to Rosales. There are naturally, a number of such; Rosales can use the informant method in a case like this safely, because he has a specific job and an understanding of a particular situation.

3. I am going to take advantage of Rosales to do certain things thoroughly that will probably do for a good part of the country. Thus, two of his jobs will be to get complete ethno-botanies and ethno-zoologies, with samples for identification, etc., names in local Spanish and in the lengua, and what folklore is connected with each. This is the sort of job he can do very well with a minimum of training. Another job he will do for me is to grow an experimental milpa that we are designing together. Starting in about a week, he will take temperatures and rainfall-data daily, then plant his milpa (in a variety of ways), number each of the plants, and keep track of them at certain intervals, with measurements, etc. There are a lot of local beliefs about agriculture that I would like to test; the Indians should know something after all these years, but maybe they are less scientific than they think.

4. He has helped me considerably in getting the local kinship system, and he appreciates the difficulties involved; he also acted as interpreter in my one attempt at Sta. Catarina. I think he is capable of getting other kinship terms. I shall leave that job with him, therefore, and expect him to get hold of people from other towns when he has the opportunity. He knows from our experience together that one informant is insufficient, and I can trust him to work until he

gets the systems straight.

5. I intend to leave him a lot of miscellaneous jobs concerning other towns -- material for comparisons with Panajachel, etc.

In all, I am planning to give him more work than he can possibly do in the time at his disposal. I shall figure out a system of paying him -- probably having Bennett send him checks -- and for his sending material to me, probably by registered mail. Meanwhile, of course, we shall be in correspondence, and he shall send me reports of how he is spending his time. I may have him keep a diary such as Alfonso had, but at the same time including statements of work done.

I have been training and teaching Rosales as much as I have been able to, and am all the time more pleased with him. I want to send him a few books from the City -- not on Guatemala or the Maya, but, say, on the History of Science, for I think he will take well to its inspiration.

After the first of the month I shall be able to write more accurately about our financial status. I expect that this month of April will use up almost all of the funds that have thus far been advanced, and that we shall need some \$100 more to complete our stay in Panajachel. (This is a minimum estimate.) For our stay in the Captial and the trips we want to take, I think we can manage on the \$260 that you say is available to us. This would not include any considerable expense entailed in getting a lawyer to outline for me Guatemalan Law and Constitution; if there is no money for that, and if it turns out to be an expensive business, I shall not do it now -- although I should like to.

I shall defer more discussion of business because I want to answer your other questions.

PISOTES and Squirrels: Aside from the Pisotes which are stuffed and used as adornment in the cofradia houses (in Chichicastenango, Atitlan, S. Pedro),

some pisotes are used while still alive for similar purposes. For example, in Atitlan during Semana Santa -- or Good Friday, at least, when we were there -- there was a decorated square archway in the Church plaza; and there was a live pisote allowed to run back and forth on the horizontal bar at the top. Stuffed squirrels are used in the cofradia adornments in Chichicastenango and San Pedro. (In S. Pedro, stuffed armadillos are also used in the same way.) In Panajachel stuffed squirrels, and the tails of squirrels are used in the Dance of the Negritos (given Corpus Cristi): the dancers (who are all clowns except one) carry them as toys, often holding the stuffed squirrels in their arms as if they were babies. The tail of the squirrel is placed as a moustache or beard on the masks of the dancers.

**CLOWNS in Sacred Dances:** This pattern is well established; the general term used for clowns is payasos, but usually they are referred to by their particular dances. (Incidentally, pisotes and squirrels are considered clownish animals, so their presence in cofradias and dances may be part of the same thing.) I shall enumerate the dances where I know they occur; it can be taken for granted that the dance is practically the same regardless of the town in which it is given, since (in this part of the country at least) the masks and costumes all come from Totonicapan and are rented from the same company by all of the towns, and since teachers of the dances are imported from one town to another.

Dance of the Conquista. This must be one of the most widespread dances, but I know for certain that it is now regularly given in Chichicastenango, Panajachel, Santa Catarina, San Antonio, Atitlán, and San Pedro. (I must point out that often a dance is allowed to lapse in a town for years, and is then revived; I should not be surprised if in all towns all dances have been given at one time or another -- so that distribution-maps of dances

wouldn't mean much.)

In this dance there is only one clown, the brujo, whose chief business seems to be to tease and annoy the dancers who represent Spaniards.

Dance of the Torritos. This is also very common; I know it is given in Chichicastenango, Panajachel, San Antonio, and San Pedro. There is one character called caxuxa (Spanish symbols) the meaning of which I do not know. This dancer wears a mask with a grinning mouth, and plays the part of a mimic.

Dance of the Moros. I have seen it only in Sta. Cruz del Quiche and didn't get data on clowns, if any.

Dance of San Miguelito. This is given in Chichicastenango, and until some ten years ago was given in Panajachel. In this dance the only clowns are two micos, of which more below.

Dance of the Venados (sometimes called -- of the Micos). This is a very popular dance around the Lake. It is given in the titular fiestas of Panajachel, San Antonio, S. Pedro, S. Juan, S. Marcos, Sta. Cruz that I know of.

It happens that yesterday was the Fiesta of San Marcos, and we saw this dance there. Half of the characters (Micos, Perros, Tigres, and Liones) were clowns whose chief business seemed to be fool around. The micos (they are rarely monos) were by far the most flagrant clowns, and they were special pests to me, so I can speak of them with passion. There were two of them, young boys of about twelve or fifteen, dressed in black with black tails and monkey-masks. They hardly ever bothered to dance with the rest, but spent most of their time fooling with the other dancers and with the spectators; they were good clowns, as a matter of fact, remaining always mute and getting what they wanted (including cigarettes from me)

by appropriate motions. They induced a number of laughs from the spectators, and, like court jesters, were allowed privileges that out of their roles they would not have dared ask for. The other clowns were tame beside them, and only on rare occasions departed from the dance. Micos, in all dances where they occur, are clowns.

Dance of the Negritos. I heard of this in Chichicastenango, and I know it is given in Panajachel, but have not seen it. The Negritos are men dressed and masked in black, head to foot. In Chichicastenango, in the dance of the Torritos, one or two Negritos occasionally "come out", and are clowns; in this dance, however, all of the characters except the Chief of the dance are Negritos, and all of the Negritos are clowns (using stuffed squirrels, as mentioned above).

In San Pedro la Laguna there is a dance somewhat corresponding to this, given at the fiesta of Concepcion. The dancers are not black-men, however, but instead they are dressed in costumes of other towns; Solola, Chichicastenango, Nahualá, Santa Catarina Palopo, San Pablo la Laguna, and Totnicapán. Only men dance (in all the dances I have seen) but here some of them have feminine costumes of these towns. (In the Venado dance, one man yesterday played the part of a woman, too.) In this dance all of the dancers are clowns. I do not know what this dance is called in S. Pedro; but there is a corresponding dance at Concepción given in Chichicastenango -- also with clothes of surrounding towns -- and this is called Convite (although I don't know why).

Dance of the Voladores. This is often called Micos Voladores, and the dancers are micos, and thus clowns.

The voladores that we saw in Quejel last year apparently aren't a fair sample. In Chichicastenango, up until a few years ago, the dance was given

in the Plaza, with all the trimmings; it is also given that I know of, in Sta. Apolonia (Chimaltenango) and in San Pedro la Laguna. In its real form it is apparently pretty uniform, but the description I have is from S. Pedro, checked by Chichicastenango and Sta. Apolonia observers.

In San Pedro the dance is given for the Titular fiesta, in the Plaza. Rather it was given there, for it hasn't occurred for some seven or eight years ( and Sta. Apolonia is apparently the only place around here where it can still be witnessed, although there is no reason to believe it is abandoned permanently elsewhere). I shall write as though it still goes on in S. Pedro.

The pole is some 30 meters long; a new one is cut each year, but the other paraphernalia is kept from year to year. Two or three weeks before the fiesta, the dancers go to the monte for the pole, and take with them a zajorín; before they leave, he does "costumbres" (meaning prayers, candles, incense) for a safe journey -- this in the house where they meet to go. When they choose a tree to cut, he does costumbres again before the cutting, and during the cutting and cleaning. The pole is cut with an ax and cleaned right there. The pole is carried to town then, often with the chief mico riding it.

In town they then dig a hole, to the accompaniment of the zajorín's costumbres (part of which, I forgot to mention, is aguardiente, of which all partake and some is usually put in the hole). The pole is then raised, and for the next few weeks continually guarded, the dancers taking turns (in couples) sleeping there. During the next weeks the apparatus is put up, but with no more costumbres.

A week before the dance, the costumes and masks are brought from Totonicapan, and each dancer keeps his clothes in his house. Two days before the day of the fiesta, all of the dancers come, carrying their costumes, to the

house of their leader. The clothes are placed on a large mat, and the zajorín does costumbres, and all drink aguardiente. At midnight the dancers put on their costumes and masks (they are all micos) and go to the Church, where the zajorín in their presence does costumbres before the patron santo.

Then, towards morning, they go out to the pole, and begin to dance; they keep it up for about two weeks, going also to various homes to dance (without the pole, of course). During the Fiesta, others besides the micos may climb the pole, etc.

As to your bibliography, I have little to offer; aside from our work, and that of McBryde (which was begun in 1935) I don't recall any ethnological work. This year Miss O'Neale is here but that doesn't count. If you don't remember, McBryde is F. W. (for Webster), and he is working (having arrived about November 1, 1935) on Trade Routes, Agriculture, Industries, etc., and, in general, "human geography", for a Ph.D. thesis under Sauer of California. That little paper of mine was published in 1935 in Three Americas, and that is all that I know of that was published on Guatemala (although I think Goubaud's paper on the Waxaquip Bats of Momostenango was published in the local Annals of the Soc. of Geog. and Hist. in that year).

We shall take care of your S. Pedro shirts, with pleasure.

Best regards from both of us to you, your family, and people around and about.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

233  
292

April 30, 1936

Dear Sol:

Thank you for your letter of April 26th, with the excellent information on pisotes, clowns and voladores. I am assembling comparative information with which to relate the Yucatecan Maya ceremony in which a festal buffoon, called pisote, <sup>is</sup> mounts a tree ceremoniously fetched and raised.

Your program for Rosales sounds excellent.

I have asked to have \$500 deposited to your Detroit account. This will be done about May 7th. This will cover your further expenses in Panajachel, those involved in your work in and around the capital, and a little more. As soon as I hear from you in regard to the expenses of a return trip, a decision can be reached on this part of your immediate program, and further necessary funds provided.

Thank you also for your reminder on bibliography and current work.

All good wishes,

Robert Redfield

May 5, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... There is no reliable source of travel information in Guatemala City, but Mr. Bennett kindly offered me enough figures to make an estimate of expenditures for a trip home through Mexico. It appears that if we should travel straight through from Guatemala City -- making no stop-overs or side-trips in Mexico -- we should have to spend just about the same that a boat trip home would cost: that is, about \$300.00. You know Mexican hotel and travel rates, and you can yourself estimate how much additional would be required to make whatever stop-overs and trips in Mexico that you deem desirable. The

decision will have to be your own, therefore.

We are perfectly willing -- even anxious -- to take the trip through Mexico, with whatever discomforts are necessary. However, we should not like to be dynamited into a ravine in the middle of the night; I think you are probably well posted on the political situation in Mexico, and we should appreciate your informing us before we start out (if we do) about the chances of running into a revolution.

Before going back to Guatemala City at the end of this month, we are planning to go West, to the Departamento of San Marcos, to visit what towns we can; from there we shall go to the City, passing through Chichicastenango and probably stopping at some other towns (I am thinking chiefly of Santa Apolonia) to see what there is to be seen. We shall reach the Capital probably on the second of June.

The work is coming along very well -- heading toward the deadline three weeks from today.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

May 16, 1936

Dear Sol:

.... I do not think the personal danger in Mexico is enough to be considered. I suggest that you stop first in Oaxaca and make a trip to Mitla. I will send you page proofs of Mrs. Parsons' book to read before you reach Oaxaca. If you find you have time and money, visit some other community in Oaxaca. When you reach Mexico City, I suggest that you visit Teotihuacan (the ruins) and stay there long enough to walk through some of the villages in the neighborhood. Make a trip to Cuernavaca, staying there one night, and visit some village. Tepoztlan, I am told, is now accessible by regular bus. This

would be cheap, but uncomfortable. I suggest Tepoztlan, because, like Mitla, you would know something about the place, and because it is very beautiful. Let me know what you think.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

Guatemala [City], 8 de Junio de 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... We had a very hard, but I think good trip West; the chief result is to convince me that there is no use starting to work in San Marcos next year. I think that the area including most of the Department of San Marcos and practically all of Huehuetenango will have to be opened by a mule-pack expedition, and it can wait a few years. The places that can be reached by automobile are few and comparatively unimportant.

Otherwise, and except in details, we didn't see anything in our jaunt to change our notions of Guatemala. We still want to make a few trips from the City here, especially one to the East, before we return home. It has begun to rain pretty hard and steadily now (today all day, for instance) and this may keep us bound to the City more than we had expected; that isn't so bad, however, for we have much to do here.

You will perhaps be as disappointed as we are to hear that we have decided not to go through Mexico on the way home -- to postpone this until we come back or until some other convenient time. The chief reason for this is personal: my father has been very ill (heart) and aside from our wanting to get back a little sooner, the family seems to believe that he will worry too much over us on an extended journey. Another reason for postponing Mexico is the rain: remembering our Barrios experience, we don't like to chance a long trip on

the Coast in this, apparently the heaviest, rainy season -- it is not impossible that we should be stuck somewhere for a week while washouts are being repaired.

We shall probably take the Tivives on June 21st, Barrios to New Orleans, and shall see you sometime before the end of the month. Meanwhile we are both well and, after more than five months away, enjoying the alegre City. Our best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

June 11, 1936

Dr. Sol Tax  
Carnegie Institution of Washington  
12 Calle Oriente #7  
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Dear Sol:

Yes, I have natural regret that you are not returning through Mexico. But I well understand the circumstances which cause you to change your plans. And we can look forward to your coming or going through Mexico on some other occasion. Your letter came in time to prevent me from mailing you the page proof of Mrs. Parsons' book, which you can now wait to read until it is published this summer.

I am looking forward with much pleasure to a reunion with you and Gertrude this summer. You will find me at Windy Pines out in the country. There are a great many things to talk over with you. I think especially of the planning of writing the preliminary manuscripts, the outlining of work for next year, and the consideration of a possible field job that I might take as a contributor to the Guatemalan project next spring. I am still interested in the Ladino groups, and would like your advice as to what field work I could do that would

bear upon some of the problems you are engaged in defining.

If you do not come back through Mexico, and if you realize a substantial sum from the sale of the boat (which I believe will redound to our own budget) there is a possibility that we might bring Jennings to the field in the spring, should you still think that advisable.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

Windy Pines, Glenview, Ill.

July 1st [1936]

Dear Sol:

Are you back? Will you and your Gertrude pay us a visit in July, staying over night? The little guest house will be free to receive you any time after July tenth. Let us know.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

2977 North Bartlett Ave.  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

July 6, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield,

Your letter of last week finally reached me this morning.

.... We can come to see you on Friday, Saturday, or any day next week, at your convenience. Thank you for your invitation, but since we are so close it will be more convenient all 'round if we drive down early in the morning and come back in the late afternoon or evening if that is all right with you.

I have bethought myself of a contribution to the Yearbook, and if those things are still being written, I shall have about a thousand words for you

when we come down.

Please write and tell me what day would be convenient for you; we both look forward very much to a reunion.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

Windy Pines  
July seventh [1936]

Dear Sol:

Friday would suit us very well. Unless I hear from you again, we shall expect you Friday forenoon, as early as you care to come. We shall expect you to stay for lunch and supper, returning after supper.

.... A thousand words for the Yearbook is just what I am looking for. Please bring them along. I have written another thousand, on Yucatan, to go with them.

Hasta la vista.

Robert Redfield

Friday

Dear Sol:

I am sorry that it was your sad loss of your father that prevented your coming today. Here are my sympathies, and a declaration of my friendship with you, which I hope always to have, and shall always value.

Please write me when you think you and Gertrude will be able to come. Thursdays and Sundays are bad days for us to receive visitors; with occasional exceptions, the other days are favorable.

I should like to talk over with you, also, the projected book on culture and civilization in Yucatan....

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

July 13, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Thank you very much for your kind letter.

In accordance with the Jewish custom I must be home for a week. Tuesday will be our first opportunity to come to Windy Pines, and if it is all right with you we shall come Tuesday morning.

Since I suppose that it is due very soon, I am enclosing the Yearbook report; if it isn't satisfactory I can make any changes you suggest.

I hope that this finds you all well.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

July 16, 1936

Dear Sol:

Would Friday, July 24th, be convenient to you for your visit to Windy Pines? That would be a little better for us than Tuesday.

The statement for the Yearbook is excellent; I will include it just as it is.

We are all well, thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Redfield

July 21, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Friday will suit us fine.

We shall be in Glenview between ten and eleven your time.

I am not forgetting to bring the San Pedro shirts that you ordered.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

August 1, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... Our work is progressing; I have received a letter from Blom welcoming the article I suggested, and I am pointing to that as First Fruit.

We both enjoyed our visit with you; it is always a great pleasure for us to come to Windy Pines.

We wish you all a good and happy vacation-trip!

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

August 22, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I have to report that Gertrude and I drove to Rochester, to the Mayo Clinic, on Tuesday the 11th; we stayed there eight days. You will be glad to hear that there is nothing organically wrong with her head (no brain tumor or anything of the sort); the doctors decided that some kind of muscular strain upset things and caused these curious sensations. They said that the sensations would leave her before many months pass; and indeed with the elimination of the mental hazard (worry about it) Gertrude feels a lot better already and we are not worrying at all.

I consider that our trip was very profitable (though not financially!) since Gertrude's condition seemed to be getting worse rather than better (probably due to increasing worry about it). The loss of time we shall call Vacation.

The Mexican Consul here(an American), in response to an inquiry about a Spanish translator, referred me to the girl in his office. She is an American married to a Peruvian and, since Rosales' material is very simple, I think she will be able to translate it as fast as she can typewrite. I am trying her out

on one portion. If she can help us to catch up in a short time, that will be sufficient, since then we can easily keep up with Rosales' weekly reports.

I hope you have had/ are having/ will have a pleasant vacation.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

August 27, 1936

Dear Sol:

I am glad that the diagnosis of Gertrude's trouble relieved your anxiety. I hope that it will soon relieve the discomfort. She must take enough rest in the coming months to insure a complete recovery so that she can return to Guatemala in the best of health.

Correspondence with Dr. Kidder is tending toward a decision that I go to Guatemala in the spring. There are, however, a good many hurdles to be got over first.

I am glad that you have found some one to do the translation. If she proves efficient, I heartily recommend that you make use of her.

Will you look over the enclosed note from Miss Telling and return it with any comments you have. Of course, I am perfectly sure that no one will put anything over on you as suggested in this communication. These absurd situations are frequently developed. I still remember with mixed feelings the man in Yucatan who provided me with marvelous Maya stories excelling the Chilam Balam in interest. He thinks to this day that I believed they were genuine and is probably quite happy.

We returned day before yesterday from our trip to Canada. Yes, thank you, we had a splendid time away from everything and everybody.

Sincerely yours,

RR

August 28, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am returning the note from Miss Telling; if you have occasion, will you please tell her that I very much appreciate her interest?

Miss Telling's information is hardly a surprise; I am a bit shocked, however, to know that the story referred to has received wide circulation. On the other hand, it sounds like such good advance publicity that I might consider writing a best-seller on Chichicastenango.

The occasion referred to I think I have mentioned to you (when you were in Chichicastenango). We had been less than two weeks there, and I had Tomas Ventura on the payroll to get me informants. One that he got me was a certain young shaman, and he had given me the calendar (which was correct) and demonstrated his divining (I don't know how correctly, since with a subsequent half-dozen shamans I never got information that I consider at all satisfactory), and I know for a fact that he is indeed a shaman. A few days after we met, he invited me to a mountain altar where, he said, he had to perform rites for a sick patient.

The ritual followed a pattern which we have seen many times since -- lighting candles, burning incense, and reciting prayers. The boy actually talked fast and steadily for about twenty minutes. Obviously, I could not understand him, or take a text, and I got only such words as 'Dios, Jesu Cristo, and the name of the person he had told me was the patient. You can see that there cannot be a question of my being fooled; if the whole thing was "faked", then the boy certainly did the business just about as he would have if it had been genuine. Maybe he gave the wrong speech, but then he was putting himself to needless trouble, since I didn't understand anyway. Maybe there was no sick patient, but the joke wouldn't be on me, then, because I really don't care. I gave the

boy ten cents for his trouble, since his patient was paying for the materials, and if it was a put up job the boy cheated himself financially by about a nickle anyway.

Our indiscretion was in mentioning our experience to the Rohrmanns, and it was an indiscretion never repeated; soon afterward tourists asked us if we weren't the ones referred to as having been fooled! It seems to have become a favorite story since. We know now that the Rohrmanns are (1) gabbers and (2) fools, and I don't consider that there is any real malice felt in their saying such things. I don't think there is much to do about it since the Rohrmanns get everything mixed up, and to say something would be to invite more trouble. As far as I am concerned I am content to let what I shall write answer such idle talk.

I do not yet know how our translator will work out. I gave her one batch of 75 pages and I shall be able to judge when that is finished. Meanwhile, Gertrude has gone ahead with the translation of Rosales' diary; since she wants to do it all, we shall probably use the translator only until we are caught up.

Gertrude, by the way, continues to feel well, and we are getting on with our work.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

October 1, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Enclosed is a copy of a paper I have prepared for Maya Research. I have the original here, but before I send it, I want you to read the copy (which you can thereupon keep) and send me any suggestions or make any corrections.

If you think it's all <sup>too</sup> punk to go through the mail, you can be sure I shall be glad to hear it.

I have received Mitla, but have had no chance to look at it. I wonder if I am indebted to you for the book, or do all our Ph.D's get them, or do I owe somebody \$4.00?

I shall send you our expense account later. Our translator has done pretty well; she has, thus far, translated 225 pages and earned \$45; meanwhile Gertrude has gotten up to date on the Diary -- a matter of 200 pages -- so we are getting along with that.

We have been keeping ourselves extremely busy; hence the lack of news from this quarter.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

[P.S.] You may wonder why I have not included bibliographic material in this Introduction. I did not because (1) the paper was finally conceived, as you will see, otherwise; (2) my mastery of the literature isn't by any means complete and library facilities (although I have added considerably to my bibliography) are not sufficient; and (3) I intend to write another paper devoted to work done.

October 5, 1936

Dear Sol:

Your paper is good. I hope that Blom does not delay in publishing it. It seems to me you open the subject as it should be opened. There follow some suggestions for its improvement. Minor points are raised in the form of pencil notations on the margin of the manuscript which I am returning.

1. I believe that you have brought out the important essential facts

necessary to be understood before planning anthropological research in Guatemala. But most anthropological readers will expect something else from your article: a summary of the most widespread culture patterns (beliefs, rituals, institutions, etc.) of the natives. Do you think you should change the title to "An Introduction to the Social Anthropology of Guatemala?" Or, instead, in your introductory paragraph, make a little clearer that you are not, in this article, dealing with the other subject, and why.

2. Page 5. Should something be said as to the existence of language (not dialect) groups -- Quiche, Cakchiquel, etc., and as to the coincidence of these groupings with groupings of municipios? Perhaps a sentence reporting the trend of Andrade's work as it bears on the confirmation or revision of the traditionally accepted linguistic groupings, would be appropriate.

3. Would it be well to mention by name municipios illustrating the classes you propose?

4. Page 10. Would not the ladino-indio matter appear more clearly if you indicated the extent to which the criteria of social race (language, costume, culture) tend to coincide in the same individuals? You might indicate sorts of marginal cases that exist, i.e., when, if ever, it is not apparent to which racial group an individual belongs, and why.

5. You might include a statement that surname is, or is not, an element in defining race, in view of the fact that there are parts of Middle America where it is an important factor, even the important factor.

6. Page 11, footnote 10. Is it not true, at least in parts of the Highlands, that ladinos are on the whole more town-dwelling and less rural than Indians? The footnote reads as if ladinos and Indians exhibited no difference whatever as to place of settlement.

7. Conclusion 2 might include, I should think, the observation that any

ethnological work in a municipio in which ladinos also live, would be handicapped by an artificial restriction of subject matter to the Indians alone.

8. The last sentence (beginning with "in these cases") of the paragraph numbered "1", on page 21 is not clear to me, or to others to whom I have shown it. I think it should be rewritten.

9. When, on page 22, you introduce the cofrades, the un<sup>in</sup>formed reader is not prepared. A short statement as to the nature of the cofradia might be inserted.

10. The point you make is good, that the formal organization is so complete and pervasive that neighborhood groups, organized to express opinion or to act, are unnecessary. However, I think the point should be set out at greater length. Consider expanding, and illustrating, the paragraph at the top of page 30.

11. I think you owe it to your reader to state upon how much residence in Guatemala, and upon what degree of acquaintance with how wide a geographic range of municipios, your statement is based.

12. It seems to me that too much of your text has been relegated to footnotes. Many of your footnotes (no. 25, for example) could be revised and included in the text. This would make for smoother reading.

Mitla was sent you with the compliments of the author and the Department of Anthropology as one of those persons who are interested in the field represented by the book. You owe nobody for it....

Are you planning next to write a paper which will evaluate the existing literature, or are you working on the two monographs?

In one of my drawers I found the original drawings Harrington made of the diagrams used in your thesis. I am returning them to you thinking that you might sometime need them in connection with publications.

I hope that your Gertrude has continued making an improvement in her health

and that she is now feeling well.

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

October 6, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Your letter, with my manuscript, was received today; also, those drawings of Harrington's.

.... I didn't mean to burden you with a proof-reading job; I am sorry for all the small ~~errors~~ and appreciate your pointing them out. I am also taking care of your major suggestions (for which I need hardly say I am grateful) and tomorrow I shall send you a copy of the revised paper -- again before sending it to Mr. Blom

I have only one objection to your objections: all of them call for adding just a bit here or there or taking something out of foot-notes and putting it into the text. Now, although Mr. Blom didn't limit my space, I don't want to fill a whole number, and my object while I was writing the paper was to cut to the bone wherever I could. Several of the foot-notes were first part of the text, and when I was cutting I considered carefully and decided in each case that their importance wasn't quite up to that of the surrounding paragraphs. In accordance with your opinion, I shall reconsider all doubtful cases, but I cannot promise to agree with you in any. I shall, however, make all of the small additions that you suggest, because I think you are quite right about every one. (You may find that some will come back to you in footnotes, however, for which I beg to be excused.)

I am leaving the paper evaluating the existing literature until next month, when I hope to get to more literature in Chicago. At the moment I am working

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on my monograph(s) -- in one or two parts, I don't know yet -- and also on another general article, for the Anthropologist. I have it well outlined, and it sounds as if it will be pretty good. It will probably be called "The municipio in Guatemala" and it will be filled with specific ethnological information tending to establish the municipios as the cultural units and to describe them. It will not be much repetition of this one, since it will begin where this article (at one point) leaves off. If it doesn't sound so good to you, please let me know and I shall write in more detail.

I hope that you are not becoming impatient for written results; I am afraid those monographs won't be in any sort of condition much before the first of the year; but I hope to have several of these articles out in the meantime. If I can get one article out each month now, in addition to working on the other stuff and taking care of Rosales' work, etc., I think that I shall be satisfied.

Best regards to everybody in the Department, and our best wishes for a happy and successful schoolyear.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

October 7, 1936

Dear Sol:

.... As I wrote down the suggestions about your manuscript, I realized the objection to my objections which you mention: that many of my proposals would call for expanding the manuscript. I am sure that you will know which of my suggestions it is worthwhile to pay attention to.

I am not in the least impatient for further written results of your work. I think you are doing splendidly and are setting a level of attainment which I

will find it very difficult to come up to, should I participate in the field work during the coming year.

I think the paper you propose for the Anthropologist sounds excellent.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Redfield

October 8, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Here is that MS again. It is longer by almost two pages, but could, I think, be worse. You will notice especially that I have rewritten the first page, taking care of several of your objections and suggestions. I think it is much better this way.

I have added two paragraphs (page 7) to take care of your second suggestion and a little bit more. The second of these paragraphs contains more implied criticism of previous work in the field than is found anywhere in the paper, but I think it is quite justified.

I passed over your suggestion to mention by name municipios to exemplify the types I set up. In my projected paper for the Anthropologist I shall go into the matter thoroughly, of course, and you notice that in this Introduction I have studiously avoided place-names and other such details. Perhaps you do not think this wise; if not, I shall insert names.

Thank you for the tip about sur-names; I have added that criterion. I have also added two paragraphs suggested by your point number 4. The second of these goes beyond it, but I think it is an observation worthy of being made.

I have fixed up the matter referred to in your point 6. It is now the first paragraph on page 12a. I have also added the sentence you suggest for conclusion 2; I highly approve and can't even think of better wording.

I have re-written the sentence involved in your No. 8. I pass over your suggestion 10, however; I hope I can do something more on it later, but meanwhile I feel that for present purposes to make the point is sufficient.

If you think I am very wrong, however....

I have reduced the footnotes by eleven, and added one on the experience upon which the paper is based.

I would appreciate more suggestions for improvements, and am holding the Blom copy of the MS until I hear from you again. Many, many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

October 9, 1936

Dear Sol:

The paper has my blessing. Imprimatur!

Some day we shall certainly have to attack the problem you so briefly point out at the top of page 30, and in Conclusion 5. The statement, in the footnote on page 30, that "it sometimes takes days for even important news to circulate," is extremely interesting. I think a very significant comparative investigation could and should be made to answer the question, What is news? How does it circulate? How does it contribute to the formation of consensus and determine action? In Chan Kom people may not hear of the birth of a neighbor's child for days; the matter is not sufficiently important. But should Don Eus start, secretly, for another village on an errand of possible political consequence, the news gets around the village in no time. How would it be in Santa Catarina?

Next in line is, I suppose, the Anthropologist paper. Looking forward to it with great interest, I am

As ever,

Robert Redfield

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October 19, 1936

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I quote from a letter received this morning from Mr. Herring:

"We are now making our plans for the second venture, sailing from New Orleans on January 20. We would very much appreciate some help from you although we will not lean so heavily as we did last year. Our first venture was financially disastrous. We are hoping to pull through alive this year. We can offer you fifty dollars for some work ...."

May I tell Mr. Herring that if I am in Guatemala and in a position to help him at that time, I shall be glad to do so? I mean, will the Institution approve?

We are planning to live in Chicago, starting about November first. I really need the library, and (besides) would like to be closer to headquarters and, perhaps, imbibe a little at the Fountain.

Everything is coming along well here and with Rosales. The Institution is now the possessor of some good, black, Panajachel beans fresh out of the Experimental Milpa.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

October 21, 1936

Dear Sol:

Certainly you may tell Mr. Herring that you are able to help him with his Guatemalan seminar if you wish to go into it again.

I am glad that you are coming to Chicago in November. It now seems very probable that I shall go to Guatemala in the spring and I want very much to talk over with you what I might hope to do in a short period of field work that would

be useful to the developing project.

I saw Dr. Kidder in Cambridge last week. The financial situation for next year looks favorable. He plans, with my consent, to invest the \$1,000 set aside in the budget this year for a truck in the purchase of a station wagon. This will be at the service of any of us who wish to use it during the coming season. We may buy the chassis in Los Angeles and have the body built in Guatemala. At any rate, it will be possible to change the body of a truck or some other form that might prove more useful for survey purposes later.

As I look at our financial statement for this year it seems to me that we should purchase equipment this year rather than next. Specifically, I urge you to secure your camera and other materials before the end of this year. It will also probably prove wise to buy transportation to Guatemala out of the unexpended balance of this year's budget. Are you considering the possibility of returning to Guatemala by way of Mexico?

Looking forward to seeing you before long and perhaps to eating Panajachel bean soup, I am

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

1937

Detroit, Michigan  
January 9, 1937

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... We are entraining for Philadelphia Sunday evening, arriving there sometime Monday. Our ship (the Tela) sails, you remember, Tuesday morning.

I have been rather upset <sup>here</sup> with shopping, packing, and other preparations, and I haven't quite got to sending you that bibliographic article; I hope that

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(with a smooth voyage) I can send it back with the ship. I shall also try to get those Social Organization articles to you very soon.

Please address me next care of the office in Guatemala City: you know we shall be there about a week, and shall try to find a town that looks promising for study in Eastern Guatemala.

I hope you are all well; this weather has got us down a bit, and we are glad to be off to the "tropics".

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

January 12, 1937

Dr. Sol Tax  
c/o Carnegie Institution of Washington  
12 Calle Oriente #7  
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Dear Sol:

Thank you for your letter sent just before you sailed ....

I take it your first business in Guatemala will be to look for a community in which I am to spend some time in the Spring.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

January 16, 1937

Dear Sol:

.... I should like to be clear as to the procedure to be followed in connection with the red tape to Guatemala. I understand your recommendation to be that I take a passport, but without showing it to the Guatemalan consul ask him for a tourist's card. Is it possible to get this tourist card in Chicago, or by correspondence, or must I allow a full day in New Orleans to get it? Do the Guatemalan authorities require any proof of vaccination?

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The plans for the book which you and Eggan started are going forward. If we could get your manuscript in time to send it to the other contributors, it will be a great help. The book must be in the printer's hands March 15th.

Yours very sincerely,

Robert Redfield

19 Enero [1937]

Dear Dr. Redfield:

We arrived last night (Monday) after a lively and pleasant voyage. The Kidder party stopped off in Quirigua for twenty-four hours, but we did not want to take the time; we have less than a week in which to get through official business, scout around the Eastern Highlands, and get to Panajachel. We hope to get started on the scouting tomorrow.

The voyage was made the more interesting by the presence of don Luis Schlesenger and Señora. He was, you remember, the Minister of Education, and I think he is still influential here. I found him now extremely well-informed and highly intelligent, and I only hope that the friendship he evinced was more than a ship-board phenomenon; we spent half of the voyage talking, and I learned a lot.

.... The station-wagon is here. It came too late for Andrade's use, but we shall make our trips in it. It is a beauty.

Frans Blom is here, on a project of the Fruit Company and the Railroads (or something of the sort) to write a popular book on Guatemala. I'll be mad if he gets it out before he publishes that paper of mine.

I shall write more when I know more. By the way, you will be relieved to know that I shall type my diary this year.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

23 Enero [1937]

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... I suggest that you get a passport but say nothing about it to Guatemalan officials. That is to help you get back into the U. S. A. and to help in other emergencies that may arise. Then you should get a tourist-card. If ~~their~~<sup>the</sup> is still a Guatemalan Consul in Chicago, he can give you a tourist card (there used to be one by the name of Barrios in Chicago). If not, you can get it by mail, preferably from the Consul in New Orleans, since that is the port from which you sail. Mrs. Kidder obtained hers by mail.

You do not need a certificate of vaccination, but there is a new wrinkle that Dr. Kidder has just told me about. You will require a statement from your local police official (precinct-captain, Chief of Police, or, as I understand it, anybody else in comparable authority) testifying to your lack of Criminal Record, good moral health, etc. This can be in English, and I suppose that one statement can cover the entire family.

We have explored the Eastern Highlands to some extent, and I have included the findings in my Diary which you will soon receive. The situation there is interesting enough, but I am inclining to your studying a town in the West.

Dr. Kidder and party are leaving for Copan early tomorrow (Sunday) morning; Jennings is arriving Sunday evening. Dr. Kidder asked us to stay here to greet him, and has also suggested that we might take the Jenningses to Panajachel with us, since work here won't start until the return from Copan in a week.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

January 27, 1937

Dear Sol:

I have received your letters of January 19th and 23rd. Thank you for

your excellent information on passports and similar matters. I will see if I can drive some local policeman into condoning my crime....

I am glad that Jennings can have the advantage of meeting with you and of your guidance in making his first contacts in Guatemala. Please give my best regards to them both. I received a very pleasant letter from Jess written in New Orleans.

Have you sent us the article which is to go into the proposed special volume? Most of our contributors have written agreeing to send in their contributions by March first.

I am awaiting with eagerness your diary, expecting that it will make recommendations as to the community in which I might make a study this Spring.

There is one matter concerning which I feel very regretful and somewhat bewildered. I recommended an increase in your salary to \$2500. A copy of the budget recently sent me reports your salary as \$2400; why \$100 was cut off I do not know, and as Dr. Kidder is not here I cannot ask him. Perhaps he has spoken to you about/ it.

Volume III, No. 2 of Maya Research has just come to my hands. That is the number for April, 1936. I cannot quite gather whether Blom is gaining ground on his publication or slipping backward.

Your sincerely,

Robert Redfield

Panajachel,  
Guatemala, C. A.  
Feb. 3, 1937

Dear Dr. Redfield:

.... I am sorry to be so late with the diary; this Seminar business held me up, and there was also the matter of getting a house and getting fixed before

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I could do much work. Incidentally, you remember that Mr. Herring wrote saying there would be less work and less pay this year; actually there was more work than last year.

I am wondering what you will think about a town for you to work in. As I wrote before, I don't think the Eastern Highlands really furnish us with the kind of problem most fitting now; but you have all the facts I know, and you can judge for yourself. I think that either Godinez or Chitatul would make a nice ladino-community study. If, from my description of Godinez, you prefer Citatul (if indeed you want either of them) then, if you wish, we can go up there before you come and see what can be done about living there. If you are not satisfied (as indeed you may not be) with the results of my surveying in your behalf, I am open to suggestions and will make one or more trips wherever you suggest.

We are fortunate to be living, for these few months, on the Indian side of Panajachel. We have a comfortable little place -- the one room being so small that, fortunately even the mosquitos aren't tempted to enter. We are hoping that you will get to see it before we move away.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

February 13, 1937

Dear Sol:

Some time ago you wrote me that you were sending a report on your reconnaissance trip. I have not received it and hope it has not gone astray. It is true that I have been so busy with duties on the campus that I have given little thought to the coming field trip; still I would like to know what I

am going to do in a general way.

Apparently just about every one is going to Guatemala this Spring. The latest are Scudder and Velma McKeel, who will sail from Philadelphia the 30th of March. They are principally going down for a few weeks of rest and sight-seeing.

We had hoped to be able to get away on the 24th of March, but it now seems impossible, and I have made reservations for the 31st from New Orleans.

I have it in mind to bring Greta and James to the Pensión Guérout. Is this still a good place in which to stop? And should I make reservations from Chicago by mail?

And here is a question of major importance: what sort of presents shall I bring down to give to ladinos? I take it that Ingersoll watches are all right for Indians, but not for the gentry.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

February 16, 1937

Dear Sol:

Your letter of February third with your Diary, has just come. I thank you for making trips into the unknown East, trips which must have been tiring, if not without interest. Your report was excellent, presenting as it did not only what you observed but your reflections, as you went along, on what you observed.

Your report disposes me to defer to another year or to another fieldworker a study of a community where Indian-ladino distinctions are almost lost. I still think that for the comparative study of the "race relations" problem in Middle America, the study of such a community in Guatemala is required. But

of the communities you visited that might present such a situation, and also offer some of the practical requirements for getting established quickly, San José Pinula is the only one. And I agree with you that it is too large. I do not believe one could get significant material on the indio-ladino question without at the same time getting an understanding of the essentials of the social organization of the community. And San José Pinula is too large, and probably involves consideration of too much formal administration, to promise success in this direction in a few weeks.

I turn therefore, to the simpler (and earlier) proposal: to live in a ladino community, in order more adequately than has been done before, to report (1) the "basic" ladino culture, and (2) the indio-ladino relations, as seen by ladinos, in the western highlands. Even this cannot be done thoroughly in ten weeks.

Of Godinez and Chitatul, which might make this enterprise possible, I incline to Chitatul. I will say frankly that a principal consideration in this choice is that Chitatul is physically so much more attractive. On the other hand, the concentration of Godinez would probably make it easier to study. Yet, in some respects, a more isolated community is more accessible to an investigator than one less isolated: people are less apt to be concerned with affairs outside the community; are less formal, and less self-conscious. Whether this be so or not, there is a practical circumstance in (what I suppose to be) the fact that less time and energy would be consumed in Chitatul safeguarding and controlling a two-year-old child than in Godinez. The problem of moving about readily in Chitatul, from one separate house to another, would have to be solved, but perhaps I could have one of your horses, or both, or use a bicycle.

But it may be impossible to find any place in which to live in Chitatul. Will you go there at your earliest convenience to find out? Almost any sort

of place that can be made clean, no matter how rude or primitive, would do. To us being a little separate from other people is more important than a near-at-hand water supply, and a stretch of field and sky to look at makes a dirt-floor kitchen quite acceptable.

It is, I suppose, a matter of chance whether some house in Chitatul has recently fallen vacant, or whether some one there could be induced to move out. I should very much appreciate it if you will go to find out. Should you find a habitable house, and should you not encounter other difficulties or circumstances making the community unsuitable for the purpose of our study of Guatemala, you may proceed to make arrangements, expending money, if advisable, to commit the owner. But if you conclude that Godinez or some other ladino community would be a wiser choice, please write me again air mail.

.... I have read your paper on methods of study of social organization. It is full of good stuff. Some points about it give rise to some questions. I will write you later about it.

As ever,

Robert Redfield

February 19, 1937

Dear Dr. Redfield:

By regular mail I have sent my MS on the Fox Indians; I sent one copy to you; another to Fred, to forestall delays by accidental loss in transit.

By regular mail I am also sending you the latest installment of my Diary. I hope that by this time you have received the first installment; if not it is surely lost in the mail. My recommendation in that Diary was that you stay out of the Eastern Highlands; that if it appealed to you you might work in San José Pinula (close to the city) but that it is rather too large. On the whole,

I rather recommend one of the ladino aldeas in this part of the country; the problem in the Eastern Highlands (of how a person is recognized as an Indian when he has neither language nor costume) doesn't appear to be such a problem after all, since apparently the Indians are Indians because their parents are Indians, and everybody knows it and the Indians themselves know it. There are, I admit, fascinating problems of race-relations in the territory between Guatemala City and Jalapa, but the problems are not as closely related to those we have been meeting in the West as we had supposed; therefore it might be better to leave the East for a later time.

Of the aldeas here in the Western Highlands, I have already suggested Chitatul, which you know, and Godinez, which I have described to you as an aldea of San Andrés, smaller than Chitatul, but apparently duller. Now I find out that Godinez is a new aldea, the people mostly coming from San Andrés itself. I should not think that that would make any difference, for the ladino inhabitants (and there are no other) are all from the immediate neighborhood and have lived around there from time immemorial. Since writing last, I have been thinking of another ladino aldea -- one called Agua Escondida. It is in the Municipio of San Antonio Palopó (one of the Lake towns) and is high up over the lake, but as I understand it, overlooking it. It is on the highway from Godinez (thus from Guatemala City and Panajachel) to San Lucas Toliman (thus to the Coast). Its population is given in the Census as 421. I plan to run up there the first opportunity I have to look at the place. This is supposed to be an old town. Whichever of these three places it may be (if it is one of them) you will find yourself in a small, almost purely ladino aldea of a preponderantly Indian municipio. Any one of them, it seems to me, would (on the face of it) make a good problem.

Dr. Kidder did not speak to me about my salary increase; please do not

worry about the apparent misunderstanding, since it doesn't bother us at all.

I shall try to answer the questions in your air mail of the 13th. The Pensión Guérout is still the best place in Guatemala. The Kidders, you know, are staying there. I would advise you to write to Mr. Magin at once ( the name is Adolfo ) at the Pensión telling him when you will come, the makeup of your "party", and how long you expect to stay. Or, if you wish, I suppose you could ask Dr. Kidder to talk to him and make your reservations.

Ladinos are not gentry in the places where you will meet them. Ingersoll watches will be most highly appreciated; so will 10-cent automatic pencils be welcomed; also pocket-knives from the 10-cent store. For the women, any sort of novelty will do; but a real fine present would be 3 or three and a half yards of dress-goods for the ladies. They all make their own clothes of bought-material. Naturally dress-trimmings would make smaller presents for the ladies. For the men, I have another suggestion. Woolworths have some fine looking neckties for 25 cents (with silk linings); dark colors will probably be best, since they use neckties only when they dress up, and black-and-silver looks very rich around here.

I have a favor to ask of you. The Whitman Candy Company owes us a box of chocolates, and they wanted to send it down to us here until I stopped them. I asked them instead to send it to you to bring down to us, saying that you would probably be good enough to do so. Eventually, therefore, you will get a box of chocolates (at your office); will you bring it down so that we can all have a party?

Yesterday I received a letter from Dr. Spier (together with the MS that I sent him). He says he will publish it in the July issue of the Anthropologist after I make a few changes in grammar, and also after the financial difficulties are settled. I shall quote him:

"I estimate that your paper will occupy about 23 printed pages, perhaps less because of the smaller type used for certain sections. But such smaller type costs more than that of ordinary size and the charts ... double .... In addition we have the cost of engravings for the two maps ....

"The upshot of this is that the cost of your paper is the equivalent of 26 pages of ordinary 10 point matter, plus an added cost of about \$33.94 for the engravings and insert. In general we try to set 20 pages as the limit for an article .... This means that we have to ask the author to share with us the extra cost above 20 pages; in your case, about \$58.00.

"Would you care to meet any part of this extra cost? The alternative would seem to be to reduce the length of the article and to redraw (or reletter) Map II so that it could go on a page."

The alternative about redrawing that expensive map seems not only impossible to me but unwise. As for shortening the article, I don't think there is anything in it that I can very profitably cut down. I condensed it two or three times while writing it and I finally decided I was at a minimum. Besides, I don't think Spier is thinking of that seriously, for although he blue-penciled my paper liberally, he makes no suggestion as to what might be shortened.

I wish you would take up the matter with him. Perhaps you can bargain with him (what is meant by "share with us the extra cost") in any event you suggested to me last Fall that the Institution might be willing to pay some towards publication. If, not, I should myself be willing to pay some not to have to mutilate the paper. I shall write to Dr. Spier that you will communicate with him, and meanwhile I shall correct and return the MS. I hope this is all right with you.

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I am sorry you can't get down until April; you will miss all of Holy Week here. Not that you haven't seen a good sample, and not that it doesn't interfere more with one's work than it does it good, but -- everybody else seems to think Semana Santa is worth seeing here.

And by the way, although our groceries have not yet come up, I have the invoice, and I note with alarm that your half-dozen tins of Hormel Hams turn out to contain no less than 22 pounds. I hope you like ham and will abstain therefrom from now until you get down here.

Our work here is now rushing, and we hope to know all about Panajachel by the time you arrive.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

February 23, 1937

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Your airmail of the 16th received. I am glad that you have decided to work in the Western Highlands; aside from the fact that we shall thus see more of you here, I feel also that our work will be a bit more closely coordinated if you work this year in the region that we have been studying. Also, I incline with you to favor Chitatul over Godinez.

I wrote several days ago, however, about a third possibility, Agua Escondida. Yesterday afternoon our station-wagon came with our supplies, and I took the opportunity, this morning of visiting this aldea.

You remember where San Antonio Palopó is, in the center of the east edge of the lake. Like the others, this municipio extends up and over the cliff overlooking the lake. The town is on the lake shore, of course, and practically all of the Indians live in it; their fields are chiefly on the slope and in

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the hills immediately above.

Godinez overlooks the lake (not quite, of course, because the lake is not visible from the aldea itself) at its northeast corner; an automobile highway runs from Godinez (which is on the main road between Guatemala City and Panajachel) south to San Lucas and as far as Mazatenango. This road is good, but relatively untraveled; I judge that at most only two or three cars a day use the road from Godinez to San Lucas; it skirts the edge of the cliff, directly over the lake, most of this way. About half-way (seven kilometers south of Godinez) between the two towns Agua Escondida is located. Like Godinez and like Chitatul the town consists of a string of houses along the road, in this case almost all of them on the side of the road away from the lake. At any point in the town, along the road, one is directly over the lake, a thousand or more feet above it. The view is unobstructed and, as you can imagine, of surpassing enchantment.

Agua Escondida contains perhaps fifty households (at most, I think, three hundred inhabitants). All of these houses with at most a half a dozen exceptions are concentrated along the road, within a space of at most one kilometer; except for the south quarter of this kilometer, which is some fifty feet lower than the rest, the road<sup>is</sup>/level and walking easy between all parts.

Some thirty-five or forty years ago there was no settlement here; the lands were owned by Indians from San Antonio, who were growing anise and other things there. A ladino family from Tecpán bought a few cords of this land and moved in; followed another and another until today all but two or three families are ladinos from Tecpán; one of the others is from Patzún, another from Guatemala. Some twenty years ago the school was established; and since then successive ladina maestras from other towns have been resident (the one now is from S. José Chacayá) and so far all have been of about the same type as the rest of the ladinos in town.

The ladinos grow anise chiefly, some wheat and maize, and some coffee. There are orange trees and guineo trees which shade the coffee. There are no vegetables; there is a local butcher who kills a steer a couple of times a week. There is at least onemason, and I think there is a carpenter. The inhabitants have horses and mules, and one of them has a cow. People pass through from San Lucas (and the coast) to the highlands continually, and local people often go to San Lucas twice a week to market; the result is that supplies like vegetables and fruit are always available, or can be arranged for. There is no store worthy of the name. Since Godinez is a walk of only an hour or an hour and a half, and three or four trucklines as well as the mail car come through from the capital each day, arrangements could be made in Godinez to have things and mail sent by mozo from that point. There is no telegraph office in Agua Escondida (although the wire passes overhead); neither is there one in Godinez. But San Lucas is no farther than, say, an hour and a half, and there is both telegraph and telephone there. Communications could therefore be arranged without too great difficulty.

The ladinos of Tecpán (not counting the Chancles of more recent residence there) are considered in these parts the purest old-ladinos in the West. It was, of course, the first place that was settled by Alvarado. The old-ladinos there are the pure Obreros, who work in the fields, carry their own leña and supplies, grind their own corn, etc. They are barefoot, or wear caites, except perhaps on Sundays.

The ladinos of Agua Escondida are a colony of these pure Tecpán obreros. In physical type they are much like those of Chitatul; in language as well, for they speak an older Spanish than the ladinos of Panajachel or Godinez. They are barefoot or wear caites or very simple sandals; they do all their own work.

Public works in Agua Escondida are done by cooperation of the inhabitants,

as regards both money and labor. There are three springs in town, and the town is divided into three parts or cantones each of which depends on one of the wells for water, and each of which co-operates to keep its water supply (and perhaps other things) in order. There is a local juzgado (dependent officially on San Antonio but practically independent) with an Intendente auxiliar at the head. I think there is some sort of roster of local officials. There is a little church; the santo of the town is San Francisco (like that of Tecpán) and there is some sort of cofradia organization. I suspect that in respect to such elements of organization, there is a typical old-ladino set-up. The pattern should be like that of Tecpán but the place is small enough to study, and, besides, all of its history is easily available, since the founders are still living. I might add that the people are pleasant and very amiable and the town should be very easy to study. Also, the people are quite poor, and will therefore welcome any outsider who would be (to any extent) a financial benefactor.

I confess that I was pleased with the setup; the chief advantage over Chitatul is that it is about a third the size; another advantage is that it is more isolated, for Chitatul is very close to and dependent on Sta. Cruz del Quiche, a large town with large stores and modern ladino influences, while Agua Escondida is close to nothing large and dependent only on a pure-Indian community. The situation is simpler than that of Chitatul. To get the basic ladino culture in a short time I would recommend Agua Escondida over Chitatul. To get ladino-Indian relations I would also recommend it, but they will probably represent a complex problem, for in Tecpán the ladinos live in the town and are surrounded by Indians who come in for market, etc., while here there are few Indians living around (and practically all of these strays from other places), while the Antõneros surround them in the fields only during the day and actually live an hour or so

away. These ladinos say that they speak "lengua", however. (Tecpán and San Antonio are both Cakchiquel.)

In case you would be interested, I looked around for a house for you. There are no empty ones in town, and it was a matter of inducing somebody to move out. There are but two substantial houses in all (the rest are kind of ranchos), both occupied. One of these belongs to one Gorgonio Urrea, the lone migrant from Patzun; he has three rooms in the house and cannot be induced to give up more than two, which would not allow great privacy. I don't so much care for the family, and besides they are not typical residents, so I abandoned that lead. The other house is owned by one Magdaleno Alvarez. He is the nicest (most amiable, pure-Spanish-looking, and intelligent) man that we saw; and he has a large family in town. He is a pure Tecpaneco, typical of the general population.

His house, of adobe with a thatched roof, is new; it consists of one large room, about 24 by 15 feet, with a corredor in front (facing the road) and one in back. It has a door in the front, none in back, and no windows. The owner is poor, and cannot afford such <sup>u</sup>luxuries. Until recently the house was entirely uncalcimined, but the Intendente threatened him with a fine of twenty dollars if he didn't do something about it (for purposes of sanitation, as I understand it) and although he wanted to plaster the house, he didn't have the money and merely whitewashed the adobes on the outside.

He didn't want to move, at first, but then (without any question of money coming up) when we had exhausted all other possibilities, he said he would as a favor for a couple of months give us his house. Then I told him that if you accepted, you would probably improve his house for him, by putting in some windows and some sort of door to the back corredor (which would be almost necessary for you, especially with Jamie, so that he could play in the grass of the back yard without going around the house, or sleep in the back corridor). I estimate that

for between twenty and thirty dollars you could make yourself a comfortable home and at the same time make your host's house the best in town. (The house has a good cement floor; it could be divided, with plenty of room to spare, and by means of mat screen such as we used in Chichicastenango, into bedroom, kitchen, and office and dining room.) You would have complete privacy in all respects while you live right among some of the choicest inhabitants of town. Incidentally, for better or for worse, you are near the south end of town (below the drop of about fifty feet), thus away from the center. But if the hill is found to be too much to walk up a couple times a day, you can keep a horse or two around. Yet you are only two blocks from the center of town.

I told the man that I had to write you, that if you wanted to come up there and use his house I would come up again and make arrangements for the improvements before you come; if not, I would send him a letter.

The town would all be lined up for you by the time you came. An old man by the name of Lupario Miranda (the founder of the town) is living, is too old to do much work, is very affable, and will make an excellent informant. When we came we were very fortunate in encountering a young resident of the town (who had come as the son of the second school-teacher in the town); it turned out that he is an old old friend of our chauffeur, also of Juan Rosales, whom I took along; and also of my own, for I had met him in San Antonio. The chauffeur, working as he does with the Institution, spared no efforts to advertise our greatness in the town, and of course Juan (whose father is an old friend of this Lupario Miranda) followed suit. Our mission in the town was thus well explained, and by the time you come our greatness will be known. I think you will be well appreciated to start with. And, of course, your landlord will be a great good friend.

If we go to Chichicastenango about the time you come, of course Chitatul

for you would be close to us; however, if you decide upon Agua Escondida, we would stay here in Panajachel during April, anyway, and with the station-wagon we would be only an hour separated, on horse-back about three or four hours. You could come to Panajachel to rest and bathe occasionally from Agua Escondida in any event. By the way, Agua Escondida is some two hours closer to the city than is Chitatul, if that is a consideration. I think the people are as nice, the view and surroundings nicer, the climate the same. (Nor is there any more danger to Jamie; there are no more cars, nor, of course, any chance of his falling into the lake.)

If you prefer Chitatul, which you know, I shall go up there very soon after hearing from you and get you a house. If you are willing to take ~~the~~ Agua Escondida on my description, I shall complete arrangements there. I am making no recommendation, but simply stating what facts I know. I hope to hear from you soon so that there will be no delay.

I shall write another airmail in a day or two telling you what I think you should and should not bring.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

February 27, 1937

Dear Sol:

... I await with interest your report on Agua Escodida, and information as to the possibilities of securing living quarters in Chitatul. Either of these two communities sounds all right to me.

I am writing to Mr. Magin today to make reservations for us, as well as for *the* Scudder Mekeels, who are coming down on the same boat with us.

Thank you for your advice on proper gifts for ladinos. We will follow this advice.

I shall be on the watch for the box of candy and bring it down intact.

I am writing today to Spier about the cost of publishing your paper in the Anthropologist. I believe that arrangements can be made for its publication without mutilation.

I feel sure that we can dispose of all that ham.

Both copies of your first kinship paper have been received. The copies of the Fox paper are not yet here. After reading your first paper I am of the opinion that it would be best to publish only the third and longest section and omit the first eleven or twelve pages which deal with the "subject-matter" and "history". A good many points arise in my mind in connection with these first two sections which I do not believe can be disposed of properly by correspondence in the short time that is allowed us. Will you let me make a few changes in the last part of the paper so that the paper may stand alone without the first two short sections? And give me your permission to publish it in that form? In this case the title must be changed. It might be called "California Kinship System; Some Problems of Social Organization Exemplified". Or what do you suggest?

Our best regards.

Robert Redfield

February 27, 1937

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I trust that you have received my air-mail of the other day explaining the aldea of Agua Escondida. Whether you choose to go there, or whether you go to Chitatul, conditions will be enough alike so that, in a general way, I can make some suggestions as to what you might bring down. I also have a few requests for things for us. Some of the following we have talked about before; others are obvious; but I shall mention them anyway just to keep things straight.

Things to bring:

1. You will need all kinds of cooking utensils, such as pots and pans, egg beaters, potato mashers, etc,etc. We have only enough for ourselves, so you will have to judge what to bring. It may be a nuisance to bring them from the States, and you may prefer to buy the larger pieces here, but I warn you that they will cost triple here. Do not, of course, depend upon using pottery here, because it isn't very good and can be used only in special ways, such as over an open fire. For such uses as water storage, of course, pottery is pretty good; and for water carrying,ditto.

(One thing we have extra: a coffee percolator. It is the ordinary aluminum kind and it lacks the little round glass cover that fits in the top; if you wish, you may bring such a glass top and use the pot.)

2. You will certainly need a gasoline stove (or its equivalent), since the chances of getting a house with a wood-stove are almost nil, and since in any event it will make cooking simpler. We have a Coleman stove, and I recommend them. Since you will not have electric light, you should have a good lamp or two; we have Coleman gasoline lamps, and can <sup>let</sup> have you have one of our two. If you want two, you should buy another one. The lamp we will give you needs parts, and whether you want it or not I would appreciate your bringing parts and supplies for us as follows:

- 1 No. 412-262, Generator complete for stove
- 1 doz. Coleman Junior mantels for lamp.
- 2 No. T44 generators for lamps.
- 2 No. 118B620, valve-stem packing for lamp.

If you buy a lamp and/or stove, be sure to get a filter-funnel also. Otherwise the above parts will take care of both of us.

3. Sheets, pillow-cases, and towels are all cheaper back home. We have

only enough for our own use.

4. You will undoubtedly appreciate a couple of good flashlights; don't forget extra batteries and bulbs.

5. Bring along all first-aid medical supplies and the "remedies" you want. I happen to have a lot of bandages of all kinds, so you don't have to bring them: but everything else of that nature you will need. Also, don't forget a fever thermometer.

6. In my last letter I suggested some gifts for ladinos; I might add that for a whole family, for the house, an alarm clock makes a fine gift. You get very pretty ones for about a dollar in cut-rate drugstores, etc.

7. This is different and important. Rosales wants a portable typewriter, new or used, preferably a Royal (which name is best known here). It will help him in his work, to be sure, but he has not suggested that we buy him one; rather, he says that he has already saved ten dollars toward it. A good second-hand one would do; otherwise I think you can get new ones on sale for about \$40.00. If you get a new one, try to get a Spanish keyboard. If you get a second-hand one, have two keys changed (as I did), putting in Ñ and ñ and also the accent-mark. I think that you will be able to bring in two typewriters, one for you and one for Mrs. Redfield, and it would be greatly appreciated here.

Things not to bring:

1. The pillows from the Simmons Company are here waiting for you....
2. Use your judgment about blankets; I think you will want to buy them here, and in any event there are some at the office. The same goes for such things as table linens; you can use native textiles.
3. Our set of dishes, and also table cutlery, is in sixes. Therefore, if you wish, you can <sup>have</sup> half of ours and <sup>we'll</sup> get along with ~~with~~ three each. If

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you think that will cramp you too much, you can bring some, but not on our account.

4. We have ample supplies of aspirin, quinine, bismuth, and Halozone (of which we bought a thousand tablets three years ago and have never opened the bottle). Do not bring any of these, therefore, although you may bring whatever else you think of.

That is about all that I can think of in the way of suggestions. If something else comes to mind, I shall write you later. I hope that you can find the time to take care of a typewriter for Rosales; perhaps you had better just buy a new one and not bother with changing a second-hand one.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

[Cable]

SOL TAX

CHICAGO ILL. 1° MARZO DE 1937

AGUA ESCONDIDA MEETS ALL REQUIREMENTS PLEASE MAKE ARRANGEMENTS THERE AT ONCE  
HAVE ALVAREZ HOUSE CONDITIONED

REDFIELD

March 5, 1937

Dear Sol:

First let me confirm the message sent you in my recent telegram. Your report on Agua Escondida was admirably full and the information contained indicates that that community provides everything for which we are looking. I therefore wired you to make arrangements for the reconditioning of the Alvarez house. Be guided by your own judgment as to what should be done to it. I hope it may be

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in shape by the time we get down. You may make any arrangements for rent which you think advisable. We are looking forward with a great deal of pleasure to the opportunity to begin the study in so favorable a community.

I am writing to Spier today authorizing the publication of your paper in full, with a contribution from Carnegie Institution of \$40.00. Spier has indicated that this amount will make full publication possible. Spier writes that although he has the map, you have the manuscript. If this is the case, please send it to him at once.

Fred and I have revised your introductory paper. We think now of entitling it "Some Problems of Social Organization." We have not taken very serious liberties with the text. There remain a number of paragraphs in your manuscript of which we either do not approve or which we do not understand. But at this distance, and with time so short, it is not possible to go into these details. We want, however, to let you know that the situation among the Wintun is not just as you remembered it to be. I enclose Fred's notes on their kinship system. Fred doesn't think that the system can be safely said to be a combination between Crow and Omaha types. In modifying your text we have toned down those statements where you seem to make such an assertion. If, after you have read this letter and looked at Fred's notes, there are specific changes in the manuscript which you recommend, there may still be time for you to send them to us air mail.

Hanke has left Chicago for Guatemala by way of Mexico. He is going first to Chiapas in order to collect documentary material on the Tzentel revolution of the 18th century. Before he left he reread your paper on the Guatemalan municipio. He notes your mention of the fact that in one of the rooms of an Indian school at Chichicastenango there was a library containing old records of the ladino municipalidad. He wonders if these have historical interest and if you have found similar documents in any other community. He also asks some

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information as to the communal ownership of lands in certain municipios as referred to ~~be~~ in one of the notes of your manuscript.

The Guatemalan Consul here has refused to visé my passport without first communicating with his home government. But I think this difficulty will not be serious.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

March 9, 1937

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Your letter of the 27th was received.

I suppose by this time you have had to resolve the matter on my paper on kinship. I do not understand why you want to cut out the first part, but I defer to your judgment. You have my permission, of course, to make any changes you wish, but I await with great interest your comments (when you arrive here) about the first two parts. I might suggest that if you are going to emphasize the California problem in my paper, however, it might be wise to include one or more of the maps that appear in the thesis, making appropriate changes in the text. However, do you think it wise, in view of the constructive theoretical portion of the paper that appears at the end, to emphasize California in the title? Couldn't you just have "Some Problems of Social Organization", or "A Problem of Social Organization: the Omaha-Crow type"? or something of the sort?

Or perhaps you are displeased with the paper in general and want to leave it out; if so, do not hesitate on my account, although my own opinion is that it is worth printing.

Will you do me a favor, meanwhile? The two years for the publishing of my thesis are about up; can you call the library and ask them either to renew my lien on those forty-odd dollars or to refund them on the grounds that the

"essential portion" is now going to press?

I wrote you last week about a typewriter for Rosales. Since then Dr. Andrade was here (he is sailing the 14th and is now in Guatemala City) and suggested that some keys be changed to allow Rosales to write his Cakchiquel texts on the machine. He suggested that you withhold the purchase of the typewriter until he comes, and then he will take care of it. If you have already bought the typewriter, will you please consult Dr. Andrade when he comes as to changing some keys? If not, will you please remind him the first time you see him that he has a duty to perform?

Things are going beautifully here; I am getting more information than I had thought possible, and if things keep going so well, we may stay here longer than we had planned; with things as they are, I won't leave until we Know All.

Best regards,

Sol Tax

March 10, 1937

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Yours of the fifth just received. I am having a little trouble with your house, due to the shortage of carpenters to make the windows; I think I shall have to get some (second-hand) from the capital. I have high hopes, however, of having the place ready by the time you come. The mason, at least, is already working. There won't be any rent to pay, in consideration of the improvements we are putting in.

Gertrude this morning assisted at the birth of a baby boy. We are fortunate indeed to be living in the midst of things this year. You will be interested to know that we are more convinced than ever that news travels extraordinarily slow<sup>ly</sup> even in a place as small as this.

.... Thank you for taking care of that Anthropologist paper for me; I sent the manuscript to Spier several weeks ago, regular mail, and he should have it by this time.

I do not recall who Hanke may be; however, I shall be glad to communicate with him and answer any of his questions; or if he is coming down here, we shall probably see him. By the way, this fellow Wagley (the Columbia lad who visited in Chicago around Christmas) writes that he is coming down in May to study some town that we may suggest.

I am sorry you are having trouble getting your passport viséd; I thought you were going to get a tourist-card and forget about your passport; didn't that work?

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

March 10, 1937

Dear Sol:

This will acknowledge your helpful letter of February twenty-seventh. Your advice and requests will be noted or complied with.

I shall bring the parts for the Coleman lamp and stove.

The box of candy has arrived.

Yesterday I made a deposit on a good second-hand Royal typewriter with international keyboard. This has all the special characters needed for writing Spanish.

Yours sincerely,

RR

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March 15, 1937

Dear Sol:

Thank you for your letters of March 9 and 10. I appreciate very much what you are doing to get our living quarters ready.

.... Hanke holds a two-year post-doctoral Social Science Research Council fellowship. He is an historian of Latin America, interested in learning something of the problems of race and culture contact in order that his history may bear upon those problems. He is a lively fellow with a great flair for nosing out sources and collecting bibliography. He will be in Guatemala in April.

Sooner or later we will all be in Guatemala. The latest recruit is suggested by a letter from Ruth Benedict, indicating that a psychiatrist, David Levy, of New York, wishes to cooperate with some anthropologist, probably a Columbia person named Mirsky, in a joint study of a Guatemalan community.

Now, about the R-B book, and your kinship paper. The book has been accepted by the publication committee of the University of Chicago, but we are held up by the failure of Opler, Provine and Nash to send their contributions. By ordinary mail I am sending you a revised introduction of your first paper as Eggen and I have worked it out. The reasons why we recommended the omission of the first part of the paper are two: it became necessary to shorten the book somewhat, and second, a good many points raised in the reading of the first two sections could not, we thought, be cleared up unless you were right here with us. For example, I do not understand the definition you make between "social structure" and other than social structure, at least as you express it on the first page. Nor do I understand the definition you give of "family" on page 3. There are also a great many phrases which are either infelicities of style, or are not clear, such as the sentence in paragraph two, on the first page, in which you speak of "a phase of the whole culture" as correlative of certain disciplines.

I do not see how a phase of a culture can be correlative with a discipline. There are so many little points of this sort that we thought it just as well to leave out the first two sections.

The reason why I did not ask for a tourist-card is that the consul asked me for what purpose I was going down, and whether I might be there longer than sixty days, and I answered honestly.

I have called Mrs. Turabien about the deposit made for publication of part of your thesis. I told her that as soon as publication of the book is assured, by the signing of a contract, I will send my written request that your deposit ~~is~~ be refunded.

The typewriter on which I have made a deposit will be held until Andrade arrives.

I am delighted that your own work at Panajachel is going so splendidly. With all the chores I have given you to do, it is a wonder that you have had any time left for work.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

March 24, 1937

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Your letters of the 10th and <sup>15</sup>24th received.

.... Yesterday I went over to Agua Escondida; the work is not yet done, and the Fiesta is intervening, but I am sure everything will be completed by April 1st. The owner is pleased and satisfied. I have also begun to pick up furniture for you; when you come, you will have enough to start life on, anyway.

Alfonso Villa came in Monday noon; I showed him around Panajachel Monday afternoon and yesterday took him to Atitlán. This morning he is leaving on a

trip through the West and I think he will get a lot out of it. He will be back in Panajachel by the time you come, and meanwhile wishes to send regards to you and to Mrs. Redfield.

If there is still time, and if you have not already thought of it, you might put a mirror in with your baggage. They are frightfully expensive in this country.

I take it you arrive in Guatemala City Sunday evening; you will find your groceries, beds, and pillows in the office unless I next week have the beds sent up to save you from having to make two trips when you come here. I hesitate only because the Kidders are using the station-wagon. I expect you will wire me from the City when to expect you.

Our best wishes for a good voyage!

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

April 5, 1937

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I suppose that Alfonso has reported all, but one matter has come up since he left here, and I think you will have to take care of it in the city.

There are two doors in your house in Agua Escondida; the front door is made up of two leaves, and the back door is a simple one-piece affair such as we have at home. Both of the doors lack locks, keys, and door-knobs; you will, of course, need such hardware, and besides I have promised the owner that I would put it in. The store here in Panajachel has ordered this hardware from two different houses in the city, but both have failed him, and yesterday afternoon he told me that I had better not count on him.

Will you therefore buy what is necessary and bring it with you? I think

that for each door the whole business comes in one piece, with door-knobs, lock and keys; and according to the local store-keeper they can be bought from about 75 cents and up.

I saw one of the workmen from Agua Escondida yesterday, and he assured me that the plastering would be done today (Monday) and that Tuesday the toilet-house would be made. The owner, Mr. Alvarez, apparently would be quite upset if you came to your house before it is completed and cleaned up; therefore if you have had any thought of going to Agua Escondida before coming to Panajachel, please abandon it. When you get to Panajachel, I shall go up there with the hardware, see that it is put in right, clean up the place, etc. and then it will be ready for you.

I think you will get a reception in Agua Escondida such as no ethnologist ever had. Your fame as an important person must be pretty well diffused by now, and everybody is probably very curious to see the mysterious don Roberto in the flesh.

We expect to see you tomorrow (Tuesday) or Wednesday; have a good trip to Panajachel! Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

[Agua Escondida]  
Sunday, three o'clock  
[April 11, 1937]

Dear Sol:

Your one-armed, screw-eyed, strong-backed neighbor just arrived with the comoda. It is very welcome, in spite of a certain lack of beauty. Our lateria has been sprawling about the floor.

Thanks for this, the hangers, the keys, and for (by earlier shipment) the

limes, oranges, flatiron, etcetera.

I am returning the striped blanket, taking you at your word about the other blanket. Should you meet with two good blankets, preferably like the one of yours I am returning, please buy them for us and send them by mozo.

We have not yet decided that we should have the horses. Fodder is practically absent here. We would use the horses only for pleasure jaunts; for these we shall have little time, and with Jamie, anyway, they would be difficult. If we change our minds, I will let you know.

Everything is going well here. The house is functioning; Romelia is a jewel; the neighbors are kind and friendly. You have picked an easy place for us to work. I do not yet know what we are likely to get that will throw light on the ladino-indio problem; it continues to interest me; the first impression is ambiguous.

This morning I finished the map of the houses in the south end of town; I have not yet added the terrenos; and I have all the north end yet to do.

By the way, some people here have rainwater tanks. Do ladinos have temazcallis there? Here one or two do.

Returning to personal matters: we sent your sheet (I take it to be yours) to be washed.

You were both certainly very good to us these past days, and immensely helpful in a variety of ways.

It is a pleasure and a satisfaction to know that you are working not far away, and that we can arrange to meet occasionally to talk things over. In a fortnight I shall have accumulated some questions.

You were right about blankets; last night was quite cold.

284  
283

[P. S.] A member of your family, one Julio Tax, who lives at the end of town shooed me out of his yard this morning.<sup>1</sup>

One P.M. Monday  
[April 12, 1937]

Dear Sol:

As we live in a ruder, more countrified community than you do, I write you on yellow paper instead of white.

Your second messenger is lurching on our fron corredor. He will return shortly with one tejido which we did not purchase. The sheet and dish towels have not yet been ironed.

For the hammock and the blankets we send our appreciative thanks. You take such good care of us!

You are right that your cousin Julio is from Totonicapan. With similar uncanny accuracy can you anticipate my other datos?

The oranges -- to revert to your sending -- are also welcome. We sugar them a little.

The idea of testing the mail service by a dumb letter is admirable. I should never have thought of it. I will report -- by some means -- the result. Today the auxiliar changed guard, or whatever they call it. The retiring incumbent asked me for pictures of my native land. Thinking that he might have some influences over the delivery of mail (so far none has come) I provided him with a choice selection from a Saturday Evening Post.

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<sup>1</sup>TAX (pronounced TOSH, to rhyme with GOSH) is a common surname among the Indians of Totonicapán, to the northwest of Lake Atitlán. Totonicapános migrate to work and live in other towns (e.g. Julio Tax in Agua Escondida). Only literate people (e.g. RR) would ~~compare~~<sup>confuse</sup> "Tacks" with "Tosh".

You make no mention of the magnificent box in which hammock and oranges and blankets arrived. The bearer leaves it with us. Until you reclaim it, I shall use it as an auxiliary storecloset.

I try to think of something to send back to you. But the products of Agua Escondida are few. Since spraying the house with Flit, we have many dead flies; they constitute an exportable product, but I do not think you would welcome them.

I have finished the sketch-map and census of the south end. The north end will take longer. My general impression to date is that these ladinos live with a minimum of institutions, beliefs and also problems. There seems to be not a great deal to relate about them, and much of that is probably familiar to you. But I may be fooled.

The antagonism between them and the Antõneros is real, but may not be typical, as the shifting tenure of land between the two groups, and the dependence of A. E. upon the San Antonio local authorities, provide special reasons for bad feeling. The feeling, at that, is not very bad.

Como siempre, su ayudante,

RR

Wednesday  
[April 14, 1937]

Dear Sol,

May I trouble you to look into the matter of my mail? Nothing has come since we arrived; your test letter has not arrived. Yesterday I tried to send a letter to the Intendente about it, but the auxiliaria was deserted till nightfall. Today I sent a letter down, and was informed by the *aguacil* who returned that the intendente was away from San Antonio, but would doubtless return soon; that my letter had been left in the intendencia. There is something peculiar.

Can you go to the postoffice in Panajachel and see if the mail-officer there can remember letters addressed to me passing through his hands? Perhaps you can make sure that there are no letters for us stuck somewhere in his office. Perhaps then he would, or you would, send another message to San Antonio asking if my mail is there? If I get no word by tomorrow night, I will myself go to San Antonio.

Would it be possible for the postmaster at Panajachel to hold any further mail that may come for me, and turn it over to you? Under present circumstances it would seem safer to send mail by carrier from Panajachel. If it is reaching Panajachel. The fact that your test letter has not arrived suggests that the trouble is in San Antonio.

I return via Mekeels your sheet, two dish towels.

Everything else here is jake. But I wish we had some mail.

Como siempre,

RR

Wednesday evening.  
[April 14, 1937]

Dear Sol:

At five-thirty this evening (Wednesday, April 14) an ~~al~~ alguazil brought me your letter and four from the United States, including one (mailed ten days ago -- airmail) addressed only "Agua Escondida, Guatemala!" The indications are that the San Antonioeros have promptly sent up the mail as soon as it arrived there. But your letter, which you write you mailed Monday morning (April 12), is postmarked "Panajachel, April 14." What happened to it during the two days between the time you wrote it and the time it was postmarked in Panajachel?

I shall send this note by the first person going your way.

We have acquired (on loan) an amiable green parrot, who sidles along the

screens, and delights Jamie.

I'm sorry I caused you to make complaints about mail, just before mail came. But there seems to be something slow about the Panajachel office. However, on the present showing, I think the mail can continue to come by its scheduled route, through San Antonio.

As ever,

RR

[P. S.] Your kerosene heating stove induces an agreeable cosy feeling. We also appreciate the blankets.

I have mislaid our grocery list. Did we order canned peas? I cannot find any. Perhaps we neglected to order them. On the other hand, we have 18 cans of sardines in tomato sauce, which I do not think we ordered. Do you want these? Also a montón of salted crackers. Want some?

Saturday morning  
[April 17, 1937]

Dear Sol:

The telegraph line foreman is about to leave for Panajachel. I take the opportunity to send you a message, although I have nothing of consequence to say. We are well. The work is difficult only because the culture is so thin that most subjects are soon exhausted. Indeed, the thinness of the culture in an isolated, homogeneous people becomes a problem of interest. I compare the situation with that in Dzitاس, and with that in French Canada, and begin to speculate. Pretty soon I shall want you to speculate with me. First I will send you my general impressions, that you may correct them.

We are about to go down to the lake -- first trip. Jamie is coming too. Buen ejercicio.

A letter from Chicago arrived yesterday, addressed simply to Agua Escondida.

It arrived in Guatemala by airmail in three days. Then it went to Tecpan, then to Solola, which is visible to us across the lake, it took another three days: to Panajachel, to San Lucas, and to us.

As ever,

RR

Monday  
[April 19, 1937]

Dear Sol:

Greta is walking to San Lucas this morning with a party of friends, and will mail this letter.

We are thinking of making a two-day excursion, to enable us to talk with you, and to give Greta a chance to conocer Santo Tomas and some of the lake villages. A trip north of Santo Tomas can be arranged later, without James.

On this trip we would take James, leaving here (if I can get the station-wagon) on Wednesday morning the 28th, going to Panajachel. I would stay in Panajachel that day with James; you and Gertrude and Greta would drive to Santo Tomas, returning to Panajachel for supper. The next day we would spend visiting lake villages, and would probably return to Agua Escondida that evening.

If this is convenient to you, and you would care to do it, please let me know at once, so that I may write for the station wagon. Please also make a reservation at the Tzanjuyu for us for Wednesday, and arrange for a launch for Thursday.

.... I am in Guatemala on a sixty-day tourist permit. I arrived at Barrios April 4th, and am scheduled to sail from Barrios June sixth. From your experience with the authorities here, do you think the excess of a few days is likely to cause me trouble, and should I do something about it now?

Quedo, s.s.,

RR

P.S. Beg to report, sir, Corporal Castro just arrived in good order and is eating tortillas on our front corridor. For all the verdura, many many thanks, also for the package from the Mekeels, and the welcome correspondence forwarded by Bennett. This last contained the Division of Social Science budget for next year, and, much more important, a letter from my son.

With regard to the peas, I must abase myself in apology. We found the peas -- Greta did -- in a badly re-packed box. As for the sardines, I certainly believe you when you say I ordered them. I seem to have ordered a great deal of everything. I must have been in a manic mood when I gave our order.

I send back some salt crackers, and some eggs, remembering that you said eggs are sometimes scarce in Panajachel.

There is probably more folk-lore here than I now suppose. It would shorten matters if you would briefly mention the lines of interest you have encountered (like the parrot business) among the ladinos.

Will you please stamp and mail the enclosed letters?

Comosiempre.

[P.P.S.] Is there more of our food we could offer you? Mandé - lo que yo le ofrezca-

Tuesday eve.  
[April 20, 1937]

Dear Dr. Redfield:

I am sending this in the morning with somebody; Marcelino arrived last evening with the eggs and the crackers, for which many thanks, and your letter which has kept us thinking ever since. This is the result of our thoughts, and I am sending it by messenger because some fast work may be necessary.

As far as we are concerned, your plans (to come here Wednesday morning, to

go -- some of us -- to Chichicastenango for the day and to see some lake towns (Thursday) are satisfactory. But we have been thinking that perhaps you could get more for the same trouble, time, and money by shifting dates a bit. Two alternative possibilities have popped into our heads:

1. Market days in Chichicastenango are Thursdays and Sundays. If you come here on Wednesday, mightn't it be better to do the lake villages first, and Chichicastenango on Thursday? Or if you think (and I am apt to think so) that you would get down here too late in the morning to go on lake trips the day you come, you might come down here Thursday or Sunday morning, instead of Wednesday, and then go through your original plan.

(For your information: Atitlán, if you were thinking of visiting it, is most interesting on Saturday, when the market is biggest. Therefore you could come down here early enough Saturday to visit lake towns and then do Chichicastenango on Sunday.)

2. The above all refers to any week. But it so happens that things are going to hum around here this weekend. Sunday the 25th of April is the day of San Marcos; and it is the titular fiesta of San Marcos la Laguna. At the same time there will be a fiesta in San Jorge (between Panajachel and Sololá). In both places there will be masked dances, or so I am pretty sure. Now, if there is no particular objection I have overlooked, and if you can get the car, it seems to me that you might profitably come down here Saturday or Sunday. If you come Saturday we would try to do the lake towns of San Marcos, S. Pedro, and Atitlán (if you are so disposed) that day, for the fiesta always starts before the "real day" anyway and I think the dance would be going on Saturday. Then Sunday on the way to or from Chichicastenango we could stop off at San Jorge. Or you could come down here

[The conclusion of this letter missing from Original files]  
-- Sol Tay.]

Wednesday noon  
[April 21, 1937]

Dear Sol:

Your communication, by hand (only one) of Corporal Castro, received and appreciated.

Your valuable information in re tourists, fiestas, etc. changes our plans. Let us try to make the excursion Sunday (to Chichicastenango) and Monday (to San Marcos and Atitlán). Will you wire Kidder, somewhat as follows: COULD WE USE CAR SUNDAY AND MONDAY NEXT INSTEAD FOLLOWING WEDNESDAY RICARDO TO CALL FOR US EARLY SUNDAY PLEASE WIRE REPLY TAX. Change the message to suit your superior knowledge. If it turns out that the stationwagon cannot come for us Sunday morning, let us arrange the excursion for the following Thursday (Santo Tomas) and Friday (lake villages.)

Greta is at the moment reading the flowery appreciation of the distinguished North American sabio. Myself, I have only glanced over its paragraphs.\* I take it the portrait labeled "Mr. Skelton" is intended to be you. They will probably elect you President next. Thank you for sending the paper. My neighbors are much impressed, and my stock has risen, by reflected glory.

.... Enclosed find ten pages that I wrote day before yesterday. You are familiar with the ironical advice, "If you want to write a book about a place, don't stay longer than three weeks." Somewhat in this spirit, I hurried to set down my impressions. But I am afraid I am already too late; already I begin to know less.

The real reason for writing this is to get you to correct my worst misconceptions. Obviously what I have set down has no hope to stand. Just because

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\* Description of our work in Panajachel, in El Imparcial (Guatemala City) by two Guatemalan journalists, Nadler and Skelton.

I can get nobody to say that brujeria exists, involving ladinos, it does not follow that it doesn't exist. It is probably there, and I shall probably encounter it. But might it be that there is more apt to be witchcraft in larger and more mobile places?

At any rate, read these speculations for whatever reaction they may produce in you, and then kindly express your reactions....

Let me know what you hear from the city on the stationwagon.

RR

[P. S.] Have you any advice on my Coleman lamp? It lights, and after ~~a few~~ a few minutes goes out. I changed both mantle and generator; it continues to act the same.

7 p.m. Thursday  
[April 22, 1937]

Dear Sol,

Perhaps our plans need not be much changed. Let us wait till the Kidders appear. If you see them first, say that we had hoped to use the stationwagon this week-end, and find out if indeed we are free to use it on Sunday. If Yes, then ask to have Ricardo call for us here early Sunday morning, and we will go first to Panajachel, and then to Santo Tomas on Sunday, as planned. On Monday we will visit the lake villages, if you will be so good as to get a launch and make a reservation for us at the Tzanjuyu. Should the Kidders return on Monday to Guatemala, we will return to Agua Escondida late Monday afternoon in a car rented at Panajachel.

If the Kidders stop here first, I will make the necessary enquiries.

I am appreciative of your generosity in sending the spare Coleman lamp. But I am sending it back, as last night I took mine apart, more or less, and put it together again; now it goes very well. I am taking out the decorations, and

two mantles (I still have two others); however. I return also the kerosene lamp. When I tried to light it, I found, alas, it has sprung a leak. Maybe there is a soldering tinner at Panajachel who can repair it.

Marcelino seems in a tear to get started; he refuses to wait for the moon. I have not had time to look at your comments on my Twelve Days; but I certainly feel the help of getting a response from you so promptly; arguing things out is a great help.

On looking again at the Kidder letter I gather that they will go first to Panajachel on Friday. Will you please tell them that we invite them -- all of them -- to lunch with us Saturday?

Hasta la vista -- it will probably be soon.

RR

Sat.  
[April 24, 1937]

Dear Sol:

We shall appear at Panajachel at about 9 tomorrow. If you and Gertrude feel like coming to Santo <sup>Tomas</sup>~~Jorge~~ with Greta, I hope you will. Perhaps you can introduce her to one or two of your friends there. Can you get a room for us in Panajachel? If not at the Tzanjuyú, then elsewhere. And can you get a launch for Monday?

Hasta la vista!

RR

Tuesday night

[April 27, 1937]

Dear Sol:

I hope Gertrude is mending, and that soon she will be entirely recovered. I think she was swell to let us take you away from her when she was feeling so poorly. Your presence on the trip made all the difference to us -- contributing to our pleasure, and to the purposes of our study -- but we wish she could have been along too.

This letter is going to Silvestre Miranda, Caporal de camino, by one of his mozos who comes back here to get food for the work gang. The gang is working near San Andres. I am asking Silvestre to see the San Andres marimbistas, and try to hire them for our fiesta on Sunday, May second. I am asking him to mail this letter in San Andres.

Will you (a) come to our fiesta, hiring a car to the cost of CIW, and bring with you a dozen bottles of beer, a dozen of aguas gaseosas, and three or four bottles of agurandiente; or (b), if you would prefer to stick to your work, send up same by Corporal Castro? The fiesta will begin about 3 p.m.; come when you want.

We are out of candles, and would appreciate six or eight.

Como siempre,

RR

Wednesday night  
[April 28, 1937]

Dear Sol:

This letter goes by the hand of Mariano Perez, friend and neighbor. He will wait for an answer.

I shot an arrow into the air in your general direction two days ago, but

it fell to earth I know not where and probably never reached you. I repeat what I said there.

The cumpleaños of Jamie is to<sup>be</sup> celebrated here Sunday. I have sent a messenger to one Benito Ajijay, or words to that effect, in San Andres, asking him if his marimba outfit will play for us from three to nine. You and Gertrude are invited. [We felt again what a peach she was to let us take you away when she was feeling badly. We hope she is now recovered.]

If you come, hire a car at our expense. Please bring three or four bottles of aguardiente, a dozen bottles of beer and a dozen aguas gaseosas. If you choose not to come -- and perhaps you will not care again to interrupt your doings -- then please send these things by Castro or equivalent.

We should some time appreciate receiving about ten more of each of fifteen, one and three centavo stamps; also if you have plenty, some airmail envelopes. No hurry about these, or the stamps.

Again I express our hope that Dona Luna is restored, and our salutations }  
to her.

Como siempre,

RR

P.S. Will you please mail the enclosed, adding stamps to those without. I cannot remember how many stamps should be put on a letter, ordinary mail, to the U.S.

P.S. Squeezed out a little bruja today, but very little, and with much squeezing. "Sorcerers" is started, but the going is slow.

Thursday AM  
[April 29, 1937]

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Mariano is here, and wants to start right back. Your previous message

never arrived.

[Gertrude is now mostly recovered and] we expect to be able to join you on Sunday. We shall bring the various liquids.

At the moment there is no time to go to the P.O., but I am enclosing a few postage stamps that we have around here and I shall replace them later. Also, here are some more air mail envelopes. We wanted to send up some verduras, but your Mariano explains that he wasn't instructed to bring cartage-equipment, so we shall bring some Sunday instead. Meanwhile we send a little bit o' California in the form of believe-it-or-not lemons.

Galley-proofs of my A.A. article have come and are being read.

[I am sending a whole cooked chicken with your messenger. We received it yesterday as part of the gift of baptism from my new compadre Santiago Yach. We unfortunately don't find ourselves with whetted appetite, at the same time we can't bring ourselves to throw it in the lake, and of course it would be very dangerous to give it away. We send it to you, Compadres, and you, if you wish, can find a worthy family to receive it.]

I have been too busy catching up to write the few thoughts I have on our mutual problems. I'll try to write something before Sunday, because I doubt if we shall have time for much talking up there.

Your letters are stamped and mailed. (A three and a one-cent stamp are required for ordinary letters within the Republic or to the USA.)

Did any of your people go down to Santa Catarina today for the fiesta? (San Pedro Martir; misa and procesión.) By the way, in Sta. Catarina there is but one ladino family, that of Manuel Recinos, a carpenter. It might be interesting to inquire what attitude, if any, your ladinos have toward such a situation.

Apropos your wind situation up there, I have found that while wind is not important as in Yucatan, yet it has mana in that it can bring disease or carry

it away, and to speak disparagingly of it will cause your mouth to be twisted in just such a way as you described for your patient-with-fits.

Best regards,

Sol

April 30, [1937]

Dear Sol:

Thank you for stamps and envelopes (for which) I will pay you when you come, for strawberry, for verdura, for old clothes for which there will be a warm reception here, and for very welcome mail.

By Corporal Castra I send you <sup>Juan's</sup>ms. , the Three Americas paper, ~~Juan's~~ mirror (stayed in my pocket after Jamie played with it) two cans of tuna and a dozen eggs.

Arrangements for the fiesta are progressing Benito Ajquijay is to come at three o'clock with his marimba. We have ordered a hundred <sup>n</sup>pa<sup>n</sup>yes and some orchata.? You are to bring more elegant drinks. It seems we are expected to send out written invitations! I am going to write them this afternoon.

Till Sunday,

RR

Monday evening  
[May 3, 1937]

Dear Sol:

Our neighbors are convinced that fodder is very scarce here, and that it is better we do not try to keep the horses. We could probably insist that it be fetched from the monte, but our need of the horses is so slight that I think it best not to push against their judgment. So I am returning them by Herculano Miranda, who will also deliver you these letters, which please mail (kindly have

proper stamps put on the heavy letters, and add to my account).

I send you four cans of apple sauce, anticipating a trade for ~~al~~da fruits, at some time when Corporal Castro is coming this way.

Our fiesta lasted till after ten; I think then they would have gone on playing, except that I crudely took it for granted the party was over, and thanked them -- as I wanted to go to bed. At that they moved up the street to the house of the Capral de Camino and continued to play -- I understand simply on the momentum my quetzals had given them -- until dawn. A few wild youths stayed up with them. Our girls, ordered to go to bed by their father, did so.

RR

[P.S.] Don Magdeleno tells me that when he was a boy San Lucas, San Antonio, Santa Catarina and San Pedro had communal lands. About the villages on the other side of the lake he is almost completely ignorant. He says Patzun has some communal monte now.

Today I heard "bien puede" for the first time. From whom? From Alejandro Morales, who spends his Sundays in Panajachel. Coincidence? Tal vez.

Tuesday noon  
[May 4, 1937]

Dear Sol:

Your courier and mine were traveling in opposite directions this morning. Herculano Miranda, with the horses, must have reached you after Marcelino left you.

We very much appreciate what you sent, especially the wealth of literature. I shall probably do no work this week, catching up on the world through TIME.

Thank you also for the canned fruit and the pickles -- both welcome. I send tapioca and one spaghetti. We are long on spaghetti, Ralston's food and shrimps. Would you care for any of these?

I send two cans<sup>\*</sup> of beans. We shall eat those cooked next door; we like 'em better.

... I don't know anything about the stationwagon, except that we expect Jane Jennings for a visit some time soon. But we don't know when. A letter from Bennett says that Kidder had just send word for everyone to come out to the dig<sup>[\*]</sup> -- something exciting.

Shall I send you the bottles from the beer, rum and aguas of Monday?

If there are still oranges, we should appreciate receiving some.

Como siempre,

RR

[P.S.] I send a National Geographic; we have little to offer in the way of literature. Also a SATEVEPOST.

I don't think we are short of any food, except jam, and we can always get honey around here.

Thursday afternoon  
[May 6, 1937]

Dear Sol,

Happy fiesta, igualmente. (I went with some friends to the lake to bathe and fish.)

The oranges are very welcome; so also the verdura, which we share with our

---

\* Only one- can't find other.

[\*] KAMINALJUYU, on the outskirts of Guatemala City, a most important Maya archeological site. ST

most intimate neighbors.

Replying to your "bead of something:"

I agree without reservation to your paragraph stating that there is no race problem; that there is a ladino problem (or an Indian problem).

You accept the general declaration that ladinos and Indians are pretty much super- and subordinate. You suggest that perhaps the fact that they did not tie up with race is a reason why they are not "more so" -- by which I take it you mean more strictly defined. I think this is likely. Where skin color, or some other persisting symbol of the status-group is present, especially where the symbol stands for conceptions as to biological difference between the two groups, the (racial) classes are more explicit and rigid.

What about this: The people I ask about Leonzo Tzok say he is an Indian. When I ask what his children are, they answer (as he has a ladina wife) that they are cruzados. Why don't some of them say, as they say of Juan Rosales, that either Leonzo or his children are ladinos?

A different but related question: Why in Dzitas, Yucatan, did this contact of peoples work out so that all people with Spanish surname were called vecinos (e.g. ladinos) no matter what their culture? Example: X, with Indian features, very dark-skinned, speaking only Maya, living in a rude hut, working his own milpa with his own hands, but having a Spanish surname, calls himself vecino, before the revolution was exempted from messenger service and called "soldier". One day this X went down to the plaza in Dzitas, and sat there "amused to see what a mess those Indians were making of trying to run the municipal government." (The vecinos ran it before the revolution.) (Of course this isn't race

either; it's a sort of codification of genealogy.)

As you anticipated, materials on sorcery and magic are appearing.

According to my present knowledge ~~and~~ the situation is:

- 1) The ladinos believe that some people can change themselves into animals and work black magic against others. The chief case is that of a ladino, not of the village, who was jailed for black magic. The disposition is to associate this black magic with the devil -- the individual got his evil gift from the devil.
- 2) I have no case of a ladino practicing balck art against anyone. I have no case of a ladino going to an Indian practitioner for that purpose, except Don Lupario's allegation that his enemy many years ago did it, because a zajorin then called in said somebody had.
- 3) The ladinos occasionally resort to Indian zajorines (a woman practitioner from San Antonio here is used among others) to get them to divine where lost articles are. They may also use them for advice on sickness -- I don't know yet.

I'm going to send you a memo on stories soon. I have read all your first batch. Very interesting. If the first isn't a myth, I'll eat it.

Have you encountered proverbs? Riddles?

You say nothing about the bottles. Shall I send them?

Here are some sardines.

RR

[P.S.] Please stamp enclosed cards - I don't know how much.

Saturday, five o'clock  
[May 8, 1937]

Dear Sol,

Thank you very much for sending the magazines and the excellent jam. I will ask one of the military force who go to Panajachel to call at your house for possible mail. It will probably be Benjamin Hieron (he is the popular young man who has enjoyed the benefits of eleven months in jail in Solola).

I send you:

Proof of the R-B book. Please read and send back to Fred. When I have looked over the short galley of my "Introduction" I will send that to you too.

TIMES, now received by us. Thank you for loan.

A short note on folktales.

I will reply at more leisure to what you have to say on race and class.

Some bottles (Castro doesn't have much room).

In case no one calls at your house for mail tomorrow, and airmail from home comes, please send it by someone. I am always willing to pay anyway twenty cents for speedy delivery of a letter from home.

Como siempre,

RR

Saturday  
[May 8, 1937]

Dear Gertrude,

What a magnificent gift of jam! I have already heard the fame of your strawberry jam from Dr. Kidder. And we were getting a little short on that sort of thing. You seem to be always showering us with presents. We can now send

back the Times, as ours have arrived. That is certainly a magazine one appreciates down here. I shall keep the other magazines for a little while because they make such a hit with my lady friends. They love the pictures of dresses (that would be exclusively a ladino interest, I imagine) -- and the ads of the Dionnes made a tremendous hit, as it was the first time they had heard of quintuplets. People came from far and near to see the pictures. We shall soon be able to reciprocate with some New Yorkers and Lifes, if you are interested. It was particularly good to have more magazines arrive right now as we are trying to keep Jamie quiet. Whether because he went into the lake (as the people here think) or from ojo as some others do, or just catching germs that are around he developed quite a lot of temperature -- and we even thought of pneumonia. But he is without temperature today and I think will be all right soon.

Bob says I am writing too much. This is like one of those long telephone conversations, feminine and exasperating. But I do want to tell you Jamie wore his little shirt and it fitted exactly, and was very becoming. I hope you are all right -- no aires attacking you or anything.

Sincerely,

Greta Redfield

May 9, [1937]

N.B. We gave away some of our oranges. In six days or so we could use more.

N.B. Why not omit "Dr. Redfield" from further speech and correspondence?

Dear Sol:

I send herewith proof of the short "Introduction" for the R-B book. If you think something I have written should be changed, please let me know.

Otherwise please send the proof back to Fred with your own.

I see no reason to change the view we have both expressed that there is no

race problem here, and no race prejudice. There are two culture-groups, subordinated and superordinated. It is possible, indeed it is encouraged, for a member of the subordinate groups to take on the culture which will admit him to the superordinate groups (eventually).

But the responsibility rests on us to show just how this works out in the many situations in which representatives of the two groups are brought into association -- marriage, employment, religious observation, recreation, and so forth.

So we have a great many sub-problems. I will begin with one: Is identification with the ladino group solely a matter of acting as do ladinos? You say (in your letter of Thursday) "a ladino is somebody with Spanish culture and language; an Indian is somebody with Indian culture and language." This sounds as if you regarded these definitions as complete. I think there are facts that throw doubt upon such a conclusion. I can get no one here who knows Juan Rosales to say that he is a ladino. All who know him agree that he has left the ways of the Indians, that he is well educated, speaks Spanish well, and comports himself as a ladino. But they insist he is an Indian "because his parents were both Indians. Now his children, they will be cruzados, because one parent is a ladina." They give other similar cases. They will say that if Juan Rosales goes where people do not know that his parents were Indians, then, for those people, Juan will be a ladino. From this point of vantage it looks as if ancestry had a good deal to do with being a ladino or an Indian. Do the ladinos of Panajachel say that Juan is a ladino? If so, we have something to explain. If not, and they call him an Indian, then it is the disposition of the subordinated group more readily to identify an emerged member with the superordinate group. Here those who know Juan respect him ( and probably call him Don ); yet they say he is an Indian.

What I am suggesting is that there is a problem of passing. The Alvarez

family have an enmity toward one David Miranda and especially the woman he lives with, one Jesus Salgado. They make a point of telling us that in their opinion she is no ladina at all (though she dresses like one and talks only Spanish in the house), but that "people say she is really an indita." Trying to put herself across as a ladina, in other words. I'll bet you a gaseosa that if it should come out suddenly that this woman's father had been an indito, the Alvarez family would feel they had won a point.

If this be true, I do not think it makes a race problem out of it. There is no "blood" in it. It amounts to alleging that Jesus Salgado is a more lowly person than she makes out.

Another problem: To what extent do the ladinos attempt to maintain, or assert the propriety of maintaining, relationships with the Indians which are consistent with superordination, and to what extent are the Indians disposed to accept such relationships, with knowledge of their symbolization of subordination?

I said I had never heard of ladinos working as field mozos for Indians, and asked you if you had. It turns out that there are many such cases right here in Agua Escondida. At least seven ladinos now occasionally work for hire in the fields of San Antonio Indians. Furthermore, two cases, at least, are known, one in Godinez, of a ladina working as a house servant for an indita "wife" of a ladino. These last two are regarded by my informants as very remarkable. Of the ladino field-mozos working for Indians, one ladino land-owner, who has not so worked, said. "That is a disconformity (es disconsonante) -- that one should so go out of his place (no se da en su lugar) -- that one should so humble oneself (se rebaja uno)."

This suggests to me that there is a theoretical disposition for the ladinos to maintain positions consonant with superordinate status, but that, like everything else in this loose, individualistic, practical society, it readily

gives way to expediency, without giving any offense. No moral sentiments are trespassed upon. One of the most popular young men among the families represented by the speaker of the speech I have just quoted, is one of those who has no land, and who works for Indian employers as well as for ladino employers. I do not think his status is hurt, significantly. It is probably regretted that he is not an independent land-owner.

In your latest letter you say you are glad that I am getting a little more depth to the culture. I do not think I am getting any more depth. I am getting a few more data -- more beliefs, more cases representing beliefs and practices. But no more depth. None of it seems to mean very much, to rest under any firm moral sanction, or, ~~at~~ least of all, to be interwoven with basic conceptions, or to be expressed in ritual or myth. I retain my first impression that the culture is shallow. The hot-cold business will illustrate. As you well said, here it is a way of classifying things that are good for you as contrasted with those that are not so good for you (but not wisely judged, as we would judge the difference of course -- the classification is practical, but unsound). But that is all the notion is. In Chan Kom, on the other hand, besides the fact that the difference was more intensely felt and practiced, it ramified into the conception had of nature, and into religion. Lands were either hot or cold, so people; cold was identified with rain and the gods; cold plants were therefore plants for rain rituals; drought and fever were identified, cold plants used to cure fever and to cure drought, etc. This is "depth" of culture. I don't find it here.

Later. <sup>E</sup>Padro Talo just arrived with correspondence. Many thanks.

RR

Sunday night. Dear Sol: The news that Kidder will take care of the duty on the food enabled me to revise our budget. I now see that it will be possible to

provide the \$700 required to get you home via Mexico and Yucatan. This can be done by taking \$200 from funds ticketed for Alfonso, but which I am sure he will not need, as he will not start for Lacandone country till January. This assumes that you will not need any further money during the rest of this year, except for some stenography, which I can provide out of another item. It assumes that your next return to Guatemala will be paid for out of 1938 funds. If you decide on Yucatan, better airmail Alfonso!

April Is This Afternoon

Correspondence of Robert Redfield

and

Sol Tax

1933 - 1944

(edited and with text by Sol Tax)

June 2, 1980

[pp. 308 - 402]

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308#

II

DEAR BOB (1937-1938)

[textual matter to be supplied]

Panajachel  
Tuesday evening  
[May 11, 1937]

Dear Bob (although I confess I feel the need of a rite of transition):

This letter is, I hope, going with Luis Noj, who a week from today is scheduled to be our compadre. Marcelino Castro was taken Sunday with Malaria and thus far my magic treatments haven't gotten him out of bed. For this reason I could not send the cot for Mr. Hanke, and I hope it caused him no suffering.

I am sending the cot now; also the mail that came for you today; also a necktie that Dr. Hanke left here; also a letter from Wagley to me, which is self-explanatory.

.... I have read with interest your comments on our folk tales here, and I am herewith returning the stories, riddles, etc. that you got in Agua Escondida. I may say at once that I have found no riddles or proverbs here in Panajachel. Spanish riddles are known to the ladinos (of course) and some to the few Indians who know enough Spanish to understand them. The same can be said about proverbs. But thus far I have failed to find anything of the sort in lengua. There may be some, but they are probably not important. I have not investigated except very casually, but I don't believe either proverbs or riddles are at all important among the local ladinos; a few are known, but they are not bandied about.

Your Locusts-moral tale is not known to the Indians I have mentioned it to. However, I talked to a lad from San Pedro la laguna, and he knew a slight variant of it, with additional details, and says that everybody in San Pedro knows it. It was opined that perhaps the story is unknown here because milpa, and locusts, are unimportant in Panajachel. It may be of interest that when I got on the subject of stories with the Pedrano he reeled off a long one that he said he had heard often in San Pedro in lengua; and this story is entirely unlike any I have heard here, and quite like yours in Agua Escondida. It is almost

entirely Spanish, with kings, princesses, changing into a bird, having tasks to do, poor boy marrying king's daughter, etc., etc. San Pedro is, as you know, a pure Indian village; ladinos have presumably never lived there, yet the Indians show a lot of white blood.

Your witchcraft dialog is pretty much what one gets here except that the Indians are if anything more credulous. That about Santiago Quiché is interesting because he is the most notorious brujo and charactotel in Panajachel; strange that Horacio mentioned his experience with Chivalán (that's how the name is spelled) and didn't talk about Quiché's own propensities.

I am fairly sure that there are no Indian songs here; I have never heard any (although most of the men whistle tunes often enough) by Indians, drunk or sober, or on any of a large variety of occasions. Furthermore I have asked and was told always that there are none. I do know, however, that in prison the men sing, and occasionally make up triste verses. Your Santa Lucia song, learned from a Nahualéño, could hardly be corrected by Rosales unless he hears it, since those two towns are Quiché.

I have now collected over 100 stories, and I should be surprised to find that they are not a representative collection. The reason for this is that I have been hearing stories casually told (at my prompting, however) and they always are the same as, or fit into one of the types of, the stories I have. Therefore if your stories are representative of Agua Escondida, and I have a feeling they are, we are indeed faced with a great separation of folklores. However, even assuming that our facts are right, we can't really draw a significant conclusion until we know something about ladino folklore in Panajachel and/or Indian folklore in Tecpán. What if we found that the Tecpán Indians have the same stories as the Agua Escondida ladinos? (I doubt it very much, but it is a possibility; and if it becomes a point of importance I can find means before we leave here of doing

some checking on the point). I shall try to do something about ladino stories here.

I cannot yet give a decent answer as to when stories, of various types, are told. I think I have mentioned that at wakes the conversation takes any turn -- gossip, agriculture, etc. among the Indians; whereas among ladinos here stories are told. Rosales points this out as a definite contrast. I have attended only one Indian wake and have heard none of the stories that are now written. Our boy Julián knows a lot of these stories (of all types) and he has heard some from his father, others from his mother, others around; his sister Maria knows some, and she has heard them variously from father, mother, and other sources. As I told you, men on the road, when they sit around by the fire in the evening after eating and before going to sleep, customarily exchange stories. I have never heard a real story told in justification of a belief; I have heard such things as this: when I say "pobres" in reference to my horses, my Julián catches me up and says that I shouldn't say that because it is said that horses refused to help Dios (referring to Christ in the manger) and if I show sympathy for horses, I shall have to pay for the horses' sin in the next world. However, I am pretty sure that some of these stories are occasionally told to justify a belief or action; the point only is that that isn't their chief function, or an important one. The stories are above all told for amusement; since they are true, they are like gossip in this respect. I hope to get more insight in this matter in the next weeks.

I shall send you copies of more local stories by the next messenger. As soon as milpa-planting lets up a bit, I am going to check up with some entirely different informants.

I have been thinking, worrying, and trying to get pertinent information on the ladino-Indian business. I hope to have something to say again shortly.

If Dr. Hanke wants to take a launch trip around the lake, I suggest (I mentioned it to him) that the launch might meet him below Agua Escondida. He has invited us to come along, and although time is short, we might accept, thus get away from things here. Perhaps you-all would be interested too? We could have an outing and get in some conversation at the same time.

Anyway, if Mr. Hanke wants to come down that way, I shall be glad to make arrangements on this end. I shall have to know exactly when and where.

Best regards,

Sol

Wed. afternoon  
[May 12, 1937]

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is diary that I have been forgetting to send; it is so dull that no wonder I forget.

Mr. Hanke is here with the car, and I think you will receive everything you order.

The only reason I would want to take a launch trip now is to talk to you; from what Mr. Hanke says, the chances of your going are not very good, so we shall not take the time. Interruptions here of one kind or another are so many that I don't want to induce any extra.

I imagine we'll get some time this weekend to see you anyway. I hope so. I don't think I want to go to Sololá either. When I do go (I hope we can have the car here after the Kidders go) I would rather go on business, with Indian-friend passengers. I can often get some good information that way.

I imagine you will be very busy these days; we know what it means to have guests in these small houses.

Best regards,

Sol

[No date]

## Prospective expenditures -- 1937

Owing to us by Institution (May 1) .....	85.01
Normal expenses in May .....	60.00
Juan Rosales, salary & expenses in May .....	30.00
Expenses in June, and getting to City .....	60.00
Rosales, salary and expenses, June .....	35.00
Guatemala City to Chicago, via Mex. & Yuc. ....	450.00
Rosales, salary & expenses, 6 months while we are gone, at \$35.00 .....	210.00
	930.01

This is besides secretarial costs which would be made to vary according to funds available. What somebody else doesn't type we shall have to type ourselves.

To skip the trip through Mexico and Yucatan would cut off \$150 of these proposed expenditures. To cut off Yucatan and to go through Mexico without staying very long there would cut off \$100 or so.

Even without Mexico I don't see how we can stay within \$700 unless we pack up quickly and skip home now. We cannot cut down on Rosales at all.

Is there no hope?

If we get a good price for the horses, we shall have \$40.00 or so extra; buyers are not, however, flocking to our doors.

If there just isn't any money, shall we plan to leave about when you do and go home on the cheapest way? If that is the best way, don't worry on our account.

A ray of hope: Our April bank statement just came, and I notice that on April 8th the sum of \$300 was deposited to our account. I have not taken this

into account, and perhaps you have; if so, we are \$300 richer than you think. This means that rather than the Institution as of May 1st owing us \$85.00, we actually owed \$215.00. (We have, according to my figures, received \$900 all told from the Institution this year; of this we have \$215 left.)

[Sol Tax]

Agua Escondida  
May 13, [1937]

I have to submit tentative figures for 1938 budget. Shall I put down the same amount for your expenses as during 1937?

Dear Sol:

As of May first, 1937, a total of \$944.21 had been advanced to you this year, according to the Washington office. The \$44.21 is (I took it from 1936 funds and they didn't say anything) the amount of the cost of the groceries which Mrs. Edwards is charging to your account. I will try to get this straightened out. Leaving that question, I express my understanding that the amount of \$944.21 includes the \$300 deposited to your account in April. From the last paragraph of your memorandum in regard to expenses received recently, I understand that you had not included this \$300 among your assets for expenses. You state \$930.01 (what are you going to do with that penny?) as the amount necessary for everything including Yucatan, but excluding typing. I conclude that now that you learn that \$300 was deposited to your account April 8, \$300 may be subtracted from this \$930, leaving \$660 necessary. Further, on or about May first I requested a further advance of \$300 which will appear on your May bank statement. That leaves \$330 still to provide. The amount of \$225 remains still uncalled for in the item set up for your expenses. I will write immediately to have this deposited to your account. That leaves \$75 to be provided. I will also ask to have an additional

\$100 taken from the balance of the amount set aside for Villa, and deposited to your account. It looks to me that you can go ahead with the Yucatan trip. Please look this over carefully; I am very bad at figures and often make mistakes. But if you see no mistake, go ahead and arrange the Yucatan trip.

A few more remarks on folktales:

1) Little doubt remains in my mind but that the tales I have collected here are a fair sample of what is told in A.E. This doubt can be resolved by a little more work before I go.

2) You raise the question: If the difference between A.E. ladino tales and Panajachel ladino tales is real, is this difference a local difference or a ladino-Indian difference? Your experience with the San Pedrano suggests the possibility that it might be at least in part local. In the first place it would be well to find out what tales Panajachel ladinos know and tell. In the second, as you propose, it would be well to study folktales among ladinos and among Indians in Tecpán. In fact, for several reasons I am now inclined to the usefulness of doing some work in Tecpán, among both Indians and ladinos.

3) It is probable that the riddle only rarely is taken over by Indians. Mrs. Parsons stated flatly that riddles were not transmissible between Spanish and Indian, partly because of linguistic reasons (rhyme, etc). She found that the Oaxaca Indians had no riddles. Then I told her that riddles pass back and forth between Indians (in Maya) and vecinos in Yucatan. Again it seems that Yucatan is the exception. Why? (1) In general, as I have emphasized, there has been closer interpenetration of Indian and Spanish cultures there. (2) It is possible that the mystical "catechisms" such as are included in the Chilam Falam books were aboriginal, and that thus the Yucatan Maya had a sort of riddle before the Spaniards came.

4) I still am surprised not to find proverbs among the ladinos. What about Spain?

5) Are the witchcraft stories included in your collection, stories that are pretty generally known and that may be told, in fairly stable form, when stories are told among Indians? I have found none such here; the dialog I reported was, as you saw, very casual and unformulated; the tellers did not feel they were telling casos; they were just gossiping. The whole atmosphere changed when they got on that theme: before that, virtuosos or amateurs in the story-telling art had been putting on appreciated numbers; after that, it was just interesting talk.

6) I have doubts that the Nahuala Indians composed the song attributed to them. Perhaps the road corporal himself composed it. Anyway, I have no way of knowing.

7) Apparently real is the difference in the prevailing situations in which stories are told: Among ladinos, characteristically at wakes; also, at any casual gathering where time is to be killed. Among Indians, around the fire on the road. Of course the ladinos do not so often travel, in company. But why don't the Indians tell stories at wakes? To the ladinos, the wake is a time for stylized play: then too they play a number of well-known games.

8) It seems to me that if a story is true, and its content is relevant to a matter of social judgment, then ipso facto it is to some degree a myth. If an atrocity story is told during a war, perhaps to shock or interest, nevertheless it also expresses wish or fear, and is a myth. My guess is that among the Indians, as among the ladinos, such few myths as I sent you are told, upon appropriate occasion as myths.

9) Were your stories told in lengua? Some in Spanish? All in Spanish?

10) What do you think is the implication of the phrase "muy de confianza el ladron porque el otro era indigena" in your story No. 52?

May 15th, PM [1937]

Dear Bob:

I happened to meet one of your paisanos at the house of an Indian on the other side of the river (by the way, the Indian is <sup>the</sup> Ilario Chur~~nel~~, our most famous zajorin; was your man there on business?) and he asked if he could be of any service. I thanked him and told him I would go to the P.O. and asked him to stop at our place on the way out and I would probably have something for him to take.

Here is a letter and a periodical; also, a pañuela left here, I think by Greta; also Jamie's cap.

....Best regards, happy birthday to Jane, etc.

Sol

Sunday  
[May 16, 1937]

Dear Sol:

.... I just found the puddings. They were in a box marked Salt Crackers. With my usual innocence, I put the box down in my inventory as "Salt Crackers" without opening it. I have a perfect record of having missed all the food I said was not here.

Here is Wagley's letter, and some proof from Fred.

I will try to find out why Aparicio went to the zajorin, but I don't believe I shall learn anything.

Como siempre,

RR

Thursday noon  
[May 20, 1937]

Dear Sol,

The faithful Castro has brought me more gifts from you: the vegetables came when much desired; the jam is highly appreciated; Jamie -- when he awakes from his nap -- will be pleased by the auto-truck; the old clothes will find a recipient here; the stories and the letter will be added to other datos.

.... I shall look for you tomorrow on top of Cerro de Oro.\* If you find hieroglyphs, wiggle your right ear; if you don't, your left.

We are perishing for mail. Cannot you arrange to have Marcelino go tomorrow, in case mail has come this afternoon after he left today? Or, in case none has come today, can you arrange to have him go to the postoffice tomorrow after the mail arrives and bring us any that may have come then? Please.

We have lots of food. I am sending you a few cans; if you don't need these things, just pack them away. And let us know if there is anything particular you need. The only thing we need is salmon, and I suppose you are pretty well out of that.

I do need a little typewriter paper. If you have extra, I could use about thirty sheets of yellow and thirty of white, or sixty of just one kind.

Please stamp these letters (note one airmail to Canal Zone!), and add to my growing account. Also please send me ten threes, ten ones, and five airmail fifteens.

Why don't you plan to drive down here on the morning of the 26th? We could explore a bit for likely house-sites. We are now planning to return to Guatemala City on June first.

I send you a few magazines.

Enclosed is a document I drew up recently. It should be useful as a basis for asking questions, and as a basis for comparison. Comparative material you might offer <sup>for</sup> the Indians of Panajachel would be useful to me.

---

\* A very large hill on the South shore of the lake, visible from Agua Escondida.

Aparicio Santiso probably consulted Hilario Churanel in order to get advice as to where he might find a job (he is looking for one). This is not certain, but probable.

Saludos a mi compadre.

RR

[P.S.] I return with thanks the borrowed curtains.

Saturday afternoon  
[May 22, 1937]

Dear Sol:

Thank you for sending what you did. I am glad to have the typewriter paper. I hope you have not robbed yourself. If you are short of anything, you can wire Bennett to have it sent down with the stationwagon on Tuesday. Do not hesitate to do so, if there is anything you need. The only things we need are butter and change. We still have almost a pound, but it will hardly last us the ten days more we are to be here. I would not wire just for this butter, however. As for the change (sencilla), perhaps you will bring us some Wednesday.

Please let me know if there is any food that we have that you could use this year. I am beginning to see what should be packed away for next year.

Sorry there was no mail for us. Our mail comes in clumps. Well, we have two more chances this week-end for mail: when Mariano stops to see you this noon, and when some of our militia stop to see you tomorrow.

.... Yes, we'll plan to come down there for the Corpus dancing.

Hanke left this morning -- a jolly companion, with much knowledge of historical sources. His participation in ethnological fieldwork was of the <sup>/?</sup> sketchiest. With all the company we have <sup>had</sup> recently, I haven't done as much work as I had hoped to do.

I have nothing to send you today. I put in with this letter a copy of my notes made following the reading of some of your stories to people here. I thought the reactions interesting, and suggestive of the following possible conclusions:

1) These people do recognize, under the name caso, stories which are not true and which are told simply for entertainment, and distinguish these, more or less sharply, from stories regarded as true.

2) There is more lore current about local places than I first supposed. With effort, one could probably get a lot of it among the ladinos.

3) This material suggests at once the extent to which ladinos and Indians do share a certain amount of lore, and at the same time the (to me somewhat remarkable) limits on common participation in knowledge, lore and custom. As for the former, one notes: that the Lake is uncanny, place of supernaturals; that something happened at El Ingenio, in which wild animals were involved, causing the pueblo to disappear, or move; that the "cat is king over the tiger," etc. On the other hand, note the apparent fact that your stories are with few exceptions unknown here. And the apparent fact that although these A.E. ladinos have for twenty-to-forty years worked with (and for) San Antoñeros, they did not know about the hoe-working myth -- they had all noted the practice of the San Antoñeros to bring their hoes with them from the furrow to the noon resting place -- but none of those I spoke to had any notion/<sup>why</sup>they did so!

I am encouraged to think that with more persistence one could define pretty closely the boundaries between these two groups, and learn something pretty definite about where the frontiers and the barriers of diffusion are.

Bennett writes that the consul tells him there is no obstacle to the importation of ducks, "provided they are domesticated." I take it that my red-headed ducks are indeed domesticated. So please close the transaction with

Rosales. I will call for the ducks when we go to Panajachel.

Hasta la vista, compadre. (Your ahijado needs your moral advice -- he has been throwing rotten tomatoes into the water tinaja.)

RR

Saturday morning  
[May 29, 1937]

Dear Sol:

Greta is sick with something - temperature, vomiting, bad stomach. My guess is that it is one of those fluey intestinal infections. She usually recovers from troubles pretty quickly. Under the circumstances I think it would be well to have the stationwagon here, as our plans for departure must now depend on several uncertain circumstances. Will you send Julio up here today, with bed and blanket? The bearer can ride back with him.

Bob

June 1, 1937

Dear Bob:

Enclosed are:

1. May expense account; it is smaller than estimated, but only because I have some outstanding bills, unpaid; and I haven't paid Rosales yet. My estimates remain unchanged.
2. Diary, to date, and dull as ever.
3. An envelope which the chauffeur brought up last week when he came. It came, you may remember, with the camera and films, and I assumed it contained instruction folder, etc. Thursday I discovered it was intended for you and awaited Friday to give it to you. From then until now I forgot about it, and you have my most humble apologies.

4. Some proverbs, etc., that Juan sent down from Sololá yesterday. There are copies of these here, but will you send back the list that was written in pencil, so that it can be copied? Or if you prefer to keep it and have it copied in Chicago, that will be all right too. I have now called off the proverb hunt, and unless you especially want a big collection, don't you think we can forget them for awhile?

5. A notation in answer to the question in [Ralph] Roys' letter re local agriculture, I am returning the letter too. I hope you don't mind answering him on the grounds that I have so little to say that I am ashamed to.

We were distressed, and are still worried and puzzled, to hear that Greta took sick after leaving here. At this moment the cot has come down, with letters from don Evaristo and don Tomás, but neither says anything about how you left. The mozo says you left yesterday morning, and I judge from that that Greta regained her health over the week end. We hope so.

Thank you for the butter and the Satevepost; we are triste because we can't send you any broccoli.

We are hoping to hear from you one of these days, especially to hear about Greta's health. And I shall write you tomorrow or the day after in any event.

Sincerely yours,

Sol

Guatemala City  
Tuesday morning  
[June 1, 1937]

Dear Sol,

We came into Guatemala yesterday morning. Greta was quite sick Friday night, knocked out Saturday, better Sunday, and yesterday very much better. Jamie started arrojando at five yesterday morning, but it was just a flurry.

Our despedida was attended by all our immediate neighbors; there were many tears. The camioneta, heavily loaded, had a difficult take-off, and just skimmed the hill outside of the aldea. The rains are making the road uncertain as far as Godinez; between Godinez and Guatemala I think there is no danger of any interruption.

.... A letter from Fred says the R-B book is in press; copies are promised for June tenth. The students are talking of getting up a dinner before the quarter ends, June 11th.

Dr. David M. Levy writes he wants to come for four weeks to "study mother-child relationships." "The village to be selected is in the neighborhood of Chichicastenango." He asks me to write him whether the rainy season will make his work difficult.

I will send the camioneta down to you next Monday morning. It is yours till you leave. Pay Julio one bird a day out of your expense money, and pay running expenses also.

Evaristo Herrare, of A.E., will deliver four pairs of sandals to you, which he failed to finish. If you can find room, will you please bring them.

Muchas gracias for the festal luncheon at your house.

Good luck!

Your compadre,

RR

Please tell Gertrude I was sorry to have sent the rugs back dirty. One was washed only.

G. R.

Thursday morning  
[June 3, 1937]

Dear Sol:

Thanks for your letter, with many enclosures. For all, I am grateful, especially for answering Roys's letter for me. Yes, let the proverbs rest. I will show Rosales' collection to Andrade -- a great proverb-collector, Andrade.

Greta is still weakish from diarrhea, but went to the market this morning and shopped. She is going to see a doctor today.

We are advised to go to Barrios Saturday, on account of uncertainty of trains. I will send Julio to you Monday. He will be paid up to and including Sunday, June sixth.

I enclose list of property left at CIW office. Also, I left there your steel tape, in care Bennett; and will leave your Best Stories book.

We are trying to collect our wits and our belongings. Kidder left packages of notes and a mental tube of maps for me to take, and I have all Jennings' baggage to get through customs. The ducks are blooming -- Carmen, CIW factotum, has made <sup>them</sup>/a cage strong enough for an elephant....

Hasta la vista!

RR

June 3, 1937

Querido Compadre:

Your letter from the capital duly received. We were relieved to hear that our ~~compadre~~'s health is restored and of course conscious of our neglect in not prescribing proper medical preventatives in the case of our ahijado. My candid opinion (to be frank and open) is that he took sick in anticipation of his separation from his padrinos, and I suggest that you take a rose-bush on the boat with you.

We shall expect the camionetta Monday at about noon or so. Will you please have the chauffeur

- a. leave the back seat in the office so that there is more room for cargo;
- b. fill the gasoline tank and buy a box of two latas of gasoline at "El Cielito" and charge all to my account; gasoline is cheaper in the city;
- c. go to Jensen's bakery before he leaves and buy us four loaves of bread (say 2 white, one rye, and one graham) and a couple of dozen cookies or pasteries.

We shall be glad to bring the sandals to Chicago; by the way, are they paid for? and if not, how much shall we pay?

I suspect that mother-child relationships in the neighborhood of Chichicastenango in the rainy season will be rather strained during the four weeks of Dr. Levy's residence. More seriously, I am absolutely certain that he won't find a typical Indian family where either the mother or the child speaks Spanish (consciously).

Will you please deliver our regards and regrets to R-B; I am very sorry to miss that party and shall be anxious to hear about it.

We both send our best wishes for a happy voyage.

Sincerely,

Sol

> P.S. Your horses had hardly gone a block before the chocolate pudding matured;  
/ and it was good! Thanks.

Saturday  
[June 5, 1937]

Dear Sol:

We are just leaving on the train. Julio will bring the camionetta to Panajachel Monday morning. He will bring you a box of gasoline (3.60) and a quetzal's worth of bakery goods. He will give you the receipts. Put them in

your expense account and give me \$4.60 when next we meet.

Yes, the sandals are paid for.

Julio is paid to and including Sunday the sixth.

Good luck and many thanks for all the help, stimulative and good fun you gave us. Ever your compadre,

RR

[Guatemala City]  
17 Junio [1937]

Dear compadre:

We are in a dizzy daze now, but prepared to leave tomorrow. (Actually, we may leave the day after; depending on whether we discover if it pays to spend two nights in Tapachula or only one -- if two days there are worth the trouble we shall leave tomorrow to catch the Pullman out of Tapachula on Sunday, and if not, we shall leave here on Saturday to get the same Pullman.)

Since you left we were in Chichicastenango twice, looking for a house for next year. We had difficulties, since in a short time no arrangements can be made. I have leads, however, and hope to get things fixed up by the time we come back.

We left Panajachel finally Tuesday afternoon, and have spent the time since then paying bills, getting our truck through customs, and on other business around here. We are quite tired and would like a day's rest tomorrow, but we shall probably leave in the morning.

The chief purpose of this letter is to inform you that when or if we get to Mexico City our address will be care of Wells-Fargo Express Company (the only address I can think of) and if you have anything to send me, such as letters of introduction, send them there. We expect to arrive in Mexico about the 28th, allowing almost a week to look around in Chiapas. But if the gasoline strike is not over, and if we can't get a car in Chiapas, we'll have to go right on

through, I suppose. We hope for the best and expect that Chiapas is too uncivilized for strikes, etc.

Whether we go to Yucatan I suppose depends partly on what we do in Chiapas; if we get a chance to run ourselves ragged there I suppose we'll be too anxious to get on a Pullman and go home, but otherwise we'll ship to Progreso. I can't tell you when we expect to be back in Chicago, but I shall write you from Mexico.

Best regards

Sincerely,

Sol

The University of Chicago

June 22, 1937

Dr. Sol Tax

c/o Wells Fargo Express Company

Mexico, D.F.

Dear Sol:

I enclose two letters which you may or may not care to present in Mexico City. I know that letters of introduction can be a bore if the recipient feels that he has to present them. You do not have to present these.

I give you no letters of introduction to people in Yucatan, because Alfonso Villa will meet you, if you wire him, in advance, and will make all the necessary arrangements for you. Neither do I enclose letters of introduction to people in Tepoztlan. I have recently learned that all my friends in that village have left it. I suppose they couldn't stand the things that were said about their community since I wrote about it. If you wish to ask for some one in the village you might ask for Gilberto Gaillardo, who is brother-in-law to Jesus Condé. Condé himself is in Mexico City. Or, you may ask for Cruz Villamil. He will

be glad to receive you and answer any questions.

I sympathize with you on the trouble it must have been to leave Panajachel and make the necessary arrangements for departure. We found it tiring too until we got on the boat, when we relaxed, as well as we could in the tropical heat, and enjoyed the rest of the trip home.

All seems to be flourishing around here. The R-B book is already off the press and perhaps you have already seen your work in print. R-B is tickled several shades of pink.

Phileo and Edith are here and it now seems likely that Phileo will be offered a job at the University of Toronto. I have already accumulated a lot of things to talk over with you when you come back here. Take it easy and if you are tired, postpone Yucatan.

We shall be slow to forget the many helpful acts you contributed to our stay in Guatemala.

As ever your conpadre,

Robert Redfield

August 26, 1937

[To:] Dr. Sol Tax

[From:] Robert Redfield

I am enclosing a corrected copy of Chapter III of the projected comparative discussion of the Tusik, Chan Kom, Dzitaz and Merida studies.

When you have looked over the manuscript, kindly return it to this office.

WESTERN  
UNION

1937 DEC 20 PM 1 05

DR. SOL TAX=

DLR 2972 GLADSTONE AVE CARE KATZ=

PLEASE SEND ME A CHECK FOR THAT PORTION OF THIS YEAR'S EXPENSE FUNDS WHICH YOU WILL BE UNABLE TO EXPEND BEFORE JANUARY FIRST STOP KIDDER WRITES HE WILL HAVE THIS TOTAL BALANCE CREDITED AGAINST OUR NEXT YEAR'S AUTOMOBILE OPERATION EXPENSES IN GUATEMALA STOP THANK YOU=

ROBERT REDFIELD.

2972 Gladstone Ave.  
Detroit, Michigan

December 21, 1937

Dear Bob:

Your wire was no surprise since at the same time I had a letter from Dr. Kidder suggesting that I send on \$200.00. I hope he won't be disappointed that I haven't that much ( and since planning to buy the radio and typewriter did'nt expect to have that much). I am enclosing a check for \$115.00 which is all that I shall have left over. Here is an accounting:

On hand December 1st .....\$644.43

Expended since:

Notebooks (check to R.R. ....	\$85.00
Steamship (round trip) .....	141.50
Radio (check to Sears Roebuck) ...	50.00
Typewriter .....	32.50
Stationery (advance supplies) .....	31.49
Rosales, Dec. salary, etc. ....	45.54

Gifts for Indians .....	5.34	
Postage .....	.27	
		<u>391.64</u>
	TOTAL	
On hand December 21 .....		<u>2<del>4</del>2.79</u>
Estimated future expenditures:		
R.R. fare to New Orlean and return	57.40	
Pullman to New Orleans .....	8.50	
Meals and tips on train .....	7.00	
Hotels, meals, etc. in N.O. ....	15.00	
Tips, etc. on ship .....	6.00	
Rosales, December expenses .....	15.00	
Films, medicines, seeds .....	10.00	
Additional gifts for Indians .....	10.00	
Miscellaneous .....	8.89	
	TOTAL	<u>137.79</u>
Estimated balance on Dec. 31st		<u>\$112.00</u>

That "miscellaneous" item covers such things as a scissors that I have to buy to take along to clip papers, baggage-handling charges, and whatever other things I'll think up later. If I have a few dollars left over when I get to Barrios on the first, I'll include some of the Barrios expenses in 1937 expenditures.

I have ordered a radio from Sears-Roebuck mail-order, to be shipped to New Orleans. It will be a much better one than any others I investigated (powerful, all wave, dry batteries) and \$50.00 includes extra batteries and shipping charges. The typewriter is a good buy: a year-old Corona portable with regulation Spanish keyboard. The only items of stationery that I did not succeed in buying are your large sheets of drawing paper and your 4X6 folders. I shopped in two places as it was, and this Christmas rush is too much for me.

I did buy one 4X6 folder that has alphabetical partitions and expands from about one inch to about 2 feet; but that will not answer all of your needs.

Shopping has taken more time than I figured; I have had to buy a hundred little things in a dozen stores, and I'm not finished yet. But have been getting some work done at home too, and you'll hear from me soon.

I plan to entrain here Sunday morning (the 26th) and will then arrive in New Orleans Monday night; that will give me all day Tuesday in New Orleans. I want to run up to Tulane if the Department is open, and I have to go to the Consulate.

Miss Greeter has a note of where I can be reached at all times from now on.

Sincerely yours,

Sol

[P.S.] Will you send a voucher for the \$115.00 to me, or what?

December 26, 1937

Dear Bob:

I am leaving in an hour for New Orleans, and I want to get this off before. Yesterday I had notice that the ship is sailing a day ahead of time -- Tuesday the 28th; I couldn't change my plans to leave a day earlier, so as things are I shall arrive in New Orleans just in time to take the boat. This means, in turn, that I shall save some money -- since I won't have time to spend any in New Orleans. I am therefore sending you a check for \$20.00 which I think I shall still have left over. I hope this gets to Dr. Kidder on time and can go with the \$115.00 I sent last week.

There is another thing: I ordered a radio (as I told you) from Sears Roebuck -- to be sent to New Orleans. I asked them to acknowledge the order to me here, and although two weeks have passed they have not done so. I am

assuming they made shipment and the radio is down there. If not, I shall cancel the order (I suppose) and there will be \$50.00 more to revert back to Dr. Kidder. I shall let you know from New Orleans.

I am enclosing two documents. One is labelled CHART I and is more or less self-explanatory. On as purely objective criteria as I could find, I have cross-classified the stories according to time, setting, and the kind of characters and phenomena involved. Note that since the classification from top to bottom is from more "sacred" or extra-mundane to more "secular" or ordinary, and since from left to right it is from older and vaguer to more recent and definite, the "myth" type should tend to cling to the upper left-hand corner.

The other document is a list of the stories, classified as in Chart I, indicating the nature of the subject matter (by plot) and noting if it seems to have a function (as Moral, Explanation, etc.). I have not tried to draw all the morals, nor gotten out all the little origins nor explanations; but I have most of them, except I didn't put down some too-obvious morals. You can see that all the origin stories are at the top of the chart and that moral-stories go pretty well through the whole classification falling off definitely only in the last row where no extra-mundane things are involved. (Please remember, by the way, that to an Indian Sex-power and characotel phenomena are ordinary phenomena; it would be difficult to draw a valid conclusion on the assumption that everything above the last row is "sacred" or "extra-mundane.")

I am starting out with a determination to work fast and furiously and to come back as quickly as possible. But how can one rush a Guatemalan?

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Sol

WESTERN  
UNION

1937 DEC 28 AM 8 13

DR SOL TAX

SS METAPAN UNTIED FRUIT CO DOCKS ( SAILING 11AM JULIA ST WHARF )

THANKS FOR YOUR TWO LETTERS AND TWO CHECKS. VOUCHERS TO COVER WILL BE SENT TO GUATEMALA. YOUR FOLKLORE TABLE WILL GIVE ME A BUSY WEEK END. HERE ARE MY GOOD WISHES FOR A SPEEDY AND SUCCESSFUL TRIP. I MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR GOOD WILL IN ACCEPTING CHANGE OF PLANS=

ROBERT REDFIELD

1938

January 3, 1938

Mr. Sol Tax  
Carnegie Institution of Washington  
12 Calle Oriente, #7  
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Dear Sol:

Mrs. Robert Morss Lovett, Mrs. Lydia Roberts, of the Home Economics Department of this University, and a Mrs. Ross are sailing January 5 for three weeks in Guatemala. Mrs. Lovett asked me if I did not have an associate in Guatemala whom they might meet there and ask questions about the country. Forgive me for telling Mrs. Lovett about you and be so kind as to give these ladies the benefit of your knowledge of Guatemala if your path crosses theirs during their short stay in the country. Of course I would not expect you to spend more than a little time with them and then only if they should ask it under circumstances which would not seriously inconvenience your activities.

In a recent conversation with Linton I mentioned the fact that Kidder had

been interested in the possibility of placing members of the research staff temporarily in universities. Linton said that as Strong is developing an interest in the archeology of Middle America, he could not see at Columbia that Thompson or Pollock would be useful to them, but he at once said that he would welcome an arrangement whereby you would give a course or two sometime at Columbia. This will not be possible for next year, but he said that he would like to consider it for the following year. I suggested that if he was able to develop a properly trained student, it might be possible for such a student to participate for a season in our field work as a part of the arrangements with Columbia University.

Dr. Merriam has announced his resignation from the presidency of Carnegie Institution effective at the end of 1938. Kidder writes that there is no intimation as to his successor. On account of the uncertainty Kidder is unable to make plans for the future of the ethnological-sociological work. Of course I think with you that Kidder ought to be Merriam's successor. But there is nothing I know to do about it but wait.

I hope your trip down was not unpleasant and that you are not going to encounter serious obstacles in what will at best be an exciting and trying task.

With all good wishes,

Yours as ever,

Robert Redfield

Panajachel  
Guatemala, C. A.  
January 6, 1938

Dear Bob:

Your telegram to the boat cheered me a lot; thank you. The voyage was quiet; only six passengers, but fortunately two were very interesting; one is a toxicologist

specializing in occupational diseases, mostly <sup>in</sup>/industry but with Latin American diseases a hobby; the other, his brother, is a planter in the most backward part of Alabama. Unusually intelligent and objective, I kept conversations trained to race relations, and I exchanged Guatemala for Alabama. I suppose it is nothing new to sociologists, but we finally figured out that the difference is that in the south there is something wrong in being a negro (or having negro blood, no matter how little), while here there is little or no attachment to the idea of Indian blood as such. We have said that before, of course. What I want to point out is only that that appeared to us both the essential difference in the two situations. Anyway, my company was more profitable than usual.

Our boat was late, so we had to spend a night in Barrios (where the hotel is much improved and no longer to be feared), and I arrived in G. C. the evening of the 3rd. I forgot to say that the radio was on the boat when I got to New Orleans, and most of the 4th was spent in getting it and the stationery out of customs. Had I known that as a returning resident I am entitled to bring in goods the duty on which does not exceed \$25, I could have done things more quickly. As it was, I wasted some time pulling Carnegie strings. (Mr. Bennett is no longer at the office daily; he still does the accounting, but one Federico Castañeda is the stenographer now.) Anyway I succeeded in doing all my business on Tuesday, and yesterday morning I left with a new chauffeur -- a young man from Coban who is overcautious but very good and works hard -- for Panajachel. On the way I stopped at A. E. where I did my first business.

At the Alvarez home only the girls and the younger brother were around; you can imagine how well I was greeted, and I wish you could have seen the faces of the girls and their squeals when the presents came out. I left them all the presents to distribute, except / the cook book. I told them that you more or less preferred the Pérez land, and suggested that the brother (what is his name?) come with me to talk to Pérez. Romelia told him to make sure that don Roberto gets

what he wants, and cheap, too -- else he might never come back. But it turned out that Pérez was willing for you to have your house on his land ( in fact he was flattered ) and he said you could just use it; I argued a bit for the necessity of buying the land, but not seriously because I didn't want to press matters. I told Pérez I would bring a contractor and we could settle everything on the land. (I stopped at the land on the way in to A.E. and found it all right, but could find no split rock, and haven't yet; and nobody else has. Earthquake? or a great mistake?)

In Panajachel I decided to go to ~~W~~mann's house, where I succeeded in getting a monthly rate of \$40. At the same time I found a place for the chauffeur here at \$20. Since I also arranged to pay him \$25 a month, my fixed expenses will be \$85 a month. But in return for that I shall have the greatest possible mobility, and I intend to make that pay in time. Naturally I had a lot of visiting to do here during the afternoon and this morning; but I managed at the same time to contact a contractor who has just finished a building here for Valerio Letona and is free for the future. His name is Isidoro López, and he is a carpenter himself. Since he is from San Lucas he doesn't at all mind going to Agua Escondida to work; so this afternoon I took him and his assistant carpenter and his maestro mason to A.E. to look your plans over on the ground.

I got don Magdaleno to come with Pérez and us to the site. By this time Pérez was convinced that it would be better to sell some land (since of course he might die and difficulties might arise under any other arrangement); but he refused to name a price, claiming that he would take what I offered. This put me in a spot, and an appeal to don Magdaleno did no good because he was between two friends and was afraid to name a figure. During the two hours we were there I finally got enough information on land prices to chance an offer (I was really more afraid of embarrassing everybody by offering too little than I was of paying

too much) and I measured out a plot of land bounded by the isoto-line, by the edge of the grove, by the edge of the cliff (where the Pérez holdings end) and by a line parallel to the isoto-line and 150 feet away from it. Actually this "lot" is 150X229, and as near as I can figure has something over four 32-vara cords in it. As I say, I chanced a price -- \$20 -- and judging from facial expressions and the statements of the bystanders, I guess I hit it pretty fairly. Anyway, my price was accepted without hesitation and although no money was paid nor documents signed, I guess you are the owner of this land. Perhaps you think I bought too much, but considering that your house will be 64 feet wide, and that you'll want something around it, I think it is all right. In the agreement was provision for a road running along the isoto; I suppose I'll put that in the documents too. Also, remember that I told Pérez that he can have all the leña you don't use provided he doesn't cut down ~~the~~ trees that you want.

The contractor studied the situation carefully and will give me his price in the morning; if I can get it from him before I have to mail this letter (at 9 A.M.) I'll add a note. If not, you'll know. The greatest difficulty in building your house is going to be the water supply (in any case, by the way, I still have to see don Octaviano in Sololá about riparian rights, including those for building, and permission to make a short path through his land). I imagine that the adobes will be twice as expensive as usual because so much water has to be carried so far. The tiles will be made in San Andrés, it appears, because Agua Escondida soil is no good (they've made them in A.E. and they've leaked). But I won't worry about all that if the contractor will take care of it all at a reasonable price; if not I shall have to find another contractor or else be my own.

In another letter I shall tell you the local news; my health is good and my spirits at a good level. I am expecting Rosales from S. Pedro tomorrow, and

meanwhile have hooked up the radio and find I get anything with the volume turned down. [Jeanette] Mirsky is in Concepción just N.W. of here -- a very isolated place -- with a female companion.

Sincerely ,

Sol Tax

January 7, 1938

Dr. Robert Redfield  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bob:

When I mailed your letter this morning the contractor was still shy of an estimate; as a matter of fact it took him all morning in consultation with his mason. Then I looked at his figures and threw up my hands; I think they would have added to a thousand dollars. Then I tried to make all sorts of bargains and economies to get the price down; and the best I could get out of him was a flat price of \$750 -- he to furnish all material and labor and to take all the responsibility. I told him I would think it over. I felt pretty low about it because I know you don't want to spend so much, and besides, my reputation as an ethnologist is at stake since I figured that it could be done well for \$400. What if everything I say is that far off? <sup>But</sup> I cheered myself with the thought that the contractor must be too high or nobody could ever build a house here.

I went for advice to don Romulo (the carpenter that made your screens); he is an old friend and I thought he ought to know enough to tell me what to do. don Romulo was in Sololá, but I explained to his brother and to my surprise found that Romulo has done such contracting himself. I was glad, because I know him and trust him. I waited half the day for his return, and finally decided to go to Sololá to see don Octaviano Jiménez to get <sup>the</sup> water rights

(and the right to make a short path for water-supply). He gave all to me with pleasure (we know him well from the time he was intendente in Atitlán) and after a visit to the priest (who told me, by the way, that Mirsky and companion live in the convento in Concepción) I returned to Panajachel and shortly had a conference with don Romulo.

We calculated all materials for the house, a surprisingly long job considering how simple the houses look, and finally thought that by getting some things in Guatemala when I go for other reasons I could buy everything needed (including adobes and tiles) for \$250. I then asked him how much he thinks he would need to pay himself and assistants, the mason and assistants, and all the mozos required; and he finally agreed he would take the responsibility for \$175. (The other contractor wouldn't touch that under \$400.) I finally accepted such a deal, that means \$425, unless I can save money on the materials (I left leeway in the estimates, of course) which -- if it works out -- will more or less save my face and your pocketbook. Nor will I have much work, because although I pay for the materials, Romulo will actually buy most of them.

I won't say that we are yet all set. don Romulo has to find a good mason who will do the work; then arrangements have to be made for the adobes and the mozos and the lumber must be dug up. The rest will take care of itself I suppose I shall depend upon Agua Escondida to furnish mozos that will work well; public opinion is with our obra.

Since you did not mention it anywhere, I did not include a painting job in my estimates; do you want any of the woodwork painted either for beauty or on the theory that it will keep better? Also, they tell me here that adobes keep much better in the rains if covered with a bit of lime; if there's money left over, and if you wish, I may therefore whitewash the back and sides of the house.

I shall start a bookkeeping system for the house. I already have an item of one dollar, since I paid it to the contractor for the day's time he lost. You don't have to put any money in the bank yet, but I suppose the expenses will accumulate shortly.

I received your letter of the 3rd this afternoon. Before I forget, let me mention that the air-mail rate from the U.S. to Guatemala is now only 12 cents; pay no more! I shall be glad to do what I can for the illustrious ladies when they come; I shall leave word at Tzanjuyú to let me know when they arrive.

The report of your conversation with Linton is very welcome. I would like an arrangement such as you suggested. The time element is agreeable too. We want to put in a long season in Guatemala in 1938-39, and then I would just as soon not come down for a couple of years, and with some teaching and my writing-up of Chichicastenango (and San Pedro, probably) I shall have enough to keep me busy for that long. So I am hoping for some such arrangement as you suggest.

I trust that no matter what successor to Dr. Merriam is named, we won't be cut off completely; but Ojala! that Dr. Kidder get the job.

Dr. Mirsky just called on me; she and her companion (a Miss Raymond who is a niece of Ruth Benedict's) were living in the convento in Concepción, studying women and children in preparation for the coming of psychoanalyst Levy; but they left this afternoon and (on the recommendation of Mrs. Rohrmann whose family lives there) are now headed for a town in Alta Verapaz. It appears that although the men in Concepción were easy enough to talk to, the women and children would have none of them. My advice was formally asked and as quiddly rejected. I simply suggested that since the ground was broken here in Panajachel, a four month's study of women and children might be very productive right here. The argument in reply was that Panajachel is too "mixed". When as an alternative I suggested other small lake towns where I know people well, the argument was that it is best to study in one of the important centers of the old political life (like Chichi-

castenango, Atitlán -- too big, though -- or Sololá, of which Concepción is a small sample) because they are places where the cultures are typical or at their height or something. Anyway, I should have learned by this time that there's a vice in advice. But Dr. Mirsky is a pleasant person; she and her friend are camping out tonight up the river near where the road crosses it for San Andrés, and they will catch the camioneta for Guatemala in the morning.

By the way, while I'm in a conversational mood, Dr. Mc Cord (a shipmate, you remember) advanced what is to me a new Theory of Culture. We'll call it the Bacteria Theory. The bacteria (or diseases) affect culture in two ways; (1) through individuals; good minds are killed off or warped along with the mediocre and the culture falls, suffers, or is warped. One notable example of this is Woodrow Wilson, in 1918 and 1919 he suffered a kind of spinal or cerebral syphilis, and the effect of this kind of syphilis is to magnify the ego -- so Wilson didn't bother with the Senate and you know what happened. (2) a disease may be epidemic and have large effects; thus, Greece fell because it was stricken with malaria, and Cortez was able to conquer Mexico because small-pox preceded him. Also, of course, the North American Indians lost out to small-pox. That's the argument. Now on my own account I add that China is rapidly going because of a notable lack of bacteria in Japan; Stalin has surely been bitten by some kind of bug; England has sleeping sickness; What is the germ in Germany? And so on.

Panajachel has seen some changes, all in a tourist-direction and all on this side of the river. Tzanjuyu is being run by Rivera (the owner) and the lake front has been beautified -- all the ugly buildings removed and the ground landscaped; Weymann calls his place Hotel Weymann, and he runs launches too -- and his electric light plant supplies this part of town, including Hilario Churonel who has a bulb at 50 cents a month (other Indians will take electricity too because it is probably about as cheap as ocote, kerosene, and candles); the

Vinter's, who bought our old house the Villa Berta have fixed it up as a hotel and call it Casa Contenta against the advice of friends who say that is the name applied to houses of prostitution; Valerio Letona has just completed the gaudiest edifice in town which he will open as a restaurant; Clark is apparently ready now to build a 22-room hotel on his land here. The news of greatest note is that Father Rossbach is very ill and is in a hospital in New Orleans; the priest in Sololá (who goes up to Chichicastenango every Sunday) doesn't hold out much hope for him.

It is remarkable to watch the development on this side of the river of the tourist-inspired Gold Coast; everybody is awaiting the opening of the automobile road from the States. But it is more remarkable to see how Indian life (and for the most part ladino life) goes on unaffected. There are indirect effects (such as the electric light) and the use of camionetas has gone up together with tourist trade but is independent of it, and of course there is a growing market for vegetables that the Indians themselves don't much use; but on the whole very little change has been occurring.

Ending this hodge-podge --

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

January 11, 1938

Dear Bob:

I am happy to be able to say that to call this a progress report would be no misnomer. Tomorrow will be a week that I have been here, and this is my report:

As I wrote before, the land is bought but not paid for; but I finally located the split rock and, finding its direction outside the land that I bought, I had to arrange to change your holdings so that your house can

be where you want it. (The split rock is on the land of Jimenez which begins at the cliff; the reason the rock wasn't located before is that I assumed the land <sup>below</sup> belonged to Pérez, and therefrom arose misunderstandings, for the answer always was that there was no split rock).

A good path (for beast and man) has been built from the water-supply to the house-site; and another is in process of being built (tomorrow will see it finished) from the house-site to the highway. The latter road will serve several purposes; the adobes are being made near the highway, and water will be carried to the adobe-place by means of this road, and of course the adobes will be carried up this road too; also, the road will permit our car and trucks to come right up to the house-site. I remember that you questioned the need of having a car-road from the highway to the house and suggested that a place for the car could be made on the highway; but the latter is almost impossible, or at least as difficult as making a road in, and since the road in will serve well during the building, I thought it wise to make it at once.

By tomorrow night the house-site will be cleared of bush (leaving stand the trees until I see which have to be removed), and within the next two or three days a galera will be constructed -- in which the carpenters will live and work and in which materials will be kept. Thursday will arrive a shipment of two tons of lime which is coming by truck from Guatemala and which will be put on the site. That sounds like a lot of lime, doesn't it? But from all estimates it won't be too much.

The adobe makers have begun their work; I have furnished two gasoline drums and eight five-gallon tins to take care of the water, and now that the path is made, nothing should stand in the way of rapid progress along that line. Early Friday morning the masons start work; the first job is

the simiento (or foundation for the adobes) in which half the lime will be used. When that is finished we shouldn't have to wait long for the first adobes. I have let the masonry contract to Leonso Tzok, on this basis: \$50 if he finishes by March 1st; \$45 if by March 5th; and \$40 if later. This may keep him sober (although I expect I'll be wheedled into giving him the fifty even if he's a little late).

I have let the tile and brick contracts to a man in San Andrés; and I am making arrangements with a trucker here to deliver them. All told there will be 4500, and since our car couldn't take more than two or three hundred each trip, it wouldn't pay me to try to handle the cartage job. By the way, there is no clay suitable <sup>for</sup> tiles in A.E. and I got a much better price in San Andrés than in Godinez.

I have let the heavy-lumber contract in Godinez ( I need 548 varas of 3X6's, 4X4's, 6X6's, etc.) and they are getting to work on it this week while the moon is right so that the wood won't rot quickly; I, too, thought this a good idea. I have already bought the boards for the doors and windows, and also the reglas for the roof (latter in Patanatic, and they will be drying in a day or two for use when we need them). I have made arrangements to buy and have delivered the wood (machimbre) for the tepancos and the room-partitions.

To cut this short, I have bought practically all the material for the house, and I think at favorable prices. Next week I am going to the city (after Dr. Kidder arrives, so I can see him at the same time -- at his request) and will bring back the hardware, nails, c<sup>e</sup>ment, etc. that will be needed. Then I think I shall have everything.

I have had five mozos working the last couple of days, and will have more starting tomorrow. One of the five is don Magdaleno's son, and on his

father's insistence he will take no money for his work. The family feel they should do this for you. I shall later buy the young man (whose name I can't remember -- what it is?) a present equal the value of his time at least. By the way, Magdaleno says when you come, if you wish, Romelia will work for you without its costing you a cent; he wouldn't give his daughters into domestic service to anybody else, he says, but for you he will gladly, and without pay. I wouldn't be getting along so fast without his help (and that of the family) for he and Tomás find me mozos on short notice. Tomás himself is one of the mozos, and he takes money only because he needs it.

Don't think I have been spending all my time on your house; I have been to A.E. four times during the week, but never more than half a day have I been away. Meanwhile, Juan Rosales came here from San Pedro and I went over our Panajachel material and then took him and his family and their household goods to San Pedro and went over his work there. He has made a fine map and has apparently complete lists, by cantones, of all the families; he is now starting on a household-census, and also is getting land boundaries where feasible. He has a pretty nice house, but considerable difficulty in getting such things as vegetables (which Pedranos seem not to eat) and milk; I took the liberty of telling him that reasonable extraordinary expenses incurred in getting such necessities will be incurred by the Institution.

Meanwhile, I have renewed most of my friendships here. I hope that starting next week I won't have to go to A.E. more than once or twice a week, and then I can do my work here and also start the Chichicastenango job.

So far I have spent only \$12.32 on your account. I'm in no hurry for money from you, but may I remind you (if you haven't done so already) to ask the office to put some expense money in my account which (Gertrude writes) isn't

doing so very well.

Now I have a question about the house. I don't know if I told you that the house will be made in one piece instead of three separate pieces. The result, as you know, is that the first room on each side of that sala will be sharply trapazoidal in form. What would you say to partitioning off the sharp corner in each and leaving a door-space or having a door in each case. This would give you two closets (which might be fitted with shelves). They would be small, but no smaller than the furniture you would have to have made later to get the corresponding convenience. Remember that these sharp corners won't be much good later anyway, and there would be some wasted space. (Also, such a partition would be cheaper than cabinets; even with doors both partitions wouldn't cost more than two or two and a half dollars.)

Another question: there is a distinction between a ceiling and a tapanco. The cross-beams in a ceiling are above, so that the ceiling is smooth; in a tapanco, the cross-beams are below, and of course (from the point of view of walking around on top) it is stronger than a ceiling. Do you want tapancos in all three sections of the house, or ceilings, or perhaps a ceiling in the sala and tapancos in the wings?

Another: how would you like the fireplace finished? The center of course is brick; do you want adobes placed around so that you can plaster the fireplace in the inside of the house? You might draw me a plan of how you would like the fireplace and the mantle.

I am making the corredor a little wider than your specification ( on the advice of everybody ). You see the pillars will take up about a foot, and if the corredor is only 3 feet wide, there will hardly be room for a chair behind or near a post. So I am making the corredor 4 feet wide. (Also I suggest that it will be more pleasing aesthetically that way, because remember it is some

64 feet long.)

The following is just a possibility for your consideration. Your doors are to be split horizontally to allow the top only to be opened. I notice that Dr. Wallace here had the same idea but did it differently. He has a solid door, but in the upper half he has a two-leaf window which he can open while the door itself is closed. This window in his case is screened, but of course it need not be. His way is a little more expensive than yours because of the carpentry involved.

Any little suggestions that you think of I shall try to build in for you if you send them on. Unless you pass on changes to me, the house will be built as per your plans (except for the corredor). I still have high hopes of building the house for around \$400.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

January 11th [1938]

Dear Sol:

Your letter of January sixth was received by the Redfield family with enthusiasm and renewed appreciation of what you are doing both for the ethnological project and for us. I admire the promptness and efficiency with which you acted in connection with the Pérez land. I suppose there are still many difficulties to be overcome, but the first important step has been well taken.

I do not think you have arranged to buy too much land. The size of the tract you mention seems to me about right. From what you say about it I feel

sure that you have secured approximately the piece of land we had picked out, although I do not understand what has happened to the split rock. That rock is as real to me as the breakfast I just ate. Yet could I have dreamed it? Or has it rolled down the slope into the lake?

I think I had in mind a tract nearer the center of the grove than the piece you have selected. But I do not think the change, if any, is significant. I assume that even after clearing enough trees away to build the house, there will be trees left to the north of the house as well as to the south, as well as plenty of trees east of it.

I assume that you will have papers drawn up which will give me legal title to the land. Perhaps this cannot be completed until I get down there, or perhaps it will be necessary for me to give you a power of attorney -- if such a thing is used in Guatemalan law.

It is to be hoped that Don Octaviano makes no difficulties about water and right of way. Of course I am willing to pay for these benefits in reasonable amount.

It was a lucky chance that you found a contractor at once. May he prove to be satisfactory.

The arrangement about allowing Perez leña is quite satisfactory.

We enjoyed hearing about your visit to the Alvarez household and imagined with pleasure the reception of the gifts.

I am glad the radio works, and that you have a suitable chauffeur.

All goes well here. Greta had a letter recently from Gertrude. At the University Cole and I are engaged in negotiations to bring Krogman here beginning next year -- it isn't settled yet but looks probable.

As ever,

Robert Redfield

January 12th [1938]

Dear Sol:

Your letter of January seventh brought welcome news about the house arrangements and renewed my admiration of your enterprise and efficiency. I think it was wise of you to seek out your friend Don Romulo. You must know enough about his work to trust him and to feel confident of his ability. Certainly we liked his screens.

As I understand it you have made an agreement with him to pay him \$175 for all labor on the house, you (I) to pay for all materials. Does this mean that you will trust Don Romulo to select proper materials at reasonable cost? I suppose this can be safely done.

Before February first I will deposit \$400 to your account in the Detroit bank.

You speak of buying tiles. What has been the decision concerning the roof? And you say nothing about the fireplace. I suppose that this has been taken into account, and that either you or Don Romulo is to find an experienced fireplace-builder.

We neglected to include provision for excusado. This vital necessity should of course be provided; the structure must be built (not near the house) although the item is added to the estimate.

Unless you think that leaving the house over the rainy season in an unpainted condition would cause it to deteriorate, I think the painting could be left for us to do when we get down. It will give Lisa and Tito something to do. I think all the adobes should certainly be whitewashed.

What you tell about the Mirsky enterprise is amusing. The more I see of advice the more I see that it is a stimulant for which people ask so that it may produce in them a reaction which will enforce their own previous convictions.

Your news of the Atitlan region entertained us. I wish I could counter with something to represent this primitive academic community. Let's see --- Ina Brown fell on the ice and broke her arm. Mrs. Bingham's boiler burst and she and family are living with relative\$during repairs. Archaeology is booming in the department: McGregor et al have organized an all-archaeology special seminar with both local and imported talent. Harry Hoijer has received, via the Department, a typewriter that writes all languages at one, is electrically operated and electrically lighted, and is hung with more gadgets than the White Knight. Tonight is the annual Trustees' Dinner when the President tells us where to get off. And nobody does. (A visitor from Madison tells me that Charlotte Gower's contract there is not to be renewed. Who is to be appointed in anthropology is not announced.) I have to make a speech at the Chicago Psychological Club on Friday; it is to be the dullest speech of my career.

Take care of yourself.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

January 15, 1938

Dear Sol:

I am speechless with admiration of your efficiency. If ever you go into executive work you may claim a rousing recommendation from me. I hope that now you will have time to attend to your own problem in Chichicastenango.

The location of the split rock and the moving of the land selected must make the site conform very closely to the tract Greta and I originally picked out. I suppose that eventually papers will be drawn giving me title.

The making of a road from the house-site to the main road is of course an improvement over the original suggestion. I did not make it because I thought

it would be more difficult to carry out.

Don Magdaleno's eldest son's name is Pedro. He must be suitably rewarded. Perhaps at the end he will accept cash.

I am sorry that I did not understand the difference between ceiling and tepanco. I think the sala should be ceiling; the other two structures tepanco.

I am delighted to learn that it will be possible to build the structure in a single piece. That will give us more space, as well as improving the appearance. Your suggestion to make closets in the two large corners of the trapezoidal rooms is a very good one. I should be obliged if you would have it carried out.

I find it difficult to draw a plan for the fireplace because I do not know what combination of hearth and chimney the fireplace builder is used to. I believe I gave you dimension for the openings I think the total masonry structure (bricks plus adobes) should extend a considerable distance (a foot and a half or two feet?) on each side of the opening. This would be whitewashed, and an appropriately massive structure result. I think there should be a mantel, reasonably wide. I have no objection to a tile mantel, but I think I would like it better if it could be made of a slab of wood, if such can be found. It would have to be hardwood. Pine would char and splinter. It would not matter if the piece was old and irregular; in fact it would be better. But do not spend much time on such a detail.

You are quite right to widen the corredor. I had a feeling when I drew the plan that it was too narrow.

If the house is to be built in a single piece, then we should have doors between the sala and the two immediately adjacent rooms. If the cost must be increased thereby, do it anyway.

If the divided doors can be made Wallace's way at an expense of no more than four dollars per door, do it.

Today I wrote Mrs. Edwards asking her to put \$400 of CIW expense money in your Detroit account. I will put in another \$400 of my own money by Feb. 1st.

What you have accomplished in so short a time on this house is remarkable. For me it is like building a house by rubbing a magic lamp.

Perhaps other minor additions to the house may occur to you. Use your judgment about ordering them done.

I am glad that Rosales has made such a good beginning at San Pedro. It is quite proper to have his extraordinary expenses paid out of our expense funds.

Last night I made a talk at the Chicago Psychological Society on "The Formulation of a Problem in the Study of Society." I outlined the problem on the causes of secularization and individuation, from the Yucatan and Guatemala data. If you can find time, I will write up what I said and send it to you. Giving the talk sharpened my understanding of the matter, but it also showed <sup>to</sup> me more plainly the shortcomings of what has so far been done.

This afternoon I am going to New York for some conferences.

With a great deal of gratitude.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

January 20, 1938

Dear Bob:

Your letter of the 15th received yesterday on my return from Chichicasteango.

First, about the house. The adobes all round are now about three feet off the ground and progress is reasonably fast; I may be held up a little by delays in lumber-deliveries, but I hope not. I have now included the two additional doors that you suggest, but I am afraid they may cut out the closets -- or at

least the one in the kitchen; nevertheless I would agree with you that the doors are highly desirable. All outside doors will have two-leaf openings in the upper half -- at practically no extra cost. I shall, I think, be able to make your fireplace the way you want it without particular difficulty. (I have taken time out to learn the engineering principles involved in fireplaces by examining all local specimens; I have found that all masons need direction in such delicate matters, and I've decided I'd better take personal responsibility for yours; and I hope you aren't smoked out!)

I think I'll take back what I said about your ceiling-tapancos. I still hold by the definition of difference I gave, but I now suggest that you would certainly prefer all-tapancos. The original idea I had was to use this wood that I think is called "ceiling" in English; it is that light-weight <sup>have</sup> ~~give~~-fitted (there should be a name for what I mean) board that the rooms in Tzanjuyu are made of. This is the kind of wood that everybody assumed I would use, and when I suggested using plain 10-inch boards, I was frowned down. Since then, however, I have noticed that in Wallace's house and in the Mayan Inn just such plain boards are used, and they are much more attractive when placed above the tendales to give a beamed ceiling. Also, the ceiling is much stronger, and also it comes out a lot cheaper. So I am planning (pending your approval) to use boards in <sup>a?</sup> tepanco style. Boards and beams would be left rough and they would stain nicely. The great difficulty with this system is that (since all wood here is green) spaces would eventually open between the boards; the solution to that (and it makes a more attractive appearance) is to have the boards overlap slightly, Thus one would be above, the next below, the next above, etc. (all, however, above the tendales) if you get what I mean. This system takes slightly more lumber, but since boards of 3 vara are \$1.00 a dozen, that won't make an appreciable difference.

I am still a little puzzled about the wooden room-partitions. The obvious material for such partitions would be this "ceiling" (called machimbre here); everybody expects me to use this, and they also expect me to have it doubled, so that the two-by-fours don't show on either side. My choice is to use "ceiling" either single or double, or to use a single or double partition of boards; or I have another choice which I am beginning to lean toward, and that is to use adobes on end (woven in between diagonally placed two-by-fours); this wall would be plastered like the rest of the house. An adobe wall like this would be cheaper than wood. Take your choice.

When your letter came I had not yet made arrangements for legal land-documents; Pérez has always been easy-going and I have been letting it ride. This morning, however, I talked to him and told him that there is no sense in our waiting because only God knows what might happen. So started the battle of politenesses in arrangements, for Pérez wants to leave everything to me. He suggested that you should take the whole piece of land, from the road to the cliff and from the isotos to a point beyond your house; this would make a quadrangle easy to measure, and it wasn't the first time that he had mentioned that. I was on a spot because I didn't want to spend more of your money; I told him that it would be all right, but that you don't want to spend money that you don't need; and I finally suggested that if it would be only a little more money I would take the responsibility; finally I suggested that if he thought that \$25 (rather than the original \$20) would be fair to him, I would be willing to pay that much. He agreed. The result is that you will have at least three or four times the original amount of land, and of course the road to the site will be legally yours.

I had planned to draw up the documents myself, after patterns that I have and can obtain; but Magdaleno told me that a document drawn by a lawyer

is thought of very highly by the President and the Jefe Politico -- what he meant is that if a matter comes up in court, such a document is better; and he most seriously advised my having the Sololá lawyer do the work. This is a matter of some \$3.00, and I suppose I might as well do it; I shall (if my plans go through) go to Sololá with Pérez and his documents on Saturday and start proceedings. As a matter of fact Romelia asked me to take her and others of her family back with me to Panajachel on Saturday so that they could go to the fiesta in San Jorge, and I might as well go the rest of the way to Sololá at the same time.

I don't suppose I'll need a power-of-attorney or anything just to buy land; as far as I know, the buyer's signature is nowhere required, and money is legally acceptable, isn't it, under any name the payer chooses to give.

Well, to Chichicastenango. I went Tuesday and came back Wednesday evening, and I covered a lot of territory. Only time will tell how successful I was, but ... one interesting possibility was opened up. I would like your advice. But first let me explain the whole situation. I am, as you know, looking for a place in a cantón of Chichicastenango that is on or near an automobile road .... [one road] is between Sta. Cruz Quiché and Patzité. From a previous trip I knew that the road passes through maxeño territory, and yesterday I explored this. Twice the road is actually in Chichicastenango lands, but in both places there are no homes in sight. But (and this was news to me that I missed on my last trip) I found that upon arriving in the town of Patzité itself one is only two blocks from the boundary line (at the top of the hill) and maxeño houses start immediately....

Now just assume that we were living in the town of Patzité (where a house might be found and fixed, or one built without difficulty, of course) and see where we would come out. We would not be living right with maxeños, but in all

*Rec original  
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Should go  
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municipal?*

probability we could make friends with them and we would be close enough for frequent visits; I do not know (and seriously doubt) if there are any Spanish-speaking families or bright young men among the close Chichicastenango households -- but on the other hand there may be some in Patzité itself, or some Patzité Indians who would partially serve. I would not fool myself into thinking that our life with cantón maxeños would be nearly as intimate as, say, in Chicué (assuming we could get in there) and I know I could not make as good a study of the cantón of Mactzul as I could of Chicué (assuming that we were accepted into the latter at all). That much on the debit side as far as original purpose is concerned. Now about the advantages. I needn't mention that it would be more pleasant and perhaps safer to live in Patzité than, say, in Chicué; let's not talk about the really private aspect of the business now at least until I hear what Gertrude says, for she may see some great disadvantage to set off the advantages. Consider the business end alone.

You know that perhaps after the next field season we ought to (I think) get out of the Midwestern Highlands and break into another region. Well, if we should do that, our experience even with this region would be perhaps more limited than it should be, for I would have studied only one community of that whole Quiché area. We'll be better off for Cakchiquel and Zutugil, of course, but that doesn't help us for the other. But a residence in Patzité would broaden the scope of the study considerably as far as wide acquaintance is concerned. A kilometer away is Chimente, an aldea of very-important Totonicapán, and probably a typical example of the industrial municipios of Totonicapán Department (and we haven't studied an industrial community, you know); there I already have good connections. On the other side is Quiché itself, about which I know nothing. I might get a good enough little sample to see what

differences there are from Chichicastenango, if nothing else. Then there is of course the cantón of Chichicastenango that is so close. And finally there is Patzité itself. You may remember that the municipio of Patzité (which has no more than about 300 households all told -- it is a vacant-town municipio too) is a sample of Santa María Chiquimula, which is a very important large place that is inaccessible and practically unknow to whites; Patzité was cut off from the mother-municipio by the Departamento line, and the people of Patzité are in every sense (I am led to assume) Chiquimultecos. So I would be getting some information on (call it) Chiquimula.

At the same time I would get another case, like that of the Lake, of distinct municipios with the most intimate of contacts. Patzité is an important market-center for the region. Also, I could study the strange phenomenon of economic specialization in a very good instance; Chimente is pottery and some woodwork; Quiché is hats; Patzité is wide-range comerciante (and some hats and also sewing-machine men's shirts); I don't know what that cantón of Chichicastenango is.

You suggested last year that I find a place in the monte in Chichicastenango in which to write up Chichicastenango on the ground, so to speak and not try to do a real study there, but just naturally soak in a lot. Now I may be able to arrange that (the difficulty is really more of time, when you come down to it, than anything else) and I have not -- with all my arguments for Patzité -- discarded the idea. But what would you think about doing more or less the same thing in Patzité' instead? Which of the two possibilities do you think would give more to our program?

I have another item on the agenda. Your mention that Gower might not remain at Wisconsin induced me to write to Prof. Gillin there asking him to consider my name if applicants for jobs were being considered, and I took

the liberty (in explaining that I wasn't contemplating quitting the Institution) of mentioning Dr. Kidder's plan and referring him to you for further details. If he writes you (I consider the business a wild chance, though) I would appreciate your doing what you can. I would like a Columbia connection, but for personal reasons I would far rather be in Madison and near to Chicago than in New York -- in fact I have a fear of great strange places, and also I'm not keen on what I know of Columbiana.

You don't have to thank me for building your house; I don't know when I've enjoyed anything more (both in the solving of a particular problem with limited time and money, and in watching something grow out of nothing) and I'm certainly getting my time's worth in knowledge and experience. By the way, you know I have both Indian and ladino mozos, and the only distinction in behavior that I have noted is that only Indians carry the water because that is a real mecapal job; that much of a division of labor is assumed, but nothing else that I can see. Some other time I shall write a little more about A.E. and such things.

I might as well finish this page with random notes.... I dined with Mrs. Lovett and companions at the Mayan Inn and answered questions; they are coming to the lake tomorrow for some days and I promised them some time. My talabartero friend in Chichicastenango has sold my saddles for a good price (but will make me new ones if I prefer them to the money) and is negotiating to sell one of the horses at a good price.

....Since I needed clay for the adobe-mortar I have had a hole dug for your excusado; since the hole is large, I may make a two-roomer, and one can serve the servants and visitors; I may make that building of on-edge adobes too because it is cheaper than wood that way and I am having trouble getting lumber.....

If I write too much this year, remember that I have to keep up my English

some way.

I wish you would tell me about your Psychological Society address.

Best regards,

Sol Tax

5724 Dorchester Ave  
Chicago  
Jan. 24 [1938]

Dear Sol:

Your long letter of January twentieth arrived this morning. I have just time enough to reply to the most important matters before returning after lunch to the University.

.... First about your own arrangements for next year. I think that most time and energy should now be put into preparing monographs on Panajachel and on Chichicastenango. I do not know that they should be published, but I feel sure that they should be completed as if for publication. The most important reason is that a consideration of such monographs should enable us to sharpen our problems and make more definite our future fieldwork, so that it becomes progressively more closely guided by plan and definite problem. The second reason is that the submission to CIW of completed mss will make more secure the position of our studies in the entire CIW program.

From this I pass to the view that your next period in the field should be spent where the Chichicastenango material can be brought up to a point where it is at least level with the Panajachel report. I suggested that to write it up in the field would be an advantage, because you could refer to the raw materials as you wrote it up. I still think that is a good idea.

The more special idea that you might supplement what you know of Chichicastenango life from the town end by a view of it from the canton end is of course consistent with the foregoing notions. It is not essential to the

plan I have suggested. It may be impossible, short of learning the language, to get any genuinely intimate view of Chichicastenango cantón household life. It may be that to build and occupy a house in Chicué, out in the fields where Indian houses are, even if feasible, would not bring you any closer to intimate cantón life than if you lived in the pueblo itself. Or in Patzité.

But if the plan I have suggested is to be followed, then there are two minimal requirements: (1) that most of your energies be bent to completing the material necessary for a Chichicastenango monograph, and to writing it; (2) that you do this where from time to time you can consult Chichicastenango Indians about Chichicastenango life. The pueblo itself would provide you with some Indians, who could do this; but they would be largely the same as you have used before; the angle of vision you would have on the life would not be fresh; and the tourist developments make it a bad place to work.

I think Patzité should be considered. The advantages it has as a base for further work in other types of Guatemalan societies are not to be disregarded. These advantages provide a second line of support for the argument that you settle in Patzité. But the first line question is, Could you live conveniently and comfortably in Patzité with access to Chichicastenango culture and society? So I await with interest information as to what you find out about the possibility, if you lived in Patzité, of getting frequent access to intelligent, Spanish-speaking maxeños. If you can do so, then Patzité is all right. If, in addition, there is good hope that you could be introduced into one rural maxeño household in Muctzel, then the suitability of Patzité is by that increased.

But I think the rounding-out of the Chichicastenango study should come first; the exploration of the Patzité-region could be done too; but the first consideration is the suitability of the place chosen for working up the

Chichicastenango monograph.

As to my house. Everything you have done is approved, except that I would prefer not to have the horses sold. I could use them next autumn. If they have not yet been sold, and can be kept without much expense till next fall, please do not sell them.

The suggestion to make the ceilings all tepanco, with 10-inch boards, is good. The rooms will look better that way. Have the ceiling boards overlapped, to anticipate spreading.

From what you say, it would be both practical and attractive if the partition walls be built of adobes woven in between diagonal two-by-fours. I lean to this method if it proves practicable.

I am pleased that I am to own more land than originally planned. I would rather have three acres, or four, than one. I only hope Pérez feels that he is getting enough money. Let me know, if you doubt this. At any rate he could continue to plant wheat in so much of the land I take that falls in his wheatfield, except for what is taken by the road.

Better have a lawyer draw the documents.

As for the fireplace, you will have to judge as to the technical competence of the mason, and as to whether his design will provide us with a fireplace that will give out heat but not smoke. If there is still time, I can send you a booklet on building fireplaces. The important question in connection with the fireplace is of course, will it work? Beyond this, use your judgment as to the outside. I enclose a photograph of a fireplace build of adobe around firebrick. It might stimulate your mason into doing something of the sort. You will note that although there is no mantle, two shelves on pillars at each side take the place of a mantle.

You have, I am sure, done no harm by writing to Gillin. Of course it is

not sure, if the matter came up, what J. C. Merriam would do about a joint arrangement. I have not spoken recently to Kidder about it. You might take it up with him when you see him, tentatively. Recently a letter came to us from someone at Wisconsin asking comment on four U. of C. PhD's under consideration for a job at Wisconsin; your name was not among the four.

The Columbia connection would be a good one for you. Things are different there since Linton and Strong have gone there.

Among many other things to thank you for, I thank you for being helpful to Mrs. Lovett and her friends.

I will write you more freely when these dark and budgetary days are over at the University.

As ever,

Robert Redfield

January 25, 1938

Dear Bob:

I think the time has come for a weekly report (at the end of the third week).

Perhaps of most interest to you will be the report of the land-transaction accomplished last Saturday. Your "lot" is officially 80X101 meters, a quadrangle bounded by the road to the east and the cliff-line on the west and consisting of the northernmost portion of the Pérez holdings. I paid over the \$25 and also had to pay the lawyer \$4 (he overcharged me \$1 because I'm a rich American) and 60 cents in stamped paper and registration fees. The original document will be filed officially in Sololá and I shall receive a copy for you in due time. My name does not appear in the document at all.

Next, my trip to Guatemala City. I left Sunday afternoon and returned

at noon today. I had all day yesterday, therefore, to devote to shopping for the house, and it took the whole day, too. I bought cement (two barrels of 400 lbs. each) with which to make concrete for your floor; concrete is better than cement on a base of stones, and no more trouble as far as I can see. It requires one part of cement to two of sand and three of small stones (which I shall have to have transported from the river-bed here -- but which I should have to import for a cement floor anyway). Then I bought hardware for all the doors and windows; by the way, whether you like it or not you will have swinging doors leading from the sala to the kitchen and to the first room of the other wing; maybe you won't approve, but I thought it a good idea, and you will save a couple of dollars or more. I bought fairly good hardware, but got a good price. All outside doors will have uniform yale-lock sets with a door knob on the outside and a handle on the inside. (Cost, \$1.10 apiece). I found also that the excusado would be better for a regular door knob and lock arrangement rather than a hook inside and a padlock outside (for when you are not there); but I bought cheaper hardware for that purpose. The glass for the windows was cheaper than I thought it would be, but the plancha and orno accessories were much more expensive. I had to go to an iron foundry and have them ordered (though some of the pieces were already made and I took them along). I couldn't exactly carry out your instructions for a leña-or-coal stove, because it appears that there is only one satisfactory arrangement and that requires no building-in: in the plancha-openings 3-inch-deep coalholders may be placed and coal burned in them. These cost a couple of dollars apiece, and I didn't buy them because you can get them anytime you wish later. I also bought some copper screening of which the holes-in-the-wall of the excusado will be covered; since I found a bargain in remnants -- considerably less than half price, I bought more than we need (80 cents worth, in fact) and if

you can think of a couple of door-openings or windows that you'd particularly like screened, I'll have the work done while we're about it.

I visited A.E. on the way back from the City and found that the adobes are all finished (in record time, I should think) and the masons are working fast and should finish the walls this week. Also, I found that the sawyers in Godinez are coming through as per schedule, and lack of lumber probably will not delay things. Except boards -- I'm still at a loss there.

Oh, I forgot: in the city I picked up a (new) plank of so-called palo blanco, a tropical wood that they tell me is both very hard and very beautiful. (I think it is the wood out of which the body of our station wagon is made.) I hope you weren't planning on a dark mantle; I could have gotten cedar or something, but this is supposed to be better quality. Anyway, it is over 7 feet long, 15 inches wide, and an inch and a half thick. It cost 91 cents.

In case you are curious, I am enclosing a statement of estimated costs and of expenditures-to-date on your house and land. I think the estimate won't be far off. By the way, have you thought of furniture? If you wish, during the rainy season don Rómulo can be trusted to make anything you wish according to exact specifications that you send me or him; I advise you to act reasonably soon if you want something, however, so that the wood can be bought and left to dry out a bit. If you send specifications before I leave, also, I can have the prices set.

In the city I saw the Kidders, of course, and had some time to talk over my work of this season; but there is nothing special to report. The Kidders have hired a car for their stay this year, and expect to buy another station-wagon next year. They are not digging now, but have a staff of pottery experts. Dr. Kidder says he wouldn't be considered for the job of President, nor would he be interested in it were it offered. (If you don't know and are

interested, his son Randolph is being married in New York to Dorothy Robinson on February 5th from 123 E. 79th St.)

I received a letter from Ralph Linton today confirming your conversation, saying that both he and Strong would want me, but that he doesn't know if he will have sufficient control over the Dept. to do anything. Benedict is acting as head of the Dept. now, he says, and although it is supposed to rotate, he doesn't know. But he says that if he has anything (or enough) to say, arrangements could be made. Ralph hasn't changed much yet.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

P.S. The iron hooks for the fireplace are being made to order at the iron foundry. Do you want them placed on the side-walls of the fireplace? About what distances between the front and back? About what distance from the floor? Should the hooks come out perpendicular to the walls? Should the hook-part point straight up? (I could make a good guess on all of these questions, but I might be wrong, so I'd rather ask).

	Item	Estimate of Total	Expended to date
	Price of land	25.00	25.00
LAND	Lawyer's fee and other costs	4.60	4.60
	1500 adobes at $\$2.00$ 1/2	22.50	22.50
	40 qq quicklime at .50	20.25	20.25
MASONRY	2 barrels cement at 6.50	13.00	13.00
MATERIALS	3000 tiles at 7.00 M	21.00	
	1500 bricks at 7.00 M	10.50	7.00
	Transport of tiles, stones, etc.	16.00	.75
	600 varas heavy lumber at .05	36.00	10.00
	4 doz. boards for doors at 1.50	6.00	4.87
	2 doz. reglas for windows at .50	1.00	
LUMBER	12 1/2 doz. reglas at .50 m d		
	7 doz. at .60 (for roof)	10.45	10.45
	Plank for mantle	.91	.91
	12 doz. boards for tepanco, <del>max</del> partitions, excusado at 1.00	12.00	<del>12.00</del>
	83 lbs. nails, various prices	7.57	7.57
	2 lbs. glue at .25	.50	.50
HARDWARE	10 lock-sets at .85 and 1.10	10.50	10.50
& SUPPLIES	11 window fasteners, etc.	2.24	2.24
	Hinges and screws	5.77	5.77
	Window glass	3.88	3.88
	Screening	.80	.80
	Stove and oven irons (and freight)	21.50	21.00
	Masons (contract)	50.00	2.00
	Carpentry (doors and windows)	25.00	25.00
LABOR	Carpentry (roof, etc.)	30.00	
	Mozos (300 jornales at 10 pesos)	50.00	12.47 + 21.77
	Contractor's estimate	1.00	1.00
MISCELLAN'S	Gasoline drums, tins, boxes	4.00	1.70
	Who knows but?	3.03	
TOTAL		425 .00	213.76

(Note that the estimated total on the house alone is \$395.40)

January 30, 1938

Dear Bob:

Yours of the 24th at hand. I agree with you fully about Chichicastenango. So, I find from her recent letter, does Gertrude. My job has got to be ~~to~~ get Chichicastenango down; I don't hope to be able to do it as thoroughly as Panajachel, since it is larger and I won't have as good assistance -- but I'm going to do it as well as circumstances permit. Therefore unless I find a maxeño "intellectual" available in Mactzul, Patzité is out. If Patzité turns out n.g., Chicué is the next best bet; and if that is impracticable, and if the Chiché road does not belatedly turn up anything, then as a last resort it will have to be the Pueblo. Is that about your position?

I shall save the horses for you. My talabarero friend has sold the saddles, and he offers me the choice of giving me the money received (\$12.00) or making me new ones. If you are going to have the horses, I think he might as well make new saddles unless you have some other idea (another type of saddle or, perhaps, U.S. saddles brought down with you). Your choice again.

I think Pérez is perfectly satisfied with our deal; the consensus seems to be that I paid neither too much nor too little. If that is true, chalk up a happy accident.

You seem worried about the fireplace, and that gives me pause. I remember years ago at a house-party I picked up a phonograph record and offered to drop it on the floor without breaking it (knowing that it could be done by dropping it on edge); everybody said "No,no" but I confidently dropped the record; and it broke. Now I think I can make you a fireplace; I have studied the matter from samples at hand and have had a lot of advice. The one at Weymann's works beautifully and I don't see why I can't copy the essential factors. I mentioned the matter to the Kidders, and they said that only God can make a fireplace work,

and you never know till you kindle the fire. And after all that phonograph record did break. Well, if there were a mason around here who had made a successful fireplace, I would take him to A.E. for a day; but the only experienced one here is the one who made Wallace's fireplace, and that had to be patched up. I might get a mason to do it just to take the responsibility from my shoulders -- but my stronger nature resists. The fireplace must be made this week, and I regret not having your booklet; but if you will send the essential pages air-mail, I can at least check up on what I have done and possibly make repairs if I err.

Since I already have your plank, I don't think I'll use the Southwest pattern; anyway, the base of the hearth is made and that would have to be torn up; and besides, I think you'd probably tire of the radical design. And don't forget my artistic temper<sup>e</sup>ment.

Your house is coming along as per schedule. The walls are all finished; they will be plastered this week, and maybe, toward the end of the week, the concrete floor can be put in. I hope to have enough concrete for your kitchen too, because I think mescla there would be disappointing as more and more water spilled on it. (As a matter of fact I'll spread my concrete as far as it will go because it requires no more work than mescla). Your excusado is also started and it promises to be the best in the Department. Also, I think your room-partitions will be finished by tomorrow; the adobe-on-end system works well.

I spent two days in A.E. last week, and plan to spend only two there this week. After that I may get down to one day a week (Saturday, which is pay-day). I had another conference with Rosales (but he came here), have been doing a little here in Panajachel, and plan to try to settle this Chichicastenango business this coming week. I would go up there tomorrow,

but the President is coming through and I think I would be in the way and also fail to get anything done. The President's trip rather upsets normal activities.

I didn't get to see the Lovett party as much as I would have liked to. Their plans were changed by the Clark people, and at the same time I had to go to the City; all there was time for when they got down here was an exchange of regret notes.

Re Columbia; I talked with Dr. Kidder while in the city, and he seemed to approve, but he suggests waiting until after the change of administrations before thinking much of anything. The new President might have different ideas.

Now something new has come up (or maybe you know about it). Brewton Berry of the University of Missouri writes me tentatively offering me the summer school job there. Eight weeks (June 13 to August 5), three courses, and \$500. Now what do you advise? I have written to Dr. Kidder, just in case you think I ought to take the job, asking both his opinion and his official attitude. The ~~the~~ advantage that I see is the teaching experience which may be a talking point later on, and would also help me clear and order my knowledge. The disadvantages are two: (1) I would have less time to work on my book on Panajachel, and (2) as near as we can figure, Gertrude will probably be confined just about June 13th -- and what such a job would do to our domestic life I can't quite imagine. I have written Gertrude that I would consider the Missouri offer (assuming Kidder has no official objections) only if you thought it were something that shouldn't be missed.

So again I must await your next letter with great curiosity.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

Jan. 31st.

Dear Sol:

This is just a note to acknowledge your weekly report dated January 25th, with news of the good progress of the house, and details as to your shopping expedition in the city. All the details of which you speak sound good to me. I hope the fireplace works out so as to make use of the piece of hardwood you have bought. I should think the kitchen door and window openings would be good ones to screen, if there is screening left over.

I think I have been guilty of confused and incomplete thinking in the matter of the fireplace hooks. I had in mind the possibility of using the hooks to support a spit on which meat might be cooked and also to support a rod from which pots might be suspended over the fire. Now, on thinking more about it, it does not seem practical to try to make the hooks serve both purposes; besides, there is little meat to cook in that fashion. I now think therefore the hooks might be used to support a rod from which pots might be suspended. The hooks should therefore be near, but not too near, the top of the fireplace opening, and placed with their openings upward. If the sidewalls of the fireplace are at an oblique angle to the face of the fireplace, the hooks might be inserted in the side walls, obliquely to those walls, so as to emerge parallel to one another in such a position that a rod might be laid across them. But if the side walls are at right angles to the face (and to the back of the fireplace) then the hooks will have to be inserted in the back wall, provided they are long enough so that the pots would hang away from the back wall and not bump too much against it. Please do not give this detail too much attention; the hooks could be left out entirely.

I suppose that some of the bricks you list in your list are firebrick;

a fireplace, to be safe and to last, must be lined with special brick called firebrick; this is harder and more fire resistant than ordinary brick.

We will send you some specifications for furniture for Don Romulo's rainy season. Do you know now how long you are likely to stay down there? I look forward to hearing more about progress made towards arrangements for your headquarters next year. Patzité leading by a nose?

As ever,

Robert Redfield

February 6, 1938

Dear Bob:

Your letter of the 31st just received. I have quite a bit to say, and I'd better note answers to your letter first. The fireplace will work out well with that plank I bought; in fact the hearth is all finished and only the upper chimney lacking. I am taking Chito Weymann with me in the morning to inspect what has been done, because he saw the fireplace built in this house and he thinks He Knows. I am confident all good principles have been embodied. I am thinking now of building in small bookshelves on each side of the hearth; no more trouble or expense. I shall try to do something about the hooks; I think they are too short to go into the back, and the sides are parallel, but they might come down from the top or else be put into the sides and bent outward. All brick around here is firebrick; aside from flooring, bricks here are used only for poyos and ovens (and a few hearths).

Well, the house is receiving its first coat of plaster; the partitions of adobe are working out well (all finished) and are being plastered. The stone bases for the pillars are set and the pillars being finished. A door and a window of one of the little rooms have been set in place so that

we can keep the tools in a locked place on the site. I was up there last Wednesday and again yesterday, and took the carpenters up both times. A week from tomorrow they will go up to stay until the house is finished. Unless you quickly object, you will find a permanent staircase (rather steep) up to the tepanco; I am not clear on where I'll put it, but wherever it is, I shall build a sort of closet under it so as not to waste space. I was very surprised when I went there yesterday to find that all the adobes are used and some still needed; I had thought we'd have more than enough. I have ordered 200 more, and they will be made tomorrow and Tuesday and will dry quickly enough so that there will be no delays; the masons have enough other things to do (three are now on the job). My hopes are to get the house all finished by March 1st; I have been going up there only on Wednesdays and Saturdays, but have been pushing things then.

I received today a very noncommittal but friendly letter from Gillin at Wisconsin. I received a letter from Dr. Kidder strongly advising that I turn down the Missouri offer, and since I had decided that a veto from either you or him would do the trick, I am writing Missouri my regrets. Otherwise no news from abroad. But plenty here.

After writing you last about Chichicastenango, I chose Tuesday to go up to Chichicastenango. Starting at six A.M. I hoped to return the same day. But on the road to Sololá we had a collision with a truck owned by Antonio Ralón of that town. The chauffeur and I were not even jolted, but our nice new radiator grill was bent and broken to an unrecognizable form; one fender was well smashed; a headlight lens was broken; a horn was broken off and bent; and the radiator was dented but not broken. Of course that cancelled my trip to Chichicastenango. It took a couple of hours for the

police commission to come down from Sololá. The chief of National police there is an old friend (was alcalde in Chichicastenango when we lived there and if you remember he was employed by us for a little while) and there were no legal difficulties. Everybody decided it was our fault more than the other fellow's (and indeed my driver was going a bit fast on local standards and had he been sharper witted he might have turned off to the right a bit and avoided or partially-avoided the collision); but the damage to the truck was slight (and Ralón is a pretty good friend too) and we decided to pay for our respective damages and let it go at that. Otherwise the chauffeur would have been held for more investigation and there would have been long and costly proceedings. So I ~~am~~<sup>had</sup> Ralón signed an acta saying it was an unavoidable accident and nobody's fault. (Since then Dr. Kidder has written his approval of this settlement.)

One result is that I have fired the chauffeur; but he continued to work for me until today, when I obtained another. I had to pay him for the whole month (the law requires notice or pay) but I am going to make up for that -- and also part of the damage -- by my new arrangements. I found that there is an ex-chauffeur living in Panajachel, a man by the name of Pancho Lara; he was a chauffeur from 1914 until a couple of years ago when, according to most reports, drink got the better of him. He has a reputation for being one of the best chauffeurs and also the best mechanic in the region (he has been earning his living these last years as a fixer of one thing or another). My only problem is to keep him off his cups, and since he is one of the obrero ladinos of the type I have handled, I think I can do that. I have had to advance him money for his license, but that is all taken care of now (the Chief in Sololá on my request gave him a provisional license until his application can go through). But since he lives in town, I don't have to

feed the man, and that is a saving of \$20 a month right there -- which makes up for the loss on the other chauffeur. Furthermore, I am starting him at \$20 a month instead of \$25. Furthermore, he happens to be the man who Ricardo hired to fix up that smashed fender of his last year, and he did a fair enough job; so I have written to Dr. Kidder suggesting that, since we can never sell the car anyway, he might repair most of the damage of this collision himself and if it isn't quite as good a job as they do with rubber hammers in the city, it might still be good enough. So we might save there too. I certainly do not intend to go to the city to get the car fixed anyway; I am having the headlight-lens sent up, and also parts for the horn. (There are two horns, so no great rush.)

7  
Anyway, I went up to Chichicastenango on Thursday (coming back in the evening). First of all I found Patzité lacks an essential requirement: a civilized Indian in Mactzul. I had the Secretary (who is a young Indian who was a school boy when we lived there) make inquiries of the officials from that cantón, and I was pretty well convinced that there is nothing doing. I didn't, therefore, go to Patzité but rather decided to concentrate energies on Chicúá. On the way up I stopped in Chicúá and found that they still didn't want me. A certain one of the Indians there by the name of Tul, however, finally was forced by my arguments to agree to sell or rent me a piece of his land provided I would arrange to pacify the neighbors. So I decided to make an issue of that particular land and see what there was to do about it.

In town, therefore (having banished Patzité), I talked to the Indian Alcalde and other officials and more or less got them in a co-operative mood. The young secretary was a help, and also the presents we left in the school that time. Furthermore, the Principal of Chicúá (Manuel Macario) who tried to do something for me last year and reported failure, was brought in -- it

was a market day -- and finally promised to talk to the people of the cantón. But nobody would believe that the land owner would really sell me the land, and they said there was nothing to do anyway unless the landlord were brought in on the matter; so it was finally decided to send a regidor after Tol and that we should all meet in the juzgado again the next day (Friday). I wanted Macario to come with me to Chicué, but he said that it would be suicide to be seen with me at this stage of the game and everybody would claim he was starting the trouble. The regidor went with me so I could point out the house (he himself lives in another cantón in the neighborhood) but he wouldn't leave the car near there for fear of being seen.

The result was that al fin the next day the landlord was away and couldn't be found to be taken to the juzgado. But my trip was not wasted, thanks to what I think is a good idea. Thursday evening I suddenly bethought myself to take advantage of my social position in Panajachel, and I called on, asked, and finally obtained the services of Miguel Yach, who is the First Principal here. I went to him with customary gifts-when-asking-a-favor (my first experience on the asking end) and he agreed to accompany me in the morning to Chichicastenango to talk for me. Now Miguel is the First Principal more or less by succession (an older principal has given way to him) but if there were an election here I'll wager he'd win anyway -- or if not Democracy doesn't work. He is by all odds the finest looking and the most refined and the smoothest-talking Indian that I know here; he is a natural leader and also the richest Indian in Panajachel. I figured that if anybody here could do me good, he could.

He did, too. He convinced all the officials that I am a good fellow and would do no harm. I could understand what he said because the context was so clear -- incidentally he has no linguistic trouble himself that I

could see -- and the chief points were (1) that I am a Catholic, that I contribute to masses, etc., have painted santos, participate in cofradía costumbres, and so on; and (2) that we are friends of the Indians, live among them and help them in many ways and have nothing to do with or in common with the ladinos. We had to wait around all morning for the empty-handed Regidor, and during all that time Miguel talked to the officials on and off individually and collectively; and I feel sure that I now rate pretty well with them. If, as I suppose they will, they talk to others, then my position will be pretty good in Chichicastenango in general even though I fail in what I now <sup>am</sup> trying to do.

And I think that I shall fail, and that in failing I'm going to learn a couple of month's worth of Chichicastenango ethnology. Here is what happened next: we left Chichicastenango at noon and stopped at the Tol house again on the chance that the owner would be home. I took Miguel with me. Only the mother of the man I talked to, and his wife, were home. And when we came they began to berate us furiously, saying that the man would not go to the juzgado, would not sell land, or anything. Muy bravas, especially the mother. We retreated to the nearest neighbor's house to find out what the trouble was. There there was a man, and he told us that I had <sup>d</sup>made a big mistake the morning before: I had talked to the man, but his father is still living, and when the father came home and heard about the promise to sell land, he had been furious, had said that his son only wanted the money for drink and that if he sold he would have him put in jail. (By the way, I didn't mention that it was decided in the juzgado that this man would be called to the juzgado the next day to be talked to, and I would come some time later to see what the result was.) Anyway, that looked pretty bad, so -- since these neighbors were more tractable and the man we

were talking to had no father -- I decided to start work on him for a piece of his land. The family continued amiable (to the extent of serving pinol which tasted good but had all sorts of black specks in it, probably only cinders) but after half an hour of argument the case looked pretty bad. The man said he was in the same position as the rest of the neighbors and he opined that nobody would sell or lend me a piece of land. In the first place, selling or lending would be equally bad, because I was putting a house on the land -- and obviously the kind of house they could never use -- and it would be lost to agriculture. But actually their house lots are small (running 30 or 40 feet by about three hundred, except for the barranca in back) and everything aside from the house-site is cultivated; and the families are large. It appears that the land of which the house occupies a part is (as with us) in a different category from lands elsewhere which the family owns and cultivates; it is the part that has to be divided among the children. I remember it was so in Quejuel when I worked around there; the inheritance system is to divide each plot of land among the children, or at least the sons; and obviously the land near the house is especially needed and treasured.

Even apart from the fact that I am a stranger (and a ladino) there are good reasons for not wanting to sell such land, therefore. I suggested that with the money I give them for, say, a cord of land, they can buy much more elsewhere; but you see why that proposition doesn't appeal. The reason given me in rejection of that proposal was that nobody is selling land; then when I suggested that I would buy some ladino land (there is some nearby -- but not near houses) and give them four cords for one, they could not refute me. But on thinking it over carefully, I can of course refute myself on the grounds mentioned above. I think that is the real situation (even though

the Indians cannot or do not explain it that way but rather fish for excuses) and if it is, then I can see that it will be next to impossible to get the kind of land I want no matter how I manage to pacify the neighbors.

After talking to this man for some time, I finally gave up for the time being; and to keep the question open I told him to talk the matter over with his brothers and his neighbors and to see what he could do, and I would return later. I confess though that I am at a loss now.

I can get land in Chichicastenango that is apart from the clusters of homes; but that isn't what I want. As a matter of fact, I can buy a house and land that is almost across the road from the Chicué school, and I could there take advantage of the services of this boy Manuel Conos who at present is assistant school-teacher. But I won't be living right with the Indians (and the cluster of homes in which he lives is several kilometers away). That house was offered to me for sale, with some land, at \$125; it is owned by Eliseo Rodas who lives in town. It was once occupied as a store and cantina, but is at present unoccupied; I might (probably can) get the price down considerably. Of course the house would require considerable alteration, and it would be almost as much work and expense as building a new one; but not as much. It is right on the automobile road which is no advantage; but with all the disadvantages, that may turn out to be the only alternative in Chicué.

But anyway, for all my failure, I am getting some good insights into how things work there (including the relations of the juzgado and of the cantón principal to each other and to the people in the cantones.) Maybe we'll just spend next year trying to buy land!

I plan to go up again in a few days and maybe I can get farther along in some direction or other. I have moments of discouragement, but I manage, as you see, to take matters philosophically. I want very much to be able to leave by the end of March anyway; so I want to make a decision as quickly as possible. Best regards.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

February 11, 1938

Dear Sol:

Your letter of February sixth came yesterday. The difficulties you are meeting in making arrangements for living in rural Chichicastenango would try the patience of anyone. I am glad you are able to find some good in the ill. I appreciate your telling me all about your problems; I want to hear it; but I know that I cannot make your decisions for you. This most recent installment of your adventures with the maxeños reinforces two impressions that I think you know I have had for some time. One is the impression that although it is desirable for you to have direct contact with the familial life of the cantones, it may be not practically possible to do so. The other impression is that we do not know as much as we ought to know about the way in which the formal organization centering in the town actually enters into the lives of the household groups, and that we should also like to know more about the extent to which the behavior of the individual is limited and directed, not by the formal organization, but by ties of kinship or neighborhood. Your experience with the landowner whose father should have been consulted suggests that the familial ties may have considerable importance. I am wondering what materials you already

have which bear on this question.

If it turns out to be practically impossible or disadvantageous to take up residence in a cantón, or on the edge of it, would it be possible to dispense with the opportunity of seeing canton life directly and as a resident participant, and instead content oneself with some arrangement whereby, in good living conditions, one would have a good maxeño informant who would report on details of his own family life. I have just received a paper from Gregory Bateson, on certain details of family and community life in Bali. The materials consist of roughly verbatim reports of what was said at various gatherings where, apparently, Bateson was not present. He got an intelligent and literate native trained to attend these gatherings and make notes for Bateson.

Turning to the A.E. house, I give my thanks and approval for all the details of construction you report. The bookshelves and the tepanco stairs with closet are excellent ideas. I might have guessed that the brick there is fire brick. May I make another request? Would it be possible to have a rainwater tank built, or a barrel or other repository for rain water secured, and fastened in place beneath a roof-gutter before the rainy season begins? Then it could be filled during the summer. I should be glad to pay additional for such an addition.

I have heard nothing about what Wisconsin is likely to do. There is no particular news here. . . . Horace Minor will take charge of the Illinois Archaeology dig in the summer, Deuel having left us to take the directorship of the Ill. State Museum. The department is overrun with archaeologists this year -- very lively fellows.

I congratulate you that your sterling Catholicism has been recognized there locally, and I shall call you to the attention of Cardinal Mundelein.

D

A house for Catholic students and faculty members has been started here by Mrs. Lilly; perhaps you should be on their list too.

As ever,

Robert Redfield

[P.S.] Don't get in any auto smashups! You're too valuable.

Feb. 13 [1938]

Dear Sol:

Here is some rainy season work for Don Romulo. If he makes these pieces of furniture, we shall have enough to start with.

Once I suggested that you and Gertrude might want to make use of my mother's little guest house for a part of the summer. This suggestion still stands, but I should say there is a possibility that my mother may use the place herself, in which case the offer would have to be withdrawn. Of course I do not know how you are planning your summer; perhaps you don't know either.

Another suggestion: We are going to give up this city house, and will go back to Windy Pines when returning from Guatemala next year. We plan to take all the furniture out of this Chicago house and move it to Windy Pines, about May first. Should you decide to take an unfurnished place here in Chicago, we could let you use quite a lot of furniture which otherwise we should just store.

I mention these matters just in case they should have a place in your developing plans.

As ever,

Robert Redfield

February 15, 1938

Dear Sol:

Your statement for January has arrived, and I have sent it to Washington.

The statement does not show the receipt of \$400 of 1938 expense funds. On January 17th Mrs. Edwards wrote me that she was having that amount deposited to your account in the Detroit bank. Has not that bank informed you of the deposit?

On January 31st I sent the bank another \$400 of my own funds to pay for the house, and received acknowledgement from the bank. So you should have \$800 in the bank from these two sources.

Write the bank if it has not informed you of these deposits.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

February 18, 1938

Dear Bob:

Yours of the 8th and the 11th received, thank you. While your last letter, carrying your suggestions about Chichicastenango, was in transit, things suddenly developed here; and your suggestion that I might give up hopes of Chicué was a fitting anti-climax.

Last week I <sup>make</sup> a trip to Chichicastenango and Patzité and Chiché; it was a last-straw trip. I took along a compadre and we found (1) that Chicué if not impossible is certainly most highly improbable, (2) it is indeed true that I would have no maxeño help in Patzité (I had only the word of others before, but I certainly took most of a day to make absolutely sure), and (3) there is practically no chance on the Chiché road and in

Chiché itself -- which I had suddenly thought of as a possibility. That was on Thursday; and over the weekend I considered matters and finally concluded that I should probably have to move my thought closer to the town.

Then on Sunday a letter from Gertrude (it seems that both of you saw my Chicué position better than I did myself) suggested that I try a place in the cantón of Pachoj, where the Ignacios live. (You remember it, I'm sure; it is one of the cantones that I studied to some extent). And then, add coincidences, I received a visit on Monday from Owen Smith, the son of the finquero Gordon Smith; and he had a proposition for me. It appears that he and Carlos Sanchez have been scheming to start a sort of Indian Center in which there would be a library and textile collection for study and to which the Indians could come for medical, agricultural, and other friendly help. They have picked on Chichicastenango for their center, and more specifically they have picked on the Gates property in the cantón of Pocohil, which is just beyond Pachoj and about a kilometer from the town. Smith said that if it should happen to fit in with my plans, they would like to have me do a study in that cantón, living in the Gates house; his point was that I would attract the Indians and after I am gone they will continue to look upon the place as a friendly refuge.

I was noncommittal both because I didn't know how the Institution or Gates would feel about a hook-up however vague (Sanchez has seen Gates and gotten his enthusiastic permission to use his property) and because I didn't remember how close the Gates house was to Indian homes. So Tuesday we went up there and first of all I saw that the Gates house was well situated. But I also saw (what I had forgotten about) that almost a next-door neighbor of the Gates place is a "country home" of Abel Rodas of Chichicastenango; and

I determined to make inquiries about that too. When things happen they happen together, and as soon as I got into town, Abel Rodas came running after me offering that very house for rent! I told him I would let him know.

Then I wrote to Dr. Kidder (who has been approached on the Smith-Sanchez plan and is said to approve) asking him which he would prefer for me. I explained that since some connection with the Mayan Society was involved, I could not make a decision that might commit the Institution. Also, he might want to co-operate actively with the Smith-Sanchez scheme; so I left it to him. Since then I have been twiddling my thumbs (as far as Chichicastenango is concerned) awaiting a reply. It should (or could) have been here yesterday. When it comes, I shall go to Chichicastenango and make arrangements; I suspect that Dr. Kidder will prefer me to take the Rodas house and avoid complications; since it is so close to the Gates house, I should be serving the Smith-Sanchez purposes almost as well there anyway.

You are certainly right about our needing to know more about neighborhood kinship ties. I never doubted that the elementary family is very important (and I have good data on the importance of the father and eldest brother) but you remember I didn't have much respect, when I was in Chichicastenango, for the solidarity or influence of any group between the family and the formal organization of the whole municipio. My recent experience demands that that view be altered, but I don't know just how. I think still that it is a fact that positively there is no cantón or neighborhood unity; but it certainly appears as if the "vecinos" exercise a very definite veto power. That has to be gone into; and especially I am curious to know who

the "vecinos" are.

I don't think Bateson's system would work very well in Chichicastenango. The few literates I have known do not come from typical families; however, there are some new literates now, products of the Indian school (the others are extraordinary products of the ladino school to which a "typical" Indian would never go) and I may very well find that they will be more useful. This business of coming back to a town a generation later promises to be very interesting.

Now to your house. I was up there Wednesday ( and I go again tomorrow ) and found things progressing. The plastering by this time is all finished; so are the fireplace and poyo. The doors and windows should by this time be in place, and the roof should be half up, anyway. The carpenters (four all told) have been living there all week; and I hope that they can finish their job next week. Then only the tiles of the roof will have to be put on. I hope to be all finished up there the first week in March. In my next letter I'll know for sure just how things stand.

Now I have a favor to ask. I left the reprints of my Municipios article in one of the two filing-drawers in your office; at least I think I did; and if not, they are in Fred's office with my books. Mary Butler (who plans to do archeology in Vera Paz next year) wrote and asked me for one. Will you please send one to her at Media, Pennsylvania? And while you are about it, will you please send two more to

Dr. Carey P. McCord  
Medical Advisor  
Chrysler Corporation  
Detroit, Michigan

and

Mr. Howard McCord  
Bibb County  
Alabama

Thank you. By the way, I had a look at Jackson, Notes on a Drum; it contains perfect pen-portraits of people we know down here -- see especially that of

Rossbach who, by the way, is coming back in about ten days.

I have been keeping myself busy here in Panajachel during this lull; but there is nothing exciting to report.

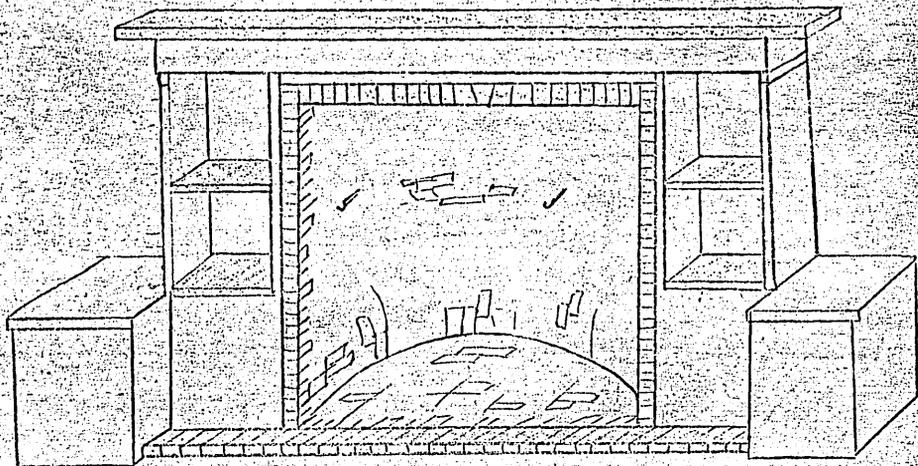
Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Tax

Here is the artist's conception of your fireplace. The colors are only for contrast; I shall leave the wood (colored brown) unpainted, of course, unless you want me to do a varnishing job or something.

The purple represents plaster, and you will probably think I'm plastered too!



February 19, 1938

Dear Sol:

This note has reference only to a small matter of business. Mrs. Edwards asks me to provide itemized statements of the expenditures represented by the following vouchers in your two most recent monthly expense accounts.

December, 1937 -- Voucher 107 for Rosales' salary for December and for expenses in November in the amount of \$45.54. Vouch<sup>er</sup> 121 for Rosales' expenses for December in the amount of \$17.33 (itemized); January, 1938 -- Account with Guatemala office \$41.86 Voucher 9, (car repairs, etc.) (I suppose this itemized statement of expenditures will have to be obtained from the Guatemala City office). Voucher 12, Rosales' salary and expenses for January, \$46.22 of which \$13.72 was expenses. This last she wishes itemized.

Sorry to trouble you. You must have troubles enough.

I have just received a long letter from Alfonso written in San Cristobal de las Casas de Chiapas after he had spent a week there and had visited the first Tzeltal village. He is impressed with the fact that the general organization of the native life is very similar to that of the western highlands of Guatemala. There are the same culturally homogeneous and politically self-conscious municipios. Apparently the town nucleus type predominates, but the Mexican Government is beginning to create new independent administrative municipios out of any community within an old regional municipio that has enough population to warrant it. So we may see in Chiapas the conversion of the old, essentially tribal system to a more modern independent village system.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

February 24, 1938

Dear Bob:

I have received your air-mails of the fifteenth and nineteenth. I did receive notice that \$400 was deposited by Mrs. Edwards, but too late to include the receipt in my January expense account. My policy always has been not to acknowledge receipt of funds until the bank notifies of their receipt; in that way, should a check be lost in the mail, the confusion would be minimized. I know also, of course, that your \$400 was deposited. By the way, I doubt if even in my life so much money in small quantities has dribbled through my fingers in such a short time; I have cashed checks totalling a thousand dollars since coming to Guatemala (but have \$200 in cash left). I shall have to ask you to have some more expense money deposited; until I make up my February accounts I won't know how much I shall need down here, but if you put in another \$400, it will probably do me until we prepare to come down here next Fall.

I have written to the office to send on an itemized statement of that \$41.86, and it will be along shortly. As for Rosales' expenses, he always turns in an itemized statement and I have, of course, saved them all; but although this has been going on since last June, the Washington office has never before asked me to itemize his expenses and I have held thumbs waiting for this to happen. Hereafter, I shall of course send his statements together with a summary in English; and I am enclosing such statements (as per request) for November, December, and January.

The day after writing you last (last Sunday) I went to Chichicastenango and closed a deal with Abel Rodas for his house. (I should mention that Dr. Kidder wrote turning thumbs down on the Gates house.) I found the house considerably in need of remodeling, and I made the same kind of deal that we

did in Agua Escondida last year -- repairs in exchange for rent. Since in this case the house is large, and we are dealing with a sophisticated hotel-keeper, we shall not come out dirt-cheap by any means in exchange for the use of the house for six or eight months that we shall be there, I shall have to put in perhaps as much as \$100. But in return we shall have a comfortable house at a monthly rental of certainly no more than \$15.00.

The same day I contracted a mason, a carpenter, and adobe, brick and tile makers. All told it was a day's work. They started to work the next morning. I went up again on Tuesday and found the adobes made and the masons well started; and I perfected the plans and left them with the mason and with Rodas' nephew, who will help supervise the work so I don't have to spend too much time there. I don't expect to go up there more than two or three times more, and I'm more or less trusting to providence this time that things will come out well and quickly.

Meanwhile, your house seems to be in its last stages; I went up today and found the roof practically completed and the concrete flooring half in. I hope you will approve of some further refinements. One is a triangular roof-window in each section of the house so that there will be light and air in the tepanco. You will thus have an attic (very low, however) with a stairway and windows 'n' everything. I am also bathing the bottom layer of tiles in lime to make them impervious to the heavy rains. I have also decided to give the back of the house a rough coating of plaster before whitewashing it; you know plaster is put on in a rough and then a smooth coat; the rough coat is not very much work and it will not only improve appearances but will keep mud between the adobes from falling out. Also, I think that undoubtedly we shall have enough cement to extend concrete

to the kitchen floor and also to the corresponding room on the other side: the kitchen comes first, of course.

Very forehandedly I have been collecting leña for you. You know when you come in October there won't be any dry wood at all, so in spare moments the mozos have been chopping up the tree-trunks and other wood that we pulled out in clearing the site. I'll get as much as I can for you and put it in a dry place. That's the real problem, because if we store the leña in a room of the house you'll just have the work of clearing it out when you come. The tepanco perhaps? I'm just thinking out loud, because suggestions from you would probably come too late anyway.

One other thing I have done: just in front of the house, at the very edge of the cliff, there is an overhanging tree that gives nice shade. Below this tree I have cleared a little space and built in a couple of rustic benches from which there is an unimpeded view. I don't know how my handiwork will take the rainy season, but there it is now.

Sociological note: It appears that the villagers of San Lucas have arranged with the Government to bring water into their town from Agua Escondida. The Agua Escondidans are perfectly agreeable, but are trying to arrange matters so that some of the water will be brought into Agua Escondida too (the physics of the matter I confess are a little beyond me, but the natives say it can be done). The objectors are the Indians of San Antonio, and they are planning a Commission to the President. Their objection, according to the A.E. people, is that they think that if water is brought into A.E. the ladino population will increase greatly and eventually A. E. will be made into a separate municipio. The Indians threaten to retaliate by demanding that the boundary of San Antonio be recognized as belonging practically at the plaza of San Lucas; they think

they can prove this claim. Why should it make any difference to the Indians if A. E. is separated from them? The ladinos say the Indians want to "keep them under their thumb." Also why should it be of any interest to the A. E. Indians where the political boundary of San Antonio and San Lucas is placed (since there is no communal land involved?) I think the answer in both cases is that there is a political consciousness in these municipios of the same kind that there is in the European nation. Such a consciousness is another aspect of the tribe-like (or nation-like) character of the municipios. (Of course this case is no isolated instance of boundary disputes and claims.)

Sin otro particular, and with best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sol Tax

March 4 [1938]

Dear Sol,

Thank you, Sol, for your letter. Gertrude wrote to us too. You are among the very few people we should like to have with us now.

Tito\*had much courage. He shares it with us now.

I think we shall go to Guatemala in the autumn just the same.

I have not before acknowledged your letters of Feb. 24th and Feb. 28th. I am glad that you have made arrangements for the Rodas house. Now if you can perfect connections with one or two maxeño households, you will have proper conditions for work next season.

Everything you report about the Agua Escondida house pleases me. The fireplace looks very charming. We are touched by the little additions you have made there, especially the outdoor benches. Let us drink orange juice

---

\*On February 22nd, Tito (Robert Redfield Jr.), was killed in a bob-sled accident.

together there next fall.

I have written Mrs. Edwards to deposit another \$400 in your Detroit account. Copies of your municipio paper have been sent to the people you mentioned.

A telegram from Kidder has just come. I will acknowledge it. Alfonso sent us a radio from Oscosingo Chiapas.

Take care of yourself.

As ever,

Robert Redfield

March 11, 1938

Dear Bob:

I have just found that the replacement typewriter ribbons I brought were meant for the old-fashioned small Coronas -- so my excuses for a letter hard-to-read.

Thank you for your letter of the 4th; also for sending out my reprints and for getting me more expense money. My February expense-account should reach you soon; I held it for a little while hoping to be able to send you my Diary to date in the same envelope; but I have not had the time to write up the Diary. I promise it you, however; you know it is written in ultra-complete form in my letters to Gertrude so there is no danger of loss of notes.

Your house will be "delivered" tomorrow; and then I shall write you an account of expenditures. I warn you that costs will run somewhat above my estimates; in the last weeks we suddenly ran short of tiles, lime, etc. and costs mounted. I shall write a critical financial statement both in explanation of everything for you and also for its ethnological value. You

may be amused to know that the other day I took to Agua Escondida a man by the name of Olmsted whom Kidder introduced to me as America's foremost landscape architect; I took him up to show him how a house is built here and to find out the English names for the parts -- but of course he advised me about some little things. I might mention that when the Kidders were here last week we went up to look at the house too, and you may be relieved to know that the fireplace works perfectly.

I have been to Chichicastenango since writing you last, and I have assured myself that the house will be reasonably ready for us by the time I leave here; I am having a document drawn up with Rodas. I have also met the neighbors, and I am confident that we shall be in a position to do what we want to there.

My sailing date is set for March 27th; I should be in Detroit in the first days of April, therefore, and I plan to come to Chicago with Gertrude as soon thereafter as possible. If your plans to move to Windy Pines are unchanged, and if your offer still holds, we should like very much to borrow whatever furniture you will not be using; we would be able in that way to have a little larger place for the same rent that we have been paying for a one-room furnished apartment. Of course we can live in a furnished place until you yourselves move; and don't worry about withdrawing your offer altogether if you must.

This psychiatrist Dr. Levy was here and Dr. Kidder suggested that I give him some time. I learned about the experiments he is interested in doing here, and at the same time I told him something about Guatemala. Our chats may pay dividends to me, because it appears that he was impressed by some observations of mine on Indian economics and he passed them on to the

President's fishing crony (whom he met in <sup>Antigua</sup>~~Atiqua~~); I went back to the City with the Kidders for a day, and while there an excited luncheon was ? arranged with this man, whose name is Carlos Dorion, and he told me that the President would be very interested in these observations (since they agree with what he would like to think) and wants to arrange a private meeting of the President and me before I leave. Whether anything will come of it, I don't know; but I have checked up on Dorion and find that he is as represented. Incidentally, he also wanted to arrange for translating privilèges and publication here of my reports; I wisely keep down any enthusiasm.

You may be grateful to learn that your friends in Agua Escondida were deeply affected by word of your misfortune.

I shall be happy to see you again within the month.

Sincerely

Sol Tax

[Encl.]

## SUMMARY OF COSTS OF REDFIELD HOUSE IN AGUA ESCONDIDA

<b>I. LAND</b>	Purchase price . . . . .	25.00	
	Legal and other fees . . . . .	4.60	
	<b>Total . . . . .</b>		\$ 29.60
<b>II. HOUSE</b>	<b>Masonry materials</b>		
	1720 adobes at 1.50 C . . . . .	25.80	
	8750 lbs. lime, various pr. . . . .	38.85	
	800 lbs. cement . . . . .	13.00	
	4000 roof tiles, var. prices . . . . .	30.00	
	1500 bricks at \$7 M . . . . .	10.50	
	Cartage, stones (.75.) and tiles (\$13) . . . . .	13.75	
	10 pillar-bases at .25 . . . . .	2.50	
	<b>Total . . . . .</b>		134.40
	<b>Lumber</b>		
	550 varas heavy lbr. at .06 . . . . .	33.00	
	7 planks for stairway, etc. . . . .	1.17	
	14 doz. boards at \$1 or less . . . . .	13.44	
	27 doz. <u>reglas</u> , pine . . . . .	14.67	
	2 doz. <u>reglas</u> , cypress . . . . .	1.70	
	4 1/4 doz cypress boards . . . . .	6.41	
	1 alc blanco plank . . . . .	.91	
	1 beam ( <u>alfalfa</u> ) . . . . .	.12	
	<b>Total . . . . .</b>		71.42
	<b>Hardware, etc.</b>		
	90 lbs. nails, var. prices . . . . .	8.65	
	2 lb. glue at .25 . . . . .	.50	
	10 sets of locks . . . . .	10.50	
	Window fasteners, etc. . . . .	1.64	
	Latches and hooks . . . . .	1.22	
	Hinges and screws . . . . .	5.52	
	Window glass . . . . .	4.58	
	Screening . . . . .	.80	
	Stove irons and freight . . . . .	22.25	
	Rain-gutter supplies . . . . .	3.02	
	Gasoline drums, tins, boxes . . . . .	1.70	
	<b>Total . . . . .</b>		60.38
	<b>Labor</b>		
	Masonry . . . . .	55.00	
	Door, window making . . . . .	35.75	
	Carpentry on house . . . . .	40.10	
	Common labor . . . . .	76.51	
	<b>Total . . . . .</b>		207.36
	<b>Total . . . . .</b>		473.56
<b>III. MISCELLANEOUS</b>	Contractor's estimate . . . . .	1.00	
	1200 lbs. fertilizer . . . . .	.96	
	Advance on furniture . . . . .	20.00	
	<b>Total . . . . .</b>		21.96
<b>GRAND TOTAL MONEY EXPENDED . . . . .</b>			\$ 525.12

[ 2972 Gladstone Avenue  
Detroit, Michigan ]  
March 29th [1938]

Dear Sol:

Recently several occurrences have affected our plans with regard to this house on Dorchester Avenue, and have thus perhaps become of concern to you. Our landlord has indicated that he would extend our lease, which now terminates Oct. 1, 1938, to May 1st, 1939. Some friends of our next door neighbors have said they might like to rent this house furnished from October first to May first. These circumstances have reminded us that if we could rent the house furnished for the year beginning May first we would save the trouble and expense of moving now, and avoid the problem of storing excess furniture (excess over what you might use.) We have as yet made no effort to rent the house furnished for the coming six months. We might still decide to move the furniture out May first (loaning you what you wanted), and try to get some one to take over the unexpired portion of our present lease.

The following inquiry is made in the most tentative way, and with no thought that you should think you should regard it favorably. Would there be any arrangement which would make it convenient and practicable for you to rent this house furnished for the next six months, or part of the house? I suppose part of it, one of the large bedrooms and bath, could be rented out. Perhaps the place would be too large and difficult, even if financially possible for you. Perhaps you would give me an indication of your feeling in this particular, and perhaps also you would be willing to let me know how much your budget allows for rent, including light and cooking gas.

Once I suggested the possibility that you might, for part of the time at least, make use of my mother's little guest house. I can see possible

objections to this, from your point of view, but I believe that the little place is still available, should it fit into your plans.

Please let us know what you want to do, so that we may see if our acts can be adjusted to yours to the advantage, perhaps, of both.

Bob Redfield

Roaring Brook  
Harbor Springs  
Michigan  
Aug. 25 [1938]

Dear Sol:

I am greatly obliged to you for considering so carefully my paper on Race and Class in Yucatan. Your fresh view of it has caused me to reconsider some aspects of the interpretation that is mine and Hansen's. In particular your hypothesis made me realize that I have insufficiently indicated the fact that vecino referred to anyone who was not a (legal) Indian, not merely to mixed-bloods with Spanish names. I have made several changes in the text to take account of this. Also I thank you for calling to my attention to a typist's error on page thirty.

In general, however, I have the opinion that your hypothesis presents some wrong emphases. You are not as aware as I am that vecino was essentially a legal category, for persons enjoying civil rights. But the important early distinction socially recognized and emphasized was between gente de vestido, the elite, on the one hand, and the masses, whether mixed in blood or Indians, on the other. I think this was the basic distinction, not that between Indians and non-Indians.

Also I think I am right in recognizing the two layers of the "masses" (mestizo, or non-white) class in the Dzitas vecinos and indios. Consider

the fact that apparently both groups in Dzitas were always wearers of folk costume -- merely the vecinos added vestido attire, later, for Sundays.

I do not think that Dzitas is an earlier stage of Merida. Dzitas, and Chan Kom too, also Tusik, are particular adjustments to particular conditions. At the same time certain older features are preserved in the periphery. In Dzitas it is the emphasis on surname difference as a symbol for class. We know Merida once had that, and now has almost entirely lost it.

Further, kaz-dzul is an old term; we have documentary evidence. And in early Merida the Indians lived in separate barrios with their own (I think) caciques.

. . . . We are having some pleasure here; all are well. I hope you and your family are. With many thanks,

As ever,

RR

Chicago, Illinois  
August 30, 1938

Dear Bob:

I wouldn't bother you on your vacation except that the matter is urgent.

A month ago the question of when we should go to Guatemala was postponed pending progress of my work. You expressed doubt that I would come anywhere near finishing my Panajachel report by October. Now that September is about here, I see that you are right. I must give up being so optimistic; you were not the only one to see that I was predicting the impossible: Gertrude

saw it too. I am disappointed and ashamed. I had expected to be finished well in time, yet at this moment I don't suppose I am more than half through -- and considerably less than half of the actual writing is done. If my rate of falling behind schedule remains the same, I am appalled to think how long I still have to go: I may very well not finish before next summer!

Facing the possibility, the question arises: how can we justify a trip to Guatemala? If there were assurance that living in Chichicastenango I could finish up Panajachel say even by February 1st so that we would still have four months or so for field work, the expenditure for traveling would be justified. But if there is no such assurance (and I don't feel that I can give it) how can we use Institution money to go to Guatemala and return just to do work that can be done as well or better here? If we were rich, so that I could refund the Institution's money if the trip turned out to have been wasted, we would go, because we very much want to go. But we haven't the money.

Therefore, unless you can see a way "out", I don't see how we can go down until Panajachel is finished, whenever that may be. If that is the case, our part of the grocery order would have to be canceled, and that is the reason for the urgency of this letter. Also, I should have to make sure that Rodas won't consider our house-arrangements in Chichicastenango invalidated, if the time is extended (my "lease" runs until September, 1939).

I leave it to you. We want to go to Guatemala, but conscience won't permit it unless there is a clear understanding all-round that I may have to spend all the time there working on Panajachel; and I can't see how the Institution could approve of that. I could "make a case" for being on the ground, I suppose; but it would be nine-tenths nonsense and dishonesty and I wouldn't do that.

All this trouble comes, of course, from either an overestimation *of my speed and ability or an underestimation* of the job to be done -- my fault in any case. I haven't any excuses to offer: I haven't been sick and I have been working hard and steadily (an average of fifty hours a week, anyway, and maybe a lot more if you want to count correspondence, Rosales' work, and the newspaper scrapbook which I usually do evenings). I haven't had a day or weekend off; we haven't even gone downtown more than two stray afternoons. So unless the job is bigger than we thought (or at least bigger than I thought) it must be that I'm not as good at the job as I should be. And why should Panajachel be a bigger piece of work than Chan Kom which I am sure you finished in much less time?

But there's no use blaming myself now; if I am turning out to be less capable of turning out work than we had both thought, something will have to be done about it later. I feel depressed about the business because I know how much getting this report will mean to you and to Dr. Kidder, and I hate to be so exasperatingly slow about it. I am sorry to be writing this way, but I don't want you to think that I don't realize how discouraging this slowness is.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

P.S. If Guatemala is out, will you take care of canceling those groceries? If you'd rather, I shall myself. Also, will you please let me know soon so that we can make our plans?

Roaring Brook  
Harbor Springs, Mich.  
Sept. 1st [1938]

Dear Sol,

I greatly appreciate your frank statement of your judgment of the matter of your going to Guatemala. I think you have covered most of the considerations except the fact that your presence in Guatemala while I am there is a great advantage to me; aside from personal considerations it is a stimulus to my work. On the whole I incline to the view that you should go in spite of what you say. I am not, however, perfectly sure. I am writing Kidder to give him the opportunity to express a judgment. He may prefer to leave the matter to us to determine. I will write you again after I have heard from him.

As ever,

RR

Sept. 8th [1938]

Dear Sol:

Dr. Kidder lets me know that he is content to let us decide whether or not you should go to Guatemala this season, and he states that he has no objection to your going. As you have frankly presented the arguments which are to be brought forward against your going and have asked me to decide, I will do so. In doing so I read as strictly true your assertion that for personal reasons you are quite willing to go, even desirous of going.

I think that the balance of considerations are in favor of your going. One of these is the mere fact that it has been planned that way; other things being equal it is better for at least my morale if the plan is carried

out. Another arises from the circumstance that last winter neither of us (you only slightly) renewed our acquaintance with the cultures of the area we are studying; too long an interval is undesirable. A third I regard as important; it is very helpful to me to have you in Guatemala when I am there; it is stimulating, and a combination of insights and knowledge is better than two which are separate.

I think you might well plan to devote the first half of your stay to writing the Panajachel monograph to completion; then begin on the other one, even if the former is not finished. I think it is a great advantage to write up a final report while in the field. I think also that while you are working on the manuscripts, you will absorb a good deal about the Santo Tomas society. In fact there may be a certain advantage for a time in being in that community while not deliberately seeking formal materials. Sometimes insights come better when one is not doing deliberate ethnology. In any event we can be sure that your time will be well employed. I think the considerations I have mentioned are sufficient to justify the additional expenditure involved.

I shall myself be in a similar position. I expect to spend half my time writing on the Yucatan report.

I think after this season you will not go into the field until both reports are ready for publication.

I hope this letter will result in a decision. It must have been unsettling to you and to Gertrude to raise this question.

Tomorrow I leave for Buck Hill Falls Inn, via Cresco, Pennsylvania, and shall return here on the sixteenth, to Chicago on the eighteenth.

Sincerely,

Robert Redfield

April Is This Afternoon

Correspondence of Robert Redfield  
and

Sol Tax

1933 - 1944

(edited and with text by Sol Tax)

June 2, 1980

[pp. 403 - 502]

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## III

## FAMILIES IN THE FIELD

[textual matter to be supplied]

October 25 (We think) [1938]

Chichicastenango

Dear Bob:

This is Tuesday morning; this letter will leave Chichi early Wednesday morning, should get to Panajachel the same day, and may reach you through the regular channels on Thursday.

We arrived here only slightly "broken" at 5:30 PM Friday and went to the Inn. Didn't even unload until Saturday morning. The stuff sent via Garage Guatemala arrived at 9 PM Friday. Saturday all day mozos were carting stuff to the house, and this work continued on Sunday, especially since I bought furniture and things in the market. After lunch, on Saturday, Gertrude and the baby came over, the baby being wheeled and partly carried in her buggy.

Pancho arrived close to noon on Saturday, having been delayed loading in Panajachel because Weymann didn't want him to disturb sleeping guests. I had to keep him in the afternoon because it took awhile to unload and then (to hurry things) I had him bring lots of other things to the point closest to the house. The car road which should come a third of the way to the house is washed out, and that made things harder. I sent Pancho back (not seeing him to say goodbye because of the two miles separating us) without a letter for you because there was no time to write one. I sent him a note instructing him to sleep in Panajachel and take your benches to AE in the morning (Sunday).

It has been raining here, but it hasn't been as cold as I thought it would be; they say the cold season is beginning. Our fireplaces work well, and we are pretty comfortable. But the house is still an awful mess; for one thing we lack

furniture in which to put things out of the way; for another, masons are working and will continue to work. We have an elegant bathroom--not yet connected. Rodas bought a pump and built the bathroom up at the house level; part of my bargain with him was to put in a W-C, but not a pump, and so on, and I hope we don't have any trouble.

I sent a box of your groceries (No. 60 I think) back with Pancho. We received the bread, etc., thank you, in good time.

The next time Pancho comes here from AE, please send a box of kerosene and one of gasoline si hay. (If you send him to the city, I suggest having him get another five boxes of gasoline.)

I hope you have arranged some communications; since we didn't stop in Panajachel at all, I couldn't do a thing about that for either of us. We are just letting things ride for the time being. I must go down to S. Pedro, however, before the first to see about Rosales, and to pay him. If you will send the car some day, I would go down early the next morning and take a launch and get back here the same day. I would like a few hours in Panajachel, and perhaps I could arrange some communications for us. Send me your advice please.

If you send the car to the city, please have Pancho do three things for us. (1) The kerosene stove is still wickless in the office; have him take it to the Palacio de Cristal to be fitted and brought up. (2) I left 3 cartons of groceries in the office; if they have not been picked up by Garage Guatemala, have him bring them together with the rocking-chair that was left there. (3) I left the high chair and a canvas chair in the Pensión; ditto.

I haven't yet taken care of your horses; I think to go to town today and do so. I shall send both horses (if still alive) because I think I can borrow one here from Rodas who wants to keep it here anyway for the abono. A bicycle wouldn't work here, at least until the rains stop--and even then a horse would be better.

Just now a mozo brought a box of groceries, and I understand that everything has come from the city; so Pancho doesn't have to do anything but fix and bring the kerosene stove.

We are well and getting organized--but it will be a week before we'll be all fixed up. We have our old servants, a laundress coming to the house, Juan staying here. Our drinking water problem is almost as bad as yours; we have it carried from a spring. For other purposes, water abounds.

We anxiously await a report on your state. Muchos saludes carinosos.

Sol

[October 28, 1938]

[Agua Escondida]  
Friday afternoon

Dear Sol:

Your letter arrived yesterday afternoon, by an alguacil. I am sure that Gertrude was glad when the long trip to Chichicastenango was over. You entered your house under some difficulties; I am glad that the Inn was there to give Gertrude and the baby temporary shelter. I hope soon that your furniture is in place and that your bathroom (tanto lujo!) is functioning.

Our establishment is running pretty well. We have our furniture from the city (except the new beds), and everything from Don Romulo. Of furniture, we lack only plain chairs and tables, which I expect soon to secure. Romelia and Greta do the housework; Mariano Perez is man-of-all-work. The girls do schoolwork in the morning and are free to play in the afternoon. As I planned, I am devoting most of my time to the Yucatan report, picking up local stuff only on the side, so to speak. After I have got a good bit of the Yucatan stuff down, I will turn to the Guatemalan scene. Meanwhile I enjoy a choice piece of the Guatemalan scene through the doorway of my office-cubicle--especially since I had Mariano cut down a few more trees. We have had no rain for some days, and although there is a little rainwater left, today the hauling of water from the spring began. We have acquired a number of chickens, and Mariano has built us a fowl-pen.

Today Pancho left for Guatemala City, with a list of errands to run and things to do, including your stove-with-a-new-wick. I hope he gets our beds. I arranged for him to get five cases of gasoline, and a case of soda-pop. In Solola, Tuesday, I arranged for the cura to come here in the early afternoon on Sunday, Nov. 6th, to bless the house. I shall probably have in a marimba--how I dread it.

I shall send Pancho to Chichicastenango Sunday afternoon. (I expect him back here tomorrow.) I hope you will find it convenient to do your Panajachel trip on Monday.

I suppose the matter of a plan of communications depends in part on the

question whether the law you mentioned is as represented and if its enforcement is actual. P. has shown no reluctance to carry billets-doux. Can you find out? Is there a regular early camion service from Chichicastenango to Panajachel? If so, it might be possible for someone to meet that bus and receive any word from you and bring it to me on foot. I could then order purchases for his next trip up. Is Marcelino still available?

-----

[Saturday noon]

... Magdaleno has asked me to padrino his granddaughter, and I have written the cura to come to baptize also a week from tomorrow. (I shall send the station wagon for him.) Did you know about the granddaughter? Martina, Romelia's sister, has acquired a daughter, "without", as her family says, "the trouble of acquiring a husband." We have the story, or most of it.

Sunday, 8:30 A.M.

Pancho arrived at seven this morning, having left Guatemala City at three, he says, He done nearly all of my many errands well, except that he failed to write down his expenses and did not everywhere secure receipts. The oral account he gives me totals \$22.60--I gave him \$25; he returns me five! I guess I just take it.

He brings a letter from Smith saying that Pancho was drinking heavily

yesterday and that he bought my order of gasoline both at Clark's and at California Standard, that the office (Molina!) straightened it out, canceling the Clark order except for one tin Pancho had put into the car. Smith suggests I ask the office to do the errands. I have said nothing to Pancho. I think, however, I will tell him frankly that I know he drinks, and that if ever I think it shows in his driving or in his discharge of responsibility, he will be fired.

I will tell Pancho to go this afternoon to Chichicastenango. I will send:

One case gasoline

One case kerosene

Your oil stove (P. will stop at Solola to try to get a wick.

He says he went to four places in Guatemala for a wick without success; he gives me the names of the places).

The batteries.

Some baby food left over from last year.

Our best wishes.

Whenever you can send the horses, we can take care of them.

We are still planning to go to Guatemala City fair week. Are you inclined to go? I will write to Magin for reservations. I suppose our expenses will have to be charged to personal accounts--but maybe you can think of a reason why yours should be professional. Try.

All going well here. Let's have news from you. You wouldn't have time to come here on your way back tomorrow? I suppose not, if you are

doing the whole thing in one day.

Yours,

RR

[P.S.] I send you a check for thirty dollars in the hope that when you get your money-getting system working, you can arrange to send me thirty one-quetzal bills.

[November 1, 1938]

Noon Tuesday

Dear Sol:

Pancho arrived at eleven today. He says he ran out of gas on the road and had to wait a long time till he could borrow a gallon.

I thank you for all you sent: the money, the pickles, the paper, the hinge-pins. The paper bags came in with extraordinary appropriateness; this morning Joanna was in a fever to make paper masks for Halloween (here celebrated today), and she had no paper bags. I shall keep plenty, however, for other purposes. Even the spurs give promise of horses to go with them

... Your report on the communications system is excellent. I will follow your excellent suggestion. Pancho gives me the name of the boy-- Julio Rosales (brother of your Juan?). I think I can consummate the arrangements from here. I will write this boy a letter telling him we will try the arrangement, and directing him to call at the Panajachel post office for my mail. When there is some, he is to bring it up. I will, however, postpone

this until after Thursday. On Thursday, I will have Pancho come back here with the station wagon to haul sand, because Leonzo Tzoc is coming to put the rest of that cement on two floors; also we need sand for our terrace, which we have enlarged, and for a new children's playground.

Your letter indicates that you have had trouble there with Pancho's drinking. I think we should keep him until all the arrangements for settling in our two places are done. Then I think your suggesting that I take out a license should be looked into. I will write to Molina in the office for information as to the laws and the procedures and the possibilities. It would be more efficient and more economical if the station wagon should stay here in A. E. If you needed, you could wire Julio Rosales; he would come up here with the message. Probably we could find someone on Panajachel with a license whom we could use for an occasional trip. I gather that for emergencies you can usually find a car in Chichicastenango. Please write what you think.

...Of course it would be muy alegre for us if you and Gertrude would attend the housewarming. We extend a special invitation knowing nevertheless that travel is not easy, and that Gertrude especially may naturally be reluctant to come. In case you decide to come, please telegraph Pancho. That will save time. I am telling him to be in Solola at 1:30 to fetch the Padre--on Sunday, the sixth. If you telegraph him, he will come first to Chichicastenango. The agreement is to call for the Padre at 2:00 -- sin falta. We have arranged for a marimba, and are arranging the rest of the fixings for a party.

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Saludes carinosos a Gertrude. We hope Susan is flourishing. If you want the caminote right away for anything--wire.

Bob

Saturday, Nov. 5th, [1938]

Casa del Sol  
Agua Escondida

Dear Sol:

....I hope you will decide to come to the fiesta tomorrow. As creator of the house you should certainly be here. I am expecting Julian sometime today with meat for the marimberos; I plan to send back by him a letter for Pancho directing him to go early to Chichicastenango tomorrow to get you, or all of you if you so decide. I am explaining that I have promised the padre that the car will call for him as Solola at two o'clock sharp.

....We look forward to visiting you in Chichicastenango. Thank you for suggesting Thanksgiving Day. As we plan to be in the city one or two days that week, we should prefer spreading our traveling out more. Could we come to Chichicastenango to spend a day or two at the Inn and with you in Christmas week?

....I will give you a check dated December first for the \$125.20 I still owe you on the house. O.K., or do you need it sooner?

....Pancho delivered the thirty quetzals all right.

....Thanks for offering the radio. I don't think we want it. We wouldn't use it for ourselves, and we have no need to attract people. So many come that

it is hard to do any systematic work.

... We are just trying out our Klim and as yet do not know how much use we shall make of it. Thanks for the offer.

All well here. Leonzo came and cemented two more floors. I have ordered lime and arranged with him to come and make the chimney a yard and a half higher so that it will draw better. It burns well now except when there is an east wind. Then we have trouble with smoke.

I'm glad you're settled. So are we. Our best to Gertrude (in case she doesn't come--we hope she does.)

Bob

....

Sat., Nov. 5, [1938]

Dear Bob:

Your Tuesday's letter received yesterday. I don't know how I neglected to mention the name of the boy who has agreed to be your messenger. It is Julián Rosales, son of a half-brother (named Luis Noj) of our Juan Rosales. Luis Noj is a compadre of ours, and this boy Julian worked for us two years ago. Since Juan's father is also named Julián Rosales, you had better refer to your boy (in correspondence, I mean) as Joven Julián Rosales--or he could be addressed as Julián Rosales, casa de Luis Noj. I hope the system is functioning.

Now I can more or less report on the horses. You will remember that

I left them recomendado with totonicapeño Viviano Casía (through whom I bought them and who made the saddles). I told him that he could sell them if he had the opportunity and got a good price. Last Spring he reported that he had sold the saddles and he offered to give me the money or to make new saddles; I suggested that he made new saddles when the time comes. At the same time he reported that maxeño Juan Xaper has taken horse A and had given him \$2.00 down and would pay the other \$10.00 (para justar doce) in time. That seemed a good price. He also reported that horse B was farmed out to another maxeño in the monte. Now when I returned two weeks ago he reported that Juan Xaper hadn't paid him the ten dollars yet, but that he had traded the horse for a cow. Thereupon I got hold of Xaper to get the \$10 du , and finally yesterday he turned over the money and I turned over the document. Meanwhile the possessor of horse B had reported to Viviano that the horse was lost, and I told Viviano to tell him to return the horse or to replace it with another good horse; later Viviano delivered the message and received assurance that we would have the horse in two weeks (one of which is now up). Meanwhile, Viviano is making new saddles, and we shall have them within a week.

Therefore in a week we are supposed to have new saddles and horse B; and right now I have twelve dollars. I wanted to send to neighboring Chiché this morning to buy you a horse; the market there (Wednesday and Saturdays) is the big livestock center, and good horses are obtainable there. But it has been raining all morning and matter couldn't be managed. Now if you want me to go ahead and buy you a horse for the twelve dollars, I shall do so; if you prefer the money to buy a horse there instead, let me know at once. I hope

that the whole matter will be resolved next weekend.

I didn't have any trouble with Pancho, but I know that he was reeling drunk the night he was here. I talked to him, but don't know if it will do any good. The trouble here is that he stays in town when he comes here (with the car) and I have no way of keeping good tab on him. As for your taking out a license, perhaps the information I have is more to the point than what Molina could give you. Last year (or this Spring rather) I helped Pancho take out his license; first we went to the Police Commissioner in Sololá (Edmundo Rodas, an old friend from Chichicastenango) and asked for a provisional license good for a few weeks. From him you can get all information necessary to getting a permanent license. The chief thing is filling out a blank and sending \$5.00 to the Capital (to the Credito Hipotecario, I believe) for a bond. When you are properly bonded, you go to Sololá and take out your license (\$3.00, I think) and buy a leather folder in which the license is kept. Whether you can take out one license that will be good for all the time you are here I do not know. Perhaps your provisional license will carry you over the first of the year if you induce Rodas to be nice.

I don't think we shall need a car here except for an emergency, I agree that you should keep it with you. You know that even if we can't get a car here (or there is no need to spend the money) there is daily early-morning camioneta service to Los Encuentros; from there there are many cars passing to Panajachel (and Godinez and the Capital) and to Tecpan and the Capital as well as to Quezaltenango.

As I wrote, we would have liked to be with you tomorrow. But since that would entail being on the road from about 12:30 to 3 PM before reaching A. E. -- over baby's feeding time -- and since we probably wouldn't have more than an hour or two with you before having to go back with the padre, we think it best not to take the trip. A more propitious time, we hope.

Rosales came up here on Thursday. I think it is possible for him to be largely finished with his work in San Pedro by Christmas (incidentally he would then be completing just a year there) and I suggest that then he go back to Solola with his family and, under our direction, himself order his material--as least roughly. After a couple of months of that, he can return to S. Pedro to pick up whatever data we find lacking. Please write me your opinion.

....Except for colds which seem to hand on, we are well. Susan hasn't caught our colds yet, and she seems chubbier and healthier than at any time since we left; we think she is acclimated.

Best regards to Greta and the children from Gertrude and

Sol

[Nov. 10, 1938]

Thursday morning

Dear Sol,

....I should like sometime an opportunity to talk over with you Rosales' work and his future. The accumulation of data from selected villages will, I suppose, reach a point where the return will be less valuable than the outlay

made therefor. Therefore, as you suggest, it would be well if Rosales' ability could be developed so that he could do more of the work. Does he collect texts of actual conversations, or abstracts of cases? At any rate, I think your idea to give him some time to see what he can do in working up material he has collected is a good one. Has he had a chance to look over your work to see how you do it? Perhaps he could follow a pattern you might give him.

Thank you for all the trouble you have been put to in respect to the horses. We shall be glad to get horses; this is a place where they will be very useful.

Today, I am going to Tecpán with several of the Alvarez family with the hope that the uncompleted baptism can be completed. Greta was so annoyed with the padre for the slap-dash way he blessed the house -- as if he were catching a train. No way to dish out ritual, she thinks. By the way, did you get his address in the City?

We are told from two sources that there is an unusually large amount of measles in the city. None of our children have had it. So we are putting aside the idea of going to the City fair week. We are considering now a trip to Antigua. From there one of us at a time could go up to the city for our Christmas and other shopping.

I will go to Sololá probably Tuesday to start the driver's license business. Thank you for giving me the dope. I think I shall not speak to Pancho until I feel assured that I am going to be able to get a license.

Leonzo was to have come yesterday to make our chimney higher. He hasn't. Nor today either. I shall stop at Godinez and look him up.

I am keeping a diary, even though many entries are like this: "All day on Ch. VI." Every other day I spend some time in the village talking with friends, and Romelia ladles out the gossip, some of which I write down. Agua Escondida, as a research problem, merely simmers for the present.

I am glad Susan is well; may she stay so. Jamie is medio malo today with a little stomach trouble; I don't think it at all serious.

Saludes to Tula

Bob

[P.S.] I have a letter from Deslonde Clark asking me to lecture on -- ahem -- "Social Aspects of Guatemala" at Herring's Verdammte seminar in February. They take me rather than you because they ask me to do it without pay. Nerts. Who is Deslonde Clark?

Nov. 11th, [1938]

Dear Sol:

...All well here, except the station wagon has not come yet--it was supposed to bring both Leonzo and Don Romulo. Yesterday I went to Tecpán --padre gone--went to Patzun, and there the baptism was finally consummated. The priest took cash down in advance and tried to sell me some marble statuary. Fact. This morning Magdaleno sent up a hugh turkey to his compadre.

All well there?

Bob

Sunday, Nov. 13, [1938]

Dear Bob:

Deslonde Clark is the late Alfredo's brother, now in charge of the whole business. Are the tourist interests now arranging the Seminar programs too?

...Rosales has been collecting abstracts of cases but no texts of conversations; except when he works systematically with informants, he cannot keep his notebook open while engaging in or witnessing social conversations, so he just summarizes. I am hoping that he will be able to do a good part of the working-out of his S. Pedro material under our guidance and more-or-less following the pattern of Panajachel; for the "culture" data I think that comparative notes may be sufficient, but lots of work and thinking will be required for the sociology.

I agree with you about his future, but I must add that his future will probably be shared with Andrade who has a plan for using him some time for a minute comparative study of Cakchiquel dialects or variations to serve as an example of such variations in Guatemala. I don't know when Andrade might want him.

The horses were supposed to be delivered here last night; they weren't. I am now bound for town and I shall see what has happened and append a note to this letter before mailing it.

I shall type up my diary, such as it is, and send it to you; it hardly seemed to me worthwhile, but it may as well be added to the records.

Mrs. Rohrmann in Panajachel (when I went to S. Pedro) told me about

the measles in G. C. , but my impression was of a past tense, so I didn't pass on the information. Whatever your plans become, may we suggest that you bear in mind that there are no measles here and that our invitation for Thanksgiving still holds? By the way, the Great Fiesta in Chichicastenango starts Dec. 16th, and it is usually one of the most alegre in Guatemala, including Palo Voleador in the plaza and two or three other masked dances. If that interests you, and it is a matter of staying at the Mayan Inn, I suggest that reservations be made soon. Of course you have to worry only about sleeping, because our kitchen can take care of you if you wish; you wouldn't have to worry about the work involved because the woman who does our laundry is an expert cook (who cooked for us our last season here in Chichicastenango) and she will be glad to take charge.

I didn't get the Padre's address in the city because he didn't himself know it; he promised to send it to me.

We hope that Jamie is better now and that you are all well. Por aqui no hay novedades.

Saludes,

Sol.

[Nov. 14, 1938]

Monday AM 9:30

Dear Bob:

After unspeakable difficulties in getting somebody reliable to take them up in a hurry, here is Juan Mendez accompanied by his brother, and I hope

they bring the horses in good condition, not to mention the very swell saddles.

I am paying the boys \$1.25 for the job, and I shall pay them here. If they arrive in the evening, I suppose you'll have to help them find a place to stay overnight (on their money) because they are strangers in your parts. Otherwise you have no responsibilities that I know of. (If you go to Sololá tomorrow, they would probably like the lift, of course.)

I wrote you a letter yesterday by post, in it explaining sketchily the outcome of the horse business. Briefly, we have new (and better) saddles and two new and much better horses; of interest in a study of the institution of recomendo, Viviano took the entire responsibility for getting us saddles and horses, and it cost him \$6.00 of his own money to do so besides \$2.50 he spent on zacate when getting only \$1.25 worth of manure in return. He considered it his duty to deliver the goods and say nothing; in fact he was ashamed that he had botched the recomendadoed articles. However, I considered it only just to pay him \$7.25 so that, at least, he wouldn't be a loser. I told him that he had done me a favor which I would try to repay some time but not in cash.

The result is that you have horses that are worth (by best estimates) \$38.00 and saddles that are worth \$20.00; a total of \$58.00. And our total capital investment to date (not counting feed, of course) has been \$44.00 plus \$6.00. So we are theoretically better off than when we started.

See what the horse-flesh experts in your parts think.

Best regards,

Sol

P.S. Don't forget to take a photograph of yourself (or maybe two) to Sololá.  
For the license.

[Nov. 15, 1938]

Tuesday morning

Dear Sol:

The horses with their escorts arrived at nine last night. The horses seem excellent ones. I promise myself the pleasure of trying them after work this afternoon. The saddles are extra-special. We gave the boys something to eat and let them sleep on mats in the sala before the fire. We are just about to breakfast them, and send them on their way. Unfortunately, I had changed arrangements about the station wagon, having decided to go to Sololá Friday instead of today. So they will have to walk or seek rides. I am going to give them a few cents to help them on their journey home.

Pancho has sent word that Sunday, after he had washed the car in the river, he parked it as usual near his house; that a Letona camionista came by, fast, skidded and struck the camioneta, crumpling a front fender and a wheel-cap--no other damage. He says the police took the Letona man in custody to Solola and that he, Pancho, had to go there to the hearing Monday. Don Romulo writes to the same effect, saying that the camionista was drunk. Aver. Cars are the devil.

All well here, except that Mariano our Indian is sick. How are you?

Good wishes and many thanks for your excellent handling of the delicado

matter of the horses.

Bob

Wed., Nov. 16, [1938]

Dear Sol:

...The horses are doing well. Mariano takes a great interest in them and is determined to fatten up the white one. I took a ride yesterday on the other; it is a gently but capable steed, if small. While Mariano was sick I hauled water with the dark one; Mariano is back now and hauls water on his back because he is afraid that the horse's back will be rubbed, although I used many pads and ropes. So I shall have to get an aparejo, because we shall save a lot of time using a horse to fetch water. The saddles are swell.

We thank you for your invitation and suggestion that we come to you in the week of the fiesta, and accept both. Will you please make reservations at the Inn for whatever two days seem to you best. You know our family--I should think it would be possible to put Jamie in with Greta and me. We could bring Jamie's small spring-mattress. Joanna and Lisa could have a room together. Could we breakfast and perhaps sup at the Inn, lunching with you?

Jamie is all right; so are the rest of us. Work goes along, slowly. Jamie has been given a puppydog. We have now quite a large establishment.

Will Juan Rosales be turned over to Andraded in the Winter when Andrade comes?

Julian just arrived. He says in Solola the driver of the Letona wagon

was deprived of his license, fined twenty-five quetzals, and required to pay five quetzals for the repair of our fender. I hope it is a warning to Pancho and does not over-elate him.

Our best to Gertrude and the little Susan.

As ever,

RR

Nov. 18, 1938

Dear Bob:

... If you are going to the city, will you please bring us some air mail envelopes? Those in the office are all right; I don't know why I stole so few while I was about it; or if you wish you can buy me some, and thank you.

Also, if you have room in the car, will you bring me a supply of gasoline? You could bring as many as five boxes, which would probably last most of the season, or any smaller amount.

One other thing we have had in mind and I have been forgetting to mention: you once suggested that you might send to Goodman and Beer for additional groceries. If you do (and haven't done so already) there are some things we would like at the same time.

Susan has had a cold for the last couple of days, but it is passing. Otherwise everything is well here and my work is going ahead without undue interruptions. The accident to the car may have been all the Letona driver's fault, but considering that there is a driveway back of Pancho's house, he shouldn't have had the

the car in a position to be hit. You're right; cars are like war.

Which reminds me: is it news to you that the Republicans picked up some 75 or more seats in congress and maybe eight in the senate? Phil LaFollette will be ex-governor? O'Connor lost his seat, and Lehman saved his by a nose from Dewey? Illinois stayed Democratic, I think. More recently, a Polish Jew (17 yrs. old) shot the 3rd Sec'y of the German embassy in Paris to death (meaning to get the ambassador) and that touched off a real Pogrom in Germany followed by (a) drastic new ghetto laws, shutting Jews out of all business and German social life with a promise to reduce them to absolute beggary, (b) a \$400,000,000 fine against the German Jewish community which is going to be collected out of the two billion that (by Gov't inventory) the Jews are known to possess; (c) violent protests from abroad, including one from Roosevelt and the recall of the U. S. Ambassador to Germany and the commercial attache with a possibility of economic action against the Reich; (d) a plan by the Powers to evacuate all Jews from Germany en masse to sparsely settled colonial possessions, especially in S. Africa--perhaps in a "state" there, now blocked by the fine in Germany because nobody can get out until it's paid!

I understand from the boys who took your horses up that the brown one won't anda; I hope we didn't get a bad deal after all and that you will enjoy the bestias.

Best regards,

Sol

November 30, 1938

Dear Bob:

Enclosed are

1. Expense account for November; please note that I have included an item of gasoline and oil that I paid for in Panjachel on the way back from your house party. I was supposed to send it to you, but forgot all about it until I made up accounts; and I included it with miné because I shall have enough money anyway.

Also note that on the last item (freight on groceries) I have no date or voucher. Will you please take care of that?

I blush at the items for the bathroom. When I made the bargain with the landlord, it was one of the items of construction required; but my calculations as to costs were way off. It turns out that the bathroom, plumbing, etc. cost us some forty dollars (and it cost Rodas some ten dollars more); I figured on twenty or twenty-five. Anyway, the total for house construction is some \$160 --which makes our rent rather high on local standards.

2. Diary to date.

After receiving your last letter, hace quince dias, I made reservation for you at the Mayan Inn for Saturday and Sunday nights, December 17th and 18th; these will be the best days of the fiesta. The rooms I reserved (No. 2 and No. 3) are minimum-priced, having no fireplaces; the manager, Mr. Carrete, said that if No. 1 (with fireplace) happened to be vacant, he would give it to you at

no extra cost. The rooms are priced at \$3.00 per day, and for your family you would pay for four persons. The hotel will also deduct from your bill for meals taken elsewhere, provided they get advance notice; elsewhere means with us, of course. They must charge you a minimum of one full day, however.

If you want better accommodations than those reserved, let me know soon.

Things are running smoothly with us and we are all well. We're pretty busy, though, and Gertrude has not yet been all the way to town! I suppose you have been to the city and are back; hope you had a pleasant time (wherever you were) and we both send muchos saludes.

Sol

November 30, 1938

Antigua

Dear Sol:

Making the conventional apologies for the bourgeois characters of the writing materials, I proceed to inform you that we arrived here yesterday and plan to return to Agua Escondida tomorrow. We are staying at "El Alcazar", a hotel opened about a year ago. The manager used to be manager of the place that later became "La Casa Contenta" at Panajachel. It is a re-conditioned early colonial house, and really beautiful. The food is good, the service pleasant, the rooms good enough, we are the only guests. The rate per person for room with bath is \$2.50 with meals. We are being charged \$8.00 per day for the five of us. There is a pretty and quiet grassy patio where at the moment Jamie and

Joanna are tumbling with some dachshund pups.

Greta has gone to the capital today. I went yesterday. I saw the consul about extending my passport. I also, with the aid of Molina, secured a temporary driver's license. The police commissioner is an amiable gentleman, and there were no difficulties. I shall have to come to the city again early in January to get a regular license. Molina thereby he can arrange most of the preliminaries so as to save me time there.

Subject to your approval, I plan at once to tell Pancho we shall not need him after Dec. 21st. I would rather he would do the difficult driving to Santo Tomas. Do you suppose we can make a special arrangement with Pancho or with some other chauffeur to drive Andrade where he wants to go?

I have bought 50 gallons of gas, of which I shall bring so to you when we come. As our car is pretty full, it is hard to bring more. And I can get more in January. At what rate do you use it?

I have the airmail envelopes.

In a letter, in re term papers, from Mildred Matt, she asks to be remembered to you. A long letter has come from Aljoura Villa. He is → apparently enjoying participation in some ~~domps~~ at the University, and is with Fred a good deal. He promises me Chapters XI and XIII of his Q. Rov report soon.

We hope you are well, and that Susan's cold has not proved very troublesome.

Are you expecting us in the week of Dec. 11th-21st? On what day? Have

you made reservations for us at the Maya house?

As ever,

RR

December 5, [1938]

[Agua Escondida]

Dear Sol:

Your letter of Nov. 30th arrived today--five days--a record.

....We are planning to come to Chichicasteango on the 17th. Romelia will come with us. We shall find some place at the Inn to put her. I have just had a letter from my cousin Mina Winslow, biologist and painter, that she is flying here from Mexico Wednesday and will visit us about the fifteenth. I am writing her suggesting she come with us to Chi., as it will be a good chance for her to visit that immortal spot. Expecting her acceptance of the suggestion, I write to ask if you will make a reservation for her at the Inn--I hope there is still time. I do not think we shall stay more than the one night, but we might stay two.

More car trouble. Don Octaviano is reported enraged with me because Pancho brought the accusation against his son, in regard to choque, and has sent word ordering me to take my horses off his land--his son had written me permission. I am writing a letter of explanations and pacification, and expect to stop in Solola to follow it up.

Second item: Julian tells me Pancho took the car to a fiesta at San Andres,

and has several times driven it on his own affairs. I am writing Pancho today to come here with the car tomorrow. When he gets here I shall send him back to Panajachel on one of the horses and keep the car. The only bad spot is that he may now disappear and not be available when we want him on the seventeenth. He has been paid a few days in advance, but not up to the seventeenth. Automobiles are, as we have remarked, hell.

All else O.K. Look forward to seeing you....

Bob

December 8, 1938

Chichicastenango

Dear Bob:

Conception Day, today, is practically the ladino titular fiesta here. In a few minutes we are expecting the baile de Mixqueños (put on by the foreign-Indian colony, especially totonicapeños) at the house. Since I want to send this off before getting side-tracked, I may have to cut it short.

I get good service on mail from Agua Escondida through Panajachel. Yours of the 5th arrived here yesterday. I also received yours from Antigua awhile ago.

I have made reservations for three rooms, now; since Mr. Carrette hasn't had word from Clark what rooms have been taken from the City, the third room is an open reservation--price of room, etc., unknown. It is promised, however. The reservations are for Sat. night and probably Sunday night.

I mentioned Romelia and was given to understand that servants are sent to don Abel's pensión (where the chauffeurs sleep). Would you like me to make reservations there, or will you take a chance on finding Romelia a place?

Too bad that Pancho falls so much by the wayside; the temptation of a car and no boss must be very great there in Panajachel. If he doesn't show up to bring you to AE, and if you don't mind driving to Panajachel, you can probably pick up a chauffeur there glad to come up here for the fiesta. Two that I know are young Weymann ("Chito"--Ernesto, Jr.) and young Crespo (son of Emelio). There might be others with licenses there.

Thank you for buying gasoline for me. We use almost a half-gallon a day, and there is no "white" gasoline here. Today I had to send to Quiché for five gallons because we are all out. Incidentally, I have five gallons of kerosene that I won't need at all, since we use practically none; you can take it back with you if you wish.

If you can use them, we have five cans of Boston Brown Bread and five cans of artichoke hearts that we are not keen on.

Everything here is well; we are looking forward to seeing you. Best regards,

Sol

P.S. No, I don't think Andrdæ plans on Rosales this year. He wants to-go to Cobán and probably won't be around here at all. Nor do I know if he will want to use the car up there--or maybe just for the trip up; in any case, a chauffeur from the City would do him I suppose.

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December 14, 1938

Casa del Sol

Dear Sol:

Your letter of the 8th arrived here on the 13th, again via San Lucas. Only your letters are now coming by that round about route. I wish I knew why.

I am obliged to you for making a reservation at the Inn for my cousin. She (Mina Winslow) arrived this morning by bus from the city; I met her in Godinez. She will come up with us on Saturday. We will go straight to the Inn, and if I do not find you there after lunch we will come to your house. I suppose we shall arrive around noon. I want to stop at Solola to see if I can make peace with Don Octaviano. He has never answered my letter.

I will bring four cans of gasoline and promise to get more to you early in January. I have written to the office asking them to buy 100 gallons more.

All well here. It is a convenience having the station wagon here and I do not mind driving on these roads. I am half-sorry Pancho is to take us up to Chi. --wouldn't mind doing it myself.

We all went down to Panajachel on Monday, did some business, and had tea at Mrs. Gordon Smith's.

Looking forward with pleasure to seeing you after a separation that has been too long, quedo, como siempre, su whatchumaycallit,

RR

December 20, 1938

Chichicastenango

Dear Bob:

I don't know if I shall mail this or ask Miss Winslow to take it along.

In town tomorrow I hope to see her.

Enclosed are pages of my Diary to date. Please note entries about conversations with Romelia on the 18th. We did our best to amuse her Sunday night after she had told Juan she wanted permission to go to town with him; we told Juan it would be better if she didn't go, and nothing more was said. By the way, Juan tells us that she asked him wonderingly if he always eats in the kitchen and that he replied that he likes to eat alone best, etc., etc. We hope that Romelia doesn't bring home stories about our snootiness; you might explain that here the kitchen is so far away that any other arrangement would be impossible. Also, if the matter comes up, you might tell her that we let her eat in the kitchen with Juan because we thought she would enjoy the company more. . . .

Rosales writes that his daughter is sick and that he planned to move his family to Sololá now and return alone to San Pedro to finish his work there (another month, I estimate). Perhaps you saw him when you passed through Sololá.

Sin otro particular, quedo

S. S. R. C. or AT&T or whatever it is,

Sol

[December 26, 1938]

Casa del Sol  
Day after Christmas

Muy estimado compadre:

Any man who can make dedicatory verses like that in Spanish, should have no trouble with language in any connection. Or did Gertrude contribute some of the finer touches? Anyway, they made a great sensation here Christmas morning. So did the gifts which accompanied them. Jamie occupies very well the second pair of sandals. Lisa only is left out, and taking you at your word I send you herewith her measure. The smallest pair I will send back to you-- with four knitting needles- at the end of the week.

We are morning-afterish here. The Christmas festivities were somewhat exhausting, even for us who live somewhat remote. We had the posada here Friday night; about a hundred people came and were given bread and a horrible mess called caliente, and candied orange peel that Lisa made. They stayed late. Saturday night was the big show at Magdaleno's house. The procession took three hours to go from our house to his! I tell you, compadrito, it was quite a show. Romelia and two other girls recited a loa, in costume, leaning from a rickety platform, while their faces were illuminated by a gasoline lantern (borrowed from me), my best electric torch, and a blaze of rockets. We got to bed after two, and James started Christmas off at dawn. I tell you, compadron, it was a splendid nacimiento. Anyway, we didn't have to live three days with a marimba, as they are doing below.

....I read your diary with interest. I am glad you did not let Romelia

come to town that night; it would never have done, with Juan. I hope she did not make difficulties with your help. I have casually spoken to her about your arrangements. Our situation and yours are very different: R. is one of the neighbors among whom we live; your people have had professional servant experience.

Yes, it is not at all uncommon for women to drink rum here. The other night R's brother brought me a bottle; the three of us sampled it together. Yet I have never seen a woman drunk in A. E. Are ladino customs different in your parts? I have heard about the female marimbistas.

Barbara Kidder arrives today at Tzanjuyu for a week's stay. I have to go to Panajachel on Thursday or Friday, and will then call upon her. She indicates she would rather not drive up here, she says she is going to have a baby. I hope she sees to it his or her politics are right.

We had a perfectly swell time in Chichicastenango. You treated us noble, and we shall long enjoy the memory of the days there. I like the stiff jelly very much.

I have had no time to do any writing these four days, but expect to get back on schedule tomorrow. However, I think after I have revised some written chapters in the light of criticisms just sent me by Alfonso and Roys, I shall put it aside and go back to A. E. for a while.

Julian's father came up with mail, etc. Saturday. He came apparently to make peace and apologies for his son. He admits J behaved badly and blames it on Pancho. He says he has forbidden Julian to go with Pancho. Next day

Julian himself came, much chastened, offered to fetch firewood, etc. I think things will run along pretty well now. I am obliged to you for putting on god-pa rental pressure.

With our best regards to you and Gertrude, as ever.

RR

1939

[January 1, 1939]

Chichicastenango  
New Year's night

Distinguido y ya bien bautizado compadre:

Enclosed please find

1. December expense account. Note that voucher No. 108 will, if it is satisfactory, have to be signed by you; if it is not, it can be torn up and a corrected one substituted.

2. My check to you for \$25.55 for 70 gallons of gasoline (the 20 you brought and the 50 received from the office). I figure that at \$36.50 for a hundred gallons, seventy should come to that. If I am wrong, and the 20 you brought me cost more or something, let me know and fix up the voucher. I have done nothing about the freight, which the office probably charged to you.

3. Diary up to the time of beginning this letter.

We received the package of sandals and knitting needles the other day.

Thank you, and Gertrude asks may she keep the needles until our return to

Chicago? Our regrets to Lisa about her sandals; within a week she will have repuestos. You say that "Jamie occupies the second pair"; yet that appears to be the one returned. Did you return the wrong pair? If so, we shall send them up again.

.... My diary will tell you what little has been going on here. Pressure on conscience occasioned by requests for information from McBryde has caused my taking up some of the economic aspects of Panajachel a little off-schedule. I think I have been pretty successful so far in getting the data in clear form. I hope to have a little paper on the subject by the end of the week, and I shall send you a copy; this data will of course be incorporated in the Panajachel report.

The other day I received a long letter from Pancho which I haven't yet had time to answer. He asks nothing, but seems to feel the need of squaring himself--which he does by denying everything and blaming his troubles on slanderous assaults. In answer I propose not to repeat charges (since I suppose we have only other peoples' word for them) but to point out that when I wrote him before coming down here I made it plain that the job this year might be for only a few weeks because we would not need a chauffeur except for getting settled; and I shall hint that his services were terminated for lack of necessity and for economy and not as a result of the things we have heard about him. I won't say that we don't believe them; I rather lean towards the slanderers myself.

Our digestive systems went very haywire the other day; I am recovered,

Gertrude largely so. We've no idea of the cause--or for that matter of just what was wrong. The baby has been well. We hope that James has gotten over Christmas completely.

We both wish you all a good year. Saludes carinosos,

Sol

P. S. From the way she regrets it, I suspect that Gertrude has been sick because she feels we made a social error by not having Romelia eat with us when we were alone. I rather think she is right, since Romelia was a guest in the house; the trouble started naturally enough when a precedent was set at the first lunch, and then the next morning before breakfast she went into the kitchen to warm her toes by the stove or to watch Juan work or something, and there she was while the table was set. I thought of her eating with us, but decided she would probably enjoy Juan's company more; Gertrude was worried at the time, but I waved away her doubts with a show of confidence. I have proved myself no Emelio Post, however.

January 2, 1939

Agua Escondida

Dear Gertrude,

I have meant to write you long long ago--it seems even longer than it is since we were at Santo Tomas because of all the doings here. I know Bob mentioned the Christmas box but I don't know that he really did it justice. Everything was so nice--and we are saving the pomes. I was particularly

glad to have the beautiful gavacha. How did you know that was just what I needed. I bought some material to make more but heaven knows when they will get done. And this is just the sort I like. Also, it doesn't show the dirt nearly as much as anything else I have, it really got me through Christmas, when Romelia was away for two days and a half and I had to hover over the stove--which smokes some, I must admit--more than ever. Romelia, by the way, discussed with me at length about your stove's smoking--not critically, as she was extremely enthusiastic about everything in your house, but trying to be helpful. She thinks if you would burn more encino and not so much pine it would help. I pass this on for what it is worth. Our stove smokes when it is getting started, not afterwards. Romelia was delighted with her necklace--I think she especially liked that. I am glad to see that being in your house has wrought a few improvements on her attitudes toward tidyness. I think she observed Juan washing his hands a lot as she certainly seems to think more about it now than she did. Also we have a better towel rack, now that she tells us about how yours is arranged.

Mina was also much touched to be remembered by you. She was much jollier when she came back than before and also more helpful about the house, and did some very nice sketches, which I hope you will see some time. Right now she is staying at Panajachel, where Barbara Kidder and a friend are too.

All is quiet here again but we did have some doings for a while. First our posada, then the last Christmas eve posada celebration, and mixed in with our own celebrations on Christmas day visits down to the village to take part

glad to have the beautiful gavacha. How did you know that was just what I needed. I bought some material to make more but heaven knows when they will get done. And this is just the sort I like. Also, it doesn't show the dirt nearly as much as anything else I have, it really got me through Christmas, when Romelia was away for two days and a half and I had to hover over the stove--which smokes some, I must admit--more than ever. Romelia, by the way, discussed with me at length about your stove's smoking--not critically, as she was extremely enthusiastic about everything in your house, but trying to be helpful. She thinks if you would burn more encino and not so much pine it would help. I pass this on for what it is worth. Our stove smokes when it is getting started, not afterwards. Romelia was delighted with her necklace--I think she especially liked that. I am glad to see that being in your house has wrought a few improvements on her attitudes toward tidyness. I think she observed Juan washing his hands a lot as she certainly seems to think more about it now than she did. Also we have a better towel rack, now that she tells us about how yours is arranged.

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All is quiet here again but we did have some doings for a while. First our posada, then the last Christmas eve posada celebration, and mixed in with our own celebrations on Christmas day visits down to the village to take part

theirs. Romelia danced almost constantly for two days and nights and came back looking all in, everyone in the place has had colds, but all are now recovering.

I wish you could come down here to see us but I know how difficult it is for you. We did have such a good time at your house. Give a hug to baby Susan, and my love to you,

Greta

January 4, [1939]

Casa del Sol

Dear Sol,

Dr. Kider writes to say (1) he is not coming down until March; (2) under instructions from above he has cut the budget of his Division \$9200. Of this, \$600 fell on the Expenses item of our budget. He took \$200 of your item, reducing it from \$1800 to \$1600.

Always expecting something of the sort, I inflated my budget a little when I sent it in. I think we shall come out all right. I shall be able to get that \$200 back to you from another item. I have written Mrs. Edwards asking her to deposit \$500 to your Detroit account, out of these 1939 funds.

...I am now engaged in revising my old summary of ladino culture in these parts and incorporating new materials. The original summary was substantially correct, but without any depth of completeness. As for going wrong, my worst first misconception was that quarrels are rare. They are common. I

have in front of me a map of the community, indicating the people who "don't speak" and why. It is crawling with horrid yellow lines.

When next we meet I should like a chance to read over some of what you have written on Indian culture in Panajachel. I should like to make some notes, so that I might to some extent investigate what elements of belief and attitude are absent and which present among the ladinos here.

I think you are right in saying that many elements are widespread and common to both ethnic groups. But I think we shall find that the ladinos have considerably less of it. Some things Indians know, they don't, and some things the Indians pay a good deal of attention to, the ladinos know about but pay much less attention to. The ladinos are "shallower" than the Indians, but their mode of life is in fundamentals entirely consistent with that of the Indians.

I am now inclining to the view that I should like to get first-hand knowledge of some aspect at least of Indian culture.

My best to you all. We are still enjoying your guava jelly, but down to the bottom.

As ever,

Bob

P. S. Julio Aceituno has just come and taken away the camioneta. Andrade is in the city. They will leave about Saturday for Coban.

January 5, 1939

Casa del Sol  
Thursday morning

Dear Sol:

Your letter of the first was brought up at breakfast time by Julian's father (who is now making most of the trips), together with a telegram from Franz Termer asking me to lunch with him today at Tzanjuyu. But having sent the car away yesterday to the city for Andrade, I can't accept his invitation.

.... Sorry I was so clumsy about the sandals and the needles. It was the middle pair I sent to you. Joanna is wearing the pair sent for Lisa. Jamie is wearing the pair sent for Jamie. Lisa's feet are too big for any of the pairs.

Greta says to keep the needles For Ever and Ever.

If you have outstanding bills from 1938, pay them and charge them to unexpended balance from 1938 funds so as to use the balance up. Pay the remainder of 1938 bills out of 1939 funds. As I wrote yesterday, I have asked that \$500 be deposited your account Detroit.

I wish very much to see what you have written on Panajachel economics. Please send it, when you can, and anything else you can spare. I have only since New Year turned to AE seriously; in a few weeks I should have something to send you.

I think you are taking just the right tone toward Pancho. I should like to know if the Juan Batz story is true. Pancho will probably hear that Julio Aceituno was sent for the car, and think it should have been he. The truth is to be told: the city office made the arrangements.

Awfully sorry you have been feeling rocky, and especially sorry that the Romelia business contributed. Please be at rest on that score. I think it was quite natural that she should eat with the cook and Juan; I rather think Romelia enjoyed talking with them and getting a close view of the life of your establishment. I don't think she bears the slightest hard feeling on account of it. She is a blithe and adventurous sould, full of naive amiability and light of heart. If she wwere where she could raise hell, she would probably raise a little, for the fun of it, but she is very good-hearted.

All good wishes for the New Year,

Bob

January 12, 1939

Chichicastenango  
Thursday

Dear Bob:

I have had your letters of the 4th and 5th several days, but I haven't wanted to take time out from writing that paper on Panajachel economics, which is assuming larger proportions than I had at first intended. I surprise myself with the amount of information I have to work with and I am trying to take advantage of it. I'm afraid I shall be a week longer than intended, however; or perhaps ten days.

I am not worried with the budget cut; I don't see why (since we shall do no travelling in 1939 except our return to the U. S. which is partly--S. S. tickets--paid) \$1600 shouldn't more than suffice, even with MS typing. Thank

you for arranging the deposit. Speaking of money, Mrs. Edwards writes that in my last October's accounts I shorted myself 10 cents in my poor addition; therefore at the end of the year I still owed the Institution 71 cents instead of .81. I have some 1938 bills outstanding, but nothing as small as 71 cents; how can I pay such bills and charge them to 1938 funds, therefore, as you suggest.

I shall send you some of the Panajachel materials of which I have copies (I am afraid to send other things). It occurs to me that we might get some notion of how much alike ladino and Indian cultures are in the area by the following simple statistical method: list a hundred (or two or three hundred) simple creencias that are commonly known in Panajachel, San Pedro, and Agua Escondida respectively, and compare the lists. I would suggest that the list cover all phases of nature and mental life and each belief be independent enough so there will be no statistical error. I can furnish beliefs for both Panajachel and San Pedro on practically all subjects (animals, plants, nature, body-parts, sickness, death, characoteles, spirits, professions, etc.) and if you haven't enough yourself, you can get my lists first for comparison and suggestions for questioning informants. I would point out that the three communities are about equally in contact in markets and so on--the two Indian communities perhaps closer than either with Agua Escondida. I won't take the time to make lists, of course, unless you think the problem is worth the effort.

We hope that Lisa received her sandals and they more-or-less fit.

If you want to get a view of Indian culture, wouldn't it be feasible to study S. Antonio a bit--couldn't you come and go by horse rather quickly? I

should think S. Antonio would have the advantage of fitting in with A. E. ; you would be able to say some things about the municipio as a whole that you might not now be able to say. At the same time it is a fairly compact community, and of course you have connections. San Andrés also occurs to me, having the advantage of easy access with the car; it seems to me the trouble might be in finding the community, since the town must consist mainly of ladinos. Couldn't you perhaps find some neighborhood (canton, if they have such things) in the S. Andrés monte, perhaps even closer to A. E. than the town itself?

Rosales is moving his family to Sololá these days; he asked for the camioneta to move his household goods from the launch to Sololá; of course I had to turn him down, for even if the car were around it wouldn't be worth your while to play chauffeur when other trucks are available.

I have kept forgetting to ask something of you; the president of the storage company in Chicago where we sent our things wrote asking me to bring back for his collection two Guatemala license plates (automobile or truck). If you haven't bought new ones yet, will you please save the old ones for me? You can charge me storage.

A few days ago a letter from Maria Noj Rosales (compadres' daughter, about 20 years old) told us (a) that the authorities have forced her to attend school, so she is a school-girl, (b) she is not married because the man isn't behaving, and if he behaves she might consent, and (c) Julián slanders her to their parents, and we should please scold him. The next day came a letter from Julián "notifying" us that "lo que pasa con María es que léseta echando la culpa

a su compadre que ahora ya no quieren casarse y el 4 en la noche fue un preyto con su compadre y el 5 quería su compadre que lo areclaran pero el penso mucho que mejor Ustedes que sean el padrino y nos elegre mucho y ei ella manda una carta las cosas que manda ella no lores y yo quiero que nos manda abisarme el dia que van alla y los esperamos alla. . . ." (I have corrected some of the obvious errors, but have left a sample for you). Do you suppose I shall be a padrino at 4 or 5 AM some morning, or what? I have not answered as yet, since we don't know when we shall be in Panajachel. I think we should go down there (or I alone should) before the end of the month, especially if a meeting can be arranged with you and Rosales.

I am looking forward to your revised summary on A. E., and to seeing the map with the yellow lines; here's hoping you haven't been caught in the web! With Best regards to you all and hoping you are, as we are, in good health--

Your afectisimo compadre,  
Sol

Friday 13 [Jan. 1939]

Casa del Sol

Dear Sol,

I write first to admit that I have got not a lick of work done this week, cheifly because I spent four days in bed with a bad cold and a toothache. The one got better and the other got worse, and finally, with my jaw jumping bloody murder, I got up and started for the city. I went to Godinez on horse back, hoping to get the mail camioneta, and had the good luck to meet our

station wagon with Julio Aceituno, coming back from Cobano. So I turned him around and we went back to Guatemala City.

The tooth turned out to be savable, and a kindly and apparently efficient dentist (Eduardo Caceres) fixed it up so it will last a while. But he wants me to come back in February. While I was in the city, I went through all the red-tape for a driver's license: surrety bond, medical certificate, photographs, fingerprints. They did not give me a driving test. Nor did they give me the license, because they had so large a pile waiting for the Official Signatures. But they gave me a certificate saying I had a license, and they will mail the carnet. Arenales of the office helped greatly; he went to school with the head of the traffic division.

Naturally I bought supplies and things we needed of various sorts, including an axe, lamp chimneys, vegatables and fruit. I am to deliver to you salutations from Mr. Cerwin of Benjaminson, Mr. Fernandez (?) of El Condado Dorado, from Mr. Magin, and from Barbara Kidder de Buse. Barbara de Buse asked me to dinner, along with your pals the Robert Smiths and Ziess the vulcanologist. From Barbara I learned that her father wrote her saying he was "mad at the ethnies (i. e., us), because they haven't written." The fault, of course, is not yours but mine--I did not write him till Christmas. I hope he likes the report I sent him then. I have been thinking that it would be a good idea if we would have ready for him when he comes down in March a list of Emerging Problems in Guatémalan Ethnology (i. e., Sociology too). As soon as I get caught up on a lot of correspondence, I will try to set something down. Do thou likewise,

and then we will exchange lists. My idea is that the problems should take the form of direction of attention to particular kinds of facts to be collected in particular situations or places of such a nature that light would as a result be thrown on a question of some general interest. The determination of just what kinds of elements of culture are localized, as compared with those which are widespread, and why, is one such problem--or perhaps a group of problems. Think about it.

The trip back from the city did not seem at all difficult, and I am more than ever appreciative of the excellence of your advice when you recommended that we dispense with chauffeurs. It is much pleasanter to be free of them. I only hope that if you should want the car that you telegraph me and I'll get somebody here to bring it up. In Godinez there is a likely lad with a license to drive private cars.

I am thinking somewhat-not very hard yet--of going to Chiantla on the 29th. If I should go, some people of AE would come along. I understand the road via Sacapulas and Aguacatan is all right. Would you care to go? Let me know what you think.

I think I have made a mistake in giving out in the village \$15 and \$12 as prices for the horses. I see by your letter that \$13 was paid for the small one. But the harm is done. Don Felipe Juarez, a most trustworthy and estimable gentleman, has been to see me to say that he and his son-in-law, who is Romelia's brother, would buy both horses at those prices if we could give them to September to pay. I said that I could not make any bargains at all because the horses were

not mine, but that I would write to you any offer I received. I think it may be I can find someone who will pay cash down. On the other hand there would be an advantage in having the horses bought by Don Felipe, because if he hadn't paid when I came back, or when you came back, we could reclaim them. And if he had paid, and we didn't find any better horses, we might buy them back at a reasonable increase in price.

I hope Gertrude and Susan are well. We are all right, now that Pap's tooth and temper have subsided.

As ever,

RR

[P.S.] I had a very amusing letter from Andrade. Perhaps you heard from him? He was delayed five days in the city because he innocently responded "microphones" when they asked in the customs what those objects were in those boxes. It is absolutely forbidden to bring microphones into Guatemala. He had to go almost to the very top to get them in.

January 16, 1939

Dear Sol:

Your letter of the twelfth just came. I am in bed with bronchitis, into which my cold converted itself after I went to the city to have a bad tooth treated. I met the stationwagon, went with the chauffeur, got my license (as I think I wrote you) and drove the car out here again. I don't think the bronchitis is anything serious.

The balance of 71¢ is so small that I think I would just add it to your next statement like an outlay, and so write it off.

Your suggestion about the list of creencias is good. If you will make up one such list for Panajachel, I will make a corresponding list for A. E.

The sandals came; they are a good fit, many thanks.

San Antonio might do me well. But I must first think out just what I want to learn. I think the writing-out of problems is the first job, as I wrote you recently.

I am writing to the city office to ask them to save the old license plates-- they were there when I left Friday.

I have just had Julian in my room. As near as I can make out: Julian's father wants Maria to marry the man she has been "going with" for three years. Neither Maria nor the man wants to marry. Maria continues to walk and talk with him. This gives J's father verguerrza, and sometimes J's mother stays up till midnight till the girl comes home. At 4 PM on Jan. 5th there was a four-way (five-way?) quarrel, in which the parents made no headway. The couple refuse to get married, but continue to associate. J's father, expecting you to come down on the 15th (?), wants you to force the couple to marry. So there.

I doubt, with my bronchitis, if I shall attempt Chiantha.

Best to Gertrude,

Bob Redfield

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[January 18, 1939]

Wednesday

Dear Sol:

I want to make an arrangement to meet you in Panajachel, but am at a loss just when to make it. My cousin has invited Lisa to spend Saturday night with her at Tzanjuyu and go with her to Atitlan next day, the rest of us to come down on Sunday again for noon dinner. She would be glad to have you, and this might provide an occasion. But I have still got some bronchitis, and I do not know if I shall feel well enough by Friday to drive Lisa down. I am dressed today, but rather wobbly.

By separate cover I am sending you my copy of the Oct.-Dec. Anthropologist. I don't know if you get your down here. Will you please read the article on the Tungus and Cossacks, and then read the note here enclosed and give me your criticism. Maybe you won't agree with any of it.

In the Jan-March number I got one good laugh. Reo Fortune writes on "Warfare Among the Arapesh." After showing they have real warfare, and that the men are he-men, he then says "A theory has been advanced that Arapesh culture... has selected a maternal temperament. etc. etc." He does not say he was then married to the advocate of the theory he is engaged in destroying. But he goes on to quote Margaret's words that "Warfare is practically unknown among the Arapesh."

I have been reading Herodotus while staying abed. In the second book I find a story which he attributes to Rameses which is much like one told me here in Agua Escondida!

Best regards to my family.

Regards to my comadre.

Bob

[P. S.] Don't trouble about making lists of creencias from Panajachel. I am doing it myself, from the chapters you sent me, and getting comparable material for A. E.

January 23, [1939]

Dear Sol:

If you are still thinking of coming to Panajachel to see Rosales and me, I suggest that you fix a date, and I will make arrangements to meet you there. A friend from Chicago, Mrs. Paul Harper, will probably visit us from January thirtieth to February third. Almost any other day would suit me. I am still weak in the chest, but am feeling sufficiently better so that we are thinking of driving to Patulul and the Finca Panama on Wednesday, of this week.

Lawrence Roys and Mrs. Roys are here, I have just been told. You have probably seen them, as they have just been in Chichicastenango.

I think that Julian has now been fired, or else he has left my employment of his own wish. He has continued to give us trouble, and at last yesterday, after he had failed to meet me as agreed with purchases and gave as his excuse that he had been busy working elsewhere, I said that if he was too busy with other matters to work for me perhaps he had better give up working for me. (I was paying him for this time.) He said All right; he would just make three more trips (because I had advanced him money). I imagine he has found something in

Panajachel that interests him more.

While lying in bed, I re-read Gage's Travels. You no doubt know the book. His account of Indian customs does not specify the Indians, but as he spent most of his time in Guatemala in Mexico and Pinola, it is probable that his information refers to natives of those places. I notice he says:

From the Spaniards they have borrowed their civil government, and in all towns they have one, or two, alcaldes, with more or less regidores (who are as aldermen or jurats amongst us) and some alguaziles, more or less, who are as constables, to execute the orders of the alcalde (who is a mayor) with his brethren. In towns of three or four hundred families, or upwards, there are commonly two alcaldes, six regidores, two alguaziles mayores, and six under or petty alguaziles. And some towns are privileged with an Indian Governore, who is above the alcaldes and all the rest of the officers. These are changed every year by new election, and are chosen by the Indians themselves, who take their turns by the tribes or kindreds, whereby they are divided. (p. 244)

What do you make of the last sentence (my underlining)? And again he says (p. 246):

Amongst themselves, if any complaint be made against any Indian, they dare not meddle with him until they call his kindred, and especially the head of that tribe to which he belongeth; who if he and the rest find him to serve punishment, then the officers of justices,

the alcaldes or mayors, and their brethren the jurats inflict upon him that punishment which all shall agree on.

This last account would fit precisely the contemporary situation among the Mayas of Quintana Roo. What do you make of the "kindreds?"

I was also interested in the following: He says (p. 245) that "a whole town of Indians stands in awe of one Spaniard." He describes the beliefs sometimes now called nahualism quite explicitly (p. 253). Speaking of santos, he says, "if the Indian that owned one of those images die and leave children, they are to take care of the saint as part of their inheritance, and to provide that his day be kept" (p. 255). He refers to the custom of "the woman's churching" (p. 257). Have you met this here? The ladinos do not know it, but the custom is still followed in southern Mexico. The Indians he knew apparently put up nacimientos on Christmas Eve (p. 261). Apparently it was policy of the Spanish government to force the Indians to marry early (p. 265). The dances he describes are notably different from those current today; the one he makes most of, called teconton, was danced by Indians clad almost entirely in feathers to the sound of the wooden slotted drum. They also danced the story of John the Baptist. He reports in detail some very interesting cases of witchcraft in which he of course fully believed.

I had a call recently from Antonio Goubaud. He says that he has resolved to become an anthropologist, and that in March he is coming to the University of Chicago to begin his training. He has to do the College work first. Apparently he expects to pay his way.

Soon I shall have a report for you on AE crenecias vs. those of Indians of Panajachel.

As ever,

Bob

January 24, 1939

Chichicastenango  
Tuesday

Dear Bob,

I received three letters from you in the past week; please excuse my having delayed writing. I didn't want to write without sending you at least that paper on Economics, which all week I have daily expected to finish; but every time I got to the point, I hit a snare and was delayed. Now I am confident of finishing today or tomorrow, but I won't take any chances; I am a week late both with the paper and with this letter for you. I am also behind in my diary and I haven't had a chance to study the Lindgren article and your contribution to the question. And then our discussion of Problems...!

We were also interrupted three times during the week by visitors. First, came Hubert Herring with a N. Y. attorney named Walter Frank, both on the way back from Lima; then Ralph Roys' brother and wife who will also call on you shortly; then yesterday a young couple killed our afternoon completely with the excuse that they are from home (U. of Wisconsin graduate students, the wife having done an anthropology minor and being now in history; the husband, we don't know because the wife did all the talking) and they told us all about

→ Mexico. Name of Burr in case you can't avoid them; I judiciously avoided mentioning you or your whereabouts.

Your troubles have been worse than ours, however; we hope you are completely recovered. Gertrude has had an infected tonsil; at least that is what an American doctor at the Inn said when she walked over one evening on the chance there would be a doctor in the house; but it doesn't keep her from getting about and things seem to be under control. Otherwise, no novedades here; Susan is 8 months old today and seems to be healthy as usual.

If you go to Chiantla, I don't think I would go along unless you felt it would give us some time to talk. However, if you go, couldn't you manage to stop here for some time? (I suspect you won't go, however, so I won't suggest details, except to assure you of a great welcome.)

I have been waiting to hear from Rosales to see if he is in San Pedro or Sololá; I find it hard to make arrangements to meet him meanwhile. I have been so immersed in work the past weeks that I have shoved a visit to Panajachel to some far recess of my mind. Yesterday we received a letter from Julián dated Saturday the 21st saying something I take to mean that María was forced by a licenciado to marry the man on Sunday (or will be this Sunday).

I am recognizing a debt to you of \$1.60 for the gasoline freight; I shall pay it when I see you, I hope soon.

It's good news to hear that offers for the horses are pouring in. I suggest cash (or payment no later than say May 1st) since neither of us will be down here in September or perhaps a year or two after that. I suggest selling

the saddles if you can. We paid \$28 for the horses and \$22 for the saddles; I should think we would be doing all right if we got even as little as \$35 for the whole business, for the use of horses for all this time ought to be worth \$15. But I think you might get more, since the horses seem to be good. I have the documents here (when I see you I'll try to remember to deliver them); and if you need me for bargaining power I empower you to lie in my name whenever you wish.

You're a little too technical for me when you suggest that I should just add the 71 cents left over from 1938 funds to my next statement "as an outlay" and so write it off. That sounds to me like an embezzling scheme that might be hard to explain to the powers behind Mrs. Williams. Perhaps you mean to include it as a receipt? or has "outlay" some technical significance beyond my knowledge?

Thank you for acting to save the old license plates.

I haven't been getting the Anthropologist here, or back home either for that matter. I have complained twice (and paid my dues) but it doesn't seem to do much good. I suspect the copies go to Milwaukee or some place and the P. O. doesn't notify me. I have only glanced through the Tungus-Cossack article and your comment (which seemed agreeable); at the first opportunity, I shall reread both to see if I have anything to say. I was shocked by the review of our R-B book; who is Julian Steward of the BAE?

So the Fortune-telling School has split ideologically too?? I suspect a drop soon in the sorcery market.

Does Herodotus report any other studies of Agua Escondida? Anything about elephants, say?

I shall run through some of Rosales' S. Pedro material as soon as I can and pick out some creencias; or would it be better to wait now until you compare Panajachel and A. E. ?

You can expect to hear from me shortly now; I'll try not to be so delinquent.

Trusting that you are all well now, we send our best regards.

Sol

January 27, 1939

Friday

Dear Sol:

I have not heard from you for very long. What has happened to the mail service? Are you all right? Day before yesterday your landlord and his brother stopped by to call, and obviously to get a lift--they having left Godinez on foot and having telegraphed to San Lucas to have horses sent to meet them--so I drove them almost to San Lucas where we met the horses. Rodas told me that he had sent a cage to Susan. What kind of a cage and does she sing yet?

I should be obliged if you would give me your comment on the enclosed statement. It has little new; I just tried to put it down as it seems to me.

When will you come to Panajachel? I am trying to get rid of bronchitis, but I am up and spend hours in the sun.

I hear the President is coming by today or tomorrow. Mariano is off  
performe preparing triumphal arches.

As ever,

Bob

January 28, 1939

Saturday

Dear Bob:

I have just now finished the enclosed; it can't make you much dizzier  
than it has me. Some things I have included for McBryde's benefit that I might  
not have otherwise, while other things I have put in whether McBryde is  
interested or not so as to round out the paper. It has taken me a month to do,  
when I planned a half; but it amounts to much more than I had originally planned,  
so I do not feel unduly depressed. I shall not mail it to McBryde (who may  
after all cite or quote some of it for publication) until I hear from you that there  
is nothing in it seriously injurious to the reputation of CIW.

I have not yet heard from Rosales, and am puzzled. Meanwhile Ger-  
trude has enquired at the Inn about cars. Whether we all make the trip or  
whether I do alone, we would like to have it done within one day if possible. It  
is not possible by any means of transportation except an express car (since the  
mail cars pass through Panajachel in opposite directions at about the same  
time). If we can get a car cheaply enough, expenses will be hardly higher than  
a night in Panajachel and two days spent. We have chosen Thursday as a likely

day because there are usually idle Clark cars here on Thursdays; the soonest possible would be Feb. 9th, and we are tentatively figuring on that date. Whether we make it then depends on your availability, Rosales', and a car's.

Your letter of the 23rd was received here on the 26th. Too bad about Julián; I hope you have made some new arrangements.

I have been thinking of the problem of social organization suggested by Gage's observations, the calpul business, and other things that seem to be in the air. I have some suggestions partly compounded of guesses, and this seems like a good time to try to get them down on paper; I do not want to hold up this letter and MS, however, so it will have to remain one of my many pressing jobs (together with contact without conflict, Problems, diary, and expense account).

And now has just come your communication on beliefs; I have just looked it over, find it more than interesting, and think we'll have something there.

Another job for this week.

I think it will be best to drop Panajachel for the most part now and begin work on Chichicastenango; we shall have about four months left, and much of the time ( I hope) of the next month will be spent on special problems and communications with you while you are still in the field.

I also have just had a letter from Eric Thompson asking for information about "a possible moon goddess... relation to sun; connection with agriculture, pregnancy and medicine, earth and earthquakes; divination." Another little job. Eric suggests that he may bring his family to live permanently in Guatemala.

All well here; you'll hear from me soon.

Sol

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January 30, 1939

Casa del Sol  
Monday

Dear Sol:

Just a word to acknowledge your red-ribbon letter. I am obliged to you  
 → for protecting me from Burrs. Visitors, if not Burrs, are apt to be Thor . ←  
 → At least . We missed Herring. He used to be a great buddy of mine,  
 but no more. The Royses came up here yesterday, with my cousin for tea. I  
 don't know if I shall see him again.

My bronchitis got worse--I have been in bed again since Friday, and  
 it looks as if I shall have to do little but rest for a week or two more. It is a  
 very persistant low infection, and apparently my resistance is unequal to it. I  
 read, and lie, and can do no work except translating Villa's Quintara Roo report. That  
 I am doing.

As to the 71 cents: I thought in your next report, on the summary sheet,  
 you might simply put down "Unexpended balance, 1938, 71 cents" and add this in  
 to the total to be accounted for.

Hope Gertrude's infected tonsil does not cause her trouble.

I don't think anybody here can pay cash for the horses now. But I can  
 find buyers who would pay in September. Why not sell to them? I can arrange  
 to have them pay the money to Juan Rohrman, who would deliver it to the CIW  
 office in the city. Would it not be better to sell the horses to friends and neighbors?

As ever,

Bob

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February 1, 1939

Chichicastenango

Dear Bob,

I am still working on the lists of beliefs, and I hope that I can get something off in the mail tomorrow with my expense account; no promises, though. Meanwhile, here are two comments, one on your Summary of Indian-Ladino relations, the other on Miss Lindgren's paper in the A. A.

My apologies for making my comments on your Summary both longer than the summary (maybe not true literally--but too long anyway) and difficult to read. I meant to double space and then I slipped into my bad habit of indenting with a number and from there on forgetting the eyes of the reader.

I shall be very curious for your reaction to the other paper; I'm probably all wrong, but I don't now see where.

Rodas' cage reference was to a play-pen for Susan that Mr. Cerwin kindly sent up, borrowed, he says, from one of the boys in the store. Rodas' only connection was in sending it to the house when it arrived in Chichicastenango.

The President passed through the other day, but we didn't see him; he arrived in town at 6:30 AM and we heard all the rockets and things. Everybody had to be in the plaza at that hour for greeting and inspection. He didn't by chance really visit Agua Escondida, did he?

I have just been told that we can have a Clark car for \$7.00 for a day in Panajachel; I wrote Rosales the other day and expect to hear from him soon. If his and your replies are favorable (for Thursday the 9th) I shall complete arrange-

ments here and let you know by wire if necessary. We (or I) would go down early, so as to be in Panajachel at about 8:30; if you come later, I shall call on the Indians and do my business early, while if you come early, I can do that later in the day. Rosales will probably be there early or the night before-- unless he is in Sololá, in which case I shall bring him down with us. I don't know whether you plan to bring the family (it would be harder for us to go up to Agua Escondida) whom we would like to see; but for that matter we are not sure that Gertrude and the baby will come.

I hope you feel very much better by this time.

Sol

February 1st, 1939

Wednesday evening

Dear Compadre,

Perhaps my compadranal duties (unlike godparental) do not include being a self-appointed physician; nevertheless I am writing this (hoping it will get out in the same mail tomorrow morning) to cancel what I wrote this afternoon about your coming to Panajachel. Since your bronchitis is hanging on so stubbornly, I see no sense in your exposing yourself to the dust and exertion of a trip that is really unnecessary even when (I trust) you will be well again.

Instead I now suggest that we (or I) spend the morning in Panajachel and after lunch come up to A. E. with Rosales for our conference. I say after lunch advisedly because I know from experience that Rosales would be more comfortable lunching with his family in Panajachel.

Of course if for some special reason you will still want to drive to Panajachel, there is nothing in these plans that cannot be changed.

I am enclosing my expense account. You will note that voucher No. 1 is absent. The item refers to the box of gasoline I brought from the city when we first came, and the box of gasoline and kerosene you sent up from A. E. shortly after. I had paid in the city for all the gasoline and kerosene, but then sent you the voucher and you paid me for all except these three boxes which I meant to put in my expense account and forgot until reviewing accounts for the year. Since my reputation for efficiency isn't worth \$10.75 to me, I include the item now and ask you to supply a voucher (No. 1).

I am enclosing a letter from Julián received this afternoon; you have driven him into the C. I. O.

We hope the sun has done you a lot of good; you must have had a bad time of it. Here all is well.

Best regards,

Your compadritillo,

Sol

February 4, 1939

Dear Sol:

I have read with a great deal of interest your paper on Panajachel Indians Economics. It is an extraordinarily thorough and painstaking investigation of this aspect of the community life. There is probably no study of a simple native

economy that compares with it as a cost-accounting analysis. I assume that it will form a part of your opus on Panajachel. Its value will be enhanced if it is presented together with discussions of the social organization and of the religious, moral and ideological aspects of the life, and if you then show the extent to which the economic life is or is not conditioned by these other aspects of the life, and how these, to what extent, are conditioned by the economic life. That the Indians are neither capricious nor stupid in their business life you certainly show, and that they are largely motivated by desires to better themselves economically. You also show the free character of the capitalistic, individualistic, Peruvian economy.

I see no reason why you should not send the paper to McBryde, telling him you are preparing it for publication, and that he may quote from it, giving credit.

Do you wish me to return this carbon of your manuscript?

I enclose a sheet on which I have set down some questions of observations as to details. I should like to make a few general suggestions. The title "Agricultural Technology and Economics" or something of the sort, would be more completely descriptive. Could you say something about the distribution of land ownership among the Indian population? Would it not be well to make clear to the reader just what your basic data are and how you secured them? I do not know how you made up many of those tables. Later would it be helpful to have the ms. read and criticized by some economist, if we can find one who is interested in this sort of material?

The memorandum on social organization contains much that is stimulating. But I had some difficulty following it. In particular I am not clear as to whether you are outlining something that exists today or something that did exist. Are calpuls recognized in Chichicastenango today? The general drift of your remarks indicating that the development of national government since the Congress has tended to reduce the number of workers the importance of groups intermediate between the simple-family and the municipal. This seems to be probable.

It seems to me that a distinction should be made between (1) a group of generalogically related individuals including several pairs of spouses, the whole → constituting a single household with a single , and (2) the group of genalogically related individuals including several pairs of spouses but each pair constituting a separate household. Apparently you are "great family" for both. The term "extended dominate family" is used by some for (1) above; others are "compound family: great family" might be restricted to (2).

In your view, what determined the local limits of a calpul?

Doesn't it seem probable to you that the caution if pre-congruent? Is there

Is there any native term to substitute for pluratry? What is the evidence for a dual division in Chichicastenango. Ruth Buuzel offers that a dual division is a fundamental pattern among the Highland Maya. What do you think?

What you have to say on the variability of the unit-system depending (partly) on size, seems to me very sensible.

Apparently this matter of social organization is a major job. In drawing of that list of problems, I should think you could refer to the assumptions of this

outline and lay out matters for special investigation, some historical, some comparatur-sociological. I should think that you could best attack these questions by reporting what today exists in two or three communities.

I am sorry to report that I still have bronchitis. It is slowly getting better, I think, but I stay in bed most of the morning and go to bed at supper time. I can work only a little. I do not think I can come to Panajachel on Thursday.

Julian is through. At the last he offered to charge 5¢ less for each trip, if I would give him one of the horses for his use. I am having our mail sent to San Lucas. Mariano goes 2 or 3 times a week to shop and fetch mail.

Yes, Eric Thompson expects to take a house in Gnalentale City, and will archeologize. Woman's churching: I understand that among the ancient Jews

Woman's churching: I understand that among the ancient Jews (inheretry people) it was customary for a woman 40 days after temple to go first to the temple, with her child, for purification. This was taken over by the Catholic church. It servied outside of Catholocism, as a folk custom in England until (I think) recently, and exists in several Latin countires.

I am sorry to inflict this dreadful scribble on you. I hope Gertrude's tonsils have subsided.

As ever,

Bob

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Friday, February 10, 1939

Dear Sol:

We enjoyed your visit immensely, and we are still enjoying your excellent cake. The spinach, --super spinach--gave us superior verdura for two meals.

We are sorry you went off without the parsley, and without your handsome hat. Greta was also planning to give a potted parsley plant, and this too we failed to give you.

Jamie says he likes the Sol Taxes, that they talk and act like Americans, just like him.

Mariano came back from San Lucas with vegetables, and with mail. Your interesting notes on creencias are now here, and soon: I shall go over them. Also arrived your telegram - no doctor in the service. My plan now is to stay in bed gaining strength with a view to driving to the city on Thursday (I think you said it was easier for you to get a car on Thursday?) On Tuesday I will wire you definitely whether we are or are not going on Thursday. Then you will wire back, to San Lucas, telling me if you and Gertrude and Susan will come down here, Thursday morning and drive in to the city with us.

A letter came from Will Ogburn saying he and Mrs. Ogburn are sailing Feb. 8th for Barrios to be in the country three weeks, hoping to see Greta and me. I am writing the Palace Hotel about the possibility of coming in Thursday.

As ever,

Bob

[P. S. from Greta] Please tell Gertrude to take more naps! Sounds to me as if she

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got up early and went to bed not too early. You see I feel I didn't give you enough advice.

[P. S.] from RR I think that suggestion of yours to spend a while in Panajachel is a good one.

Sunday, February 12, 1939

Chichicastenango

Dear Bob:

Here are comments on your comments on my comments on your Lad-Ind. summary. Much is left unsaid, requiring more study.

....Goubaud told me he doesn't think he'll be able to go to Chicago; I took the liberty of mentioning (since the question seemed to be financial) that we might have a little work, but of course I couldn't speak for the Institution. He gave me a reference to a local botany book that identifies many local plants. (Rojas is the author.)

Under separate cover I am sending some ethnobotanical notes; for explanation, please refer to the bottom of p. 2 of the enclosed memorandum.

I enclose the sketch that Dorothy Harrington sent of the textile she wants duplicated. Do you know what it is, and from what town? And please remember you don't know a thing about all this!

We are well, and there is nothing much new. I am behind in my work again--I wanted to get started on Chichi. ethnology, but still haven't finished Beliefs, Problems, etc. and now Stories, Sorcery--but hope to catch up soon.

We hope your health is improved. Gertrude seems to be getting worse; if you go to the City, wire us and we may meet you there for a conference in

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the Doctor's office.

Sincerely,

Sol

Sol Tax

DE SAN LÚCAS TOLIMAN 14 DE FEBRERO DE 1939  
RECIBIDO EN CHICHICASTENANGO A LAS 13h35 POR RC  
SI ESTÁN PROPICIOS TIEMPO Y SALÚD VAMOS EN CAMIONETA GUATEMALA  
JUEVES, SI USTEDES QUIEREN ENCONTRARNOS AQUÍ FAVOR TELEGRAFÍARME.  
ROBERTO REDFIELD

February 20, 1939

Monday afternoon

Dear Sol:

We worried about Gertrude's getting too tired from the long trip. I hope she will rest now in the afternoons. It must have been a very long trip, finishing with a walk up your trail in the darkness.

Yes, you have noted for work all the points we had in mind. The statement of problems comes first.

I have written to Guatemala to ask if our reservations could be changed from the eighteenth to the eleventh or even the fourth. We came very regretfully to this decision for the reason that I still feel so weak that I can do little continuous work. And if I come on the boat of the eighteenth we arrive in Chicago two days before my work begins at the University. It would be better, we

think, if I could start the treatment of these abscessed teeth before the rush of the University is on. Of course travel is very heavy now and the probabilities are that we cannot change the reservations.

Pancho arrived yesterday. The bote came all right. But the gasoline tank was practically empty and the rear talco was broken out. Maybe he got thirsty and drank the gasoline.

He brought Romulo Guzman along--the shutters are being made. I sent Pancho back with Romulo with anote for the Ogburns and instructions to bring them up here this morning. Pancho came this morning, medio bolo, without Ogburns, reporting they hadn't arrived. I drove Pancho to Godinez where he caught a bus. And here we are again.

As ever,

Bob

[P. S.] If I am to write a statement of problems on ellime relatives will you please send me the materials from the U of C seminar?

February 21, 1939

Dear Sol:

Don Abel will bring you this.

All pretty well here. I enclose two small pages of comments. I have begun to compare your stuff on trees and plants with ladino knowledge here. So far it is very similar to the P. stuff so far as practical uses and remedies go; the supernatural connotations and connections with sorvery are, as usual,

mostly lacking.

I should be obliged if you would buy me three more deer or bull masks if you can get them. I will pay a quetzal apiece, if necessary. Perhaps you could send them to the Pension to be held there for me.

Hope Gertrude is O. K. now.

February 22, 1939

Chichicastenango  
Ash Wednesday

Dear Bob:

I started this on Monday, and it has taken me almost three days. I doubt if it is worth it, but you may see something in it to improve and so get us somewhere. This sort of thing may at least find a place complementing your ladino-Indian conclusions.

Nothing new here; Gertrude's eye is all better, her tonsils improving. The baby has some diarrhea but seems well otherwise, and we are thinking of believing what people around here say--that asientos accompany teething.

We had a very fancy engraved invitation signed by Padre Rossbach asking our presence at a Funeral Oration for the Pope on Saturday.

I noticed in the last N. Y. Times that Edward Sapir died on Feb. 4th; if you didn't notice it, I suppose you have heard anyway.

And did you notice this paragraph from a Times editorial? It's a good illustration of what makes an in-group.

You see I have naught to say. Best regards,

Sol

February 24, 1939

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of Monday, and of Tuesday (brought by Don Abel late yesterday).

It is much too bad that you are still not better, but your decision to try to leave early certainly seems wise. Hope that you can get reservations earlier. Meanwhile, I appreciate that I must get the discussion of problems to you; I have been working on it, and shall send you what I have piecemeal so that you won't be delayed in putting things together. Under separate cover I am sending you the material from the seminar.

I shall buy the masks and see that you get them before you leave. They will be bull-masks, because the deer masks are all large and expensive.

I am sending to Rosales to have him come up here one of these days so that I can report to you on plans for him before you go.

A physician from New York advised me about the baby's health yesterday, and she seems to be getting better now.

Re the house that Jack built, I do not remember ever having heard Senor being used with the baptismal name. It is possible that I have missed something, and I shall check up; but I don't see how the practice can be common here or in Panajachel as it seems to be in AE. ...I have found out that the Vialidad money all goes for road-work, half staying in the Department and half going to Guatemala; Ornato money all stays in the municipio and goes exclusively for public improvements (not such things as salaries). I still haven't

found out about military service.

I shall save your notes on animal names, etc., for incorporation into my MS. Thank you. What I call "honey-bear" is the oso colmenero in Spanish; probably I'm wrong somewhere. Armado is the armadillo. You may substitute banana for guineo where I find it; I thought I would make a distinction between the bananas of the coast and the guineos de coche, etc. grown in Panajachel, but have changed my mind.

Had a nice letter from Eric Thompson; he wants to use the material I sent him on the moon in a paper he is writing on the moon goddess.

May we wish Lisa a very happy birthday?

Best regards,

Sol

February 25, 1939

Agua Escondida  
Saturday following the  
first Friday in Lent

Dear Sol:

We had Will Ogburn with us yesterday. He was a very pleasant and understanding guest. He said that he would look you up in Chichicastenango; I hope that you have seen him. He happened to say that he was interested in the economics of primitive peoples; so I told him of your paper and asked him to ask you for it. I suppose I might have given him the copy you sent me, but I was (unreasonably) reluctant to hand out your ms. without your authority. I

talked with Ogburn about the census and got some good ideas from him. He has himself talked with Schwartz.

I do hope the baby's little trouble is soon cured. Jamie was sick with quite a fever for two or three days; today he is happily convalescent. I seem to be gaining yet more strength; I am much encouraged.

Yes, I heard of Sapir's death. Perhaps you heard that T. Wingate Todd died suddenly recently.

I appreciate the trouble you put yourself to in preparing the memorandum on Spanish-Indian traits. It confirms my feeling that these problems are less rewarding than others, and that they are not the problems most congenial to either your interests or mine. I will say frankly that I do not think the statement gets us very far. I think first, that the conclusions stated have little novelty, and second, that it does not appear how these conclusions or others following close after them are to be used in the direction of solving the problems you mention. If I may say so, the substance of your first ten conclusions, or most of them, has been stated for Mitla by Parsons, and by me (in ms. in preparation) for Yucatan; perhaps it is more important to say that most of them may be safely asserted after very small acquaintance with the field. Do you wish to devote considerable effort to peeling off what is Spanish and thus to expose the pre-Conquest Indian culture? And if you do, how do you propose to do it? Your memorandum leaves me uncertain as to how you would do it. To take another of your preliminary ultimate questions: How are you to determine what influences have determined the survival of one or the other of the

two competing traits? I have read your memorandum through for some hints as to the line of enquiry to be followed in dealing with this question and can only discover that comparison of distribution of traits today among the groups indicates that some traits are taken over because they are more efficient and others are not taken over because they are too expensive. Is it your proposal to continue this comparison of present-day distributions in order to discover other influences operating in recent years--then to conclude that the same or analogous influences were operative in the sixteenth century? If this is your procedure, or if you have some other, do you think the results would be better than those achieved by the reasonable speculations of Mrs. Parsons in her Mitla study? Do you feel interested in these matters to the degree you would like to expand the last paragraph of your memorandum (p. 9) into a new memorandum, which would state more briefly the tentative conclusions upon which further procedure is to be based? The present short paragraph is insufficient as an indication of a plan for further work. But if this interests you I am glad; in this case I suggest that you make a new memorandum which states the problems and manner of working on them first, or more nearly first.

I hope very much to hear from you on the problems which you think are to be developed from your study of Panajachel economics, from your classification of municipios, and from your concern with the fundamental patterns of Highland Indian social organization, the history of the forms within this pattern and of local developments.

Following the suggestion of the New York Times, I have noted on the

map of Guatemala that your present longitude and mine are closely similar, and have derived from this fact a new sense of solidarity.

As ever,

Bob

February 27, [1939]

Dear Sol:

I hope that the baby's ailment has continued to diminish. I know that diarrhea can alarm one.

Thank you for sending me the census information and the census volume. This last I shall send back to you soon.

Thanks also for information on taxes. Do you know if both ornato and vialidad are imposed on every adult man in Guatemala, or what is the basis of liability to the tax?

I have not yet heard from Molina about the possibility of changing my sailing reservations. I cannot understand why he has not answered either of my letters. If I do not hear by night, I will telegraph him.

We have no oso colmenero, but this afternoon Romelia's uncle Jose Inez presented us with a half-grown micoleon. It has been raised in captivity, is tame and gentle, and altogether a charming pet. You can imagine how delighted the children are. We hope to bring it home with us.

Lisa was pleased that you mentioned her birthday. The turkey dies tomorrow for the feast day after tomorrow.

Our best to Gertrude--do hope Susan is all right.

As ever,

Bob

Tuesday, February 28th, 1939

Dear Gertrude,

Bob is mailing off the little dress, which I hope you can get some use from--but it is nothing to brag about. In the first place the flannel was really too heavy. I had in mind some little straight French dresses my sister's nurse made for her out of flannel, which were passed on to me, and very useful. Nina Matilde made French seams (because I forgot to warn her not to), which add to the bulkiness, also cut the armholes so huge, and added the little side gussets. The effect is rather peculiar. Perhaps your sewing woman can take it apart and improve it if it seems worth the effort. I enclose one picture of baby coats tho I doubt if they will give you any help. The other page of the magazine got mislaid but did not have much anyway. I should be very glad to see if I cannot find you a pattern when in town, if not too terribly rushed. Don't know why I didn't think of it before. We still don't know when we are going as we have heard nothing at all from the city but ti will probably not be till the latest sailing.

I hope Susan's diarrhea is a thing of the past. Sometimes comes with a cold. I found in my baby book a prescription our Chicago doctor gave for Joanna when she had some "looseness" at about 15 months. He suggested barley

water added to the milk instead of plain water. The Nursery Guide also thinks barley water a good thing. "Barley water is often used in place of food for twelve or twenty-four hours in the treatment of diarrhea. Saccharin (1/4 grain tablet) may be added for sweetening." That would only be for very severe cases, I'm sure. I suppose Benjaminson would have barley, tho that would not be very convenient if one needed it in a hurry. To make barley water "add a level tablespoon of barley to a pint of water and boil an hour in a covered double boiler, strain and add enough boiled water to make a pint." (You may have this already, but never mind.) Dr. Henn also recommended Milk of Bismuth for Joanna, three or four times a day, no fruit juice or vegetables of course. Cocoa or chocolate also have the opposite of a loosening effect, as do bananas, for children who can take them. For a very mild diarrhea, enough to make one stop the vegetables but not enough to cause sickness, a teaspoon of powdered chalk given in water three times a day is helpful. I used this for Joanna in Merida. Very weak tea can also be given instead of the barley water (but not mixed with the milk, just plain) in cases of severe diarrhea. As a matter of fact I never had to deal with a really bad case of diarrhea in the children, so expect you won't. Excuse advice as usual. Hope your supply of doctors at the Maya Inn keep up, if needed, tho doubtless they won't be.

This afternoon we (editorially speaking) slaughtered the turkey for Lisa's birthday tomorrow.

Love,

Greta

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Wed, , March 1, 1939

Chichicastenango

Dear Bob,

Enclosed please find (1) February expense account, (2) Diary to date, and (3) a memorandum called "Culture-Areas in Guatemala."

I received your letter of last Saturday today. You will note in my diary that Ogburn called on us last Saturday and I spent the better part of the day with him on Sunday. I showed him the memorandum on the census that I sent you, and he offered me what are apparently the same suggestions he gave you. I also gave him Panajachel Economics, and he read it Saturday night and spent several hours going over it with me on Sunday. The substance of his comments:

1. There is nothing like it for primitive peoples, and although Panajachelenos are economically sophisticated, the study should have wide interest. As an example of a type of economy something like old-European (or which there are no detailed studies) it will interest economic historians. Many of the tables represent what agricultural and economic statisticians in the U. S. are doing; the tables attempting to give the "balance of trade" represent data never worked out for any community in the U. S.
2. I am too "modest" in the paper, wrongly acting as if the study isn't important. It is far too condensed, and should be expanded and made more of a fuss of. It should be published, if possible, rather as a monograph (even with pictures) and then condensed

into a chapter or so if I want it in a report on Panajachel.

- 3. I should make it clear just where the information of the tables comes from. I should be liberal with footnotes to the tables (while simplifying titles). I should figure out the margin-of-error for each table, and mention it in each case, not being afraid to say so even if it is 50% in some cases.
- 4. The complex tables should be broken up into many simple ones (100 wouldn't be too many); at the same time the concepts involved should--or would--be clarified.
- 5. The chart on distribution of time interests Ogburn especially, but it should be broken up into about ten tables. (A long study was published of distribution of time among American farmers.)
- 6. Table II should be expanded to make it a "National Income" table, and the information in Tables XI and XII should be organized to make "balance of payments" and "balance of trade" statements.
- 7. It would be worthwhile to stop in Washington to see Bureau of Farm Economics and other people (he would give me letters) for suggestions; they would perhaps read this paper as he did. Meanwhile he will send to me some publications.

Naturally, I am grateful for the trouble Mr. Ogburn took with the paper and for his suggestions. He also read my Municipios reprint. He told me that economists correlate regional specialization with good transportation facilities --which hardly jibes with Guatemalans trudging the roads under their loads.

Also, he told me that economists suppose that farms in non-industrial society are self-sufficient (largely)--in which case there is another anomaly here.

As for the Spanish-Indian business, you know I have never been particularly interested in the problem. I wrote this paper as if I were because you suggested in Guatemala City that I see what I could do with the problem. Now I think there are more important things, if you don't mind. What bothers me is that in trying to dispose of peripheral problems I haven't been able to send you stuff on things more central to our interest. The enclosed on Culture-areas is another example. I have had many interruptions this week: Mr. Ogburn, of course, and then Juan Rosales. I had to get him started on his work in Solola, since otherwise he would be more or less wasting his time. However, I realize how urgent three problems are (I know that Dr. Kidder has already sailed) and I'll do my best.

The baby is back to normal now. I am glad that you are improving and that James gave you only a temporary search.

Best regards,

Sol

[March 4, 1939]

Casa del Sol  
Saturday afternoon

Dear Sol:

First I want to express my great satisfaction and pleasure at the fact that Ogburn read your economics paper, that he found such value in it, and that

he made such important suggestions for its development. I thought it was good, but it is much more important that an economist (for Ogburn is) has found it good, and of course the importance that he sees in it will be of much more consequence, because of wider significance, than what an anthropologist per se may see in it. I think his looking the paper over so carefully is a great stroke of fortune for all our enterprise. I think now we must take up with Kidder Ogburn's suggestion that the paper be extended and revised and separately published. If everything were done to it that Ogburn proposes, it would become even larger and more detailed than it is, and so would be that much more in disproportion to other parts of the proposed Panajachel monograph.

Also I think Ogburn's suggestions provide a guide for another section of our work-in-progress report for Kidder. Cannot you now, without much trouble briefly indicate the character and results of this investigation, and then indicate, as "problems", some of the probable or possible important connections of this study for economists and other students of society? I wish you would make me such a statement--as concise as you can make it.

In the second place I am in a hurry to tell you how very pleased I am with the statement on "Culture Areas in Guatemala." I think it clears a lot of ground and lays out some of the fundamental axes of the ethnological work. Of course it is in part a re-statement of some parts of the Municipios paper, and says where we should go on from there. It should, I think, properly come first in the work-in-progress report. I propose to put it in immediately after the statement of fieldwork progress (giving you credit for authorship). I should

like to change its title to "Problems of Geographic Distribution." This will be a statement of the ethnological framework; then will follow some statements of sociological frameworks. I am all enthused about our report now; I think we are going to have something that will last. Something like this:

I. Status of the fieldwork.

II. Problems for investigation

- 1. Problems of Geographic Distribution of Social and Cultural Fact (you have written it)
- 2. Problems of Culture Type and Culture Change (I have written it)
- 3. Problems of Ethnic Relations (I have almost finished writing it)
- 4. Special Problems in Economics (You to write it)
- 5. Special Problems as to Social and Political Organization (you to write it).

Very likely (5) should come earlier in this sequence.

But Kidder arrives day after tomorrow! Speed is essential--it will take some time to have this copied.

I went to Guatenala City yesterday and was back in this house at eleven this morning. Fast trip. I drove the camioneta in to the city so that it can be taken to Coban Tuesday. Day before yesterday I received a telegram from Andrade saying that he needs it all the coming week. I think it will be brought back here next Saturday.

We could not change our reservations, and so are definitely to sail on the eighteenth. I expect to leave here on the fifteenth.

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At the Pension I left a note for Kidder, promising him the report. So let's get it finished as quickly as possible.

I thank you for your diary, but was sorry to hear you had been so much bothered with headaches. I'm afraid the work on the report has been a headache.

Abel called yesterday, to ask if I would drive him to San Lucas. But I was not at home and all he got was a glass of water and a kind word. From Greta.

I hope the baby and Gertrude are all fine now.

I did not have time to see Schwartz but expect to do it when next I am in the city. I have studied your suggestions with profit. I have received a pleasant letter from Schwartz.

As ever,

Bob

March 5, 1939

Chichicastenango

Dear Bob:



Yesterday Mrs. Carette told Gertrude that they had driven up to AE on Thursday and that you were leaving this week. Uncertain as to where to send this, I awaited today's mail; but there was no word. I am taking a chance that this will reach you before you leave for the city (if indeed you go this week).

I am sending three masks to the Pension; they cost 75 cents apiece (total of \$2.25).

I don't know if I mentioned to you that I talked to Goubaud, who is definitely coming to Chicago this Spring. In case you see him, here or there,

you should know that I was forced into indiscreetly telling him (with due warnings that I have no power to do anything myself) something of our plan to use his assistance in preparing a Guatemalan glossary. I saw him one day and, as I told you, mentioned that he might hope for remunerative work in Chicago; I must have given the impression then that I knew what kind of work it would be, for several days later he came to the house excitedly asking what the project was. Rather than surround it in mystery and give it more importance than it deserves, I told him.

It is very much too bad that I still haven't prepared statements of problems on municipio types and on social organization. I would also have liked to do a little something on "present state of ethnography" and on municipio interrelations. I suppose now you will have to prepare the statement of problems for Dr. Kidder without such help. On the other hand, I am pleased with how the enclosed Economics paper has come out; and it touches on a few other things, so that perhaps you can do something satisfactory with it.

If you go this week (and I presume we shall have word soon) I shall write you a letter to the Pension.

I hope that you are about up to par for the strain of the tri p. And the strain of goodbyes in AE, too!

Best regards,

Sol

Monday, March 6, 1939

Casa del Sol

Dear Sol:

Here is the copy of your January account.

Here also are the documents of title of the two horses. I have expressed to Tomas Alvarez your agreement to sell him the brown one for twelve quetzals to be paid Juan Rosales in Solola by October 1st, 1939. You are to make out the document to indicate the sale to him and give the paper to Rosales to hold until he has received the money. The white horse I am leaving in care of Magdaleno Alvarez until you send for it or until you sell it here. I have said you will sell it for fifteen quetzals, terms, or twelve, cash down.

If there is room in the car when we leave, I will take the saddles and bridles to the city office, unless you direct me otherwise. If there is not room, I will leave them stored in this house, and give information about them to Molina.

This is a dreadfully business-like letter. We had a pleasant holiday yesterday--spent the day down at the lake, just below us. We went swimming, picnicked by the shore and read aloud from a Dorothy Sayer mystery novel.

I am beginning to copy such parts of the Kidder report as seem to me finished, so that the whole can be put together on short notice. I have a feeling Kidder may just appear here some morning.

I hope you and yours are now well. I am glad to report this family in good health. We are beginning to enter the period of Painful Farewells. We are visited more assiduously than usual, and tears are beginning to fall. "Si Dios nos preste la vida--Ojala que nos encontremos otra vez." etc., etc., without end.

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Letona has apparently lost our last grocery order and bread, butter, cookies, Crisco, potatoes and so forth are some where else but here for us to eat.

As ever,

Bob

March 9, 1939

Chichicastenango,  
Guatemala

Dear Bob:

Your letter of last Saturday pepped me up no end. I am not doing anything further about economic problems until I hear from you about the paper I sent you; I think I covered all of the ground you suggest except that I did not indicate "some of the probable or possible important connections... for economists and other students of society." I suppose I could tack on a paragraph or two on the subject, but I really don't feel capable. All I know is what Ogburn told me, and otherwise I am not at all up on current economic ideas. I am trusting that you will perhaps have thought of writing a last paragraph yourself onto the paper on Economics problems I sent you. If I hear from you tomorrow on the subject, I shall do what I can.

Meanwhile I am sending you a sketch of what I think are the problems involved in Social Organization, etc. I had rather a hard time getting that on paper, having had to boil down and select from a good number of ideas. But here it is anyway, and I hope not too late to be of use.

I think your proposed outline of the Problems is good. I have been thinking that it might not be a bad idea to mention the problem of Indian-Spanish somewhere to indicate that it has been considered and found not up to scratch. Also, since what I wrote then was really on the distribution of traits of Indian and Spanish origin among the various classes of people in Guatemala, it occurs to me that you might include a paragraph on it in your discussion of ethnic relations. Perhaps you have done so anyway. I suppose I just don't like to think of that time as completely wasted.

Today I received your letter with the horse-documents, etc. I suggest that the white horse and the two saddles be brought to Chichicastenango. It is very probable that I can sell at least the horse, and very likely the saddles, here. The saddles would probably just deteriorate in Guatemala City. Perhaps I had better send a boy up there to bring the horse and saddles back; if I do, it will be this week before you leave.

We are glad to hear that you are all well; you sound as if you are much better yourself, and that is good news, since you couldn't get away early-- especially since, I mean. Gertrude's tonsil is still giving trouble; I swab it regularly, and it should clear up, but it hasn't yet.

I have not sent the masks to G. C. yet. The agent for the trucking firm says they will have to be picked up at their office in Guatemala, so I would rather wait until you get to the city to send the box; otherwise it would have to lie around too long and might get lost.

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Best regards, and you may tell the good people of A. E. that we hope to be up there to say goodbye to them before we leave.

Sincerely,

Sol

Thursday, March 9th, 1939

Dear Sol!

→

The Carretes would get it wrong about our leaving. We shall be here until Wednesday. I hope the stationwagon will be sent back here Saturday or Sunday.

Your statement of the economic situation is a good one. I am including it with the memoranda that go with the report for Kidder. The task is to select out of the possible or probable correspondence which you list some which are worthy of more particular investigation. You will probably agree with me that if one studies almost any community in Guatemala with these various problems in mind, many of the problems will be illuminated; what is likely to happen is that it will appear that some of the problems are not problems at all, or have been wrongly stated, or find their solution incidentally while we are working on something else. Still I am a great believer in the value of stopping to set down your problems from time to time.

I have the report in such a shape that now I could give it to Kidder, or send it to him, at a moment's notice, I shall wait till I hear from him. If I get another memorandum from you in the meantime, I will include it.

We are all pretty well, except Greta is in bed with a little chil and a cold. I do not believe it will last very long.

I am restless to be going now, and find it hard to do any very consecutive work.

We hope you and Susan and Gertrude are all right now.

As ever,

Bob

Tuesday, March 14, 1939

9:30 P. M.

Dear Sol:

Your Mendy just arrived. The horse will go back in the morning, with the saddles.

Sorry--the Plant, Animal Chapters are packed and in a chest on the stationwagon. I will take them to Chicago.

Your Soc. , Polit. Org. memo is excellent--the report is ready for AVI.

I am sending Rebecca.

We are all right but tired after a day of interminable and multitudinous despedidas. We leave early in the morning.

I'll write you again from the City.

Thanks for the masks. Don't forget to collect from me.

So long

As ever

Bob

Wednesday evening, March 15, [1939]  
Chichicastenango

Dear Bob:

The horse arrived safely at about 7 P. M. apparently well. Thank you for the book. Do not worry about the Plants and Animals chapters; I can very well get along without them here, especially since I shall be working mostly in Social and Political organization and (if I have luck) in such things as religion and magic--sociological aspects.

Remember that I am most interested to know how Dr. Kidder reacts to the statement of problems. Please give the Kidder our kindest regards and tell them that we look forward to a visit from them; I shall write presently too.

Enclosed is my Diary including yesterday but not today. I had a very full day today starting Chichicastenango work; and prospects are very bright. I am hoping to be able to hire the son of the Principal of Chicua as an informant; he is asking his father tonight. Also, of course, I am working in this cantón.

The boy who brought the horse delivered a message from Romelia: she asks if we shall still be here May 4th and says that she is very triste. ???

Now our Guatemalan correspondence must, I suppose, be ended--with our best wishes for a pleasant voyage for you and Greta and the children; even though a letter to Chicago will take less time than one to AE, somehow or other we shall miss you.

Sincerely,

Sol

March 16, 1939

Friday morning

Dear Sol:

Thank you for your letter and for the Diary with interesting items about Rodases. I'm glad prospects for work on Chichicastenango are good. I hope Gertrude's tonsils do not become too troublesome. If they get any worse I think you should come home sooner.

Kidder read our report. After he was through he did not praise it or dispraise it, but began at once to talk about matters in it. I think he was not displeased with it, because he spent two hours on it, and because he said afterwards he wished to show it to Scholes and Chamberlain so they would see what sort of problems we are interested in.

He likes your idea of getting out "San Pedro" in Spanish very much. He seems inclined to the course of preparing that and the Panajachel monograph as planned, even though we decide to break up the latter into several publications. He seems inclined to follow Ogburn's advice about the economics section, enlarging it, and improving it, but holding the question of possible separate publication. He talked a good deal about the new regime under Bush: Bush is apparently more efficient and decisive than Merriam. He will not get around to recommendations on our part of the work for some time yet; there is no telling what he thinks about it; for 1940 we can count on continuance on the old scale. I talked about the effect of a year in the US on your earnings; Kidder assures me that will be made up to you one way or another. Kidder and Robert Smith want to keep Tejada, their artist, busy for several months beginning at the end

of May and proposed he begin making a pictorial record of Guatemalan costumes. I spoke for the relatively greater usefulness of a complete record, with accompanying ethnographic note, of costumes in a single community, including variants and change-over-time, and proposed beginning with Chichicastenango. I put forward tentatively the suggestion that if you began the work of getting information on the items of costumes (lengua terms; social meaning; sources; history; etc), Rosales might continue it. Perhaps you have a better notion. All these matters are here set down very briefly, just to give you an idea of what has been said here. The Kidders expect to go to Panajachel tomorrow and will later come up to see you and will talk over all these matters.

That's about all. The masks came; someone delivered them here, collecting ransom for them. Don't forget to collect money from me for their cost. We are sending you (Greta is) a sleeping-suit--worn--for Susan and some little books. The new one is from Czechoslovakia--that was. I suppose you have listened to the latest on the radio. And there is probably worse to come.

Be well--be good if necessary, but be well and happy. As ever,

Bob

March 29, 1939

Dr. Sol Tax

Santo Tomas

Chichicastenango

Guatemala

Dear Sol:

Our return to the United States was sin no vedad. We are established again at Windy Pines, facing the brutal realities of northern existence. I hope that by this time you have seen Dr. Kidder. He will tell you about our interview with Mr. Schwartz. I thought the results were good. Kidder seemed to accept the suggestion that the Institution might cooperate with the Guatemalan government to the extent of making a certain number of follow-up studies to determine the margin of error with respect to certain classes of data to be secured in the coming census.

I should be obliged if you would send me copies of the three memoranda I received from you on Culture Areas, Economic Problems, and Social and Political Organization. The first copies I included in the report as turned over to Dr. Kidder and therefore I am without this material.\*

Dr. Kidder has asked me to prepare the material for the budget early this year. Shall we include any money for expenses for you during the year 1940? Will you perhaps return to Guatemala in the Autumn of that year? And shall we not include a small sum for stenographic assistance, as well as the stipend for Rosales?

I hope Gertrude has been feeling reasonably well.

Yours as ever,

Bob

\*I will have them copied and return them.

March 31st-evening-1939

Pension Gueroult  
Guatemala, C. A.

Dear Bob,

I shall tell you our disappointing tale chronologically. In Chichicastenango after you left I continued my work, getting some new information and also writing that pottery paper for Bob Smith. But Gertrude continued to feel bad, and in fact to get worse. You remember that the Dr. Fishman who sailed with you diagnosed her case as goiter and he advised early attention lest it become "toxic." We therefore decided to go to the city as soon as possible. But we awaited the Kidder visit, and Wednesday (29th) we returned to the City with the Kidders, who came Tuesday evening. Thursday (yesterday) morning we went to the American hospital where Dr. Ainshe examined Gertrude and took blood tests, etc.; Dr. Bickford was called in for consultation and also examined. This morning we went back and found the decision to that lymph glands near the thyroid are badly infected. Gertrude has lost about 18 lbs. in the past 2 or 3 months, and the matter appears to be somewhat serious. The treatment Dr. Ainshe prescribed is (1) a medicine to be taken internally, (2) intravenous injections of something-or-other to be given daily for 10 days (skipping Sundays), and (3) a long series of perhaps 75 injections ("intramuscular" I think he said of gold. The doctor strongly advised that the intravenous injections be taken here and now; he felt, however, that the "gold" injections should not be started here if they cannot be finished.

Talking it over with the Kidders, it was decided that we should go back to the U. S.; that Gertrude should stay here in the capital to have her 10 intra-

venous injections while I wound up our affairs in Chichicastenango; and that we should sail in about 2 weeks if possible.

Therefore I am going in the morning to Chichicastenango where in a few days I hope to pack up and get straightened out in pending matters. Then I propose to spend our last week with Rosales getting his S. Pedro material organized and outlined chapter by chapter so that we can more easily continue the work by correspondence. Dr. Kidder says I should bring Rosales to the capital and do this work in the office.

All this is very disappointing to us, of course; I suggested to Dr. Kidder that Gertrude and the baby might go home while I stayed; but he didn't think Gertrude could manage the trip, especially while unwell. (Naturally, I am grateful for his considerateness.) So our field season is cut short by 5 or 6 weeks.

If we can get passage we are sailing on the 15th on the S. S. Sta. Marta. We have made no plans from there on; you can imagine that we are confused.

Dr. Kidder says that Joanna and James were under the weather when you left Guatemala; we hope they recovered quickly and that you are all well.

Goubaud came to say goodbye this afternoon. I expect he will pop into your office one of these days.

Dr. Kidder says now that Tejada will probably be kept busy around here with pottery. The only mention he has made of our Problems memo so far is to say he doesn't approve of our not capitalizing "ladino"--thinks we should make a non-italicized capitalized word of it.

The baby is well and I am too. But, compadre, where were our patron saints this year???

Regards,

Sol

April 6th, [1939]

Dear Sol:

The only mistake we made was in failing to arrange a thorough examination of Gertrude earlier. There is no doubt but you are doing right in coming back as soon as you can manage it. I hope that Gertrude will feel not too badly while she is traveling. It is important, I think, that she be examined here by very competent people. The ailment she has is, I think, one as to which medical knowledge has made recent advances. Where, I am wondering, will you be inclined to go? I imagine that you will go to Detroit. But if you should decide to come to Chicago for examination and treatment, wire me from New Orleans or write airmail from Guatemala. I could find out for you who would be the best person to see here. I could also look into living arrangements that you might make. If you go to Detroit, I suppose Gertrude's family can do these things.

Please do not let the condition of the work concern you unduly. You certainly have plenty to do up here.

We are well--the children's ailments disappeared on the boat. Joanna and Lisa are going to school on the North Shore.

Good luck to you on your return journey and our very best wishes to

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Gertrude. Till I see you.

Bob

Sunday, April 16, 1939

New York

Dear Sol:

This is written just to give you welcome when you reach New York. I hope that Gertrude arrived feeling not too uncomfortable. Should you decide to come to Chicago instead of Detroit or Rochester, send me a wire. I return to Chicago today from a meeting of the Social Science Research Council. I told Linton about your coming; he will be glad if you call him up.

Goubaud has reached the United States. I had a letter from him saying he would reach Chicago Saturday (yesterday).

As ever,

Bob

May 15, 1939

Mr. Sol Tax  
Midway-Drexel Apartments  
6020 Drexel Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sol:

Have you any materials on the organization or functioning of the cofradia in any c  
in

500

in any of the Guatemalan towns which might be loaned to a student who is writing a paper on the comparative aspects of this Middle American institution?

Yours,

Bob

To: Mr. Sol Tax

December 22, 1939

From: Robert Redfield

I am informed that the 1940 budget for the Division of Historical Research of Carnegie Institution includes provision of \$1,000 for your field expenses and an item of \$300 for supplementary salary in lieu of field expenses. This is amazingly inconsistent, but I hope satisfactory.

RM

1940

April 8, 1940

Dear Bob,

McBryde will be able to come to a conference any of the weekends mentioned. I told him that his expenses (R. R. first class) would be paid, and since his wife indicated a desire to see New York, I opined that probably nobody would object if they went by daycoach and applied savings in his fare to her expenses. He will cover pretty well the subject of economics insofar as it has a geographic aspect; he will bring some excellent maps.

I won't bother your vacation with other details of my visit with McBryde; it was successful, and I feel more confident of my geographic data, although I have written Rosales to check a few crucial points for me.

McBryde received his fellowship (it is National Research Council, not S. S. as you know by this time I suppose).

I had better not decide what to contribute to our conference until we are reasonably sure of what others will talk about; don't you think so?

Everything going well here. Hope you are having lots of fun.

Best regards,

Sol

Dear Sol:

The outlook for a conference in Guatemala this spring is not good. Here is the situation.

Tax, Redfield, McBryde: Can come any time

Parsons: Not to be back till July

Wagley: Not to be back till summer

Benedict: Could attend, but only before May 15th

LaFarge: Could attend any of 3 week-ends

Siegel: Cannot come at all, probably in Nebraska, May to August.

Bunzel: Does not answer my letter at all.

I don't think much of a conference without any of the Columbian people. What do you think?

Bob

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April 21, 1940

Dear Sol:

Bunzel at last writes that she is probably available for a conference until the end of May. We could assembly Bunzel, La Farge, McBryde, Tax and Redfield (Crinton or Strory might sit in). We would be without Siegel, Wagley, Parsons, Window and Lincoln. Should we hold the conference now, or postpone it till we can get more of them together?

If we do hold it in May, then where? Should we use Stlow as reporter, as I wish to do, then it would be cheaper to bring Bunzel and LaFarge west, than to bring three of us East. But then it looks too much like a University of Chicago show. And Crinton and Strory would be out. Columbia connections suggest that we go East--even if more expensive. What do you think?

→

Write me

arrive there Sat. or Sun.

RR

To: Mr. Sol Tax

June 17, 1940

From: Robert Redfield

Have you seen this thesis by McBryde? What would you think of our recommending it to Carnegie Institution for publication? If it is sound, as I suppose it generally to be, it seems to me that it would be useful to many of us to have these basic geographical facts assembled and available in English.

Note especially the qualifications he would introduce in your classification of vacant rown municipios (p. 132 ff.).

RR

April Is This Afternoon

Correspondence of Robert Redfield  
and

Sol Tax

1933 - 1944

(edited and with text by Sol Tax)

June 2, 1980

[pp.503 - 627]

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June 15, 1980

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October 4, 1940

Guatemala City

Dear Sol:

Here is a report for you, some of it bad. Villacorte refuses to allow the admission of our groceries free of duty. Molina and I spent some time with this morning, and he was not very friendly, and showed no disposition to reverse his ruling. He says the contract provides for the importation duty-free only of construction materials and certainly not for products like those produced in Guatemala. When we refer to his consent given in the past, he says he then made a mistake and that he does not want to make more mistakes.

The goods are here, and I see nothing to do but to accept them and pay duty. The duty will just about double the cost. I am paying it, and writing to Kidder asking if the Institution will bear part of the unexpected extra cost.

Molina advises that I wait until near the end of the two-month period and then apply for extension of permission to stay. He will go to Slazar, and he says he does not anticipate difficulty.

Our heavy baggage has not come, and here the Pan-American says it may take a month before it comes. In Mexico City the Pan-American said it would take about ten days. We are planning to go to Agua Escondida perhaps Monday, getting along as best we can without our luggage.

Juan Cutillo came to the Pension yesterday, hoping to find you. He had just came from Chichicastenango; he said he came to look for work here. He was all hot-and-bothered about two matters. First, he said in Chichicastenango

Bibiano Casio had taken him to task "for telling Don Sol that he (Bibiano) had sold the white horse. Of course he hadn't because it had been left reconendado with him." Second, he was grieved because he said once you wrote Abel Rodas asking him to help collect five quetzals Juan owed you: To these dreadful charges I listened in amiable neutrality. I gave Juan a guetzal, and he said he would come back when you would be here.

The Pension is as ever-delightful. Mr. Megin has just returned from the Queregia hospital where he was treated for prostrate trouble.

Our trip from Mexico City was not quite so easy as it might have been, because when we were near Guatemala City the rains and clouds closed down entirely, we flew in dense fog, and the captain wisely hurried back to Tapachula, where we passed a very bad night in a very bad hotel. At dawn next day we took off again, passed over Lake Atillan in brilliant sunlight--magnificent! and reached Guatemala at six-thirty. Breakfast in the Pension, hot baths, and naps, put us right again. Even with this interruption, I greatly prefer the plane to the train.



Linedin is here, dogging me around. I will talk to you about him when you come.

Regards to Gertrude  
As ever  
Bob

[P.S.] Oh! Time and Life have been banned from Guatemala.

Sunday, October 6, [1940]

Pension Gueroult

Dear Sol:

I will leave this here for you to find when you come on the twelfth.

I hope your voyage was pleasant and without stormy weather.

We have had word that our trucks are in Agutla. They should be here in another week or so. Tomorrow morning we are going to drive to Agua Escondida.

→ J. Stewart Lincoln is using the old station wagon. I am telling him that he is to turn it over to McBryde when he comes. I am also telling him that you are to have it when you come. You can use it to drive out to Panajachel, or you can write me to send us the other one from Agua Escondida, just as you wish.

→ I am writing Kidder recommending that CIW contribute \$400 to Lincoln for 1941 contingent upon \$2000 granted by Pennsylvania with no further commitment by CIW. I will talk to you about Lincoln and his work when I see you. → The shortcomings are plenty. On the other hand, he certainly is getting out among the Indians in a region that is little known.

I will take a few cases of your old groceries, as it will be several days before the new expense order has cleared customs.

Gordon Smith has suffered a severe heart attack and is here in the city with his wife.

I have paid a courtesy call on our Minister, Desportes.

I had a half an hour with David Vela. He seems an intelligent fellow.

Let us know when you are coming to the Lake.

My best to Gertrude and Susan.

As ever yours,

Bob

Dear Sol:

Will you do something for me? At the tile-shop at the corner of this street buy me

1) Enough plain white tiles to cover a dishwashing sideboard

(al lado del pozo), 2 feet x 3 feet

2) One dozen large-ish tiles that will look well spaced at intervals

in the cement floor of the little study-house I am going to have

built. Something with a blue design on them

You can have the tiles sent to Godinez.

Tuesday, October 8, 1940

Agua Escondida

Dear Sol:

Again I express the hope that your voyage was pleasant and without storms.

We are again installed in the house of your creation in this village; again Romelia is functioning in the kitchen and Mariano outside; and again I am struggling with the gasoline lamps, and again we entertain numbers of callers.

We arrived late-ish yesterday afternoon. It rained hard Monday morning

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and Gonzales transportation company told us that the road near Patzun was impassable because of landslides. For about two hours I credited this report, and then it occurred to me to telephone the intendencia in Patzun. When that office told me that the road was all right, we started, and arrived sin novedad. To Tomorrow I will go to Panajachel to see Don Romulo and for some necessities, and then I can begin to do a little work.

In the letter I left for you in the CIW office, I asked you to buy me some tiles. Now I ask you please not to do so--we arranged the matter just before leaving.

But will you please buy me four blankets, of the not-so-heavy kind, at about Q2 apiece.



Hoping to see you soon, I am, yours to a

Bob

[October 19, 1940]

Casa del Sol  
Saturday morning

Dear Sol:

I will start this letter now and finish it this afternoon after Pancho gets here. I hope the trip to Sololá was satisfactory. After Pancho has brought up the carpenters on Monday, he can as well as not bring the stationwagon back for your further use down there. I have been in bed all week, and although the bronchitis is better and I expect to sit at the table for the noon meal, it will be some time before I should go on the road with the car.

Will you kindly obtain stamps for the enclosed letters and mail them some time when you happen to be going to town? I got stamps from Molina, and then, by my own carelessness, brought about their entire destruction. I mixed them with waste paper and they were burned. I have only my own carelessness to blame for quite a loss. It is hard to keep papers orderly among the bed clothes--a feeble extenuation.

People have borrowed so much money from me here that I cannot lend more without getting more. I make difficulties when they come to borrow, but in many cases I have come to trust the people and I recognize their present need. I enclose a check payable to you. If, at some time, you can easily cash this in Panajachel, please do so. From the proceeds repay yourself for your many outlays in my behalf--blankets, tiles, vegetables, oranges, Solola purchases--and so forth. Send the rest back to me at some time. (Don't overlook a single carrot!)

There follows a list of the canned goods I took from your left-over supplies in the office. I am about to make up a box to contain equivalent cans, to be returned to you. But it occurs to me that perhaps you would prefer substitutions--something else in place of these items. Please let me know.

- 5 cans tomato juice
- 4 cans salmon
- 4 beef
- 1 fruit salad
- 1 pears

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3 cans celery soup

2 cans sardines

3:45 p. m. Pancho just arrived. Great thanks for all the verduras, oranges and excellent purchases by Gertrude in Solola--all quite perfect. Greta will write her.

I will ask Pancho to take the car to you and leave it. I am paying him for the five days. I will ask him to bring the carpenters Monday. I hope after that I will be able to drive again. Tell me by letter sent Monday whether you want the car next week--no reason you shouldn't have it. I will remain professionally ignorant of the matter of Pancho's license.

I am feeling better.

Yours to a cinder,

Bob

[P. S.] If change (silver, copper) is plentiful, you might send a few quetzals worth by Pancho.

October 21, 1940

Monday morning

Dear Sol:

I regret to confess a weakness, but the fact is that my cold has returned, and found lodgment slightly lower in my anatomy. So I am spending the day in bed. Your kind invitation to lunch with you is as fully appreciated as if I were able to take advantage of it. When I come next on Saturday you will be better able to receive a visitor for lunch.

I hope that you have solved the most urgent problems of organizing your establishment, and that you all continue well.

→ This letter will go to you twice, I hope: once by camion (Mariano will walk to Godinez with it), and the carbon by hand of Lincoln, if and when he comes with the groceries.

To Don Romulo I am also writing, asking him to try to find other means of transportation to Godinez.

In connection with the trip to Guatemala City at the end of November, I suggest the following. We both want to go to the city at about that time, and we should go together to the census bureau. You wish to attend the fair, I am pretty indifferent to this. Let us therefore agree to go during the same two or three days in the fair week. We will go from here (and you can go with us), to Antigua. There we will take rooms at the Alcazar. The next day Greta and I will go to Guatemala City, returning to Antigua in the evening. This can be repeated the next day. Jamie and the girls will stay in Antigua. So go ahead and make reservations for yourselves in the Pension; we will not need any such reservations. In this way the girls and Jamie can stay where it is pleasanter for them and can see Antigua, and you and I can be together to visit the census and the fair; and Greta can shop.

Perhaps you can improve on this plan. Let me hear from you.

As ever, RR

RR

Monday, October 21, 1940

Dear Sol and Gertrude,

Please accept my abject apologies for having delayed your groceries.

→ It was so stupid of me. The first thing was that Bob was still not feeling well, and so I undertook to see about the boxes being unloaded with Mr. Lincoln (he is a pig!, by the way, she is not so bad). I did not understand about your boxes being all so separately marked at first and thought that we were supposed to

→ take yours down to you. So I rather assumed that and Mr. Lincoln, tho he didn't actually refuse to take the boxes and of course could have easily done so and left them at Don Patrocinio's, did not say a word. The story he gave out was that he and his wife were in a great hurry to be on their way to get to Chichicastenango. Bob was planning to drive down this morning anyway, and so it seemed to me that the things would reach you with but the delay of a few hours. This business was all mixed up with our efforts to get the boxes off inconspicuously and somewhat casually, as the work men were all gawking,

→ and to also talk to the Lincoln's and give them dessert--they arrived just as we were finishing lunch and to get Jamie to rest and other things. I lost any

→ kind feelings I might have had for the Lincoln's when I saw the manner they used with Romelia and Mariano, after I had introduced them and told them how much we liked them.

→ The Lincolns did say positively that they were in to much of a rush to stop and see you. But anyway, all is well that ends well. It is swell that Pancho was able to get and drive the camioneta. Bob has got bronchitis now--which is

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what might have caused bad complications as to getting the groceries down, although we were planning immediately to try to find a chauffeur who could drive this station wagon down. Now I shall get him to really rest for some days and he should be all right as he has no temperature.

Affectionate greetings,

Greta

Dear Sol:

→ All has turned out well, except that you get the groceries a day late for which I am very sorry. Lincoln has gone, I am told, to San Pedro this morning. Of this he said never a word to us. He told us he and his wife were going straight on to Chichicastenango. I am glad he is caught in his lie.

→ I am sending Pancho right back now (7:30) with the groceries. He is to buy three gallons of gas for the old station wagon and return it to the Lincolns. Then he is to catch a camion and get back here, to drive the new stationwagon this afternoon and tomorrow hauling materials. Then why don't you let me have him drive it down to you to use for a few days while I am getting over bronchitis? Send an answer back right away by Pancho.

→ We send a bottle of wine, and a few other little things. Will you and Gertrude please do me the favor of drinking confusion to all such Lincolns.

Yours to a cinder,

Bob

October 24, 1940

Thursday

Dear Gertrude,

We much enjoyed our tea with you, also all the additions to household supplies. And when we got back we were overjoyed to see all the verduras! I wonder if you would further be so good as to buy for us a hundred oranges--I should have thought of them the other day. Also at Solola market, besides the cloth if you should see a nice little covered basket suitable for hairpins and such like, Joanna would like it to give as another present.

We are sending down Unnatural Death, in case you should want to relax but am afraid that the few magazines we have you will already have seen--that is, Life of September 30th and October 7th, Time Sept. 30th, Sat. Eve. Post Sept. 28th. So I am just sending along a few newspaper magazine supplements which can be used for lining shelves if for nothing else. Lisa also includes a copy of Shrinking Song by Ogden Nash, which she copied out for you on the new typewriter. (I hope to borrow it sometimes.) We shall also pick out a few likely looking fowls from our collection and send them on, buying more for ourselves. This will cheer many hearts in these parts.

Bob remains about the same. Bronchitis is always a slow business. However, we are all getting along all right and he is making some progress with Cakchiquel.

Love,

Greta

Dear Sol:

Please tell me how much per diem we used to pay Pancho. I will pay him for the six days on Saturday, and I suppose I should pay at the usual rate.

Regards,

Bob

November 6, 1940

Wed. noon

Dear Sol:

Your election special arrived, hot from the press, and was seized upon by eager hands and feverish eyes. It is the most up and coming newspaper in the whole Lake region, and I hereby apply for a subscription. I am greatly impressed by your wealth of newsprint paper.

The election going the way I would have it, I am pleased. Greta switched to Roosevelt some weeks before the election.

Thanks also for the strawberries--which are greatly appreciated. Thanks also for the accounts. I enclose a "voucher" for the payment on duties.

The money you provided me with yesterday came just in time to meet my payrolls. You have put new economic life into the Agua Escondida community.

The few Cola Life Savers are sent as a mere gesture of good will. Perhaps Susan enjoys Cola flavor.

Probably tomorrow I will come down in the afternoon with Isabel.

Then I will bring the canned goods we borrowed.

A quiet morning, copying notes on cofradias and finding out how much I don't yet understand.

The titles came! Yesterday! And very good they are.

Yours to a cinder,

Bob

November 22, 1940

Friday morning

Dear Gertrude,

Everyone seems very eager to come down for another picnic on Sunday. So if you can stand having us, we will come. The only thing is, that with Thanksgiving so close at hand we really ought to be a bit more abstemious as to food, don't you think? I was thinking of bringing along a couple of cold fried chickens (so-called by courtesy, they may turn out to be hens) as Romelia can do that without much effort. If we can find some in San Lucas this morning we might bring some more pineapple. We hope to have bread and butter by that time as our order is now overdue. If you feel like providing some tea and maybe some more of that lovely potato salad or anything else that is not too much work, please do so but don't make too elaborate preparations or it will discourage us from coming again. Having taken your pie plates, I have effectively prevented you from doing so to some extent.

Thanks very much for them. I also like Pancho's first effort, and hope he will continue. As for the strawberry jam, the family say they feel sorry for me because mine just won't turn out so beautifully think. Yours are the laurels.

If for some reason it isn't convenient for us to come, I suppose the special messenger service will function. It would be nice to include Isabel S. if she is not otherwise engaged.

Con Saludos Carinosas,

Greta

December 8, 1940

Sunday noon

Muy Querido compadrito:

The faithful Marcelino just arrived with cohetes, strawberries, lamp, pencils and verduras, all of which are very welcome, and for all of which I thank you. The pencils come just right--we are about out, and with the girls doing school work, the pressure on pencils is terrific.

I return the Paul letters. I am writing to him, telling him that Mr. Molina has been told to offer his help to them in official and other business, and asking Paul to let us know when and how he is coming to the Lake in plenty of time so we can write back and make arrangements for meeting him. I should like to be in on the first talk with him about his plans. I do not want it to come about that anybody has deflected him from the experiment which he has been sent here to do.

I suppose you will write him about lamps, stoves and cots. I would turn over to him this lamp just returned (supposing it works), although I do want it for my office, if he can't get others. But he can get them in the city. Can he get second-hand ones?

I would not be too amiable about the picture-taking in Panajachel.

If such an enterprise would embarrass you with the people, or in any significant way make your work there difficult, I would not hesitate to say so to this Miss → Lambert, and steer her elsewhere. Further, your time should not be taken → up by running around for Miss Lambert. I am getting pretty disagreeable in my old age; and I think we have been bothered enough already by visiting Elks.

I hope you decide to come with us on Thursday. In any event, we will stop at your house Thursday morning, hoping you are coming. I have agreed also to bring Isabel. We are not taking any of our domestic establishment, except the family.

Enclosed is a copy of a statement I received yesterday, which bears on the question whether the Indians have a ceremony in the fields at the time of harvest, and whether they think of it as a fiesta. You will note that--without my mentioning the word or its equivalent--in response to a general question as to whether anything special was done at time of harvest, this man gave it the Cakchiquel word for "fiesta." He gave me also names of local shamans used for this costumbre. Some confirmation of what he tells me appears from the fact that on St. Martin's day this year I heard bombas off in the monte, and asking people what was their source, I was told that Ramos Perez (mentioned

in the statement I send you) was having a costumbre in his milpa.

Yours as always,

Bob

December 9, 1940

Monday afternoon

Dear Sol:

I send this by Pancho, but as he may have to spend the night in Godinez, you may not get it till tomorrow.

The strawberries were delish. We ate them for lunch.

Thanks also for the change--very welcome.

If you get money from Clark again, you might double the amount so I can get some. That will be an easy way for me to get cash, if it is satisfactory to you to send my checks to your US bank.

I have written to the city for some stamps, and have secured a few via shoppers in San Lucas. It seems that Panajachel is without one-cent stamps, and San Lucas would sell only a few three-centers, because that office was short of them. You have to shop 'round for stamps in this country.

The first or the last three days of the fair are equally good for us.

At last I think my bronchitis is on the run. Today I began work with a San Antonero who is a good informant, as informants go. I am sort of weakish, but I get along all right sitting at a table and working.

Best regards,

Bob

Monday, December 9th, 1940

Panajachel

Dear Bob,

Here are your data on Animals and Birds, together with some notes made with a young local Indian. I would like to go over the stuff with one or more other Indians, but I am not sure that you have a copy of this, so I am returning your notes. Besides, it might be better to wait until you have fuller material--perhaps after a comparison with the Panajachel material you took with you.

I think it would be very worth our while to take several branches of knowledge (say Ethnozoology, the Kitchen and cookery, and the Human Body) and make as exhaustive a comparison of knowledge and beliefs in the two towns as possible. Rather than use a composite picture, it might be better to compare what one person of each town happens to know. Thus, I could use Santiago Yach (43 yrs. old) who doesn't appear to have had any special contact with San Antonio and who is, moreover, a pretty typical local Indian. You could use an Antonero corresponding to him. If we try to compare whole communities, the question will arise as to the relative exhaustiveness of our surveys. We could also, of course, each use two or three informants and repeat the whole process for each.

Part of such a comparison would be, necessarily, linguistic, and I think that would be valuable too. (Of course differences in pronunciation will be of linguistic interest only, but real differences of vocabulary might give us

a pretty good index of degree of separateness of the culture.)

I am also sending you the latest pages of my diary; I should have given you some on Saturday, and forgot.

I also neglected to ask about how much money is likely to be transferred to my account; I mean of 1940 funds. I cannot do anything about my November expense account in the meantime because I have no balance left and do not know which items I shall be able to charge this year. In November my expenses ran a little over \$100.00.

May I keep that copy of the Maroon? If it is your only copy, I shall return it. It has disturbed me considerably. I am sure I did not enjoy Mayer's article as much as you apparently did, because I can't help but read into it an extremely clever move on the part of Adler and Hutchins. Adler is damned only for tactlessness and over-enthusiasm and (especially bothersome!) in his own terms; his opponents are damned for their ideas. Adler, like Willkie, is made to appear unschooled in the subtleties of such debate, while his opponents are obviously dangerous fanatics. Those of Adler's critics who didn't happen to say anything that could be so interpreted were neatly neglected. It is all done, essentially, in the kind of terms that Adler uses, but cleverly glossed over with low-brow journalese.

Mayer, in my colored opinion, was definitely in Adler's pants when he wrote that article. And Oh what he did there!

As for Adler, his new tack is really very clever (as I read it). If I had any notion that he would get anywhere with it, I would also think it highly

dangerous. Adler talks as if the fight is lost, and he is like an employe who, just before quitting, tells his boss what he thinks of him. That appears to me to be a feint; he talks like a loser (a poor loser) but while he does so he launches a new offensive. That offensive I think has some little chance of succeeding because it makes use of tactics that often have succeeded. Adler's side is now to be the side that believes in God; and in our culture one can't argue against God and get away with it. If we admit God in whole or in part, we are obviously going to be in a bad way in the argument--for Tomists and theologians have a long head-start on us and will probably make us admit a belief in Revelations and Faith and most of the things that will follow. And how, with public opinion as it is, can we possibly deny God? Atheists and Reds...! Hook and Sharp tried to get out of this by implying that Adler's God is the God of the Catholic Church and not really God; but you see what happened, for nowadays any reference to the Church is bigotry and Un-American. (And how Mayer seized upon such references to discredit the argument of the opposition!)

If this argument becomes serious, which I doubt, it seems to me that our best weapon will be Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln who very fortunately "believed in God" and still didn't hitch their intellectual stars to church dialectic. Whenever Adler, et al., tries to get us into an argument (which would always have to be in their terms) we should steadfastly repeat that what was good enough for Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln is good enough for us. Whenever they ask us if we believe in God we should say yes and before we allow ourselves to be placed on the defensive, we should counter with "Do you believe in the Constitution, the ideals on which our country was founded, the separation of church

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and state?" and refuse to talk about anything but the Constitution. After all, you can't debate with wily insanity; you can only act crazy yourself. We should have learned that much from the German experience.

You see I take this business rather to heart; that is because I associate 19th century ideas and ideals with our way of life. Maybe I am wrong, but I am also scared.

Yours,

Sol

December 16, 1940

Casa del Sol

Dear Sol:

This will be mailed tomorrow in San Lucas by Mariano. Let us see how long it takes to reach you.

Are you perhaps sending Julian to Solola to buy for you on Friday? Of if you are not, could you send Marcelino or someone else to get some things for us? We have the first posada next Monday, and need the following:

100 tablets of chocolate

4 large sheets of paper dorado--gilt paper

1/2 liter dark green paint

I also want one dozen rockets, but these I think you can get from a neighbor of yours.

I will come down to Panajachel Sunday morning to get vegetables,

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returning here in time for noon dinner. I will come to your house, where I will hope to find rockets, paint, chocolate and gilt paper.

Such are the incidents of social entertaining in this lively center, Agua Escondida.

My Indian has apparently passed me up. I have been busy writing up notes and doing odds and ends. I have some material on harvest-and-the-time-of-the-moon for you. Tomorrow I go down to the pueblo again.

On Saturday, returning from Panajachel, I met a downpour in San Andres. The hill just outside the village was so muddy the car would not climb it. I put on the chains (pouring rain); one immediately came off and got itself tangled in the axle and brake-housing. I spent an hour on my back in the mud working it loose--then I put it on again and got home all right. No ill effects except a sore back and very muddy clothes.

I read with interest Yach's account of San Antonio. I will send it back to you with his score of goals, errors and good guesses.

The chocolate cake was delicious--thank Gertrude.

Yours to a cinder,

Bob

December 23, 1940

Dear Sol:

I am sorry not to keep my appointments with you this morning. Some sort of a flu-like infection struck me last night, and I shall probably stay in

bed for a day or two.

We seem to remember that the other launch goes to Atillan on Tuesday. If this is so, Avis and Roland will spend the night at Weynarin's (or wherever you may recommend to them), take the launch trip, and ride back here tomorrow afternoon. Will you kindly help them to find Weymanies, the launch, and a place to put the horses? I am borrowing a second saddle here in the neighborhood:

Would it be possible for you to find change for this Q20 bill, and send it up by Roland and Avis?

I have had Don Romulo make stilts for Jamie and Joanna for Christmas, and I am now asking him to send them up by a mozo.

Mrs. Edwards has written authorizing me to include some of your expenses on my December account. I shall not know just how much I can use for your expenses until Mr. Molva sends us his overdue statement, but I think it will be about \$130.00

A letter from the Solola lawyer says he will get my land lulitulado for Q30. He says he has to get a certified copy of Don Miguel's deed to me and a certificate from Guatemala City that D. Miguel paid the tres-por-milla for the 5 years preceding the sale to me, that I must appear in Solda with two witnesses over 50 years of age who must declare that Don Miguel and I between us have been in possession of the land for ten years; and that the land receipt be carefully measured and described in terms of the metric system. Lawyers are the same everywhere.

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We think the canned-goods lunch was delightful.

My best to you, Gertrude, Susan.

Bob

December 23, 1940

Dear Sol:

Julian has just arrived. Thank you for communicating with me so promptly. I am sorry that my urging on you the importance of seeing Paul early put you in a difficult position. You took the only good course. It was not possible to ask the Pauls to stay in Guatemala City. They have to come out when they are ready.

But we can't have them here tomorrow. By now Avis and Roland will have reached you and you will know that I did not come down today because I am sick. It feels like flu. I certainly should not drive to Panajachel tomorrow. I still have fever. If I could think of a way to bring the Pauls here for an hour in some way that would not require me to drive the car, or would not involve large expense, I would do it. But I can't.

So the best thing is for the Pauls to go straight on to Panajachel tomorrow. To that end it would be well if he should receive word that he should not stop at Godinez. When you get this letter it will probably be too late to telegraph him. If it isn't too late, please do so, saying I am sick, he should go on to Panajachel. If it is too late to wire, could you not arrange to send a note to Paul to Godinez, enclosed in another note to Malecio Azanon, asking

him to hand the Pauls the note when the Letonia camioneta arrives? Could you not send such a note up by one of the early cars?

Then when the Pauls come, find out how long they are to remain in Panajachel before going to S. Pedro. I suppose they have some shopping to do, and will not start off at me for San Pedro. If this is the case, then suggest that we use Thursday for joint conference. If I am well enough, I will drive down there. If I am not, then will you please arrange to hire Don Chinos car, or another, and drive up here? This detail we can arrange by later communication. If Paul is set to leave for S. Pedro before Thursday, let him go, but make adequate date, not more than a week later for him to return to Panajachel for conference.

In the meantime, I know that whatever you say to Paul will be wisely said! My own inclination is to draw him out, not talking much ourselves, until we see how his mind is running. He may be quite sensible and sound. Or may be not.

You will understand that I am not coming down tomorrow; I hope to come Thursday; if I find I can't and I know Paul is still in Panajacthel, then I will let you know in time for you to come up here.

If you think Paul is likely to get off the camioneta and wait for me at Godinez, and you devote you can't get a note to him by mail car, then you had better send a special messenger to Godinez.

I am sorry to make you all this trouble.

Please express my great regrets to the Pauls that I am not on hand to

meet them.

As ever,

Bob

December 26, 1940

Dear Sol:

Julian's arrival put an end to my wondering, as I lay in bed, how I would get the Parrishes and their baggage to Godinez. You never let a fellow down. They will go on the horses, and I will not expose my bronchitic self to the wild winds of a blowy morning. Julian is breakfasting now, and in a few minutes we will send him on his way with our gratitude and with the statistical tables and the San Pedro demandas.

Your plan about meeting a week from today is excellent, and I accept it. Although I have bronchitis again, I certainly should be well in another week.

I also had a favorable impression of Paul's state of mind. If he does carry this through, and meanwhile we continue to work out our various experiments in ethnological method, I think we are well on our way to make the biggest contribution to ethnological procedure of the decade--perhaps of two or three decades. I would not say this out loud to anybody else but you.

I think that pretty soon now we should plan out a course at the University to deal with these methods. We shall have to wait until some of them are farther along, and until at least one of your works is going through press.

Your copious and always interesting Christmas gifts added greatly to our holiday happiness. We think again of your generosity and thoughtfulness. The Santiago is supercolossal not to say galan not to say extraordinary. I will build him a special niche. The children are equally delighted with their gifts.

Greta says she will write when she has a little time to attempt to do justice to your remarkable combination of understanding thoughtfulness and efficiency.

Our very best to Gertrude and Susan.

As ever,

Bob

[P. S.] They report they can't find the box of statistical tables. I hope this means I gave them to you when you were here--I might have forgotten it!

December 26, [1940]

Panajachel  
Thursday, 2 PM

Dear Bob,

Julia<sup>n</sup> returned at about 11:30 with the demandas and your letter for Don R<sup>o</sup>mulo. The statistical tables I took myself from your office on Tuesday, as per your forgotten instructions. We are enjoying the grapefruit-peel; thank you.

I am sending you the first copy of the pages of Diary that I gave you Tuesday; in come manner it remained in my briefcase. (By the way, will you return the Bunzel correspondence to me some time--for my files?)

Ben Paul gave me a check for the entire amount of the mortgage, repairs, and furniture. He took this course for granted, and no question was raised. I promised to lend him money if he should be short before his next installment arrives. (By the way, Lois was given \$600.00.)

Naturally, I am pleased that you are thinking about organizing a course on ethnological methods; and I reluctantly agree that it will be better for having awaited the maturing of some of our work here. As far as I am concerned, I think I am just now beginning to catch on to the needs and potentialities of the different kind of ethnography that is opening before us.

Hope you can shake off your bronchitis quickly; but I prescribe two days in bed after you think you are all well. And meanwhile, if there is anything we can do, do not hesitate to ask.

Our best regards to all.

Yours,  
Sol

December 27, 1940

Dear Gertrude,

Happy New Year! As Sol put it, we are now "recovering" from Christmas. There were a few moments when I doubted whether there would be any Christmas at all, because I also seem to have brought back some form of bug from Santo Tomas (more the dysenterious sort) and felt quite rummy for a time. However, I miraculously recovered for Christmas Day, and since Bob could come to the table and carve and everyone else was very well and gay--

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the girls in spite of staying up till two with the Posada procession--we had a very happy day--one which included by the way entertaining a number of callers and also going down to dance at the Cofradia for a little in the afternoon by Lisa, Avis and I. Your Christmas box was a whole Christmas in itself. You celebrate in the very nicest way, by just doing things for others, it seems. And as always the things are so well and thoughtfully selected. My tray is a beauty. I am going to take it home with me to use for Sunday night suppers. Meanwhile it hangs on the wall when it is not being used as a supper tray. Bob's Santiago is a real marvel of folk art. No wonder you had to to back in another car when you had that! Jamie was particularly pleased by his pencil box. Such things are so precious down here.

We also so much appreciated yours and Sol's looking out for Roland and Avis. They went off very happily, having had I think a really glorious time and one which they will talk about to the end of their days. I do feel you are in such an unfortunate position, being so accessible to travelers. And since you are so very efficient, always being asked to help out. I do hope that January and February won't bring a great influx of people to your door.

I wonder if you are having the wind and even some rain that we are having up here on the heights? This morning we could hardly sweep out the house. Romelia is home in bed, and has been for two days. I was worried about her but reports do not make her out dangerously ill. But I have urged her not to come back till she is better, particularly in this weather. Meanwhile Mariano carries on helpfully, and the two colds, Lisa and Bob, try to get better.

(Lisa's is not so bad. Bob's not serious but will take time, I am afraid.)  
Letters from home say that flu is rampant there, so I guess we are not so  
badly off down here after all.

Much love and thanks,

Greta

December 28th

Agua Escondida

Dear Sol:

I write this note with the idea that I will send it, and other outgoing  
mail, by some messenger to San Lucas tomorrow.

I am glad that the absence of the statistical tables was simply and  
naturally explained by one of my lapses of memory. The Bunzel correspondence  
I hold here until it can be returned by me or by private carrier--it weighs too  
much for ordinary letter.

We are still slowly recovering from Christmas. Lisa is up and dressed  
today--first time since Christmas. Romelia is reported to be on her way back  
to us--she has been home sick for four days. I am still in bed, with cough and  
cold, but am hopeful that I shall be able to drive down there Thursday.

My current Indian report yesterday; I had to send him away, as I was  
not able to work.

Enclosed is a letter just received from Robert Platt. If you say the  
word, I will write to our friend in the National Archives, and tell him to go

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ahead and have the municipio maps microphotographed. Or do you want first to talk to McBryde? If we are to go ahead, please send me a statement describing the maps (how many are there?), that I can pass on.

If the Panajachel postmaster has stamps in stock, will you buy me and mail me a choice selection, say thirty 3-centers, 30 1-centers, and twenty fifteen-centers-airmail--or equivalent in fives.

Yours faithfully,

Bob

1941

January 10, 1941

2 PM Friday

Dear Bob,

I am sending you herewith my diary. It is rather long because I thought the last few days I would try to put many more observations into that context rather than in separate notes. I think you will find many things of interest, since naturally I have been asking about the things we have been talking about.

I have been working on the things you left me, but have nothing to send you. Ojalá! that by Sunday I shall have caught up with myself!

You will note some references in the diary (pps. 44, 47, 49) to José Gil, who has flowers that he is willing to send up to A. E. en pilón for transplanting. Since he owes me an old debt of doubtful value, I am disposed to take them if you can use the flowers. We have arranged to have them ready by

Sunday noon. He is also willing to go up on Monday to plant them for you (and he seems to know his business as well as anybody whose work I ever saw). It occurs to me that if you wish this, it might be safer and better--since with the flowers there on Sunday it would be bad if they weren't planted Monday AM-- if he went up with us Sunday afternoon. The decision can await any plans of yours, of course. (If you want that, couldn't you find him a place to stay and eat so that the household wouldn't be bothered Sunday eve and Monday?)

The real reason for this extraordinary message, however, is that I suddenly thought last night of the possibility of taking Rosales East with us.

The reasons for the affirmative that I think of are

1. **Morale:** Rosales will be pleased and flattered and will be made to feel like a member of the team rather than a paid flunky.
2. **Education:** He is bound to get some perspective from the experiences themselves, and also ideas of how we look at what we see. We shall furthermore have a good opportunity to talk over our interests with him. All that may pay us dividends later.
3. The trip itself might be more valuable for us, for as a native Rosales might be able to interpret things on the spot. Also he might actually see things (in the light of his experiences) that we would miss.

The disadvantages that I note are

1. **Time.** Rosales' time is worth a lot to us right now, and this would cost a week of it.
2. **Nuisance.** It would be difficult for us to sleep in the car and have

him go elsewhere, perhaps. We would be crowded and our food problem would be more difficult because Rosales wouldn't like what we shall eat. This difficulty might be tactfully resolved with explanations; he could eat in native hotels, etc. and we our own lunch. He already knows from experience at our house that all that comes out of cans isn't worth the gold.

I leave the matter to you entirely, with no recommendation beyond what I have implied. I am writing in a hurry, so that if you think we should invite Rosales, I shall have time to do so.

Until Sunday, our best regards,

Sol

[January 10, 1941]

Friday evening

Dear Sol:

Your messenger arrived at 4:45. I am going to pass back to you the responsibility for decision of the question of taking Rosales with us. I think you have summed up the arguments pro and con very well. I add only this observation: that it may be something of an effort for us to make him feel he is included in our discussions, and if we talk to each other pretty exclusively in English, the effect on his morale might be bad, rather than good. On the other hand, to take pains that he feels included will be a considerable effort, I fear, when both talking and the problem of sleeping and eating be taken into

account. If he could talk, eat and sleep with us, without much inconvenience to us, it would be a good thing. As he can't, the possible benefits to him look fairly doubtful to me. For this reason I incline to leaving him. But I see some advantage, and if you feel considerably inclined to take him, I shall accept the situation and will help to get the good out of it.

...After a long interval away from informants, I have been working today again with a San Antonero. He gave me a much longer story about the aboriginal heavenly twins and their doings about the hoe--the story has a very Populvujish flavor to it.

See you Sunday P. M. b. Cuidese.

Bob

[P. S.] We can plant the flowers--no help needed. Let's bring flowers but no José Gil, on Sunday.

Sol Tax

DE SAN LUCAS TOLIMAN DE ENESO, SUNDAY 12, [1941]  
RECIBIDO EN PANAJACHEL A LAS 10H 5M POR LUCAN  
NO' VINO COMERCIANTE FAVOR COMPRAT MUCHAS VERDUVAS

ROBERTO

January 22, [1941]

Panajachel  
Wed. eve.

Dear Bob,

I understand from our telephone conversation that Lisa has diphtheria, that you think it is not a bad case but that treatment is complicated by the fact that she is not able to take the normal doses of antitoxin. I understand also that it is necessary for all of us to have Shick tests, and if necessary inoculations; this especially for the children? I understood you to say that you would try to send out a doctor to give the tests or inoculations; but if that is not possible you would wire us to come in to the city.

I told only Gertrude, and later Carla, what you had said. Gertrude-- with her intuition--guessed before I could tell her. I thought it best to tell Carla because since she is at Tzanjuyu we cannot watch her. She appears to be perfectly well and reports that she has had Schick tests (and presumably has proved immune) but she doesn't recall how long ago.

Susan had negative results on a test two years ago. Neither Gertrude or I, that I can recall, have ever done anything about diphtheria.

If it proves necessary for us to come to the City, we can come on one of the regular camionetas. It occurs to me, however, that Clark might have an empty car returning to the city and judging from past experience, he would charge us no more than do the buses. If we are to come to the city, you might call him to see about this possibility.

There is little to report on this end. We all appear to be perfectly well. James' slight case of sniffles is certainly better rather than worse, but Joanna opines it is about the same. Joanna went into the water this afternoon; James did not. James rested this afternoon, but did not nap; he had a bath

before retiring shortly after 7:30. Since he had no bowel movement today, Gertrude gave him some mineral oil this evening. The children seem happy; they both ate very well and appear to be enjoying themselves. I think you need have no worries about them.

Romelia is sleeping at her aunt's and during the day helped in the kitchen. James and Joanna are comfortably settled in what we call the play-room. As far as we are concerned we shall be happy to continue the present arrangement indefinitely; I repeat that aside from the question of exposure to diphtheria is concerned, you need not worry either about the children or us.

Needless to say, we worry about Lisa; I just hope the medical attention available in the hospital is good. Please write us details, but perhaps you had better write two letters--one that the children can read. If there is anything I can do here or in connection with the house in AE, you know you have only to ask. And again, do not worry about this department; at the smallest sign that there is anything to worry about, I shall telephone you or we shall come to the city.

With affectionate regards, and of course our prayers for Lisa's speedy recovery,

Sincerely,

Sol

P. S. Perhaps diphtheria prevention comes under the Dept. of Sanitation too? A word there might bring us service.

A man from Sanitation (from Guatemala) was here today when I was

out to inquire about our exposure; they want the name of the patient so they can send a commission. I have not seen the man, but I suppose I shall have to tell him what I know.

Sol Tax

DE GUATEMALA DE 26 ENERO SUNDAY 1941  
 RECIBIDO EN PANAJACHEL A LAS 18-30M POR LUCAS  
 SUBIO TEMPERATURA NO LLEGO MAITANA MAUDE LIBOOS ESCOLASES  
 JUANITA CAMIONETA MARIANA

ROBERTO

[N.D.]

Dear Sol:

Pension Gueroult  
 Guatemala C. A.

Bless you for coming.

Mr. Magin has a room for you at the other Pension. I am sorry the Gueroult is full. Of course you will eat here. I can move out later but now I spend much of the night at the hospital and I don't want them to leave the children alone at the other place.

Lisa has had a relapse; in this she is holding her own, or a little better. The situation does not look as black as it did this morning. An X-ray shows here lungs are all right, and the kidneys are not affected. She has pleurisy, but the explanation for the rise in fever may lie in the retention or return of diphtheria

→ membrane in the . The fever is high, but not rising.

She is a very sick girl, but not desperately sick.

I will be back at 7:45. I hope to bring Greta.

Bob

[P. S.] I have asked to have supper in the room here at 7:30 for the three children.

Sol Tax

DE GUATEMALA DE 31 ENERO FRIDAY 1941  
RECIBIDO EN PANAJACHEL A LAS 16h 45 m POR LUCAS  
SIGUE MEJORANDOSE

ROBERTO

[January 31, 1941]

Dear Sol:

Isabel, baggage and stationwagon arrived well at about three o'clock.

Lisa was asleep when I left the hospital just now. She vomited her lunch, but I have no reason to suppose this had any significance except she is weak and the lunch was not savory.

During the past 24 hours her temperature has varied within a degree of normal, above and below. She has taken more interest in life; this morning she looked at a magazine for a few minutes. Backford saw her again today; he says her nose and throat are almost normal.

I return the Goubaud letter. He is a loyal supporter of our work, and a Guatemala booster. I think your paper, translated, should be in Imparcial, copecially in view of the enclosed clipping. Who Goubauds for Siegel?

Isabel is reading to the children. She is a great help.

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The gratefulness Greta and I feel to you and Gertrude we shall never be able really to express.

I hope you are all well after your two tiring trips to the city.

As ever,

Bob Redfield

I cannot find the Imparcial of last night. It contained a long summary and reviewed Siegels paper on Guat. Indian religion in the current AA, by Veda.

Sol tax

DE GUATEMALA DE FEBRERO 1 SATURDAY 1941  
RECIBIDO EN PANAJACHEL A LAS 16 h50m POR LUCAS  
CONVALESCIENTA ESCUCHANDO RADIO  
ROBERTO

[February 3, 1941]

Monday afternoon

Dear Sol:

I was glad to get your letter and I am glad to write a few details about Lisa's condition. She has been without temperature for two days. Her color is good. The pains in her back have greatly diminished. She has a recurrent pain in her left side, down low, which I think may be intestinal, and which I think has no significance. Her strength is greater; she turns over by herself easily, but she is not yet strong enough to raise herself up in bed. She has no

appetite; nevertheless she is eating more, and in increasing variety. Today she ate a little chicken. She enjoys the radio--it is a good one, and she can get London and the shortwave stations in the US; and she likes to have Greta read to her. Her spirits are variable; sometimes she is quite gay; sometimes she weeps.

Dr. Ainslie said today he thought she could come to the Pension in another five or six days. I have been to see a Dr. Cofino, using myself as patient (he found nothing wrong with me). He gave a very careful examination, and seems to talk sense. I will have him look at Lisa, and make all the laboratory examinations, when she is back in the Pension. He said today to me, having heard of her case in some detail from me, that he thought she should remain all this week in the hospital. Dr. Sauer has written from Evanston, emphasizing the need to go very slowly about restoring muscular activity. He recommends 3-4 weeks in bed after the last fever, and says she should not resume full normal life before the middle of April or beginning of May. When Lisa is a little farther along, I will write to him for advice on time and manner of travel home.

Jamie is spending the afternoon at the Cabots, playing with the little Cabot boy, on invitation of Mrs. Cabot. Joanna and Greta are at the hospital.

With Isabel's help, I can begin to get a little work done. I am sorry that in the confusion I did not bring with me the introduction to the Orient report. I left it on the mantel in our house at AE. Perhaps you saw it there and took it. I hope so. If not, and if you want it, couldn't you send Julian for

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it, or get it some other way? I would like to see that report finished. Isabel will copy it.

... I hope you all keep well. If you want the stationwagon at any time, let me know and I'll send it. I hope Julian's foot gets better.

Here is the Goubaud letter. I can't find our copy of the paper with the review of the Siegel article. Today I will go to the Imparcial office and see if I can locate it. I don't have my AA; I saw a copy on Lincoln's table at the CIW office here.

→

My best to Gertrude.

Yours,

Bob

February 4, 1941

Panajachel  
8 PM Tues.

Dear Bob,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday, especially for the good news of Lisa.

In this box we send a few things that Lisa may be able to enjoy (except the modelling clay, which is for James!) soon if not now.

In this envelope, I send you the installment of my diary including yesterday but not today. Perhaps you would prefer to cut out some of the account of the last weeks that concerns our stay in the city; if so, you are authorized to do so.



I am enclosing a letter from Zingg (Prof. Zingg, excuse me) for your edification. (Recall that I facetiously wrote on a card to him "What about Tarzan?" Just try to get under Zingg skin!)

Carla was here this afternoon. She appears to be getting along all right and to be enjoying herself. I believe she wishes to come to the city about Sunday; on that day, unfortunately, Clark's baggage car will be Bennington-occupied, she says. Should she return on the mail car and send her baggage via Letona?

Sorry that I did not see the portion of the Oriente report left on the mantel of your house. I do not need it to finish the report. I shall have to think of some way to get it, however, unless you plan a trip to A. E. soon. I am afraid that Julian or any other messenger might miss it or bring the wrong thing.

Today I completed (with Santiago Yach) my account of Holy Week here; since everything he told me checked (and amplified) what I already had, I am satisfied that I have a straight story. As soon as I can, I shall put all together and tell the straight story for your benefit. Not until I had completed my Panajachel account did I read yours, and go over it with Yach. You will be very amazed at the result of this comparison, I believe. You might think that Panajachel and San Antonio were on opposite edges of the country for the differences involved. I haven't time now to cite examples, and anyway, I want you to read the whole thing; but I can promise that we have something to worry about!

...Our best regards to you all.

Sol

February 6, Thursday, [1941]

Dear Sol:

Thanks a lot for the package and the letter. Lisa was pleased by the cookies and jam and other delicacies, and at once ate two cookies. Gertrude was very nice to make and send them.

Thanks also for the diary which I read with great interest. There are many good ethnological morsels in it. I see no reason to change any of it. But I'll hold it here to deliver to Kidder when he arrives on the 15th.

All goes well. Lisa may leave the hospital day after tomorrow. After consultation with Mr. Magin, and with Dr. Cofino, who seems pretty good and whom I have asked to take charge of the convalescence, Dr. Cofino came to the hospital (more asking of permission of Ainslie) and took a sample from the throat of which he is making a culture! We shall have the result tomorrow. If her throat is not carrying active diphtheria germs, she may return to the pension without causing Magin or his other guests concern.

If there are active germs, then we shall probably go to a small apartment in the edificio Braun Valle. We have looked at it; it would do. I would prefer to stay at the Pension.

In any case I plan to drive to Agua Escondida, spend a night there collecting needed articles, and return next day, via Panajachel. Probably I

shall come to AE Sat. afternoon. But if the move to the apartment should prove a certainty by tomorrow noon, I would drive to AE tomorrow afternoon, in order to lose no time in collecting equipment for the apartment. If we are to stay at the Pension, there is no hurry about collecting the--in that case many fewer--articles we need.

Jamie began today to attend a little 14-child school run on 7 Ave. by a nice American girl. The Cabots' car calls for Jamie at the Pension; so it makes life very easy for us.

So now I am getting more work done. So far I am merely catching up on an accumulation of uncopied notes and on some story texts.

At AE I will get the first part of your report.

I look forward to getting the Holy Week memo. So here is one place where the villages are really different. I'm glad we've found one. I was beginning to think there weren't any.

Take of yourself and of Susan and Gertrude.

Best regards, as ever,

Bob

Sol Tax

GUATEMALA, 8 LE FEBRERO DE 1941

LLEGARE AGUA ESCONDIDA DOMINGO TARDE, PANAJACHEL LUNES

TEMPRANO.

ROBERTO

February 9, 1941

Sunday

Dear Gertrude,

I wish you could see how becoming the bedjacket looks on Lisa! I more or less had to pry it away from the seamstress--first she was sick, then I imagine had other jobs--but in the end she did a nice one; and it looks just right, not skimpy at all. Lisa really didn't care about it much anyway at the hospital--for dressing up there hardly seemed to fit the general atmosphere but is using it all the time here. My little arrangement turned out all right too, so she can save your a little bit for "dressing up in the afternoon."

All the things you sent were wonderful. At just about the time the cookies arrived, Lisa began to get a bit more appetite. I think the deliciousness of the cookies helped. All the suckers, and the fine jams and jellies, not to forget the modelling clay, were very welcome--as I believe Bob has already told you.

Lisa looks very well but of course has not gotten much strength yet, but it is coming back gradually. A final reason for hurrying her out of the hospital was that Dr. Ainslie began to insist upon her sitting up in a wheel chair for an hour at a time, altho just to sit up that way a little made her feel funny--this altho Drs. Sauer, Coffino, and Wilkinson all agree that she should not be urged at all, and in fact that it is better not to think of so much activity for some days yet. . . . As Bob will tell you, we are still hoping for boat passage some time the end of this month. My mother thinks she could join us in the South.

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I hope the bunny won't be a nuisance but when I saw them at the market, waiting to be made into pie or something, I could not resist getting one. If Julian can made a good strong hutch, that dogs cannot break into, I should think it would be safe, and also that Don Jordan's vegetables would be protected.

Much love to you all,

Greta

February 9, 1941

Pension Gueroult

Dear Gertrude,

You've no idea how elegant I feel sitting up in my new bed jacket. Mama has told you, I think, how well it turned out. Really ti looks very sweet and I put it on to receive callers in the afternoon. I also wanted to put in a special word of appreciation for the cookies. They arrived just as my appetite began to come back--not that there was much at the hospital to tempt one--and helped take the curse off the dismal food there.

You were all really wonderful when I was sick and don't think I don't appreciate your standing by when Mama and Papa were running circles trying to chase doctors and so on.

Love to Susan. I hope the rabbit takes to Panajachel but not to the onion beds.

Lisa

n. d.

Dear Sol

All going well here. Lisa gains slowly but fast enough. She is reading a murder mystery this afternoon. We hope to bring her to the Pension about Saturday. Isabel moves tonight to a new Pension, Stas Fernandez--looks good. I think that will be a pleasant place for Carla. This Pension is crowded. The AA has come--I will send it to you soon. Kidder will be here the 15th. I had tea with Mrs. Osborne this afternoon.

I hope you and Gertrude and Susan are all right. Let us hear from you.

As ever,

Bob

February 11, 1941

Dear Sol:

I certainly was a clumsy and misguided visitor to Panajachel yesterday--killing dogs and running into ditches, after getting you all out of bed at an ungodly hour. I should not blame you if you cursed me considerable.

Among my sins of omission was to forget to note the bills in the city which you wish paid. Please send me the information.

Today I will take your stove and lamp to be repaired.

The consulate informs me that if one is sure that one will return to the United States before April 10th (arriving before that day), one may safely keep the old passport. Otherwise one should present oneself in person, with

photographs (three?) of all persons covered by the passport, at the consulate, in advance of April tenth. The consulate, after a few days, will issue the new passport. There is no charge.

Carla is all set to go on Friday. The Benningtonians, save one who flew home with a sore leg or something, will be on the same boat. So far as I can discover, that fact does not add to Carla's security.

Note on rumor: it was said in the pension, among Americans visiting, that "now one of the Bennington girls has the diphtheria." Not true.

Carla and I reached the pension in time for lunch. I drove too rapidly.

Sklow is now working all day for me in the office. In another day or two she should finish the most of what I want done; then she will return to Panajachel.

Lisa continues to do well. I have a letter from her own Evanston doctor which is not clear; read one way, it seems to say she should stay in bed (and not go home) till the tenth of March. But I am writing him again for clarification.

Jamie had a temperature yesterday; he is staying in bed today, but is apparently all right again.

It occurred to me, after I left you, that I may have jumped to conclusions about that saddle which arrived in AE. It may be the saddle which over a month ago was promised to me as a loan by Abel Rodas! All Mariano said was: "The boy came from Chichicastenango and said the saddle was for Don Roberto." I would expect Rodas to leave the saddle, if at all, himself, when

passing in his car. Still, it might be. Do you have connections in Chichicastenango through which you can enquire.

It was a great pleasure to see the three of you again, and I enjoyed that breakfast immensely. With all good wishes,

Yours faithfully,

Bob

February 13, 1941, Thursday

Panajachel

Dear Bob,

Enclosed is your paper on Education, which I hope has not delayed you too much, and the latest portion of my Diary.

Thank you for the news of the passport. Since there is little chance of our returning to the U. S. by April 10th, I suppose we shall have to come to the City some time before. However, I suppose such a trip could said a month, or until there were some other good reasons for going.

→ I am also enclosing a recent letter from Rosales; you will note in my diary that I took care of the matter as well as I could. When Ben Paul was here last, he complained at the un-naturalness of his situation; for he feels that he has the right to find out what goes on in the juzgado, and it appears to him foolish to find another Indian to help him get the information when Pop is not only in the juzgado but writing an account of what does on. I told Paul that in my opinion he would have to decide for himself if he wanted Pop's work for later he would have to take it into account in preparing the results of the experiment. He decided, then, to the demandas transferred to him.

→

I myself think that Paul is making a mistake by depending at this point on Rosales' most-used informants (if it is true that he does). They might from the beginning give him a Rosales slant on the culture (volunteering information that they know he was interested in getting) that will make the two studies less independent than they otherwise might be. I do think he should eventually use and come to know all of Rosales' informants, but that he should get his first systematic accounts from others. There are, I believe, other intelligent Pedranos.

→

Paul writes that he has done nothing about the demands and is waiting to hear from Juan. I told Juan that I would write Paul after communicating with you. (If it is true that pop is leaving the jugado on March 15th, don't you think it wise that the status quo not be upset for the short time?)

→

Paul also says he will consider buying some of your and my left-over canned goods, if we are willing.

I hope to have the orients report for you in a few days.

We trust that James is better, and are of course glad to hear of Lisa's continuing gains.

All well here. With best regards.

Sol

[Encl.]

On Redfield on Education

It seems to me that you implicitly discuss the relationship of (1) the kind of culture and (2) education. It seems apparent that you would admit that education in Guatemala educates in the culture--that, say, greatly

significant moral values neither are taught nor exist in the culture. It is a casual and secular culture, and it is passed on by casual and secular mechanisms. That this is so is clearly seen, I think, in a comparison of Indian and Ladino cultures.

The Indian culture has more depth--to use your term--than the Ladino in two respects. First, as you recently suggested, a greater proportion of Indian beliefs--and probably a much larger absolute number--have moral content or depth. Second, in Indian culture there is a social-political-religious organization that is largely of the community, is a force in social control, and involves relatively sacred things. And at the same time education in the two communities differs correspondingly in two respects: first, in the number of stories that are related to the beliefs; and second, in the way in which people become part of the adult society by passing through the services and learning the ritual that is the inner and sacred side of the formal politico-religious organization.

The two educational devices the Indians have and the Ladinos tend to lack are thus directly related to the two characteristics in which a normal Indian culture differs from Ladino (or at least Agua Escondida) culture. Indian culture and education are both less secular and less casual than Ladino.

I am not suddenly retreating from the position that Indian culture tends to be secular rather than sacred. I still am vague as to what these terms should mean; but the situation as I see it also still makes sense to me if I can think on the one hand of what goes on in the Indian's mind (filled with

unquestioned beliefs with moral content) and his behavior towards his gods and fellow men (impersonal, pretty unmoral, and practical). The "inner and sacred side" of the formal organization is there, all right; but it influences conduct chiefly with respect to that organization itself.

When considering Indian culture in comparison with Ladino, I find it difficult to follow the implied converse of the statement in your last paragraph. The converse might read, "An education grounded in tradition and implemented by an organization with traditional and symbolic attachments might be expected to teach greatly significant moral values." It seems to me that in comparison with that of Ladinos, Indian education is much more grounded in tradition and to a much greater extent is passed on through an organization grounded in traditional meanings, while at the same time it does not to a significantly greater degree educate with reference to significant moral values.

Likewise, therefore, I find it difficult to follow your historical implications. It still seems to be reasonable that Indian culture may have been long stable in its relative dearth of "organized moral convictions and sacred traditions" --as they influence social relations. I find it hard to believe that the hygienic efforts of the central government have displaced anything much in Indian culture; nor can I see reason to believe that local dependence on the juzgado organization is closely related to the activities of the central government. I also find it hard to believe that the presence or absence of priests in these Indian towns makes, or did make, any really significant difference in the strength of moral conviction underlying social behavior or control.

In short, I still see no reason to believe that a stable society cannot be primitive in its type of thought and still be "mobile, with relationships im-personal, with formal institutions dictating the acts of individuals...with life secularized, and with individuals acting more from economic or other personal advantage than from any deep conviction or thought of the social good." And if so, why cannot an education that reflects such a state be conceived of as being correspondingly stable and permanent?

I am, however, willing to be educated.

Thursday, February 13, 1941

Dear Sol:

Your letter with enclosures was laid upon my table in the pension by some mysterious hand. I was glad to get it. The communication contains much that is of interest.

It seems to me that you have taken a sound course of action in con-  
→ nection with the Rosales-Paul matter. (I do not find Rosales' letter; perhaps  
→ you inadvertently did not include it.) I feel sure that the first objective is to  
→ arrange matters so that Rosales and Paul are not simultaneously using the  
Pedranos as informants. So long as both are studying the community, getting  
new data at the same time, there is danger of friction. Therefore I think you  
were quite right in directing Rosales to cease asking for information from the  
→ Pedranos. Paul should be left a free field. I think we should stick to this  
decision.

In offering an opinion on the matter of the use of the written summaries of demandas, I am hampered by the fact that I cannot tell from your letter whether or not the fact (if it is a fact) that Pop is leaving the juzgado on March fifteenth means that on that date the arrangement Rosales has made for the writing of demandas comes to an end.

→ If no more demandas are to be written after March fifteenth (unless some new arrangement is made), then I think up to that time all these materials should continue to go to Rosales, and that after that time Paul should be free to make any arrangement for demandas that he can make or wants to make.

If, after Pop leaves the juzgado, he is still in a position to continue writing demandas, then I think you should give me your opinion whether these records are needed by Rosales. (I suspect that unless we stop Rosales from getting more material we will never get his report written.)

→ Unless you think otherwise, I propose that in any event we consider that Rosales has closed his books on March 15, and that after that all sources of information are open to Paul. If he uses Rosales' informants, or men trained by Rosales, or a system of records started by Rosales, such circumstances would appear plainly in the record, and would be taken into consideration in judging the experiment.

→ It is, after all, impossible to put San Pedro back into the condition in which it was before Rosales went there. We cannot claim that Paul is repeating Rosales' experience. We can only claim that, one ethnological experience having occurred in San Pedro, another ethnological experience

occurred to another investigator in that same community as modified by the first experience.

→ In general I sympathize with Paul's wish to have a free hand to talk to whom he wishes and about what he wishes. . . . .

→ I agree that it would be more interesting if Paul should be relying on informants other than those used by Rosales. But I think it is futile to hope that he might do otherwise than he is probably doing: using the Pedranos who speak most Spanish, are most easily available, and are most used or disposed to talking about customs. Of course most of these men will be Rosales' informants. In some respects the use of the same informants is a good thing, for it will be possible in such cases to see what differences there are between the results obtained by two different investigators using the same source of  
→ information. At the same time I think Paul should be encouraged, sooner or later, to make a deliberate attempt to use new informants too.

I will make a list of left-over canned-goods, with prices, a little later.

The account in your diary of the differences in Holy Week is very suggestive. I think you have mentioned the principal points of interest. I think we should try to get corresponding information from all the Lake towns, together with information on how much people of one town know about the ceremonies in other towns.

I was interested in McBryde's report on a plow-area; and confess to some satisfaction that he too found serious faults in Stadelman's work.

I note in your diary that you write that observation of child's birthdays

is not typically Indian. One of my SA informants says quite commonly a birthday (also saint's day) is celebrated by tamales and other festal features, and that, "especially in the old days," some fathers brought in a zajorin to do costumbres on that day.

With regard to Rosales' report on May first ceremonies: ladinos and Indians in AE tell me that certain Sololatecos in AE have the custom, still preserved, by which on May first tamales are made, and a tamale tied in a handkerchief to each child's back, or placed on the temenaste, there to remain all day, being eaten in the evening. I have not seen this, but the accounts are circumstantial and persuasive. So I asked Rosales to find out if it is done in Solola. He reports a blank. I am still puzzled.

The new lead on people buried in buildings is surprising and stimulating; I hope I shall have a chance to participate in the follow-up. Tylor, who wrote on this custom (for in Europe it certainly was a custom, not merely a belief), would have been delighted.

I have read your generous comments on the little education paper, but I have not read them with sufficient care to feel that I have come fully to understand them. Apparently, on the first page and a half of your memorandum of comment, you are summarizing most of what I have tried to say, and by implication you are agreeing with it. Your inability to go along with what I write begins to be expressed on the middle of page 2 of your memorandum, and applies, so far as I can see, only to the last paragraph of my paper. If I am wrong about this, I wish you would correct me; for as I now understand it, I am

concentrating my attention on this last paragraph of my paper, to see what is wrong, and how it can be improved.

If I read you aright, then you make one general objection; and then raise several doubts as to historical propositions which are expressed or implied in my paper.

The general objection is to the validity of an implied converse proposition (that "an education grounded in tradition and implemented by an organization with traditional and symbolic attachments might be expected to teach greatly significant moral values." You object on the ground that the Indians are not significantly more "moral" than the ladinos, though they have the symbolic and formal educational machinery.

As I don't offer to support the converse proposition in the paper, it isn't worth discussing the point now. I have a feeling that the Indians are to some degree more "moral" than the ladinos I know (observe work-taboos more; don't tolerate cousin-marriage; etc.), but I admit the difference is not large. But then they don't have a fully symbolic educational machinery either. So I don't yet know what to say on the point.

On the point of historic change in Indian culture, you and I still have different hunches; while I take it that neither of us can prove what we feel probably to have been true.

You say you find it hard to believe that the hygiene efforts of the central government have displaced anything much in Indian culture. I am somewhat impressed with such facts reported me as: before the government made people

lock up hogs, people in SA had many more hogs; so the fiestas were more alegre because they could more easily and cheaply kill hogs. "It's not so good to have a fiesta now when you can't afford a hog." That: when recently the government enforced the law against opening a liquor-selling place within a certain distance of a cofradia, the people of the village said they hardly thought it was worthwhile having the fiesta--of course they had it, but it cramped their style. . Certainly the government has made it difficult for costumbres to continue. (I meant to refer to all police regulations of the central government.)

My feeling that the presence of priests in these Indian towns made a difference in the moral convictions is based on what I know of Mexico and of French Canada. In communities where there have for a long time been priests, the people understand much more clearly the meanings of the rituals, and feel more strongly, I believe the moral worth of what tradition and teaching tells to be right. I don't think such a situation requires priests. It may be there simply with the organization and symbolic ritual (as in Quintana Roo--where you have what is really a powerful native priesthood also).

In general, I continue in my singular delusion that fifty years ago in San Antonio there was more ritual, both pagan and Catholic, that social norms were more closely observed, and that the moral quality of life was greater than it is today. To this delusion I am persuaded by the reminiscences of my old informants.

However this may be here, I still agree with the proposition you quote on the last page of your memorandum. In the present paper I am merely saying

one thing: that it looks to me as if, given a people with no important formal means of education and no deeply symbolic traditional machinery of carrying on the tradition, you will probably not find richly and well organized moral traditions. The proposition is so simple that it may be merely a tautology. Do you think it doubtful?

Anyway, many thanks for your good help.

As ever,

Bob

February 13, 1941

Panajachel

Dear Bob,

I hope you received a packet, with a letter and other papers, that I sent this morning. I just missed the mailcar uptown, but saw the Clark baggage car and asked the chauffeur to send it to you in the city. If by chance, it missed, will you call Clark to ask Arnulfo about it?

I neglected to enclose the Rosales letter referred to; here it is.

The matter of the saddle I have taken care of by writing Mr. Carrotte to ask Bibiano where the saddle is that he was to have sent me. If the saddle sent was his, the reply will be quick enough.

Enclosed are the two bills to be paid in the city; can you get them receipted for me, please? I now owe you money, and have started a new account which-- if it is all right with you--we can settle when you or Greta come up next.

Here also are some things we hope you will enjoy.

Our best wishes, and regards,

Sol

Saturday, February 15, 1941

Dear Sol:

We greatly appreciate the second gift of cookies. Lisa, especially.

And suddenly, some days ago, we found a paper-wrapped box. Opened, it proved to contain fudge. We ate the fudge with delight--I don't know how it got here. But it must be from Gertrude. We all thank her for her delicious gift.

And the jam. Really, this must stop!

I paid your two bills. Enclosed are receipts and statements.

If you haven't received your lamp and your stove, let me know, and I will stir up Coffey (joke).

Greta is coming to AE Wed. afternoon, via stationwagon and chauffeur. She will leave for Guatemala at noon Thursday. If you want to get word to her about anything, you can send up Julian.

Sklow returns probably Monday morning. She doesn't want to wait till Wednesday.

Nothing further to report. I have read the Cakchiquel dictionary, so far as it is possible to read a dictionary, and have dredged up some ethnological relics which I will pass on to you when copied.

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As ever,

Bob

Wednesday, February 19, 1941

Dear Sol:

Isabel decided to wait until today and go down with Greta. I am sending the chauffeur to Panajachel with Isabel; he to spend the night there and return to AE early in the morning. Will you please tell him where he might hope to find the tire that belongs to our camioneta, and tell him to make the substitution. If it isn't done now, it isn't serious--it can be done later.

We are hopeful that we may leave on March first, but do not yet have full medical assurance that Lisa may go then.

The latest word is that Kidder will be here Monday Feb. 24.

I hope you and Gertrude and Susan are well. We miss you.

Yours as ever,

Bob

[P.S.] Greetings, and love from me. Wish I could come down and see you all, but think I had better not. We are still enjoying the good things sent by you. Lisa looks very well now.

Greta

Wednesday afternoon [Feb. 19]

Dear Sol:

Enclosed are some lists of terms taken from the Cakchiquel dictionary recently published. The dictionary was brought to my attention through Sklow, who learned of it from Jesus Fernandez, a Spaniard, priest of the church of El Carmen. The children were spending an afternoon in the park of El Carmen, and the priest invited them in. Later I went to call on him.

After spending some time with the books of the Sociedad de Geografia e Historia, I found out that the dictionary was written between 1696 and 1730. The author was a Franciscan priest. The original manuscript, if it still exists, is still in Spain. The editor of the present publication used a photostat copy which is in Rossbach's hands. The editor is also a Spanish priest; he has returned to Spain.

Of course we cannot with assurance use these lists as evidence of the Cakchiquel of 1730, because the editor of the publication says he added words from some later publications, which he names. If we really want to find out, we might compare the publication with the manuscript (photostat copy) Rossbach is said to hold. I think it doubtful that many of the words in the publication come from sources other than the original 1700 ms. It would be easier for the editor (who spent only two years in Guatemala) chiefly to copy the ms. Furthermore, the ms. is described in the History of the Franciscan Order (now in process of publication) as containing 400 folio pages--which is a very large ms.

Passing this question, you will make some observations on looking over these lists. The kinship terms I have not yet studied, but a first reading suggests a kinship system substantially like that of today. But note the use of age-

distinction terms for cousins and uncles or aunts; and note the use of brother- and in-law-terms for co-members of the chinimatal. List 2 suggests a very considerable commercialism at least by 1700. The calendar list has all the months, but I find only twelve of the twenty day-names. Further light on the chinimatal is thrown by list 4. It was apparently thought of as a body of kin, yet there are terms indicating that you could be put up for membership, so to speak. In list 5 you will see the emphasis on Mexicans, and on slaves. List 6 has some odd omissions, from the point of view of present-day terms. Why were terms on blood sacrifice still available in 1700? In list 8 you will see that the word for eclipse indicates that it was thought of as caused by somebody or something biting or eating the sun or moon, as in Yucatan even today-- whereas our present-day data from Guatemala suggest the conception of sun and moon fighting. And what do you guess is the meaning of the last term in List 17?

The good father, Jesus Fernandez, is interested in native languages. He has published a number of vocabularies in the Anales. He told me that the town in which the most Xinca survives is Guazacapan, in Santa Rosa. He thinks there also the old customs most nearly survive. He said even there only the older people use the lengua among themselves. In Chiquimulilla with difficulty he got a 300-word vocabulary; the language is almost gone there and in other villages.

Is there any change of getting that Solola chirimia before we go?

I hope Rosales is pacified.

No ordinary mail has been delivered to me (i. e., other than airmail

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addressed here or to the office) for a week. I am wondering if it is stuck in Panajachel or San Lucas.

With my best to you all, as ever,

Bob

February 19, 1941

Panajachel

Dear Bob,

Your long letter of the 13th received several days ago; that of the 15th, informing us of Greta's plans, not until yesterday. I do not yet know whether I shall get this to Greta or send it by post.

Enclosed is my version of our Oriente report, so long delayed. I had planned to include a fourth section called "Conclusions" but I found I had suggested most of the conclusions that I could think of under "Findings" with the exception that I nowhere outline projects for study suggested by our experiences. However, even these problems are pretty apparent, and if you think they should be made explicit, I imagine you can write a statement of them far better than I can. I have kept this too long already, and I don't see now how you can revise and have the report typed in time to show it to Dr. Kidder.

Enclosed also are the notes on which the report is based; you probably won't be able to make much of them, but I leave them as they are for the record and in case you can use them.

Here also is my Diary, to date. And a page from my notebook in which you once started to write a letter.

→ Thank you for your advice on the Rosales-Paul matter. I have written  
→ Paul and expect an answer today.

I have done nothing further with Holy Week observances. How do you suggest we go about getting information on other Lake towns? I suppose I can get Catarineco informants here without too much trouble and can thus get the  
→ outlines of their fiesta. Also, Ben Paul can no doubt get a description of the S. Juan observance (if he wants to take the time) along with S. Pedro--on which we probably have sufficient information from Rosales anyway. I suppose that through Rosales' friend there we might get some sort of account from S. Lucas. But there still remain Atitlan, S. Marcos, S. Pablo, and Santa Cruz. In the course of years we could watch our opportunities; but do we wish to wait?

Further, the question of how Holy Week is celebrated in a town is relatively simple of solution compared with how much people of one town know about the ceremonies in other towns. That question is hardly answerable without information for a half dozen reliable informants. I have no doubt that we can do anything we wish if we want to devote sufficient time and energy (yours, mine, Rosales', etc.) to it; how much do you judge the comparison of Holy Week observances should cost us?

I shall talk to Rosales further on May 1st ceremonies; there must be some explanation. Although I doubt if I shall be able to revise my judgment, I shall also investigate further the celebration of Indian birthdays and saint's-days in Panajachel.

Reburial in buildings; I don't remember (if I ever knew) Tylor's writings

on the subject. But I do recall that in the Bible or in a Jewish apocraphy there is a description of Jews filling in the masonry of Pharoah's structures. This was not voluntary; but I shouldn't be surprised if some ethnocentric compatriots account so for the permanence of the pyramids!

.... Coffey needs not stirring but whipping. I received their bill and a letter saying they have shipped via Transportes Crespo. Once before I asked them to send via Letona and they sent via Crespo. Crespo then had semi-weekly service and delivery was slow; I also had to send to the Crespo house two or three times in vain. Now after sending Julian twice to Crespo's, they inform him that they have not had an "agency" for two months; and I have still to locate the shipment. Do not try to do anything in the matter, for the shipment is probably somewhere in town here; if I cannot locate it, I shall write or wire you. Meanwhile, thank you for taking care of the repairs.

→ Ben Paul took a box of gasoline from us. We are now starting the last tin we have, and will be out of gasoline in about ten days. If the car comes up again within that time, will you please buy me to send with it a goodly quantity of gasoline (if there is room in the car) because that way it comes freight-free and if I have any left over at the end, I can sell it to Paul. I suggest 50 gallons. → If the car will not come up, can you buy me a smaller quantity to send by Letona?

If you have not disposed of them otherwise, we are interested in buying your chickens, if you will sell them. For months we have not been offered hens, and rather than buy scrawny ones in Solola we have thought of your fat and juicy birds.

Referring to our discussion of your paper on Education: on the matter of the "displacement" of elements of Indian culture by government police regulations, I think we are thinking about two different things. I did not mean at all that Government doesn't influence and even destroy parts of Indian culture; to your examples one could add statements about the effects of the Intendente law, the vagrancy law, the influence of military service on the cult of the saints, and so on. What I meant was that I do not see how educational or social-control functions have been taken over by the government from the Indians. My impression from your last paragraph was that you think the contrary--that educational mechanisms for teaching moral truths have been substituted for by secular government institutions. Perhaps you do not.

I believe that in the car, on the way back from Esquipulas, I was forced to concede that there is most likely less ritual now than there was ten or forty years ago. If this is so, it seems to me that two separate questions relative to your paper are still in order. One is, has ritual decreased because of the extension of services or influence of the central government, and because of the diminution of the influence of the curate? You answer that your hunch is Yes. The reason I am doubtful is not that I think that government regulations do not have some effect, but because it is hard for me to believe that in the generations preceding this one outside institutions such as debt-slavery to fincas and the imposing of Ladinos on local Indian governments should not have had even greater effect on Indian culture. To suppose that Indian ritual has been progressively weakened through all the phases of foreign control is to suppose that it was once tremendously complex and influential; you get into the position of

the linguistic who claims that the tendency of language is away from agglutinative. My own hunch is that Indian ritual has had its ups and downs, in the same way that in a town the Conquista dance may appear, disappear, and reappear; and that we shall have to be very chary of drawing conclusions on the basis of what may be small, local, and temporary tendencies. In panajachol the depression caused considerable simplification of some cofradia rituals, according to all accounts; but in the same period a new ceremony was introduced (a communal pre-planting costumbre conducted by zajorines with the co-operation of the cofradias) that is more personal and less formal than any other that I know. In one part of this ceremony, which scores of Indians attended everybody knelt while the zajorines passed around praying over each head individually.

That brings me to the second question: assuming again that there has been a recent diminution of ritual, has it changed in quality as well as quantity? That is, is the ritual of today less meaningful than it was before, or is the ritual organization more formal and external? It seems to me that you answer that question in the affirmative too; not having your paper at hand, I cannot be sure. But I can't think of any evidence of Panajachel to support the statement; and I find it impossible now to form a reasonable judgment.

I see I have been thinking out loud; I am simply unable to do anything with these questions. Imagine that War or Peace depended on a 48-hour decision!

Yours,

Sol

570 127

Friday, Feb. 21, 1941

Dear Sol:

Your letter of the 19th with enclosures was brought yesterday by Greta. Many thanks. ....

The Oriente report is excellent. I am astonished at the amount of information we secured in three days. It shows that can be done if one (1) knows something about the country already; (2) knows what one wants to find out; (3) has luck. I think the document will make a good exhibit--The Rapid Guided Survey--in our course on method. And by the way--some time send me copies of the notes made en route on topics to take up in that course--I want to do a little work in planning the course.

You have written the report up in a clear and interesting way. I look forward to submitting it to Kidder. I have made a few changes--small ones--and filled in a few lacunae. Many of the latter I could not fill in.

I think the Holy Week business will have to wait until more urgent matters are out of the way. I think some day we should line up informants from the other towns and just sit down with each and get the facts. I doubt if there is time for it this season. As you say, the other question, on how much is known, is much harder, and probably cannot be done for every town. We may content ourselves with picking it up for SA and SP and P in the course of our intensive work there. SC should be added, because of its strategic position.

Coffee called Crespo in my hearing, and was told merely that Yes, the box was sent to Panajachel on the 13th--"the chauffeur who delivered it would

be back later in the day when they would show when and to whom it was delivered." I will keep at them, and find out where it is.

Today I will order gasoline for you. I expect to drive to AE Sunday or Monday, I will not go to Panajachel--I want to make a fast trip. I will wire you just when I will be in AE, in case you want to send anything up--or, should there be something important to talk over--you might want to come up to AE.

Sorry about the chickens. We have already given them to AE friends-- I thought yours were nice juicy ones down there!

We must talk more about the historical questions as to change in Indian life. I admit I don't know what has happened. My hunches are: (1) that although ritual has its ups and downs, the trend in the last fifty years or more has been toward less ritual, and toward less meaningful rituals; (2) that if this is so, the causes have been many and various; (3) that the lessened influence of the priest is only one of these--but that when a priest is there, the Catholic rituals tend to have more meaning for Indians than after he has been gone for sometime. But the question is complicated by many factors, I am sure. These cooked-up histories are not much good. And the way of documentary historical research is so long, and the results often small!

Mrs. Edwards passes back to me certain vouchers for our 1940 accounts. I enclose the correspondence. The problem is beyond me. You, genius at figures, do tell me the answers to the questions she puts us!

As ever,

Bob

[P.S.] A cable has just come from Sauer in Evanston approving taking Lisa home by boat on March first, provided we do it in a wheel chair. So we plan to do so. I am now looking for a wheel chair.

February 22, 1941

Saturday

Dear Sol:

Rockefeller Foundation has written asking me to advise as to a request received there recently from Flavio Roads for \$100 a month for a year to enable him to make a fresh and literal Spanish translation of the Popol Vuj -- "because the translation he and Villacorta made is not literal enough for scientific purposes." I want also to put the Kiche text in phonetics so that English-speaking people can read it [sic]....to illustrate the translations of Popol Buj it will be necessary to take some authentic photographs of some of the customs and rites which the native Kiche Indians of Guatemala still observe."

The Foundation is hoping it can find something worthwhile to support among the Guatemalans to offset what they have done in Mexico.

If the request were to do ethnology, I would not hesitate to advise the Foundation against it. As to Rodas as a translator from the Kiche, I am not so sure, because I don't know enough about his abilities there. What do you advise? What did Andrade ever say about him? What is the matter with the Popul Vuj translations we now have?

Crespo chauffeur told Coffee that by mistake he left your lamp and

stove with Dr. Wallace, and that today, on returning to Panajachel, he would get it and deliver it to you.

I have changed the address of my Imparcial subscription so it will go in your care to Panajachel. See that the P. post office delivers it to you.

→

I have turned Zingg's Tarzancito over to the psychologist Jorge Luis Arriola.

Also today I saw Joaquin Pardo. Next week his photographer will finish making microphotographs of our municipio maps.

Nada mas.

Cuidense.

Como siempre,

Bob

Sol Tax

Guatemala, 22 de febrero de 1941.

LUNES TARDARE CINCO HORAS AGUA ESCONDIDA, NO VOY PANAJACHEL,  
BUSQUE ESTUFA CON DOCTOR VALLACE. ROBERTO

February 23, 1941

Panajachel

Dear Bob,

I may or may not be up to deliver this in person; or I may mail this to Guatemala. I haven't decided.

I enclose the grocery-duty accounts with my interpretation of what is wrong. If that is the proper solution, I seem to owe C. I. W. \$2. 62, and you owe me \$3. 29; if so, shall I send my check for \$2. 62 to Washington and charge you with \$3. 29 on our account?

Enclosed also a letter from Carrette indicating that the saddle sent you did not come from Bibiano; Bibiano's saddle may be on the way. The other apparently should not go to G. C.

Enclosed also a few leaves more of my Diary.

→

Will you please return to me Rosales' letter, re B. Paul, for my files?

I am enclosing another letter from him suggesting that we help him buy a motorcycle. I am not keen on this myself; I don't want him to get killed!

For some time I have wanted to make a rather far-reaching suggestion. That is, that we take Rosales back to Chicago with us. I imagine he would accept the offer, especially since he has been working furiously on English (now having bought a set of phonograph records). This suggestion does not spring wholly from a desire to give him a break, cut that is of course strongly involved. The real reason is that I am worried about the San Pedro report; it is not apparently progressing speedily, and I am afraid that when we go away guidance and collaboration will be so much more difficult that it may bog down badly. As he says, he has no experience in this kind of writing, and while I feel sure he is capable, he does need guidance; and when it comes to writing up race relations, social organization, etc. he will not, of course, do well by himself.

My suggestion is that in the U.S. , he live at International House or elsewhere close-by and devote his working hours to writing the S. Pedro report with us at hand. I am not thinking that he should now try to become educated at the University (since for one thing, it would take him a long time to develop his English, which would come incidentally).

His family in Solola would have to be supported to the amount of between \$30 and \$40 a month (his salary now is \$40) but the additional money necessary to carry this suggestion through would include his passage and living expenses (including clothing) in Chicago. That would amount to something under a thousand dollars--including passage and living in Chicago for a year.

If a thousand dollars should become available from some source (say Rockefeller) our budget would not be affected any. If not, of course you and Dr. Kidder will be able to decide if the plan is financially possible. But I timorously offer the following for consideration: if other plans have not already been made for it, might not Dr. Andrade's funds be utilized for the purpose? If sentiment should be allowed as a factor, I have little doubt that Dr. Andrade himself would have been most pleased by such a diversion, for he was fond of Rosales and trained him himself. (Furthermore, whatever will be done with Dr. Andrade's data, Rosales could probably be of some help with at least the Guatemala portions of them.)

That ends my suggestions. But for your information, I can add that Rosales costs me about \$600 a year (salary and expenses) now; if we were to take care of him out of Soc. Ling. funds, the additional money required would be about \$800, including the support of him family--for which purpose we could

continue his salary.

Since writing the above, I have decided to come to A. E. to see you; I can get the gasoline, things for Sklow, and the saddle. Also, I told Don Rómulo this morning that I would measure the new windows for him. Since we shall probably not have much time to talk, I shall complete this letter anyway.

I sent a note to Dr. Wallace; he has seen or heard nothing about the Coffey shipment. Julián inquired at other places in that neighborhood and found nothing. The shipment must have gone astray somewhere.

Your letter of yesterday, about Rodas, received. The decision in this case will not be easy, I am afraid. If judged on research-science standards alone, the project would probably have to be turned down; Andrade and I talked at some length in the matter, and I am sure he would think it a waste of time and money. It is not known if the Pupul Vuh was written in ancestral Chichicastenango Quiché--it might have come even from Rabinal; we tried out much of the Villacorta transcription on Chichicastenango Indians, and no matter how Andrade would pronounce the words, a good part of the text was utterly unintelligible to Maxēnos. It would take a trained linguist familiar with various dialects to do a reasonably good job of reconstructing the text phonetically and then translating it for scientific purposes. Short of that, the present translations are probably servicable enough. I see no reason to believe that Rodas can do better than his predecessors who also presumably knew Quiché; certainly we have evidence that Rodas is neither a conscientious nor scientific linguist.

On the other hand, if there is a desire to aid Guatemalan scholarship regardless of project or quality, Rodas is a deserving soul who has labored long with little financial reward that I know of. He has been living in Guatemala City and working (he says) in the library, devoting all of his time to research and writing. It is difficult not to feel sorry for him and not to want to help him. But does one have to recommend him for a linguistic job of this sort?

I was puzzled when the Imparcial was delivered to me; I supposed your subscription had a little while yet to run. If it is a matter of months, I feel sure you will permit me to reimburse you.

→ Jorge Luis Arriola is, of course, the psychologist to whom I had reference, whose name I could not recall until enroute to Jalapa.

Yours,

Sol

Enclosed also our account to date; I hope I remember to pay you what I owe.

I tried Friday to get the chirimía from Sololá; Rosales once ordered one, but it has not been delivered. This week is a week of large fiesta-markets in Sololá, and I am hopeful that I shall have one to send you before you sail; if not, Lisa will surely have it before too long after reaching home.

There is no mail for you in Panajachel....

I have been unable to do much, so far, with the dictionary material.

February 24, 1941

Guatemala City

Dear Sol:

Enclosed you will find some sheets representing information supplied by another San Antonio informant on the tabular creencias. I believe you have a copy of this table; the new sheets are to be pasted on the right-hand side.

I have gone over this table once more, and with greater care than before. There follow some observations following from this going-over. No observation is both new and important; the general result amplifies tentative conclusions already made.

The elements of belief and practice represented in the table may be grouped under three heads.

I. BELIEFS CHARACTERIZING BOTH INDIANS AND LADINOS. There are many conceptions and practices which appear to be shared generally by Indians of all three communities and by Agua Escondida ladinos. The data we have indicate that most adults have knowledge-and-belief on these general conceptions, without regard to the locality or the ethnic group. Of course we expect differences, certainly as among individuals and probably as among communities or ethnic groups, as to sub-elements, or more particular items of knowledge and belief subsumable under the more general conception. In the following paragraph items which are marked with an asterisk are not known to exist in San Pedro on the basis of the table; they may nevertheless exist there.

A first group of elements under this heading is made up of certain basic conceptions of the world or as to conduct with regard to the world: the effect of the moon on living and growing things; the weakening or gentling influence of women over things strong and masculine; the classification of foods, remedies and perhaps diseases into "cold" and "hot"--and as a widespread illustrative special belief the notion that cow's meat is "colder" than steer's meat; the idea of the evil eye, with the conception that the resulting sickness may be cured by contagious magic with the person of the causer of the sickness; respect for fire, maize and the metate. To be mentioned in a second breath, because of the somewhat less broad application and importance of the conceptions listed, are the ideas: that there is danger to unborn child and pregnant woman during an eclipse; that domestic animals are unfavorably affected if man and wife quarrel; that lightning kills evil animals and people, and that during a storm one should not carry with one sharp metal, and perhaps also jewelry; that the wind brings sickness; that dogs should not be teased or maltreated, and that they should be given bread in Holy Week; that money used to appear where stars fell; that if you point as a rainbow harm may come to the finger; that San Bernardino is the patron of, or perhaps is, the sun; that an eclipse is a bad omen; that when it drizzles, deer are born; that San Lazaro is the patron of dogs\*; that cats fighting at night are a bad omen; that it is dangerous or wrong to sit on a tenemaste; that a crowing hen is somehow uncanny or unlucky and should be killed; and (probably--the information from ladinos is inconclusive) that the breaking of metate or mano is a bad omen.

A second group of elements generally shared by all is made up of practical ways of getting useful things done. One might mention here a great body of genuinely adaptive technological behavior. Confining the list to those more magical procedures mentioned in the table, one may note: that a dog may be made brave by feeding it chile\*; that to make a dog stay at home you put some of its hairs under a tenemaste; that a dog's cough may be cured by hanging a purple corncob around its neck; that the "spiny head" disease may be cured with cow's excrement; that black hens are especially effective remedies or nourishment; that a split hen or vulture may be tied to the soul's of the feet to bring down a high fever; that young turkeys may be made less delicate by bathing them in rue; that honey is a remedy for burns; that children backward in talking may be cured by giving them droppings from the parrot's food.

The readiness with which informants look favorably on many suggestions for such practical magic as are proposed to them for the first time suggests that this sort of element moves easily from one local group to another, and from one ethnic group to another. In contrast, ladino informants show resistance to acceptance of "primitive" views of the world such as many Indians have. I ask: Is there any corresponding resistance on the part of Indians to accept a more "scientific" world-view, or is it simply ignorance of such a view that prevents Indians from adopting it. What is your opinion?

With respect to some of the elements mentioned above, and with respect to others that have not yet been mentioned, it may be said that although all the people of the communities under discussion share common ideas, nevertheless

as to these same elements there are differences as between Indians and ladinos. Indian and ladino meet on a common ground of understanding as to the belief, yet part of the ground on which the belief rests is characteristic of the one group but not of the other.

In certain cases Indian and ladino are in agreement to the conception in its general outlines, but the connections or connotations of the conception run in one direction with the Indians, and in another with the ladinos. For example, while both groups have the idea of punishment of the soul in purgatorial fires, the notion that this punishment may occur inside the hill or a volcano is absent in the case of the ladinos, while among Panajachel Indians it is apparently clear, and it is vaguely recognized by one San Antonio informant. In San Pedro it appears that there is a notion of a hill-world independent of purgatorial fires, and traces of this conception appear in the other Indian communities. The data are few, but they suggest a historical syncretism. Another such syncretism is suggested in the case of the belief in a female supernatural being in or under the lake. The ladinos think of this being as a temptress of men, a siren lovely in appearance. The Indians tend to think of her as a supernatural ruler of a subaqueous world, complete with spiritual equipment. The Indians emphasize the idea that drowned persons' souls may go to her; to the ladinos she is a special sort of espanto, who may frighten or lure men. A third illustration is to be found in the fact that ladino informants, while agreeing with the Indians that one should respect the fire and the metate, emphasized that women should not step over either lest its strength be affected; the statements from Indians suggest that for

them the paramount connection of the belief is with the general respect due from everyone to those semi-personified forces of nature and to essential tools and substances.

A more specific difference between ladino and Indians with respect to these same "common" beliefs exists in the greater disposition of Indians to regard nature or inanimate objects as persons. It is the Indian who thinks--not always with clear definition--of the fire and the wind as supernatural beings; it is the Indians who report themselves as addressing the maize as "senora;" it is the Indian who may say that the sun is God (P only?) or that San Bernardino is not merely the patron of the sun, but is the sun. It is the Indian who says the comal should not be left on the fire after it has been used for toasting tortillas, because it is tired after it has worked for you; and it is the Indian who declares that the hand-stone should not be separated from the metate any more than the arm should leave its body.

A third difference between Indian and ladino, notable even with regard to these "common" beliefs, is the apparent fact that the Indian is more disposed than the ladino to give "reasons" or explanations for the belief. As communication between ethnologist and informant is easier in the case of ladinos, this difference can hardly be put down to ethnologists' error. Examples are the following: bats are of the devil--they bring the blood they suck to be cooked for the devil. You should treat digs well--because they help the souls of men across a river in the after-life. The corncob cure for dogs' coughs works--because the cough passes to him who laughs at the dog. You should kill

a crowing cock--because its crowing is like the last trump. The ladino informants gave no reasons, or uncertain, tentative reasons, for these beliefs.

The tendency of the Indians to personify nature may also be regarded from the point of view of this last noted difference, for considering wind, fire or maize as a sort of person, who is to be respected or propitiated, is to have a kind of reason or explanation for the conduct sanctioned.

## II. BELIEFS CHARACTERIZING EITHER INDIANS OR LADINOS, BUT NOT BOTH

The list of elements derived from the table which appear to be shared by Indians of all three communities (with some qualifications noted) is long, whereas the table provides not more than two beliefs characterizing the ladinos but not the Indians. One explanation for this difference is to be found in the fact that the list was made up out of materials collected from Indians, at least in the first place. Another lies in the natural tendency of the ethnologists who made the list to pick out to them odd or unfamiliar customs.

The duende is surely a notion of European origin, characterizing ladinos rather than Indians. This Puck-like sprite who plays pranks, especially on women, is obsessed by long hair, and makes elf-locks in the manes of horses, is not reported by any of the Indian informants, although the word "duende" has apparently come into use in some places in Guatemala for other beings present in Indian lore. Panajachel informants blamed the tangled locks on the characotel, and SA informants regard these tangles, and long, tangled locks in boys, as signs of strength, and as locks not to be cut--a notion irrele-

vant to or inconsistent with the ladino duende belief.

In my opinion another belief characterizing ladinos but not Indians, and present in the table, is the cabanuelas. Because I had encountered reports of the cabanuelas in parts of the New World where Indian influence is slight (Santo Domingo, Costa Rica), I had come to think of this notion as European in origin. Yet when you reported it as a "common belief" among Indians of Panajachel, I was not surprised, for I had seen it well established among Maya Indians of Yucatan. On the other hand, when the San Antonio Indians apparently did not know it, I began to wonder about your report. Now I read that installment of your diary which indicates that apparently most San Antonio Indians do not know of it. I think that the belief is Spanish in origin; that we shall find that it has reached Indians in a spotty and exceptional way; and that the most isolated Guatemalan Indian communities will be found to be without it.

Before turning to elements which characterize Indians but not ladinos, I should like to raise a question. Consider the Indian beliefs apparently lacking in the case of ladinos. In a good many of these cases would it not be difficult to show that the ladinos have some additional element of knowledge or belief with regard to the object around which the belief centers, and element unknown to Indians, which makes up to the ladinos, so to speak, for their ignorance or disregard of the element known to the Indians? This is that old doubt as to whether the Indians have "more" culture, or whether the culture is "richer" in certain segments of experience. The point can not be established without more work. If the Indians think an unsold hog should be washed with cold water, while

ladinos don't, what do ladinos know or think about hogs that the Indians don't know or think? The ladinos and Indians I know in AE appear to have about equal knowledge about the care of hens and their use. In addition, the Indians recognize certain taboos on the eating of certain parts of hens. What do ladinos have that Indians don't, that has to do with hens? Could it be established that there is more knowledge and belief with regard to the immediate environment in the case of Indians then in the case of ladinos? I raise the question; I don't answer it. In certain areas of experience (e.g., knowledge of the city, the wide world, and history, the ladinos on the whole have more knowledge and belief than do the Indians. Or do they? One must remember the greater amount of traditional lore and mythology had by the Indians. The average Indian I know can tell me more about men came to be, and the lake, and the pueblo, than can the average AE ladino. It is of course irrelevant that what the ladino tells me will be more nearly true.

Let us now pass to those elements which the table shows to characterize Indians but not ladinos. Many of these again illustrate the greater disposition of Indians to treat nature personally: the conception of the world within the hill, already mentioned (present in SP and P; in P associated with hell; very vague so far as SA materials go); the deification of the sun, already mentioned; the notion that the eclipse is a fight; that one should not speak ill of the wind, and that the wind inspects the person and carries a report to God; that a whirlwind can carry one off (ladinos could only say that a whirlwind was vaguely dangerous). Some of the Indian ideas people the universe with beings, without precisely personifying

and single element in nature: the belief in the twelve rain-makers--a sort of divine servicio; the notion that somewhere between sea and sky there is a queer, dwarf-like race (some individuals in at least P and SA have the notion that twice a day the sun earth one of these; in SA the attributes of these beings are very vague; one informant said they had no bones; another that they did not eat); the one-eyed condition of the moon as a result of a blow dealt her by the sun; the belief in the bushy-haired terrestrial dwarves. Other beliefs illustrate the greater tendency of the Indians to recognize the unluckiness or wrongfulness of doing something which might symbolically involve a bad outcome: one should not sleep with the head to the west; butchers are punished after death with suffering like that which they caused the animals they killed; one may brush fatigue away from one's legs--the last is a positive notion corresponding with the other beliefs. Considering this category even more broadly, one might add the Indian taboo against marrying one's midwife's daughter or son.

Some of the elements characterizing Indians but not ladinos do not readily fall into the categories just stated. All that occurs to me to say about them is that they indicate the separateness of Indian and ladino traditions, to some degree; the difference may not be between aboriginal and European heritage in all or most cases, but may be a differences between two lines or tradition both of which are European in origin, or both of which became established in America. Ladinos refer to the morning star as la nixtamalera; Indians tend to speak of it as Santiago. It is Indians probably who call the Milky Way "The cold road;" Indians know about tobacco to quiet snakes; it is probably Indians who character-

istically name eggs or chickens to be hatched, or already hatch for members of the family so as to divide them among the members. Some of these elements, as the last two, being little practical matters, one might expect to find among ladinos too, and perhaps we shall. Maybe some ladinos pour cold water over hogs that have been almost but not quite sold; maybe some ladinos keep their hogs from eating tunas and certain other foods for fear of the disease called sarna-- but so far these elements have been reported only from Indians, and from Indians in all three communities. The ladinos I have interrogated said they did not know these elements. So too it is the Indians who tell about how when the judgment came, by flood or fire, people tried vainly to save themselves and were turned into animals.

One belief that deserves special mention is that having to do with the "mala hora"--the conception that evil or dangerous influences are abroad on certain days of the week. This appears to be Indian, and not ladino, in spite of its connection with the Christian calendar. One ladino informant said "he had heard that Tuesday and Friday were bad days, but paid no attention to it." Another denied that Friday was a bad day, and said it was especially sacred because the Lord died on that day. The Friday-feeling--Friday as unlucky--appears to put North Americans and Indians together as contrasted with ladinos? And why are there two schools of thought among the Indians? SA informants declare for Tuesday and Friday as bad days; P informants say Monday and Friday, and so does Mariano Perez, who was brought up on a finca chiefly among San Andres Indians. In Yucatan it was clearly Tuesday and Friday, and the belief

characterized ladinos (vecinos) as well as Indians.

III. BELIEFS NOT SHOWN BY THE TABLE TO CHARACTERIZE  
LADINOS OR INDIANS OR TO CHARACTERIZE BOTH GROUPS GENERALLY

In looking over the remaining elements, one notices at once the large number of items which are reported from Panajachel and not from any other community. That it is Panajachel rather than San Antonio or San Pedro which furnishes these specialties, is of course in part due to the fact that the list was made from Panajachel notes. If it had been made from San Antonio materials, it is probable that there would have been a large number of San Antonio specialties.

A rapid examination of the San Antonio notes reveals the following, among others, none of which I recall as reported from Panajachel or San Pedro-- although of course they may be in one or both communities: A new metate should be washed in a certain kind of atole before it is used; to cure snakebite, rub the wound with the brains of the snake; pricks with porcupine quills cure cramps; the animal called                    is a rat that sometimes changes into a taltuza; the powdered bones of the road-runner (     ) constitute a love-charm; the best cure for the disease, fright, is to frighten the afflicted person again at the place where the fright occurred (there are also several costumbre cures by zajorines); a goiter may be treated by touching it with the staff or sandal of someone who has just returned from a journey; human excrement in atole is a remedy for the bite of the casampulga; a remedy for scorpion bite is to take hold of the testicles of another man; the cicada has the evil eye, and so it is bad fro children to make a bullroarer of one; if the walkingstick insect bites one, one gets as thin as it is

thin, and at last dies; red ears of maize are a sign of thieves in the milpa, for the blood of what one tries to steal goes into the thing stolen; some people eat only eggs and chile before sowing pepinos that the pepinos come nice and round, like eggs; one may eat crabs before planting wheat so that the ears will have many grains as the crab's claws have many knobs.

Yet the large number of elements reported from only one community (in the present case, Panajachel), leave an important question unanswered. In the case of the elements indicated below with the sign #, the SA informants (and possibly the SP informants?) denied the existence of the element in their own knowledge. Therefore one wants to know if these elements are of general or widespread knowledge in Panajachel, or if they represent an occasional individual viewpoint or speculation. If they are the former, then we have some local differences. This, I understand, is one matter on which you have been working.

Here is the list: the sky is separated from the earth by pillars#; if one dies innocent by the act of another, he cannot go to Heaven until the killer comes with him; the sun is covered by four curtains of glass#; the eclipse is caused by the sun and moon fighting; the stars are the souls of the dead#; Mars is the star of thieves#; Jupiter is the star of horses#; if one watches while a star falls, one's life is shortened; drizzle is the urine of God#; San Sebastian is lord of the wind#; the snakes are owners of the roads#; sorcerers work at crossroads#; where there is a ball of fire, there money is buried (I suspect this is European and ladino; the ladinos of AE are familiar with it, but not the Indian informants); you shouldn't have two fires lighted in the house#; when a fire crackles, it is a sign a snake is in it#; boys should not eat eggs that are infertile; the stump of a cut-down fruit tree should be covered#, the notion that certain lands don't like dogs

is vaguely suggested from SA, but is clear from P.

I recognize that more investigation may turn up any of these among SA Indians or ladinos. The present situation calls for investigation: a few informants from each group (AE ladinos and SA Indians) deny knowledge of the elements specially designated above and no informant from those group says the contrary; and the items are apparently absent from SP materials.

One of these Panajachel elements in particular attracts my attention. You report that "when a woman dies, pieces of a metate are put in the coffin." Three SA informants deny such a practice there, but these three informants tell me that there it is the custom to put a piece of metate or mano into the coffin of a child (may even be a young person) so that the soul will not be born in the next child, but a stronger soul instead. Is there a local difference here, or have the P. informants been misunderstood?

A few elements are reported from the AE ladinos and the SA Indians, but not from P or SP. I don't know if anything can be made of these. They are: If one cannot stand the smoke from a fire, it is a sign one is jealous; sweepings should not be taken out of the house at midday or after nightfall; if a pot breaks on the fire, it is a sign of impending quarrel; the principal tenemaste should not be moved.

Only the ladinos of AE give the following: there is a rhyme said to the azacuanes as they migrate, for causing chicks yet to hatch to have feathered feet; for snakebite, bit the snake; if you sweep over a person's feet, he or she will marry far off.

The following elements are so reported in the available materials as to make it impossible to suggest any conclusions as to whether local or ethnic differences exist. They are mostly elements of small importance, and one can imagine that most of them may be passed around almost anywhere according to the accidents of interest or communication: to cure a frightened or air-struck chick, put it under a pan and strike the pan (L), or put it under a pot (P), or hold it over moistened lime (SA). Cure rabies by cutting the dog's ear or tail (P), or bury it up to the neck (P. L), or just say there isn't any remedy (SA, SP). Eat a cat's head to get powers of sorcery (SP, P), or eat it to prevent a sorcerer's power from affecting you (SA) or take a cat's bone out a pot in which a cat is boiling, to get powers of sorcery. Eat a mouse, unbeknownst, to cure mange (some Indians, some ladinos). One should not put a tortilla on a tenemaste, or eat one that has been put there (some ladinos, some Indians).

And here I have nothing more to say on the subject.

Sincerely,

Bob

February 26, 1941

Wed. AM

Dear Sol:

Kidder will spend this week here; Saturday he leaves for Salvador and Nicaragua, to return about March 8th. He wants very much to come to the lake, but says that now it looks as if he will not have time. He will wire you, so you can plan to come in to see him (and about passports).

I did not sufficiently thank you for straightening out my errors in the CIW account. It was certainly very good of you--I am hopelessly incompetent at accounts.

I just read the latest installments of your diary with interest. The mixed tradition-history is interesting. I would like to get more cases. Also the Catarin-Ana case---suggesting how hit-or-miss may be the communication of beliefs.

Kidder liked the idea of bringing Rosales. I am to write to Rockefeller Foundation at once. I will write to John Marshall, who takes Stevens' place when he is away (S. has gone to South America.) If this doesn't work, I have an idea Kidder would not disapprove using part of the 41 Andrade money for the enterprise.

There have been several discussions at Coffee's, and several bitter and suspicious conversations on the phone with the erring chauffeur. He has changed his story several times. He says (today) that day before yesterday he delivered the boxes at your own house. On the chance he may be telling the truth, Coffee is wiring you today to ask you if you have received them. If you haven't, they will go after the chauffeur and the company via the law, and I will insist they send you replacements for your equipment.

Just learned I have to get a new passport anyway, so I am rushing around madly getting pictures, etc. , and at 11, Kidder and I are to see Villacorta.

In haste,

Bob

Wednesday, Feb. 26, 1941

Panajachel

Dear Bob,

The Oriente report and also your letter on Beliefs received this afternoon. I have read the letter, but of course cannot yet comment. When the revised List comes, I shall study it and your letter.

Evidently by mistake, the original of your letter on beliefs (your own draft) was sent with the Oriente report. If you want this, I shall mail it; otherwise, shall I destroy it or bring it to you in Chicago?

The stove-lamp shipment arrived yesterday at Rodriguez' store-- I do not know how. I suspect I have you more than anybody to thank.

... Can you tell me where airmail will reach you during the next weeks? Something may come up. I suppose I shall send expense-accounts and Diary to Chicago.

In case I do not write again, we wish you all a pleasant voyage, and Lisa especially a restful and comfortable journey. We have missed you the past weeks, and shall miss you more.

With best regards,

Yours,

Sol

[n. d.]

Pto. Cortes

Dear Sun, Moon, and Star,

Your telegram arrived last night. It was nice of you to remember. We're now sitting peacefully on the deck, relaxing after the strain of yesterday. Our departure was most impressive. I was installed on the couch in great style with the wheel chair (which had to be taken apart to get it aboard) beside me. The final touch of luxury was furnished by ice-cold water and tomato juice which Papa had left in a pail of ice. The train was about half full of the usual tourists--they were all very friendly and the lady tourists especially kept beaming bright smiles of sympathy at me.

However--when we got to Barrios we found that there was no cabin for us, that several cabins had been sold twice over, and that the purser was quite thoroughly muddled and unable to fix anything. Well, finally we arranged for everyone to be accommodated in friends' cabins except for Papa. He slept out on the boat deck until it began to rain when the purser at last relented and let him sleep on the spare couch in his room. This morning when we got to Cortes, we got our cabins. Still, the whole affair made us feel not too fond of the United Fruit.

Last night while we were still homeless we had a birthday party out on the deck. There was even a Jensens birthday cake, complete with candles.

I guess this ends the story of our adventures.

It seems that I won't see you again until I get back from California. But then I hope you'll be out at Windy Pines.

Goodbye and love to all, not omitting the rabbit.

Lisa

Wednesday morning

Great White Fleet

Dear Gertrude,

The wind is somewhat chilly today, so I am sitting in the corner of the bar. Lisa is outside in a deck chair in one of the most sheltered positions. Jamie and Joanna are playing Animal, Vegetable, or Mineral. Today because of the wind is not quite as pleasant nor as smooth as yesterday, which was perfect. Monday the weather was somewhat rough and tho we were noe of us very sick we felt some what delicate and not like going down into the cabins. On the whole it has been a good trip--and we are so grateful to be actually on board as well as with cabins (that first night for a while was rather wearing, as we arrived tired, and the purser was incredibly stupid about finding berths for us. It turned out that Mrs. McBryde's cabin mate, a Mrs. Parks, never had arrived. The purser didn't know this but Mrs. McBryde pointed it out, and as there were two empty berths there, Jamie and I slept there the first night. Since then Joanna has been sleeping with her, since our two cabins on B deck have each only two bunks apiece). The food has been reasonably good, and I have even played some games of shuffleboard. Oh, and last night Lisa for the second time won the woman's prize in the banana guessing contest (a cute little "hurricane" lamp), and also \$1.25 on the horse races, her father placing the bet, so we may say the trip has been successful. Bob carried Lisa up and down from the deck, and if she is not too tired she is going down to the dining room tonight for the farewell dinner.

We think of you all so often and hope that your good health record for this year holds till the end of your stay. By the way, a woman on board told me of an experience she had while staying in a hospital after an operation. A case was diagnosed as skin trouble which turned out to be smallpox. As a result they vaccinated everyone in the hospital, all the other patients--tho of course they had not been near the man, as well as all nurses, doctors and so on. Her vaccination swelled her leg and it lasted for a couple of months, so it was not so funny. This should be the final convincing touch for Dr. Ainslie, and the need for re-vaccination.

...One thing I never mentioned, it seems to me, and that was how nice the flowers were, the plants which you arranged to have sent to Agua Escondida. When I went to pack up, most all were doing very well and I received many compliments on my ability to "sembrar". As they said, it was all in the hands, mine were right. The fact that these particular plants had proper roots and earth on them never seemed to enter in, so I got all the credit. I also wanted to tell you that the orchid plants you got for Lisa while in the hospital lasted the whole time to the very end of our stay with blossoms. So evidently you are good pickers as to plants.

Thanks for asking about a job for Romelia. We have provided her with letters of recommendation, but the trouble is that there are so few jobs to apply for, I imagine. It was fun having her and Mariano come down, tho we were not so keen about Martina, but they stayed a very short time.

597

Please give Susan a hug from me. I look back upon those days you spent with us at Agua Escondida with great joy--everything was going so well then. We seem to have spent such a short time in Guatemala this trip. In spite of everything I was regretful to leave. But I shall be glad when we are all settled again at home. Lisa, as Bob told you I believe, is still planning on Santa Barbara, unless something should come up at that end to prevent it. By the way, I found a quite good inexpensive sewing place in Guatemala City (Carla found it to be exact). It is run by Chinese, and they did several things for both Joanna and Lisa, copying them very nicely and neatly, at the cost of fifty cents for a dress. The place is called El Vapor, and it is on 9th Avenue just north of the market--but I imagine you won't need to patronize it anyway.

Much love to you and Sol. We'll be looking forward to seeing you at Windy Pines.

As ever,

Greta

Dear Sol:

Address in Cal. till about Mar. 15: c/o D. C. Peattie, 224 Buena Vista Rd, Montecito, Santa Barbara. Joaquin Pardo failed to get the map-photographs in my hands before I sailed. Will you look him up when you come to town. I sent him a check which should cover the cost, but you might ask if we owe more.

As ever,

Bob

March 18, 1941

Dear Sol:

I hope that you and Gertrude and Susan are well, and that you are not bothered by too many tourists and visiting Elks of one sort or another. At least I am no longer there to descend upon you.

I am on my way to Chicago, after spending a week in Santa Barbara. Lisa will stay at La Loma Feliz, the little school, for perhaps six weeks. No real injury occurred to her heart. She is resuming exercise--no stairs yet, but she walks around pretty freely.

I stayed in my sister's house, and of course spent a good deal of time with my mother, who has not far to go.

Greta and the children drove to Nashville with Dr. Park. (Robert Park, Mrs. Redfield's father) She intended to go on to Chicago, where her mother was busy fixing her apartment for renting. But Dr. Park got sick, and Greta stayed in Nashville to take care of him until day before yesterday. Now I think she is in Chicago. In the newspaper I see that the temperature in Chicago yesterday was one degree above zero, with a fifty-five mile an hour wind. And the children without warm coats.

While in Santa Barbara I read 256 applications for SSRC fellowships. Also I dictated to a stenographer a translation of the next to the last chapter of Villa Q Roo monograph. This I will send to Isabel.

Do you happen to have the original bill of sale or document of title of that first white horse bought for CIW? If you do, please send it to Carlos

Velasquez, Agua Escondida, to whom I sold the horse. If you don't have it, I know I don't; then I suppose it doesn't much matter.

I think I wrote you already that Pardo did not get the maps to me before I left. So please when you go to the city, call on him.

Kidder liked the idea of our giving a course on field method. He urges us to do it. I want very much to do it. Let's do it next autumn. Sometime send me copies of those notes we made, en route. I expect to knock out some kind of an outline.

My best to your two nice girls.

Faithfully,

Bob

600

1941  
Panajachel  
Guatemala, C. A.  
March 20, 1941

Dear Bob:

It was not until yesterday that we received your (or Greta's) boat letter; previously we had Lisa's mailed from Honduras. We hope this finds you all in good health and that your long journeyings have ended happily.

I would send this airmail except that I imagine that with your return to Chicago you will be busy enough for a week without it.

...You will note in my Diary that Dr. Kidder assured me that Rosales would be brought to Chicago; he is anxious that the money be obtained from Rockefeller sources (for diplomatic more than financial reasons) but we opined that if not, he should be able to find the necessary funds. He therefore told me that I could safely prepare Rosales for the event. This I did. He is of course much excited by the prospect. I cautioned him to silence and on my part have not told anybody (including Sklow or the Pauls) what is in the air.

The chief reason I am anxious, that nothing be said about Rosales is that I am worried by Goubaud's reaction and I do not want him to get the news from anybody outside. Gertrude, whose intuition in such matters is usually sound (and who has, with me, seen Goubaud and Rosales together in our house in Chichicastenango) thinks that Goubaud will be jealous and will not be kind to Rosales. I think it important that we avert such a reaction, if possible, for it is likely that Rosales' future may depend considerably upon Goubaud. Therefore, I think that Goubaud should hear of Rosales' impending visit from you; and if you share our feeling, I know that in telling him the news you will keep the danger in mind.

601

Needless to say, of course, there should be no occasion for jealousy; we are not bringing Rosales to Chicago to make a Ph.D. anthropologist of him. Indeed, it seems to me that if Goubaud is ambitious he should welcome our efforts in training Rosales, for there may come a time when he will find the technical assistance of Rosales very valuable.

Don't you think it might be good psychology to ask Goubaud to take Rosales (who comes as an innocent to the big city) under his wing?

...I think that I have mentioned everything else in my Diary. We plan to return home in the second half of the month of May; the Fruit Company has extended our return-trip ticket for that purpose.

With best regards to all the family,

Sincerely,  
Sol

March 28, 1941

Dear Bob:

Your airmail from the train received several days ago. By the time you get this, you should have had my packet of the 20th including Diary and expense account and answering several of your questions.

I believe I left the horse-document in Chicago; however, I have ~~have~~ given Vasquez a new document which will serve him until I can send him the original.

...I am glad that you are planning the course of Field Method so definitely; several weeks ago I began in my spare time to work on an outline for such a course, confining the subject matter to Guatemala

(except where by inference it can be extended to other fields). Do you want me to continue this so that we can compare notes this summer? I was going to send you the notes we jotted down in the car, but then decided to incorporate them in a more extended outline; they seem so sparse when I set them down, but here they are anyway:

- 
- A. The significance of the proposition as to belief is determined by (in order of greatest value).
    - 1. Unplanned incident (and accident)
    - 2. Planned incident (an experiment)
    - 3. Unsolicited reported incident
    - 4. Solicited case or incident
    - 5. Informant's statement
  - B. There are informants, yes; but no "informant method".
  - C. Ways of stimulating and informant by argument:
    - 1. "I don't believe it."
    - 2. Citing contrary information by somebody else.
    - 3. Pointing our inconsistency of a general statement with a special fact.
    - 4. Pointing out a logical inconsistency.
- 

....I have been very busy these weeks on several jobs I have been doing simultaneously. The biggest one is settling the matter of Beliefs. I have made great progress, but am hardly finished. You will read about this in the enclosed Diary.

...We have just two weeks longer in Panajachel. We are well, but becoming tired. We shall be very glad to get back to Chicago.

I have finally obtained a chirimia for Lisa; it is a used one, but apparently a very good and certainly a most authentic instrument. So many have been ordered in Solola that a new one also may be available before we leave.

With best wishes for all of you,

Yours,  
Sol

April 1, 1941

Dear Sol:

I have just received your letter of March 20th. I have not yet had time to read the Diary, but will do so today because that literary work is always among my favored readings.

...Now that Dr. Kidder has told you to speak to Rosales about his coming to Chicago I suppose the matter may be regarded as certain.

If the Rockefeller Foundation does not provide the money no doubt then Kidder will use the item for Andrades' salary. We would all prefer, of course, to have the Foundation support the enterprise. I wrote at once to John Marshall, who is in charge of such matters in the absence of David Stevens at the Foundation. He wrote back amiably but rather unfavorably, indicating that the Foundation could only support training programs. I then went to see him about the matter this last weekend. The conversation left me with the impression that although Marshall did not feel that he alone was authorized to provide money in Latin American cases except in clear instances of the training of personnel, and although the Rosales case is hardly so to be recommended, it was not at all impossible that the Foundation might give us the money necessary under some other formula;

but Marshall said quite definitely that he could not consider it and that we should wait until Stevens returns in May. I think that the chance of the Foundation's support, however small, is significant enough that Rosales' coming should be delayed until that possibility is disposed of. It looks to me as if you will have to stay in the United States for at least nine months after Rosales' coming in any event, for once he is brought here the obligation to complete the San Pedro monograph will be great.

I am glad that I have not acted inconsistent with your advice with reference to Goubaud. Shortly after my return here I talked with Goubaud rather casually about what had happened in Guatemala this year so far as our work was concerned, and included in my report casual mention of the suggestion made that Rosales might be brought up here in order that the preparation of the San Pedro monograph might go forward. I think I made it clear that Rosales was not to be brought here to be trained, and I referred to the very great help which Goubaud could give us in getting the most out of Rosales. I did not detect in Goubaud any indication of jealousy or dismay. Goubaud seems to be in very good spirits and pleased with the work he is doing. He is already looking forward to applying for a renewal of his Foundation fellowship because he wants to continue on to his Master's Degree next winter.

Everything is all right here except that I am away in New York so much that I seldom get home. I haven't see Lisa for two weeks

and the rest of my family for five days, but so far as I know they are all right. This is a crazy life in this country, and I advise you to stay away from it.

With best regards to you and your two girls, I remain as ever

Yours sincerely,  
Bob

P.S.

Dear Sol:

Mrs. Tepper, who has taken Mrs. Edwards' place, writes as follows;

as I don't understand it I pass the paragraph on to you:

"In this connection, I should like to mention the recent account of Dr. Sol Tax, in which I find his 1940 expenditures exceeded his available funds by \$188.22.

Dr. Tax recognized most of this overdraft and indicated that it should be paid from funds available for 1941.

However, if he handles the overdraft in this manner, he is penalizing his 1941 activities, as we cannot permit a similar carry-over at the end of 1941. Mrs. Edwards has called Dr. Tax's attention to this overdraft but we have not received his reply as yet."

I see that you did not sign your expense account for February.

Don't you usually sign it? I send back one copy herewith with my approval already on it so that you can send it to Mrs. Helen Tepper.

Dr. Kidder was in California on Saturday, and so I suppose we may expect him here in a few days. If I miss him this weekend Dr.

Cole will talk to him about the linguistic problem.

It will interest you to know, if you have not already heard it, that Ned Spicer has received a Guggenheim fellowship, to enable him to continue his Yaqui work in Mexico.

.... I have now read your extremely interesting Diary. I will make a few comments.

It seems to me that the information you have obtained on the Chinimital is a fortunate piece of connection between the earlier culture and that which prevails today. I begin to hope that with further study of the documentary material for the colonial period and with the extension of your inquiry among informants in various communities, we may learn something as to the different degrees of or kinds of survival of this basic institution. It appears that inquiries suggested by historical materials may become quite fruitful.

The [Santiago] Yach autobiography promises to be a very valuable document. I hope that you are able to continue it in spite of the pressure on you due to other work.

Your account of Rosales' difficulties makes clearer than ever the advantage that would be gained if you and he should be close together throughout the period during which the book is written.

The little episode with Julian about Christopher Columbus and Alvarado is a nice bit, and I can use it in the conference on education among backward peoples which is<sup>s</sup> to take place at Fisk.

The discovery that some years ago the Indians played competitive games interests me in several ways. In the first place, I have thought I was impressed by the great absence of competition and of interprises involving physical struggle among both the Indians and the Ladinos, and have associated it with what seems to be their relative timidity. Now I am wondering if they ~~de~~dn't have so much timidity in earlier days, or if perhaps there is no correlation between the two phenomena.

The other question has to do, of course, with the historic beginning of these games. We know that in pre-Columbian times there were very roughly competitive games, at least those played with a ball.

Nevertheless, I have a feeling that the games reported to you by Yach may be Spanish in origin.

Can you find out what the game was that involved buyers and sellers? You know that the rural Ladinos still play games which are humorous enactments of common current situations. In Agua Escondida they play a game representing the selling of images of saints, and another in which a compadre invites a comadre to walk with him. I hope to hear more about this.

....I think that you had better ask Pardo how he is getting along with the photographing of the maps and let him know that we hope to have them very soon. However good the Road Department map may be, it will probably be some time before it is available to us. Furthermore, Pardo has the \$20.00, having cashed my check.

.... Do you know why Chivalan wants to buy a teddy bear? The tremendous interest aroused by Jagonna's teddy bear in Chichicastenango was impressive, and I am wondering if teddy bears mean anything to those Indians except toys.

I look forward to hearing the results of your further investigation of the matter of beliefs.

Herbert Passin, having returned from the Tarahumara country, has written a paper on ethnological advantages of lying-by-informants. I send a copy of it to you under separate cover, as it bears upon experiences we have had. He tells me that Linton has accepted the paper for the Anthropologist.

Sincerely ,

B<sub>cb</sub>

April 7, 1941

Dear Bob:

Your long airmail of the 1st received yesterday. We have also been receiving Life, with inserts, for which we thank you especially. ....I am disappointed to hear about the reaction to Rosales' project by Mr. Marshall. Don't you think that we could honestly recommend Rosales' visit as a "training project?" Aren't we bringing him to teach him or guide him in the processes involved in producing a scientific work from crude data? After all, the whole Rosales program has been conceived of as, in part, a training program. It is true that we have wanted to get data through him, but we have always also wanted to train him in ethnographic procedure so that he could prove useful to Guatemalan science if it ever develops. Furthermore, even the project of writing the San Pedro monograph in Spanish was conceived of as part of the venture to help train Latin American scientists (by furnishing an example in Spanish of how an ethnographic study should be made and reported). His coming to Chicago now is part of that whole program.

The argument about Rosales may also be put this way: we have trained him to do ethnographic field work; and now we propose to train him (by the same method -- practice, rather than formal education) in methods of compiling data. Incidentally, he will of course learn some English, become somewhat acquainted with library and University methods, and come to know more anthropologists and how they work; all of this will help to make him more useful to Latin American scholarship.

I believe he may be considered qualified academically for a scholarship of some kind; he is a graduate of a colegio and is a titulado school teacher.

Several weeks ago I read in the Imparcial that the U.S. has made arrangements with the Fruit Company as well as other steamship lines to give half-fare to students and research workers going from Latin America to the U.S. (and vice-versa). The newspaper disappeared before I could clip the item to send to you. Could you have the matter investigated to see if Rosales could obtain this privilege? This would be especially important to us if his support comes from our funds, of course, but money saved is saved in any case.

It bothers me considerably to hear that we may not begin to plan Rosales' coming until Stevens returns in May. We plan to sail on May 24th, and I would very much like to bring Rosales along. (He is so innocent about travel that he thought he would have to bring blankets along). There are two good reasons why; if it is at all possible, Rosales' coming should not be delayed beyond that date. One is that his work is still going rather slowly in Sololá (50 pages a month of finished copy); the greatest reason for that is that he is much disturbed by visitors -- Indians from S. Pedro, for example -- and considerable time is taken by participation in the Sololá community. If he is to come to Chicago, I should prefer it to be sooner rather than later. The second reason is that if he comes later than we do, we shall have to remain in Chicago just that much longer. You are of course right in saying that we must plan to stay at least nine months; I imagine it will be longer than that, but the sooner Rosales comes, the shorter that time need be.

610

I am sorry to be urging you in this manner, but if you could manage to get a decision from Rockefeller early enough so that Rosales could come with us next month, it would be a great help.

I know, of course, that you would say the right thing to Goubaud, and wrote only to be on the safe side. It is good that he seems to be taking the matter well; the test will come when Rosales is there and Goubaud is not only, not the only Guatemalan around but finds himself in competition with a real injun.

Mrs. Tepper obviously refers to the following paragraph in a letter from Mrs. Edwards of Feb. 28th:

"There is one question, I should like to raise with regard to the January '41 account. There are items totalling over one hundred dollars on this account which are actually 1940 obligations. It is advisable to keep within the yearly budget rather than pay from the following years' funds for items which are definitely connected with the preceding year's work."

I took this as a scolding that required no answer. I do not know what is expected of us. How else does Mrs. Tepper suggest that we handle the "overdraft", as she calls it? If the bookkeeping office has spare money with which to take care of it, I suppose nobody would deny them the privilege. Anyway, the way I did the bookkeeping had the approval of Dr. Kidder, didn't it?

Sorry I didn't sign my last expense account, I am returning it, signed, together with my March expense account, by regular mail.

The buyer-seller games I have heard of are not the humorous enactments of current situations to which you refer. I think I shall send you, regular mail, either excerpts from the Yach autobiography on

games, or else the whole thing. You may have some questions or suggestions.

I do not know why Chivalan wants a teddy bear. After receiving your letter, our back-door neighbors came in and admired Susan's teddy for the nth time (as well as other dolls). I asked what the teddy bear was called in lengua and they gave me the name for monkey, saying. "It is a monkey, isn't it?" The mother also called it nena'. I asked why they supposed Chivalan said he wanted to buy one; the response was that they supposed he saw the teddy and liked it.

.... I doubt if I shall have the time to work up the new material on beliefs that I have obtained from time to time; I plan to get more when opportunity arises. But I shall do enough work on the beliefs to figure out what data I still need from here. So far, I am very pleased with this study; we are going to know a lot more than we did about how beliefs are shared in a community.

Insert A

You sound as if you have become a traveling salesman. Hope it lets up soon.

We have been well. This morning while in the middle of this letter we had a scare. Susan has for several days complained of "tired" arms, but has been normal otherwise. This morning she ate no breakfast but seemed well otherwise. At about ten o'clock Gertrude called me, reporting that Susan was asleep with chills (gooseflesh) and arms so "tired" she could not raise them to eat some grapefruit. When she awoke, we found she had a temperature of 103; we gave her an enema and aspirin and she slept again. Now, at 12:30, her fever seems to be way down and she

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seems to be all right. Her arms are not "tired". We are no longer particularly worried, although the sudden fever with the arm business did frighten us. I write the details to you just in case something does come up and I call upon you to get me advice. But I think there is no danger.

I just asked Susan if she had a message for James. Yes; her message: "I should come to Windy Pines soon." It sounds like a good idea to me!

Our best regards to all of you, and to Lisa when you write; oh, and tell her I have not forgotten about the chirimía -- but I am not too optimistic, for I have had at least six encargo-ed from that many Indians, and nobody has ever come through. There were none at the Sololá fiesta last week, but as usual we ordered some brought.

Sincerely,

Sol

April 12, 1941

Dear Bob:

Enclosed please find:

1. Signed February expense-account.
2. March expense account
3. Diary; 1st copy, latest leaves; original, latest leaves plus those the copy of which I sent airmail, plus an odd page (41) which somehow was never sent.
4. Santiago Yach's autobiography, as far as it has been written.

I made only one copy of the Yach biography; I am sending it to you, and keeping the original. You need not return the copy, but I shall ask for it when we return to Chicago.

The biography was taken directly on the typewriter; except for the first two additions in ink (on the first page) the changes in ink were made by me the other night when I went over the whole thing hurriedly. There are no indications in the story of the questions and proddings; the general order, and selection of events recorded, is mine rather than Yach's. On the other hand, all details are Yach's, for I of course could only lead him on by saying such things as "And what happened next?" When you come to such negative statements as that "I didn't ask how much the baby had cost" you will understand, however, that they are in answers to direct questions. It would be ideal to record everything said by him or me, but of course that is impracticable.

It will be evident to you that it would be possible to write on indefinitely in this kind of autobiography; one could get the whole culture, past and present, through the eyes of an informant. Even if I wished to, I would not have the time now for such a project; I do intend to spend two or three days more with Yach on this biography.

Description of games begin on P. 30.

We are all well here; you will read in the diary anything that has happened around here. After writing you last, Susan quickly regained her health and has been perfectly well. I was going to send you an airmail the next day, but Isabel said she was writing you and would tell you this. I hope you were not concerned.

With best regards,

Yours,  
Sol

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CABLEGRAMA

GUATEMALA-AMERICA CENTRAL

SOL TAX

De NEW YORK 14 DE ABRIL DE 1941

RECIBIDO EN PANAJACHEL A LAS 16h-40M POR LUCAS

BRING ROSALES ALONG

REDFIELD

April 17, 1941

Dear Sol:

Please forgive me for my delay in answering your letter. I have been living the life of a drummer, going back and forth between New York and Chicago, with little time to catch up with correspondence.

In part I delayed intentionally so that I could go a little further into the Rosales matter. When I sent you the cable from New York telling you to bring Rosales along I had just left the office of Mr. Marshall in the Rockefeller Foundation. I explained the whole matter to him frankly, saying that there was a little money in the Carnegie Institution fund which might be used for Rosales; that it was advantageous<sup>er</sup> to bring Rosales at once, but that we did not want to do so if it would prejudice our application to the Foundation or if, on the other hand, it would make the Foundation feel that it was under any obligation to us. He was very amiable and made it quite clear that to bring Rosales on Carnegie Institution funds would not at all prejudice our application, nor make the Foundation feel that it had any obligation to support Rosales.

Having this assurance I then cabled to you.

I do not think it is out of the question that the Foundation might consider Rosales' case as one of training of personnel, but hitherto they have always thought of training on a more advanced level and of more sophisticated persons. I therefore think that the best chance of gaining their support is through interesting them in the pioneer ethnological publication. The whole matter will now have to wait until Mr. Stevens' return in May.

Isabel sent me a letter giving me your assurance of Susan's condition, and this letter reached me soon after yours. I hope there has been no return of the alarming symptoms, and that she is her sweet and healthy self.

We are all well and expect Lisa back with us next week from California.

As ever,  
Bob

April 27, 1941

Dear Bob:

I have been growing daily more worried, since we have had no word from you since the Cablegram. We hope nothing is wrong. I shall not seal this until I get to the post-office in case there is something from you.

I am enclosing the latest installment of my diary, which will tell you what I have been doing. (It is dull because I've had no time for gossip.)

After receiving your cable, I obtained a reservation on our boat for Rosales. The Fruit Company wrote that in order to get a 50% discount, he has to be under 25 years old (which he isn't) and enrolled in an American University. My impression from the news item I read was that the rules are more liberal -- that students, teachers, and researchers are all included. Perhaps you have some means of investigating further?

Molina writes me that Rosales can obtain his passport in Sololá. But I have not told him to do so because I have awaited details of financial arrangements so that he will be able to answer questions when his visit to the U.S. thus becomes public knowledge. If you have obtained for him a Rockefeller grant, I would prefer that the matter be made public in that way (partly in justice to the donors, partly so that people don't think we are capable of taking with us anybody who would like to go) and so I have been waiting to see.

I suppose that before the Consulate will grant Rosales a visa we shall have to have full information and some documentary evidence of how and why he is coming to the U.S. Can something be supplied very quickly? The State Department must have special arrangements for students and such, but I know nothing of it.

We shall probably go to Guatemala City, with Rosales, about the 19th or 20th; but it would be convenient to have the information for his passport and visa before that, since there will be only a short time before sailing time.

I imagine we shall arrive in Chicago about May 30th. Can you investigate the matter of an office for me? Since Rosales will be working with me, it would of course be convenient to have a fair-sized one, and one not shared by others. For the first time, this year, I shall be legally entitled to University space. If there is some!

We are all well, and I think my work is under control.

With our best regards to you and the family, hoping all is well.

Yours,  
Sol

April 30, 1941

Dear Sol:

I have your letter of April 12th with its enclosures. I am sending on the expense account to Mrs. Tepper (the successor of Mrs. Edwards) calling her attention to the fact that vouchers 38 and 45 are missing and will be sent later. You sent me voucher 45, but it bears no signature, so I return it to you now. Please send both vouchers, when signed, direct to Mrs. Tepper.

Your diary, always interesting, is this time filled with creencia work and land map troubles. I can see that you are making great progress in both areas; but in connection with the land map you had to retreat in order to advance. It just shows us again that one has to rely on one's self.

I have not read the Yach biography except for the first ten pages and the section on games. I can see that it is a very good

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document. The question as to the origin of games is puzzling. I think Elsie Clews Parsons might have some insight into the question, because she has had an interest in games and, of course, is always concerned with the question of Indian-Spanish origins. I think you might send a copy of the page on games to her, asking her comment.

The best thing in the letter is the news that Susan has not had any return of the mysterious ailment.

If you see Isabel tell her that the day before yesterday I saw Charles Thomson, who told me that he had just sent on its way to the State Department final recommendation for travel grants in the cases of persons recommended by the Donald Young Committee. He said he did not know how long it would take for the document to get through the mill of the State Department and reach the grantees, but he guessed about three weeks; so it may come about that notification of assistance, if it comes, will reach Isabel just about the time she is leaving. I am not even sure that her name is on the list. Donald Young told me that her name was included in the list they recommended, but I did not find out if the list was at all cut down in Thomson's office.

With all good wishes.

Yours,  
Bob

May 1, 1941

Dear Bob:

Yours of the 17th received day before yesterday. I am glad that our concern was wasted.

I guessed wrong on the meaning of your cablegram, but I suppose it makes no difference. I am disappointed, of course, since I hoped that Mr. Marshall had made a favorable decision. Now I have instructed Rosales to ask for his passport in Solola, and if asked to say that Dr. Kidder is arranging his trip in some manner unknown to him. I have meanwhile written to the Consulate asking about a visa for him, and explaining that he is coming as a special student (I explained honestly) with the financial support guaranteed by CIW. If necessary, I said, I would personally guarantee his not becoming a public charge if that would save correspondence and time.

I have already obtained space for him on our ship (SIXAOLA); unfortunately, no minimum space was available, the UF Co. wrote me, but the bed assigned Rosales is in a next-to-minimum cabin.

I propose that I keep separate accounts of Rosales' traveling expenses, and that I do not charge them to CIW until the situation is clarified. If Mr. Stevens comes through, of course I shall never have to charge them. Meanwhile, however, I shall use my CIW funds for the purpose. I believe that there is still \$500 in Washington for that has not been turned over to me. As you will note from the enclosed expense account, I still have \$132.10 to account for. I calculate that (including outstanding bills) we shall need that plus an additional \$120.00 to bring us to Chicago. In addition, there is Rosales' May salary of \$40 which he will have to leave with his family. And in addition, there will be his traveling expenses, passport, visa, etc. which will probably come to about \$140. That means that if you have \$300 deposited to my account, it will be about enough to get us, and

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Rosales, to Chicago. From personal funds I shall advance to Rosales (pending some other arrangements) enough to buy him clothes, suitcase, and other necessities.

Unless you have some other suggestion, I suppose that Rosales will go to the International House. Can you have a room reserved for him for the 29th or 30th? Perhaps he will get a better price if your office takes care of this than if I write directly.

I am enclosing the last leaves of my diary, as well as the copy of that which I sent you airmail. We have been keeping well but busy, and work is progressing smoothly.

We are pleased to hear that Lisa is probably with you again at Windy Pines. We look forward eagerly to seeing you all again.

Yours,  
Sol

May 1, 1941

Dear Sol:

I think that the delay in hearing from me after I sent you the cable resulted from our failure in this office to send you my following letter by airmail. I hope that by now you have heard from me.

I enclose a letter which you may show to Mr. Williamson, the Consul General in Guatemala City, when you ask for a visa for Rosales.

It is not likely that the Rockefeller Foundation will do anything about our request for support until after Rosales has left Guatemala. But as Kidder has agreed to underwrite the Rosales enterprise, we may go ahead and we are free to declare that Rosales' expenses are guaranteed by Carnegie Institution.

I am writing to the office of the United Fruit Co. to see if a discount can be obtained in Rosales' fare.

We are looking into the matter of an office; I am very hopeful that we shall find one where you and Rosales can work.

Your diary was interesting, as always. I note the brief mention of the fact that Romelia came to Panajachel to work with Isabel. I wonder how this came about.

.... Goubaud left last night for Cambridge, where a group of anthropologists are meeting tomorrow and Saturday to read papers on "applied anthropology" and perhaps to organize a society of applied anthropologists. Kidder has some interest in it and I suggested that Goubaud attend.

Take care of yourselves and come back to us without mishap.

Yours sincerely,  
Bob

May 4, 1941

Dear Bob:

Yesterday I received your airmail of the 30th, and today that of May 1st.

I was especially pleased to have your letter to Mr. Williamson. Since I have had to broach the subject of Rosales' visa in advance, thinking that documents from CIW might be required, I have thought it wise to send your letter to him by mail. It may be that now he will permit me to sign the necessary documents myself -- which would save time and trouble. What is required is "evidence of support" -- in

duplicate. Your letter I suppose might not be considered sufficient (and it is not in duplicate); but with your testimony, perhaps I shall be permitted to fill out a blank.

I have written to ask Mr. Williamson just what will be required; and if he is not satisfied of my competence in the matter, I shall air-mail you details of what is needed, with a request for help.

This morning I showed Isabel the paragraph of your letter that concerns her travel grant. She appears to be in a difficult spot. Her money, she says, has run out; if she stays here to receive the grant, she will have to use her return-passage money to do so. Then if the grant comes through soon, she will be all right; if not I suppose she will have to marry and settle down here! I believe she is therefore writing to Mr. Thompson (without indicating that she has heard anything at all) explaining her situation and asking for information.

Your suggestion to write to Mrs. Parsons about the games is of course agreeable to me. But I think I shall await our return to Chicago so that I can send the copy of the necessary pages that I sent you. Besides that copy, I have only the original. Or if you wish, of course you may write her and send those pages.

Isabel had servant trouble and was left without anybody. So a letter one day via Marcelino brought Romelia to her the next. Isabel by that time had lost hope of getting a local servant-informant here, and thought she might at least have a good servant.

.... We are going to Chichicastanango next Sunday (just for the day to see if anything can be done about those Demandas). I think the

Pauls will cross the lake and go with us. Then I shall have a last opportunity to see how he is progressing. Agustin Pop, the Pedrano who has been writing Demandas for Rosales, is writing an ever fuller diary; this diary we shall of course continue (it is very cheap) and it will be of some interest later for Paul to compare his own with Pop's, for the same period in the same place. Of course each will appear in the other's notes! Even if nothing comes out of the Experiment (which I doubt) we shall at least have a series of records that should be unique in ethnographic annals.

Yours,  
Sol

May 9, 1941

Dear Sol:

Your letter of May 4th reached me recently. If you have any more trouble about the Rosales visa would you let me know? I had a letter from the vice-president of the United Fruit Company calling for further details on Rosales. The letter does not indicate anything, either favorable or unfavorable with reference to my request for a special rate. He asked me to answer airmail, so I suppose I shall have another letter from him very soon.

I have sent Isabel a check for \$50.00 as an advance on earnings that will come to her from further work on the Villa manuscript. I am hoping that in one way or another she will be able to stay in Guatemala until she gets definite word from the State Department.

I am interested to hear about Augustin Pop's diary. It seems to me that you and Paul and I are bringing back from Guatemala so much material that even if we should be deprived of an opportunity for further field work for some time, we would have plenty of work to do.

I have not yet had any time to do anything on the course in field method. The matter is now complicated but, I think on the whole, stimulated, by two facts. In the first place, Lloyd Warner continues to give his course in methods of study of the modern community. What he does should be taken account of in any enterprise we might develop. In the second place, one A.B. Hollingshead, an anthropologically minded sociologist, has received a Social Science Research Council post-doctoral fellowship to learn methods of doing field work in contemporary communities, studying chiefly at the University of Chicago. I have suggested to Hollingshead that he might be a sort of catalyzer by bothering you and Warner and me sufficiently often so as to bring out the differences and resemblances between the two ways of working in the field. More concretely, I think possibly Hollingshead could be used in preparing the units of a sort of case book on field method. My ideas on this are still pretty indefinite. When you come we will talk it over.

Lisa is delighted that you have at last obtained the chirimia.

I hope all goes well in these last days. We are looking forward to your return.

Sincerely,  
Bob

UNITED FRUIT COMPANY  
Pier 3, North River  
New York, N.Y.  
May 10, 1941

Mr. Robert Redfield  
The University of Chicago,  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

We have your letter of May 7th with further reference to the booking of Mr. Juan Rosales, who is coming to the United States from Guatemala later in the month and will study in the University of Chicago under your direction.

We note that Mr. Rosales has received the equivalent of a normal school training in Guatemala and that you expect that he will remain in the University for about nine months or the equivalent of an academic year and that his transportation will be paid from funds which you have for ethnological research in Guatemala under provisions made by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Under the circumstances we shall be glad to accord this gentleman a 25% student's reduction from our tariff fares in connection with his transportation from Guatemala to this country. We would suggest that you communicate with our Chicago Office at 111 West Washington Street and complete arrangements for this transportation.

Yours very truly,

R. W. Linen

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PENSION GUEROULT  
Guatemala, C.A.  
May 19, 1941

Dear Bob:

After <sup>25</sup> trying a week as I recall, we are here at last. Nothing serious, of course, just constant visits while trying to pack and finish the work. To add to the confusion of the last three days, a young Indian suddenly decided he couldn't live without Catarina [Marcelino Castro's daughter] and decided to use us as intermediaries. It was very cute, but it took a lot of time and we still don't know how the affair will eventuate.

Rosales obtained both a passport and visa last week and will come here on Wednesday. The Fruit Company presented with your letter, agreed to the 25% reduction. Thus everything appears to be set.

Mr. Magin has been ailing, but is better again. Mrs. Magin presented me with a letter addressed to Greta, from M.L. Winslow and dated March 1st, which was no doubt being held for your return here! If it will require no extra postage, I shall enclose it now; but if it does, I shall bring it. I suppose any urgent matter it contains has resolved itself by this time! < >

I shall call on Schwartz, -- and Pardo, if necessary -- before leaving the city Saturday morning. We sail, you know, on the S.S. Sixaola, arriving in New Orleans about the 29th. We shall entrain immediately for Chicago. Since we arrive on a Holiday weekend, and house-hunting may be difficult, and since I would like to get my car, we may go to Detroit immediately and return on Monday. If so, I shall leave Rosales in Goubaud's hands -- if available -- in the International

House. If I can, I shall reach you at least by telephone.

I haven't had time even to think of the Methods outline, possibly on the boat I can get some thoughts in order.

Thank you for all <sup>the</sup> your timely assistance.

With best regards to all, and hasta la vista,

Yours,  
Sol

May 26, 1941

Dear Sol:

Welcome home. I hope the trip was comfortable and that you found the horse races and the banana-guessing contest as thrilling as usual.

Your last days in Panajachel were certainly <sup>d</sup>crowded. You must be glad to get away from it for a while.

The Eggans expect to leave for California about June 13th. His office is available for your use and Rosales' during the summer. In the autumn we will find another office for you. Fred and Dorothy would like to meet you at the station when you arrive in Chicago. If you wish they will take Rosales to International House, unless you are going that way yourself. Will you telegraph by what train you are coming?

I am glad to report that David Stevens called me on the telephone from New York on Saturday and made it known that The Rockefeller Foundation would provide one thousand dollars for Rosales this year. Of course I am very pleased at this.

Yours Sincerely,  
Bob

April Is This Afternoon

Correspondence of Robert Redfield  
and

Sol Tax

1933 - 1944

(edited and with Text by Sol Tax)

June 2, 1980

[pp. 628 - 677]

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Series LXIII

No. 330

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June 15, 1980

*insert page number  
shown by a-  
628*

IV

DECISIONS, DECISIONS (1941-1942)

[textual matter to be supplied]

October 23, 1941

To: Dr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

Dr. Caso sent me a copy of a letter he has recently written to Dr. Stevens. The letter deals chiefly with the administration of the Central American fellowships. But one paragraph is as follows:

"Después de una larga correspondencia con el Doctor Redfield, al fin hemos llegado a una conclusión que me parece satisfactoria y vamos a invitar al Doctor Metraux para que de un curso de cuatro meses durante el año proximo, de marzo a junio, y probablemente contaremos con Sol Tax para un curso y trabajo en el campo - durante siete meses en el otoño e invierno del mismo año."

October 24, 1941

To: Dr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

May we talk together next week about Villa's field project?  
How would three o'clock Monday suit you?

November 5, 1941

To: Dr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

Eric Thompson writes as follows:

"A short line to ask you to ask Villa and Tax to keep an eye open for names of stars and constellations, at the request of Mrs. Makemson. Also Mr. Long was very inter-

ested in what Sol had to say about counting with maize,  
and wonders if fuller material on the subject could not  
be gathered."

December 17, 1941

To: Dr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

I am grateful to you for preparing the statement on our research  
project for sending to the local Social Science Research Committee.

It is an excellent short statement and it will help me. I shall  
refer to it more than once. I am completing the bibliography.

February 3, 1942

To: Dr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

We should now write Dr. Caso making specific the arrangements for your coming to Mexico. Could we fix the amount which it will cost beyond your salary? And what do you think we should call the course you might give?

February 10, 1942

Dear Dr. Caso:

It is appropriate that before long some agreement be reached as to the terms <sup>of</sup> which Dr. Tax will come to Mexico in July. What I am about to write is to be considered only as the most tentative suggestion. Your judgment in these matters is better than that of any one else.

The officers of Carnegie Institution of Washington have indicated that they will make a contribution to your teaching program by allowing Dr. Tax's salary to continue from the Institution during the period when he is giving courses in Mexico and is carrying on field work as a part of your program. I am sure that you will be as gratified as I am at this expression of a desire to cooperate. I think that we should therefore ask that there be contributed from funds provided by Rockefeller Foundation only so much as will amount to the additional expense Dr. Tax will incur by this change in his plans. These expenses will be large due to the fact that he must break a lease on his apartment here, store his furniture during his absence, move his family to

Mexico and back, and pay whatever extra cost may come to him because of the necessity of establishing for a few months a residence in Mexico City. My computation indicates that \$850 will cover all these expenses. Therefore I propose, subject to your approval, that \$850 be provided to Dr. Tax from funds made available to you by Rockefeller Foundation. This contribution might be regarded as extra stipend or equivalent to expenses, as you think best.

The second subject I wish to mention is the course which Dr. Tax should teach. May I again express an opinion, as always subject to your approval or disapproval, that Dr. Tax will make a more effective contribution if he puts all his energy into doing one job well. This job should be the exposition in the form of lectures of methods of study of communities of simple people such as have been developed in this country in recent years, and the demonstration of these methods in practice through participation of students. Furthermore his lectures will be more effective if he has time to prepare each of them well in Spanish. I therefore suggest that he be asked to give one course including the number of hours weekly consistent with the practices in your group, and that he follow this course with the period of work in the field with students.

It seems to me that in determining the title of the course there are certain considerations to be held in mind. I understand that Rockefeller Foundation made this financial contribution in order that your program be supplemented. Therefore, Dr. Tax's course should be one in substance, and perhaps in title, which has not been given before. If

I am not mistaken another consideration points to the same conclusion; namely, that to avoid any suggestion that Dr. Tax is competing with other members of your staff, it might be well to have his course receive a new name.

But perhaps I have misconceived the situation, and if this is the case please write me frankly.

A third point occurs to me. Do I understand that your funds will provide the expenses of the group which Dr. Tax will take into the field?

Dr. Tax is looking forward to coming to know your group of workers, and especially to the pleasure of working under your stimulating direction.

Cordially yours,  
Robert Redfield

February 17, 1942

To: Dr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

Concerning the Temazcal among the ancient Maya: Llanda writes "They have the habit of bathing in warm water and by the fire, but this was seldom, and rather on account of illness than of cleanliness." Tozzer comments that this "seems" to refer to the Temazcal. Recently archaeologists have found many small structures at Chichen Itza and at Piedras Negras which look like Temazcals. The matter is not certain.

March 17, [1942]

To: Dean Redfield

From: Sol Tax

In Re: Language Classification

I spoke to Halperin, and with him went through some of Andrade's notes. I am pleased to report that the diagram I suggested may well have a good basis in linguistics. Andrade noted that Mam and Yucatec are at opposite poles and that the other languages (leaving out Huastec) range between. At the same time he noted certain phonetic shifts, one of which Halperin says is difficult to explain except as an old genetic diversion. The shift Halperin is especially interested in divides Yucatec, Tzeltal, Mam, etc. from Quiché, Kekchí, Pokoman, etc. You will recall that in my hypothesis there was a sharp line between Mam, Jacaltec, etc. and Quiché, Kekchí, etc. -- terminations of west and east branches from Chol. That appears to be borne out. (The Kroeber-Mason classification of Mam and Aguacatec with "Quichoid" rather than "Mayoid" is thus contradicted). At the same time, study of Stoll's Ixil vocabularies from the point of view of phonetic correspondences leads to placing of Ixil with the Quiché group rather than the Jacaltec; I was then wrong on that point (as was Stoll) and the Kroeber-Mason classification correct.

Halperin has agreed to go through the material carefully, both Andrade's and others' for languages Andrade did not study, and work out probable relationships as suggested by one set of phonetic correspondences.

Whether my hunch is probably correct in other respects is more difficult to determine. According to it, Kekchí (for example) should

be farther from Chol than is Pokoman; so should be Quiché. Also (for example) Mam or Chuj should be farther than Tzeltal from Chol. Whether or not they would require rather detailed study.

In case there is a misunderstanding I might add that there is no evidence that Andrade visualized the set-up that I have. His statement that Mam and Yucatec are at opposite poles with all the others ranging between shows that ~~he~~<sup>he</sup> did not; but my hypothesis is consistent with facts that he noted and apparently did nothing with. Nor did Halperin visualize the relationships as I did; he was attracted only by the difference between Mam-Jacaltec and Quiché-Kekchí. But he became quickly interested.

Sol

April 10, 1942

To: Sol Tax  
From: Robert Redfield

You gave me this once. Perhaps you want it in connection with the report you are soon to make on the distribution of peoples in Middle America.

Enc.  
(map of the Indians of Guatemala)

April 14, 1942

To: Mr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

This is the only Chiapas map sent by Villa.

Do you still have the letter he sent me telling us about maps?

If you have, will you please return it?

Enc.

April 30, 1942

To: Mr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

You had better keep this material on Chiapas.

A memorandum for you when and if you get to Mexico. Chavez Orozco is the man whom Plancarte recommended as a possible publisher of a translation of my book. This man is a politician who has leftist connections and is now in disfavor. I wrote to him but have received no answer. Villa suggests that Medina Echavarría, a Spaniard, would be a better publisher. Villa suggests that Lic. Daniel Cosío Villegas, who translated Shirer's "Berlin Diary" might be a possible translator for the book.

April 30, [1942]

To: Dean Redfield

From: Sol Tax

In Re: Accounts

Your dinner for Sr. Vela, cost you \$4.80, which you owe me. This sum includes your, Vela's and one other dinner, the service charge, and the sales tax.

I believe you still owe me \$39.75 (I think that was the sum), for a voucher of Lois Paul's that I turned over to you for inclusion in your December 1941 CIW expense account. There is no hurry, for I still have CIW money enough to cover this, and more.

WESTERN UNION

[MAY 22, 1942]

DONALD YOUNG

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOL TAX HAS BEEN OFFERED JOB ON SIX TO TEN MEN PLANNING UNIT OF NEW BASIC ECONOMY PROGRAM RECENTLY ORGANIZED UNDER R.I. BOKE OFFICE COORDINATOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS, SALARY FORTY-SIX HUNDRED. CAN YOU FIND OUT ANYTHING ABOUT IMPORTANCE OF JOB AND ADVISE ME?

ROBERT REDFIELD

WESTERN UNION

[MAY 22, 1942]

MR. BERNARD R. BELL

OFFICE OF THE COORDINATOR OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

COMMERCE DEPARTMENT BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D.C.

PRIOR COMMITMENTS MAKE ACCEPTANCE OF POSITION DIFFICULT BUT AM  
INVESTIGATING POSSIBILITIES OF RELEASE. WILL ADVISE WITHIN FEW  
DAYS.

SOL TAX

WESTERN UNION

CC79 56 - RK NEW YORK, N.Y. 22 241P

MAY 22 - 2:55 P.M.

ROBERT REDFIELD

DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CONVERSATIONS WITH WELL INFORMED PERSONS ON SUBJECT OF OUR TALK TODAY  
CONFIRM BELIEF THAT TAX WOULD BE FRUSTRATED AND DISCOURAGED VERY  
PROMPTLY IN PROPOSED POSITION. I SUGGEST SAYING THAT IN MEXICO ON  
PRESENT ASSIGNMENT HE COULD GIVE INFORMAL ADVICE. SURELY IT WOULD BE  
A WASTE OF A GOOD MAN TO PUT HIM INTO THIS UNFORMED SITUATION.

DAVID STEVENS

WESTERN UNION

MAY 22, 1942

JOHN PROVINSE

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NO DOUBT FOLLOWING YOUR SUGGESTION, TAX HAS BEEN OFFERED POSITION  
OFFICE COORDINATOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS. IN CONSIDERING WHETHER  
HE IS FREE TO GIVE UP COMMITMENT TO TEACH IN MEXICO, I AM SEEKING  
POSSIBLE SUBSTITUTE FOR HIM THERE. HAVE YOU REACHED SPICER RECENTLY  
AND DO YOU KNOW IF HE IS EMPLOYED?

ROBERT REDFIELD

639

WESTERN UNION

CAE 23 49 GOVT-TX WASHINGTON DC 23 955A

1942 MAY 23 AM 9 32

ROBERT REDFIELD=

=UNIV OF CHGO=

LETTER FROM SPICER. HERMOSILLO THIS WEEK SAYING DEFINITELY INTERESTED  
IN WRA WORK AND ONLY NEEDS RELEASE FROM GUGGENHEIM. HAVE SENT HIM  
APPLICATION BLANK AND AM REASONABLY CERTAIN CAN PLACE HIM FOR DURATION  
WITHIN NEXT 60 DAYS. POSSIBLY NED HAS SOME PREFERENCE. SUGGEST YOU  
WIRE =HIM AVENIDA OAXACA 114 P=

JOHN H PROVINSE.

60 AVENIDA OAXACA 114 P. WRA

WESTERN UNION

LD 844NB (UG37) 57 DL 4 EXTRA DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

WUX PHILADELPHIC PENN 1230P MAY 23 1942

DEAN ROBERT REDFIELD

DLR MON UNIV OF CHGO 1126 EAST 59TH ST CHICAGO ILL  
COORDINATOR INTERAMERICAN AFFAIRS PLANNING UNIT HAS REAL POSSIBILITIES  
DEPENDING ON PERSONNEL SECURED AND SOME REVISION OF PROJECT TAX GOOD  
CHOICE FOR JOB STRONGLY URGE TAX VISIT WASHINGTON FOR REASSURANCE  
CONCERNING QUALITIES OF ASSOCIATES AND CHANCES OF MODIFYING PRESENT PLANS  
IF PROVED NECESSARY BEFORE ACCEPTING APPOINTMENT ONE RUMORED APPOINTMENT  
MY OPINION WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE.

DONALD YOUNG

737P

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WESTERN UNION

[MAY 1942]

WILLIAM BERRIEN

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

AUSTIN, TEXAS

SOL TAX HAS JUST BEEN OFFERED IMPORTANT POSITION WASHINGTON  
COORDINATOR INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS. HAVING CONSULTED DAVID  
STEVENS, I FOLLOW HIS SUGGESTION TO ASK YOU HOW TAX'S WITHDRAWAL  
FROM COMMITMENT TO TEACH TO CASO GROUP WOULD BE RECEIVED BY CASO  
AND WOULD AFFECT HIS TEACHING PROGRAM. MATTER UNDECIDED.  
STRONG CONSIDERATIONS BOTH WAYS.

ROBERT REDFIELD

160 N. Mountain Avenue

Montclair, New Jersey

May 24, 1942

My dear Redfield:

I will send a letter from home to follow my telegram rather than wait until Monday to dictate one.

It was something of a responsibility to be so down-right on the opportunity put before Sol Tax. I should fill in the story. Our two men in public health have been taking turns, two days each on alternate weeks, to sit with the committee under John Clark's direction on economic and public health developments. These two are next to the head of the staff and have much experience in South America and elsewhere.

The one who talked with me, Warren, said considerable. You can use your judgment on telling the details to Tax or giving him this letter. The allocations of the millions are made, and with the end apparently of ameliorating conditions in unfriendly or difficult countries. He specified, for example 5 for Brazil, three for Ecuador - a great deal for the second of these, etc. Mexico drew nothing on the supposition, in his mind, that none was needed there for the immediate needs. He said a good bit regarding the ineptness of buying in Ecuador, such as making agreements to put in Quito and Guaycuil new water and sewer systems in spite of absolute control of materials preventing that. We are presumably to make good when we can. The kind of criticism that flattened out my hope that Tax could make a fine go of it was such as his circumstantial report of a case where men have been put into impossible

tasks, also of others given assignments on which they had nothing to deliver. Some are fellows who never have been down below and haven't the stuff to deliver in specialities demanded. The upshot in my mind was that Tax could keep good relations as a scholar in Mexico and really be in a stronger rating with the Washington people than if we went in for a standstill advisory post. I'll admit, too, that I hoped to see him kept in scholarship.

On this point, he is perhaps the man to name to President Harris for Blom's post. I sent Harris word that the advice he was asking of me could best be got from you. Tulane is at the point to guide matters for Mexican work as well as for the Caribbean. I am telling you what you know better than I, except that you may not see the University of Texas on the sidelines for these areas quite as I do.

If Tax goes in and does get a good return financially, he should make his own conditions regarding freedom to act in the field rather than in Washington. I am sure your final advice to him will be in the right form. I'll be glad to canvass more if you wish that, and I'm only sorry not to have got this off yesterday.

Yours, as ever,  
David H. Stevens

WESTERN UNION

MAY 26, 1942

MR. SOL TAX  
SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL  
% MR. DONALD YOUNG  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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BERRIEN TELEPHONES CASO COUNTS STRONGLY ON YOUR COMING AND THAT WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE ESPECIALLY SINCE MEANS CANCELLATION.

BOB REDFIELD

The Rockefeller Foundation

49 West 49th Street

New York, N.Y.

May 27, 1942

COPY

Dr. Redfield

My dear Tax:

I am glad that you wish me to put in writing what I said this morning regarding your opportunities of service either through government or through educational institutions.

Most of these facts are perfectly evident to Redfield and to you, and yet they should be put into the record, as I see it. After three years, we have a fine understanding with Dr. Caso looking toward continuing cooperation with scholars of the United States. In that relationship, his Institute in Mexico City has become a link connecting all countries of Central America with good sources of scholarly help. Your intent to teach for him for six months from July 1, represented both a sacrifice on your part and acceptance of a very real opportunity for a place in this continental program. I am not prepared to guess how Dr. Caso would take late notice that you are not to be on hand as promised by your American friends. I know, though, that Redfield has

a good second man, and that he is entirely capable of making Dr. Caso understand.

The chance to work for the Coordinator is an exceptional one with a lot more immediate return for unusual service. I do not venture a guess where it leads you as a scholar, to spend even one year in straight administration. Most scholars are slow to take the chance except as a duty or as a way into administration. Certainly, if you go in for administration, even for a year, you must have a kind of security that no scholar expects in point of family income and authority in your new job. These are the obvious requirements in return for giving up just about everything else that a scholar has. There is an old saying that a good time to ask advice is when you have made up your mind and wish to enjoy a little conversation. I do not venture to advice you, I am only saying what I myself think about the future of a man in your age group. I think you are old enough now to commit yourself finally to one course of action, and to pass over all the other opportunities. I am sure your friends in Washington will be absolutely frank after hearing your story, and your decision will be completely agreeable to them.

Yours sincerely,  
David H. Stevens

160 N Mountain Avenue  
Montclair, New Jersey

May 27, 1942

My dear Redfield:

By now you and Tax may have settled his program for the remainder of the year or even beyond. I had two interesting talks with him. The letter that I wrote for him was directed toward the men in Washington who should feel the responsibility of urging him into a decision. During the day, as he has reported by now, he had carried further by telephone the discussion of conditions under which he would work. When he left I assumed that the decision was pretty solidly made against going with the Coordinator because the State Department word to them would settle their point of view. At least I should think so.

When Tax got on the question of patriotic duty, the time arrived to leave the matter with him, however, and therefore I want to send this word as a chaser of my talks. I will see that he is given a show for help after the war in so far as I can, whichever may be his decision. He will have more repair work to do on his career if he breaks away into administration now and returns to his field after a year or two away; yet between us, if intact on our jobs, we should be able to make a way open up.

It is probable that I can make repayment for his trip by Foundation funds for conference in New York on his Mexican program. It's true that he came on his own initiative. It's also true that should be a

charge against one of the interested parties in his case: a recovery from us is possible and correct, whichever way he decides on the basis of talks down here.

Yours as ever,  
David H. Stevens

May 28, 1942

Dear Donald:

Tax has just returned from his trip East, and among the many things he had to tell me were included many evidences of your help to him while he was in Washington. You have been very good in guiding him in a situation where he had a difficult decision to make.

The decision is, in substance, that he will go to Mexico as planned, although he will offer the representative of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs his services in planning the organization of the new unit and will also offer himself to the Coordinator when he returns from Mexico for full-time duty in Washington, if the Coordinator wants him and if a suitable position is available.

Although the report from Mexico indicated that Caso would regard the withdrawal of Tax from the Mexican engagement as a serious blow, David Stevens was willing to approve Tax's acceptance of the Washington position. What finally made the decision go the other way was the expressed disapproval of the State Department, when they were asked what they would think of Tax's withdrawal from the Mexican engagement in order to accept the Washington position. It was later reported to Tax,

apparently truthfully, that quite a clear indication was received from the State Department that they would regard Tax's withdrawal very seriously. Tax finally concluded that to accept the Washington position would be not only to offend the Mexicans, but perhaps to make more difficult the relations the Rockefeller Foundation has with the State Department. Tax is, therefore, writing to Boke in the Coordinator's office, giving these reasons for his withdrawal and offering, as I have said, his services in other possible ways.

From Tax's account and your telegram, I see that the new unit in the Coordinator's office provides what may become a very important opportunity to do something real in Latin America. It is now even more important than it was before that good people be placed in the key positions. Tax is proposing the name of Fred Eggan as a substitute, and will make this proposal to Boke. Although Eggan has not had direct experience in Latin America, he knows a great deal about the country and to my mind, is in an admirable position for the planning job. I feel also that Eggan will be disposed to accept, and that the University would grant him leave for the position, much as we should regret to lose him. If you think well of this idea, then anything you can do to bring about an invitation to Eggan will be well done. If the idea seems to you a bad one, I wish you would step on it at once.

Gratefully yours,  
 Robert redfield

[May 28, 1942]

Mr. R. L. Boke  
Office of the Co-ordinator of  
Inter-American Affairs  
Commerce Department Building  
Washington, D. S.

Dear Mr. Boke:

I did not wire you my decision from New York, as you suggested over the telephone, because I wanted time to collect my thoughts.

To be brief, I have concluded that I would like to accept your offer, if under the circumstances you are still agreeable, but to postpone all but minnum participation until I return from Mexico. Your telephoned information that the State Department believes it inadvisable for me to abandon the Mexican project was really the deciding factor. Mr. Stevens had graciously (albeit with misgivings) released me for work in your office, and I was prepared -- also with misgivings -- to disappoint our Mexican friends. But the opinion of Mr. McClintock's informants in the State Department made me realize that this might be a serious error both from the point of view of our Mexican relations and also from the point of view of relations between the State Department and the project in which I was to work.

Still, I cannot but feel very strongly a duty to be of any assistance possible to your project, which I am convinced is an exceedingly important undertaking. Of course it is you who will have to decide whether I can be of use in these circumstances, and how. But I have a suggestion to make:

Although in the weeks remaining before my departure, I shall necessarily be pretty tied up, I would be glad to work with you, by correspondence, as closely as you wish. I hope, for example, that I may prove useful in the matter of selecting personnel; but please <sup>side</sup> consider me at your disposal in other matters as well. Then when I am in Mexico perhaps I could assume some additional tasks. Certainly if a field unit for Mexico is planned (and in my opinion that is more important than a superficial view of the political situation would indicate) I should be in an excellent position to help organize and implement the program.

How formal my connection (if any) with the project should be, of course I leave to you. Perhaps you will find it desirable to put through an appointment immediately (with suspension of salary on a leave-of-absence basis) or perhaps you would prefer to put through an appointment to take effect when I return. Or possibly you will think a consultant arrangement better. I am agreeable to any such plan, although I should have to obtain approval of my employers.

On the subject of personnel, I have two immediate suggestions as well as others I want to think about longer. One very high-calibre man who ideally suits the needs of the program-planning unit is Dr. Fred Eggan, Associate Professor of Anthropology here at Chicago. Whether he would wish to undertake the job, I do not know; but if you offer him a position, I think I can convince him that he must accept it. Dr. Eggan is certainly one of the country's leading anthropologists. He has broad experience, breadth of vision, and ability quickly to apply data to practical situations. Better than almost anybody else that I

know he can direct research and handle its results. He has recently headed (under the Commissioner of Indian Affairs) a group that has done important work in the field of food-habits, food-supply, and nutrition among the Indians and the Spanish Americans of our Southwest. Although his experience in Latin America (if one takes no account of his years in the Southwest) has been limited, he had for years specialized in South American ethnology and is intimately acquainted with Latin America through the literature. In addition, he spent a year in the Philippine Islands which are, of course, historically related to Latin America. A special advantage that he would bring to the project is his connection with the scholarly world on which we must depend for knowledge and advice. He is now Secretary of the American Anthropological Association and its representative on the National Council of Learned Societies. He is well-known and respected. That he would be an invaluable addition to the project, I have no doubt.

A second suggestion is Mr. Benjamin Paul, who is now receiving his Doctor's degree here at Chicago. (I am not prejudiced in favor of Chicago; these happen to be people I know so well that I do not have to think long about them; there are people around here that I would not think of recommending). Paul is one of our most brilliant students and about the most efficient fact-putter-together that I know. He has spent a year in Guatemala and I know how very capable he is. His wife is expecting a child, and I do not think he would go to Washington for less than \$3800, and I think he is worth more than that. We consider him a sure bet.

I got off the train only three hours ago, and haven't had a chance to think much or to talk to people. If you want further suggestions, they will be forthcoming. Needless to say, I regret exceedingly that I cannot now participate fully in your program. No matter what you decide to do about me, I wish you success. I am happy to have met you and Mr. McClintock. Will you please apologize for me to Bernie for not now dropping him the note that I planned to?

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

May 29, 1942

Dear Mr. Stevens:

I have just received your letter of May 27, written at Montclair. You have been kind, intelligent, and steadily helpful to Tax during this period when he had a difficult decision to make. No less than he, am I grateful for your understanding in seeing that he was greatly tempted to make a more direct contribution to the National effort than his present occupation allows him to do. You are, of course, correct: the indication of disfavor from the State Department decided the issue. He is going forward with the Mexican plan and is writing the representative of the Coordinator a letter, a copy of which he is sending you.

I am greatly pleased, also, by your interest in Tax's career, I am today writing Kidder the history of the recent events, making plain that Carnegie Institution may find it impossible to keep Tax.

I also express my thanks for your expression that the Foundation might pay the cost of Tax's trip.

If you wish me to speak on the relation between social science and humanistic interests, in a very learned manner, at the meeting at Lincoln, I should be pleased to try.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

May 29, 1942

Dear Mr. Stevens:

Immediately upon my return from New York yesterday afternoon, I sent the enclosed letter to Washington. You will understand, of course,

that it does not detail all of the reasons why I decided to go to Mexico. Your good advice at a critical time influenced me perhaps more than you realize, and I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your interest. I feel now at peace with myself, almost as if my soul were just cleansed of some evil influence.

I am taking advantage of your kind offer to care for the expenses of my trip East, and the cost of telegrams and telephone calls connected with it. Enclosed is a brief (though expensive!) account of those expenditures.

We plan to leave for Mexico, by rail, in the last week of June, If I can be of any service to you, please call upon me.

I am very grateful for your kindness.

Sincerely,

Sol Tax

[June 3, 1942]

To: Dean Robert Redfield

From: Sol Tax

In Re: An added difficulty

The Bulletin of the Pan American Council says, in instructions to travelers to Mexico:

"Do not carry with you any letters, documents or business papers, because all will be taken up and retained by the U.S. military authorities when you enter Mexico. Mail (do not airmail), in advance, all your personal papers, letters, and notations, to yourself care of some address in Mexico...."

Of course I want to take along books and a large bunch of notes. I do not like to mail all the notes if this is avoidable because of (a) expense, (b) danger of loss, (c) possible great loss of time if censors have to read everything. Can anything be done???

It may be surmised that even if the U.S. authorities permit passage of the notes, the Mexican authorities might take them up.

Could I get my notes, etc. sent in a diplomatic pouch, could I get a special document, or is there no solution?

June 4, 1942

Dear Mr. Gilbert:

You are, of course, aware that Dr. Tax is soon to go to Mexico to teach in Caso's organization. I have already bothered you with some details in connection with his trip. He has just encountered <sup>the</sup> ~~to~~ following statement in a Bulletin of the Pan American Council, addressing the prospective travelers to Mexico:

"Do not carry with you any letters, documents or business papers, because all will be taken up and retained by the U.S. Military authorities when you enter Mexico. Mail (do not airmail), in advance, all your personal papers, letters, and notations, to yourself care of some address in Mexico...."

Tax is, of course, planning to take along a great deal of notes and other manuscripts to be used in connection with his teaching. If the statement I have quoted is literally true, he might be greatly delayed at the border before censors could read everything, or he might find his papers taken away from him.

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I am wondering if this is a problem which you have already en-  
count<sup>er</sup>ed, and if you can tell us what is to be done about it?

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

Carnegie Institution of Washington

1530 P Street, Northwest

Washington, D. C.

June 8, 1942

Dr. Robert Redfield

The Division of the Social Sciences

University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Redfield:

Your letter of June fourth raises an interesting question, to which I have finally been able to obtain an answer with the aid of the Liaison Office of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. The censorship of papers in possession of persons crossing the border into Mexico seems to lie within the authority of the Bureau of Internal Revenue of the Treasury Department and also the License Division of the Department of Commerce. I have not as yet been able to obtain information as to the part which may be played by the Provost Marshall General's Office of the War Department.

The thing for Dr. Tax to do in the first place is to visit the Collector of Customs in Chicago, seeking examination of the notes and manuscript which he wishes to take with him in connection with his

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his teaching job in Mexico. My guess is that the Collector will be willing to seal the material officially in such a way that Dr. Tax will have no difficulty in crossing the border with it in his possession. On the other hand, if the material contains technical data it may possibly have to be examined here in Washington for the purpose of issue of a license by the Department of Commerce, which would enable Dr. Tax to carry it with him.

Under the circumstances, if the Collector of Customs in Chicago refuses to pass the material for any reason, Dr. Tax may possibly prefer to send it by mail. Please let me know, however, if you want me to make any direct inquiry of the Department of Commerce, in case it seems desirable to seek a license.

I happened to see Dr. Gillin in Washington before he left for Mexico recently, and I remember that he told me that he had encountered some such difficulty and had decided to buy his films in Mexico rather than take them with him.

Sincerely yours,  
W. M. Gilbert  
Executive Officer

June 17, 1942

No. 1

To: Mr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

Enclosed are some documents useful to you, perhaps, in getting acquainted with anthropologists in Mexico:

- 1) Those pages cut from the International Directory of Anthropologists which list Mexican anthropologists. Of the men listed here I know chiefly Caso and Gamio, who I believe are well-known to you.
- 2) Some pages obtained from the Guggenheim Foundation describing Jiménez Moreno. This man will soon be coming to the United States to take up his fellowship. He has been reported as one of the best anthropologists in Mexico.
- 3) Descriptions of Palacios and de la Fuente, written by Alfonso Villa.
- 4) Jules Henry's account of the same men.
- 5) Translation of part of a letter from Alfonso Villa written over a year ago about anthropologists and sociologists in Mexico.

June 17, 1942

No.2

To: Mr. Sol Tax

From: Robert Redfield

In Re: The possible <sup>translation</sup> of The Folk Culture of Yucatan.

On March 14, 1942 Francisco M. Plancarte, <sup>dad</sup> ~~Liberated~~ No. 1112, Chihuahua, Chih., Mexico, wrote me saying that Professor Chávez Orozco, Gelati No. 77, Tacubaya, Mexico, D. F., would like to publish a translation of my book if provided with rights of translation and authorization from the University of Chicago Press. On March 24 I wrote to Chávez Orozco taking up the suggestion, but have never received any answer.

Villa then wrote me saying that he thought Chávez Orozco all right, although he was now out of all political influence, but that a better auspices would be that provided by José Medina Echavarría, a Spanish sociologist.

On April 30, 1942, Robert S. Benjamin, Publications Section of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs wrote Mr. Jordan of our Press, offering to purchase five hundred copies of a translated edition of the book at forty per cent discount in advance of publication, such money to be used to bring about the translation of the work into Spanish.

In May I discussed the matter in Washington with Lewis Hanke of the Library of Congress. He advocated acceptance of Mr. Benjamin's offer and suggested arrangements for the translation be made with Daniel Casío Villegas. He suggested that this firm could provide a translator.

June 29th, 4:30 PM [1942]

nearing St. Louis

Dear Bob:

I was sorry to have missed you on the 'phone, but Lisa delivered your goodbye and also informed me of the \$200 expense grant. It doesn't matter to me if the money is sent to my bank (University State Bank) or to me in Mexico. I am now reminded of a little matter I meant to ask you about long ago. Juan has about \$25 left in his Rockefeller expense account (originally \$200). He has turned in his last accounting, and perhaps in reply the Foundation will indicate

that since the year is up, the \$25-odd must revert. Since Juan is still here, perhaps they would let him spend the remaining money during this year? It would help pay for typing his MS.

Fred will tell you in what a mess we were before leaving. I meant to write you a letter to leave with my MS, but didn't have time. In fact, I didn't have time to do all I wanted to do with the MS, and had to leave it in the hands of others. Nobody else was available so Sally Tucker received my instructions to pass on to Lois or Isabel. I was checking and making corrections so that the original and one copy would exactly correspond; but didn't finish. For that reason, I didn't include parts of the last chapter that I had written -- because they consisted of separated sections which would have required explanation for continuity.

The original, when whoever finishes checking finishes, is for you. The first carbon should be sent to me. The second carbon is for you, but you may want to make it correspond to the original before you send the original away. As soon as I get organized (and receive the carbon copy) I shall go about finishing the job. I imagine that about 100 pages of text and about 20 or 25 tables and charts are still missing from the MS as you will receive it. Some of that text, and the forms for the tables, I have.

Naturally, I shall welcome suggestions for changes, and since I shall have an exact copy of what you will have, it shouldn't be difficult to send me suggestions and corrections by correspondence.

We arrive in St. Louis in 10 minutes or so, so I'll have to call this quits. I shall write again as soon as we get to a table in Mexico City.

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We are all well. Best regards,

Sol

July 1, 1942

Dear Sol:

It still does not seem right to me that I did not see you off. You and Gertrude have so many times seen the Redfields off or welcomed them in.

Your letter from St. Louis reached me yesterday. The Rockefeller Foundation, I am sure will let Juan spend the \$25 left for typing, and I will tell him so.

I will follow your instructions concerning your manuscript as soon as I receive it. My understanding is that I may send one copy to Kidder for the Editorial Board of the Institution without waiting for the final revision.

David Stevens received amiably my request for \$200 for your use in preparing translations and mimeograph copies of teaching materials. I think you will get the money pretty soon, and I am sure that you are justified in beginning to spend it before you receive it.

The enclosed memorandum will inform you of a development in connection with the possible publication of the Spanish translation of my book. I have told Mr. Hemens to proceed to negotiate a contract with Senor Casío. I think Senor Casío will accept the offer from the Office of the Coordinator to buy 500 copies at a forty per cent discount. It is apparently expected that Senor Casío will find the translator, and it is stipulated that the translation will be shown to me before

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publication. When you have an opportunity, I hope you will call on Senor Casío, who is already back in Mexico, or find an occasion to get yourself introduced to him. It might be possible for you in this way to discover, as negotiations go forward, how he is operating, and perhaps even effect the translation. I don't ask you to do anything more, however, than to try to meet Casío and then see what happens.

I find myself already bothering you with a new nuisance. Dr. Melchior Palyi telephoned me yesterday, saying that he is advising certain North Americans who are planning to go to Mexico to start small industries. He tells me that the policy of the Mexican government is now favorable toward that sort of foreign capital. He asked me to find out if there was someone in Mexico to whom he could write for information on wages, working conditions and similar subjects in particular industries in Mexico. He is not thinking of a government office or statistician, but someone who is in a position to call up, for example, a leading shoe manufacturer in Mexico and ask him for information on what he does on labor matters. If, in the course of your stay down there, you hear of such a person, I wish you would let me know. Or possibly this is something you can learn about through the Embassy.

I drove your automobile out yesterday without difficulty. It is now in my garage, and I will take it out from time to time in order to keep it limber. In the back seat we found a drum and a cane, and, I hope divining your intentions, gave one to James and one to Joanna. We shall be thinking much of you, and your going to

Mexico with two small children\* is like an echo of the Redfield past. We hope you made a happy landing and I look forward to your correspondence.

Yours as ever,  
Bob  
Robert Redfield

[\*Marianna was born February 26, 1942]

[Encl.:]

June 23, 1942

To: Dean Robert Redfield                      Department Division of the Social Sciences  
From: Rollin D. Hemens                      Department Press  
In Re: The Folk Culture of Yucatan -- Spanish translation

While I was in Washington last week I was fortunate in meeting Señor Daniel Cosío Villegas, Director General of the Fondo de Cultura Economica. We had about an hour together.

Senor Cosío impressed me as an extremely able man, and his description of the activities of his firm, Fondo de Cultura Economica, leads me to believe that there may be many times when we can do well to work with him. He has made connections throughout Latin America for distribution of Spanish translations published by his firm.

They have already published in translation for us Mr. Merriam's Prologue to Politics. They list it at about the equivalent of 60 cents American money. Senor Cosío said that they expect to sell about 2,000 copies of it.

He is very much interested in and wants to issue a Spanish edition of your book, The Folk Culture of Yucatan. He seemed quite willing to undertake the entire cost of translation and publication and to pay us something -- I would say about \$50 -- for the translation rights.

I told him that you were very particular that any agreement we made should provide that the manuscript be sent to you and receive your approval before the Spanish edition was printed. He said they would be glad to do that. Our contract would make such a provision and I believe he would conform to the contract. On the other hand, that is something which we cannot guarantee.

With your permission, I should like to carry forward negotiations for the translation and publication of your Yucatan volume by his organization, the net income to be divided equally between yourself and the Press, in accordance with our usual practice.

RDH

July 2, 1942

Mr. Sol Tax  
Embassy of the United States  
Mexico, D. F.

Dear Sol:

This is a note to tell you that I have already begun to miss you.

Villa writes from Las Casas that he had to go to that city because of an intestinal infection from which he is now recovering. His wife was

with him, and at the time of writing they were about to return to Dzajalchen. He writes that he thinks he is in the part of Chiapas which contains the greatest amount of ethnological interest, and he says he has established favorable relations with several families in his settlement.

The questionnaire we prepared for Rosales has reached him, and <sup>he</sup> tells me that he has discovered and purchased Jones' book on Guatemala which he is finding interesting. He adds that he is about to mail me a second report which contains chiefly material on witchcraft. He had, apparently, not received my letter suggesting that he send his materials to you.

I forgot to tell you yesterday that in your automobile I found a radio knob which I am keeping for you.

Yours as always,

Bob

Robert Redfield

RR:ry

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1942  
C/O American Embassy  
Mexico, D. F.,  
Mexico  
July 6, 1942

Dear Bob:

First, to the business of your book, which kept me from writing until now. Both Gamio and Caso without hesitation recommended El Fondo de Cultura Económica as the logical publisher. I shall ask them to send you their 1942 catalog which shows that they go in for publishing quality books, including translations of good English books (including Linton's Study of Man, Ruth Benedict's, latest, etc.). The head man is Daniel Cosío Villegas. I spoke to his assistant on Saturday, and to him today.

The U of C Press, it appears, had already had a little correspondence with Cosío Villegas in the matter of your book; I saw an exchange of letters. In fact, Hemens (if I have that name right) and Villegas met in Washington some time ago, and may have discussed the translation. The correspondence shows that some agency called Black Star wrote El Fondo some time ago asking if El Fondo would be interested in publishing your book in translation and asking questions about what could be paid, etc. Villegas answered the questions, indicating he could pay very little (I believe a \$50 maximum might have been mentioned as it was in the course of conversation with me) and so on. Later, Hemens wrote and referred to previous correspondence; Villegas answered that he didn't recall such correspondence, that he had received the inquiry from Black Star, and that he would prefer to deal directly with the Press.

I opined to Cosío Villegas that Black Star was probably just trying to work something profitable -- telling him that the Press had commissioned them to make a deal, and telling the Press that El Fondo was an interested customer. Cosío Villegas agreed that this was probable, and I assured him that he was certainly free to deal directly with the U. of C. Press, since the Press had agreed to let me negotiate concerning the book. (Unfortunately I do not have the correspondence in the matter, since the shipment of notes and books I sent in advance has not yet arrived.)

The Black Star business is the only complicating factor, and of course that cannot be serious. Otherwise, I really had no talking or bargaining to do. The fact is that El Fondo is willing and anxious to publish a translation of The Folk Culture of Yucatan. The house thinks it would increase its prestige, and also apparently that it would get its money back. It is not even interested in the Co-ordinator's offer to buy 500 copies at 40% discount; that is, El Fondo would publish the book without this guarantee, though it has no objection to selling the 500 copies on those terms -- which are much like those offered to agents. Moreover, it is willing to undertake the cost of translation as part of its publishing job. There was never a question about that at all, nor about anything else. As I have said, there was nothing to bargain for and nothing to argue about.

I shall write out the details of publication as far as they were discussed:

1. Cosío Villegas thinks to print 2,000 copies; they will probably

sell for 6 pesos (no higher than 8 pesos.) They will be paper bound, but he has no objection to binding a small number in cloth to sell at about 2 pesos more. Cosío Villegas takes it for granted that you will get 20 or 30 copies, if you wish, to give away. The translator will also get some; that is the custom.

2. Cosío Villegas is willing to pay \$50 for the rights to the book, but I told him that might not be necessary. Beyond that sum, there would be no royalties. To insist that royalties or rights be paid would simply increase the price of the book and limit its distribution. There is obviously going to be only a few dollars of profit for the publishers (if they really get their money out at all); and since Villegas is such a gentleman, I suggest that he be given all rights without any payment.

3. Cosío Villegas is willing to let us choose the translator. He agrees that an anthropologist would be best. Gamio and Sady think that Julio de la Fuente would do the best job on the technical aspects of the translation (terminology, concepts, etc.); they admit he would not turn out a literary masterpiece, but Villegas says that doesn't matter because his editors in such cases polish the manuscript. You would of course get the final translation for your approval and any changes, and Villegas requests only that you be prompt in reading and returning the Spanish MS as it comes to you so that he can begin to set it up. I have not yet met de la Fuente, and I reserve judgment in the matter; in any case, a sample would be required by Villegas before anybody is given the translation job (which would pay about 750 pesos

in case polishing is required, 1,000 if the translator furnishes a finished MS:)

4. Cosío Villegas authorized me to write you that all he awaits is a letter from the Press authorizing La Fonda to publish a translation of your book. As far as he is concerned, the Press need not bother with a formal contract; a letter will be enough. As soon as such a letter is received, La Fonda will go ahead and will have the book out in 60 days after the translation is made and approved. I suggest that you ask the Press to write its authorization to:

Daniel Cosío Villegas,  
Director General  
Fondo de Cultura Económica  
Mexico, D. F., Mexico

I also suggest that if matters will turn out as simply as it appears they might, you might begin to think of some of the problems of translation. The term Folk, for example, and the title of the book. (My own opinion is that the term might best be carried into Spanish as folklore now is.) If you have suggestions for the translator, you might send them to me; then when the translator is chosen, you and he can conduct a direct correspondence. The only good reason for hurrying now is that it might be wise to try to get the book through the press while I am still around.

So much for the book.

Our train ride was not bad, and uneventful until the border. There, at midnight, I was informed by Mexican immigration officers that I would

have to wake up the family and we would have to go to a hotel for the night so that on the morrow our papers could be fixed up. It appears that the Chicago consulate should have had separate pictures (and visas) for Gertrude and me instead of the group pictures I was told to bring. Another family was forced to leave the train because of faulty documents, and I was very worried for awhile. But I talked to the chief on the telephone and when it came to the point where all we really had to stay over for would be to have new pictures made, since the documents could be changed immediately, I brightly suggested that the group pictures be cut in half. There was no good answer to that, and the procedure was approved. I barely got through all the red tape in time to leave, and it cost me 110 pesos; but we stayed on the train.

The Sady's met us at the station, and have been pretty close to us since. (Before I forget, please make a note of this: Rachel has not received any of the \$300 salary she was supposed to get; it must have been an oversight, since the 3 months are up. Will you have it sent?) I have not yet gone over Rachel's report, which she says is almost finished. Sady I find I like very much; he is boyish in his enthusiasm, and also pretty one-track as far as I can see, but has a fertile mind together with a sense of humor. He would never make any kind of scientist -- indeed professes a distaste for anything like "pure" science; he is a social reformer, and measures everything by an absolute standard. He loves to talk -- all business, that is, his business. He finds it hard to give up a bad idea, but he does eventually, and readily recognizes his errors. He is honest and sincere.

One of his ideas was to get in on the translation of your book; he sold Gamio on the value to the Institute of having its name somewhere on the Spanish edition. They thought it would be worth investing a lot of time and effort and as much as 1,000 pesos to achieve that end. During the past weekend, Sady racked his brains continuously, but was defeated at every point; he could not convince himself or me that there was anything the Institute could do that would justify complicating matters. (In general, his idea was for the Institute to publish the edition, doing all the editorial work, importing the paper at a discount, putting it out cheaper than a commercial publisher could, hence getting better distribution for the book. There were many variations on the theme, and for awhile I was worried that we might disappoint him and Gamio pretty badly; but eventually he himself saw that it is better to let El Fondo do it.) I now do my duty and ask you: Would you like to have the book published by the Inter-American Indian Institute rather than a commercial publisher?

Caso was very nice in our short interview. ....He says that he wants somebody to give a course on South American Archeology, and if it would be easier, the man could come for only three months to give an intensive course. Métraux, Duncan Strong, Bennett, or A. Kidder, Jr. would suit him. He would place Strong first, I think. You can open negotiations if you wish. ....

July 7, 1942

In continuing the letter begun last night, I must first <sup>go</sup> back to the matter of your book and the Inter-American Indian Institute. Sady called me to report that Orozco, who I believe is the publisher Plancarte talked about, told him he is still interested in publishing your book and that he thinks you should be paid royalties of 20%. Sady was to bring Orozco to see me, but instead came alone. It didn't take long, with pencil and paper, to convince Sady that Orozco was probably <sup>all</sup> ~~trying~~ through his hat and that it would be better all around to go ahead with El Fondo (if you agree). Sady also reported that Gamio is more than interested in attaching the Institute to your book; Sady was still trying to figure out some complicated way of doing it, but I put a stop to that. I pointed out <sup>that</sup> El Fondo was going to do everything and I saw no advantage to interfering there, or any bargaining ~~power~~ power on the part of the Institute. I said that if the Institute wanted something, it would have to ask it of you as a favor. Then Sady pointed out that other institutions and scholars should support the Institute when possible for the common good; and I agreed that on that basis he might make a case. I then produced an idea for him that he adopted with enthusiasm; I told him I would be willing to present it to you for consideration. It is very simple:

As you know, the English version of The Folk Culture is a volume in the U of C Series in Anthropology, and that statement appears on the first page. I suggested that the Spanish edition might bear a similar legend indicating that the original (English) edition is part of the

U of C series and that the Spanish edition is the first of the Instituto Interamericano Indigenista's Studies in Indian Culture. Sady and Gamio think it would be important for their program to have such a series of publications (and others on Education, Health, etc.) and are more than willing to take this opportunity to initiate it.

I think myself that it might be worthwhile to allow the Institute this privilege because (1) Gamio and others would no doubt be very appreciative, (2) it might influence the course of the publication program that the Institute will doubtless sponsor anyway, and (3) the sale of your book will be pushed hard through the Institute's publications.

Sady was going to have Gamio write you a letter proposing this, but agreed not to do so until I had broached the subject informally. As it is, Gamio knows nothing about it and you can easily get out of it by simply writing me No.

I lunched with Borbolla yesterday. I have seen more of him than of other anthropologists so far. I know nothing of his scholarly capacities, but as head of the Escuela he seems to know what he wants. .... He is certainly treating me well. We went over the list of students (there are 126 - odd registered) to pick out the best for my class. Eight were chosen, more will doubtless come in. I was surprised that Borbolla (without a hint) apologized for the historical interest in the school and said he thought "problemas actuales" more important; he explained it was just accident that their teachers happen to be interested in history. In reply I told him how important knowledge of

history is for understanding of a contemporary situation, but that I thought of it only as a means to an end, etc. You see we got along well.

I was shocked to learn that the students take an average of about 8 courses -- each 2 or 3 hours a week. In addition most of them earn their living and that takes time here. Borbolla admitted that little time was left for preparation, and added that some courses require no outside work. A student is finally judged in a three-week period of examinations after each semester, and ~~in~~ the serious looks I have seen around indicate that they are exacting. As you know, the curriculum of courses given here makes the Escuela appear at least as good as any place on earth to get anthropological training. Naturally, the question is of the quality of the courses. I haven't yet the faintest idea of what that is, but I was surprised when by inference Borbolla compared the training of the school favorably with that of Chicago, Columbia, etc. We were talking of the student-exchanges, and he said he thought the students here could profit at Chicago or Columbia only in very specialized and advanced fields -- that they should get their basic training here and then go abroad for special training in fields where equipment is lacking here (such as anatomy, where they could profitably go to Western Reserve.) Naturally, I did not dispute him, but I am especially anxious to assess the "basic training" here to see the degree to which Borbolla may be suffering delusions. I think that important because obviously there can't be much progress without recognition of limitations.

Gamio seems to have entered upon his new work with enthusiasm.

The Institute is humming in a new three-story office building (in-completely furnished) and I think will progress rapidly. One worry in which you are a factor is the diet study. Sady tells me that Gamio is afraid he will be handed a ready-made program to be put into action. Collier has apparently not discussed the Southwest pilot study with him, and he feels that if he is to put the Latin American program into action on the basis of that study, he should know at first hand what is done. I do not gather that there is any criticism of what you have done; but it appears that when Gamio wrote Washington, Charles Collier replied that everything is in your hands, and you are the best authority. If there is a difference in opinion between the office here and what is being done through you, it is probably this: you are studying food habits chiefly from the anthropological point of view (influence of custom, etc. on diet) but the program envisioned here would lay heavy emphasis as well on a study of such matters as agronomy and the physical factors influencing food supply.

Gamio is now interested in classifying Mexican communities according to their primitiveness in material culture insofar as that primitiveness detracts from their well-being. He has a short article introducing his method in the Proc. 8th Amer. Sci. Cong., and is now trying to classify a great number of culture traits from the point of view of origin and value. He wants my help, and I shall talk the business over with him. Maybe there is more sense to it than I think likely. By the way, the Institute would like me to occupy an office there, and I may find it useful to spend a day or two there doing chiefly my own work. There

is an office being prepared for me at the Escuela, and I shall doubtless spend most of my time there; but I shall have to share that office, and it may not work out so well.

What has bothered me most so far, and taken most of my time, is the question of housing. We are still in the Tourist Mansion and most anxious to get into a place of our own. But that is far more difficult than I guessed it might be. Furnished apartments and houses are sparse and terribly expensive. If we wish to live on the same scale as we did in Chicago this past year (and I don't think it right to come down here and live worse when I had hoped we could live a little better) -- that is, in a two-bedroom apartment outside the slums, I find it will cost us 400 pesos rent. That is over \$80, and I just can't afford it. Our choice is to crowd into a 2-room apartment at about \$60, or to go into debt. I have been looking and looking, hoping to figure out a better solution -- but so far without result. Meanwhile, we are paying about 800 pesos for room and board at this pension and living out of suitcases.

Curiously, unfurnished apartments are cheap. There are any number of satisfactory 2-bedroom apartments at from about 140 pesos. Of course utilities must be added to that, but even so the rent comes to about 40% that of a furnished place. Why the great difference? I don't know, but I have been told that real estate taxes on buildings rented furnished are very high. That isn't the whole explanation, because in the case of a little suburban house that we could sublet furnished or unfurnished from the tenant, the rent unfurnished is 210 pesos, and furnished no less than 450! One would think furniture prohibitively expensive here, but it isn't. I have of course considered

some way of furnishing an apartment, but there is no business firm here that will consider renting furnishings, and I would have to buy furniture, electric-light fixtures, refrigerator, linens, dishes, utensils, etc. for the few months and take a chance on getting some of the cost back in a few months. The trouble alone gives us pause; but the investment would be between 1500 and 2000 pesos, and the loss per month for six months might be as much as 150 pesos. And we would be tied to the city that way. Perhaps when I go to the field in four months Gertrude would prefer to leave Mexico City either for home or for some other place in Mexico.

I am explaining at length, because housing has been a major problem that is still far from solution. Fortunately, classes do not begin until the 20th; but I must get us settled soon to be able to get to work. Borbolla wants a written plan of the course I am to give, and I haven't yet had time to prepare it. Another worry is that the books and papers I sent down in advance have not yet arrived, and I haven't had time to try to trace the shipment. That holds up the translation and mimeographing I want to do. And of course I haven't done a thing about finishing up the Panajachel economics.

It seems longer, but we have been here only five days, so I suppose I shouldn't be panicked. I shall doubtless have a better report for you in a few days.

Our best to Greta and the children,

As ever,

Sol

P.S. Gertrude wishes to report to Greta that she brought material for the projected Guatemala book, and will be able to do something as soon as we get settled.

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She also will have a laundry list for Joanna in the next letter;  
the names are being learned now!

April Is This Afternoon

Correspondence of Robert Redfield  
and  
Sol Tax

1933 - 1944

(edited and with Text by Sol Tax)

June 2, 1980

[pp. 678 - 906]

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v

CHICAGO AND SINALOA 158-C (1942)

[textual matter to be supplied]

Sinaloa 158-C  
Mexico, D. F.,  
Mexico  
July 12, 1942

Dear Bob:

The above is our address. We finally came upon a little house suited to our purposes, and we moved right in. It belongs to a recently widowed woman who was willing to rent it and all the furnishings separately at a price we could manage. It will cost us about 300 pesos a month including utilities. It is still more than we expected to have to pay, but we are happy about the house and are now free of worry.

I have your letters of the 1st and the 2nd. Our letters in re publishers of course crossed; it seems to me a fortunate coincidence that Mr. Hemens and my informants chose the same house here -- not only because it saves confusion, but because it removes any doubt but because it removes any doubt but that Fondo Económico is probably the best bet.

Since writing you last, I have spent a lot of time with Julio de la Fuente. I think he is good and can be recognized as a first-class professional anthropologist. I haven't seen the results of his field work, but I think I would trust them above those of many of our American colleagues. Nor have I heard anything from him but what seemed to me good sense. He appears to be embittered by the lack of sympathy with his colleagues here (he excepts only Palacios and Villa, apparently) and possibly also by his apprehensions of his future. Also, he is in the throes of writing up his Oaxaca report and I think worries about its publication. As you know, there is an MS in Caso's hands under his and Malinowski's joint authorship. I understand from de la Fuente that Caso proposes to forget about it by putting it in the archives. He, on the other hand, would like to correct

it and see it published (it is probably not worth publishing in its present state -- I'm going to see it shortly and will be able better to judge the matter) only because he thinks that his own MS would be harder to publish than one bearing Malinowski's name. I am not very straight on this matter, I confess, but will investigate further.

De la Fuente is short of time and also of eyesight, but may undertake the translation of The Folk Culture. He told me yesterday that he was translating a number of pages to see how it would go. I suggested that he make a copy of what he did so that it could be sent to you.

→ The other evening Sady invited me and Julio de la Fuente and Gamio and M. L. Wilson to his home. It was my first meeting with M. L. We all had rather a good discussion. Wilson asked Julio and me to go with him and his party (he appears to be heading the U. S. Delegation to an Interamerican agricultural conference here) to Tepoztlán. Though the trip was yesterday, after we had just moved into our house, I found it difficult to refuse. I didn't mind visiting Tepoztlán, of course, but I didn't like the idea of going with 40 others. As it turned out, we hardly saw Tepoztlán. You may know that the YMCA some 5 years ago opened a camp about two and a half kms. from town (near Ixtahuapec, if I have that name right) and more recently have begun to try to "help the natives" of the region and so have opened a rural reconstruction center, as they call it. Well, the Y took over the party and we spent virtually all of the time available in and near their center, listening to an account of The Work. Julio, a Harvard anthropology student named R. Bruce Stedman, whom Kidder recommended to me and who got into this excursion in some way, and I managed to get away and into an Ixtahuapec house for awhile, and it was interesting; and we also stopped

in town for ten minutes and saw the church and plaza. But otherwise the excursion was a washout for me. I rode with Julio, Wilson, and two Y men.

Something that amused me about the YMCA project is that it appears to be based on no study of the communities being assisted. For example, one of the items of education is the building of a "model house" into which an Indian family will move, so that eventually others will profit by the example and build houses with spacious windows, concrete floors, and bathrooms (without fixtures--just a drain). One Mr. Hatch, who is a sociologist with rural reconstruction experience in India, explained before we saw the house that it is being built for 100 pesos, a sum within the reach of all. A glance at the house caused me to question him further. I asked if he took into account the labor, and especially the making of adobes; he said No, because everybody makes his adobes and no money is involved. Then I asked what the Indians put into their houses that makes up for the expense of the concrete floor in this one. He said he didn't know how it happened, but Indians had told him that their houses cost about 100 pesos, and that's all this one cost too. Later we were told at the house we visited that adobes are contracted for and cost 10 pesos a hundred. Perhaps the Indians figured adobes in their cost. Anyway, it seemed clear to me that Mr. Hatch might well have asked a few questions. Possibly he is better on agriculture; I don't know.

→ That brings to mind that LeCron, who is Director of the Nutrition part of the project of the Rockefeller office to which I might have become attached, is here. I haven't met him, but Sady reports that he is opposed to engaging in any study projects and will support only work projects (any study being done incidentally). Sady interprets this to mean that the

Institute could expect assistance only for a work project, and he -- and presumably Gamio -- is willing to give up thinking about carrying out studies. I believe they are asking for money for a work-project in Mesquital here. I wonder if the abandonment of prior research will become general in this field (at least to the extent that the Rockefeller Committee is required for support) and of course I wonder especially if it is not a mistake.

[Ernest] Maes is also in town now. I haven't met him. Sady tells me that he (Maes) has been made director of the U.S. Indianist Institute. His was a name high on Boke's list for this program planning unit. (I wonder if anybody besides Richardson has been named to that.) Sady reports, by the way, that Maes argued against LeCron's work-without-study policy.

When I received your query in the Dr. Palyi matter, I immediately inquired at the Embassy. I finally talked to a Mr. Clark, who is the Economic analyst, apparently in charge of preparing reports on aspects of Mexican business. He was kind, and gave me his very considered advice. He doubts if there is anybody who can supply the kind of information required about any kind of enterprise here, since each kind of business has special problems that require study. He thinks that anybody considering starting a local industry should spend a few hundred dollars to come down here and investigate on the ground. His office prepares reports on the request of the Bureau of Foreign & Domestic Commerce, but the reports do not go into questions of labor, etc., which are of course most important. He thinks it true that the attitude toward the starting of new businesses is probably favorable, but that in application of labor laws foreign capital would

certainly not be especially favored.

I shall still keep in mind your request for the name of somebody who could be asked about industries here; but I was pretty well convinced by Mr. Clark that advice on how to begin what industry should be based on a foundation of knowledge better than can be supplied by correspondence with some such person.

Yes, of course the drum and cane were meant for the children; the radio knob belongs to Susan's phonograph which we took down -- it isn't essential equipment. Thank you for taking my car out. I tried to buy a use-tax stamp before leaving, but the 55th St. post-office hadn't received its supply. I shall send you a check by regular mail and ask you to please buy a stamp.

.... Our best to all.

As ever,

Sol

July 13, 1942

Mr. Sol Tax  
United States Embassy  
Mexico, D. F.

Dear Sol:

So far I have had no communication from you since your letter written before you reached St. Louis. I hope this means only that you have been very busy in getting yourself established in Mexico City.

There is nothing much to report from this end. I have another batch of material from Villa on witchcraft. At the time he sent them to me, he had, apparently, not received my letter suggesting that he make copies of such material and send them to you. If it turns out that he has not

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made a copy of these materials, I will send you, at least, the English translation of the material I am making.

You have, no doubt, heard that Ben Paul took the job with Murdock and is leaving about July 23. He expects to have his thesis finished before he goes.

I have not yet received your manuscript from the typist.

Today I am to see Juan Rosales and will write you about this later.

John Brush is asking me to return to him the paper he wrote describing his ethnological experimenting in Mexico last summer. I cannot find it. Is it possible that I sent it to you and that it is in your files?

Another article which has turned up missing is my copy of the Year-bearers' People. Did you happen to see it before you left, or do you know where it is?

I had a letter from John Marshall telling me that the \$200 has been provided to you.

My family has all gone up to Northern Michigan and will probably stay until the end of the month.

My best to Gertrude.

Yours faithfully,

Bob

Robert Redfield

RR:ry

P.S. Your letters of the 6th & 7th just received. I am grateful to you for bothering about my book in those first so-busy days. The Fondo proposition is good; it should be accepted. I find that our Press feels it is committed to Black Star; Hemens rather insists that the arrangement

be consummated and that Black Star gets its \$50 from Fondo. I cannot talk him out of it. At my request Hemens is writing a letter to Black Star asking them to negotiate the agreement on the terms your letter gives. Can you find out if Villegas will at all object to this? I offered (to Hemens) to pay the \$50 myself to get Black Star out of it; he won't accept because B.S. is his "usual agent" and he wants them to get the graft & feel important. But I don't want to alienate Villegas -- that is more, important. Shall we (1) ask Villegas to accept B.S., or (2) insist to Hemens that he drop B.X.? I'll write you tomorrow on other points --

Bob

July 14, 1942

Dear Bob,

I am writing now from my new office in the Instituto Indigenista. It is a good thing I have these facilities, because nothing is yet ready at the Museum. Borbolla says he hasn't had time to look for furniture and I imagine there will be some delay there. Here, on the other hand, Gamio has fixed me up very well. I have a typewriter and all the stenographic help I want. I suppose I could wear out my welcome on that, but I shall take some advantage of it. Even now a girl is typing a memorandum for Caso and Borbolla, a copy of which I shall enclose herewith.

I was not keen on putting onto paper for Borbolla a "plan" of the course I am going to give. I wanted to meet the students first and rather feel my way. But Borbolla said that Caso had asked for this, and he wanted the three of us to discuss the plan together, so I had little choice. I still do not have my papers or bibliography, and this repre-

sents an off-hand statement. You will notice that I soft-pedalled the plan to use Villa's material, but at the same time left myself open to do so. I haven't heard from Alfonso in the matter, for one thing; and for another, the idea may sound too unconventional here. I still hope to put it into practice.

This afternoon at 5 PM I am to be introduced to as many of my future students as will come to a conference called by Borbolla. I do not know what to expect. I told you that Borbolla and I went over the list and picked out a nucleus of eight students. None of these are among the Fellows of Central America supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. Borbolla explained that they all happen to be interested in archeology or physical anthropology. I intend to meet these Fellows, however, and check on the matter, since it doesn't seem quite right to separate the visiting professor from the visiting students in a program that includes both.

I had a letter this morning from Marshall saying that the \$200 has been made available. As soon as my papers come I shall begin to spend it.

Can you tell me if Alfonso or you have a copy of his original Spanish Quintana Roo report that could be sent to me? If you have one, can you mail it? Or if you know that he has one, can you ask him to send it to me? (I should have thought of this before leaving Chicago.) Also, I have just recalled that Goubaud has a translation into Spanish of the important part of Schultze-Jena's Chicicastenango study. Perhaps he will be willing to send that down to me?

Yesterday I spent an hour with Gamio talking over his problems (that time is pay for my office here, but of course I gain both ways). I have a lot of respect for him, but I don't think we quite understand one another yet.

M. L. Wilson wanted me to go with him and companeros (among them Surgeon General Parran) to Mesquital today. I had to refuse. I erroneously reported in my last letter that Wilson heads the U. S. delegation; Wickard himself heads the delegation, Wilson only one division of it.

Yesterday I met Maes, but spoke to him for only a few minutes. I was surprised to find him very Latin American in appearance; for some reason I had pictured him otherwise. When I told him I was of the U. of Chicago, he said, "Oh, with Lloyd Warner?" I explained why that made me smile and named for him the other members of our department. I was also introduced to Vance Rogers, who is the anthropologist -- or ex-anthropologist (Sady says he appears to be down on anthropology now) -- bound for Guatemala on this Rockefeller Committee project. I think we shall have the opportunity of talking more before they leave.

There is nothing else new; all seems to be going well.

As ever,

Sol

July 14, 1942

Dear Sol:

This morning I can write at greater length than I was able to do yesterday.

I am distressed to hear of the troubles you are having in finding a satisfactory place to live. I suppose you have looked into the possibility of a pension? And not to have received your box of documents!

As I wrote before, I feel guilty that you have spent so much time on the translation of my book in these first days when you have so much to do for yourself. I am pleased, of course, to hear of the interest which

Cosio Villegas has in the translation. I think the terms he proposes are satisfactory. Mr. Hemens tells me that they are satisfactory to the Press. The only obstacle is the fact that the Press feels that it is committed to enter into an agreement with the Fondo through Black Star because, as the Press uses Black Star regularly as an agent, it does not want to eliminate that concern from this deal at this stage. Hemens tells me that he told Cosio Villegas in Washington that the negotiations would be through Black Star.

The proposal you have made to include in the Spanish edition of the book a statement that the original English edition was part of the University of Chicago series and that the Spanish edition is the first of the Studies of the Inter American Institute in Indian Culture is a good one, and it is quite satisfactory to Hemens. Will you, therefore, find out if it is acceptable to Cosio Villegas? If he has no objection in the matter, then that point is settled.

I will seek advice among the Spanish-speaking people here as to the details of the translation and let you know what advice I get on the title. Should you learn about Julio de la Fuente enough to suggest that he would make a good translation, by all means let us go ahead and get him employed for the purpose.

I am greatly interested in what you have already found out about the Escuela. It is hard to see how students can do good work under such a heavy program. I suppose there is much greater dependence upon spoken word and much less on the book than we are used to.

Thank you also for telling me about Gamio's concern in connection with the diet study. As soon as Fred has a manuscript ready to show, I will get

a copy of it and send it to Gamio for his "advice and criticism." I will take that occasion to make my own position clear "that the Southwestern study was conceived in order to discover the possibilities of making comparable diet studies among Indian, Latin American and North American groups, but that every study in any particular country must be devised in terms of developing circumstances." If any difficulty is to arise, it will probably arise in part from Gamio's interest in classifying Mexican communities according to their primitiveness in welfare terms. You will do another service by getting to understand what he is up to. In general, however, I do not anticipate difficulty in that quarter. I think between us, we can allay Gamio's fears as to dictation of method from North America, and I am sure Gamio is a gentleman.

I have conferred with Juan. He says he is well, and I hope he is busy. I have told him that he can spend the \$26 left over for typing. The first check from Carnegie Institution has been received. He has turned over to me the pages on technology. I am to read them this week and take up with Kidder the possible publication of this manuscript as Volume One. Juan and I had a long conversation on the way to organize the chapter on economics. I took the liberty of deciding that the chapter on division of labor should come first. We talked over the various aspects of this subject and made an outline for that chapter. I am to meet with him every Monday morning, and if, during the week, he encounters difficulties, he is to leave a note with Mrs. Lavery and I will go up to see him.

Greta and the children are up in Northern Michigan.

Alfonso's address is Tenejapa (via Las Casas), Chiapas, Mexico.

With all good wishes,

Yours faithfully,

Bob

Robert Redfield

July 15, 1942

Dear Bob,

This is just to report that both Borbolla and Caso this morning expressed satisfaction with the plan of the course that I presented (a c.c. of which I sent you yesterday). Caso said it was just what was needed. The three of us had a conference this morning and we discussed the program at some length. It has been agreed that I should hold class on Tuesday mornings from 8:30 to 10:30 and hold something else called a seminar from 9:00 to 11:00 on Thursday mornings. I was unable to get the distinction clearly, and Caso finally suggested that the labels be cut off, so in effect, I am teaching the class two 2-hour sessions a week. Nevertheless, before we broke up, Borbolla said that as soon as I presented the topic for the seminar, copies of the plan for the class and for the seminar would be sent to the Rockefeller Foundation and to you. So now I am trying to think up a seminar topic to be divided among the students; for all I can discover is that in a class there is discussion while in a seminar there are student reports.

In the "plan" for the class that I wrote, you will recall that I mentioned the MSS of Bunzel, LaFarge, and Lincoln. Their possible availability very much interested Caso, and he suggested writing and getting microfilm copies. I told him that we had photographed Lincoln's

Ixil MS and that I would ask you to send the film. I do not know if Sally Tucker has yet developed it, but will you please have it sent as soon as possible? (DO NOT SEND IT TO ME, but to Caso at the Institute, to avoid delays). Can you also write to LaFarge asking him if he will send his MS down here for use in the Escuela; or if not, if he will permit it to be photographed for the purpose? . . . .

According to present plans, we shall go to the field about November 20th to stay two months. Borbolla argued for three months, and for a group of no more than 5 students. Caso wanted more students for a period of two months. Caso has decided to pay all of the expenses of the students out of Instituto (not Rockefeller) funds, and his proposal to stay the shorter time is motivated by economic considerations. He thinks he won't have enough money to keep them in the field longer than two months. Borbolla's answer was to keep the number of students down (on the grounds also that it would be difficult to handle more than five) but Caso is anxious for as many as possible to get the field training. I myself suggested that the number of students depended on the quality, and I would not be able to judge who (in my opinion) should go along until I came to know them; and I added that if when we were in the field, and the money ran out and it seemed too bad not to be able to stay longer, we might be able to get a little additional money from some other source.

It was also agreed that it might be a good idea for me to remain in Mexico with the students for some weeks after our return from the field so that I could direct the organization of their materials. If all of this works out according to schedule, I can therefore expect to return to Chicago sometime between the middle and the end of February.

I was called into a conference at the Indianist Institute, with Gamio and Sady, Chavez Orozco, Maes, and Vance Rogers, on the question of submitting to the Co-ordinator's office a request for funds to carry out an argicultural-nutritional program in several countries of Latin America, including Mexico (the Valley of Mesquital) immediately and others later. The question was simply how to present the project and draw up the budget; there is no doubt that the request will be made. I confess to being greatly confused by the relationship between this program and the one you have been interested in (in which, for example, Goubaud was to work in Guatemala) on the one hand, and that of the Co-ordinator's office -- in which Vance Rogers is working -- on the other. I understand that Collier's program (which I take it is the one engaging Goubaud) would be taken over by the Indianist Institute. If that is so, I am surprised that here they really know nothing of the Guatemala aspect for which I recall you worked out a plan and a budget. Please straighten me out on this, if you can, and tell me if there is something I should do in the matter.

I had lunch with Vance Rogers today. You will recall that he is part of the Central American field staff under Hugh Cawlkings, part of the Basic Economy program of the Co-ordinator's office. He and Cawlkings are on the way to Guatemala to set up headquarters.... He studied anthropology at the London School of Economics from 1932 to 34, but never practised it. Instead, he went right into soil conservation in the southwest and stayed there until he took a job with the War Relocation Board and then switched to this. He freely admits he knows nothing about Guatemala or Latin America, but he thinks he does know something about improving the conditions of rural people, especially in the sphere of

agriculture. He seems all right to me, but it will be easier to judge his capacity after he has been in the field awhile. He is just barely learning Spanish now.

Tomorrow evening I am being presented to the Sociedad de Geografía etc. and I suppose I shall have to say something -- which will be a worry at least until after it is said.

Caso told me that he will attend the first session of my class on Tuesday, too -- and the prospect of such company is a little alarming too.

Best regards,

Yours,

Sol

P.S. Will you please tell Mrs. Hughes that my article in the Indianist magazine has been postponed to the next issue? There are too many for this issue, and of course it was easier to postpone mine than to start lengthy apologies by mail to others. I have suggested that the Indianist Institute send news items of interest to Mrs. Hughes and establish a direct contact.

PLAN OF A COURSE  
in the  
ETNOGRAFIA DE LA FAMILIA MAYA, Y SEMINARIO  
DE INVESTIGACIONES

Sol Tax, Ph.D.

Research Associate, Carnegie Institution of Washington  
Research Associate in Anthropology, University of Chicago  
Professor Huesped, Escuela Nacional de Antropología, Mexico

I

In very short, it is proposed in this course to treat the question,  
What is known of the present-day Maya, what more should be investigated, and

how should the ethnologist go about his investigations? It is proposed to handle the three areas of inquiry simultaneously by discussing each in relation to the others. Thus, for example, the study of agriculture among Maya speaking peoples will include

- a. Description of the similarities and differences in agricultural techniques and tools among the various groups, the relative importance of agriculture in the whole culture of each, and its relation to other aspects of the culture and sociology;
- b. Discussion of the historical, sociological, and practical problems raised by, involved in, and determining the collection of the basic data presented; and
- c. Presentation of the methods required to discover the basic data in the field -- both intensively in a given community and extensively over a large area and of resolving the problems presented.

This is not a course in theory. It is not proposed that data or problems or methods be presented from a historical, or a functional, or any other one point of view. Rather, it is planned to present facts and problems of interest and importance for any theory and to show how information to supply the needs of the anthropologist of whatever school of thought may be obtained. For example, the institution of the *cofradía* or *mayordomía* might be treated as follows:

- a. What are its component characteristics and traits, and how are they distributed in the area?

- b. What is the historical significance of such distributions as related to the problem of what is indigenous and what is Spanish?
- c. How does the distribution of these traits tie in with the distribution of other traits and complexes, and how does it contribute to the discovery of sub-culture-areas in the Maya region as they exist today and as they may have existed before the Conquest?
- d. What part does the *cofradía* play in the whole religious complex of each of the communities studied, and to what other cultural and social factors are the differences in this respect related?
- e. Do the differences in the nature of the *cofradía* complex, and its relative importance as an expression of religious feeling or as a means of social control, illustrate differences in the kinds of societies involved (more or less sacred, more or less personal, etc.)?
- f. How do Indian *cofradías* differ, in general, from those found among non-Indian groups in the area, and, what is to be learned from such differences and their distribution?
- g. Are there significant differences in the distribution of *cofradía* and fiesta rituals, ceremonies, ceremonial foods, etc. on the one hand, and the distribution of the kinds of parts played by *cofradías* in the religious, social, and political life of the various communities?

- h. How does the institution appear to be changing in the area?  
Have the differing policies of the Mexican and the Guatemalan governments with respect to the Church and religion affected the *cofradía* differently in the two nations?
- i. How much time, energy, and wealth is consumed in the care of the sacred objects kept by the *cofradías*? How does the expense relate to the population, to the wealth, and to the progressiveness of the various communities?
- j. Etc., etc.

With such questions in mind, that of how the basic data may be obtained in the field will be considered. What facts are necessary to answer such a variety of questions, and what are the techniques for finding them out? The student will be expected to know, when the course is finished, not only the facts about the culture of the Mayan area, and their significance, but also how one would go about studying a community within the area in order to bring out of it reliable and significant data. If a student is interested only in one type of problem (say historical) there need be no pressure on him to become interested in others, or to devote any considerable time to others, or to plan field work related to others. But he should know, for proper perspective, what the other kinds of problems involve, and he should know how to collect significant data for any purpose.

II

I assume that there will be from 8 to 12 students, and that all of them will be able to put in at least six hours of work per week outside of class. I also assume that the class will meet for 2 or 3 hours some time during the week. I shall arrange office hours in such a manner that

each student will be able to confer with me at intervals between meetings of the class. The students will thus prepare materials individually under my direction, and these materials -- as well as those that I myself shall prepare -- will be discussed in seminar-fashion during the class hour.

The materials for study will include

1. Published monographs and shorter papers on Maya speaking communities. There are not many of these. The most important ones are Redfield & Villa, Chan Kom; Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatán; Wisdom, The Chorti Indians of Guatemala; LaFarge and Byers, The Year-Bearer's People; Wagley, The Economics of a Guatemalan Village; Tozzer, The Lacandonnes; Soustelle's papers on the Lacandonnes; Cann's and Thompson's papers on the Maya and the Chol; Redfield and Villa, Notes on the Tzeltal; Schultze-Jena on the Indians of Chichicastenango; papers by Sapper, Goubaud, Tax, Redfield, etc.
2. Unpublished manuscripts and notes on Maya-speaking communities. Very few of these are available. For example, MSS by Bunzel, LaFarge, and Lincoln are extant, but are not in Mexico. I have MS material on Chichicastenango, Penajachel and other towns in Guatemala, as well as some of Rosales' material on San Pedro, which are available to the students.
3. Notes on current research underway, by Gillin among the Pokoman and especially by Villa among the Tzeltal. Some of this material can be made available. It is hoped that Villa's notes may be of special value, since they are in Spanish; and it is expected that they may be discussed at length both from the point of view of the material and also of the methods employed in gathering them.

4. Materials on ethnographic techniques and field problems which

I hope to have translated into Spanish for student use.

Each of the students will undertake to prepare himself in two directions: first, he will become familiar with the literature on one area (Chorti, Yucatán, or Huehuetenango); including the culture in all its aspects and second, he will gather material relating to some one aspect of the culture of the whole Maya region (such as Agriculture, Food, Land Tenure, Specialization and Trade, Kinship and the Family, the Political-religious Hierarchies, Rituals in organized religion, Social classes, "Race" relations, life-cycle practices and customs, Sickness and curing, an aspect of Folklore or Beliefs, etc.).

He will prepare himself during the semester in each of these directions by mastering the bodies of material and considering them from three points of view: (1) how the original material was gathered; (2) what general problems are involved -- with a contribution toward their solution; and (3) what data is lacking for the resolution of these problems, where are the critical places that work should be done to solve them, and what field techniques are required to obtain this material.

Since at least some members of the group will plan to study the Tzotzil in the field, special attention will be given at all points, to the place of the Tzeltal and Tzotzil region in the whole ethnological picture; and plans will be drawn up specifically for study of the various problems among the Tzotzil. By the time the students go to the field, therefore, they should have a foundation in Maya ethnology in general, an awareness of the general problems, a general knowledge of how the ethnographer collects information in the field, and a specific knowledge of what one

should look for among the Tzotzil and how one should go about finding it. The general and specific knowledge thus acquired can then be tested and put into practice in the field when the time comes.

I am hopeful that in this manner the students will acquire not only a solid body of factual knowledge about the present-day Maya, and an awareness of what is still not known and what should be discovered, but a facility for dealing with significant problems; an ability to put and to answer questions; an appreciation of the difficulties confronting a student of the ethnology and sociology of the region and some knowledge of how to overcome them; and knowledge of ethnographic techniques in general and specifically of the way to study a Maya community significantly.

July 20, 1942

Dear Sol:

This morning I received your letters of July 14 and 15. If I have not already done so, I will acknowledge your letter of July 12. You are certainly a wonderful correspondent.

I take up matters in the order in which they appear in your communication.

De la Fuente. If this man turns out to be as good as you think he is, let us try to find out what he wants. If he wants a fellowship next year up here, there is some hope of getting it through Moe. I have already recommended him. If he wants publication of the manuscript which he and Malinowski wrote, then I think we should help him there.

Perhaps you can find out if Caso is unfavorable to the man or to the publication or whether he is just disinterested. If the latter is the case,

I suppose it might be possible to take the manuscript from Caso and get it published elsewhere. Is it in Spanish?

My book. Eugenio Garro asked me some time ago for permission to translate Chapter IV of my book and to offer it for publication in the Revista del Museo Nacional in Peru. I told him then that I had no objection. Later there developed the possibility of publication in Mexico of an entire Spanish version. Hemens then replied to my inquiry the publication of one chapter in a South American scientific periodical would not be disadvantageous to publication of the complete work in Spanish and that, indeed, he thought it would improve sales rather than injure them. If you have occasion again to speak to Cosio Villegas, will you kindly tell him of the probable publication of this one chapter by the Revista in Peru, and ask whether he has any objection. I should feel badly if he had. Under separate cover I will send you Garro's translation. You might get de la Fuente to read it over, or someone else, and form an impression of how good it is. The possibility arises that Garro might be the translator, although I think it could be done better in Mexico.

Sady, M. L. Wilson and other Americans. I am very glad that you had an opportunity to meet Wilson, even though it spoiled a visit to Tepoztlán. You must go some other time, just you and Gertrude and really see the place. Yes, I had heard about the YMCA camp at Ixtahuapec. What you learn about it is amusing. Maes is from the Southwest and, of course, I suppose it is not surprising that he looks like a Latin American.

On the point of view reached by LeCron I have nothing to say. I don't think I should talk about it with the Rockefeller people until I understand better what the situation down there is.

Palyi matter. Thank you for inquiring about this. Don't trouble further. I will communicate the results to Dr. Palyi.

Your automobile. Don't send me money for a use-tax stamp.

Your course. The Guest Professor is certainly off to a big start. It is plain that your new associates recognize your worth. At least they recognize part of it. The course outline looks very good. I hope you can use Villa's material. I had a letter from him today in which he receives the suggestion with something approaching enthusiasm. He says:

"Antier me llegó su carta de fecha 19 de Junio, en la que me indica la conveniencia de poner mis notas a disposición de Sol Tax para que las utilice en sus cursos y, además, para el intercambio de ideas que puedan surgir de tales notas. Desde luego, quiero decirle que me agrada la idea y que, a partir de ahora, haré una copia mas para Tax; como es natural, me sentiré muy agradecido de Sol por cualquier ayuda que pueda darme. No tengo ningún inconveniente en que mis notas sean mostradas a otras personas. Me da positivo gusto de que Sol venga a trabajar por este rumbo; él y Fred Eggan son los dos anthrópologos jóvenes por quienes sentí especial afecto a mi paso por Chicago. Estoy seguro que el curso de Tax sobre Etnología Maya será de gran interés y despertará la atención de estudiantes y profesores. Se me olvidaba decirle que no hice otra copia de las notas que ya le mandé, por cuya razón resulta necesario que, por esta vez solamente, saque Ud. una copia para mandarle a Tax."

To save time, I will have made up here multigraphed copies of the first two installments of Villa's materials. I will use my judgment as to what to omit. There may be some delay in getting the material to you by mail, but I can send one copy air mail.

Under separate cover I send you at once an English translation I made of the recent materials on witchcraft with some comments of my own.

There is something peculiar about the selection of students for your course. I do not understand the methods of training that are being used down there, but probably you will soon come to understand them. I will send you a copy of Alfonso's original Spanish Quintana Roo report if I discover that we have a carbon, and I will look up Goubaud's translation of part of Schultze-Jena's Chichicastenango work. I will look up at once the question of the photographic copy of the Lincoln manuscript, and I will write LaFarge about his manuscript.

Nutrition Studies. I can't explain this. Collier is certainly trying to promote such studies through the International Indianist Institute. Nelson Rockefeller's office, independently, is considering all sorts of studies, as you know. I doubt if the two enterprises are at all correlated.

I have just had a first letter from Gillin, a copy of which I enclose. Tumin writes frequently. He is enthusiastic about Mexico and says he is learning Spanish. Howard Cline has sent me a hundred pages he has written on the history of the War of the Castes. It is excellent stuff, and I think it should be published, probably independently of Villa's publication. Benjamin Paul has his doctorate examination this afternoon.

I wish you well in your first lecture on Tuesday. Caso's presence is something to take, but Linton is attending all my lectures this summer!

Yours faithfully,

Bob

Robert Redfield

July 21, 1942

Dear Sol:

Recently I received in the mail the enclosed. I do not know whether it came from Thomson or Leland. There was no letter with it. I send it to you because it contains comment on Mexican persons and organizations with which you are in contact and because it indicates a line of appraisals that may be taken by responsible persons in this country. Between the lines I read this author's judgment that nutrition studies should be done through the Indianist Institute, or at least through existing Mexican organizations and not outside of them.

As I have not been authorized to show this communication to anyone, I suggest that you do not brandish it about. On the other hand, it may be that it has been widely distributed.

Yours sincerely,

Bob

Robert Redfield

Enc.

- 1. Translation of Chap. IV
- 2. Leland memo

July 22, 1942

Dear Bob:

I am afraid this will be another long letter, but since all goes very well, it is a pleasure to write it.

Under separate cover -- also air mail -- I am sending you a sample of Julio de la Fuente's translation of your book; it comprises all of

Chapter 1 and part of Chapter 2. At the time of writing I have not seen Cosio Villegas; I have another copy of the sample translation to give him. We have an appointment for this afternoon, and I hope to settle the matter of publication. Perhaps I can report on that before I finish this letter.

I am very disappointed at the slowness of air mail; our exchanges take two weeks, as you have doubtless noticed. If anything important comes up, I propose to resort to Western Union.

Yours of the 13th was received the other day, and of the 14th yesterday. I also received the carbon of your letter to Villa, which I have read with interest (it will be useful in the class); also the copy of your letter to Rachel Reese Sady. Since the original has not reached her, I gave her the copy. Incidentally, she expects to be finished with her job in a matter of days.

I have not yet received my books and notes; they are not lost, however, and are on the way from Nuevo Laredo (and have been for ten days). Yes, you sent me Brush's paper to take along; it is among my papers. Will you ask Brush if I may keep it for a few weeks so that the students here can have the advantage of his observations? Then I would mail it to you for him. Of course, if he is in a hurry for its return, I can mail it as soon as my papers arrive. Please let me know.

I also have your copy of the Year Bearer's People. I took a few other things from your library, too, and left you a note. I suppose that note -- left on your desk in 219 -- disappeared before you saw it (you were gone for a long time about then). When my books come, I shall make a new list and send it to you. I trust that you don't now need LaFarge because I find that there is no copy available in Mexico, and it will be useful for the class.

→ Gamio and Sady are of course very pleased to have your permission to include the Spanish edition of your book as the first in the Institute's series of studies in Indian culture. They feel it will be a big boost, and will help them to get other worthwhile publications for their series. In general they are more interested in original publications (as opposed to translations) and that brings up the question of the Rosales MS. You write that you are sending the Technology section to Kidder for consideration as an immediate publication. I recall that we thought it advisable to have it printed in Guatemala, and I recall also that Vela told me there was a chance that the Tipografía Nacional might publish it. If they should, of course it would be the best thing -- not only for the prestige value, but also because (according to Vela) the Government pays the cost and distributes copies free. I do not know what chance there actually is of that, but I suggest that you write to Vela and try to get a clearer idea of the possibilities, and the difficulties involved.

Meanwhile, I have an alternative proposition here that has advantages; it seems next-best to the Tipografía Nacional possibility. The Instituto Indígena Interamericano would undertake its publication in Mexico, at cost to the Carnegie Institution. It would take care of the production of a polished Spanish MS and do all the work of seeing it through the press. The exact financial arrangements could be worked out. Obviously we would come out cheaper in this way than by having to go over the MS ourselves, publishing in Guatemala (more expensive) and taking care of such details as proof-reading. The possible disadvantage of this plan is political: it might be inadvisable to have the Guatemalan material published in Mexico.

→ Sady argues against this, saying that since it would come out under the

auspices of the Interamerican Institute -- which happens to have its headquarters in Mexico -- that would not be a difficulty. On the other hand, as you know Guatemala has not ratified the Indigenista treaty; there is a pretty good chance that it will do so, simply as a gesture of good will and not because it thinks Guatemala needs the Instituto. I suggest that if you and Dr. Kidder think this plan feasible you might inquire of Vela about it and see if (in case the Tipograpfia Nacional possibility falls through) he thinks it would have a bad effect in Guatemala. Of course Vela is the Indianist leader there and may be prejudiced.

No matter how it is published, there is of course the possibility that the book be included in the Instituto Series; and it is probable that with that promise the Instituto would take care of the polishing of the MS even if it is to be printed in Guatemala.

I taught my first class yesterday morning, and felt very satisfied with the result. I shall be able to tell you more about the students later, but my impression of them is that they are a superior lot working under handicaps, painfully anxious for an education in anthropology and specifically for the opportunity to learn something about theory and field methods. I am beginning to learn about the School, and to get some ideas about its proper relationship to anthropological education in the U.S. I shall postpone any pronouncements, however, until I feel more sure. I may say at once, however, that there is no important prejudice against non-historical research and that I am actually being encouraged both by the students and the administration to give training in the making of community studies in the broadest way. (How sincere the administration might be is another matter; on the personalities and politics of that,

more when I know more; but as you know, one can take advantage of expressed official attitudes.)

Encouraged on all sides to do so, I broadened the course I am teaching to take account of social anthropological theory and also applied anthropology. I prepared a list of topics on which the students might work -- the topics simply subdividing culture topically (trade, marriage, shamanism, etc.) -- and indicated that they should be treated from the point of view of distributions and historical significance, or practical applications, or the frame of reference suggested by you in The Folk Culture. I felt justified in suggesting the more-or-less exclusive interest in your own adaptation of social anthropology on three grounds: (1) If R-B were giving a course here he would not hesitate to present his point of view exclusively; nor would Linton, or anybody else. I am not giving a course in Theories of Anthropology, after all, and there really won't be time or opportunity to supply more than one good frame of reference in the kind of course I am giving -- and as I pointed out to the class, any one good frame of reference will serve to give them perspective in dealing with the data of the area. (2) There is literature to the point available for the area (your book and the several articles) and of course I am myself interested in the problem and can work in also that possible bearing of the general formulation on historical problems in the area -- in which the students are of course interested because of previous training. (3) The most important work in the area is being done by people familiar with these ideas, and people trained for work in the area should be at least cognizant of them. That seems to me both good science and good education.

You will get a mimeographed statement of the topics presented to the students. The topics themselves are obvious and not important, of course, but you will be interested in the exact statement of how it was suggested they be worked over.

Caso did not after all attend the class; I was sorry rather than relieved (as I would have supposed). Borbolla was there at the beginning, and looked in occasionally thereafter. My Spanish worked out all right; as it happens most of the students know a lot of English (and some of them as much as I do!) and when I became stuck for a term, it was quickly supplied. ("Marco de referencia", for example). Since I made no pretensions, there was no question of sympathetic interest; but the point is that there will never be a question of mutual understanding.

I spoke for two hours, chiefly devoting the time to explaining the course. I gave numerous examples from our experience of the relations of problems to the collection of data in the field. Our experience with the collection of beliefs was a very effective one. I also went over the bibliography with reference to a map (that I put on the blackboard) explaining the nature of the material available in the various regions.

After class I had conferences with many of the students, who chose topics for study. (By the way, my office is fixed up; d l B has been marvellously kind in all practical matters, and I shall even be supplied with a typewriter, as well as stationery and anything else I need; he also has taken pains to collect books for the course, and has dug up new and useful maps for me; I shall also have the services of a cartographer next week!)

You will recall that the class was scheduled to meet on Tuesday and on Thursday mornings. There was some confusion (which I didn't attempt to

iron out) as to the difference between the two sessions. When I conferred with the students I inquired about their time. As I wrote you before, most of them take from 7 to 9 courses. Did I tell you also that most of them have "becas" that correspond in some ways to our service scholarships? The difference is that they are required to work at the museum or one of the Institutes from 9 AM to 1 PM six days a week (and receive 104 pesos per month). Almost all classes are scheduled in the afternoon and evening, therefore, and the students usually have classes until as late as 10 PM. Except that when the boss isn't working, they can sneak a look at a book during working hours, they really have no time for study. As you suggest, dependence is had on the spoken word in the class-room, but I find that the students feel keenly their lack of opportunity to read and to write.

Part of the beca agreement is that the students be given time off for morning classes. I am not sure, but I think that mine are the only classes scheduled in the morning (a necessity because -- since I came in the middle of the year -- there was no other free time). I suggested to some of the students that at least for the first few weeks we cancel the Thursday classes to give them a little time to prepare their reports. They pointed out that that would never do, because if there were no class they would have to work at their jobs. Then I suggested that they come to class and have a study hour there; I would be there and available for questions, conferences, etc. That was enthusiastically approved. I wondered about the administration's attitude to this plan, but when I spoke to Borbolla I was pleasantly surprised to find that he approved fully; and I am not at all sure that he didn't himself have some such picture of the Thursday session in mind. (Of course his conception does not exactly coincide with mine; he seems to

have, in general, the attitude of the little-red-schoolhouse, and in this case he pictures my standing over the students with a ferrule to see that they study during the period. I shall speak more of him some time; he seems to have curious attitudes about higher education and of the relation of teacher-student that do not seem at all related to the student attitudes I have noticed -- and they themselves appear to appreciate the anomaly.)

I regret very much not having brought down more material for the use of the class. I should have brought all of my notes on Panajachel and Chichicastenango. (Of course I have not yet received what I did send down.) I thought that since they are in English their usefulness would be limited. I didn't even bring my MS on "mental culture".

That brings up another point. All of the students of my class appear to read English fluently (also French). There is no point, as it turns out, to translating and mimeographing materials for their use. I have that \$200 from Mr. Stevens. I do not think I shall use it for the purpose it was given. Yet I have glimmerings of other good uses to which I might put it if I were free to do so. For example, if the administration should be found to be agreeable, mightn't I relieve some of the students from their beca jobs and put them to work on special jobs in connection with the course? (In other words, couldn't I have my own fellows? \$200 at the local rate of pay would go far.) I could argue -- honestly -- that they would be preparing materials for the class and thus making use of the money in the spirit in which it was given. I am thinking of such things as preparing a sociological map of the Maya area, of working out the kind of trait-distribution table that you began and which we worked on in the course last quarter, getting certain types of information on uniform cards, etc., etc.

By the way, there is in my course one of the Central-American Fellows. I do not know if that kind of fellowship requires hard labor, but I shall find out.

I have spoken with Borbolla again about our projected field season. As with everything else he is extremely cooperative in the matter, and we have begun already to make lists of equipment (stationery, film, etc.) that will be required, and supplied by the Institute. I was apprehensive lest the students be furnished too little money to keep their health and do their jobs. I was told that they are usually given four pesos a day for all of their expenses while in the field, but that there was talk that this sum would be cut down. It occurred to me that the best way might be for us to set up a mess-hall and hire a good cook so that the quantity and quality of the diet might at least be assured. Arrangements for sleeping are of course simpler, and present fewer problems. I proposed this plan to Borbolla, and he agreed in principle. (Again, of course, not entirely on the same grounds: he looks upon this as a method of keeping a firmer hold on the students to see that they work and behave.) As soon as we decide definitely on the town to be studied (most probably Zinacantán, although I haven't seen Rachel's materials yet) Borbolla or -- more likely -- Caso will write to the very friendly Governor of Chiapas to seek information and advice. I imagine that we might be able to use the school-house, if there is one, as headquarters. But those are details. I hope there will be no hitch in the plan to set up headquarters and a mess not only for the sake of the students but for my own: I have never tried board- ing with a native family, and we have been lucky with our health -- and I cannot help but put those two things together.

Borbolla says that he expects the students, as part of their field job, to write up their materials as if for publication; but, he adds, he has no intention of seeing the results published. Apparently he thinks it bad in principle to publish students' works, and he pointed out that what he does is pick out the work of one student that is judged to be the best and publish it as a sort of prize!

You may (justly) be getting the impression that the students in my class are children. Actually, they are for the most part mature people and in some cases almost professionals in the field. Indeed, at least one of them is a Professor in the school (Jorge Vivó), and two others are wives of professors (Kirchoff and Juan Comas). All of them are in their third or fourth years here, due for their degrees, and I believe that all of them have done field work of one kind or other. I repeat that I shall be able to report on the students later when I have more data.

In an hour I expect to see Cosío Villegas. But I am closing this letter now, and will write you the results of that interview later.

We trust you are all well; we never can understand why you should want to leave Windy Pines even for vacations! Yours,

Sol

July 22, 1942

Dear Bob,

I have just seen Sr. Cosío Villegas and am glad to be able to report that he is as agreeable as ever. He is a little disgusted with the Black Star business, but is perfectly willing to do it that way and pay them the \$50. I took the liberty of showing him pertinent parts of your letter and also the letter from Hemens to Black Star and also the copy of the

contract. I did this so that there would be no question of our openness in the matter (and to show him your concern) and so that if there were any objection to the contract-form we would know it right away.

He immediately told me that he has no real objection to dealing with Black Star, and the proof of it is that he answered their first inquiry in detail, stating his terms. His disgust comes from the fact that the correspondence with Black Star occurred back in April, and the U of C Press apparently wasn't even aware of it.

Except for one complicating factor, which I shall mention below, everything appears to be arranged. When it comes, the contract will be signed and arrangements made for publication. Meanwhile, I left with Cosío Villegas the translation of the portion of the book that de la Fuente has already done (a copy of which I sent you this morning). He says that if he is satisfied that the translation is reasonably faithful, he will take up the matter with de la Fuente in a few days and, if they come to terms, will give him a few lessons in how to write Spanish. (In the very first sentence apparently de la Fuente showed a lack -- he should have started it with "La Peninsula de Yucatan" -- which Villegas thinks is not serious.)

The complication, which worries Villegas considerably, is this: he showed me a letter just received from Morris Steggerda. Steggerda sent him a copy of his well-beloved book "The Maya Indians of Yucatan" with this covering letter, saying something to the effect that he (Steggerda) had approached the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs about the possible translation of his book into Spanish, but that the Director of Publications of the Co-ordinator's office had told him that

-- inexact quotes -- "they are translating Redfield's book on The Folk Culture of Yucatan and so cannot at this time consider taking on more." He recommended Fondo de Cultura Economica to Steggerda, and this letter was the result.

It does not seem impossible to Villegas (as it does to me) that this might be true because he supposes that in the rush of crisis anything is possible and the Coordinator's office might be translating the book without even the knowledge of the U of C Press. I told Villegas that I was confident that a misunderstanding is involved (but I felt foolish saying it, since I guessed so wrong in being confident that there was nothing to Black Star) but that I realized he had to be sure it is not true before he can go ahead with publication. I told him, therefore, that I would write you asking you to get some verification, and pass it on directly to him as soon as possible. I hope you can do that quickly, and incidentally tar-and-feather Steggerda.

Villegas gave me permission to send the Black Star letter on simultaneously. (By the way, look up Cosfo Villegas in Who's Who in Latin America in case you know little about him; I think one is justified in showing him all one's cards).

Best regards,

Sol

P.S. On second thought I am herewith returning the Hemens-Black Star letter. Please send it from Chicago. I think the difference of one day in the time involved doesn't compensate for the confusion of having this letter come to Black Star from Mexico. They might be suspicious and waste more time in correspondence with Hemens.

July 27, 1942

Dear Sol:

Your two letters of July 22 reached me today. I am greatly obliged to you for all the trouble you have been put to in connection with the translation of my book. I am today mailing the letter to the Black Star Publishing Company, and I think Cosfo Villegas is safe in going ahead with his arrangements. He will, no doubt, hear from Mr. Kornfeld soon. I have read enough of De la Fuente's translation, which you kindly sent me, to see that it is clear, literal and readable Spanish. If it satisfies Cosfo Villegas, it certainly satisfies me. I hope that he can be induced to do the entire translation. I wonder what he has suggested with reference to a title. Castillo of our Romance Language Department thought that "La Cultura Aldeana" sounded all right. I am not sure that it connotes what we want it to connote.

Enclosed you will find a list of typographical errors which appeared in the first printing of the book and have been corrected in a recent second printing. These might be called to the attention of the translator.

I am writing today to Steggerda and a copy of the letter is enclosed. If this does not clear the matter up, let me know. I am pleased that the book will have the imprint of the Indianist Institute.

I am sorry about the fact that your books and papers have not arrived. You speak of your documents from your own files which you wish you had brought with you. Do you want me to send anything after you? There is, of course, no hurry about making a new list of such books of mine as you took along. No, the original did not come to my attention. I will ask Brush if he has any objection to your keeping his manuscript. I don't think he has.

I am writing Kidder for authorization to write Vela about possible publication of the first Rosales volume in Guatemala. If it can be done in Guatemala without much more expense and in a desirable format, I think it politically expedient to have it published there. At least, it seems to me, since we have gone so far as to suggest publication in Guatemala, we should give Vela a chance to see what he can do. If he cannot quickly work out a good arrangement, then I think we should be free to take publication up with the Indianist Institute in Mexico.

I am deeply interested in everything you tell me about your teaching. Apparently, there are two factors which limit the effectiveness of anthropological instruction in Mexico, or at least make it a different thing from what we know up here. (1) The severe economic pressure which has won expression in competition among teachers and also in an overcrowded working day for the students. (2) The other is the Latin or European tradition of magisterial supervision on the part of the teacher. It will be interesting and important to see how these factors limit what you are able to do or how you are able to change the character of teaching, at least in your own case. The enthusiasm of the students and the support of your Mexican colleagues are two very favorable considerations. I am sure that you will give a highly interesting course. The reasons you give for urging the Folk Culture of Yucatan viewpoint are enough to convince me that your decision has been reasonable.

I think you should write to John Marshall yourself, air mail, asking permission to use the \$200 to employ students to prepare materials useful to them and to you. I think it would be well if Rockefeller Foundation should know more clearly than they know some of the practical difficulties which

face students in getting this advanced training. They may well see through your letter that the \$200 can be spent both to lessen these difficulties and to accumulate teaching materials useful to you and to others in the Mexican group. I feel sure that they will give you permission to use the money in these new ways.

I am pleased to hear that Borbolla has been helpful to you in many practical matters. At first I feared that you would have to make your principal point of attachment in Gamio's outfit. It is, of course, better that you have two attachments rather than one, and that you have an office with the Institute people.

The unfavorable attitude toward publication of student work is a little surprising to me. Of course, I think they should see that work deserves publication whether the author is a student or a professor.

I have just received two offprints from Juan Comas which I will later acknowledge directly.

I have already gone ahead and made arrangements for multigraphing Alfonso's first field materials, and I will send these to you. Presumably Villa will himself send you copies of all subsequent installments.

I now have Goubaud's translation of the ethnographical part of Schultze-Jena's work. It runs to about 100 pages, and there is no carbon copy. I think it would be a little risky to send it to you without copying it. It would cost about \$20 to have it copied. Shall I have this done? It may very well be worth the \$20, and it could be charged to your \$200.

Under separate cover I am sending you the final version of the Beals-Redfield-Tax memorandum. I am also sending you under separate cover some clippings from El Imparcial in which Vela reports on his trip to the

United States. You will see how favorably he writes about Chicago. That appears to have been an excellent investment in Pan-American relations. Please return these clippings. They belong to Goubaud.

My family has come back from Michigan and are glad to be back. Greta felt she wanted to go partly because her mother has been in very precarious health and wanted to see her. I take your car out once a week or so and drive it around the place. I do not drive it off the place and need no money for licenses. I hope you and the family are well and happy.

Yours faithfully,  
Bob  
Robert Redfield

P.S. Apparently we have no copies of the Spanish materials on Quintana Roo which Villa sent us. He probably has his own carbon copy either in the field or in Mexico City. Why don't you write him at Tenejapa (via Las Casas) Chiapas, Mexico, asking him if he can provide you with a carbon.

R.R.

P.P.S. I have just had Tumin's letter with news that he can already use Spanish good.

Your Panajachel Ms. has just been delivered to me. I will pay the \$19 typing bill, will read the Ms., and will today write Kidder about publication. Can you complete the Ms. while in Mexico?

Lisa has been awarded the scholarship at Swarthmore which is given the freshman with the best record.

R.R.

July 29, 1942

Dear Sol:

Villa writes asking if there could be sent to him a map prepared by the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas de México showing the municipios of Chiapas. He tells me that Rachel Sady sent us this map. I don't find it in my files. Is this one of the documents which I turned over to you, and, if so, is it here somewhere or do you have it with you in Mexico? If you have it there, please have a photostatic copy made and send it to Villa.

Yours in haste,

Bob

Robert Redfield

July 30, 1942

Dear Bob,

I have just returned from Cosío Villegas' office, where I introduced to him Julio de la Fuente and witnessed the conclusion of arrangements between them to translate your book. I would have preferred to wait for your OK on Julio, but I imagine you will approve, since the publisher does; and anyway, part of the agreement is that the MS will go to you from the translator for your approval. Julio promises to finish the translation by November 1st, when Villegas will start it through the press. I don't doubt that he will do it.

I forgot to mention to Villegas the matter of the Garro translation and publication of Chapter IV. Do you think it a good idea to enter into correspondence with Cosío Villegas yourself? I think he would like it, and

you might use the Chapter IV matter as an excuse.

By the way, Linton's Study of Man (in Spanish) is just about off the press, and I have been commissioned to write a bibliographic-biographical blurb (not an undignified commercial blurb, I am given to understand). I tried to convince Villegas that he should find somebody better known, but he said -- philosophically -- that nobody is known in this world.

Julio de la Fuente spent some four hours with me today, and I think I have things pretty well straightened out. First and foremost, I am sure he is a first class anthropologist; he is working on a monograph on the Zapotec town of Yalalog -- and its relations with others -- and a reading of sections of it convinces me that he is as good right now as any of our younger anthropologists. How he got that way, I do not know. He seems not to have taken courses in anthropology but to have trained himself (a) by reading and (b) by working in the field. He has, it is true, worked with both Beals and Malinowski and from the latter at least he seems to have learned a lot; but I have a feeling that he knew most of what he knows before he met Malinowski. (By the way, he fell out with Malinowski.)

Just what to do with him, I don't know. If he gets a fellowship to come to study in the U.S., it should not be with the idea of his going through a course in anthropology at some University. He doesn't need that kind of education and he isn't interested in a degree. What he would be interested in along that line is to get personal contacts with our theorists in social anthropology and to get an opportunity to read at will in our libraries. (The tussle for books here seems to be terrible.)

That would have to wait until next year, at the earliest January 1st. His present book is driving him mad, and he wants to do nothing but finish

it. He thinks he will finish it this year. It happens that he suffered an accident to one eye, which doctors in New Haven and here have given up; he is not able to read at night or for long periods. He occupies two posts here -- one in the Museum and one (which takes but 9 hours a week) in the Palace of Fine Arts. Fortunately, the museum job is a sinecure and he can spend all of his time on his own work. He earns, all told, 304 pesos a month and he cannot live without financial worries. Out of this money he must buy supplies. If there were money for him, I would suggest that he be allowed something at least for supplies and for some secretarial assistance -- and that immediately.

His plans for the future are at once definite and very vague. He is interested in nothing more than continuing his field work, and he is full of interesting problems. He expects to keep his present job or jobs (which permit absences in the field) and continue his researches indefinitely. If the kind of anthropology taught in the Escuela here should change, he would be interested in teaching; as it is, he avoids the school. Like others here, he has little hope of being able himself to improve himself or determine his future; he feels that all he can do is do his job well.

As for the Malinowski MS, I can report that Julio would like to see it published -- after being corrected by him -- chiefly because he thinks it contains valuable data that should see print. Caso also, he reports, wants it published. Julio refuses to take the time to go over the MS until after he finishes his book, so from his point of view the matter is not urgent. What bothers him more is the mass of material that did not go into the MS and he feels it should not be permitted to be lost in New Haven. Apparently Malinowski's widow has this material. A minor item of worry is that Mrs.

Malinowski presumably has about 500 photographic negatives that belong to Julio and he would like to get them. He took the pictures with his own film and camera, so apparently the negatives really belong to him.

I have not read the Malinowski MS; I shall within a few days. A Dr. Whetten, who is Dean of the Graduate School of the U. of Connecticut (or something in Connecticut) and whose field is rural sociology is down here connected with the Embassy. He has read the MS and doesn't think much of it; neither do Mr. and Mrs. Sady. From their descriptions, it is very padded. (Julio says that Malinowski never did come to understand the region.) I shall read the MS with an open mind anyway.



Since writing last, I have had two sessions with Emmanuel Palacios. I saw him at his office (Depto. de Asuntos Indigenas) where he showed me some of the work he has been doing, and then yesterday we lunched together and talked for a long time about himself and about anthropology here. In some ways I like him better than Julio. I am sure he is not as brilliant; nor is he now an anthropologist. But he is a simpler personality, and there is less chance of his ever cracking up. He could use a straight anthropological education, and of a kind that he could not now get here. There would be one good reason for bringing him to the U.S. He could probably do a lot for anthropology here if he came back with prestige and an education. He holds a responsible position with the Indian office (and appears to be a very good politician) and if he should go to the States he would keep the job -- he says -- and come back to it. He might be of exceptional service then. (I do not want to give the impression that he is not very capable; I think he is.)

I am still continuing my studies of the School and am getting somewhere. I plan shortly to write you a special report on the subject, and on the whole business of anthropology here as I now understand it.

Meanwhile, I still get along well at school. My second lecture, on Tuesday, was an introduction to field methods, and I think it was good. In our study period today (Thursday) I asked the students to write a summary of what I had said; the reason I gave was that I wanted to be sure my Spanish was being understood, but of course I wanted a line on the students and I also wanted to know if they were getting the emphases I intended. Only two students did poorly, and I was very pleased with the response of the remainder. The reason, by the way, that I started the course with field methods is that a number of students had indicated special interest in the subject and I wanted to take advantage of that. I had meant to start with a general description of the Maya area. I think it just as well to give them a chance to do some reading in the ethnography. Besides, my notes have not yet arrived, and I do not have population figures and so on.

I am still treated in princely fashion. Borbolla anticipates my every wish, so to speak, and I am not bashful about wishing. You recall that in my last letter I suggested that if I could use some of the \$200 for the purpose I might be able to free a couple of students from their work in the museum. Now it appears that I cannot spend money that way. The very suggestion that I might be able to use assistance caused Borbolla to tell me to name which two students I wanted; and now the two who are worst off as far as time is concerned have been transferred to my service! (But please do not drop consideration of the possibility of freeing the \$200 to some extent, for I would like to augment the 65 pesos a month that one of my

assistants receives -- and lives on!)

The Indianist Institute has now completed the draft of its project asking the Co-ordinator's office for \$22,000 immediately for a Mexican nutrition project. Sady sent a copy to Collier and will not submit the project to the Co-ordinator's office until after hearing from him. He did this because the project is different from that drawn up by Collier and you and he doesn't want Collier to get the impression that he is being by-passed. As I understand it, the original project was frowned upon by LeCron when he was here (on the grounds that action, not study, is what the Co-ordinator's office wants) and this new one was prepared to fit the requirements. The program calls for some study -- to be done with money other than that supplied by the Co-ordinator's office -- and the following action in the Mezquital Valley: (a) planting soy beans in part of the irrigated portion, (b) teaching the rug weavers of the unirrigated portion an oriental technique which is supposed to increase their cash income to enable them to buy soy beans, (c) improvement of the stock of sheep and of the fodder grasses on which they feed, and (d) teaching all of the people how to use soy-bean products and making them like a soy-bean variant of their present diet. I may say that Sady is not enthusiastic about the project but is extremely anxious for it to go through for a very good reason: Gamio is so sold on it that Sady thinks the Institute cannot go on to other things until he gets this out of his system. There appears to be a lot to that. I might add my opinion that the project itself is no less well baked than many others on which good money is spent, and it has the advantage that the Mexican government is and for a long time has been very interested in the Valley and will co-operate with enthusiasm. It is

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good politically. As for science, it is promised to keep full records, and I think that much could be learned from the experience. In short, I swallow my misgivings and hope that the program gets the support required.

Rachel's report is finished and being typed. She will send you one copy and give me another. I haven't seen the report, but have a feeling that this venture will prove very successful.

My contact with the Indianist Institute has aroused in me some interest in what is sometimes called applied anthropology. You must have noticed on the part of many administrators (including M. L. Wilson as an example) a blind faith in anthropology. I do not think that, on the basis of our showing to date, such faith is easily justified. My feeling is that if we are interested in nurturing the connection between anthropology and administration and at the same time in saving our science from prostitution, we must do something quickly. It is up to us to define the relationship that should exist, the possibilities and the limitations of anthropological research as it may be "applied" -- and in short to define what may or may not be a new field of anthropology. I have encouraged Rachel to think of the problem, in its broadest aspects, in terms of a possible Ph.D. thesis. I believe she will shortly be prepared to submit the problem to the Department, and I think it can be formed in a manner suitable for a thesis. (I have also been thinking that it might be a good thing if we defined a new field in our department, to add to the five we already have, and present one or more courses ourselves and bring in courses from other parts of the campus -- including Public Administration -- on Applied Anthropology, or Administrative Anthropology, or something of the sort.)

The 1940 Guatemala Census is off the press; I have seen a copy. It includes a race census in which the term Ladino does not appear, the classification is "White and Mestizo" vs. "Indian", and of course the "Ladino" that appeared on the census schedule has been simply translated "White and Mestizo." It also includes a language census, but unfortunately the word of local officials was apparently taken to get the name of the language spoken locally and there are certainly some grave errors. Both race and language figures are given by municipios. The census will prove very useful, but we shall have to use it with great caution (as usual).

I have examined the language maps prepared by the Depto. de Asuntos Indigenas under the direction of Palacios. They are neatly done and probably as accurate as possible (on the basis of the 1930 census). One defect that struck me is that there is no indication of population densities or distribution. The percentage of Indians to total population is shown for each municipio (on the basis of the language census) and the Indian language spoken is indicated. But the fact that a municipio in which 60% of the people speak Maya but in which the total population is 500 and the density very small is colored exactly like one in which 60% speak Maya but the population is 20,000 and the density high gives a false impression. I suggested that colored dots be used -- say black for non-Indian-speaking and various colors for Indian-speaking populations -- when the job is done for the 1940 census. It would of course be ideal to have the dots placed just where they belong in each municipio, but there is no official information on the point. I think that I shall make a map of the Maya area in the manner that I suggest. The school cartographer is already engaged in making me a large outline map (based on the Tulane archeological map of

the Maya area); on it will be drawn municipio lines for Mexico -- from an official map -- and I shall guess at municipio boundaries for Guatemala. Palacios has a girl in his office working on a table to contain the language data that I need, and I shall use the 1940 Guatemalan census for data for the Guatemalan part. Unfortunately, the Mexican 1940 data are not yet available; but I think that a dot-type map will be easily changed to take account of whatever changes will be found to have occurred.

I came across an interesting item in the Mexican 1930 census. There is a municipio in Chiapas called San Isidro Siltepec. Its total population was 8,237, and the population above 5 years of age, 6,667. Of these 6,667, 1,540 were listed as Indian-speaking. Of these, 1,233 are given as Mames and 307 as Quichés. There may be an error, but it is just possible that a group of Quichés migrated to Chiapas at one time; and if so, there ought to be an interesting problem for us. There are no other Quichés in all Mexico.

Will you please have sent a copy of Krogman's A Bibliography of Human Morphology, 1916-1939 to Dr. Juan Comas, Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, Londres 64, Mexico, D. F.? If you can't get him one free, I'll pay for it. Also, I promised Julio de la Fuente a copy of Chan Kom. Can you have one sent to him care of the Museo Nacional, Moneda 13, Mexico, D.F.? And again I shall be glad to pay for it if it must be bought. (Incidentally, Borbolla has written the Institution for two or three copies for the school library; he has also written a nice letter to Ruth Bunzel to try to get her Chichicastenango MS and material on Chiapas; he has bought 4 copies of your book for the use of my class, and several students have bought copies of their own.) Talking about books, still, I asked Borbolla to send you a copy of

Jorge Vivo's On Race and Language in Mexico; it contains some nice maps. And did you know that Weitlaner here has published on the Chinantec? (I haven't seen the book.) When my papers come, I shall go over the Beals-Redfield memo with local people and collect information on bibliography.

I have not yet received anything from Villa, but am pleased at the prospect. Nor have I yet received the materials you have sent. I did receive the Leland memo and the translation of your Chapter IV.

Tumin is only awaiting money to proceed to Guatemala; he had a letter from Gillin indicating impatience for his coming.

We just tonight hired a cook; Gertrude should now have some free time. We are all well.

As ever,

Sol

July 31, 1942

Dear Sol:

I hope that the letter from Steggerda, copy of which I enclose, will clear up the one little difficulty which Cosio Villegas seemed to see in the way of the publication of the Mexican-made translation of my book.

LaFarge writes me that Mrs. Edith Bayles Ricketson is revising his Santa Eulalia manuscript for publication. I am writing her to ask about carbons or about a photographic copy. Her address is: Arroyo Tenorio, Santa Fé, New Mexico.

Yours sincerely,

Bob

Robert Redfield

RR:ry  
Enc.

August 3, 1942

Dear Sol:

I report to you on several matters.

I have a letter from Ted which I do not copy because it contains material I should not send to you where you are. He expresses disappointment with the present head of the International Institute, but he speaks very well of Sady. The criticism he has is obsolescence.

I raised again his own suggestion of whether or not Kirchoff should be included in the budget for next year. In the present letter he rejects the subject and says that it might be better for him to stay in Mexico.

Is Kirchoff indeed in Mexico?

He tells me that he cannot send to the Board of Publications an incomplete manuscript and aske me, therefore, not to send him your work on the Economics of Panajachel until it is done. He adds that he is sorry that it isn't ready, as he could have gone ahead with it this autumn, and the outlook for the more remote future of publications is doubtful. Of course, I am sorry too. I have been reading your work and am about half through. I am greatly impressed by it. Care, patience and lucidity distinguish it above any other comparable work. There is a certain absolute honesty about its pages which makes me respect it very highly. Do you suppose that you will be able to finish it while you are down there? I have sent you the carbon.

My correspondent strongly urges us to try to get the Rosales first volume published at once and have it published in Guatemala rather than in Mexico. This judgment coincides with my own too. I am, therefore, writing David Vela, asking him if he could help us to arrange publication. Will

you tell me again what should be done to the manuscript before it is sent down for publication? I assume that Vela can find someone who will give a last revision on the Spanish. What else needs to be done from the point of view of its content? I propose to have the manuscript copied over completely, and I will do so the minute you say I may start. Please write me at once about this.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Gillin. I have no comment on this.

A letter from Villa tells me that all is going well with himself and his wife, and that he is sending me a new batch of materials, including a census of the community. He says also that he is sending a copy of this census and the accompanying materials to you, but at that time he had only the American Embassy as your address. Will you please see if the material has arrived there?

I wrote him a long comment on witchcraft (of which I think I sent you a copy), and he seems to have got something out of it.

Yours as ever,

Bob

Robert Redfield

RR:ry  
Enc.

August 4, 1942

Dear Sol:

This is in reply to your letter of July 30th. I am glad to hear that arrangements for the translation of my book are going ahead even in advance of a formal agreement through Black Star. As I wrote before, I am for Julio de la Fuente and his translation. I am writing Cosio Villegas today a letter, copy of which I enclose.

I am interested to hear that Linton's book is about off the Press and that you are going to write a blurb about it. I suppose this will be an announcement that will be sent out to advertise the book, or will it be something that will be published with the book? If it is the latter, I suppose that Linton has been informed; if it is the former, I suppose there is no need to inform him.

I understand pretty well the strain Linton feels at my lectures. He behaves excellently in class, but I feel that outside it he cannot help expressing his sense of my failures.

What you write about de la Fuente and Palacios is very helpful. I am passing the information on to Moe, who will probably invite these gentlemen to apply for Guggenheim fellowships next year. Of course, I don't know whether they will get them. Apparently, Palacios could use training in anthropology in this country but de la Fuente could not. I suppose, however, that he could ask Guggenheim to provide for a year of field research and book writing, and, released for that time from breadwinning cares, he might profit by the opportunity. I am also writing David Stevens about de la Fuente's immediate need for a little money to get his book finished, and I am asking if the Foundation has the little money.

I am delighted to hear about the excellent progress you are making in your teaching work. I have no doubt that you are doing those people much good. I am happy to hear that they show their appreciation. As I wrote before, I think you should ask the Foundation for permission to use the \$200 in other ways.

I have a letter from John Collier deploring LeCron's direct action interests and saying that he hopes to make him see that studies of what

ought to be done precede action. On the other hand, apparently the soy bean project should be supported anyway.

I agree that there is a danger for anthropology in what is called applied anthropology, and that there is a problem in defining the latter field. Your suggestion of a recognized academic field in applied anthropology is interesting. I don't see it yet.

Thank you also for your information about the Guatemalan census and the Indian maps in Mexico. I hope you will collect all such material for our use. If money is needed, let me know. I will send at once a copy of Krogman's Bibliography to Dr. Juan Comas, and I will send Julio de la Fuente a copy of Chan Kom.<sup>\*</sup> Nobody need pay for either copy. Do find Weitlaner's book on the Chinantec, and have you seen the large ethnographic survey of Mexico that somebody published?

I have had a letter from Lemley, the missionary among the Tlapaneco, giving an outline of a general ethnography he proposes to write and talking about taking a Master's degree in anthropology or linguistics. He writes:

"Evidently the notion of hot and cold foods is definitely out, then, as evidence of any value in tribal comparisons. These Indians certainly go in for that idea. It even enters their worship ceremonies. For example, on April 25 they sacrifice goats (no sheep) to the rain god because goat blood is hot, and hot animals are strong, and they want their corn roots to grow strong. But on August 15, they sacrifice sheep (no goats) because sheep blood is cold, and cold animals are weak, and they want their green-corn to be tender. That is their reasoning. Incidentally, I have diagramed their various

\*No -- the copy will be sent you from Washington. Please deliver it to de la F.

altar set-ups for important ceremonies. Some day I may be able to show them to you."

Yours to a cinder,  
Robert Redfield

August 7, 1942

Dear Bob,

I have received yours of the 27th, 31st, and--just now--August 3rd. The memo on Anthropological Research Problems and Imparcial clippings also came this week. I am returning the clippings by regular mail.

I lunched the other day at Julio de la Fuente's house. He is working part-time on the translation and is confident of finishing it within two months. I am going to give him Garro's Chapter IV, since it may be of some assistance; obviously, however, he will have to make his own translation. The translation of the title is still a puzzle. I don't think Castillo's suggestion is very suitable; neither does Julio or others I have discussed it with. Julio thinks the closest one could come to the English is "La Cultura Popular" but he doesn't like it (and neither do I). Rachel is for keeping "Folk Cultura" but I think it would be bad in the title, although the term might be used in some places in the text. My own feeling now is that you had better think of a new title that would be appropriate to the book and at the same time translatable. Did you have alternative titles while writing the book?

Speaking of Julio, by the way: for the record, I should mention something that I neglected to mention only because it wasn't apropos of anything. He is married and has a child; for reasons that he explained but

I did not understand, it is impossible for them to get a divorce, but they have not lived together for long. He is living with a girl who is a Russian-born American, and who seems to be refined and in every way respectable, and the companionship appears to be, except legally, on a plane corresponding to marriage. (Their closest associations are with local artists--the best young artists, I understand.) I spoke with him of the possible difficulties this manner of life might cause if he should have the opportunity to come to the United States. He said she would go independently (i.e., he would not ask for support for a wife) and work wherever he would be. I mention this because the facts should be at your disposal.

I have had very bad luck with my books, which are not yet here. Did I ever mention that the CEW office in Cambridge asked me to send some drawing paper on to the Guatemala office? It appears that the package was too large to send from the U.S. to Guatemala, but it could be sent to Mexico and then to Guatemala. I promised to send them on. The package came to Nuevo Laredo during the past weeks, and the customs agent there to whom my passport and power-of-attorney were sent evidently became confused, and when the long-awaited shipment arrived here this week, it turned out to consist of the drawing paper. Although I know the case of books and notes is in Nuevo Laredo (for it was described in telegraphic communications) it appears to be no closer to me than it was three weeks ago, and the whole process must be repeated.

There are some things I wish you would send me, if possible; and I only hope they don't take months to get here. Any or all of the following would be welcome:

1. Doll's thesis on the Mayordomia, and Lepine's on Political institutions in M.A. I would like my students to see these as examples of what might be done with such data in the area. Better yet would be a copy of Ben's thesis if that could be made available (if not the Ph.D., at least the M.A.).

2. My incomplete MS on the "Culture" or mental life of Panajachel, which I didn't bring because I thought the students wouldn't be able to read english well. One copy is in my file-case in room 418 (in a black spring-binder); a second is also there, in a manila folder; the third is in your office.

3. If you have some, a few copies of that chart I once made on Methods ("pre-suppositions" and "interests" cross-classified). I have been asked to lecture to lecture to the class on theories and schools of anthropology, and that might be of some assistance. Better still: I recall that Ethel Alpenfels has for sale copies of notes that somebody took in your course on Methods or Theories. Unless you're not supposed to know about this, could you get me one, charged to my account, to send me?

4. Was that food chart prepared for our course ever finished? You recall that it was to be sent here so that it could be improved and filled in by people with field experience here. There are persons here with information that could be aided, and of course I could also use the chart in my course.

5. Sometime I would like copies of some of the M.A. exams that have been given in the department recently, particularly those in Ethnology and Social Anthropology. I would like to try to use them

discreetly to get an idea of the level of the most advanced students here (by confidential discussion, not examination), and also to give a clearer idea of the sort of thing we are doing in Chicago. (I have carefully avoided talking about Chicago; comparisons may be odious; but by means of such documents as examinations and our Syllabus-- could you send me a copy of the Syllabus, too?--curiosity might be both aroused and satisfied, and interest awakened, in a cautious manner.)

That last request brings up another matter. I spent an evening with the Kirchhoffs this week. In re what you write, I may report that he realizes that he must remain in Mexico indefinitely; he has had definite word of that. We talked for nearly five hours about the school, and I shall include the information in my report on that subject. But I can foreshadow that to say that I was very agreeably surprised by his generally liberal attitude. If the general impression of him held here by friends of Jules Henry had any justification, it didn't have that evening. But I have no doubt whatever that if his attitude has changed (or even if it changed while he was talking to me) it has changed more-or-less permanently; for he was both emphatic and evidently sincere. He told me that his interests are historical, and he would not care to teach another kind of anthropology even if he could; but the responsibility of being the only ethnologist influencing students here bothers him -- he thinks it unfair that they are not exposed to other interests as well. My coming here for a semester is not enough; somebody should come here for years (or why, he suggested, shouldn't somebody like me have Mexican headquarters between field-trips?). We spoke of Jules Henry's experience here -- Kirchhoff is chiefly credited with his downfall -- and whatever all the facts of that

affair may be, it is clear that Kirchhoff thinks, at least, that it was not Henry's ideas that were objectionable, but rather the way he set them forth, the way he acted, that set students and himself against him.

The next day I spoke with Palacios, who was and is Henry's best friend here, and who had given the school up as hopeless. He was amazed at what I reported, but thought it likely that Kirchhoff is sincere; he offered the hypothesis that Kirchhoff has heaped all his dislike of social anthropology onto Henry, and with Henry's departure it, too, had left.

Something doubtless did happen within Kirchhoff. The years of Henry's presence here were admittedly a great emotional strain -- he says that he never wants to go through such an experience again -- and this may well be a case of winning the battle and then conceding the point. Whatever the psychology involved, if any, it is important that Kirchhoff's attitude is what it is, for he is not only influential in the school administration, but is greatly admired by the students with whom I have had contact. He could be a stumbling block to the introduction of any kind of social anthropology; instead he will more likely encourage it. (But he is right that little can be done in one semester; and it might be important and even critical to induce Dr. Caso to accept somebody else -- I nominate Ned Spicer -- in place of the South American archeologist he is anxious to get.)

We spoke also of Alfonso. It appears that Mr. and Mrs. Kirchhoff are fond of him but worried. Paul makes much of the fact that in Tuxtla this year Alfonso called him "Doctor" instead of the usual "Paul" and in general acted strange. The Kirchhoffs say that in Mexico the Villas this last year isolated themselves socially ("When they return we must have

them over frequently with other people"). When I asked about his relations to the school, they told me that nobody there knows him; and from conversations with others, I imagine that is pretty largely true. I was very surprised when neither de la Fuente nor Palacios (who are apparently his closest friends among anthropologists here) could tell me Alfonso's address, or whether his wife is here in Mexico or with him in Chiapas.

The Kirchhoffs told me that Alfonso is not liked by the Mexicans partly because his manner of speech -- that drawl -- is an exaggerated Yucatan stereotype, partly because he has gringo-itis and in speaking with somebody about something he has learned from books or in Chicago he assumes his listener knows nothing, and patiently explains from the beginning. One would judge from what I have written that the Kirchhoffs really do not like him, but I think that they do. At least they demonstrated a highly sympathetic interest which was doubtless heightened by the circumstances of the conversation itself -- to the degree that they determined to do something about him. They thought the solution to his problem might be to have him teach a course at the school--specifically the course in field techniques in which they think he would do well. Their notion is that a group of students dependent upon him, and whom he could offer something, would do a lot for him at the same time that closer contact would soon erase such dislike as is due to prejudice.

Kirchhoff said that in faculty meetings (an example of which I haven't yet seen) the possibility of Alfonso's teaching has occasionally been brought up, presumably by him, but allowed to die without anything in particular being said. He concluded that it would be best if I, rather than he, should some time raise the question, since as a newcomer here my

opinion would be respected highly (especially since through my connections I represent in the eyes of the administration the founts of wealth). I protested that I didn't think it proper to suggest any such thing, and certainly not when by inference I would be saying that the present teacher of that course isn't doing well. But the reply was pooh-pooh, everybody knows that that course isn't really being taught, and nobody would think anything of it. Naturally, I made no rash promises and let the matter drop.

I have received from Villa the census material to which you refer. I wrote him immediately, and enclose herewith a copy of the letter, which also explains what I did about the map that he wanted.

As for the Rosales MS. As I recall, the second chapter of Introduction is incomplete and needs considerable work. There is a section on the history of the town which I think should be worked up, but Rosales cannot do it alone. Mention should be made of what history of the Zutugiles is known (and of course it should be pointed out that we have no idea of the relations between what is not San Pedro and what is now Atitlán at the time of the Conquest); you will recall that Lothrop (Atitlán) points to archeological remains indicating the antiquity of San Pedro. Fuentes y Gutzmann, Vásquez, Juarez, etc. should be gone over for references to San Pedro. I spoke of all this to Juan, but you can easily go over the chapter to see what else needs to be done.

The Technology chapters are for the most part all right; Juan will doubtless want to go over them rapidly once more before copying, but at this point I suggest that no major operations be performed. Of course I agree that publication in Guatemala would be ideal, and I hope that some arrangement with Vela can be made. But have you given up the possibility of having the Indianist Institute here take charge of revision and publication?

They would be willing to do the work here (in exchange for permission to include the book in their series) even though publication occurs in Guatemala. Vela, of course, is likely to agree enthusiastically to some such arrangement, since he is pushing the Institute. (The initial copying that you propose could also be done more cheaply here than in Chichage if there is no danger of loss in transit or other disadvantages.)

I suppose it would be safer to copy Goubaud's translation of Schultze-Jena there, and of course I am willing to pay the \$20 out of my funds. As an alternative, you could photograph it and send the original here; it costs only six or seven dollars to copy 100 pages here, and Borbolla himself might want to do it for the school (then keeping a copy for the library). I suggest that Goubaud be asked what he wishes. If the MS is sent here for copying, it could also be gone over by one of my two students who know German and Spanish equally well (Hanna Kirchhoff and Barbro Dahlgren) if Goubaud desires.

I am afraid that I must report that the "final version" of the Beals-Redfield-Tax memorandum is not likely to be final. There are some rather important omissions in the Mexico section -- of work done by Mexicans; and should the memo be published as is, it would be less than complete, a display of North American naivete, and something of an insult to Mexican anthropologists. So far only Comas has gone over it and has caught several omissions on the physical anthropology side. I shall ask Kirchoff to go over it, too. If local people are able to add as much as I think they will, you will doubtless want to mention their assistance in a footnote -- or mightn't it increase the value of the memo to add the names of such Mexican anthropologists to the list of authors? I shall soon send you a list of their suggestions.

Without knowing all that he wrote you, I am inclined to agree with Ted's judgment about the Institute. There is no doubt that the head has some fuzzy ideas and whims of iron. But there are several considerations to take into account in judging and in planning. Of these I note

1. The director's general point of view is fundamentally sound; his intellectual idiosyncracies are relatively minor. I have met his predecessor, and I am sure he is immeasurably weaker in general point of view and basic policy, not to mention intellectual stature. The present director is, furthermore, sincere and entirely trustworthy. Except on a few points he is entirely open to conviction. I do not say that he is all that might be desired, but as I weigh his virtues against his faults, I am not sure that I would care to chance a change, especially since

2. He has prestige and appears to be neutral in political feuds while at the same time being politically influential. At the very least he makes an excellent figurehead.

3. Sady is a first class man in his post. So far he gets along very well with his chief here, and is able to influence him. I would certainly recommend that he be kept here (he is now kept here from month to month, very indefinitely); he has executive ability, intellectual integrity, and a basic knowledge of what is needed -- together with a fertile and elastic mind, a sense of political expediency, an excellent personality, and more than his share of such basic virtues as honesty and loyalty. He recognizes and is able to mitigate the faults of his boss while at the same time he respects him highly. With him at the Institute (especially if his place there were more secure and more clearly defined) much might be done with it; with him away, the case would be more doubtful.

4. The Institute is there, for better or worse; it is just now getting started; a fundamental change in personnel, even if possible, would probably be disastrous. It seems to me unfortunate if it isn't encouraged now and given a long fair trial, while at the same time it is steered as much as possible by people such as you.

I need not tell you of my disappointment at Dr. Kidder's inability to consider my MS in its present state. If he feels bitter about it, or angry with me, I do not blame him. Yet, I had had hopes that he would be able to decide what to do with the study and even make preparations for publication, the printing of maps, etc. while it was being finished. I am hopeful of being able to finish the work in the next months, when my notes and the carbon copy that you are sending arrive, in spite of the fact that my time is more occupied here than I would have thought possible. To me the whole thing has been a ridiculous, but painful, nightmare in which the end of the trail has been right there ahead of me, but as unapproachable as if I were on a treadmill. Some day perhaps I'll know what the trouble was, but meanwhile I am hardly in a position to make further rash promises. I'll just do my best.

I am grateful for your first comments on my MS. I am glad that I can feel that kind words from you are meant, and I am trusting you to bear down harder on my work than you would on anybody else's.

I had a short note from Gillin; he will stop here in a month on his way back. I very much like his letter to you; I think his will be a valuable collaboration.

We are very proud of Lisa; will you please tell her that?

Everything goes well here. I think I wrote that we have a cook; she is doing well. She has two children in the care of a friend near Toluca, for she is recently separated from a husband. Now we find that she is six-months pregnant and seems to have every intention of bearing and raising her child while with us. She assures Gertrude that she stays in bed only eight days. We haven't decided what to do about this.

Our best to all of you.

Yours,  
Sol

August 10, 1942

Dear Sol:

I write chiefly to give you a little report of Juan Rosales. I see him at least once a week, and on each occasion spend about an hour with him. My general impression is unchanged. He makes progress, but he makes it so slowly that at this rate it will take more than another year to finish the work. The slowness of his progress, of course, arises from the fact that he has no Spanish models to follow, and he is untrained in considering the kinds of questions with which ethnologists in analytical work are concerned. He knows much more about his community than you or I are apt to know, but he does not know how much he knows. He is certainly intelligent and responds well, although slowly, to suggestions.

After one week he had written a fifteen-page introduction to the section on Division of Labor. About half of it consisted of obvious matters which would be true of any society and which there was no point in putting down. He discussed the division of labor only in terms of useful

production; that is to say, he did not deal with the division of labor in public life or in the sacred professions nor did he have anything to say about exceptions to the general rules or about the attitude people might have if a man did something which a woman ordinarily was expected to do, and vice versa. I asked questions of him, trying to stimulate an interest along these other lines in his mind. I soon succeeded. The second version was ready in three days and was better. Again I talked it over with him, and at the end of four or five days more he produced a third version which was very good, but almost three weeks went in writing fifteen pages. I think I am getting on pretty well with him, but perhaps I am wrong. If you have any suggestions, please give them to me.

Enclosed is a copy of two paragraphs from the minutes just sent me of a recent meeting of the Policy Board of the National Indian Institute. I did not attend this meeting. I thought you ought to know what was said and suggested about the Personality Study and Food Habits Study in Mexico.

Cordially yours,

Robert Redfield

Chan Kom will go directly to de la Fuente, after all

[Encl.:]

The Personality Study

Commissioner Collier reported on the progress of the personality study now being conducted among U. S. Indians in twelve areas. He stated that the project has been in progress several months and that it is now possible to evaluate some of the contributions of the project. The project is definitely tremendously stimulating to the

teaching personnel that is working on it, and in addition it has been found that most of the tests can be given by people without any particular technical training. The study is extremely interesting to the Indians themselves and in some cases, as in the Papago, some aspects of the study are being carried on by tribal groups. Throughout the study it has become evident that the Indians themselves have recognized that it makes sense in terms of their own experience. The Commissioner then stated that certain persons in Mexico were interested in exploring the applicability of this study to certain areas of Mexico with a view to the possible initiation of a parallel study under the sponsorship of the Inter-American Indian Institute. It appears that Dr. Comas, a Spanish refugee now on the part-time employ of the Inter-American Indian Institute, is ideally equipped to handle some of the psychological aspects of this study in Mexico. However, before any study is undertaken in Mexico, it might be advisable for the National Indian Institute to send Dr. Laura Thompson, the coordinator of the study in this country, down there in order to evaluate the situation.

There ensued a discussion about the study and about the advisability of attempting to initiate a similar study in Mexico at the present time. Dr. Cooper inquired whether or not the interpretive phase of the study had been completed and pointed out some dangers inherent in this type of study if untrained persons were to do the interpretive aspects.

As yet, it was pointed out by Commissioner Collier, no interpretation has been made and no single agency would or could monopolize the interpretation of the material. It was the consensus of the Board, after considerable further discussion, that the Director of the National Indian Institute in his discretion may send a United States technician to Mexico for the purpose of advising with interested persons in Mexico about the feasibility, advisability, and the timing of a parallel study in Mexico.

The Diet Project

Mr. M. L. Wilson reported on his trip to the 2nd Inter-American Conference on Agriculture and on his very favorable impressions of the work of Dr. Gamio. He stated that one of the resolutions accepted by the Welfare Problem Section of the Conference was to the effect that in agricultural development in Indian areas of the various American countries the Inter-American Indian Institute be recognized as having a fundamental function, and that agricultural development programs in the various countries recognize and work with the Inter-American Indian Institute. Mr. Wilson in addition reported that several United States delegates visited the Valle del Mesquital areas where the Inter-American Indian Institute is proposing to initiate a segment of the diet study. He stated that he and Dr. Parran and others were extremely well impressed with the possibilities of the project, and that he believed it advisable to confer with Mr. James Le Cron, of the Coordinator's Office, in order to impress

upon Mr. Le Cron the desirability of supporting this project. In addition, he thought it might be well to indicate to Mr. Le Cron the need for research in the field of diet and nutrition. Commissioner Collier suggested that the conference with Mr. Le Cron might be arranged at a time when Dr. Redfield and Dr. Eggan of the University of Chicago, could be on hand to present some concrete results of the pilot studies for the diet project that have been completed recently in this country.

August 12, 1942

Dear Sol:

Your long and interesting letter of August 7 arrived today. I reply to your many matters in the order presented by your letter.

I am pleased to hear that de la Fuente is making a rapid progress in translating my book. I have written Cosio Villegas directly but have as yet heard nothing from him. Nor have I heard whether or not formal arrangements have been completed through Black Star. As to the title of the work in Spanish I have as yet no suggestion. The only other title that occurred to me in writing the book in English was "Culture and Civilization in Yucatan," but that seems to me pompous. I will continue to work on the puzzle.\*

The information you give me on the personal situation of de la Fuente is interesting and relevant, but probably of practical importance only when it comes to getting visas to come into this country. However, that difficulty will not be great.

\* How would "From Tribe to City in Yucatan" go in Spanish?

It appears that the difficulties of sending material by parcel post or express to Mexico are bad and getting worse. Mrs. Lavery tells me that in order to send the carbon copy of your Panajachel manuscript it was necessary for her to fill out floods of papers and even to get a priority number from Washington. The outlook, therefore, is bad in connection with sending any materials which you want to use in teaching. Nevertheless, I am at once sending you a copy that has been in my office of the world view chapters of your Panajachel work. I hope you will get them before it is time to come home. Mrs. Bingham is working out with the library the best way to send Doll's thesis on Mayordomía; and Miss Lepine's. I am writing Ben Paul asking if he has not a carbon of the important parts of his thesis which could be sent you. Apparently, all copies of your methods chart save four are gone. I am keeping one of these and sending the other three with this letter. Mrs. Bingham is arranging to get a copy of the Alpenfels notes on my course and will send you these together with a copy of the syllabus and copies of recent examination questions. No, the recent examination questions will be sent air mail separately. The food chart has never been finished, as the student who was working on it turned his attention to an archaeological thesis. If you want it sent in its incomplete and erroneous version, I will send it.

The conversation you had with Kirchhoff may be very helpful. I am prepared to believe that his change of heart or mind is real and may be permanent. . . . At any rate, his good will and support are to be taken at face value. You will, of course, agree with me that we must do everything we can to make the various elements of anthropology in Mexico function as effectively as possible. It seems to me not unlikely that you

may become a sort of general solvent down there, and bring separate elements into better relations with each other.

Alfonso is one of these. If he could be socialized into Mexican anthropology it would be a good thing. What the Kirchhoffs report about Alfonso's isolated position and what they say as to how the Mexicans look upon him agrees precisely with earlier information. The question is what to do about it. Alfonso has the idea that Kirchhoff is hostile to him and incomprehensively hostile to social anthropology. Before you leave Mexico you will no doubt meet Alfonso, and probably you can do something at that end to bring Kirchhoff and Alfonso together. If Alfonso could teach a course and not do badly at it, it would be a good thing. When the time comes, I suppose you will find how de la Borbolla stands with regard to Alfonso. From Morley I gathered that he thinks very unfavorably of him, but Morley may have colored the picture.

With regard to your successor in the School, matters stand as follows: Caso has written Metraux asking if he will indeed come next March. If Metraux is unable to say that he will come, the next suggestion was that we should approach Bennett. I doubt if Bennett will feel free to come. I will find this out in personal conversation with Bennett, and if Bennett is not particularly eager or able, I will then propose Spicer to Caso. On the other hand, Spicer now has a job in Arizona with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on that Japanese project which is under the control of the Bureau, and he may not be free to go to Mexico either. Some kind of permanent connection between yourself and the School would, I think, be desirable.

I do think it would be a good idea to have the Institute take over the editing of the Rosales manuscript, and I will make this proposal to Vela if he is interested in helping along the publication in Guatemala. Am I correct in supposing that there is hardly anybody but yourself who can complete the missing sections of the manuscript, and can you do it in Mexico? I think it important to complete this manuscript as soon as possible and to get the publication under way. I think this should be done even if the Introduction must be finished with the standard of perfection less than we had hoped for. Please give me your advice. I hesitate to turn over the manuscript to Rosales for him to "go over it rapidly once more." I doubt if he could go over it rapidly. The most I would be willing to do would be to say that he could have three days with it and after that he wouldn't see it again. What would you think of this? He is going along well but slowly with his new volume, and I hate to interrupt his work.

We will find out if Goubaud is willing to have his translation of Schultze-Jena sent to you. If he is, we will have it microfilmed for safety's sake and you will have it copied when it gets to you in Mexico.

I will see Linton this afternoon and try to get back from him the Beals-Redfield-Tax memorandum. I agree that it is important that the contributions by the Mexicans be included, and I look forward to receiving from you a list of these inclusions. I also think it well to add mention of the local people who have helped to revise the memorandum.

What you write about the Institute seems to me sound. The opposition of my correspondent to the present head of the Institute is not serious and is not important. Your view of the Institute is substantially that of Collier's, and it is Collier who gives it his support. Sady has just been

confirmed in his position and funds are provided for him.

Please do not feel too disappointed at Dr. Kidder's inability to consider your manuscript in its present condition. It is true that as a group we have a bad record as to publications with Kidder. Villa's manuscript is almost two years late, Hansen has never produced at all, and my own contributions have not always been on time. Nevertheless, I do not think he is bitter or angry with you. I think it is simply true that there is a rule that is practiced not to submit to the Editorial Board unfinished manuscripts. I think it very important that your manuscript be completed, and again I think it should be completed even if some of the parts are not as good as we should like them to be. I am still slowly reading your manuscript and accumulating a list of minor suggestions.

Yes, the letter from Gillin was good. I think he will do a job with which we shall be pleased.

I wish you all well and send you the affectionate regards of our family. I hope you will solve the problem of the coming addition to your household.

Yours sincerely,  
Robert Redfield

August 12, 1942

Dear Bob,

Enclosed please find

1. A letter from Tumin which he asks me to send on. Note that he asks for reprints. My things have not yet come, so will you please send him reprints of my Culture and Civilization... and World-View and

Social Relations articles (to be found in a drawer of my file case in 418) together with whatever you wish to send of yours? I suppose he can be addressed care of the Guatemala office.

2. A copy of the plan for the Zinacantán field trip which I submitted today. A detailed budget is being prepared separately; it looks as though we shall get everything necessary, down to typewriters and sulfa drugs. You will note that I plan to send field notes "to my office in Chicago"; I mean to send them to you, of course, to read and keep for me.

3. A copy of a letter from Cline to the Indianist Institute. You have probably been informed that he is coming down. . . .

[He] . . . should be informed that Julio de la Fuente has studied just the town (S. Juan Yalalag) that he expects to study especially. I assure you that D.I.F. has done a very good job. That does not mean that the town couldn't be studied again from other points of view, but Cline should know what material exists so that he can plan accordingly. (It is surprising that he doesn't know about Julio's work because B. Bevan, whom he describes as "a great friend", knows about it.)

. . . .Do you think you could send me some of Cline's correspondence describing his plans? I would like to have them in mind when he comes here.

I have yours of August 4th. I think your letter to Cosío Villegas will clear everything up; I have not seen him since writing you last. The blurb I am writing on Linton's book is more like a book review than anything else. I wrote Ralph about it and received some biographical information.

Sady and Dr. Gamio have been informed of activities in behalf of nutrition studies and the Mezquital project, in which you are participating. Sady has also heard that he is to be here at least six months. I can report, now that he is not anxious to make the Institute his life work, and he is also not keen about being outside the war. I repeat what I wrote last time -- that I don't think the Institute will go on very well (under present circumstances) without him or an adequate substitute. If he doesn't know, I think Collier should be made to appreciate that.

I believe Rachel has already submitted her thesis topic to you for consideration. I think she is in a position to do a pretty good job on it, and I think it might be an important job. Whether it is fit for a thesis in the thesis-conception of the Department, I can't judge. If not, I think she would be interested enough to do it anyway if some money could be supplied and she should get encouragement. She has sent a copy of the proposal to Collier and it may be that he would be interested in such encouragement.

I suppose you refer to Basauri's 3-volume survey of Mexican ethnology? I have just glanced at it at the Institute. It was published by the Dept. of Education. Rachel, you recall, tried to get one to send to you, and failed. I'll try myself some time.

When you write Lemley next, why not ask him to come to see me if he ever comes to Mexico City?

I note in the publication of the Library of Congress on work-in-progress in L. A. (which I received here a few days ago) that Ruth Bunzel did her work in Chiapas in Chamula, which is a large Tzotzil community. Our paths do cross, don't they! or, rather, I seem to be her shadow.

Dr. Caso surprised me yesterday in class; I hope I did creditably. Afterwards we talked a little while about the school -- amiably, of course -- but I didn't learn much. I still haven't written that report for you; I'd like to be clearer about some things, and I'm still preparing.

This is enough for now; as Cline says, I'm not usually so long-winded!

Yours,

Sol

August 14, 1942

Dear Sol:

I am hoping that you can find half an hour to consider the problem of the ethnological bibliography on Mexico and Guatemala which I have more or less promised to Murdock.

Turning my attention to this problem, I see that it is much more difficult than I had first realized. Two questions come to my mind:

(1) To what extent should the bibliography include references describing the Aztec, Maya, and other high civilizations at the time of the Conquest? In the Murdock bibliography for North America, the most important early sources are included as, for example, the Jesuit Relation and Dupratz on the Natchez. There is a sprinkling of such eighteenth or even sixteenth century references in the Burdock bibliography. I suppose, however, that these did not constitute a problem in that case because such sources for North American Indians are relatively few. In Middle America where such sources are many, a problem is presented. If we include many of them, the bibliography will become very long and the earlier sources will outnumber the modern sources. This would make the

bibliography directly incomparable with the corresponding list for North America. Perhaps the problem is to be solved by restricting mention of the early sixteenth century sources to a very few and the most important, or perhaps they should not be included at all. If the last choice is to be made, the Middle American list would be on a different level from that of the North American list. For, the North American list is supposed to present sources describing the Indians at the time when they were first encountered by the whites, to the present. No matter how this question is decided, there will be titles that lie in the margin. For example, one would certainly want to include Beals' Survey of the Ethnology of Northern Mexico although it is based on very early sources and does not describe the present situation at all. Similarly, one might want to include Mendizabal's paper on the influence of salt on the settlement of ancient Middle American peoples.

(2) The second problem is complementary to the first. To what extent should the list include references which describe Europeanized Indians or elements of European introduction? Again, in the case of the North American list there was no serious problem, because anthropologists have come by a sort of convention to recognize certain elements of European influence as within their province. Thus the paper on the influence of the horse on plains culture was included as well as papers on the ghost dance religion. On the other hand, the list omits papers describing more recent acculturations. For Mexico and Guatemala, it would seem plain that Parsons' Mitla should be included. Should we also include Paul Taylor's paper on Arandas, a community with little Indian influence? Should we include a special paper on the Jarana, a folk dance danced

almost entirely by Indians but of Spanish origin? Just where is the line to be drawn?

I know you have too much to do, but perhaps some day you will care to consider these questions and give me your advice.

By the way, there is an interesting study by Pedro Henríquez Ureña called El español en Mejico, los Estados Unidos, y la America Central (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, Instituto de Filología, Biblioteca de dialectología hispanamericana, IV, Buenos Aires, 1938), to which Howard Cline has called my attention. The author recognizes five Middle American areas in terms of the kind of Spanish spoken: the Northern area, the Central area, the Southern area (Morelos, Guerrero, Oaxaca), a Gulf Coast area, and Yucatan and Quintana Roo. Central America linguistically comprehends Chiapas and the Central American countries except Panama. One of the criteria for this region is the use of "vos" instead of "tu." Here is another evidence of cultural integrity of this area, another reason for including Chiapas with most of Central America and excluding Panama.

Yours as always,

Robert Redfield

August 16, 1942

Dear Bob,

Yours of August 10th, with enclosures, was received in remarkably good time, on the 12th. Then yesterday I was pleasantly surprised when my Economics MS was delivered to the door. I cannot understand why that was taken care of automatically in Nuevo Laredo when my big bunch of

books--sent the same way--was not. My books, by the way, are on the way "again" and should be here within a week.

It sounds to me as if you are getting along with Juan at least as well as I do. The difficulties, as you say, are those that one would expect. In the case of an utterly uneducated person like him we had an original choice between (a) giving him an education in anthropology so that he would appreciate the problems involved in analyzing a community and (b) having him learn by doing--in collaboration with an anthropologist. Whether we did well by choosing the second alternative is difficult to say, but I think that I, at least, would favor it if we had a second opportunity for choice. It would have taken many years of normal, formal, training (and he could not have gotten what he needs here in Mexico where the language difficulty would not be involved) to give him the knowledge that would make unnecessary the present difficulties. If it could be argued that only so could he be "tooled up" for future work, that by our present method he will have to be nursed along in each job, I would of course favor this procedure. But I do not think it is working out that way; I believe he is actually learning what he needs to know for future work. He is now coming to understand why he was asked to collect the data that he did, and he sees as he goes along how he can improve his field techniques. Before he is finished, he should have a thorough understanding of what is significant in a community study and he will be an exceeding dependable technician. That will not make him a creative anthropologist; but neither might a formal education; and if he can read--and has the stuff--there is nothing to keep him from developing into something more.

As for the time that his monograph is taking, I think there is hope that his rate of speed will increase. I do not think there is much hope that he will finish by the end of the year, but if he succeeds in finishing the economics and social organization (including politic-religious) we shall be in a pretty good position; for what will be left will be chiefly description of rituals and fiestas and folklore and beliefs which he will be able to do pretty largely by himself, in Sololá, with assistance by correspondence. Perhaps it would encourage Juan to know that you would be satisfied with something less than the completion of all of his work before he leaves?

I read with interest the extracts from the minutes of the meeting of the National Institute. I think that a serious problem is in the making-- that, indeed, it is coming to the point of crisis. It seems to me that you are the only one who might be in a position to do something about it. It concerns, in general, the relations of the U.S. to the Interamerican Institute, and it seems to me that C has been something less than politically astute.

It appears that when the Diet Pilot study first came up, even before Dr. G was in charge here, there was local concern lest the Interamerican Institute be handed a project, ready-made. Assurances were then given that this would not be the case, that the I.I. would have the final say on the nature of the projects it would sponsor. As you know, a Mezquital project was finally developed here for submission to the Co-ordinator's office; Dr. G likes it and is anxious for it to go through quickly. Yet he agreed to let C look at it before submitting it. I wrote you about this. Yesterday it appears that Sady (not Dr. G) received from C word that he

would do nothing about the project until the results of the Pilot study are available, in a few weeks. This has disgusted Dr. G, and he swears that he will immediately submit the project as is to the Co-ordinator's office. To do this would open a breach, unless C can be made to see the reasonableness of the local point of view, or at least that it is good policy to give in gracefully.

C should understand the local point of view that includes: (1) That the I.I. is bigger than the U. S. National Institute, that in fact the U.S. monetary contribution to the I.I. is smaller than that of some other countries, including Mexico. I feel sure that there is local recognition that the I.I. needs the continued support of the U.S., and it would defer to U.S. wishes; but they should be expressed in such a way as not to make it obvious that the tail is wagging the dog. (2) That the Mezquital project should go through regardless of the findings in the Southwest, which can be worked into the project easily enough when and if it is approved; that there is no sense in C's holding up the project. (3) That food-habit studies can find their place in the larger project later.

I do not blame Dr. G if he now submits the project. C has (it seems to me) been disrespectful in not having acknowledged and commented on the project for several weeks, and in not having communicated directly with Dr. G. Please remember that the Southwest project was in no way participated in by the I.I.; you cannot expect Dr. G to be sympathetic with C's great interest in it. At the same time, one can hardly blame him for expecting a greater show of interest in his pet project. Had C taken the trouble to sell Dr. G on the southwest project and had he shown interest in the Mezquital project, he could doubtless have gotten what he wanted and at the

same time avoided conflict. Dr. G is a very reasonable person and used to compromise, but he has to be treated like a human being.

As far as I can see, C must now make a concession; he must support the Mezquital project now, and as is. By doing this gracefully he can undo the damage done and of course the project itself can later be influenced in some degree.

It is obvious that Sady cannot easily tell all this to Collier; he has been accused before of working against him\* (an accusation that is unjustified, of course). I told him that I would write to you. He is worried about that, too, but I know that you will be tactful in whatever you do and make it appear that you have no inside information from here.

As for the personality study (about which the same trouble might arise if C isn't careful): As I understand it, Dr. Comas is employed by Caso in the INAH, and has been loaned to the I.I. Caso is very anxious that Comas undertake a physical anthropological study of the Lacandones in Chiapas, and the latest word is that he (Caso) refuses to give up that project for the Personality study.

I have a new student in my class. Frances Toor! She said she heard about it from one of my students, and Thursday morning came over, registered, paid tuition, and started to work. She is very anxious (she says) to go to Zinacantán with us too. By the way, did I ever mention that Palacios is taking the course? Julio de la Fuente tells me that he thinks Palacios will also make some arrangement to come to Chiapas with us, that Palacios'

\* This isn't as bad as I've made it sound. He was accused of using people here to support his own ideas against those of the Wash. office.

superior (Bonfils) is interested that he do so. This thing can keep growing, I suppose.

The multigraphed copies of Villa's materials that you sent me will be exceedingly useful, and of course the witchcraft materials together with your comment about them are particularly valuable since they demonstrate not only the kinds of questions the field-worker should ask of his material, but also the value of sending field notes home to an interested friend.

The students appear to be interested in the course; nobody has missed a lecture, nor has anybody who began the course dropped it (although three registered students never came for various reasons), while a number of new ones have come in since the first day. Rachel reports that the other day at a tea Borbolla told her that they hope to have me come down again. I haven't come across any evidence that I may be a disappointment, but of course adverse comments would be apt not to reach me. If you hear something, I hope you will tell me so that I can govern myself accordingly.

The typist, Miss Stevenson, appears to have done very well what had to be done with my MS. Are you expecting me to send you the \$19, or did you charge it to your account? I shall work on the MS as much as I can, and shall send you pages or section to add to your copy of the MS as I complete them here.

Julio received Chan Kom yesterday; I suppose he will write you. I never thought to ask him about The Folk Culture of Yucatan, but Rachel tells me he is using her copy; it seems as if somebody ought to supply him with a copy of the book. Would the Press send him one?

. . . . The Census office has been working up the figures on Chiapas (1940 census) before other states because of our interest, communicated through Palacios. I think that Alfonso made the original request. Palacios is in a really good position to aid anthropological research here; his office has access even to the original boletos.

Nothing more to report now. Except that I have a cold, all is well here. Our best to Greta and the children.

Yours,

Sol

P.S. I have just learned that Sady has today (Sunday) wired Maes informing him that Dr. G. intends to submit the project and suggesting that the Commissioner write an air-mail commenting on it and explaining why it would be better to wait.

August 17, 1942

Dear Sol:

Your letter of August 12 has just come. I will send Tumin the reprints.

The plan for the Zinacantan field trip looks excellent. I have nothing to suggest. You have provided for everything. I only wish I were to be a member of the expedition.



I have indeed been informed . . . by Cline that he is coming to Mexico. I enclose some of his recent communications to me which deal with the Mexican project. You will note that he has learned about de la Fuente from our memorandum on the ethnographic research in Mexico and Guatemala. I have already written him suggesting that he write directly to de la Fuente.

. . . .

As I wrote you before, I think Collier appreciates how important Sady

is to the Institute. I don't know if he knows that Sady would like to find something else to do. Congress has denied the National Institute any funds, so things are not looking too well for the whole enterprise.

Rachel's thesis topic came today. Offhand, I should think the project might become a thesis if there are adequate materials to enable her to compare a long period of theoretical research in a primitive community with a long period of administrative concern with this same community. If the Zuni situation offers the opportunity, perhaps the thesis can be done. Fred is coming back this week from a short vacation, and I will, of course, talk it over with him.

It was to Basauri's 3-volume survey that I referred. I think we ought to have a copy here.

I will write to Lemley suggesting that he visit you in Mexico City. His transcript has been sent here, and he is, apparently, eligible for admission to the Division.

I know how you felt when Dr. Caso surprised you in class, but I am sure you did him proud.

I still take your car out for an airing every week or two.

Yours faithfully,

Robert Redfield

August 18, 1942

Dear Sol:

This letter reports on a few odds and ends.

I have a letter from Tumin announcing his arrival in Jilotepeque. He is very enthusiastic about everything, including Gillin. He says he has been made director of basketball for the school team and has gone horse-

riding with the intendente. It sounds all right. Apparently Gillin has advised him against sending our reports by mail. I don't know anything as to this.

Laura Thompson is in town and tells me that she expects to go to Mexico next month when she will talk up the advantages of child development study in Mexico. . . . I understand that here field manual is being translated into Spanish for the Purpose. She will, no doubt, go first to Sady.

She tells me that the personality study now has one hundred workers and expects to produce twelve monographs and a synthetic volume. Between Cline and Thompson, I am in a condition of acute vertigo.

Greta is getting together some pictures to go with the materials for the Mexican Reader. We have some pretty good ones here. Some of those she would like to use are those left over from a gift of photographs made to the Department of Anthropology by Dr. Gamio many years ago when he was here. They were, apparently, taken in Guadalajara by a photographer who abbreviates his name LUP. They are numbered, apparently, from 1 to 100. One is called Tortilleras; another shows a domestic scene in a Rancho courtyard; and the third shows a boy calling fish for sale. We are wondering if it would be possible for you to find out, perhaps through Dr. Gamio, who this photographer was, as Greta would like to get permission to reproduce these photographs in a publication, if there be one. She also wishes to commission you or Gertrude to kindly get for her black and white reproductions of Rivera's murals which portray the Revolution, and especially that which shows the figure of Zapata. These are perhaps sold separately or it may be that you can buy a book of reproductions, the publisher of which might be asked for permission to reproduce.

Yours faithfully,

Robert Redfield

August 19, 1942

Dear Sol:

I return with thanks the clippings. I think it would be a good thing for this young man and for us if he would write an account indicating the place of his folk beliefs in his own early life. Is he, by the way, a kinsman of that Fernando Barbachano who was long my friend in Yucatan and who ran the tourist business down there?

. . . .

Yours sincerely,

Robert Redfield

August 19, 1942

Dear Bob,

I have yours of the 12th with its various enclosures. I appreciate the trouble you and Mrs. Lavery and Mrs. Bingham are put to in sending all those things to me. The news about sending materials through the consulate is good--if it works. I think, if it is not difficult, it would be a good idea to send the incomplete food chart down; it can be corrected and improved here and made useful, and is the sort of thing the local ethnologists would be interested in.

If you wish, I suppose I can complete the introduction to the Rosales MS down here. I am not sure that I can both because I don't remember in detail what is required and because I am not sure of the availability of

the books to be consulted. Perhaps one of my students will help me. I think you are right about not giving the MS to Juan to go over (except on the limited basis you propose) and suggest that you send it down here as soon as possible. I suppose I shall have to write a preface of some kind for it explaining how the work was done and the book written, etc.

Since receiving your letter I have had no opportunity to talk over "From Tribe to City..." etc. with anybody. I shall.

Borbolla has written LaFarge to ask if he doesn't have another copy of his Santa Eulalia MS. I reported to him what you had done and he said LaFarge is a good friend of his. I have never told Borbolla of the \$200 that I have, and he assumed that the \$35 typing bill would be his to pay. I don't myself think it is worth \$35 to get the MS here if it is eventually to be published, especially since another month would pass before it could arrive.

Another new student came this morning to join the class -- a Patricia Ross, a friend of Frances Toor, some of whose writings on Mexican Indians you may know. (I'd never heard of her.) I told her to speak with Borbolla about registering; he wasn't there, and she said she would register on Thursday. I then wrote Borbolla a note, just because I like to keep him informed on administrative matters. Later he called me in and I was surprised to discover that he is disturbed at the influx of outsiders. He told me I shouldn't permit people to come in. I disabused him of the notion that I had anything to do with it (if he had that notion) but added that I was in no position to tell people they cannot take the course, and could only send them to him. His point seems to be that I should give my time and facilities to students of the school (even though these others

register and pay tuition). I imagine there will be trouble if Frances Toor or Palacios wish to go to Chiapas; but I propose to keep out of the trouble myself. Anyway, I was interested to note that Borbolla spoke to me "firmly"--maybe the honeymoon is over.

The project of establishing fellowships for E.N.A. students to go to the U.S. naturally interests me, and also forces me to give you something of a summary of what I know about the school here.

It is clear that Borbolla (and doubtless Caso) . . . really think that all that is lacking here are books and specialized museum collections. I believe that absolute sincerity lies behind the statement that "The training has been carefully planned and can compare favorable with that of any other academic institution of the world." It is certainly not true.

August 21, 1942

(Sorry I had to interrupt this letter; time is becoming really occupied here now. Yesterday I had yours of the 17th, and this afternoon yours of the 19th--postmarked yesterday! From Ernestine I have received the MA questions; I shall let you know what comes of them. Please thank Ernestine for me and tell her that I shall write as soon as I get a chance.

. . . .To go on with the school now. Yesterday Dr. and Mrs. C., and dlB were at our house for dinner, but I learned little that I didn't already know.

When we arrived in Mexico, my contacts were with people who have little respect for the school. It did not take long to see that they are too pessimistic. The school has its virtues and seems to be headed, in general, in the right direction. I think I have enough data now to warrant some conclusions.

. . . . I think the fundamental difficulty with the school is that it has no real faculty of full-time men, but rather includes a large number of specialists who give courses but have their real jobs elsewhere. (I shall note exceptions later.) The reason for, or history of, this situation I do not know. It is not economic in the sense that an increase of income of the school would itself permit a change in the system. There is an economic factor in that underpaid employees of other institutions naturally seek teaching jobs to augment their income. That is probably much less important than the following factors:

1. Some sort of tradition which may be pretty general and go pretty far back -- and isn't it shared by our Medical Schools? -- in which a University is conceived as a place where people come to lecture to students.

2. The idea that scholars should be honored and rewarded by being asked to teach a course.

3. Dependence of students on the spoken word, rather than on books, requiring a variety of specialist-lecturers. (The shortage of books, doubtless an economic matter, enters here).

It is typical that the school quarters should consist of the administrative office and five or six classrooms. There are no offices (except mine, newly made) for faculty members. It is true that quarters are small, but on the other hand the school was newly built in a section of the museum, and if offices were thought important, provision could have been made. The result is that professors come to the school to lecture and to examine and that's all. Kirchhoff and McQuown are full-time, supported entirely by their school salaries. (McQuown no longer; he recently has gone into war work). But the only difference is that they teach more courses than

the others. The students would still have to go to the Pan. Am. Insti or somewhere to see them, for they have offices away from the school. My point is, of course, that what is lacking is a conception of full-time teachers.

The consequences of this are far-reaching and varied. That there is little contact between the student and his 30-odd teachers is most obvious; the student listens, reads a little, and takes his examination; there is a minimum of guidance and stimulation. Perhaps even more important is that the number of courses is in this tradition necessarily large, the curriculum unbalanced. It seems that everybody in town who happens to know something must be hired to teach a course. In one case a certain medical man had to be hired for some reason; and the only thing related to anthropology that he could teach (that is the explanation I am given) is First Aid, so that is a course of the curriculum. Of course most people who teach are closer to anthropology than that, but the courses tend to be very specialized. The worst of it is that a specialized course like that must be given for a whole year (not a semester) because the Professor must have something to teach for a year. And it must be repeated year after year!

Since there are so many of these specialized courses, and there is some conception of necessary courses, the total number is large. Even with 30-odd professors, you have to go out and find a linguist if the professor of linguistics leaves. There are professors for whom courses must be found, and courses for which professors must be found; naturally, to the extent that the two are forced together the quality of the material and teaching suffers. They are sometimes forced together. Jules Henry

taught a course in ethnological field techniques; when he left somebody had to be found to teach it, and Weitlaner (a part-time linguist) was given the job. The course is a notorious joke.

This year, 58 courses are offered. There are 125-odd students, some of whom have finished most of their work. Almost all the courses run through a year. It is obvious that if the school isn't to collapse, the students must be required to take a large number of courses each year. I am told that last year they went through the list and could find but one course that could be put in the "elective" class; this year, after a fight, the rules were changed and now there are but 28 courses required for graduation. A student to finish in four years must average 7 courses a year; but since he writes his thesis the last year, he must either take more the first three or he must stay longer. My students for the most part take eight to ten. Teach of the courses requires two or three hours of class each week, some more. Several of my students attend classes 36 and 38 hours weekly. Even if there were "resident professors", who would have time to talk to them? Even if there were sufficient books, who would have time to read them?

Apparently even the system of work-fellowships, by which students work six days a week, 9 AM to 1 PM, with occasional recesses for classes (which are almost all held in the afternoon and evening), is partly attributable to what I called the fundamental difficulty. I have heard that the fellowships were Dr. C's scheme to keep control over the students, and I have seen how it works. My first day at school I was in the office when a student was called up and in no uncertain terms reminded that if he didn't take certain courses he would be cut off. (The working part probably makes a large number of fellowships economically practicable.)

Incidentally it is a fact that the Central American Fellows were told to report to work when they came; they refused, or they might be working now.

I do not know how bad the library situation is. I have had pretty good luck with the things I have wanted, but that means little. Students are permitted one book at a time, for two days (but they can read in the library) which, while hard on them, allows maximum utilization. But obviously, more books would not solve the study problem, though it would be some help.

The important question is, of course, whether in spite of the difficulties outlined, the students get a pretty good education in anthropology. I cannot answer it definitively; I hope to be able to before I leave here. Meanwhile, I am willing to make some sort of guess.

I imagine that in the field of linguistics, local training is up to our standards. Swadesh was well-trained and has doubtless left his stamp. McQuown was trained at Illinois, then under Sturdevant at Yale; he has no Ph.D., however. I cannot judge his work, but from the examination questions for his course, I am sure that he covers the ground and probably competently. After all, nobody now has a Sapir or an Andrade. McQuown teaches General Linguistics, Phonetics and Phonemics, Indo-European, and seminars. For awhile both Swadesh and McQuown were here, and I understand the school is interested in getting another linguist. In addition to such general courses, the following languages are being taught: English, French, German, Latin, Spanish-Romance, Nahuatl (2 years), Maya (2 years), Otomi, Chinanteco, Totonaco. The Indian languages are evidently taught for use, not theory; and they are probably not successful. Doubtless English, French and German are necessary; German is no more successfully learned here than at Chicago.

It can easily be argued that there is too much linguistics for a balanced program.

I think that physical anthropology, too, is all right. dB' teaches general physical anthropology and it is probably not so good; however, Juan Comas (who strikes me as competent) teaches anthropometry, Human Races, and Phys. Anth. of Mex. and C.A. There is a laboratory course in anatomy and physiology about which I know nothing (Maldonado) and one in experimental psychology; whether they should be in the curriculum I won't try to judge. Then there is a course in "Nociones de Epidemiología y Endemiología" and one in First Aid that are unnecessary. One in Demografía is questionable. Finally, there is a course in Statistics (Dominguez Toledano) and a Seminar. Again, criticism would be directed at unnecessary courses while again the necessary courses are probably competently handled.

Archeology is represented by 19 courses, including photography and technical drawing. On the whole--in spite of the variety -- I think the curriculum must be called spotty. One Millereid teaches geology and paleontology, I don't know how well, and then something called "prehistoria con nociones de antropología" which could be cut out without loss. A course in "typography for archeologist" seems an unnecessary year. Martínez de Río teaches general prehistory and proto-history, which is probably fair; he also teaches Classical archeology and Ethnology which, judging from the exam questions, could be dispensed with. Noguera teaches the archeology of North America, Caso of Mexico and Central America. The rest of the courses are very specialized: stratigraphy, ceramics, pre-Hispanic architecture, Maya archeology, Central Mexico, Mex. monoliths and inscriptions, Codices, pre-Hispanic religion of Mexico, ancient history of Mexico. Under the circumstances

I do not argue against the emphasis on Mexico; but there is lacking a good solid course in Old-world prehistory while there seems to be a lot of duplication. (Please recall that all the specialized courses run full years.) There are 18 courses under the heading of Ethnology. This includes two years of pelegrafia which duplicates special courses in archeology and two whole years of anthropogeography, which treats -- as far as I can see -- physical geography. Then two years of Spanish and Mexican 15th-16th century history, one on Cultural Popular Ibérica and another on the Analysis of the sources for the ancient history of Mexico. Mendizabal teaches courses in economic and social history of Mexico, and in Present-day Indian problems. Aside from the last, the only courses that we might call ethnological are seven in number; Kirchoff's General Ethnography and Ethnography of Mex. & C. A., and his seminar on the relations of Central and South America are all pretty good, I think. There is a course in Ethnobiology I know nothing about. Weitlaner's Field Techniques is weak (Murdock's outline applied to the Chinatec), and Bosch-Gimpera's *Historis de la Cultura* -- to judge by the exam questions -- is a kind of poor European prehistory. This man also teaches an unscheduled course in Etnotecnología and Etnoeconomía, and this also is old-world prehistory with a slant I do not understand. Jimenez Moreno teaches Primitive Mythology and Religion; I don't know what it is about.

It is clear that except for Kirchoff's courses, ethnology is virtually not taught. There are no descriptive materials on Peoples of Asia, Africa, Oceania, Australia, N. America, or South America. There are no courses on social organization, economics, law, etc.

Since that ends my inventory, it is also obvious, of course, that there

isn't the faintest suggestion of anything theoretical. The ethnologists are historians purely, and no theory is hidden in their courses. There is no such thing as History of Anthropology or a course on Methods.

The fact is that it can be said that there is no anthropologist in the school. Kirchoff comes closest, but is still pretty far away. There is no "introductory course" and there could hardly be one unless an anthropologist were imported. Everybody is in greater or less degree only a specialist. What is worse, all of the specialties are not covered.

It is difficult not to conclude that dLB is under illusions when he says the training is equal to any.

On the other hand, as I said earlier the school is going in the right direction, and it will get better rather than worse. The number of required courses was cut down, and may be cut down more; the tendency is in the direction of full-time staff members; when space is available, offices at school will be provided staff members; lip-service, at least, is paid to the forgotten field of theory.

I may say also that morale in the school is high, among both faculty and students. One gets the impression that things could be done with the school if only ways and means were found.

Since coming down here, I have naturally thought frequently of what might be done. I recall Stephen's telling me that he thought of Tulane as a place where Mexican, etc. anthropologists could be given training before being fed to Chicago. I don't see much sense to that -- in fact, it seems to me so misguided that I am convinced that I misunderstood him.

Students come with Bachelor degrees (equivalent to our college certificate or a little more) and after four years are given a degree somewhat equivalent

to our M.A. A second thesis and another year will get them Doctor's degrees. At what point would they be sent to Tulane? Should this school be abandoned? Or should they go to Tulane after they have their Master's (when they could of course go directly to Chicago)? No, I can't see where there is room for an intermediate institution. It would be far better to work to improve the school here than to give it up and spend money on Tulane, and I think that improvement could be made.

The improvement would have to be on two fronts simultaneously; improvement of the curriculum (including the addition of theory) and change in the system so that (a) a staff of competent teachers -- including one or two new ones, plus some of the present ones -- should be on hand to teach as well as lecture, and (b) students will take few enough courses to have time for study and thought. A revolution is impossible, but the evolution could be speeded up.

The request for fellowships might be a lever that can be used. I think that to grant the fellowships under present circumstances for the purpose conceived by dlB would be a relative waste of money. The very idea of Mexicans specializing in the archeology of the Baltic region would be amusing except that the notion of what anthropology is or might be that gave rise to the suggestion is so tragically naive. In Mexico all circumstances seem to draw anthropology toward problems of the living, but the school resolutely turns its face toward Baltic archeology or something equally far away. Neither C nor dlB seems to be aware that there is anything else; the students that they are likely to choose to go to the U.S. will have neither the training for nor interest in anything else. It seems obvious to me further training should be in subjects that are at once entirely lacking here and of greatest interest and importance in Mexican life, and that is should be given students

who are at least interested in such subjects. At present there are few such students.

I would prefer to spend money at the present time in bringing teachers down here, and in building up the library here.

To do that gracefully, and at the same time influence changes in the system and curriculum, is of course difficult. The administration here will have to be educated or bribed, and of course education would be preferable. I wonder what the chances are when C comes to Chicago. An important point is that at the moment there is manifest no prejudice against -- only innocence of -- social anthropology; on the part of students, there is some curiosity about, and in a few cases definite interest in, non-historical studies.

I have been vaguely thinking of the possibility of some kind of permanent hook-up, on an exchange basis, between our department and the Escuela here. There might be some exchange of faculty and students and a tying up of curriculum with basic courses equated and specialized courses complementary. If something like that could be worked out, and the necessary funds obtained, much could be done for and with anthropology both here and there -- and changes here could be made without too much pressure, opposition, or necessity for telling the ugly truth.

That's enough on the school!

You probably know that the Indianist crisis I made much of in my last letter blew over. Sady's wire brought a telegraphic reply suggesting that the project be sent up immediately. It was, and a copy was sent you.

We took Marianna to Dr. Boucart for a checkup; he immediately recalled you -- says he thinks of you and your family whenever he passes the house where you lived -- and asked to be remembered. We are all well. Sorry for the length of this.

Yours,

Sol

Aug. 21 [1942]

Dear Sol:

Gamio asks me to write something for America Indigena. I thought I might follow up your article with a more detailed account of Indian-Ladino relations in Agua Escondida. I should like to read the paper you were about to have published in America Indigena so as to see if indeed I should follow you up, or can, and how to do it. Is there a copy of that ms. in your files here somewhere?

In haste,

Bob

Windy Pines, Sunday Aug 25, [1942]

Dear Sol:

Your letter of the 16th arrived Friday. I agree with all you say about Juan, and I think the decision we made about him was right. Sometimes, however, what strikes a small pain to my heart is the realization that if you or I were free to spend most of our time with him -- what a wonderful book would result! An hour a week improves what he writes greatly; I can imagine what twenty hours would do. He knows so much that it does not occur to him to put down! The whole subject of magical, or sacred aspects of specialized function was entirely absent from his first statement on the division of labor, and it turns out that there is much to say on the subject -- the drum-repairers, the man who sets bones, the animal-castrators, and so forth. I enjoy my hour with him as much as I do any hour of the week, and I only wish could spare more.

I wish I were sure economics and social organization would be finished by the end of the year. But most of it will be.

On the Institute matter: It happens that Collier is coming to see me at eleven Monday. He wants to talk mostly about the Japanese-American evacuee center established at Parker, Arizona, under Indian Bureau authority. He has all sorts of enterprises going there. My intention is to tell him what you wrote me, as un-arrogantly and helpfully as I can present it, and with the tone of How Do We Work This Out? I don't know how it will turn out.

.... You write that you know I will talk so as to make it appear that I have "no inside information from Mexico." I don't see how I can talk to him except by claiming to have information from Mexico that he doesn't have. I will certainly leave Sady out of it. But I will have to say that I have learned something by mail.

So Frances Toor is with you! I am glad to hear it, and feel a little guilty too, for I did not pay her attention when she was here, and I am sure she felt hurt. Anyway, give her my best regards.

This recruit, and Palacios, and other evidence, show how well you are doing. I am pleased but not at all surprised.

No, I bought the Chan Kom for de la Fuente. And I provided the Krogman for Comas. I would send de la Fuente a Folk Culture but this is getting hard on my pocketbook. The Press won't send out any free copy beyond what the contract provided. So I would have to buy one. I will wait and hope for a cheaper inspiration.

Caso told me he was writing Metraux, but has not informed me as to his answer. I think we went so far with M. last year that we cannot back out. If he refuses, then I can make other suggestions. But apparently Caso is set on South America. Metraux, after all, has some notion of wider problems, besides knowing South America.

.... Tuesday I am expecting to leave for Parker, Arizona, at the request of John Provinse, who will meet me there. So will Ned Spicer, who is now working on the Parker project as a research man. From Arizona I will go to California. I expect to be away about twelve days or two weeks.

All well on the farm. Harvest time -- such fun! The wimmen folk are constantly busy preserving pears, making apple juice, jelly, drying corn, drying pears and apples, salting green beans. Now there are quantities of tomatoes! that would make a Panajacheleno green with envy. Get over your cold. My best to your girls. Yours,

Bob

P.S. Just talked to Collier. I think it will do some good. But apparently he will send Thompson down anyway.

Further advice?

Bob

SANTA FE

The CHIEF

Aug. 26, 1942

Dear Sol:

I am on my way first to the Colorado River Indian Reservation and then to other places in California, Oregon and Arizona where the Japanese-Americans have been put. I expect to be back in Chicago about Sept. 7th.

I have incorporated in the Beals-Tax-Redfield memorandum certain items of information and bibliography contributed by Howard Cline.

I hope you will soon send me the oddities you have collected from the Mexicans.

You will receive from me a Purple\* document entitled "The Folk Society." The people in charge of the introductory social science course in the college asked me to write something on the subject to be included in the readings on the subject. So I wrote this. I have made no arrangement for publishing it, and would do so anywhere anybody wanted to publish it.

Yours to a cinder,

Bob

\*referring to the purple-ink reproduction process. Later published in American Journal of Sociology.

Sinaloa 158-C

Mexico, D. F.

Mexico

August 29, 1942

Dear Bob:

Various small items have accumulated, and I'll just start at one end.

The photographs signed LUP were taken by José María Lupercio; he is dead and so is his photographer-nephew. His daughter has a little photographic studio here in Mexico City, I am told. However, it turns out that the pictures to which you have reference were made while Lupercio was employed by the museum, and the negatives are in the archives of the museum with (apparently) very many others by LUP. The pictures you have are thus the property of the museum, and it

would be proper for you to write Dr. Caso for permission to use them and to make your acknowledgement to the Instituto Nacional de Ant. Hist., Archivo del museo Nacional de ant.

Black-and white-reproductions of Rivera's murals are hard to get. There is a series of colored ones. There is also a series of little books of Mexican art in which are reproduced all of the pictures you might want. However, the paper isn't too good, hence books were published by Frances Toor, so I went to her; she says she thinks she has some prints and will ask me over to the house one afternoon next week to see them. Patience.

One day last week Dr. Gamio received your letter and scolded first Sady and then me because Cosío Villegas has not been asked about having your book appear as one of the Institute's series. I explained (the truth) that I'd had no opportunity to mention it so casually that no issue would be made of it. I was afraid that I would put the proposition clumsily in my Spanish. I told Gamio that I thought it would be safer if you would mention it in a letter to Cosío Villegas, and I suggest that when you write to him about something else you do so. You might say that you have arranged with Dr. Gamio to include your book as

No. 1. Serie de Estudios de Cultura Indígena

Instituto Indigenista Interamericano

and that Cosío Villegas might communicate with Dr. Gamio for verification. You might also mention, if you think it wise, that Dr. Gamio will publicize the book widely in the columns of the Boletín Indigenista. (I still think that mention should also be made that the English edition was in the Dept. of Anthropology series in Social Anthropology.)

I am enclosing a copy (supplied by Sady) of my article that will appear in the October issue of the Instituto magazine. I might say that Sady has been worried that it would give aid and comfort to those in Guatemala who think no Indigenista activities are necessary in Guatemala, and I added a sentence for his benefit.

I told Sady that you were thinking of writing a follow-up on the A.E. situation. In the ensuing conversation it appeared that he has had a secret hope that you would write a more general article. Specifically, he would like from you something on Culture Change. How to bring about culture changes is the crux of the administrative Indian problem. Are we (specifically you!) in a position now to make new generalizations -- even limited to Middle America, or Guatemala and/or Yucatan -- about how cultures change and how they might be made to change? The general impression seems to be that you are the world authority on such questions, so the responsibility is great. I promised to mention this to you.

Rachel's report is on its way to you by this time. I think that she missed little and that it will be very useful to us. I think that coming to work down here should be apprised of its existence. Perhaps a note in the Anthropologist would be appropriate.

In the map Dept. of Rosenwald, on the first floor, there is a long-strip aerial photograph of the route of the Pan-American Highway. I looked at it one time and noted that it would be exceedingly useful if one were studying a town that happened to lie within the band photographed. It happens that Zinacantán is on the route of the Highway. I have the impression that the photograph does not include

the Mexican section, but I may be wrong. If it does include the highway route in Chiapas, I would like very much to have a print of the Zinacantán section that could be blown up. Perhaps you could get some information on the 'phone? And if that photograph does not include Chiapas, perhaps somebody in Geography could tell you if aerial photos of the Highway route in Mexico were ever made. Perdone la molestia.

I was looking through Maudsley, A Glimpse at Guatemala, one day and noticed that there is quite a lot on San Antonio P., including photographs, that might interest you. Also, in the pages on Panajachel there is a description of rituals performed by returning Esquipulas pilgrims that we ought to investigate when we get back to Guatemala. (Of chief immediate interest to me is a photo of the Panajachel Delta taken in 1884; I think I shall publish it together with McBryde's panoramic photo of 52 years later; Borbolla had it copied for me -- and refused payment -- and I have sent Rosales a print.)

From Villa I received, last week, a batch of notes that included a genealogy with the kinship terms noted. I recall some mention of the presence of patrilineal clans in his community. Whether they exist or not, it is clear that here is a clan-type of kinship terminology system. I have written a long letter to Villa to guide him in getting more information. I admit I am highly interested; look how long I have been far from kinship systems? And I am sure that Zinacantán will have something to offer in that respect. I used Villa's material to work out the kinship system (and show how it might be related to clans) in my class, and they took up almost the whole period with questions and discussion. I noted such questions

from most advanced students as "What are cross-cousins?" and one of them asked how to go about learning something about kinship; this student -- a girl -- admitted that when she came to the kinship part of an ethnographic monograph, she had to skip it. I found out that nobody in the class has read Lowie's Primitive Society; they sounded as though they had never heard of it.

I have already tried out the MA questions on two students and the response was good. One of them is about to graduate. I showed him only the Ethnology questions, and he quickly threw up his hands and pointed out that nobody here could answer them because there is no training in ethnological concepts at all, or any basis given for comparison of cultures -- such as Polynesia and Micronesia. This year for the first time there is a course in relations of C.A. and S.A. (Kirchhoff). This student told me that Kirchhoff at one time talked of giving a course on ethnological theory of some kind, but had to give it up because (he said) it would take more time for preparation of the course than he had.

.....All well here. Best regards,

Sol

September 1, 1942

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is a questionnaire that my Yacatec student, Cámara, who by the way is a cousin of your friend Ferdinand Barbechano, informs me about.

It was sent out about four years ago by the State of Yucatan Dept. of Education to all of the rural school teachers. Most of them responded to it, and some of them very well. Now there is in Merida (in the Museum, I believe) somewhere between 500 and maybe a thousand monographs on Yucatecan communities. Most of them are doubtless worth little, but there are probably a dozen or twenty long and carefully written, and in many more than that there is doubtless interesting and important information.

Cámara, years ago, took notes from these reports. He made the mistake of not noting local differences (when obviously the questionnaires give information on such) and what he extracted from the reports isn't much help. But to judge from what he did get out of them, there is a mine of information available. I think it could be used to fill in the picture of Yucatan that you have drawn on the basis of intensive studies, and that it would give a basis for some interesting special studies without the necessity for further field work.

On my suggestion, Cámara is writing to Mérida to see if the reports can be sent here. If they can be, there will be opportunity for me to give you a better description of what they contain. It is probable that the request will be refused on the grounds that the material might be lost in transit. In that case I have thought of the possibility of asking that all of the material be copied in Merida and one or two copies be sent to Mexico. This would cost something like \$125 (that figure based on an estimate of 3000 pages, at 20 cents (Mexican) per page.

If you think (as I do) that it might be worth that to have the material, do you think the money might be forthcoming?

If you consider getting it from our CIW budget, please take into account the state of my funds. I have sent, by regular mail, my expense account -- including expenditures to date. I find that I have \$71.19 left. We must pay Rosales salary and expenses for the four months remaining in the year -- nearly \$175. That means that you will have to supply me with an additional \$100 (unless you pay Juan yourself.)

Please return the questionnaire to me.

Our experience in the Guatemala census office made possible a little discovery here. With Palacios one day I was at the local census office. The mechanics of how the 1940 census was made was explained to me, and I suggested that maps of some kind must have been used to make possible the division of labor among census-takers. Everybody was vague, then recalled that maps were used, and said they must be in the state capitals. When I asked them to investigate, they did so, and eventually bundles of maps were found to be gathering dust in a forgotten corner. I have spent some time with them, and have pulled out many for the Maya area. There are some municipio maps, but most appear to be maps of towns and other settlements. I am having a girl (from Palacios' office) classify and list the maps that I pulled out. If there are enough Municipio maps to make it worth while, I shall be able to check back with the census to see just where Indians speaking different languages are, and thus make possible a more accurate dot-map of the area.

Incidentally, I have gained a high respect for the census office here, and I think the published results of the 1940 census will be highly trustworthy. Instructions on the boletos are pretty good, and they seem to have been pretty well followed (to judge by the sample of completed schedules that I saw). Moreover they are then checked with extreme care in the office, and corrections made with red pencil. Before enumerations are made, the data on each person and each family are at least internally consistent. I examined a number of corrections to see the reason for changes made, and in every case the change was obviously justified. Thus for example in some cases the enumerator wrote "none" under religion, and the central office changed it to "catholic"; these turned out to be cases of children and infants whose parents are Catholic. Ages are frequently changed, such as in the following case: a woman's age is given as 28, but her eldest (living) child's age is given as 16, and her age at the time of the birth of her firstborn as 18; the woman's age is then changed by the examiner to 34, which is much more likely true. Since there are 20-odd million individual census entries, it seems to me amazing that such careful analysis can be made of each one before the statistics are compiled.

I examined (with Palacios) some Chiapas census schedules in which whole rancherías consist of persons whose only language is Spanish but who are habitually shoe-less and bed-less and wear what must be interpreted as Indian clothes. We agreed that these people are doubtless Indians, and that in all the statistics based on language they will appear as non-Indians. For some selected

municipios (in Chiapas where we are working and can use the information in the field) I am going to ask Palacios -- who has men working on statistics -- to make counts of individuals who (a) speak Indian, are barefoot, sleep on tapexcos, and wear Indian costume, (b) speak Indian, are barefoot, sleep on tapexcos, but wear Ladino costume, (c) etc., (d) etc., etc. If such figures could be subclassified by localities within municipios, they would be exceedingly useful. I shall try to do this at least for Tenejapa and Zinacantán. At the least, I intend to study the Tenejapa and Zinacantán schedules to draw what conclusions I can by simple examination.

I have sent a photostatic copy on the Chiapas linguistic map to Alfonso. (That is the map about which we have had correspondence) I had another positive made for myself. The copies turned out poorly, but Borbolla had them touched up for me.

Under separate cover, I send you reprints of Weitlaner's articles. He gave me two of each, and these are for you. Missing is his article on the Chinantec that I once mistakingly wrote you was a book.

Under separate cover I also send you the Plan of Work of Palacios' Sección de Estudios in the Indian office. The only part he is able to work on at all in the Statistical, and that only in a limited way. Please keep these memos in your files; they might be useful some day.

I still have a long list of items to write you about -- but poco-a-poco. All well here.

Yours,

Sol

[P.S.] Where, pray, are the laundry lists ordered from Joanna? I suppose we neglected to get priorities.

September 4, 1942

Dear Bob:

This is in answer to yours of August 14th, and my answer makes me feel a little like the tractor salesman, Botts.

I took a lot of time with the problems you pose, and finally came to the opinion that we shouldn't try to limit ourselves either to Indians or to modern times, nor to "important" historical sources. I think that in general we should try to include all primary sources, no matter to what date they refer, but leaving out pure archaeology of course, plus all secondary interpretations and syntheses and histories that deal primarily with Indian culture or folk culture. I can't decide about Codices and their interpretations; Dr. Caso tells me that he intends to devote himself in Chicago to a bibliography of and on the Codices, and they are probably best omitted from the Ethnological bibliography.

I came to the opinion that any lack of comparability that would appear between the North American Bibliography and the Middle American would be in this way simply reflect differences between the two areas -- whereas if historical sources are limited by us to a few important ones, the bibliographies would be just as in-comparable in another sense, and the fault would be the bibliography's rather than nature's.

Having reached these opinions, I talked the matter over with Jiménez Moreno, Kirchhoff, and Weitlaner, presenting the problem. They all think, unhesitatingly, that the value of the bibliography would be greatly reduced by exclusion of historical sources, and none of them see the feasibility of trying to draw a line between

more or less important ones. Anyway, as Jiménez Moreno put it, the more the better and when in doubt include rather than exclude an item. Naturally, it was no surprise to me that these men should vote for loading the bibliography on the side of old sources; they devote themselves largely to old sources. But at the same time it was difficult not to realize that if we left out what is so important to anthropologists down here, the bibliography would at once be limited in its usefulness and would widen rather than narrow the breach between anthropology up there and down here. A bibliography on Middle America would (or should) certainly find its best audience here.

It happened that when I spoke to Jiménez Moreno yesterday, Kirchhoff and Weitlaner joined us; I had spoken with them before. The result was a round-table discussion. It occurred to me then that I had the opportunity to propose a change of plan that might have many advantages. I said that I would be willing to recommend to you that the bibliography be made complete with historical sources, but that obviously such a bibliography could not easily come from the files you have in Chicago -- that it would be a cooperative enterprise or else pretty much of an impossibility. To this they agreed, and Kirchhoff then proposed to Jiménez Moreno that resources be pooled. He himself has a large number of bibliography cards, and Jiménez Moreno is the most famous bibliographer of all down here (he has no files, I understand; but students say he has a prodigious memory and that they customarily go to him for bibliography and he dictates four or five pages on the subject required, complete with titles, publishers, and dates). The upshot was definite agreement to pool bibliographic

resources, if you agree.

We talked about how we might go about it, and decided that we would first combine your references with those of Kirchhoff, after which Jiménez Moreno and others could fill in. I did not (in my mind) try to solve the problem of where and how the combining should be done.

Naturally, there was discussion of other aspects. Jiménez Moreno had the idea that the old sources should comprise one section, modern sources another (so that Landa and Redfield would not appear together) but Kirchhoff talked him down and thought that the bibliography should be organized strictly on a geographic or tribal basis, as is the one for North America. (I agree with Kirchhoff.) Kirchhoff also proposed what I think is a good idea -- that when the date of publication is far removed from the date of writing (as is the case with so many old sources) that both be included in some way.

It was quickly agreed that the first job is to settle on linguistic or tribal divisions on the basis of which the bibliography will be classified; nothing was done about that. My suggestion is that the map that Jiménez Moreno has, showing divisions at the time of the conquest, be used as a working basis; but that a tissue overlay map showing modern political boundaries and present-day Indian distribution be added. The student will thus be able to see that Arandas, for example, although included in the bibliography under Nahua, is actually in a zone of non-Indian speaking peoples. (That fact might be indicated in the bibliography by some symbol too.)

Today I saw Emanuel Palacios, and he mentioned that he had a large Mexican bibliography on index cards that his office was considering completing but then decided to drop. He gave me the collection which I now have in my office. It now occurs to me to combine this bibliography with Kirchhoff's to start with; and meanwhile think about combining the result with yours.

I also thought it wise to speak to Borbolla. When I explained the situation -- and told him that I was about to write to you suggesting the bibliography as a cooperative enterprise -- he was not only agreeable, but immediately offered to contribute a student or two to help in the work; and he said that he would speak to Sanchez (Pan, Am. Inst. Geog. & Hist.) who, he said, would be interested and who might furnish a small sum of money if that should be needed.

That's my report. Fire me if you wish, or at least learn not to ask casually for my advice while I'm out on my own in this manner. It looks to me as if you have little choice in the matter now, though technically the matter is put up to you. I trust your heart has not been set on preparing the bibliography single-handedly. I wouldn't have meddled if I weren't sure that there are other things I would rather do. I think you may also agree that this cooperative enterprise between Chicago (and Yale?) and the Mexican institutions might have valuable consequences.

Yours as ever,

Sol

September 7, 1942

Dear Sol:

Returning to my office after an absence of two weeks, I find your extremely interesting letters of August 9, 29 and September 1. I have not had time to study them nor their enclosures, and I am writing now merely to acknowledge their receipt and to comment in a preliminary way on some of the points included.

Your long account of the School will be of very great interest not only to me but to others who are concerned with its success. As I expect to be in New York next Saturday I will take the occasion to call up our mutual friend and arrange to communicate to him the substance of what you have written. I know he will be very appreciative of the information, and I feel sure that it will be put to a use which will be to the benefit of the School.

I will give Rosales his manuscript and tell him that he has three days to read it over. I will then send it to you, but only after you have told me to do so and after you have told me what other books or aids you will need in preparing it for publication.

I will do nothing more on the Santa Eulalia manuscript unless you instruct me to do something.

No, I never heard of Patricia Ross. I am not clear as to what is the difference between "insiders" and outsiders." Perhaps you will find time to make that clear to me.

✓ .....I have received Rachel Reese Sady's report. At first glance it looks like an excellent job. After I have read it I will think about what is next to be done with it. Your suggestion to report to

the American Anthropologist is a very good one.

Yes, I have heard that the Indianist project has been sent up to Washington. After talking with Collier I was left with the impression that he would support it. A copy of the project has reached me. I have not yet read it.

It was pleasant to hear that Dr. Boucart is still in Mexico. Greta and I remember him with strong feelings of regard and obligation. He took us in when we were a very bedraggled and disheartened family, and when Lisa's health was worrying us greatly, he did much to restore our morale and her strength. Please give my best regards to him and tell him what I have just written.

I thank you for identifying the LUP photographs. When the time comes I will write to Dr. Caso for permission to use them. If you find the black and white reproduction of Rivers's murals, that will be to the good. If you don't find them after a little effort, drop the matter.

I will write to Cosío Villegas mentioning the proposed arrangement by which my book would appear as one of the Institute Series. An occasion to write Cosío Villegas is provided by the fact that Garro has just written me that he has compiled with Cosío Villegas' suggestion that the Revista del Museo Nacional of Lima, in publishing a translation of one chapter of my book, make reference to the forthcoming publication of the complete work by the Fondo.

The suggestion that I write something on culture change for the Indianist publication appears to me as a difficulty because I can't know what to say on the subject. If you can think of any

generalizations on how cultures change or are going to change, I wish you would let me know. I will turn the matter over in my mind and see if I can dig up an idea.

I am sorry to report that the map people over at Rosenwald tell me that military regulations forbid the reproduction of aerial maps of war zones and that the Chiapas area is regarded as a war zone. I suppose there is a possibility that I am misinformed, and I might make the effort to check the information. But I will wait until you tell me how important it is that you get this map.

Thank you for your reference to Maudsley's book. I will look it up. Publication of the map there in your work sounds like a good idea.

I am glad that Villa's notes on kinship are of use to you. Your suggestions to Villa will greatly improve his field work. He is rather poorly prepared in that subject although such notes as he gets can be depended upon. You are correct in remembering that he said that there were patrilineal clans among the Tzeltal. He has not yet finished the information but material came in from him this morning which may have something on it.

....Years ago when I was in Yucatan a questionnaire very similar to the one which you sent me was distributed to school teachers. I looked over the resulting materials and secured copies of most of it. It was very poor. Most of the answers were superficial and unreliable. I got so little out of it that I found money I had spent was not well spent. I am wondering if it would be worth \$120 to have all the results of the present questionnaire copied and sent to us. Would it

not be better to find someone who is reliable, who is in Yucatan, and who could look the material over and give us his good judgment of how much is worth copying? I confess I don't know who that person is, but by writing Morley who is in Yucatan, we might find him.

I congratulate you on discovering the maps in the Census office. I think everything that you have accomplished both in Guatemala and Mexico with formal record material is greatly to be praised. It will be useful to many people. I should be glad to hear what you learn as a result of your analysis of some Chiapas census schedules.

The Weitlaner's articles have not yet arrived, but no doubt will, nor has the memorandum from the Sección de Estudios.

I have to report that there have been great delays in the printing of the laundry lists. Joanna spent a month in Northern Michigan. Then the press had to be reconditioned because only red ink was purchaseable, and she had to clean all the black ink off the type, and now she has atropine in her eyes and cannot set the type for another ten days. Your visit to Mexico may be half over before you get the lists.

As I think you know, I have been traveling in the West for the War Relocation Authority. It was one of the most interesting experiences I have ever had. The trip was a hard one and I came back a little tired. I went by train to Needles, Arizona, got off an hour before dawn and was driven 80 miles across the desert by Conrad Arensberg and Alexander Leighton. The latter is the psychiatrist-anthropologist who has been studying the Navajo for Collier. At Poston, Arizona, on the Parker Indian Reservation I met Ned Spicer who is now working for

Leighton in the research organization which Collier has set up. This is the only project in which provision has been made for scientific study. I thought this group was earnest and intelligent, and yet I had the feeling that they were not somehow contributing significantly to understanding of the practical problems. I spent two days in Poston and then took a train to Los Angeles. After visiting my sister for a day, I went north to San Francisco. There I talked with the people in the San Francisco Regional Office of the War Relocation Authority and paid a visit to one of the assembly centers. I had much difficulty getting in because the Army controls the centers and is reluctant to admit even governmental representatives. But at last I got in, and finding an evacuee who had been communicating with the University of Chicago about possible extension work, I was shown around by him without the presence of any guard. That night I took a train to Klamath Falls where I was driven by Ted Waller (a U. of C. Student now with W.R.A.) to Tule Lake. There I spent two more days and got closer to the Japanese problem than I had before, due chiefly to the great degree to which Waller gained sympathy of the intelligent evacuees of all generations. From Tule Lake I drove and was driven in an automobile 560 miles across the plateau country of the Utes and Paiutes to Manzanar in the Owens Valley just west of Death Valley and east of the Sierra Nevadas. Here the conflict between the older people who are Japanese and the younger people who are Americans was most acute, and here I really began to see dimensions and dangers of the situation. One great danger is that by segregating people on racial terms without reference to loyalty or citizenship, we turn Americans into Japanese.

It is really a tremendously difficult problem.

I am going to New York, Philadelphia, and probably Washington next weekend but will be back on Thursday, September 17.

My best to you and yours,

Yours sincerely,

Bob

September 8, 1942

Dear Sol:

This is a postscript to a letter I wrote you yesterday.



Item 1. Cline sent me a copy of a letter he has sent to de la Fuente, asking de la Fuente's approval that he, Cline, work in Yalalag and asking the opportunity to talk over his field work with de la Fuente. The letter is courteously written.....

I am asking that \$100 be sent to you in the way of additional aid in Mexico to augment your expense account. I understand that with this provision you can continue to pay Rosales the monthly stipend he sends to his family.

I have two letters from Gillin which I enclose herewith. Return them, please. You will see that he has a good word to say of Tumin.

His statement that there is real caste system in his community interests me. Apparently the station wagon is played out.

Yours sincerely,

Bob

September 8, 1942

Dear Greta:

It has taken me much too long a time to write you. Please excuse me. I seem to be the kind of mother who is busy with one child, just as busy with two, and probably as busy as if there were six. To be fair to Marianna, though, it's still her big sister who leads the show. We haven't found a satisfactory nursery school with pickup service and we really haven't bothered about it much because Susan has all along insisted that she wants to stay home. I confess I like her to be home; she was in school so much of the time in Chicago and we'll be back there in a few months for her to continue.

We are enjoying Mexico City even though it is not all we expected and, to us, doesn't come up to Guatemala, our first love. Finding a house was harder than we thought it would be, and then after we had the house it took three weeks to get a cook. She will be with us only the rest of the month, when she leaves to have a baby. But there are prospects of others.

↘ We were pleased to hear that your Mexican reader has gone so far that you have chosen pictures. May I help read proof or something so as to get a good first look at it? Sol says he hasn't written Bob about the result of our visit to Frances Toor's. He spent an afternoon looking over prints of Rivera's and other Murals that she has, and finally chose a dozen or two (including figures of Zapata) to send you. Then Miss Toor, who had seemed nice about everything, asked ↘ whether you wished to buy or to borrow them. She explained that the

prints are priced. Sol then suggested that he would send the pictures to you and you could keep, and pay for, those that you wished, and  
 → return the others. There seemed so much hesitation that when Miss Toor suggested that two or three of her books , with reproductions of the pictures, be sent instead, Sol felt he had to agree -- and  
 → said he would buy the books for you. Miss Toor seems to be in business, very definitely. One of the things she said in her hesitation is that pictures cannot pass the border. Anyway, you will soon receive  
 → picture-books, and Sol can then buy you the pictures that you want. I suppose you know that Miss Toor is taking Sol's course,so this won't be difficult at all.

I have been thinking of the problem of the Guatemalan reader -- and sort of waiting for Sol's notes to come to give me suggestions. They haven't yet appeared, but I won't wait longer to give you my thoughts to date.

I think we might be able to put together "Their Dat". as you once suggested, with a simple ethnographic text and a lot of stories and beliefs, etc. Using Panajachel material exclusively (here, but not necessarily in the book) it might divide something like

1. Grinding. Last night, cooked mixtamal (brief description).

Importance of corn in diet, hence of nixtamal-grinding in the woman's day. Sacredness of corn...story of how once a few kernels were enough...different colors of corn and story of black maize origin...

First thing this morning, wash nixtamal to begin to make tortillas for breakfast (brief description) Beliefs about fire, grinding stones, etc.,...

2. Seeing the Menfolk off on a Trading Trip. Get up especially early -- with morning-star "nixtamalero" and probably warm over tortillas for breakfast. Totoposte for trip made the day before (description)...Men carry large loads, and go far. Story of origin of mountains, etc.; why must go happily. Compensations of men: see things, companionship, stories around the fire at night.

Women perhaps left with fears. Stories of bandits on road, tiger and toes, tiger and lion.

3. Off to Work. Only men in Milpa; hard work -- but kiss earth and need to be content. Stories of when hoe worked alone., and of Tomás Gólsquileros.

Women join men in garden crops. Division of Labor... Importance of vegetables (and some description): a marriage proposal.

How women take babies on backs when go to market or fields. Leave a woman at home to fix lunch or supper: or sometimes a child frightened by a fly.

4. Women at Home. Jobs are cooking, getting water, washing dishes, weaving. Weaving and costume description. Water: Story of river, and story or two of the Lake.

Cooking most important (a few dishes & recipes). Send lunch to men in milpa; joke about boy and spilled soup. Must have all ready when men come home. Eating etiquette. Evening work: braiding garlic, preparing loads for market. Rarely stories around the fire at night.

Or, in evening, Sweatbath for family. Description.

Sta. Ana is patron of midwives and sweatbath. Story of Marimba and Mouse.

- 5. Fiestas. When have a servicio in house (brief description of system) everything upset. Having a cofradía -- work and expense, and gaiety of grinding together, etc. When the man enters a dance -- story of getting dance clothes.

The titular fiesta. Story of how S. Francisco was found. clothes and fiestas.

Holy week; foods, customs, whipping children & smearing trees, etc. The organization and Passion. Story of Judíos, etc. Story of how they crucified person in S. Gerónimo, and what resulted.

Later I could use Sol's notes to figure out which other stories and things might be worked in. Of course, if it is not limited to Panajachel, and includes San Antonio and S. Pedro and Chichicastenango, and Agua Escondida too, there would be more to choose from; but it might be more difficult to keep from confusing the reader.

All goes fairly well here, with just a few minor discomforts. Yesterday Sol got a nopal thorn in his leg and it took a slight operation to get it out. He is also having a little dental trouble which will be taken care of tomorrow -- probably an extraction. And Marianna is irritable and doesn't eat well, because of teeth coming, we hope.

By regular mail we are sending pictures of the children. You see we are taking advantage of the low cost of some things in Mexico.

Much love,

Gertrude

September 10, 1942

Dear Sol:

This is a miscellaneous sort of letter.

As Botts, you have done very well with the bibliography problem. You seem to have taken it pretty well off my hands, which is where I wanted to get it. I am interested in having the thing done, not in doing it. I entirely approve of your suggestions. I think the enterprise could be begun by combining what Palacios has with Kirchhoff's bibliography and then with that of Jimenez Moreno. When that is done, there will probably be little for me to add. I agree with you that the historical materials should be included and that they should be included in a single section. I also approve the use of the Jimenez Moreno map. The only problem I see is one of selection. You will remember that the Murdock bibliography is not complete, nor does it pretend to be. It includes those references which have some substantial information on the peoples it represents. It does not include references which refer casually to the tribes concerned. I am wondering if the problem of selection is not going to be even greater in the case of the Mexican materials. A Yucatecan student has published a bibliography on the Maya in a dozen installments which runs to many hundreds of titles. Can the group down there hold themselves down so that the list does not become unwieldy?

I suggest that Jimenez Moreno or Kirchhoff or Weitlaner or Palacios write a brief memorandum describing the procedure to be followed and then make it plain that the attempt will be to make it conform, so far as the Mexican area makes it possible, to the Murdock pattern.

I will send this to Murdock, because, after all, he has the first claim on the enterprise.

Juan Rosales has almost finished, he tells me, the chapter on the division of labor. As soon as I have looked it over I will write you about it. The local draft board classified him in 1-A but no problem is presented, because the board tells me that they will grant him exemption as an alien as soon as he files the papers which he has now prepared.

.....

I have received offprints of Weitlaner's papers. Will you kindly extend to him my thanks (although I understand that it was you who sent them)?

A letter from Lemley, the missionary, tells me that he was on his way to Mexico City and that he would look you up. I shall be interested to hear from you about him. He has sent me some sample materials. If he has not given you copies, I will pass them on to you. They contain much information which we want to know, but it is presented in very crude bad-literary form. Moreover, the original materials (interviews, case materials, etc.) are not there but only the generalizations. We will try to guide him.

Villa has just sent me a batch of material dealing with half a dozen ethnological subjects, including witchcraft and espantos, and a long genealogy of one family. I suppose he has sent copies to you. There is some good material here.

Signing off for the present, I am,

Yours as ever,

Bob

September 17, 1942

Dear Bob:

you might wonder at my unusually long silence. Be at ease; we are all well. But the past ten days have been unusual -- and not good.

Gillin came on Saturday the fifth and stayed until Monday evening. We enjoyed his visit, and I shall report our conversations later. I would have enjoyed it more except for a bad toothache. On Monday the Sady's invited him to go to the Pedregal and Cuicuiló, and I thought that I, too, might be an archaeologist for a few hours. I should have considered more carefully, for in jumping across a gully in the lava flow, I sideswiped a cactus plant and a needle went deeply into my leg. The result was an operation in a test blackout (that included the doctor's office) and I limped for days. On Wednesday afternoon, a dentist pulled out my bad tooth. I should have been anesthetized from head to foot, it turned out. Later I was informed (and by the person who had recommended the dentist) that he is a sadist. I am glad to report that most of my suffering occurred later, out of his sight!

Meanwhile, during those days Marianna stopped eating almost entirely. We finally called the doctor, who suggested that she was just tired of all of her food. With the changes that he prescribed, she immediately began to eat and has been perfectly well since. But that added to our troubles for a week. It was about Thursday that our servant suddenly had to be pensioned off to have her baby. It wasn't her time, but she almost aborted. But of course she left

us permanently. It wasn't until today that we hired another, although in the emergency to be described in a minute, the Sadys kindly lent us theirs.

All that was preliminary to a period of trial that began on Thursday. Two or three weeks ago we were pleasantly surprised to meet, coming out of a movie, Don Adán Amézquita and his wife, Marta. You will recall them as the keepers of the most important store in Chichicastenango. During the next week or two we saw them twice more. They were living in a small hotel here, having come up for a vacation (with hopes of a quick trip to Los Angeles, too). They had no friends here whatsoever, except us.

On that Thursday Marta called us to say that Adán was sick -- some kind of infection with fever that might be typhoid. Of course we tried to help. It turned out not to be typhoid; the Dr. thought it was his liver, and made little of it. His fever was gone by Sunday. Late Monday evening I was called to the hotel and found things in a bad state. That morning Adán in Marta's absence had gone down to the lobby "to look for his brothers." He had fainted and taken a turn for the worse. The Doctor had left town for the Independence holiday, and his substitute had just left, telling Marta not to leave him for a minute and to give him medicines every hour. I found him almost in a stupor, his eyes unnaturally staring and with difficulty of speech. The doctor had said he was only very weak and had prescribed food-drugs. Marta was very frightened and seemed to me hardly in a position to care for him properly in that hotel room. I had before urged Adán to go to a sanatorio or hospital, but even the first doctor had pooh-poohed

this. Now I thought it necessary at least to get a nurse in. I spent two hours on the telephone trying to get one -- in vain; even the Dr. who had just been there failed.

I didn't stay all night, but was back early. Adán seemed a little worse -- semi-comatose. Marta had decided that he should go to a hospital. I called the American Hospital and they assigned an American Doctor to the case -- he happened to be at the hospital operating. An ambulance came at about 9 AM and we went out. The care was good, but the Dr. didn't get out of the operating room for a long time and then apparently nobody told him he had a patient, and I had to trace him down. It wasn't until about 11:00 that he saw Adán, and then he quickly saw that it was diabetes.-- with the patient now in a state of glucose coma -- and insulin treatment was begun. During the afternoon Adán seemed to get worse rather than better; he seemed to have his faculties, but now could not move or speak. The Doctor was called, but did not come until after 5 PM. Now he found that Adán's limbs were completely paralyzed. He told me he couldn't understand the case, that he suspected there might be infantile paralysis and in the morning he would take spinal fluid. (However, he changed his mind and did this during the evening). He didn't hide the gravity of the situation, but didn't indicate any immediate danger.

At 4:30 A.M. a telephone call told me that Adán had died. I immediately went to bring Marta home with me. That was early yesterday morning. Since then you can imagine how busy I have been. Marta wants to take the body to Guatemala, and I have had to learn

a lot. Fortunately, the owner of the hotel where the Amézquitas had been is both kind and knowing and has been a great help. Of course communications with Guatemala have been frequent. Marta's father is due here Saturday evening (flying from Tapachula, since PAA planes are full). One of the difficulties here has been money, since what the Amézquitas brought is tied up because it was brought in U.S. currency, which is no longer changeable here; but Marta's father will bring some.

It would take a good psychoanalyst to figure out if we are glad or sorry that we happened to meet that night coming out of the movies. Certainly, Mrs. Amézquita would have been in an even more deplorable state if we had not -- alone in a hotel room, I suppose. As it is, and especially with children, she is able to forget occasionally.

For me it has been lucky that this is a week of Fiesta and I have not had to teach; my mind has been far from it.

(By the way, the Doctor doesn't really know what Adán died of, because he knows it wasn't diabetes, and he knows now it wasn't infantile either. He insisted upon talking to Marta before signing the death certificate -- wanting information he said, but just as probably wanting an opportunity to present his bill. That was done this afternoon. The doctor thinks it was diabetes plus some kind of intestinal infection; but he admits he is mystified, and also suggests apoplexy and cerebral hemorrhage.)

To turn to brighter things, I can report that my box of books arrived on Monday; I immediately unpacked and began distributing long-promised materials. I was interested to note that the seals placed

on the case in the Chicago customs house were unbroken; that means that the delay was not caused by examination or anything of the sort -- only (I am sure) inefficiency of the agent of the railroad who was put in charge. The shipment stayed in Nuevo-Laredo for over two months!

Also, today I received Ben Paul's thesis. I think it will be useful here. I intend to have it bound (cheap here) so that it will not be injured.

I am sorry about the delay in sending you additions and corrections for the State-of Research Memorandum. My various readers have been slow in returning it, and I haven't been able to do much hurrying. In a few days I hope to get the matter out of the way; I think I have most of the data that I need.

(Sept. 18)

I have had your letters of Aug. 25th (from Windy Pines), Aug. 26th (from the train) and those of Sept. 7, 8, and 10.

It does not seem right to me that you should have had to put out money for Chan Kom and the Krogman; the last seems especially unfair, and I insist upon paying for it. Or, it occurs to me, perhaps the Dept. has provided me with a copy (or is supposed to) -- it was our publication, wasn't it? -- in which case I am willing that it be considered the one sent to Comas. If you cannot fix it up that way, please tell me how much you spent so that I can reimburse you -- I wouldn't feel right about it otherwise! As for the Folk Culture for de la Fuente, I will buy one for him in exchange for a copy or two of the translation, copies of which the Publisher

will give him. (I can buy the book down here.) In that way, nobody will lose.

I still have not heard if Métraux is signed up for next year here -- I mean on good authority. When Gillin was here I had the opportunity of seeing that his Spanish would be very adequate for teaching here; and I also decided that he would be good man. I sounded him out on the possibility, and he was very agreeable in principle, although of course the war makes him as uncertain of his plans as it does all of us. He is anxious to do something more for the war-effort than simple teaching at Duke, and if nothing else offers, and there should be an opportunity down here, perhaps he would be glad of it on the grounds that it is somehow related to Inter-American cultural relations.

Yes, Gillin told me immediately that he likes Tumin -- and that is a good break for the project. ....Apparently he left Tumin to finish up a number of basic jobs, but expects him to work primarily along lines of his own (Tumin's) interest -- social psychology especially through life-histories. I think that the situation will be very fortunate; when Gillin turns in his notes and conclusions, it will be possible to ask Tumin to check on various points and to pull in loose ends. Discussion with Gillin will thus bear fruit more immediately than in most cases.

What Gillen had to tell me about race relations in Jilotepeque is exceedingly interesting. In the first place, he noted that (judging largely by body-hair) none of the Ladinos have much Indian blood; they may be said to be white men. In the second place, nobody

is a Ladino who is not the child of a legally or religiously married woman; every Ladino is expected to become married, and a Ladina has no status in her community if she is not married -- although after being married once, it is not important that her children be sired by her husband. A child of an Indian is and always remains an Indian; in all known cases, all Ladinos are children of Ladino parents. Gillin can cite only three cases of Indians who have (in terms of Western Guatemala) become culturally-linguistically Ladinoized; one is an army officer, the second plays in the band in Guatemala City, and the third is a traveling merchant. When these three come back to Jilotepeque, there is no question but that they are considered Indians. Reminiscent of our South is the fact that Indians never eat at the table of a Ladino home (although Ladinos may eat in Indian homes) and that this is a conscious prohibition. It appears to be the only important social-distance manifestation (besides real marriage) and Gillin volunteered, and emphasized, that there is little emotion involved in relations of the castes.

The term Mestizo is not used, or known as a class term. He got a hint of an interesting situation in Ipala where everybody says there are "no Indians". At the fiesta he noted that people from there brought their Santos, and these people were obviously not Ladinos in the Jilotepeque sense. He asked about them, and finally Indians and Ladinos agreed that they were "mezclados" -- using the term in some class sense; but apparently the concept of an intermediate class has not crystallized; anyway, the data are few and flimsy.

Gillin got no data on the area between Jilotepeque and Guatemala City. He does point up an extremely interesting problem in Guazacapán. A river apparently divides the town. On one side is an Indian community (probably Pipil) distinguished by costume, language, culture, etc.; on the other side -- the main part of town -- are two communities, (1) a Ladino community and (2) a community of Indians in process of Ladinoization -- these also Pipil Indians. These latter are the ones who claim not to speak lengua, but many of them do. This situation would of itself be interesting, but there is also the problem of the Ladino community which is unusual. It appears to be a closed society of a limited number of families of descendants of the earliest Conquistadores and colonists, who have been there from earliest Spanish times. It is much more isolated than Ladino communities usually are; people do not read newspapers and at least some of them do not know that a war is in progress. It is also pretty much of a closed community, and outside Ladinos (such as the Intendente and a storekeeper who has been there years) are in some sense excluded from Society.

There is still a lot to do in Guatemala!

Gillin sounded me out on the question of possible future assistance from the CIW. It appears that he can have \$700 a year for this research; the University prefers (and has more money for) research in our South, but will not stand in the way of his spending money in Guatemala. What the University does want if that its funds be matched by outsiders. Obviously \$700 is not enough for research in Guatemala anyway, so to continue it requires that it be supplemented from outside.

Gillin is willing to make the financial sacrifice of his summers (when he could be teaching and earning). He hopes that somebody else will chip in too, and naturally he thinks of CIW. (He cannot expect more help from the American Philosophical Society, which matched Duke's fund this year.) Of course I neither could nor did give him any answer, but I did promise to mention the matter to you. He is himself shy of trying to force his way into our program more than he has already done. (I am myself sympathetic in principle; but of course I do not know what might have to be sacrificed to assist him.)

By the way, it appears that sociologically -- in matters of "folkism", etc. -- Jilotepeque resembles Chorti, Yucatan, and Tzeltal more than it does the Midwestern Highlands, doubtless including the Western Pokóman. In many elements of culture, too; but here Gillin is impressed with the feeling that the culture is "washed out" (thin) in comparison.

.....

I received your paper on "The Folk Society". Making explicit, as it does, your whole line of reasoning, in simple fashion, I think it exceedingly useful. I am having one of my assistants translate it into Spanish; he has finished a rough draft, and I have been going over it with him carefully so that it will be a faithful translation. I have some four or five hours work on that remaining, but haven't been able to find them. When it is finished, I shall send you a copy and we can think about publication here in Spanish (possibly in the *Sociology Revista*). Meanwhile, I shall use it in my class, at least, for

it is a wonderful example of "scientific" procedure in a field in which I have been trying to arouse interest.

I suppose you might as well send on the Rosales MS. I imagine that the historical sources necessary to fill in the information required are available here; I already have some in my office. When I receive the MS, I will be better able to tell if I need something from there.

.....

Borbolla received from LaFarge (in Santa Fé) a letter indicating that he is himself putting into shape his Sta. Eulalia MS, which he will soon finish and then go into the Army. He offered to have an extra carbon made for the School (at a cost of about \$5.00). Since this would not come in time to be very useful to me, I suggested to Borbolla that he ask if there is prospect of immediate publication; if so, we agreed that the \$5.00 might be saved. I think there is nothing more to do in the matter.

.....

.....



This letter has been interrupted by a four-hour visit from Lemley, who brought all of his ethnological notes. I might as well report on that now. He showed me the long letter you wrote him, and part of the time was spent in justifying to him your mild criticisms; he asks me to explain to you that some of the flowery language was included because he originally wrote with a commercial publisher in mind. Since he came to me for advice and help, I made no attempt to pull punches and I think I was able to show him specifically how to improve his

work (pretty much along the lines you suggested, but I also opened to him some of the techniques that professionals use). We didn't finish our conference by any means, and will probably have another; I imagine that the benefits we shall derive will justify the time -- at least I hope so.

The first thing we had to settled was the reader of his book, and he agreed to write it for a scientific audience; he agreed that later he could write a popular book, using any of the material. (He has Spier's Yuman Tribes, but I assured him that a "scientific" book need not be that dull.) I did my best, then, to explain -- with specific examples of his material -- what would be required in a monograph that would serve anthropologists. He seems to catch on, and the next material we get from him will probably include case materials and some indications of the source and value of the statements that he makes.



Lemley is married, and his wife works with him. His job is to learn language and translate the New Testament into it. He is not the kind of missionary we have in Guatemala, for I judge he is a linguist first. He doesn't seem to have the spiritual consecration and is in some way personally ambitious; there would be some truth in the statement that he proposes to exchange his material for what he can get. He started to write his ethnology in order to make money, but was discouraged by at least one commercial publisher -- who thought his outline too technical. Now he will write to please you in the hope that a publishable document would win him a scholarship (tuition and incidentals) in the University of Chicago. He wants (when the war is over and the U.S. will again be a good place to live) to study

Linguistics -- not anthropology -- and if possible to get a Ph.D. in it. An indication of his unaltruistic attitude is that he tells me that Weitlaner is a friend of his, but he has not shown him any of his material for fear that it will be appropriated and he will not get the credit. He has also kept his ethnological work a dark secret from his missionary colleagues, wishing to "surprise" them.

Nevertheless, and for whatever motives, I think he is capable of turning in an honest report that will have considerable value. He is very naive (and supposes that he writes very well) but I am sure will take guidance and advice. One thing is certain: that anything beyond pure reporting that gets into his monograph will have been put into it, directly or indirectly, by you or me. But it is fortunate that he happens to be interested in observing many of the things that we think need to be observed. For example, in the chapter that you wrote on Witchcraft, you must have noted that he spends more time on the place of the sorcerer in the community, etc., than on details of divination. I think that he should be helped along as much as possible to observe more of what he has already been observing, and more accurately and fully; I see no point in trying to make an anthropologist of him, to awaken him to theories or problems. Improving his reporting will be a big enough job, for he is as uncritical as he is naive and tends to take the word of his informant even when his statement is on the face of it impossible.

I shall take up the bibliography problem again with Jimenez Moreno. I saw Kirchhoff today, and he is still cooperative and agreeable to the principle of careful selection of titles.....

In the past two weeks there were two faculty meetings (that I know of) to which I wasn't asked; the faculty (or part of it -- not the thirty-odd stray professors) met chiefly, I understand, to plan next year's curriculum. Before the second meeting I saw Kirchhoff, who was surprised that I hadn't been invited and who said he would suggest to Jiménez Moreno (who seems to be in charge) that I be asked in. I wasn't anyway. Perhaps one of the reasons it that I must have been discussed. This evening Sady told me (his information coming from either Comas or Vivó) that courses in "practical anthropology" are planned, and that I have been slated to give one! This is news to me. My personal inclination would be not to be here next year. (Of course the information might be false.)

.....

Student Camara has not yet received from Yucatan a reply to his request to have the answers to the Questionnaire sent to Mexico City. If the request is refused, I shall think about your proposal to have somebody go over the material in Merida to see what is worth copying. I spoke to Camara about this, and he says that Barrera Vasquez would be the person to do it. (It is to Barrera Vasquez that he wrote.) You doubtless have an opinion on that.

The old questionnaire to which you refer may be the one distributed by the National University ten years ago in the form of five topically-arranged notebooks (one of which you gave me to bring down here). I have investigated that questionnaire and find that all of the results are in bundles in the archives. I have given to Borbolla a list of Chiapas municipios (where Maya languages are spoken) for

which I would be interested in seeing the results of that ambitious questionnaire, and he is to try to get them for me. I imagine that the more recent Yucatan questionnaire drew better results than that one because it was confined to Yucatan and the questions prepared especially for the region by Barrera Vasquez.

I have had the time to go over all of the Zinacantán census schedules on population, and have taken notes that are not yet organized. I shall send you a copy. I think it was time very well spent; it was not necessary to use statistical procedures, only inspection.

Rachel now suggests that she might write what would amount to a ten-or twelve-page summary of her Report, for publication. If she does that (and she certainly will with encouragement) it might solve the problem of a note in the Anthropologist, since the article could contain a statement to the effect that the complete report is available in Chicago. Still I encourage this, or do you have other plans?

I, too, will think about what one might say about Culture Change in general, but the prospects on this end aren't bright. How about a definition of the problem involved in conscious endeavor to change Indian culture down here -- an analysis, concluding with a statement of some of the factors that must be taken account of?

The Mezquital project appears to have been accepted by everybody in Washington and now turned down in writing by the embassy.

Don't bother with the Chiapas aerial photos any more. It sounds impossible. Borbolla tells me that Caso made an official request of the Communications people here for the same (on my behalf), but no

reply has yet come through. I am not clear as to whether reference is to the same photos.

I think I have received from Villa all of the material that you have. You have doubtless received by this time a copy of the interesting letter he wrote me about the kinship system. I have had no opportunity to work on the matter.

Today I had a letter from Ralph Linton (in answer to one I sent him enclosing what I wrote about his book). You will be interested in this extract.

"The summer at Chicago proved to be very pleasant. In addition to my own courses I sat in on Redfield's course on Folk Society and Civilization, trying to find out just what the important differences between the Chicago approach and other approaches were. I am afraid that I failed in this since Redfield and I seem to agree on all important points of theory."

This letter needs an index, doubtless better still a scissors! Please give our best to your family; isn't Lisa about off to Swarthmore?

Yours,

Sol

P.S. I received from Tumin this afternoon notes and a long letter addressed to both of us. I am to send all on to you, and shall when I finish reading the many pages. He seems to be getting along very well.

Windy Pines

Sunday, September 20th, [1942]

Dear Gertrude:

Far from thinking that it was you who should have written it seemed to me all this time that it was I who was remiss. At any rate, I was very glad to get your good letter, and we all liked very much the photographs of your two charming daughters. Marianna now seems to look much more like Susan. Both are children to be proud of. I suppose the admiring glances of your friends and neighbors in Mexico do not make your problems with Susan any easier, tho.

Don't pass final judgment on Mexico until you leave the city atmosphere. Mexico City has lost a good deal of its earlier charm, I think, tho still interesting. But Tepoztlan still seems to me to have been more interesting internally, if not externally, than anything we struck in Guatemala. How one regrets the Pension Geroult tho. It absolutely spoils one for other places. I should like to hear more details of your domestic life. Sol's letters, which Bob has passed on to me much of the time, are very interesting, and he seems to be getting on marvelously with his students. Please thank him for his efforts with regard to the pictures. I worked over my reader materials in line with Mr. Castillo's suggestion but even now I am sure much of the Spanish should be smoothed. However, we have had it copied and it seems in good enough shape to submit to a publisher for a first look, at least. Your outline of suggestions on the Gautemalan Day sounds swell. With Sol's materials, maybe you can work it up yourself. I'll be glad to cooperate, tho, if I can.

I don't wonder that you are busy. Most people would think having a comparatively new baby as well as a very lively four year old would be enough, and moving to a new place, trying to break in cooks and so on add plenty to complications. By the way, Joanna is sorry about the laundry list, but has been slowed down on her newspaper. And she wants to get that done first. I wouldn't count too much on the list.

Joanna and Jamie have now started lessons at home. That, garden-  
ing, chickens, canning -- apples, pears, tomatoes, grapes, mainly --  
and some Civilian Defense work seem to absorb most all the minutes  
of the day. Joanna has also started her ballet dancing lessons again,  
making a trip way out to Hinsdale on Friday and coming back Saturday  
afternoon. Lisa does not leave for Swarthmore till the 9th of October,  
so she is still busy here.

Next week-end we may have an anthropological party of sorts, as  
we want to have some Latin American students out, and find also that  
Moro Maxwell, whom you may remember as a student in the department, is  
here at the Glenview Naval Air Base, which by the way is expanding  
rapidly. It is likely that some of the officers may rent Bob's mother's  
house, which is now vacant, and may even move into ours when we vacate  
it. There is a good deal of housing shortage out here, as you can  
imagine. We have had definite word that the tenants are moving out  
of the little apartment we plan to move into, so next month we can get  
started moving in. As the time approaches, I hate the thought more  
than ever. However, it has to be -- that is, if we expect to see any-  
thing of Bob. He has been pretty tired out with all his jauntings  
about. At present he is having what is called a vacation but doesn't

look a great like one. However, he says few people have them anymore, which I guess is true.

Naomi thinks she may go into Defense work when we go to town. She had a vacation awhile back and we managed so well without her that I was quite cheered.

Bob will probably have written Sol the news from Agua Escondida, that an earthquake knocked down some of both chimneys on our house and study, and also that Pedro's babay died -- tho not at this time, I believe. I must write Romelia again.

I have now discovered something I do want you to buy for me while in Mexico, and that is some of those nice pottery bowls, large soup-bowl size and larger, for serving vegetables and so on, as I have lots of pottery plates and all my bowls have broken. Almost any color would do, tho blue or orange would be particularly good. Also, may I ask you the favor of looking out for a particular gooy colored card of the sort used by Agua Escondidians and others of the same class for birthday greetings. We have some here but not the extreme example of the class, and I thought I should like to use one as an illustration in the reader. However, it would have to plain not colored the, wouldn't it?

There are a couple of words in the Corrido of Obregon I am including that I am not sure of. Maybe you or Sol could ask someone what they thought they meant.

Ex. carnet

Con el carnet en la (mano) izquierda Se acercó a aquella reunion.

limoncito

Con discusos celebraban  
Aquel magestuoso rito  
Y las notas de la orquesta  
Tocaban el limoncito.

Hope this won't be too much trouble. I was very interested you found our pediatrician from old time and hope you like him as I did. Please send him my greeting. Good luck, and love from us all,

As ever,  
Greta

September 23, 1942

Dear Sol:

From Rachel I had already received intimation of some of the misfortunes which befell you during the first fortnight of September. It was certainly an accumulation of desgracias. The cactus thorn and the infected tooth were bad enough, but the worry about your small daughter and the death of Adán Amesquita were too much. I am afraid that you are going through life being a sort of lightning rod for other people's troubles. Just because you are the perfect person in an emergency, other people's emergencies are likely to come your way. I speak from experience. I can imagine all that you did for Amesquita's poor wife and how much there was for you to do. I will take your letter home this evening so that Greta may see all that you and Gertrude have been through, and feel once more, as I feel, an appreciation of your nature and competence. Please don't be embarrassed

if I write this out in these few words.

Goubaud just came into the office, and I told him the news. Of course he knew Amesquita well. While I mention Goubaud, may I put into your mind the question of his future? He is planning to return to Guatemala I think at the end of the winter quarter. He looks forward to getting a government position "where I can help anthropology." Apparently he doesn't anticipate much difficulty in getting such a position. But he would like to do field work first, and I think he should. We should have a plan ready for such field work so that we can ask for money to support it; so I would like to hear from you on this point.

I turn now to other business. I am glad that your books have at last arrived. Will you tell me if you have received a package containing the two Master's theses, some of your lecture notes, and the copies of Villa's material on sorcery?

Please do not worry about the Krogman book. I found that I owned two copies; so although I was out one book, I had to pay no cash. As to paying for the Chan Kom book, I was glad to do so. I don't like very well your buying a copy of my book on Yucatan to give to somebody else, but I will let you do it if you are sure you will get the equivalent.

I have just received from Caso a letter saying that Metraux accepts for the semester following yours. All that remains to be worked out is the details. I agree that Gillin will be a good man to send down. We will propose him as a next name. What you send me from Gillin on race relations in San Luis Jilotepeque is nothing short

of astonishing. I begin to think that I will never learn anything about Guatemala. I do think it would be appropriate for the Institution to contribute some money to Gillin's work. But, with Goubaud to take care of, it would be hard to ask for anything else. It is very likely that the question will not soon arise, however, because my guess will be that Gillin will not be in the field next summer.

I am very glad to have you make any use of the Folk Society paper that you choose to make. If the Sociology Journal wants to print it, that is all right with me. It is being used here only in connection with course work.

I spent some time this afternoon with Rosales. I had not seen him for over two weeks because soon after returning from the West, I made a six-days trip to the East. He turned over to me the revised, supposedly complete, fifty-five page section on specialized occupations. This is the sum total of his work during the two or three months you have been gone. So you see, it goes slowly. These pages are, however, pretty good. He is now at work on employee labor, especially agriculture, and on commercial and cooperative labor. He seems in pretty good spirits and is beginning to talk about whether he can go home through Mexico. I rather encouraged him because I should like him to visit you and Villa in Chiapas. But we will work that out later. I gave him the manuscript on material culture, telling him that he could have it for four days and could work on it for that period only. I saw that his heart bled real drops of life's blood, when I told him this. He pointed out that there muchos datos in there "if he could only get them out. But I was

adamant: so I will send you the manuscript in about a week.

.....

↙ I am glad I didn't write Lemley in any further detail. Now I will not write him any further criticism of his work because it is better that he has not more than one critic and adviser. That is, I will not do so until and unless you tell me to. It will be a good job if you can get him not merely to write straight-forward reports but to report on matters from informants and from his observations. The present material has all the "source edges" rubbed off.

.....

I have written Rachel suggesting that she write a paper for the Anthropologist.

I am still stuck on the culture change business and have no time now to think about it.

.....

Thank you for sending on the paragraph from Linton's letter. He wrote me an equally agreeable letter saying that he had enjoyed listening to me and that he thought what I had to say was an interesting presentation. The principle question in his mind was whether the contrast was with civilization or with changing society, but that he realized that this might not be a question, depending on how one defines civilization.

So much for business. I spent a day in New Haven with Wendell Bennett, and I saw Ben and Lois Paul, the latter still expecting, the former still serene. Bennett says Paul is doing very well.

Apparently the enterprise is still somewhat cloudy, however. In New York I attended a meeting of the Committee on Joint Latin American Studies. You will probably hear from Earl J. Hamilton who is studying the Leland suggestions with reference to the support of Mexican scholarly groups. You saw that report. If you will kindly give Hamilton all the information and advice you can, you will be further helpful. Hamilton is acting for the Joint Committee, and it is likely that money will come to Mexico as a result of his recommendations.

I spent two days in Philadelphia attending the annual meeting of the Social Science Research Council, which seemed to me to be full of futility and frustration. Now I am taking a few days at home by way of a vacation. I am doing chores around the house and building a lavatory to the little guest house. Next Monday the quarter begins. We shall probably have no students, but there will still be a little work to do here for a while.

You have probably heard of the earthquake in Guatemala. Kidder told Goubaud that Tecpan was "largely destroyed" and that Patzun suffered severely. My friends in the village write me that both chimneys fell on my estate and that the front wall of the study is down in part. More serious news is that the young child of Pedro Alvarez has just died.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has just told us of a new regulation: new advances pending accounting will not be made until funds pending accounting have been reported upon. I can promise you the one hundred dollars which you will need to pay Rosales, but,

apparently, I cannot get it paid you until you send me your next account.

Greta was very glad to get Gertrude's letter and will no doubt write her. I hope your troubles are over for the present.

With best wishes to you both, I am,

Yours as ever,

Bob

[P.S.]

I thought Villa's "clan" interesting and important. At last we have one M.A. group that has clearly (1) land-holding patrilineal lineages; (2) , named, patrilineal groups without attested kinship in all cases. But, I ask you, what name and affiliation have daughters?

September 29, 1942

Dear Sol:

I am arranging to have Rosales' material on culture copied. It will then be sent to you. It is such a difficult manuscript to read now that I think you will work on it more easily after it has been copied. Moreover, once it has been copied it will be possible to show it to Vela or to any other persons interested in publishing it even before you have completed it.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which Rosales just sent me. I thought you would be interested.

Enclosed also is a copy of a letter from Linton about the Lincoln manuscript. I have written him that I am not at all surprised at his decision.

Kidder writes that he will be here on the eighth of October.

No other news for the present.

Yours sincerely,

Bob

[Encl.:]

Ralph Linton, Editor  
Columbia University

New York, N.Y.

September 22, 1942

Dr. Robert Redfield  
Dean of the Social Sciences  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bob:

I have finally finished the Lincoln manuscript and after considerable thought I honestly feel that it is not suitable for publication as a Memoir of the Anthropological Association, even if more than the usual fifty percent of costs subsidy could be obtained for it. Although it contains a fair amount of ethnological material I feel that the only really very new or valuable parts are those dealing with the calendar. Other aspects of the native life are passed over very lightly and the numerous personal reminiscences contribute little to the value of the report. Also, as you can well understand, I do not care to put myself in the position of sponsorship for numerous derogatory remarks regarding the activities of the church in Guatemala, the drunkenness of the

September 23, 1942

Muy estimado Dr. Redfield:

Pensando que tal vez es urgente enviar a Mexico o a otra parte el borrador del primer libro sobre San Pedro, se lo devuelvo antes de los cuatro dias estipulados. He revisado unas paginas del primer capitulo y veo que sólo en esto hay algo más que hacer. Por ejemplo: los 3 mapas que hay que agregar aquí no están terminados todavía. Lo mismo con los apéndices de San Juan la Laguna y de la aldea Cutzán. Así debe ser en los demás capítulos.

Como le dije, hay mucho que cambiar, quitar y poner en este libro. Pero de seguro que hay alguna otra persona que pueda hacerlo en menos tiempo y mejor que yo.

El Dr. Tax me habfa dicho que por último yo tendría que revisar cuidadosamente mis manuscritos para ver que datos estaban mal puestos, cuales repetidos, cuales por agregar, etc. En fin, acepto que se haga con el primer libro lo que Uds. hayan ya dispuesto, estoy seguro que saldrá mucho mejor que si yo mismo lo revisara.

El segundo libro, en el cual estoy ocupado ahora, sí voy a responder por él porque estoy satisfecho con todo lo que le voy agregando y quitando, según las buenas sugerencias tuyas. Uno que escribe más de una vez un mismo párrafo, una página, o un capítulo, lo revisa y lo corrige antes de publicarlo, debe quedar un poco más satisfecho de su trabajo y, luego, se tiene que sentir responsable de sus escritos y no puede negar que es lo mejor que ha podido hacer.

Estoy muy contento con sus ayudas en el segundo libro. Las sugerencias tuyas me son muy provechosas y quedo contento, también, con lo poco que va saliendo en limpio; tengo más entrenamiento y aprecio mejor algunas cosas que antes no valían para mí. Me gusta que yo mismo lo haga todo por ahora porque cuando esté otra vez en Guatemala, ya no va haber un Dr. Redfield o un Dr. Tax ahí cerca para hacerle preguntas a cada paso. Ud. sabe que allá todo es más difícil que aquí.

Con toda consideración y respecto soy su atento servidor,

Juan Roasles [signed]

Indians, etc. They may be true but they certainly are not diplomatic. Perhaps the Carnegie Institution may be able to provide publication for the scientifically significant parts of the manuscript, which I feel would be little more than half of it by bulk.

I am returning the manuscript to you, therefore, under separate cover.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,  
Ralph Linton

September 30, 1942

Dear Bob:

I have your letter of the 23rd, but before answering, I note the following enclosures:

1. Copies of two letters I have written to Alfonso.\* After mailing the second letter, I received from him today a number of pages of his Diary. I seem to be getting his original notes, and I am not sure if you are getting copies; I hope you are because I would like to keep a copy here and take it to the field. I think Alfonso is doing excellently; it might be well for you to ask him at about this point to write you a summary of all that he knows about the community so that impressions, ideas, etc. that do not appear in his notes will be put on paper.
2. Tumin's letter to you and me, and my reply thereto. Under \*Long and technical, on the kinship terms and clan-like "name groups" Villa was reporting in his field notes.

separate cover, by regular mail, I have sent his notes to you. In the letter I wrote him (which is pretty superficial) you will note a suggestion that he obtain from Dr. Halperin phonetic suggestions from Andrade's notes. If you have a chance, I suggest you take up the matter with Halperin; he may have some practical suggestion for Tumin that would save time and correspondence.

It is obvious that Tumin is a very smart young man, but not very well trained in anthropology. I suppose you will react as I did to the first reading of Tumin's revelations; I got used to them after awhile, and even came to forgive him his typography too. But I hereby notify you that if it turns out that the ethnographer must bare his soul in order to do a good job, I shall go into some other business.

Your information about Goubaud reminds me to ask if he is getting his M.A., and passing his Drs. exams (so as to have only his thesis to do) before going to Guatemala. Or is he forgetting about higher degrees for the time being? As for the question you raise, the first answer that comes to mind is the nutrition project for Guatemala that was once talked about; he seemed interested at the time, and has since had special experience. I suppose that the answer is that the project hasn't materialized in general, so that the Guatemala part of it has no backing. I see now, also, that local Indianists would be only partly sympathetic to a pure, generalized study project not related to an action program. On the other hand, if you are going to seek independent support (neither gov't nor C.I.W.) wouldn't it be as

easy to get it for such a project as any other/ Goubaud is presumably more qualified for that than for other projects -- and more qualified for it than most anthropologists; it would be possible to do an overall study of Guatemala by choosing communities that have already been studied, and to do it relatively quickly; it would be a socially useful enterprise. The question is, can a scientific problem be made out of such a project, or could it be made suitable for an SSRC fellowship? I don't know.

You indicate the possibility of using CIW funds for him. I would not be in favor of using our funds for a nutrition project outlined. I would rather see Goubaud study a new community (perhaps open up Alta Verapaz) or make some comparative studies on some of the problems that have interested us -- if CIW funds are to be used. On the other hand, Goubaud still has to prove himself to me; I would much rather he would do that sort of field work while we are down there. Have you studied what he did in the Southwest? I recall that Fred thought well of his work there.

No, I have not yet received the package of MA theses and lecture notes; did that package also contain the notes of your course on Methods? I have found it necessary to give the first of three lectures on methods or theory without notes (beyond that old chart of mine that you sent me); I am giving the second lecture tomorrow, and the third on Tuesday. Since the students are at once avid with curiosity about theories, and abysmally ignorant, I can't go far wrong even without notes. On the other hand, I long ago received a copy of Villa's Notas Sobre Brujería, so I am a little confused over the contents of the package to which you refer. Anyway, I hope it comes soon.

.....

I am pleased to report that Julio is almost finished with his translation of your book. I understand you have been in correspondence with him; if not, you will hear from him on the question of terminology and some points of policy in translation. As far as Julio is concerned, the question of the title is settled; after going through the book, he thinks there is no choice but to call it La Cultura Folk de Yucatan since that's what the book is about from beginning to end -- and the whole scientific point of it is the elaboration of the idea of Folk culture.

I must have spent a dozen hours with my student-translator on the translation of your The Folk Culture; he will finish typing the final version before the week is over, and then I shall see about possible publication here. If that should get into print soon, then I would surely favor calling your book La Cultura Folk de Yucatan and making a concerted attempt to get the term folk accepted in Spanish. I have a special reason for thinking that paper should be published in Spanish. I find that my students (and they probably represent local scientific thinking) are not prepared to appreciate your book. They find it repetitious, hence boring, and few have gotten to the last chapter. The reason, of course, is that they read it as description rather than a meaty demonstration of a scientific thesis; and the reason for that is that they don't know what a science is or might be, or what a theory is. I am trying to remedy that (for my class) now by giving them some background in theory, the nature of science, etc. And when I finish I propose to have them read

your The Folk Culture paper in translation and discuss it as an exercise in scientific thinking; then I trust they will see the point of your book! And perhaps publication of that paper in Spanish will do somewhat the same thing in lesser degree but on a wider scale, as an introduction to your book.

I settled (without expense to me) the question of a copy of your book for Julio. The Fondo has one that it must keep until the book is off the press; but they will give it to Julio now so he can return a clean copy to Rachel, and he will give his shopworn copy to the Press, to be returned to him when the translation is published.

I have pages more to write you, but will continue this tomorrow.

Sol

October 1, 1942

Dear Sol:

The enclosed correspondence will, I hope, dispose of the suggestion that the name of the Inter-American Indian Institute appear on the title page of the translation of my book. I am sorry that Cosio Villegas does not wish to include it, but I do not see that it will be wise to insist over his indication of unwillingness even though Gamio and Sady may be disappointed. As you know, I wrote Gamio saying that I myself was entirely willing to have the Institute sponsor the translation, but after all Cosio Villegas is the publisher, and the original arrangements were made between him and our Press without reference to the Indian Institute....

Yours,

Bob

[P.S.] I have some money and a student that could be turned to beginning the Ethnographic Bibliography of M.A. But if the Mexicans are ready to start, better they should. What about it?

Bob

October 1, 1942

Dear Bob,

Continuing from my yesterday's letter.

Yes, I can now confirm the information that Métraux has accepted for next semester and is on the program to teach a course on South America. It happens that this afternoon I attended a faculty meeting. It appears that the system here is for the members of the faculty of each specialty to meet and prepare recommendations on curriculum, etc. Ten days or so ago the ethnologists met; that was the meeting I was not asked to. Today

the ethnologists' (written) report was part of the agenda of the meeting, together with reports of the other specialties; but in three hours not even that was finished. Dr. Caso presided, Dr. Borbolla acted as secretary, and Marquina also sat at the chairman's table; members of the faculty sat in classroom seats. As I interpret the meeting, just on the basis of observation, it was presentation of faculty suggestions to the Instituto (in the person of Dr. Caso). Borbolla took virtually no part in the discussion, but the chairman had a major role. The meeting was democratic in that Dr. Caso called for approval of each point. (I was told later that this democracy was hard-won, and is not customary in educational institutions here.)'

Since Kirchoff, Jimenez Moreno, Mendizábal, Vivó, and Weitlaner had previously met, discussed, and agreed to the report being discussed -- and they were the ones concerned and interested -- all disagreement was between the faculty and the chairman. Ostensibly his attitude was that what the faculty opined on matters of what should be taught, and who is capable of teaching, is all right with him; that his interest is only in seeing that the limited budget is spent for the most important things. But obviously there can be disagreement on the relative importance of things, and some of the under-the-surface disagreement went deeper than money.

I am writing up this meeting in some detail not only because it gives some idea of the mechanics of how things are run, but also of an important conflict that appears to have arisen and that is of interest. I think I may be in part responsible.

The ethnologists proposed three new courses -- naming professors. One -- of special interest to us, and for which my conversation with Kirchoff was certainly responsible -- is a course in descriptive (non-historical)

ethnography of M.A. which he will substitute for his course in Techniques of Field Investigation. The latter courses will be given by Alfonso Villa next year. I get ahead of the story now to report that in discussion of Villa's course I spoke for the first and only time. The chairman raised the question of where the money for new courses was to come from, and I quickly suggested that although I had not authority in the matter, I felt sure that the Carnegie Institution would permit him to teach the course at no expense to the School. Nothin more was said then, and Villa and the course were accepted on the assumption that this would be the case. I trust that I shall be justified in my prediction! I think now that if I had said nothing, the money argument might have precipitated a discussion in which Villa's qualifications would have had to be defended, and if there were animosities they might have been given a chance to crystallize.

The other two new courses proposed were in Primitive Art (to be taught by somebody I never heard of) and in Problems of Indians in America, a course in applied anthropology or what have you. It was discussion of this latter proposal that took up most of the meeting. It was proposed that Vivó give the course. Mendizábal, Kirchoff, and Jimenez Moreno spoke long and frequently in defense of the course and of Vivó's qualifications to teach it. (The latter not so much, because Vivó came in in the middle of the discussion.) The chairman repeatedly replied that he objected neither to the course nor to the professor, but only to the fact that something else would have to be sacrificed. Is the course really necessary? Indispensable? Its defenders of course could not say it is a matter of life and death, and instead agrued its merits. The discussion was at cross purposes obviously because nobody raised the question of whether it is more necessary than other courses being given. It is impossible that nobody thought of such

an obvious thing; the question cannot be raised because to cut out a course is to cut out a professor. Vivó, as I have mentioned, teaches two full-year courses in anthropogeography which could easily be cut to semester courses to allow him to teach the new course; but that would deprive him of an increase in income. Nobody suggested that or the cutting out of any course as a possible solution.

Mendizábal suggested that perhaps funds to pay for the course might (if necessary) be obtained through the Indianist Institute. At this point Borbolla joined the chairman to point out that even besides the cost of the Professor courses are expensive in books and materials. The answer was that the Indianist Institute would surely make its library available, and in fact there wouldn't be additional expenses. All these arguments really had little effect, and it was obvious that the administration wasn't keen on the whole idea and that was the real trouble. Finally, the chairman suggested as a compromise that the course be scheduled -- i.e., put into the catalog -- but be taught next year only if nothing else would have to be sacrificed. This proposal had to be accepted, since nobody would get down to relative values; and it will be easy now to drop the matter.

I was very interested to hear repeated in public what Kirchhoff had told me privately. Both he and Jimenez Moreno said that they were teaching history and felt that the program was unbalanced and this new course needed to offset their interest. I neglected to mention above another new course proposed (and accepted because Mendizábal said he would give it at no additional expense to the school); this is a course whose title I have forgotten but which proposes to train students in the use of government records, statistics, etc. so that they can get jobs as anthropologists attached to such government offices as Indian Affairs, Agrarian, etc. The

chairman argued against this awhile, too, indicating that the professor would have to sacrifice something for it.

You understand, of course, that the conflict is between the faculty and its new conscience about modern problems, and a conservative administration. Just what more is behind that conservatism, I do not know; it may be more than mere lack of interest.

Discussion of the possibility of introducing theory was notable by its absence, except at one point. Kirchhoff, in arguing for the applied and practical courses, pointed out that there are three kinds of ethnology: (1) historical reconstruction, (2) descriptive ethnography of present-day peoples, and (3) the problem of the Indian in his relations with non-Indians and the government, with a view to improving his situation. Since I had just come from giving a second lecture on theory and methods, I had to resist the temptation to suggest a fourth kind of "ethnology." Of course nobody else did, and my impression that the school is happily unconscious of what we know as "science" was bolstered. Later, however, somebody -- in pointing out that the economic problem is not so serious because some courses in the catalog aren't actually being given -- mentioned that the course in History and Theory of Anthropology isn't being given. (I have never seen such a course listed; but it appears that at some time after the beginning of this school year it was voted in.) Anyway, the chairman immediately said, in effect, "What -- it isn't Why not?" Kirchhoff then explained, apologetically, that the students had shown interest in the course and he was to give it, but that he hadn't had the time to prepare the materials (a student once told me the same thing); he had therefore agreed with the Director not to give the course, with the provision that in a seminar on Relations of C. and S. America he would give a lot of theory

and the students could be considered to have taken the missing course. The chairman murmured that this is a most important course, and asked if it was in the program for next year. The answer was that there wouldn't be even one student qualified for the course who had not taken the seminar this year. The matter was dropped. (Of course in reality there probably isn't a student in the place who has had any training in History, Theory, or Methods of ethnology; most of my students are in Kirchhoff's seminar.

↳ Lemley came again to my office and we spent a few hours more going over his material. He is still anxious to learn.

And here is something of interest. You perhaps know that there are some eighty(80) linguists in the missionary outfit living and working in Indian communities all over Mexico. They stay for years in a community to learn the language well; furthermore, they are all trained linguists -- the object is to translate the Bible. One of them the other day surprised me by telling me that a couple of young lady linguists have been in the monte of the municipio of Zinacantán for three years. Since one of the ladies happens to be in the City now, I asked him to bring her up. Today she came with two other young ladies who are headed for the Tojeabal. In exchange for information from my vast supply, the Zinacantán lady supplied me with the Zinacantán phonenic system -- which will save a lot of trouble in the field. I was much impressed with her competence in linguistics, and equally with her ignorance of the ethnology of the place where she has for so long lived. Of course, I am as usual optimistic about the possibility of making her useful as a collector of authentic information. The ladies will be back Monday for more information -- from the few books I have, of course, Incidentally, there are also two lady linguists in Bachajón who are going to move to a more highland Tzeltal community for reasons of health.

I can't help but feel a missionary spirit with respect to these people, and I have a notion to talk to their bosses here.

.... Yes, I saw Dr. Hamilton. Bennett wrote me, and upon receipt of the letter I called on Hamilton to offer my services. Subsequently we spent several hours together, and later two hours with Sady. I couldn't tell him much except about the school (I had him read the letter I sent you)....

Yes, we have heard of the disastrous earthquake. Totonicapan and San Marcos also suffered severely -- Quezaltenango was spared. There was apparently one short, violent shock. Too bad about your chimneys and walls; a blow to pride as well as the house --

I'll have to continue this again tomorrow.

Yours,

Sol

October 2, 1942

Dear Bob,

In the letter I wrote yesterday I said that I had never seen listed a course on History and Theory of Ethnology. I looked the matter up today and found that in printed announcements it does appear ("History and Doctrines..."); inquiry proved, however, that it wasn't given last year or the years before -- when the curriculum was first printed. This is a correction.

The other day I spoke to Kirchhoff and Jimenez Moreno about the bibliography. They still want to go ahead, and Jimenez Moreno said he would undertake to write a plan of the work, as per your suggestion. I

shall try to push things so that it gets underway before the semester is over.

Jimenez Moreno is holding me up on the Redfield-Beals-Tax memo. I shall try to get it back, with his corrections, tomorrow in order to mail the list of changes to you this weekend.

I do not remember if I told you that about a week ago Borbolla informed me that all field trips (except mine) were being cancelled for this year to give the authorities opportunity to study such things to determine which could continue usefully in wartime. Perhaps mine was excepted (if it really is, for possibly Borbolla is breaking bad news gradually) because of its inter-American character. The matter is not public, and I imagine not finally settled.

For some time I have had in mind to write you about the proposed Inter-American Anthropological society. I received a form-letter from Beals, as doubtless did everybody else. What I am going to say is the result partly of conversations with Sady, who is something of a specialist on Inter-American organizations. There are two things that may be wrong about the plan. The first is the link with Geography. One might argue that Geography-as-a-whole and Anthropology-as-a-whole do not have enough in common to make a common journal economical; but the objection is that in the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History we already have Geography in the inter-American field. True, it is not a "Society" and does not publish a real Journal; but it is there to be made use of, supported by all of the American governments, and it is questionable policy to break anew into the field. On the other hand, sociology is as close to anthropology as is geography, certainly, and the inter-American field is virgin. Except

that Beals has apparently already made contact with geographers, therefore, why wouldn't the anthropology-sociology tie-up be much more desirable?

The second thing possibly wrong with the plan is that it looks as if whatever "seat" the society will have will be in the U.S. It would be much more politic to have it in Latin America. Perhaps that has been considered. At the very least, printing would be much cheaper in most countries here.

Being here, I naturally think of Mexico. I suppose that the officers of the Society will naturally come from the various countries since they change annually. The editorial board probably will also have representatives of various countries. But some one Editor and some one Secretary will doubtless have to take responsibility for several years. They will probably be from different countries, and in any case most of the work will have to be by correspondence. Because of the distances involved, it seems almost imperative that there be some permanent office, not necessarily located in the country and city of either the Editor or Secretary.

A rather good solution might be to have the permanent office attached to the Inter-American Indian Institute, just as -- Sady says -- the Pan-American Union houses at least one similar organization. This does not mean that the Institute would have anything to say about the Policy of the Society; it would simply supply facilities and take care of hack-work (paid for by the society, in part at least) in exchange for the prestige it would gain, and because anthropology is close to its interests. The Institute has an addressograph machine, with plates for all anthropologists in all Americas; it also has connections with a printer and experience in seeing magazines through press. If arrangements were consummated it would take care of details, asking only that money for extra clerical help -- I suppose one good young person -- that would be required. Incidentally,

the Institute's franking privilege might in this arrangement be made to include the Society.

(With the geography tie-up, this scheme is impossible because of the "competing" Institute.)

I only suggest that you consider this matter and, when you see people interested in the new Society, think about approaching them on it. I think myself the Society will be difficult any way it is handled, and that at least for awhile it will have to be subsidized.

For a year I have had a pet plan for solving lots of problems connected with scientific-journal publication. In very brief, it is to substitute for bound journals labeled by disciplines the publication of articles in uniform format, much like reprints now, for distribution to scientists whose fields they touch. There would be a Social Science Editorial Board, for example, which would select MSS for publication. It would also subdivide the social sciences according to subject-matter: Money&Banking, Social Service, Primitive Economics, Municipal Government, Acculturation, etc., etc. -- dozens and dozens, probably. When an article appeared, it would bear on its cover the two or three or ten fields upon which it bears. Every member of a scientific society would indicate the names of the subjects in which he would like to receive publications, and in exchange for his dues he would be entitled to a certain number of fields (but he could pay extra for more fields, or join a second society). Annual binders for each subject would be supplied. (Naturally, I would like to see the system adopted for all science; thus a physical anthropologist could choose subjects in Medicine in preference to such a one as acculturation.) To me the advantages seem many; efficiency and economy of course -- but in addition the quality of the articles could be raised, since a journal would not have to be filled

every three months; there would be no necessary limitations on the length of articles; and the articles could be distributed very soon after acceptance, without having to wait in line for a year. (Each society could still put out Notes and New bulletins; book reviews could come out like articles or else appear in the bulletins -- I'd prefer the former.)

But that is just an idea -- suggested now by the problem of the proposed Anth.-Geog. society with its journal going in the directly opposite direction.

→ Lemley was in again this afternoon. After what I wrote you yesterday of my desire to do something ethnological about the missionaries, I was pleased when he told me that he had showed his kinship charts to "people in his office" and was told that this was a better way of putting down the kinship terms than anybody else was aware of; he was asked to write a memorandum explaining the method, etc. -- this memo to be mimeographed and sent to all workers. He came to ask my help, so I gave him some indications (we had discussed this before) and told him to write up a draft and bring it back. This is the time to resurrect that idea I once had of a handbook for ethnographers -- with specific instructions, etc. -- applied to Mexico or M.A. particularly. But I just have no time. Could something be done with some of our students in Chicago?

I may add that I have learned (from Lemley) more of the plan these linguists are following. Each worker stays in his community for ten years, he says (counting vacations, of course) to (a) put the language into writing -- i.e., get the phonemic system well and make up a good alphabet; (b) write a primer in the native language; (c) in conjunction with the government program -- which may or may not be the government program when the time comes -- teach the Indians to read their language, with the aid of the primer; and (d) translate at least the New Testament into the language -- to give

the people something to read.

If we could make even half-way reliable ethnographic reporters of all these people, wouldn't we have information eight or ten years from now? I am getting a list of who is where.

That's about all, finally. We are well and things are going smoothly once again....

Our best to you and yours.

Sincerely,

Sol

October 5, 1942

Dear Bob:

I have your note enclosing copies of letters from Rosales and Linton. The Linton letter reminds me that in the R-B-T Memo you mention that Lincoln's Calendar article has been published by CIW. Is it out? The book referred to has not arrived here.

Rosales' letter saddens me. I think there is a misunderstanding. I have always thought that Juan would have a last chance at all of his MSS before publication. We had understood that revision of his Spanish would be done by some competent person, but that he would check the MS for misunderstandings, factual errors, and possible additions and corrections. Did you give him the impression now that he will not see his MS until it is in print? He sounds a little bitter about that, and I don't blame him. If you agree with me that he should get the clean and Spanish-refined copy before it goes to the printer, will you please try to straighten him out on it?

I had forgotten that the two appendices he refers to, and the maps,

are not yet completed. Since the appendices are referred to in the introductory chapters, they should appear with this volume; the maps must too. The appendices are small matters -- and he has them virtually written in rough form; can you get him to write them up in a few days? As for the maps, he needs the assistance of a cartographer; there are some difficult problems involved.

McQuown, the only remaining linguist here ( since Swaadesh left) has been ordered back to the U.S. and is leaving this week. The school is left without anybody to teach General Linguistics next year. Borbolla put the problem to me the other day, and I offered what poor suggestions that I could. I also promised to write to Hoijer for suggestions -- and that I am now doing. Meanwhile, Borbolla is trying to get a linguist through the Embassy here -- giving them names to be approached. Bloomfield is first on the list, but I suppose that nobody takes the possibility of his coming here very seriously. Since most young linguists must be tied up, in the army or other war-work, the problem is difficult. Such men as Mason and Swanton are being considered, in desperation.

It is not impossible that Hoijer himself might want to come down for a year; the difficulty there is Spanish, but I think he would be accepted anyway.

It occurs to me that we might think about the possibility of passing Goubaud off as a linguist. He has been interested in linguistics, and has probably learned what linguistics was offered at Chicago. He might be able to bone up to teach courses in Phonetics and in General Linguistics. He might from some points of view be better for the school than many more competent linguists -- for he would also be interested in selling social anthropology. I did not mention this possibility to Borbolla, and I have

no idea how such a suggestion would be received. If we could say he is a competent linguist (albeit with little field experience) it might work. The semester begins in March, just when Goubaud plans to leave Chicago. Please give me your reaction and advice in this matter

One other matter of interest has arisen. You of course recall the article I wrote for America Indigena, a copy of which you now have. You will recall, also, that publication was once postponed on the presumed grounds of lack of space in the July issue. It is now coming out in the October issue, within a week or ten days. I knew, of course, that the Indianists here were a little worried about the article, since it might be interpreted as minimizing the Indian problem in Guatemala. A careful reading of the article would not, I think, give that impression. But after discussion with Sady, I added a sentence making it clearer that much needs to be done in Guatemala.

I appears that Sady long ago sent a copy of the article to John Collier. Collier wrote a reply to it, which Sady did not mention to me, for fear it might make me feel bad. Sady did not understand that he was supposed to do anything with the reply. Now Collier revised his reply a little and asks that it be printed -- signed by him -- in the same issue in which my article appears. Sady brought me the reply the other day to see if I wished to answer it. Collier's comments may be said to be almost "blistering." It sounds as if it were written in the heat of anger, but since a month elapsed between the first writing of it, and his revision of it here, that interpretation cannot be exactly sound.

Collier doesn't dispute any of the facts about Guatemala that I present, but he objects strenuously to their interpretation. He points out that the argument I use could be applied anywhere, since Indians are never defined

on purely racial grounds -- and, furthermore, that people with my point of view were responsible for keeping back the Indian program in the U. S. I am fifty years behind the times, etc. He can't understand this, coming from a social anthropologist.

I have decided not to answer his reply, since a careful reader can judge for himself the relative merits of the two statements. Facts, I remind you, do not appear to be in dispute.

I don't know what to make of the business; I am sorry to have raised, in the spirit of science, what turns out to be a political issue. At the same time, I am of course flattered by the attention. And on the whole a little controversy is bound to do the Indianist Institute, and its magazine, good rather than harm. I asked Sady for a copy of Collier's reply to send you he discouraged this, saying that the magazine would soon be out.

Perhaps when you do read what Collier has to say, you will be able to figure out (knowing him and also more about Indian policy than I do) in what the difference of opinion lies, or where there are misunderstandings. You know I don't at all mind being wrong; I almost like it, for when I am corrected, I feel much more secure about being right. Maybe out of this business will come a definitive article from you on Guatemala! And you are supposed to write one for the next issue of the magazine anyway.

I only hope that anthropologists and Indianists do not become estranged just when, in the U.S., they are beginning to work together.

The missionary ladies were just in, and brought with them one of the girls who has been working in Tzeltal (Yajalón, not Bachajón, it turns out). She has collected lots of stories in text -- and other information; and she is interested in exchanging information as well as in learning how to collect

and report ethnological information. I have still the impression that these women are highly intelligent (potentially much better reporters than Lemley).



By the way, will you please send a copy of the A BIBLIOGRAPHIC SUMMARY OF THE ETHNOLOGY OF MIDDLE AMERICA that we prepared for our course this Spring to Miss Ethel Wallis, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Apartado No. 2975, Mexico, D. F., Mexico?

Sol

October 6, 1942

Dear Sol:

Your letter of Septeber 30 is before me. The letter you wrote Alfonso seems to me admirable. He should derive much guidance studying your comments. The questions you have suggested that he answer with reference to the name groups seem to me to go quite to the heart of the problem. I agree that Villa has something very good here which he should quite thoroughly explore and which is likely to be recognized as important by American ethnologists.

With regard to your letter to Tumin I withhold comment until I receive his notes.

Goubaud is planning to take the examinations for his Master's degree at the end of the winter quarter. He is more doctorate before he leaves for Guatemala. He does expect to take the Master's degree with him. My guess is that he will succeed. I agree with you that it will probably be better to have Goubaud make a study in some area which will contribute to our general plan. There remain two questions: Can we finance such a study? Can Goubaud make it in the absence of one or the other of us in Guatemala?

Kidder is coming day after tomorrow, and I thought I would talk the question over with him. I am going to propose that the Department of Anthropology and the Carnegie Institution divide the cost of taking care of Goubaud on a general field study in Guatemala for six months in 1943. It seems to me that if neither of us is in Guatemala he would do something reasonably satisfactory under mail guidance from us. Apparently what he did for Eggan was fairly good but not very good.

Mrs Lavery is looking up the shipment of packages which contained the Master's theses and the lecture notes. I will communicate with you about it soon.

.... I am glad to hear that de la Fuente has almost finished the translation of my book. I am increasingly appreciative of his interest and industry and will write him soon telling him so. The choice of the title suits me. The only objection I would have had to that title is that it might sound unreasonably awkward in Spanish. If de la Fuente thinks that this is not the case, then it is the best title.

To you I am greatly appreciative for your efforts to make my stuff on the Folk Culture make some sense to your students. Of course, the important thing is that they come to understand what a science is or might be. I am not at all sure that my material is the best medium in which to convey that understanding. It has, at least, the advantage that it treats of Mexican materials. What would you think of getting together Radcliffe-Brown's more important papers and having them translated into Spanish? Perhaps the Sociology journal down there would like some, or perhaps Cosío Villegas would like to make a book out of such papers. We could reach R-B in Brazil, you know.

We are well and getting ready to move into Chicago.

Yours as always,

Bob

[P.S.] My mother died yesterday in California.

October 8, 1942

Dear Bob,

Your letters of the 29th and of the 1st have been received....

Cosío Villegas' reply shocked me. I wonder what is back of his evident lack of respect for the I.I.I.? He is certainly right on the face of it, but considering that the Institute is just starting up, and has at its head a reputable scientist -- and is trying to graft science to itself, as evidenced at least by its desire to sponsor a series of scientific works -- one would have expected a little more charity. Perhaps the publisher doesn't approve of Indianism? You will be relieved to know that Dr. Gamio (according to Sady) did not take the set-back too hard, probably because other successes counterbalanced it.

The commissioner's visit appears to be a great success. The embassy difficulty was quickly settled, and that project seems all set. The Institute has been sold on the Personality study, enthusiastically, and now discovers that in Comas it has a man who is an expert in educational psychology ( a student of Piaget with much experience, etc.)....

It appears now that Collier has toned down one paragraph of his criticism of my article. Nothing else new there.

Cline has been in for several days, but I have not seen him. This morning Julio de la Fuente visited my office to make an appointment to go over some of his completed translation of your book with me. He told me that Cline has not yet called on him, and seemed neutral in the matter. But this evening Sady telephoned to say that on Cline's behalf he had 'phoned

→ Julio to get them together so that Cline could see the outline of Julio's MS, and that Julio had, very emotionally, said that he wanted nothing to do with Cline. (Note that I am reporting what Sady told me on the telephone of a telephone conversation; misunderstanding and/or exaggeration may be involved.) This worries Sady, he reported; he cannot understand Julio's attitude and he wants me to do something. I told him I would see Julio this weekend and see what is wrong. I haven't seen Cline.

→ Sady also told me that Cline intends to go to Yalalag no matter what Julio has in the way of material "because he is going only for ethnological experience, and doesn't intend to publish anyway, and he is interested in the town." That doesn't make sense to me; in spite of Julio's work, he could go either (a) to make specialized studies on top of what Julio did -- in which case he should first know Julio's material, or (b) to do an independent study from another point of view, or to check Julio's results, or something of the sort -- in which case he should know why he is going. (I have not forgotten that I went to Chichicasteango in 1934 in very similar circumstances; I think now that I should not have done so without having Bunzel's MS first -- I could have made better use of my time that way.)

→ Sady also reports that Cline wants a letter from Gamio so that he can go under Institute auspices, but that he (Sady) is shy about advising Gamio to sign such a letter unless the Institute has in its files a letter vouching for Cline so that responsibility can be shifted if Cline gets into trouble. Cline apparently brought no letter (amazing as that may seem) and Sady advised him to send for a letter that he says you once wrote him and which he left at home. I told Sady that I thought it would be better to have him get a letter from the Secretary of the SSRC simply stating his mission and asking cooperation. I do not see why you should have the

responsibility of being his "sponsor" in such a positive way.

.... I shall answer your question about work on the bibliography in my next letter. I do not know how slowly the project will get underway here. It might be advisable for you to have your bibliography worked over and typed a list of references (in abbreviated form) sent down; but before doing work on this, it would be better to have the plan and classification, etc. prepared here, if indeed it is going to be prepared here. I shall speak with Jimenez Moreno, who is presumably drawing up a plan.

Today I happened to meet Borbolla at lunch, and I took the opportunity to sound him out on Goubaud as a possible linguist here next year. The result is that, with a big question mark, I can practically transmit to him -- only through you -- an offer of the job. I told Borbolla honestly that Goubaud was long interested in linguistics in Guatemala, and had worked on Cakchiquel; that he had training under Andrade and others at Chicago; and that he could doubtless give courses even though he lacks extended experience. I added that he is primarily interested in ethnology (which of course covers the broader field here, technically) but might be interested in teaching linguistics here for a year. Borbolla readily accepted the idea, and later pointed out also that it would help break the wall between Mexican anthropology and Guatemala.

The big ? is this: the school can pay -- for three courses -- only either 243 or 312 pesos (depending on something not yet settled, apparently) and of course Goubaud could not possibly live on that. Borbolla suggested that if "we" could give him some kind of paid research work to do, the plan would be feasible. I replied that I didn't myself see much possibility of that, but that of course something might be worked out. Borbolla argued that the experience would be invaluable for Goubaud -- the McQuown became a linguist of repute here.

I cannot answer the question of how they expect to get a linguist here at such a salary. I asked Borbolla what they would pay Bloomfield if he should come; and he replied that in the case of a man of that stature the school could put up an argument to pay him a minimum of 600 pesos. That's \$120 a month, which is of course impossible for a person with family obligations, insurance, etc. -- not to mention that it would be insulting to mention such a salary to a full professor in the U. S. He also told me that McQuown, who is single, has received 243 pesos monthly, but that his salary was always augmented from sources in the U.S. It seems obvious that any American's salary here would have to be, and doubtless Borbolla expects it to be -- perhaps that is why he is dealing with prospective linguists through diplomatic channels.

If you wished, I think you could put up a fair argument to your Joint Committee, or the ACLS, or the Rockefeller Foundation, to bring Goubaud down here. He would be good for the school, with his enthusiasm for ideas; the experience would be very good for him -- training in linguistics that he would have to give himself, experience in teaching, and familiarity with the school itself. And the connection might be good for the eventual development of anthropology in Central America.

I would rather put support for him on that basis than give him a research task down here, because (a) he wouldn't have time for much research here, teaching three new courses; and (b) the research problems I can think of wouldn't fit well into the program of any institution that comes to my mind. (There is my population-language map which I'll have time only to get started, since the outline maps haven't yet come off the press; an investigation of sources of information not covered in Rachel Sady's report -- of which there appear to be many, including a large number of studies made by the National

University; possible completion of the Bibliography; etc. I doubt if you would want to put about \$1000 of CIW or of UC money into any or even all of these.)

Even if Goubaud has no obligations such as insurance, I think he and his wife would need a minimum of 600 pesos a month here. That's a real minimum on U.S. living standards. I suppose that in addition the expense of travel down here would have to be considered.

I have been invited to speak tomorrow night to the whole missionary group -- on How To Get Ethnological Information. The girls appear to have spoken to the boss (Townsend, who, by the way, was for years the Panajachel missionary) and this is the result, Imagine being a missionary to missionaries!

.... It pleases me to be able to report that I am making headway with Panajachel Economics again. I almost don't lecture any more, for students are reporting twice a week on their chosen topics, and I am not tackling any new business.

I have almost forgotten one little piece of business. I wrote you that Villa had sent me a dozen pages of "Ethnological Diary." I hope you have a copy so you will understand better the reference. I happened to think when I read it that practically all phases of the Indianist problem are neatly pointed up in the diary in Villa's interesting style. I showed it to Sady and he would like to publish it in the magazine. He suggests that I write Villa about this, Instead, I am writing you first; if you disapprove, there is no need to worry Alfonso. (Names of places and people could be omitted or changed, but there is still a vague possibility that Alfonso might get into trouble locally if the material is published.) I have no interest one way or the other (except that I like the diary, hence

like to share it); the fact is, I'm a little tired of batting for the Institute -- maybe because one of its own players has so recently spiked me!

With best regards to Greta and the children, I am

Yours,

Sol

October 9, 1942

Dear Sol:

Your letter of October 1 and that of October 2 arrived two days ago. This morning I have your letter of October 5.

Yesterday Dr. Kidder spent most of the day with us. Many of the matters taken up in your letters entered our discussions, and I am now attempting to answer your three communications in the light of these conversations.

1. Visiting lecturers from North America in the Mexican program.

Now that Métraux has accepted for the semester following that in which you are teaching, is this the time to take up his successor with Caso, or can the matter well wait until Caso comes here in the spring? I suppose it will be very difficult to engage anyone with assurance for a date that is over a year away. Have you any further light as to whether or not we can offer Gillin to Caso? Recent information indicates that Gillin is trying to get into the Army, however.

2. Alfonso Villa

I am glad to hear that a suggestion has been made that Villa might teach a course in the Instituto. That this suggestion was made is, no doubt, through you. Kidder, of course at once acceded to the suggestion that the Institution would lend Villa's services should he be invited. You may, therefore, let it be known that this is the case.

3. Ethnological missionaries

So, you are at it again, making use of raw labor. I think your efforts are well justified, and I contribute only applause.

4. Hamilton

I agree with your comments....

5. Your field trip

I think it would be very bad if yours should be cancelled. If there appears to be a real danger, be sure you let me know so that we can do something about it.

6. The proposed Inter-American Anthropological Society

The questions you raise are important. The question with reference to the Pan American Institute of Geography and History Kidder raised. He told me that the Pan American Institute is stuffy and largely inactive. It is not intended that the society include only formally denoted anthropologists and geographers but that it include sociologists and any other kind of Latin Americans who have some real interest in the study of contemporary land and society. Kidder is dubious as to whether the society should be instituted, and I am also uncertain. The matter will be discussed at a meeting at a meeting of the Joint Committee in Washington next week. I expect to attend. It seems to me that the office of the society, should it be organized, should be in a Latin American country, probably in Mexico.

7. The Tax plan for scientific publications

I shall have to study this before I have anything useful to say about it. The problem of identifying the fields will be a difficult one. Some fields would include many publications, and the man who picked that field would get more for his money. The technical problems of printing uniformly are also great. However, the idea may have something in it.

8. Rosales

I don't think his letter ought to sadden you. We are now having his manuscript copied and one copy will go to him. At the same time one copy will go to you. I don't think he should be encouraged to spend time improving the manuscript by returning to his notes. I think he should be asked to read it and correct it as it stands. I will ask him about the appendices and the maps. We have an influx of new tenants in the building because of military congestion in another building, and we have had to give up your office. Rosales is down in 219. When you come we will find something for you.

9. The Tax article and the Collier reply

Collier is an unregenerate reformer. He has a zealous sense of cause and a burning desire to help the underdog. If the underdog is darker in color, so much the better. The fundamental difference is between the scientific viewpoint and the reformer's viewpoint. The difference has one expression in the fact that the Indianist Institutes are suspected by many of the scientific groups, and the scientific groups are regarded as narrow and trivial by many of the Indianists. I don't know what to do about the fact that the controversy comes out to the open in your article and Collier's reply. I suppose we can do nothing about it now, but after the publication has appeared we will consider the matter. What do you think Sady really thinks about the controversy and your article?

10. I will have the bibliographic summary sent to Miss Wallace.

11. Plans for next year for Goubaud

Kidder is strongly in favor of beginning a comparative study of diet in relation to culture and health in Guatemala in 1943. He is so enthusiastically in favor of it that I was convinced that the suggestion is a good

one. (It may be that I originated the suggestion months ago.) Kidder feels that the Institution should do something now which can be regarded as a genuine contribution to the development of sound Pan-American relations. He feels that most of the enterprises carried on by the Nelson Rockefeller people are ill-considered and ineffectual. He thinks that the soundest relations depend upon joint participation in solid, scholarly or scientific enterprises. With this assumption I agree. Bush is apparently eager that Kidder's division to do something which will be less theoretical and more closely related to contemporary problems in keeping the Americas running right as has been the case in the past. I tell you that I have accepted that view, and I am urging you to accept it.

It is proposed to set up a special budget of \$6,000 covering nine months' work. This budget will provide the salary for Goubaud and field expenses, and salary and field expenses for a medical man or biologist familiar with that side of the diet problem. This man might well be Pijoan, who has been working with Fred in the Southwest. Included is a contingency item of \$1,000. It is suggested that we study diet questions in about four communities chosen with regard to geographic and cultural differences. Included would be some of the communities we have already studied. Rosales would be employed on this enterprise (under the old general budget) during at least part of the nine months. You would be in general charge. Kidder is going to Guatemala in November. He will present the enterprise to Ubico and get his backing -- and, it is to be hoped, special gasoline rationing. Goubaud would go to Guatemala at the end of the winter quarter and feel out the situation in the government departments. In particular, he would try to discover the best way to get the cooperation of Sanidad, and he would find out if there is somebody in Sanidad who could work on the project.

Or he would find out if Pijoan would be acceptable in Guatemala. You would go to Guatemala a little later. It would not be necessary for you to spend all the nine months from April 1st in Guatemala, but only so much of the time as would be necessary in getting the project started and in doing such other work as you might want to do. Because the new budget would have plenty of money for field expenses, you could make two round trips to Guatemala in 1943 if you wanted.

I am afraid that this suggestion will cause you some dismay. Let me point out that there are certain advantages to the plan. The provision for Goubaud would enable us to expand our work without much sacrifice to the general ethnological investigation. We could include in the plan the opening up of the new community in the Alta Vera Paz.

You may very well be interested in doing something with direct reference to the war effort. I doubt very much if any civil position in government is likely to be offered you which will more realistically do something about Latin American relations than would the successful development of this project. If one would take direct military action, of course, it would be admitted that this would be a more direct contribution to the war effort. Short of that, I doubt very much if anything is likely to come along that will use your training and talents more effectively than would this enterprise.

I know that where you disagree with me you will make it plain that you do. Kidder is very strongly in favor of it.

12. McBryde map of climatic types in Guatemala

This is now being printed and I have ordered 500 copies for the Division.

13. Fred has just returned from Washington. He has been offered a job in the Bureau of Economic Warfare to which he is somewhat attracted. The job

is to make plans for the effective administration and development of Near Eastern territories now occupied by the enemy which is expected we will some day take back from them. He is going to talk the matter over with his draft board.... I think that if he is made to feel that he is not likely soon to be drafted he may accept the position.

14. Your salary for 1943 will go in as \$3,600. Kidder tells me that he has tried to have it increased beyond this figure, but he cannot do so until one of your monographs is in print.

15. Goubaud as a linguist

I don't think he is. Of course, if the field study should go through he would be needed in Guatemala anyway.

I am afraid that I have put down a good deal in this letter and some of it may be troublesome. Please forgive me.

Yours sincerely,

Bob

[P.S.] Before receiving your letter I has already arranged for Rosales to read aloud to Murra the new copy of his 1st volume. Thus he goes over it all once. And no will be to go over it once again. So don't feel sad!

Bob

October 13, 1942

Dear Sol:

This is in reply to your letter of October 8th. I do not know why Cosio Villegas thinks badly of the Institute. I can only say that I gather many mutterings of discontent in this country alors. Kidder likes the head person very well but thinks that he is no longer an effective leader. Others

criticize it for its reformist character.

I am very pleased, as you may imagine, that the commissioner's visit was a success and that the soy bean project has been cleared. That should clear a lot of air also. I imagine it was Comas who made possible the success of the Personality enterprise.

... What you write on Goubaud is interesting, but in the light of what I have just written you it is probably not of immediate consequence. This is, of course, under the assumption that you will accede to Kidder's urgent request that you take charge of a nutrition-culture project in Guatemala with Goubaud on the staff. I think, myself, that it will be better for Goubaud if he attempted teaching after further experience in the field. He is really in a very elementary stage of development as a professional worker in anthropology. With reference to salary, it is interesting to note that Kidder proposed \$200 a month for Goubaud as a field worker in Guatemala, although later he cut it down to \$150.

I am much interested to hear of your missionizing among the missionaries. I don't know anybody better qualified....

I am delighted to hear that you are going ahead on Panajachel Economics. I am going to send up two dozen cohetes when I turn it over to Kidder.

I agree that it would be of great interest to Indianists to read those pages of Villa's diary, but I am afraid that there is danger that work of its publication would get back to the Ladinos in Chiapas, and I am sure that the Ladinos would not like it. I think it better not to encourage this suggestion until at a later time when we are not hard at work in Chiapas and dependent upon good will in such a ticklish situation. You may quote this to Sady. He will understand, I am sure.

I have a war job for you. John Embree is now working for the War Relocation Authority. He wants to get a variety of guayule seeds to be developed at Manzanar and Poston by the evacuees. The man really in charge is Robert Emerson. He may be reached at the Department of Plant Physiology, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California. John writes that Emerson will pay up to \$100 for seeds gathered "from different areas and altitudes." I am writing Emerson asking him to send you more specific instructions. Perhaps then you will find somebody in Mexico who will get the seeds from the kinds of places where he wants them collected.

Abe Halpern has just been drafted by the American Council of Learned Societies to develop a method of teaching Japanese without reference to the Japanese characters, a method based on the ordinary procedures of an inductive anthropological student of languages. Within a few days he and Mary are to go to Washington where he is to set this up. The ACLS has hopes that it will develop into some sort of permanent institution of Oriental studies. This leaves Abe's course hanging here at the University, but he has only a few registrations, and we will probably take care of it by getting Mary Haas or somebody else. It begins to look as though Fred will accept the position with the Board of Economic Warfare.... Soon this University will be an old people's home.

I enclose a photographic copy of the incomplete maize food chart. Additional copies can be provided you at twenty cents apiece.

Yours sincerely,

Bob

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October 15, 1942

Dear Sol:

→ You will know whether to do anything about Cline's lament or not.\*  
 → On the whole I can't help feeling somewhat disturbed that de la Fuente  
 → and Cline did not come together. Generally speaking, I should think  
 that separation of people with common and yet comparative interests is  
 likely to increase misunderstanding and conflict rather than to reduce  
 it. But you know best. I am writing Gamio and Caso briefly telling  
 → them the circumstances of Cline's coming to Mexico.

Yours sincerely,

Bob

→ \* Howard Cline's letter enclosed, reporting that Julio de la Fuente was  
 avoiding him.

October 17, 1942

Dear Bob,

Since writing last, more than a week ago, I have had yours of the 1st  
 ....the 6th.... the 9th, and the 13th. I'll try to answer everything at  
 once and steer clear of new business.

As you suspected it would be, the proposal of a Guatemalan diet-health-  
 culture project is dismaying. Before I say anything, let me assure you  
 that you can count on me to do anything that you and Dr. Kidder think I  
 should do. There need be no question of whether I would accept this assign-  
 ment.

There are many things I would rather do than leave my family again next  
 year for a protracted period; but I am not alone in that these days. I  
 would like nothing better than a chance to go ahead on publications begun,

or another opportunity to teach. If I have to do more research in the field first, I would rather do it with pure-science ends in problems of closer interest to me. If I have to work in a practical field, I would rather have a project with a history less confused; there's and N.R. office, with diet division, set up in Guatemala; there's the Indianist project waiting to be extended into Guatemala; there's Fred -- who already knows something -- waiting.

I do not know the outline of the CIW project now proposed; I do not doubt that it is better oriented and planned than any other. I do not know the basis for the belief that this project will do something substantial for sound Pan-American relations; but I am sure that, if you and Dr. Kidder are so convinced that it will, there must be a lot to it. I would like to be sure that, as you say, I would be doing my bit more effectively in this than in Washington -- but I know I could never be sure of that sort of thing one way or other. Anyway, I did make a decision in New York that is still relevant here, to stay as close to science and friends as conscience and the war permit; and I have faith that it is for the best.

.... I told Borbolla this morning that he could now invite Alfonso to give a course next year with the assurance that CIW would lend his services. He asked me if Alfonso might be called away in the middle, and I replied that I thought not -- that he would doubtless be in Mexico to write up his material. I hope that is true.

You have probably received a letter from Cline by this time informing you that he will study the Chinantec town of San Pedro Yalox. I met him for the first time a week ago this morning ... Then he seemed determined on Yalalag. I told him frankly what I thought (as I wrote you) and after discussion finally advised him to decide on the merits of the case without taking too seriously whatever might be Julio's attitude. On Tuesday he

and his wife came to the office and informed me of the change in plans. Apparently he had seen Bevan that Saturday afternoon and had made the decision, for Saturday evening, he told me, he met Julio at the Sady's, and he described how Julio unfroze when he heard that Cline was not going to Yalalag.

Julio, who said he would come last weekend, did not. He has no telephone and lives far away, so I usually depend upon him for communications. He had been going over the translation with Emanuel Palacios, and perhaps they decided they didn't need to consult me after all. I hope there is no unexpected delay. Thinking about the title, by the way -- I noticed in a book that Gamio published two or three years ago (Hacia Un Nuevo Mexico) and La Cultura Popular ó Folklórica. But I think, on the whole, that if the publisher has no objections, the term folk itself might as well be introduced into the language through the title of your book.

Your idea to get together and translate R-B's important papers seems to me excellent. It would be good to publish them; but even if not, they should be translated for use here -- a bound copy of the typescript would be exceedingly useful. In my lectures on theory, in my class, I think the half hour spent with R-B interested the students more than any other. The collection could not be made here because too few are to be found in the library. Could it be made in Chicago? Or were you thinking of asking R-B himself to make the collection and selection? If so, I suggest that you do so. I wouldn't worry about possible publication until the collection is made. We ought to think of more such collections and translations; and perhaps a special series could be published (commercially or subsidized).

I cannot answer your questions as to a successor to Métraux. If I see Dr. Caso, as I shall soon, I suppose I could bring up the matter, since he

once spoke with me about candidates for next year. I know nothing about Gillin now.

The Zinacantán field trip, far from being cancelled, has been officially approved, arranged, etc. Six students have been designated; Acosta (Venezuelan), Cámara (Yucatecan), Rosas and Pozas (Mexicans), Carrazco (Spanish), and Dahlgren (Swedish and female). In addition, Anne Chapman (U.S.A.) is coming with official approval but at her own expense. Finally, Calixta Guiteras (Cuban) -- the wife of Juan Comas -- may or may not come; as a very good student with seniority rights, she should have been named, but wasn't probably because she has money enough to come on her own if she wishes; but her pride is hurt and she is angry, and although she wants to come she may not .... How about a special fellowship of a hundred dollars to salve her pride? It is also possible that she cannot afford it as well as some think.

Thank you for the Food or Maize chart. I showed it to Borbolla this morning; he showed immediate interest, said he could add to it, and took it to be translated into Spanish for (probably) photostating. If this is done, I would like the name of its author so that a legend can be included; I would include UC in the legend also. Comas was present when I showed Borbolla the chart, and he was reminded of my chart on Relation of Theories and Interests, or whatever it's called; he attended a lecture in which I used it, and now asked me to bring it to Borbolla to see. The upshot of this, too, will be translated and copied. I cut out the "minispective" row, but otherwise did not take the time to make changes. If you have any suggestions on that, they will be appreciated.

I shall be interested in hearing what is done with the proposed Inter-Am. Anth. Soc. From all reports, Dr. Kidder is right in his estimate of the Pan-Am. Inst. of Geog. and Hist. Which reminds me of a recent discouraging

experience. I have mentioned that the school cartographer drew for me (and the school) a large - scale map of the Maya area; she did a good job. A number of copies were to be struck off -- the same size -- and our Dept. at UC was to get about twenty. I planned to make this population-linguistic map on one copy, and have collected some data and have a student waiting to help do the work. Apparently Borbolla gave the reproduction job to Sanchez, head of the Institute, to do. The copies were promised week after week, and finally -- after a month's undue delay -- they were delivered. Much to our disappointment, and Borbolla's chgrin, they came so reduced in size that they are virtually useless. Now Borbolla is having five copies struck off by some expensive process; but I fear it is too late to do much with them this Fall. I'd like to start that map, anyway.

Although I didn't mean to intrude what you call the Tax plan for scientific publications upon your thoughts now, for serious consideration or action, I don't like you to say the "the idea may have something in it." It is a favorite brain-child, and though every time I cluck I don't assume I have laid a golden egg, I like this one!

What happened to my books and papers when my office was moved? I feel better about Rosales now, thank you.

I confess I don't know what Sady really thinks about the Science-Reformer controversy and my article. As an Indianist he is a reformer -- zealous, too, I think; as the husband of an anthropologist he is learning about science; as an editor he likes controversy; as a diplomat he is careful. So I don't know.

Sady tells me Gamio expresses disappointment that he no longer sees me around the office. I am sorry about that, but since things have piled up at school, I feel I owe it my time. I shall continue to visit the

Institute only occasionally. I have already indicated to you that I am a little tired of it; I haven't changed my opinion about the Institute and its potentialities as an institution encouraging, co-ordinating, and using the results of anthropological research (among other things) -- but it is becoming apparent that the co-operation and influence of scientific people is not forthcoming, and without that it will not fulfill its potentialities.

We have seen Laura Thompson only once, socially. I can report that she and Comas have worked up details of the project here and have even tracked down some local personnel. Sady enthusiastically says it is better than the U. S. A. project; I haven't seen it.... Everybody seems happy.

Since Sady expected not to be able to publish Villa's diary now, he is not disappointed. By the way, I had another installment plus a long letter of which you doubtless have a copy. I have some more mature ideas now about Oxchuc and am working over the material with a view to raising some questions that I think may be significant; I shall write to Villa in a few days and send you a copy of the letter.

I take it I am supposed to do nothing about getting seed until I hear from Emerson? Meanwhile, I am thinking about how to go about finding a collector.

A letter from Fred makes me sure that he is on his way to Washington, and he seems reasonably happy about it. I am glad for him, because he and Dorothy were much troubled. I am also pleased to hear of Halpern's job, which sounds important. I have heard nothing new on the linguist situation here.

It is no wonder to me that increases in my salary are limited. I am grateful for the \$300 raise. But I must add that our finances are not going too well.

It's a little off the subject, but I might as well report our latest trouble. After Mrs. Amézquita left, we had barely a week's peace. Then Marianna began to cough, and by this time we have no doubt it is whooping cough; she is under the care of Dr. Boucart. We understand this is a matter of months. Even before this worry came, Gertrude was thinking of going back to Chicago with the children, when I go to Chiapas at the end of next month. The idea of being left alone here with the children, with no friends to turn to in case of trouble (it happens that the Sadys will be in the United States most of the time, on vacation) is not appealing. The case of Mrs. Amézquita is doubtless too fresh in our minds. We realize that it seems foolish to leave Mexico for Chicago in winter; but we cannot get over the feeling of insecurity here. Now we appear faced with the choice of transporting a convalescent infant to Chicago -- difficult for Gertrude alone, especially since Susan has not reached the age of compassion -- or leaving the family here alone with one member in delicate health. I don't like to trouble you with our worries, but perhaps you and Greta can offer some muchneeded advice. (Dr. Boucart says any change of climate -- even Chicago -- will be good after a month; I have written our Chicago Dr. Jos K. Calvin about that.

With affectionate regards to all the family,

Sincerely,

Sol

P.S. I have a second large batch of notes from Tumin, with a letter for you and me; I shall not delay so long answering and sending the notes, this time. He also writes acknowledging my letter, taking the suggestions very well.

Jiménez Moreno is busy getting out the Bibliographic Bulletin and is practically always at the printer's. The delay caused the memorandum and

the bibliography project is exasperating. I saw him on Tuesday and he was apologetic and said he would return the memo; but I haven't seen it, or him since.

Please apologize for me to Goubaud for not having reported on the progress of his Schultze-Jena translation. It has now been gone over and is being typed over; I think some work will be required on it when a clean copy is produced. I do not know who will pay for the typing; I shall offer to do so from my Rockefeller funds, but since Borbolla made all of the arrangements, and doubtless expects a copy for the school, perhaps he will pay the cost.

Did anything ever happen about the fellowship possibilities of de la Fuente and Palacios?

October 19, 1942

Dear Bob:

→ I have just had yours of the 15th with the Cline correspondence.

In my last letter I described, briefly, the outcome of that business. You will note that Cline was mistaken in supposing that de la Fuente had refused Sady's invitation for that Saturday night. (He was also mistaken in thinking we were invited.)

I still have not seen Julio, and I do not know what was behind his initial coolness toward Cline....Anyway, the episode seems ended. I am told the Clines left today for Oaxaca.

In case anything of this CIW Guatemala-diet project promises to become public, will you please give me advance notice? It would be embarrassing for me here to have Sady and Dr. Gamio hear my name in connection with it from some other source.

Also, I suppose I should begin to think of how that project might best

be carried through, so any further information would be appreciated.

Things are the same at home, and there is nothing else new.

Sincerely,

Sol

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MEXICO CITY

AFFECTIONATE SYMPATHY MARIANNES SICKNESS DOROTHY INTERVIEW DOCTOR HERE  
COMMAND US

BOB REDFIELD

October 26, 1942

Dear Sol:

Your long letter of October 17 arrived just after Fred Eggan told me about Marianna's sickness. Your own letter does not sound as if at the time of the writing you are greatly worried about her. I know, however, that sickness is always a worry and that whooping cough in a very young child is not a trifling matter. I am wondering if the medical attention given by Boucart is as good as it should be. My experience with whooping cough up here makes me think that the administration of whooping cough serum has very good effects. I hope I shall hear that it has been properly administered to both Marianna and Susan. I understand from Dorothy that she is consulting with her physician in this city. The telegram I sent

you this morning was meant to suggest that if you need others to do things like that up here besides Dorothy, you have another willing friend in me. You know I can never put down my sense of obligation to you, and when sickness arises in your own home the ties I feel with you are closer and stronger than ever.

As usual you have been very busy, and as usual your busyness has been partly occasioned by me. You seem to be spending as much time on my affairs as on your own.

Your response to the proposal for a Guatemalan diet culture project is about what I expected. I expected both the reluctance and the loyal willingness to do what Kidder and I think best. It is fortunate that Kidder is soon to go to Mexico, and I am writing him today urging that he make his schedule so that without fail he talks with you on this matter in Mexico. Until he has had a chance to do that, I think we must not regard the matter as decided one way or the other. I would like to say only that we do not have a project. We have only a sense that such a project would be opportune and that no groups could do it better than we could. So far as I have been able to learn, the Nelson Rockefeller office is not likely to accomplish anything significant. My guess is, although I am not yet sure, that our enterprise would be developed in place of the Indianist project. I think Collier would welcome our leadership in Guatemala in this field and would offer no rival enterprise. As for Fred, that we can draw upon his experience goes without saying. Fred is going to Washington to take a job which may use his talents or which may turn out to be a case of frustration and futility.

.... As I look back upon what we have done, you and I, to develop a group of Latin American and North American scientists working in mutual

confidence on intellectual problems, some of which are related to practical issues, I think we have done something toward building up good Latin American relations. I think that we can probably do more along these lines than in administrative positions in Washington, but I hope that Kidder will come to you and that you and he will talk it over fully and frankly.

I hope that I shall hear from Borbolla about the Alfonso Villa suggestion.

I am glad to hear that the Cline situation has proved to be of no great difficulty.... I am glad, also, that in view of the fact that de la Fuente did not want him to go to Yalalag, Cline has agreed to go to another community.

When I get a little time I will make my own list of the papers which I think might be included in the volume to represent Radcliffe-Brown in Latin America, and I will send it to you for suggestions, at the same time writing Radcliffe-Brown for his advice. It is possible that he already has some venture under way in Brazil.

I am glad to hear that the Chiapas field trip is assured. If only the health of your children does not make a difficulty!

The maize chart was prepared by Robert Bell.

I have just received an invitation to join the proposed Inter-American Society of Anthropology and Geography. Here is the invitation.

We left your books and papers in the fourth floor office. They are locked up and safe.

The comment you sent Villa on his second batch of notes seems to me very acute and valuable. A first-rate publication ought to come out of that some day.

You have probably had from me a copy of a letter from Emerson which

any responsibility you may have in the guayule business.

We are engaged this week in moving in to Chicago. Our adress will be 1159 East 56th Street.

Mina Winslow leaves today for Mexico. I am writing her to tell her that you are down there. Her address will be Box 57, San Miguel Allende, Gto.

Thank you for continuing to trouble about the changes for the Beals-Redfield-Tax memorandum. Now Beals and Steward want to take it away from Linton and publish it in the Journal of the new Inter-American Institute. I said they should talk it over with Linton.

Henry Allen Moe wrote me that de la Fuente and Palacios would be invited to apply for Guggenheim fellowships. If these men have not yet heard from Moe, I suggest that if either is interested he write to him at 551 Fifth Avenue, New York City, saying that he is interested in applying for a fellowship. I think they should do so right away.

I will give Goubaud your message about his translation.

In your later letter you ask me to give you notice when the Guatemalan diet project promises to become public. There is a little difficulty there. At Dr. Kidder's suggestion I have talked the project over in a tentative way with Pijoan. He is the sort of person who might go around talking about it, and through the Indian Service it might reach Mexico. I would see no harm in your mentioning a possible CIW diet project to Sady or Gamio in a very casual way, as something barely under construction; by doing this you could avoid the embarrassment which would occur if either of those gentlemen heard it from some outside source. On the other hand, this means that pretty soon Kidder or I should say something to John Collier about it.

The most important matter is the whooping cough. You will be guided, of course, by what the doctors in this country as well as in Mexico tell you. I should not be surprised if it is decided that Gertrude should bring the children home at the time you leave for Chiapas. Dorothy tells me that she is willing to come to Mexico to help make the trip easier. On the other hand, she is now engaged in packing so that they can move to Washington. There is time, though, to decide these matters, and I know we will correspond much about it.

Please give my best regards to Gertrude and tell her how sorry I am that she has this sickness to worry her.

Yours sincerely,  
Bob

November 3, 1942

Dear Bob,

Yesterday, and again today, I sent you by regular mail a miscellany of materials. I have a little more old business, very miscellaneous, to write now; some of it goes back to my first days here.

1. You recall Dr. Gamio's collection of studies on Ocotepaque that Rachel Reese first wrote us about? I have thought and thought what might or should be done with them; you will notice a further description of them in Rachel's report. I have decided to return them to Dr. Gamio suggesting that nothing be done but that when a likely researcher turns up looking for a town to study, Ocotepaque be suggested and this material be made available. There is really nothing to publish now.

2. All these months I have had Malinowski's MS on Oaxaca markets.

You will recall that de la Fuente eventually wants to revise it and have it published. It really isn't very good, although of course there is interesting material that should be made available some day. Malinowski wrote it (with de la Fuente) as a study in method, but it isn't up to his usual standard. Even so, there is some useful discussion of how a market system should be studied from the functional point of view; on the whole this tends to be naive, and the MS suffers greatly from unfulfilled promises -- M always promises to do something later, and frequently does not; and sometimes he refers to something already done that hasn't been done. Lots and lots of words.

3. Remember our long correspondence about the questionnaires that Barrera Vasquez sent to all the towns of Yucatan? Camara was to write Barrera Vasquez asking that the material be sent here; otherwise we were going to think of some other way to find out what might be useful therein. Camara wrote, and six weeks later (after a second letter) received a reply. It shocked him, and me. He obviously likes Camara and was sorry to disappoint him. But he says these questionnaires were his work and they are his personal property and nobody can use them except Barrera Vasquez! That ends that for the nonce, anyway .

4. Greta long ago asked us to buy some pottery bowls; these, I should long ago have informed you, are bought. She also asked for examples of birthday cards; I have been unable to find any in black-and-white. Unless you wish colored ones (which I suppose will not be suited to the book) I shall therefore not buy any.

5. I have never written you the list of your books that I took along, and have with me now. They are: 1. The Year Bearer's People; 2. Guatemala, Past, and Present (Why did I take yours? Where's my own copy I wonder);

3. Vogt's paper on Participant Observer Technique; 4. Photo reprint from Wilson and Hunter, The Study of African Society (Mrs. Tucker was going to reprint this for you from the film). I think that's all.

That's all for now. I'll write about current business later. Marianna's whooping cough becomes progressively lighter daily. Otherwise no news.

Yours,

Sol

October 27, 1942

Dear Bob,

Gertrude has just telephoned me your cable. It is a surprise very much appreciated.

Marianna has apparently passed the peak of her whooping cough and if this is the case I am pleased to be able to tell you that it is a light case. She has coughing spells about a dozen times a day, and they are not bad spells. We have had no first-hand experience with whooping cough before, so it is hard to judge, but according to our Doctor's descriptions of what severe cases do, this must be very mild. She does not vomit, for example, or choke. Meanwhile, she eats well and does not appear to be losing weight. For the past few days Gertrude has been walking her in the sun, which fortunately has been very warm; and this seems to do her good.

In short, we feel much better about the whole thing and are not worrying too much. Our comic relief has been our own coughing the past few days; I imagine that both Gertrude and I have whooping cough, but it is just a cough and doesn't bother us particularly. Susan, fortunately, appears to be immune; our own immunization process doubtless began too late.

We haven't heard yet from our doctor in Chicago. Perhaps Dorothy will collect some information to help us decide if Gertrude should take the family home or not. Meanwhile, there seems to be nothing to do; please do not be troubled, for the tension has certainly eased here.

I shall write you a business letter in a day or two. Things are all right, but slow. Our affectionate regards to you all and to the

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Eggans.

Yours,

Sol

October 30, 1942

Dear Bob,

Enclosed is my Indigenista article with Collier's reply. Since the magazine is just off the press, and none have yet been mailed, you are doubtless getting the first copy.

Last Spring I promised Mrs. Hughes that when the article appeared I would let her know. It is possible that with Collier's name a newsworthy story does appear. Whether to encourage her to write it, I leave to your judgment. That is why I am keeping my promise to her through you.

Does Dr. Kidder know of this business? I hope that I have not put my foot into something either in the matter of relations between CIW and the Indian service (if that matters) or in Guatemala. The view here is, of course, that my point of view about Guatemala coincides with Ubico's and there has even been some suspicion that we have been lying so as not to get into trouble in Guatemala.

That's all for the moment. Marianna is the same--still mildly coughing. Dr. Calvin wrote a nice letter saying it doesn't matter whether she is taken to Chicago in December or in February, that the trip wouldn't hurt her, but it isn't necessary either.

Sincerely,

Sol

November 2, 1942

Dear Sol:

I was glad to have good news of the whooping cough and your family. Apparently it is not going to be a very serious matter. Dorothy has been away for several days, but I understand she is coming back tomorrow.

Kidder has written asking me to advise him as to what he should do about the proposed food study in Guatemala. On reflection I take the view that the enterprise could be started there by Goubau and that it could be sufficiently well controlled if you spent a few weeks in Guatemala later in the year. Goubaud does not want to go to Guatemala until June, it turns out, and therefore the enterprise could not get under way until summer. In the light of these considerations I am suggesting that Kidder ask Bush for the extra money. If Bush is willing to provide it, then I think we should go into the enterprise. If Bush is at all unwilling, then I think Kidder should not urge it on him. In that event, between the Carnegie Institution and the Department of Anthropology here, we will find money to start Goubaud on a field job in June....

Yours sincerely,

Bob

November 2, 1942

Dear Bob,

Enclosed please find

1. Tumin's third batch of notes from Jilotepeque, Guatemala, together with a letter he sent about these notes, and my reply to him.

Which reminds me of an idea that has been brewing in my mind for some time. We have been running what amounts to an ethnographic cooperative, and it seems to me that we might try to extend it. If we could do what you did with some of Villa's notes to more of them, and with selections of Tumin's notes, and my notes when we go to the field, and induce an ever-widening group of exchange notes in this manner, I think we would be doing a lot towards bettering field-reporting as well as exchanging knowledge, suggestions, etc.

Required would be (1) selling the idea to others, (2) obtaining money for mimeographing and for postage, (3) an Editor. I suggest we limit ourselves geographically and have a Middle American Ethnological Cooperative or something of the sort with membership drawn from sponsoring agencies such as CIW, SSRC, Guggenheim, Tulane, U of C and other Universities sending people into this field, the INAH here, the Missionary organization, etc. Expenses would be paid by voluntary contributions from these institutions, or perhaps by some one of them or a special grant. The cooperative would act as a clearing house for people working and interested in the field, and material of many kinds would be exchanged: problems, techniques, crude data, ideas, etc.

To start with, we wouldn't necessarily need a large cooperative. I mentioned the notion to de la Borbolla and he said the School would certainly join something like that. I imagine that the missionary group would do so gladly.

With CIW and your SSRC-sponsored fellows, that would be enough to start with if nobody else were interested. Later I imagine that anybody coming into the field would find it advisable to cooperate.

The Editor, who would be you, would select notes for distribution and would receive correspondence for duplication and distribution. He wouldn't have to write any more himself than the other co-operators. He would have to have secretarial assistance. After it got started, the job could be passed around among others permanently interested in the field.

What do you think?

2. My expense account of the past two months. You will note that I have \$80 left. This will pay Rosales' salary but will leave me short about \$10 on his expenses and my few Institution expenses. Will the office mind my running that into next year's budget, or must I ask you for another small transfer--if you have the money--or ask you to pay for the miscellaneous items (which would be a bookkeeping nuisance)? I am sorry about this.

Sincerely,

Sol

November 3, 1942

Dear Bob,

Enclosed please find

1. A copy of the Spanish version of your paper "The Folk Society." Having received the copy of the letter you wrote

Mendieta y Nunez, I took to him copies of the English and the Spanish versions and I believe he will publish the Spanish in the Revista of December. He said he was writing you today.

He asked me how "Folk" should be translated; I explained that your book is being published in Spanish probably with "Folk" in the title, and that this article really defines the concept and the word as you use it; therefore that I thought the word "Folk" should not be translated into Spanish, but rather introduced by means of this article into the Spanish language. He seemed to agree.

This translation is not too good, I feel sure. As I wrote you, I spent many hours with Rosas, who did the rough translation, seeing that it was exact. I think the translation is faithful, but I suggested to Mendieta y Nunez that he could improve the style if he wished.

Since I left the English copy with Mendieta Y Nunez, I am now without one. I suppose I do not need one now (I have two copies of the translation that I am taking to the field as aids in education of my charges) but will you please see that I have a copy in Chicago?

2. The "Examination" that I have given my class. In the last session we had, I spent an hour and a half trying to teach the students how data of this kind might be handled. I did this (and gave them this kind of examination) because they have asstrong tendency, in seminar reports, to collect data and report it, and nothing more. They admit nobody here expects more and they have no practice in doing anything beyond presenting data.

I plan to discuss the exam "answers" in class with the students during the examination hours, and I would like the students to participate in the grading of the answers.

3. Finally -- the report on what I learned from the census schedules of Zinacantán in those few hours long ago. I think you will find this interesting. This report might be appended to Rachel's. But meanwhile you might start a file on Zinacantán -- for the notes I shall be sending up -- and have this the first entry.

The quest for maps was not so successful. So far I have found census maps for a great many towns, but those of municipios are exceedingly rare. The usefulness of the maps thus far uncovered is therefore limited.

Sincerely,

Sol

November 3, 1942

Dear Sol:

I have just read the Collier-Tax exchange. I don't think he correctly understands what you have written. I do not gist in your article much of what he imputes to you. I think I will jump in with an open letter to Collier. Of course I'll send you a copy. Also Kidder. Can you send me another copy of the article + comment for Kidder?

My best,

Bob

November 4, 1942

Dear Bob:

Believe it or not, I have now cleaned up that piece of very old business, and enclose additions and corrections for the Redfield-Beals-Tax memorandum. I have put things in the imperative, but of course I don't care how you treat them. After I don't know how many weeks, I finally caught Jiménez Moreno in his office, with the memo, this A.M. He had no notes on it written, so I spent an hour going over it with him.

By the way, you mention in your letter of Oct. 26th (hereby acknowledged) that Beals and Steward want the Memo for the new Journal. If you have no new information, you will be interested to know that yesterday Borbolla received a letter from Beals (about the Society) who incidentally mentioned that this Memo would appear in the January Anthropologist.

When talking to Jimenez Moreno, I brought up the Bibliography again. When he expressed a desire to do it here, as planned, I pinned him down on the matter of time. He said he could promise to have it done here during the next school year; he also promised that before I leave for Chiapas he would have a Plan drawn up, after discussion with Kirchboff, for us. I explained that we couldn't do anything in Chicago efficiently until a plan should be agreed upon. Whether he will be able to keep these promises, I cannot of course say. But I am impressed with the sincerity of his belief that the work should be centered here, and his willingness to take a leading role. Under the circumstances, it seems to me we had better go ahead with this co-operative plan, hurrying it up as much as possible by prodding.

...I suppose that I, too, shall soon receive an invitation to join the Inter-American Society. I shall pay my money, but with misgivings. Borbolla showed me what amounts to a Constitution, written in

Spanish and sent by the temporary committee. We went over it together and couldn't come to any conclusion but that it was pretty bad. The Committee apparently doesn't have to ask anybody what to do about any of the problems -- and some are real issues -- during the important formative period. We agreed that fortunately these are men of good will, but couldn't help but wonder at the function of the elaborate (and bad) constitution. I also wondered why this wasn't publicized in the U.S.

We shall be glad to see Miss Winslow if she calls on us here.

I plan to see Palacios tomorrow, when I shall deliver the message about the fellowships to him and, through him, to de la Fuente.

The Goubaud translation is about finished; I shall soon send a copy directly to him, and let you know.

I think I shall take a chance here and not mention the Guatemala diet project; then you needn't to Collier if you don't wish. When and if it is assured, I shall talk to Gamio about it.

→ Ebenstein, to whom you gave a letter of introduction to me, called on me last week. He didn't seem to have the faintest idea about how to go at his job. In fact, he started out by pooh-poohing his project and saying he is really here to learn about Mexico so that he would be better able to teach Latin American government next year. This annoyed me mildly, and although it was none of my business, I took a school-ma'rmish tone and told him firmly that he wasn't apt to learn anything if he tried to learn everything. (He even wanted advice on how to study the Indians!) I suggested he stick to politics and learn only enough about other things to enable him to understand that; that he sit down and write on paper what he thinks he ought to know, check off what he thinks he already knows, and figure out how to find out what he

thinks he doesn't know. Specifically I also suggested that he go after a month or two to a State Capital for a month or two, then to a town in that State for a month or two, then to several other towns of the same state for short periods (to see how typical the chosen town is), and then to several other State capitals for short periods to see how typical the chosen State is--or how much States differ--and then back to Mexico City. He seemed to think this a wonderful plan--as if nothing of the sort had occurred to him. (I prefer anthropologists.)

I understand that Julio has turned in to Cosfo at least six chapters; also that the translation has for some time been complete --including even the index--but the smoothing will still take a week or two.

My linguistic map is finally underway. The cartographer (Rita Lopez de Llergo, who seems to be first class) is doing the work--not my "service-scholars" as I had first planned. We are localizing the population within municipios as far as the data permit. As you know, the greatest difficulty will be Guatemala where there is not even a map of municipios. There is now a glorious possibility that that will soon be taken care of. A long time ago I mentioned to Borbolla and Sra. de Llergo that the Census office in Guatemala had all these local maps that could be put together. Now I find that Borbolla is trying to arrange for Sra. de Llergo to go to Guatemala next month to make the map! He is trying to get transportation money from one of the gov't ministries, and I suppose the Instituto would pay her salary and other expenses. When I heard this I was overwhelmed and told Borbolla that if the project were halted for lack of a little money, the CIW might be willing to assist.

He replied that he thought that wouldn't be necessary, but if such a situation arose, he would let me know.

I spent about three hours with Mendizábal one day last week (and another hour yesterday). I think I like him better than anybody else here; he is the good-natured and easy-going type with whom one can pleaurably waste a lot of time. He showed me much of his material on the Mezquital valley, and I think a lot of it is good; there isn't much chance, however, that he will do anything with it. (And by the way-- there seems to be a fatal flaw in the Indianist project to spread grass-seed in the unirrigated portion of the Valley so that a new variety of sheep can give quantities of good wool for the Indians to weave into oriental rugs so that they can earn money to buy the soy beans grown in the irrigated portion so that they can satisfy their newly-learned taste and thus become rosy-cheeked; there isn't any water for the sheep to drink, since even the people have to drink pulque.)

He told me something new and interesting. When in Guatemala 20-odd years ago he came across a community near Zacualpa; the people apparently have poor-Ladino culture, but are all descendents of an Austrian colony that migrated to Guatemala maybe a hundred years ago. I wouldn't be surprised if he were mixed up somewhere.

Enough now. Marianna continues much better; Gertrude's cough is much worse than hers! Best regards,

Sol

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November 9, 1942

Dear Bob,

I have your letter of the 2nd and your note of the 3rd. They find us in increasingly good health; Marianna's cough continues much better and Gertrude's has passed its peak.

Thank you for the news of the proposed food study. There is little I can say about it, since I do not know (and have thought little about) the outlines of the procedures involved. Can the question of when I would go down, in relation to when Goubaud would go down, be held in abeyance until the project is approved and we can discuss the problems to be faced?

....Our field party leaves from Vera Cruz Sunday morning the 29th. I suppose that I shall leave Mexico Saturday some time. I thought of going by plane, but since the rest of the party cannot, have decided against it.

Paul Kirchoff had Rachel's report for a long time, and became very enthusiastic. He showed it to Sanchez (Pan-A., Inst. of Geog. & Hist.) and apparently communicated his enthusiasm, for without reading it, Sanchez told him it ought to be published and he would ask the Dept. of Agriculture for the money. Kirchoff then suggested that I give him a copy of the table of contents (and we decided the title could be changed to "Usefulness... for Social Studies" instead of Ethnologists). I spoke to Rachel of this, and she was shocked, thinking that it shouldn't be published here, especially by a Dept. which isn't always treated in the report with flattery. If it should be presented here for publication, it could of course be revised in some particulars. I am not convinced one way or the other. Mendizábal, who is really an expert in the subject, has the report now; he hardly reads English, but he might have some suggestions as to the coverage of the field, etc. Do you think that Sanchez should be encouraged or discouraged?

According to Kirchoff he said he was sure he could get the money for publication.

I have run into a difficulty with the map (which, as usual, I am making a study in method and keeping a full account of). Sta. de Llerga has been successful in locating on the map the communities in which the very great majority of the people live; as a population-density map only, it could be made very exact. But the 1930 census gives no information on the race or language division by localities smaller than municipios. The cartographer says that the thing to do is to apply the Indian-Spanish (language) percentage of the municipio to each locality; I tried this out and find it would hide as much on the map as it would show, for some 100% Indian communities would show up actually as 100% non-Indian communities, and vice-versa! (Imagine how your municipio of A. E. would show up on a map made on that principle!) I thought then that if I could get hold of some of this questionnaire information that has come in from time to time, simply to find out what communities are nearly-pure Indian or nearly-pure non-Indian, I could very largely reduce the error. Therefore I examined the notebook-questionnaire of the Nat'l University (which I had wanted to do anyway) but found it of little help because it deals with Ejidatarios and one would have to determine the relationship in each community between the total population and those sharing in the ejido before he could begin to use the information.

Then, naturally, the possibility of using the 1940 census schedules for the purpose occurred to me. I explained the problem to Palacios, and he was interested--since the problem of his office, too, is the localization of Indians; in fact, he was so interested that we worked out a plan by which his office would call off its other statistical studies temporarily to do

this job. (Of course I told him to try it out of one State first to see how it will work before committing himself to the whole job.) It is a matter of taking notes on the rough composition of the population in each of the several thousand localities of the Maya municipios, and he is having tables typed for the purpose.

Which brings me to something else: You recall the little report of my study of the census schedules of Zinacantán, and the concluding suggestion that this type of study might be substituted for the present Indian office statistical method using only language as the criterion of an Indian. Palacios tells me now that the present method has become practically impossible; they have worked two years on the statistics and have gotten through about a tenth of the population. (One good reason is that for financial reasons only 6 man-hours a day are devoted to collecting -- besides elaborating, on which more time is spent -- the data.) He would like to substitute the method I outline in that report. We calculated that this would take some 25,000 pesos beyond what he would have available for the purpose. Would anybody you know care to invest about \$5000 in a good cause (spread over two or three years)? If the method should prove successful--and I would want to see it well-tested by a sampling technique first, schedule-analyzing communities in different parts of the country to see if the results make sense to persons who know those communities--we would know a tremendous amount about the social-cultural-racial-linguistic composition of the population of all of Mexico. That might very valuably complement programs of intensive study and point up crucial problems.

Don't you think that in relation to results the price sounds very low? And then, of course, there is the matter of co-operation with a govern-

ment agency here, and the use of local personnel, which might be especially attractive these days. Will you think of the possibilities?

It looks as if Sady's days here are numbered. His office wired him Saturday that his draft board refuses to keep him in II-A and that he should come home as soon as possible (his classification expires on Nov. 12). Meanwhile, he had just put in an application (on Collier's suggestion and recommendation, I think) to Keesing's Governors school at Columbia University; and if this is accepted, of course his draft board wouldn't want him. He has been frantically communicating to get a couple of weeks more here both to wind up Institute affairs and to wait for the documents for his application; and meanwhile Gamio has been equally engaged in trying to keep him down here indefinitely. Slightly at cross purposes, because Sady would rather go to the School; and having applied for that, where is the argument for his indispensability here? Meanwhile, the Sady's are packed to leave at a moment's notice.

I don't remember if I have told you that we have decided to stay here, although before I go to Chiapas we shall probably move into a compact apartment. We may be vultures and take the Sady's place.

No matter how short they are when I begin them, these letters of mine are too long before I finish! But I just want to say before closing that we are all pepped up with the weekend's war news. This despite the fact that I am almost certain that both of my brothers are in North Africa. I think that was a stupendous (and untraditionally realistic) coup that will have Hitler where he should be much more quickly than we had a right to hope. It also increases confidence in our leadership no end. Also, I wish I were fighting.

Our best regards to all,

Sincerely,

Sol

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Enclosed is another "reprint" of my article and Collier's reply. I was glad for your encouraging note, and await with great interest the Open Letter if you write it; please don't write it for my sake if you think the matter might better be dropped.

November 13, 1942

Dear Sol:

I have your letters of November 2nd and November 9th. I take up the points you mention in order.

The extension of our ethnographic cooperative seems to me a sound proposal. The little editing necessary could be done in this office, and I don't think the idea would have to be sold. We would include anybody who wanted to come in and not worry about the others. The expenses would be proportionate to the interest. The simple way to begin is to find some materials that are of general interest, and mail them around to a few people asking if they want to pay for them. I think the enterprise had best be self-supporting rather than by contributions either from institutions or individuals. The principal problem I see is that of making a selection of materials to send which will be of sufficiently wide interest. I suggest that during your coming field enterprise you keep an eye out for notes by yourself on your students which would be suitable and send them to me. I will look over Gillin and Tumin have sent me and make a few selections there. We could then have ready a first sample for you and me to look at when you get back here in the winter.

I say nothing about the proposed food study because you have not yet received my letter telling you that the enterprise is substantially postponed beyond 1943.

The question whether the Department of Agriculture there should publish Rachel's report seems to me a question which must be decided in

to give it to them. So far as I know, it will appear in the January Anthropologist.

I regard it now as settled that Jimenez Moreno will undertake the first work on the Middle American bibliography. We will find money here to make additions and revisions in the light of my own bibliography when the Mexicans send us that they have done.

I sent Beals some suggestions for the revision of the Constitution of the Inter-American Society, but I think none of them was accepted. I agree that it is much too elaborate.

→ Thank you for talking to Ebenstein. I agree that he was not well prepared.

Cosio has sent me 125 pages of de la Fuente's translation. Goubaud thinks the translation is very bad. Without saying anything to Trevino about Goubaud's opinion, I have asked Trevino to read part of the translation and compare it to the original.

Of course, I am interested to hear the fatal flaw in the Mezquital project. What will be done with it now?

I understand from you that there is nothing I should do about Gamio's Ocotepaque manuscript, or about Malinowski's manuscript, or about the Yucatecan questionnaires. Barrera Vasquez has acted that way before. He refused Villa any information from his notes on subjects Villa was studying.

Thank you for buying some pottery bowls. If you can't find black-and-white birthday cards, forget them.

Thank you for acknowledging the books of mine which you have. I don't need any of them now.

Thank you for sending me the Spanish translation of the Folk Society paper. I hope Mendieta y Nunez will publish it even though the translation is not very good. I have another copy of the English version sent you.

I am interested, too, in the results of the examination you gave your class. It shows again the backwardness of the general educational standard at the university level.

I will look through the Zinacantán schedules and put them in a special file.

We have moved into town now at 1159 East 56th Street. Whenever we can we go on week-ends to the country. Next week-end I will make your car ready for the winter. The radiator has been drained long ago.

I am glad the whooping grows less.

Yours cordially,

Bob

\*Excerpts from the letter dated November 6.

[P.S.] Juan Rosales received today a letter telling him his father was dead. He was much upset, and talked to me for quite a while. A point of pain to him was that his wife had not been able to find a receipt for payment Juan had made for a family burial niche, and there was delay in interment -- in the niche, finally. Juan spent the day writing a long letter to his wife.

Bob

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November 10, 1942

Dear Sol:

I have your air mail letter of November 3, air mail letter of November 4 and your letter by ordinary mail dated November 3.

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter from Kidder.\* This disposition of the Nutrition Project so far as 1943 is concerned is satisfactory to me, and I hope it is to you. We have gained salary for Goubaud for from six to nine months, a new item of \$1,500 for expenses, and a \$10 a month increase for Rosales. We have lost \$700 of an item in 1943 and as I do not see that any expensive manuscript will have to be prepared in that year, I shall get along on \$300.

I am wondering if you will not think it wise to put Goubaud into a community, perhaps in the Alta Vera Paz or Baja Vera Paz. He could get the food information incidental to a general ethnological study. Rosales could supplement what we already know about either Panajachel or San Pedro. Pijoan, I take it, is out of it for the present. You can go to Guatemala for as much or as little of 1943 as you think it advisable.

Please write Kidder by air mail when you are expecting to leave Mexico City for Chiapas.

I am greatly obliged to you, to Jimenez Moreno, Kirchoff and Comas for the suggestions made to improve the Beals-Redfield-Tax memorandum. I have accepted almost every suggestion. I hope that this time the manuscript will stay put with Linton. Yes, Beals and Steward asked Linton for the manuscript for the new Journal, but Linton refused

Mexico. From the point of view of ethnologists and North Americans its publication down there would be a good thing. It would become available, and it would become available at somebody else's expense. The objection is, of course, the objection which occurs to Rachel in that it might embarrass her and others if her evaluations of government offices should be published, especially if published by one government office. Therefore, I think I am not able to help you in deciding the problem.

Your analysis of the census schedule of Zinacantán is an excellent job and characteristic of you in its ingenuity. I am not quite clear what would be involved in asking somebody for \$5,000 to develop a method in connection with all the census materials of Mexico. Would the results be useful to anybody besides ethnologists? Would the enterprise be carried on by the Mexican government or by some North American agency in cooperation with the Mexican government? What is the basis of the calculation that the work would be done for 25,000 pesos? How much of the procedure which you followed in the sample for Zinacantán would be followed should it be done on a large scale? Perhaps you would feel like writing a memorandum as if directed to some source of funds, defining the project and presenting the budget.

Yes, the confidence in this country has been enormously increased by the events of the past week. Not the least of the matter was the evidence it gave of coordinated planning and of the effective execution of a difficult and complex plan. It really looks as if the initiative has passed to our side.

As ever yours,

Bob

November 15, 1942

Dear Bob,

I have yours of the 10th enclosing Dr. Kidder's letter. Yes, of course, the disposition of the Guatemalen project seems all right to me. I am in favor of raising Rosales' salary; I do not have with me my records, but it must be nearly two years since it was raised last.

I do not think it a good idea to have Goubaud go to Vera Paz to start with in June for two reasons: (1) I think that the first job is to get supplementary information on diet in communities on which we already have much information -- such as Chorti, or (by that time) Pokoman, Wagley's village, or Siegel's or Santa Eulalia-if-LaFarge's-MS-is-available. We can get results that way relatively quickly and also work out just what information we want and the most efficient ways to get it. (2) Alta or Baja Verapaz are unknown country to us and we should not be able to advise Goubaud on a community to study. Experience is very important in choosing a community, and the chances of Goubaud's making a mistake would be good. I made a mistake in choosing Chichicas tenango that first year that I would probably not make now. Should Goubaud go to Verapaz alone, our advice by correspondence -- depending on his descriptions of the place (colored perhaps by his enthusiasms) -- would probably not be adequate. Verapaz seems to me a complex place, with its communities closely interrelated with fincas, and I think we should be very careful.

(As you must note, my typewrite went haywire at the second line of this letter; a piece broke off and I can write at all only by jacking up one side; therefore this letter must be abbreviated.)

The mezquital project is going through. The government is preparing to spend another 8,000,000 pesos there too, according to the newspapers. The President recently visited the valley (with Dr. Gamio) and among other things drinking water will be brought to various communities.

I suggested to Mendieta y Nunez that he improve the translation of your paper; I hope he does. If you have any specific suggestions for improvement, I suggest you write him.

The Sadys left Friday night for Washington--and for either the army or Governor's school. I think he'd be good in that school, if you have the opportunity to put in a word for him.

I'll write more tomorrow on a better typewriter. Our health continues the same.

Yours,

Sol

Dear Sol:

We had a bad scare today about Rosales, but all is, I think, well. This morning he received a notice from his draft board ordering to appear for induction next Monday.

I think I was worse worried than Juan. He was calm, as usual.

About two months ago he received a card putting him in class 4. Later he received a card putting him in 1-a. I went to see the secretary of the Board who told me that the application Juan had filed, to be exempt from draft as an alien on temporary visit in the country, was of no effect, because the law makes any alien of any co-belligerent

country liable for induction no matter how temporary his visit to the U.S. This appears to be true. I asked what could be done, and was advised to ask, as his employer, for a deferment. I sent in a blank asking for deferment. Nothing happened. Then Juan began to make arrangements to leave for Guatemala via Mexico early in January. So I went again to the secretary of the Board, and asked what I should do to get the Board to give Juan a document permitting him to leave the U.S. and return to Guatemala. The Secretary told me only the Board as a whole could grant permission, and that I should write a letter. I wrote a letter last Friday, setting forth the whole case and asking for permission for Juan to go back to Guatemala. The Secretary told me the Board would act on Sunday. Today, -- next day -- Juan got the notice ordering him to appear for induction. I thought the Board had turned me down. So I was really scared. I found that Gillette is chairman of that Board and went to see him at noon. He told me the Board acted favorably yesterday, that the notice of induction had been sent Friday, that the Board cancelled it Sunday, that it had granted him a two-month deferment, and that it would give him written permission to go back to Guatemala. So it looks all right, unless Gillette drops dead, or something else happens to prevent the Board from carrying out Gillette's promise to furnish the permission.

Thought you'd like to hear of my heart-spasms.

Everything else all right. Fred and Dorothy leave for Washington Thursday. They are coming to dinner here tomorrow.

Yours to a cinder,  
Bob

November 21, 1942

Dear Sol:

I am acknowledging your letter of November 15. Under separate cover I have sent you a copy ... of a letter from Collier about my comment on your article.

What you say about not sending Boubaud to Alta Vera Paz persuades me that your opinion is correct. My judgment of Goubaud has not changed much. He is very quick and effective in personal relations, but he is often sadly off the track when it comes to intellectual matters. He will require considerable guidance in the field. In Guatemala City he is likely to be a great success.

I am having made for you a copy of Wagley's paper on the social organization of Santiago Chimaltenango. I think you have read this paper before. Indeed the comment which is attached to it (which I also will send you) appears to have been written by you. But I thought you would like to see it again in connection with the suggestion it contains that the Tzeltal situation may be in part present also in Wagley's village.

I am considerably disturbed about the problem presented by de la Fuente's translation of my book. Goubaud and Trevino have independently arrived at the same conclusion: that the manuscript should certainly not be published in its present form because it does not express the sense of the original in Spanish easily and intelligibly to the Spanish reader; and both point to similar passages suggesting that de la Fuente has translated very rapidly almost

word-for-word. I have no idea what attitude Cosío Villages will take. I do not want the book to appear in an indifferent translation. Even if Cosío Villegas will not object to our thorough revision up here at the expense of someone other than himself, I don't know where I can find the money to pay for the revision, and I don't know where I can find the reviser. Goubaud could do it, but it seems hardly fair to him to ask him to take as much time as it would require him when he is completing his academic work.

I just tell you of my trouble; I don't suppose you have a solution. This letter is likely to reach you soon before your departure for Chiapas. You know how well I wish you on that expedition and the confidence I have that you will add to your already very considerable accomplishments in the development of anthropological science in Mexico.

Yours faithfully,

Bob

April Is This Afternoon

Correspondence of Robert Redfield  
and  
Sol Tax  
1933 - 1944

(edited and with text by Sol Tax)

June 2, 1980

[pp. 907 - 994]

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VI

MORE TO AND FROM MEXICO AND GUATEMALA (1942-1944)

[textual matter to be supplied]

Vera Cruz,

Sat. ev., Nov. 28 [1942]

Dear Bob:

I have tried for a week to write you, and this is the first chance I've had! I took an 11 o'clock bus this morning and arrived here at 9 PM. All of my charges are on deck, and we leave in the morning. All is well.

I have a lot to say, but I'll try to be brief. I have not acknowledged (1) your reply to Collier, (2) your letter of the 10th enclosing Dr. Kidder's, (3) your letter of the 21st. .... I have not received the copy of Collier's reply to you referred to in yours of the 21st. While on the subject, I <sup>may</sup> also say I have never received the package of notes you sent me; nor has Rosales' MS reached me.

I saw Mr. Marco -- second in command to Cosío Villegas -- yesterday afternoon, and he confirmed a suspicion I had that you are worrying unnecessarily. The Fondo never intended to publish De la Fuente's translation without revision for style, and that revision is an obligation that they accepted from the beginning. That was my impression, and I am sorry if I never conveyed it to you. I recall well that Cosío Villegas explained to me that they pay a peso and a half per page for translations that have to be gone over, and two pesos per page for translations that can go right to the printer. The bargain with Julio is for a peso and a half. The point is this: in technical works, they seek for a translator somebody in the field who will be able to translate the technical terms, and get the sense

technically exact. They do not expect such a person to be a smooth writer; when he turns in his translation, they go over it for style, and of course do not have to refer to the original English. You recall that the first chapter of Julio's translation was sent to you for approval; they were interested to know not about the literary style, but about accuracy. Now they are fully prepared to go over the translation for style, and you need spend no money on that. They are also willing to check any passages that you may think not to be correctly translated, with the English original. If either Goubaud or Traviño have found such, and will just put a check in the margin, those passages will surely be checked against the original.

After the translation is revised by Cosío Villegas' office, you may still have a look at it for final corrections or suggestions. I suggest, therefore, that you not worry about the translation now (except, if you wish, to note doubts about accuracy) and have your friends read the final version, if you think it necessary.

I may say that I think you do Julio a great injustice. He has been extremely conscientious. He first quickly translated the whole thing, and then went over it with a fine-toothed comb with Palacios (who, incidentally, has recognized literary qualities), worrying about every sentence and every word. I know this because he has come with his problems to me, and I have seen him work. It is very true that he has a tendency toward keeping to the English style, and apparently the assistance that Palacios has given has not been enough to overcome this. But I find it difficult to believe that it is as bad as Goubaud and Treviño indicate, for after all Cosío Villegas -- who certainly

knows Spanish -- also read that first chapter, and probably more.

When I spoke with Marco, Cosfo had not yet answered your letter, and I suggested that in answering he mention my conversation. I was a little worried that they might take you at your word and allow you to take care of the revision of the MS, but Marco was clear in accepting that obligation.

Dr. Kidder was here during the week and we had several good conversations. He confirmed the Nutrition project. He also agreed that Goubaud had better not open up Alta Verapaz. I outlined very roughly a program that seemed to please him: Goubaud first in eastern Guatemala, preferably while Tumin is still in Jilotepeque. Tumin might agree to get started on the work beforehand ( I have written him) or the two might work together there entirely. Then Goubaud could work in one of Wisdom's communities. Meanwhile, Rosales could work in both Panajachel and San Pedro (a good comparison because S. Pedro economy is based on corn.) Eventually, either or both could work in (1) two of the four communities reported on by LaFarge, Siegel, and Wagley, (2) two communities in Vera Paz, one an independent Indian community, and the other a finca community, and possibly (3) a finca community on the Pacific coast, below the Lake or in Chimaltenango, and (4) a non-Indian community of Eastern Guatemala and possibly (5) the Ladino community of Agua Escondida. We agreed also that when I come back we must figure out just what we want to find out, and should do this with consultation of medical men, and especially the Nutrition Laboratory. He suggested that perhaps when you are called East for something else, we could all meet in Cambridge. Meanwhile, when he returns to the States, he will

speak with Carpenter.

I await with great interest another look at Wagley's paper on the social organization of Santiago Chimaltenango.

I hope I can soon see Collier's letter to you. I liked your reply to his criticism of my article, and am grateful for it.

You may be asked by the U. of Oklahoma to give anything from one or a few lectures to a summer session course at their Summer Institute of Linguistics. The missionary people are sold on the idea of teaching their people to collect reliable and significant ethnographic data and seem to have money for such a project as this. I suggested that you might be willing and able, and the idea appealed to them. If you hear more of this, blame me.

That was a narrow escape for Rosales. A recent decree here makes citizens of co-belligerent countries liable for military service, too. Now I may become part of the Mexican army!

I am glad that you have figured out a simple way to begin to extend our ethnographic cooperative. I think something will come of it eventually, especially in connection with the missionaries. I intend to send a copy of all of our Zinacantán notes to you in Chicago, to read if you wish and to keep for me.

Since you leave it to me, I vote in favor of letting Sanchez publish Rachel's report if he wants and is able to -- with small revisions. Is it necessary to get Rachel's approval; or, to put it another way, is it proper to allow it to be published against her wish? (It is not impossible, of course, that she be persuaded.) By the way, the Sadys left for Washington 10 days ago; perhaps you have seen Rachel by now.

9/12

I shall answer other points in your letter later; I have been too wordy as usual, and it's almost midnight. We moved this week to an apartment in Mexico City -- Londres 101, Apt. 8; I left the family pretty well.

Regards to you and yours,

Sol

December 7, 1942

Dear Sol:

I too have allowed our correspondence to fall somewhere in the arrears. Recently I had your letter of November 28 written at Vera Cruz. By this time you will have begun your field work and another chapter in your professional career will have opened.

I see I have boggled the matter of revision of the translation of my Folk Culture manuscript. I did indeed fail to understand that Cosío Villegas was intending to have a thorough revision of it made in Mexico. I have received today a letter from Cosío Villegas accepting my suggestion that the revision be made here. Nevertheless, I am writing him telling him that the man who I thought might be available to make the revision is probably not available (and this indeed is the case because Goubaud is very reluctant to take the time), and I am asking Cosío Villegas if he would be willing to have the revision made in Mexico.

I hope I have not done de la Fuente an injustice. Indeed I admire the rapidity and accuracy of his translation. If he was not supposed to prepare a smooth Spanish text, then he has indeed completed his contract well. The fact remains that it is not a smooth Spanish text and that

two Spanish-speaking persons reading the manuscript independently thought that it was very far from a suitable manuscript for publication. Even I can see many passages in it which do not conform to ordinary easy Spanish usage. For example, he will put two polysyllabic adjectives beside a noun, something that is done in English but not in good Spanish style.

I am delighted that you saw Kidder. The program you are working out for the nutrition project seems excellent. I would indeed meet with you in Cambridge after you get back.

I have not as yet, heard anything from the University of Oklahoma, but if it is something I can do, I will do it.

Rosales is now making all arrangements to leave on the 4th of January. Isabel Sklow and Goubaud have been very kind in helping him to make these arrangements. He has been uncertain as to whether to go by way of El Paso Chihuahua to visit the Tarahumara Indians. In view of the fact that Plancarte will not be in Chihuahua, it did not seem to me a very good idea. It would involve some time and arduous travel, and the nights in the mountains are cold at this time of the year. I have talked against it, and suggested to him that he could see more of Indians if he spent about a week in Mexico City making excursions from there. I am inclined to think that he will accept this suggestion. He is counting on visiting you and Alfonso Villa. The Rockefeller Foundation had indicated that it will buy his ticket at least by direct route to Guatemala City, and, as you know, Rosales has saved enough money so that he can both make side trips and buy a few books before he goes.

There is one circumstance in connection with Rosales' narrow escape with the Army which I failed to mention. His wife and six children were of no legal effect, because, in the first place, he had never admitted that he had a wife and six children in any of his official papers in this country, and, in the second place, the law says that only legally married spouses and offspring of such sponsors are to be taken into consideration. The draft law was prepared, of course, with a view to North American marriage customs and not to Guatemalan customs. The whole thing was a situation almost absurd if it had not been dangerous. Fortunately the Board was a sensible board. I hope that whatever Mexican authorities take up your case are as reasonable and that you do not find yourself a rear-rank private in a Mexican squad.

I think you should tell Rachel that you are telling Sanchez he can publish her report.

This morning Mr. Collier and Laura Thompson spent some time with me. So far as I could tell, Collier was entirely friendly. He had just brought to an end the dangerous general strike at Poston, and the Mexicans had accepted his personality study and agreed to put it into effect early. He did not say "I told you so," and I was very humble. I am told that the personality study will involve the selection of four communities in Mexico, of which two will be Tepoztlan and Chan Kom. I imagine the selection was political as much as scientific.

The first news from Fred is almost all bad: his job was cut out before he got there, and he is continuing as a consultant; he has no staff, and there is a question as to whether the functions he was to perform may not be transferred to the State Department. It is the

usual pattern of a bureaucratic kaleidoscope. Fortunately, Fred is so fixed that he can return to the University any day he wants to.

With best regards to you and your students. I look forward to the first bulletin from the field.

Yours faithfully,  
Bob

Zinacantán, Chiapas,

Mexico

December 9, 1942

Dear Bob:

Enclosed are the results of our first week's work. Not very much, but I suppose one shouldn't expect much the first week with a group of students who have never had real field experience. I have been dedicating my time to them rather than to the Indians, although I have done some work with the Indians too.

My Diary will tell you everything that has happened since I wrote you last from Vera Cruz. My worst news is the loss of my suitcases -- for which I have only dim hope. Besides clothes and personal effects, there was in it a stack of Tumin's notes (of which, fortunately there are copies) and my current correspondence. Now I don't know what is in your letters, for example, I have left unanswered.

Gertrude forwarded the Redfield-Collier correspondence; I also had a letter from Alfonso forwarded from Mexico, and he writes at length supporting what appears to have become our position as opposed to Collier's. I'm tired of the business myself.

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As you will note in my Diary, Emanuel Palacios joined us the other day. I wrote Mr. Stephens from Mexico that I would like to use a maximum of \$50 of the \$200 for his expenses while here (since he gets a pass on the railroads.) I was surprised to see him, but very pleased; but if Stephens doesn't let me use the money that way, I'll be stuck! Apparently Palacios misunderstood me to say that I was sure of such assistance; I have set him right on that now, so that we can worry together.

I have had trouble with a few students -- one especially -- and I hope I did right by being tough. My attitude (unexpressed so far) is that this expedition is costing CIW, Rockefeller, and the INAH a lot of money, and that we're not here for a vacation. At least I'm not here for a vacation (damn it!) and I intend to do my job as efficiently as I can. It has taken awhile to get the general idea across. Fortunately all but one or two began the work with what I think is the proper spirit. But it only takes one to make life unpleasant.

Our quarters are neither very good nor very bad; when the remainder of the personnel of the school leave, we shall be able to spread out a little more. The food isn't bad, on the whole, but I am worse off than the others in that respect because they are used to beans thrice daily!

Mail service has been interrupted <sup>y</sup> recent rains; normally, airmail should not be too slow. It goes to Tuxtla by plane, then to Las Casas by car (one day) and then is brought back here on foot, the next morning I think. Mail trucks haven't gone through for several days now. The road is exceedingly bad.

The last letter from Gertrude was mailed a week ago. Everything was all right then. Best regards to the family,

Sol

December 29, 1942

Dear Sol:

Your letter of December 9 with enclosures representing notes and diaries taken by members of your group gave me an interesting two hours over the weekend. Your job is certainly not easy. I think you are doing it very well. You may antagonize one or two members of your group, but you will give real instruction to the rest. The more I see of what you have done in the last few months in Mexico, the more I am sure you have made a lasting contribution to the development of a common scientific responsibility between Mexico and the United States in the field of anthropology.

The loss of your suitcase I can only lament.

The arrival of Palacios sounded like a turning point, and I hope in the next letter to hear that matters are going more smoothly and regularly. One the whole, I am well impressed by what your students did in the first few days. The pair that went to the funeral certainly did know how to put down notes.

I hope that the Redfield-Collier-Tax interchange is about at an end. I had a very pleasant hour and a half with Sady while he was here, and liked him. Apparently he and Collier had the idea that you and I were opposed to consideration of local differences and culture in action programs. When I pointed out that there was nothing in what I had written

or what you had written that was unfavorable to condiseration:of local differences in action programs, Sady appeared to admit it, but neverthe- less kept coming back to the point. I think now he is going to add a little postscript to my letter to Collier, telling the readers that Tax and Redfield are not opposed to the consideration of local differ- ences in action programs.

You have probably heard from Rosales directly as to his plans for departure. Rockefeller came through with \$249 for transporation. I think this will provide Rosales with plenty of money not only to make a number of side trips in Mexico, but also to buy a good many books. You will remember that he has \$150 set aside from his previous advance. He has decided to omit Tarahumara and will go to Mexico, where no doubt Gertrude and anthropologists there will advise him as to how to spend a few days before he comes to Chiapas.

.... Cosío Villegas has written indulgently, taking back the responsibility to have the translation of The Folk Culture of Yucatan revised for style in Mexico. I know indeed that I misunderstood the situation and made for delay and trouble. I have been stupid in many things, but not often more stupid than that.

Personally, all is well with us. We have greatly enjoyed four days in the country in my mother's house at Christmas with Lisa and Greta's nephew, Andy Park. I do not want you to take too much of your time to write me for I know how hard pressed you must be for even a few minutes, but if you write to Villa about your coming to him, perhaps you would send me a copy.

May all go well with you.

Yours as ever,

Bob

Zinacantán, Chiapas,

Mexico

January 2, 1943

Dear Bob:

It has been impossible to write letters, and about all I manage to do is get notes off to Gertrude. I have never been as busy in my life as I am these months. I must get this off, though, because I have to enclose my expense account so that it gets to Washington before the 12th.

I have sent you, since writing last, three packets of notes -- one of our second week's work, one of Diaries of the 3rd and 4th weeks, and one of Notes of those two weeks. Everything I could tell you about our stay here will be found in my Diaries, which I hope you can take the time to read. You will see that it has taken until now to make a social adjustment here, and that several times I have about given up. But things seem all right now. You will be able to judge better than I (especially if you can read the Diaries of the students, too) what mistakes I have made; I am too close to the business to be sure.

Alfonso Villa and Sra. were here for a few days, and read our Diaries and notes and talked to the students alone. He promised to write his impressions and opinions to you and to me, for the records. It was a very good thing he came, I think, although things are in such a busy state here that we didn't have time to discuss (as I would have liked) the differences between Oxchuc and Zinacatan.

Our relations with the Indians have taken a great turn for the

better (although I never thought they were serious, as did the worried students) with the promise of a gift to the town of 100 pesos. We do not know yet what will come of that offer -- the money is not yet paid -- but you will know when you read the next batch of my Diary. It appears that we have uncovered (because of the gift) a complex political struggle for power among the Indians; and to date we do not know whether certain officials intend or hope to keep the money for themselves, or whether it is to be used for some political purpose. But meanwhile, we have the political-party-in-power in our hands, and are promised positive help and support. In the inauguration of new officials yesterday we were given explicit recognition; changes are already noticeable.

I cannot tell you what was in that package of notes, now lost. There are probably hints in my letters to you, but I do not have my files. Better be careful of the Rosales MS, although since you have copies, the loss wouldn't be serious. I have written to Juan in Mexico suggesting that he visit me, then Villa, then go overland through Huehuetenango to get home. That's better than going all the way back to the RR and to Tapachula, I think.

The news from the family in Mexico is all good. I shall be back there on about the 28th, and will stay until about the 15th of February to see that the students summarize all of the material, and draw whatever conclusions will be possible, before I leave. They have expressed interest in this and promise to devote all of their time to the project. It would be nice to get this out of the way; then we can see immediately what, if anything, there is for publication.

Can you do us a big favor? We know that housing will be difficult in Chicago. We would very much like an apartment in the U of C building at 5744, etc. Drexel (where we once lived.) Can you use your influence with the Real Estate office to see that we get one if there is, or will be, a vacancy? We'll sign any kind of lease (even Feb. 1st) because no matter what happens, we can always sublet.

Sorry I cannot write more now. Probably I'll be pretty well tied up until we see you -- but I'll send notes and Diaries anyway.

Best regards,

Sol

Please read the enclosed letter to Mrs. Tepper, do what you wish or can, and send it on to her. I get into trouble every January 1st.

January 3rd, [1943]

Dear Gertrude:

I was very glad to get your letter -- and feel I am really a mean creature not to have written you, for I know it has been none too easy for you this time. I have also been following sympathetically Sol's adventures, and it can't be too much fun for him, tho I am sure he is doing a good pioneering job. It won't be so long now but it will be over. And I am very glad you have an apartment which is easy to run.

Here we have been well, and have just a few days ago come back from a happy Christmas at Windy Pines. Since our house was occupied, we stayed at the other house, the "Big House". Big fires in the fireplace made it cozy, and I had never liked it so well as a house before.

Andy was with us, as well as Lisa, so we had a really nice big family. ....I am sending you by Juan R. two and a half yards of red jersey. I hope this is what you want. If not, I am sure I could use it. I would not have bought quite as much for a skirt, but this was a remnant, and the only one in red, priced at \$1.65 a yard ( the regular jersey being \$2.50 a yard). It is also pure wool, which shows that it is left over, since all the newer things are half rayon. I wrapped it in tissue and removed the price thinking that there would be less difficulty with it in customs. The other packages are small items for the children which I hope may serve to divert a few hours.

I am very sorry to have to report to you that my precious reader was returned to me from D.C. Heath and Co. with a very polite letter, but also with regrets. The writer said it was "too heavily weighted with folklore". Since I had written a long letter explaining the whole thing as being based on folklore, I didn't think this too smart. I then sent it on to Henry Holt (both Sr. Castillo's advice) and am still waiting to hear from them. I am afraid it is going to turn out that my bright ideas are not so bright. But I won't give up yet. If necessary I will try Nelson Rockefeller. I am convinced they ought to like it. And I must confess I did think Sr. Castillo's approval meant more. However, -- I feel apologetic to you if I have started you on a wild goose <sup>se</sup> chase, of folklore.

I still haven't finished all my curtains but in general we are quite "settled in". Bob puts up new shelves from time to time. Once a week I have been going over to International House to make surgical dressings, and tho I do it badly, find it quiet and even rather relaxing work. Now

I think I should go over and help at Lying-In, for it seems more and more babies are being born with less and less help. I had hoped to be smart enough to do Nurse's Aid but decided it would be too difficult with no one at home here, and Jamie having to stay home with a cold in the nose every so often. (Tho on the whole we have all been well.)

.... I do hope you all keep well, and that 1943 is for you a Happy year. Things seem to be improving somewhat throughout the world, tho slowly.

With love,

As ever,

Greta

January 13, 1943

Dear Bob:

I was so pleased to get your letter (of the 29th) this morning, that I take time out from everything to answer it as best I can. I have written no letters at all, and for once it is literally true that I have had no time. (I have written Gertrude, of course, chiefly by sending my diary frequently; and once I did write to friends, one letter with many carbons.) Since coming here, I have had time for six or seven hours of sleep, and the rest has been strickly<sup>t</sup> work. When I stop to realize that I have myself done almost no ethnology, I can't help but conclude that I have been giving all of my time to the students. And now that we are near the very end (and all of our difficulties, among ethnographers and also between ethnographers and Indians<sup>]</sup> have been resolved) it looks as if we shall wind up successfully. All of the

students have of course learned a lot, and I think we shall have a good bit of information to boot. Three or four of the students I would trust in the field alone to do first-class studies (considering their limitations in the matter of theory) and are anxious for continued guidance from us. Three others are so-so, and only one apparently will never be any sort of ethnographer or anthropologist. The three best are at the thesis-stage in their schooling, and would now like to be given good field problems; and of course such are not hard to find. If 5,000 pesos for the three of them were loose, we could go a long way towards settling the problems of this region. I am going to talk to the Governor about possible assistance, and the Institute (Caso) too, and if you think of somebody who would like to contribute to a cooperative enterprise of this sort -- the work being done under our direction, let me know in Mexico.

We are leaving here on the 23rd, to be back in Mexico City on the 27th. As per original plan, I shall spend some two weeks (or say until the 15th) helping the students organize material, draw what conclusions possible, etc., and put together a preliminary report. That sounds impossible, but the kind of report I think of is a summary of material simply classified according to Murdock's numbers, something like that report on the Pokomán trip (with reference numbers for informants). All of the students promise to work hard on it for two weeks, and I have asked for their release from other duties in Mexico. With this preliminary report we can see what we <sup>have</sup> and what should be published. Bernardo Reyes in Tuxtla swears he will publish what I want published;

but of course that is something I can't figure on yet.

My plans always were, then to return to Chicago; but Gertrude and I have been corresponding about the possibility of staying another month or so so that in Mexico I could finish the<sup>e</sup>conomics monograph. I would get a room or office (either at the museum or the Indianist Institute) and spend all of my time at that job. The advantages would be (1) to miss the bad Chicago weather and (2) save a little money; insurance and income tax are both due in March, and if I added home-coming expenses at the same time, I would surely have to borrow money somewhere. Please tell me what you think of this. (By the way, Dr. Kidder writes that through some mixup, my pay raise is not taking effect, at least immediately.) If by chance you have rented an apartment for us, of course we would take advantage of that luck and come right home.

I have written to Rosales (care of Gertrude) advising him about his visit here and with Villa, and suggesting that he go to Comitán and then by horse through the Cuchumatanes to get home, rather than going back to the railroad. I have not heard from him, but expect him in a few days. I am glad about the extra money for him; I expected that he would get transportation back, and only made him save the \$150 <sup>of for</sup> security's sake and so he would not go home penniless.

I have not written to Tumin since coming here, and have never sent you quantities of notes. I am very sorry about this, because I think that if I had been able to keep up my lengthy correspondence with him, the periodic contact would have extroverted his class-caste ideas a little. He needs somebody who will keep talking with him very candidly. I have of course not seen Tumin's statement on castes, but whatever it is,

I think that your suggestions will help him to get straightened out. I find it very useful myself, and I shall see that the students read it so we can try to apply it to our (very fragmentary) information on the "races" here.

We sent you a batch of notes-diary a week ago, and today another packet is scheduled to go. After that, you can expect one more from Zinacantan and a final one from Mexico City. As usual, at the end of the field season, findings are becoming enticingly interesting, and although it will be woefully incomplete, we should have a good general picture of the culture before we leave. We are "short-handed" now, with one person down on the coast and three others in the parajes of the municipio. One student had previously gone to the coast (which is important to Zinacantan) and brought back such good material in answer to all the special problems I propounded beforehand that I am optimistic about the results of these excursions. I haven't gone anywhere myself except to Chamula one morning.

News from Mexico indicates that all is well at home, and you can imagine with what anticipation I look forward to two weeks from now. Still, I am satisfied with what we have done down here. A reading of my Diary will give perhaps an exaggerated impression of the social difficulties, because remember that the students read this diary and I write partly for their benefit. For example, I never had any intention of giving up and going back to Mexico -- much as I felt like doing that a couple of times -- but at times it seemed politic to be very convincing on the possibility; and I note from her letters that even Gertrude was half expecting me back! By this time you will have received Villa's

diary of his days here; but since he happened to be here at a time of crisis (the last one, fortunately) it also gives a wrong impression. Anyway, I suppose that I can depend upon the proverb that a all's well that ends well and let it go at that.

I have been well.

With best regards,

Sol

P.S. Palacios has just returned from Mexico with the news that the Dept. Asuntos Indig. is now organizing an Oficina de Estudios (where now it is a seccion); he will himself head the section in anthropology; but a chief of the whole office is still to be chosen. He has recommended Alfonso Villa, and of course there is a possibility that the job will be offered him. It is best not to tell Villa of the possibility, I think, but I think you should think (with Dr. Kidder) of it. The salary is only 500 pesos a month; full time would probably not be required; could he get part of his CIW salary, assuming he does some CIW work?

January 15th, [1943]

Dear Sol:

Your letter of January 2 has just come. I, not you, should be apologizing for neglect of correspondence. When I read the thousands of words you have written in your field diary and begin to realize the pressure of duties and problems which has borne upon you, I wonder that you had time to write even to Gertrude. (and, by the way, it was good to learn from your letter that all was then going well with Gertrude and the kids. Still, she must be very eager for your return.)

The letter from you was very welcome, nevertheless; it was welcome for the personal news from you, and from Gertrude, and from Alfonso, and for the information about better relations you were enjoying with the Indians. I wish I could achieve better relations with professors by a gift of 100 pesos to the University!

Your request for aid in getting a place to live will certainly be attended to directly. I think Greta will take it in hand. In between working at the hospital and keeping house (alone) she has time for other enterprises. I know she will do what she can to get you a place, and will begin her search at the building you mentioned.

When you get back here, you will probably be again under some pressure, both internal and external, to go to work for the government. I am wondering what your present state of mind is on that matter.

Fred is now working for the Philippine Commonwealth in Washington. He is getting an excellent salary and the conditions of work are good. We have just offered to give instruction here to several hundred officers/candidates selected to be part of military government staff in to-be occupied areas. So has every other college and university. Should we be given a contract, I would urge Fred to return here to take charge of the southeast Asiatic training program.

I don't know what to do about reimbursing you for your 1942 overdraft on expenses. We have spent every cent of 1942 funds. Villa also overdrew, but can repay himself when he sells his horses. You have bought no capital item that can be sold?

I have read all your diaries, and a good many pages of what the students wrote. At this distance, from this position of irresponsibility,

and so long after the events, it would be an arrogance to pass judgment on your conduct of the expedition. My principal feeling in reading these documents was sympathy for you. The suffering must have been great, especially during the worst of the chilly nights after the worst of the situations had appeared.

Two aspects of the whole matter surprised me. I was surprised that you were apparently surprised that the students reacted as they did. We all know that Latin-Americans like and are prepared for talk, philosophical wisdom, and a leisurely schedule. You demanded facts, accuracy and a schedule demanding driving energy and promptness. Of course they found it painful. I will confess that working with you I have more than once felt myself a Latin-American!

I think, in short, you set your sights a little high.

The second surprise I had was in reading your diaries and in realizing -- I think I am right in this? -- that students read them too, and that they were sent to Borbolla. This was not an unpleasant surprise; I rather imagine that whatever Mexicans read your diaries got a large chunk of education out of the experience. That degree of frankness, with regard to personal relations and one's own possible mistakes, must be an almost appalling revelation to a Latin-American. And no doubt did them good. I don't think I could put down, even in a private diary, such a frank statement as went down on your typewriter. Of this I am greatly respectful.

I don't know what the net effect of all of this will be. Your honesty, your indomitable perseverance, and your apparent devotion to impersonal scientific training and achievement, must have been registered

upon most of the participants in your group, and must to some degree, perhaps very largely and importantly, have offset the effect of mistakes you made.

Any words I write are likely to sound wrong, and indeed to be wrong, I am so far away. We will talk about it together when it is over.

I must turn to work on my desk. I will not load this letter with anything from my life here; it is not very interesting just now, but it is very crowded. The University is gaining students from war contract almost as fast as it is losing them, but the new students study special subjects and most of them march to class in uniform. The University is becoming an Army training post, and general education is disappearing, except from our college.

We will write soon about the apartment.

My best to you, as always

Bob

January 15, [1943]

Dear Sol and Gertrude:

Sol suggested that we might look into apartments which you might occupy on your happily anticipated return here in February. Here ~~is~~ is a first report.

You know how crowded Chicago is, or maybe you can't quite believe how crowded it really is. I am told that there is no vacancy or early anticipated vacancy in the building Sol mentioned on Kimbark. The University Housing Bureau has nothing to offer at all except a house at \$165. Parker, Holsman have only the house the Loeb's lived in at

5420 Blackstone. This, you know, is divided into two smallish apartments, one upstairs and one down. This could be rented for \$65.

Greta says she will go look at it.

We make the following suggestion. Our house in the country is now rented to Mr. and Mrs. Case ( and child), neighbors and pleasant young people. We had expected them to continue in occupancy until April 1st, but have recently heard that Mr. Case is going into the army and that they are leaving our house February 15th. If you have no better place to light, you could live in the house until you found a better. The expense would be coal, and electricity; of course we would not ask you to pay rent for such a short time. You could stay there six weeks or two months, until Greta (and probably Jamie) moves out to start the vegetable garden that will feed the multitudes; Joanna and I shall be out there then week-ends. Of course Sol's car is there, and although the gas ration he can get will not allow him to drive to town daily, it would let him go in by train as often as he wanted, and to drive in once or twice or three times.

In the meantime we will put your name on the various Housing Needs waiting lists, and look for something in Chicago which would suit you.

If you have other advice for us, send us an airmail.

Yours as ever,

Bob

P.S. Further data: Greta would probably come out to the country once in a while, to start the greenhouse, even as early as middle of March. There would be a place for her to sleep in the house, with Taxes there. Consider also amounts of milk and cream available to Taxes while out there.

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January 26, [1943]

Dear Sol:

Yesterday I was pleased to receive your letter of the 13th, written in Zinacantan. I am glad to hear that your expedition finished strong. This letter certainly presented a much better picture than did the diaries, or than did your earlier letters. Three really good ethnologists out of seven is I think a very satisfactory record. If you do not find money for fieldwork for some of them there, then I should think that Caso and you and I among us could find it up here this spring.

Publication of the results of the present expedition should be, I suppose, in Mexico, I hope you arrange it.

I have been thinking that you should rest for a while before taking up new work. If you come here, you will hardly rest: there will be too many demands on you. Perhaps the idea of staying on in Mexico City is a good one. Although there too I suppose you will not really rest. But I would not push too immediately on the economics monograph, if you can persuade yourself to take it easy for a while.

We will continue here to look for an apartment for you. But the situation is very bad. By now you have had our letter suggesting that failing another landing place you stay in our house in the country for a time and until you find an apartment.

I had heard nothing about failure of your raise to go into effect, and will enquire immediately.

I have instructed the Bursar of CIW to send Rosales \$50 a month salary checks, to Sololá, beginning this month. I have asked Mrs.

Tepper to advance you \$200 on 1943 expenses, to be sent to Mexico. The Bursar has agreed to let you charge the overdraft on the 1942 account to your first 1943 expense account.

I had a letter from Tumin acknowledging mine in a friendly and appreciative manner, and writing more intelligibly about the ladino-Indian problem. Sklow is trying to write a master's thesis on ladino-Indians in MA, but the material is, I am afraid, too thin and incomparable.

Villa's diary of his stay with you has not yet reached me.

Your collective group-reporting, in your group's diaries, still seems to me a remarkable phenomenon. I don't know at all that I think it a good thing.

The suggestion that Villa might be offered a job in the re-organized Native Affairs office is very interesting. Of course I shall say nothing to him about it. I am sure he could get part of his CIW salary should he take it.

Cline writes me short bulletins from Yolox, but sends no notes.

His historical monograph has been approved for publication by CIW, subject to revisions to be made by him on his return here.

One Nathan L. Whetten, a sociologist, writes me from Mexico that he is there studying something or other and would like to obtain a copy of Chan Kom (now out of print). I am writing him to call on you, saying that either you will lend him a copy, or, if you don't have one, will suggest someone in Mexico City who has a copy who might lend it to him for a time.

Here we are well. The University rocks along; it has almost as many students as in normal times, but they are mostly meteorologists and other

specialists, paid for by the government. The University has acquired the Encyclopedia Britannica, which will hereafter be published under auspices of the University and with editorial supervision by University committees. Every week somebody asks me to find another young anthropologist for government service, and there aren't any more. Weckler and others in Washington (there are now over 100 anthropologists there) are trying to get the government to make anthropology a part of all officers' training. Maybe. I am to attend a meeting at Conant's house in Cambridge on Saturday to discuss the place of the universities in training for post-war conditions. I make speeches all around the place, usually on race, or the Japanese-American problem. Greta works in Lying-In Hospital and helps try elect Walter Johnson alderman to succeed Douglas, who is now a Captain in the Marines. Drew persuaded some organization to give her a fellowship with which she will join her Watson in Brazil. There are almost no anthropology students now, yet, our anthropology classes are well attended by other people. So, signing off, with regards to Gertrude, yours,

Bob

In the SS college class I find myself in effect teaching elementary economics! I teach it first, then I study it.

Londres, 101  
 Mexico, D. F.,  
 Mexico  
 January 29, 1943

Dear Bob:

Back home at last, after a 60-hour continuous trip -- you can imagine that I was in something of a hurry, and didn't tarry with the students to bathe first in the Pacific and then the Atlantic. I have been here four days, but haven't had as much rest as I had hoped; I had to get things organized so that the last phase of this job can be started, and of course there have been hours of explanations, etc. But I feel almost up to writing intelligibly.

At home I found one of your letters of the 15th, and today a second was returned from Chiapas (yours to Rosales c/o me also came back, and I am sending it to Sololá.). Thank you and Greta for all the apartment trouble; it sounds like a very trying business with little hope of getting anything economically. You have doubtless received a letter from me suggesting that we stay here a few weeks longer (but not later than March 15th -- since for one thing my draft-board permission only extends a few days beyond then) and since apartments are so scarce, I anticipate your approval of that suggestion and plan to stay awhile longer in Mexico. In that case probably it wouldn't be practical to take advantage of the kind offer of your house, since the time would be even shorter than you anticipated. Perhaps now that you have put us on waiting lists, something will turn up before we return.

Your reference to possible government service of course complicates matters. I suppose I could not refuse a request if it were likely that I really could be of service, and it would really be a nuisance if such an offer should come after we were settled in Chicago. For your information, I would still prefer to stay with our research program; and,

also, my conscience has been at ease with this work in Mexico.

Since writing the above, two days have<sup>ve</sup> passed, and I have yours of the 26th. I shall see Jiménez Moreno as soon as possible, and find out what I can of his publication plans.

I have heard a rumor that the Institute of Social Studies of the National University is to be reorganized, and that Alfonso Villa will be offered a high place in it. That is Mendieta y Nuñez' outfit, you recall. Kirchhoff, who heard it from Jiménez Moreno, told me this. This is of course aside from the Depto. de Asuntos Indigenes possibility. Also, Borbolla told me that Villa had accepted the teaching assignment for the second semester of this year. Even if these other things do not materialize, it is evident from the rumors that Villa is at least being thought of in terms of leadership in anthropology here. 7

I am pleased to report that my work here had evidently been considered successful. Borbolla is clearly pleased about what happened in the field, and now speaks of my taking ten students out for six months! (Of course, I didn't encourage this project.) He also says that one way or other he will see that the results of this excursion will be published. The students have come back speaking very favorably, apparently, and other people here seem to have a good impression. Kirchhoff is especially enthusiastic and keeps talking about my coming back -- I discourage that talk, too, but of course it pleases me. Kirchhoff seems to think that I have introduced social anthropology here, but of course I have been able to do very little. Dr. Gamio also says that I have done a fine thing for Mexico (as he puts it). I hope all of this talk isn't just courtesy.

The students have now begun to work up the material that we have collected, and I have set for us what I realize is an almost impossible schedule. But, as in the field, I think that if I ask for 100 and get 80 it is a lot better than asking for 60. Incidentally, I was not surprised that my students in the field expected an easier life, and I am really surprised that all but two of them worked, probably, as hard as one could expect of anybody. What did surprise me (and in this respect I learned a lot about Spanish and Latin American culture) was the exaggerated individualism and the virtual impossibility of self-discipline and group-discipline. Upon my return I spoke of this with Dr. Borbolla and he explained that these characteristics are at the root of his dictatorial policy in the school; he said that he had thought to give me advice, but had preferred that I learn for myself.

I am afraid that a vacation now won't materialize. For the next two weeks or so I shall be very busy working up this Zinacantan material with the students; I am anxious that they learn something of how to handle field notes, and that they do so before the new semester begins. Then I don't think I could enjoy idleness while my Panajachel economics lies here unfinished, for -- as you suggest -- if I bring it back again to Chicago it is apt to be further delayed; and who can tell but that I might be called into some other job? So I propose to get at it when Zinacantan is out of the way (at least provisionally) and in order to assure some success, I am renting an office in which I shall try to work incomunicado until we leave for Chicago. I am also thinking of getting some clerical assistance.

Thank you for the arrangements you made for me with the Bursar. I understand that I shall continue to pay Rosales' expenses out of funds allotted to me, and I shall write him to that effect. By the way, he did not arrive in Zinacantan until the day before our departure; then he was tired of traveling and would not go to visit Villa (although Palacios, of our party did go) and instead returned with us to Tuxtla to take the train to Guatemala. We had a few hour's conversation, and I found him a little bitter against me because -- in his interpretation -- I had managed Rockefeller and CIW funds to his disadvantage. My explanations soothed, but I think did not convince him.

I find I have to start all over again on the Bibliography project; Kirchoff and Jiménez Moreno did nothing while I was away, although they had promised to do something very specific. I also have to start work again on the linguistic-density map which was to have gone ahead in my absence but didn't. I might even become discouraged some day!

By this time you will have received the last batch of Diaries and notes from Zinacantan; a few last-minute things will be sent to you later. In quantity we collected a total of something less than 600,000 words, of which nearly 500,000 are what might be called ethnological. This all besides genealogies, census, maps, etc. The quality is of course variable, and we shall be able to judge that better in a few weeks. By the way, the proportion of successful students is rather 5 out of 9 than 3 out of 7. When I wrote you of the three that I consider capable of doing good independent research, I did not consider Palacios; nor did I include Cámara, who when he grows a little ought to be a good ethnologist. The three whom I did mention (M. Acosta,

C. Guiteras, and R. Pozas) I think should get out into the field as soon as possible to put into practice what they have learned; I have not yet broached the subject around here, although I have in mind a definite project.

I know the sociologist Whetten, who is connected with the Embassy here. I shall lend him my copy of Chan Kom.

No more now; I don't want to delay this letter further. We are well here.

Yours,

Sol

February 11, 1943

Dear Sol:

It was a pleasure to have your letter written soon after your return to Mexico City and to enjoy the good spirits which animated it. It was a pleasure also to hear that your good work in this field expedition is recognized by the Institute. I am sure that you have done a very good thing for inter-American relations and for anthropology.

The mountain of notes your students have collected rests on the radiator in this office. I have done no more than read your diaries and some of the others and glance over the other materials. The task of reducing them to a publication is not an easy one, but certainly it is highly desirable that some publication appear without too great a delay.

It is like you to give up the idea of a vacation and to wish to turn to your economics monograph. I shall certainly be glad when that is completed. Foster has just published his sketch of the economy of the Vera Cruz Popoloca and very likely you will read it in Mexico. It seems to me that as far as it goes it a a very good job. Of course, it does not attempt anything quantitative.

I am quite content if you are not looking for a government job. I mentioned the matter because at one time you were. So far as I know, nobody is particularly after you.

I am pleased to hear of another evidence of interest in Alfonso Villa. He writes me that he has refused the position in the Department of Native Affairs. He wrote nothing about the Institute of Social Studies and probably knew nothing about it.

I had a letter from Rosales in Sololá, asking about his manner of payment. I had already written him that his salary checks would be sent directly from Washington, and I believe he understands that you will pay his expenses out of funds provided you.

We will get to work again now on the search of an apartment for you. It is hard to find one. Greta, however, is pretty good at looking, and she will write to Gertrude about it soon.

The possibility of developing here a special training program for military administrators in occupied territory, for which program we would use Eggan, is less good than it was some weeks ago, and Eggan is still in Washington.

Today I have to go downtown and help entertain a visiting Uruguayan journalist. It is that sort of thing that cuts into the day.

With best wishes,

As ever yours,  
Bob

February 17, 1943

Dear Bob:

All goes well here. The students haven't finished the job of putting together a preliminary report, but they are well on their way. Meanwhile, I have been working with them, but am now shifting over to the economics paper. Next week I hope to be on that almost full time.

I read in the newspaper of the new draft ruling (every man from 18 to 38, regardless of dependents, etc.) and of course in applying it to myself it becomes clear that any plans I may have had to continue plain research must be tossed aside. It seems impossible that I should return to an office in Chicago to write. The choice seems to be going into the army (and what on earth does one's family do then?) or doing some job that would be considered essential. I do not know what, besides farming, is now called essential. I am not keen on getting a Washington berth just to avoid the army; but if there were something really useful that I could do better than others, I suppose it would be better for all concerned were I to do such a job rather than carry a gun. Do you happen to know of such a job? I suppose I could write to the Co-ordinator's office telling them that I shall be free now to take that post offered me; but I've really no notion as to whether I could do anything there and whether the draft people would consider me indispensable and essential there.

You don't suppose that my draft board would consider essential the direction of the Guatemalan nutrition project, do you?

Meanwhile, Borbolla yesterday told me that he plans to ask the

CIW to lend me to the School for six months of each of the next four consecutive years so that I could carry a group of students from the beginning of their course through their theses. I answered that I didn't know what the attitude of the CIW would be to such a request; that I didn't know if my draft board would permit it; and that I wasn't sure that I wanted to do this; but that for my part I am just sympathetic enough to encourage him to make requests. He told me that he has already spoken with Stevens (The Cultural Relations man at the Embassy here) and that he had hopes that the Draft administration would consider such a program valuable from the Cultural-relations point of view.

Possibly I could combine continued Guatemalan research and teaching here and claim that I am invaluable as a cementer of cultural relations. CIW would have to continue to pay my salary, but of course I would be working for CIW all of the time not required in actual teaching, and even there I would stick closely as possible to the Maya field.

I do not remember if I have written you that I have thought to send three of the students who were part of the expedition to Chiapas to work in the Las Casas areas on three related problems and with exchange of notes, under our (yours, mine, Villa's) direction. The three are at the thesis-stage of their careers and all show promise; I think that a field trip soon would crystallize what they learned on the expedition and would also show results. The three are Miguel Acosta (Venezuela), Calixta Guiteras (Cuba), and Ricardo Pozas (Mexico). There is a good chance of getting this project through as a cooperative enterprise between (1) the State of Chiapas, (2) the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and (3) a source of funds in the U.S.

I figure it will cost, all told, nearly 5,000 pesos; if the Chiapas government and the Institute will put up approximate thirds (but not all in cash, since in the calculation I made I included use of some equipment), do you think we can find some U.S. source for the other third -- say 350 Dllrs. in cash? If I could get a commitment for that much, I think I can get the rest here, as mentioned above.

It appears that the Instituto is soon to become completely autonomous (free of Educación Pública) and it will be much easier to introduce new policies. A suggestion that I have made to Borbolla, and which he appears to be accepting almost with eagerness, is the institution of the quarter system (but three quarters rather than four, since there is no tradition of "summer school" -- in winter -- here, and there would be little point to it in the School). I think that the change would go a long way towards beginning to solve many of the deficiencies of the school. The great number of courses could be kept, at least for the time being, but the students would be taking but three or four at a time and could begin to learn how to read; it would be easier to institute a system of student responsibility for preparation to pass more general examinations; and the flexibility of schedules would permit field seasons of greater length and at different seasons. Borbolla accepts all of these ends as desirable. He has to convince Dr. Caso, and hopes to see us in Chicago in April to learn at first hand about our system and (since Dr. Caso will be there) to get your help in converting him.

Unless it appears more likely to you than it does to me that we can plan to live in Chicago, I imagine that there is no point in

continuing to look for an apartment for us. When we come to Chicago we shall put up in a hotel apartment (I assume that we can find something like that) and leave our furniture in storage at least until we see what is to happen to us.

We haven't heard from you for two weeks; I trust everything is all right. Our best regards to the family.

Yours,

Sol

P.S. I am again in communication with Tumin; he sent me a copy of his last race-relations letter to you, but I have still to answer it.

He asks about possibilities of war work, mentioning BEW especially. He is getting married as soon as he returns, and unless something like that comes his way, he will be drafted into the army immediately thereafter. He thinks he could use his knowledge in Mexico and Guatemala to better advantage. I, of course, have no suggestions for him; perhaps you have.

February 24, 1943

Dear Sol:

I have been hoping to hear from you again about your plans to return to the United States. I suppose that because of the expiration of your Selective Service permit you will not delay your return much beyond March 15. I am sorry to say that Greta and I have not as yet been able to find a place for you to live. The congestion in this area is worse than I have ever seen, and the fact that you now have two children, of course, makes the search even more difficult. We have twice

almost had an apartment which seemed satisfactory, but in both cases our prey escaped. But we will keep at it. By April or May I feel pretty sure that something can be obtained. It may be that you will want to come to live in our house in the country until a little later in the year when more people move. We have just been fortunate in finding an apartment for Caso due to the fact that a young instructor in the Divinity School is leaving for the spring quarter and wants to rent his four-room apartment, furnished, for just that period. If it had not been for this chance I do not know what we would have done for Caso, for even the hotels are very crowded.

May I trouble you to do one or two things for me before you come back? Dr. Caso has sent a list of maps which he would like to use. Most of these we have. However, the Geography Department is unable to provide us with a good wall map of Mexico showing the state boundaries, and we do not have such a map in our department collection. As you know, there are almost no maps for sale in this country any more because the army has taken them all. Will you, therefore, please buy a good wall map of Mexico showing the states and bring it back with you? I will, of course, reimburse you when you come. Will you also see if there is to be had a map of the valley of Mexico? The only one I have is a very small one appearing in a book, and Caso apparently wants to use a large map of the valley in lecturing.

The other thing I wish you would do for me is to find out what the situation is with reference to the publication of my book. I have heard nothing from Cosío Villegas in months. He never replied to the Black Star Company, the agent of the Press, in regard to the contract. Our

Press has exclusive rights to all translations and one cannot make a contract for publication of the book without the approval of the Press. I would like to know what are the intentions of Cosío Villegas and if he is willing to make a contract for publication. Of course, as far as I am concerned he can go ahead without any contract at all, but the fact is that the Press insists on some sort of a document. I have sent back my comments on passages in the translation marked by de la Fuente, and I assume Cosío Villegas is now having someone go over the translation for smoothness of Spanish style. But I have heard nothing about it.

There is nothing else to report. I hope you are all well. Please don't worry too much about the housing problem. We will keep working on it.

Yours sincerely,  
Bob

February 25, [1943]

P.S. Since writing you this letter I received your letter of the 17th. Nobody knows what the "work essentially or be drafted" order means. So far there has been very little drafting of married men with children. Cole thinks married men much, or even a little over 30, with children, are not wanted; that the order is a stimulus to enlistment, chiefly. Others express similar opinions. It is not thought that such as you would be drafted at all soon. Do I understand that you must come up here anyway because of your draft permit expiration, and are planning to come? Why not then come, and judge the situation after you get here?

If you are considering remaining down there -- you don't say you are -- then I could go talk to your draft board. Let me know. I think the draft board might consider the nutrition project essential, but that is just an opinion. I will talk all this over with Kidder.

The Department of Anthropology will underwrite \$350 of the costs of your new Chiapas project. I am to ask Rockefeller for it; if they don't want to give it, the Dept. will provide it. So, if you have the rest of the money, go ahead.

Your last two or three lines on your housing aren't quite clear to me, but I gather that we may continue to look for an apartment for you in Chicago. You are probably thinking you will have to go to Washington, or into the army, or back to Mexico. I am not so sure. I think we might continue to look for an apartment for you, and rent one, if we find one. You can always sublet. If I am on the wrong track, let me know at once.

Yours to a cinder,

Bob

March 1, 1943

Dear Bob:

I have just received yours of the 24th with its post-script of the 25th. I shall obtain the two maps you ask for if, as I assume, they are obtainable. I think I had better mail them to you, however, since if I try to bring them they may be held at the border; if, on the other hand, I mail them (soon) they are likely to arrive before classes begin.

I shall go to see Cosfo Villegas tomorrow or the next day. I do not understand why he hasn't taken care of the contract. He has paid de la Fuente in full, and I know his office is busily engaged in the revision of the MS. So there can be no doubt that he intends to publish the book!

We plan to leave the evening of the 23rd of this month and should arrive in Chicago on the 26th or 27th. I expect by then to have the Panajachel economics out of the way and also to have the Zinacantan report well on its way. I hope also to have the Maya area language-density map farther along (the idea seems to be enough of a success here so that plans are being made to do the thing for all of Mexico) and maybe I can even do something about that blank bibliography project.

We never planned not to return to Chicago; I thought simply that with the new draft ruling I should not be permitted to stay there long. With the opinions you cite, I am of course more optimistic, about being able to proceed with the old program. The other day Borbolla asked me if I'd thought more about the possibility of returning here (the proposal I mentioned in my last letter); without committing myself, I said simply that I had mentioned it to you. I really don't know what to answer him. If my draft board (Mr. Gillette's No. 88, by the way) would consider the nutrition project alone a national necessity, I would be pleased to agree and go ahead with our program unchanged; but if the draft board would prefer to defer me on the basis of the nutrition project plus teaching in Mexico (and if CIW agrees to that arrangement) perhaps that would come closest to saving our CIW program than would any other war work I might be forced into. We are not keen about making

Mexico rather than Chicago our headquarters for the next years, but we are not the only ones now who have to set personal preferences to one side. (And we realize that living in Mexico is an easy way to avoid the war -- if one really wants to avoid it!).

Thank you for getting me the guarantee of \$350 for the Chiapas project. I can now with more confidence try to get the other 2/3 of the support needed.

I leave the apartment matter to your judgment. When I suggested that you stop looking it was with the conviction that we would be unable to stay in Chicago. Therefore I thought we had better take a hotel apartment. Your optimism of course changes that. Meanwhile, I sent Dr. Comas a letter of introduction to Sally Tucker and I asked her about reserving for us (if possible) three rooms in the Midway Drexel for the 27th, so we should at least have a place to go to when we get off the train. You may cancel that request if you think it wise. Of course we are very grateful to you and Greta for all your trouble.

Now here is something else to bother you with. Last August 4th you wrote me that you were writing David Stevens about Julio de la Fuente's need for a little money to get his book finished. Did you ever hear more about that? De la Fuente's condition has now changed for the worse. One of his two jobs (with Belles Artes) previously required but little time; now he is obliged to supervise the teaching of art in elementary schools (or something of the sort) and he loses his afternoons, 24 hours a week. Although the position pays about 109 pesos, more or less, he cannot resign because he needs the money. I think more than ever that he is worth helping, and that his book is a very

valuable contribution. \$200 would permit him to drop his art job; \$250 would be munificent assistance. I believe he is sending you parts of his book.

I spent several hours with Métraux and his wife the other day. I believe now that he will give a heavy emphasis to theory in his course on South America and will do what he can to make the students aware of scientific problems. I do not know enough about him to be able to judge his chance of success along those lines.

We are well. Our best to you and your family. When you write Lisa, please tell her we are thinking of her today.

Yours,  
Sol

March 3rd [1943]

Dear Sol:

I hope I shall soon get a letter from you telling us what you want done about getting living accommodation for you. I just met Sally Tucker who told me she also is looking for places where you might live. She has had no better luck than have we; unfurnished four-room apartments at \$80 or \$85 a month is the best that has yet appeared. Even in the hotels one cannot make reservations, so crowded are they. She tells me that you and your family can live with the Tuckers until you can find a place to stay. Perhaps it would be better for you to plan to stay, either with her, or in our house in the country, when you get here, and look yourself for a place to live. But I wish you would write us instructions.

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I am going East this week-end and hope to see Kidder when I will take up with him the unsettled matter of the amount of your salary.

Comas is here -- a very agreeable guy. He thinks too that you did very well with the students, and, as he must know from his wife, his opinion should be good.

Yours as ever,

Bob

March 9, 1943

Dear Bob:

We still plan to arrive in Chicago the 26th or 27th. Sally Tucker writes that the Midway-Drexel may have an opening on April 1st, and I am writing to ask her to reserve it. When we arrive, however, we shall probably take advantage of her kind offer to stay with them. Much as we would like Windy Pines, it would be too difficult to get settled from out there; in Chicago we might even find an apartment in the days before April 1st and thus avoid moving twice.

I had a letter from Tumin about his coming home earlier to get his material into some shape before going into the army. He says he wrote to you also, but finds he explained better in my letter. I won't send on the four page letter; the point seems to be that he is helpless unless the SSRC gives him permission to do what he wants to in the matter, since it is against their rules; for he has no money on which to live if he drops the fellowship.

A great surprise the other day was the arrival of that package of notes, etc. that you sent me last October. One worry less.....

You have probably heard from Cosío Villegas now. When I went to the Fondo it was a great surprise to them to hear that they had not sent the contract; they said they would check on it and write you directly. We also figured out that your book will probably be off the press about July 1st; but it isn't on yet! Incidentally, de la Fuente tells me that when they refer to the book they call it La Cultura de Yucatan and seem very distrubed when he uses the word folk in conversation about it. Have you settled the title with Cosío Villegas?

It has not been as easy to get the two maps you want as I had thought. Apparently I shall have to go to Tacubaya (Pan-American Institute) where, I understood, the best ones were made. I shall try to do that tomorrow morning, and hope they will still arrive in time.

I have just written up the Chiapas project, and I shall send you a copy. It looks as if it will eventually go through. Dr. Caso has already left, however, and Dr. Borbolla is leaving tomorrow, so things will doubtless be dragged out. It would be difficult to work in Chiapas before Fall anyway, so it doesn't much matter. I shall send Villa a copy of the proposal, too.

My Panajachel Economics is progressing; I have finished the Labor chapter, and am near to finishing one on Domestic Production, which I have separated from the one on Consumption. If I can finish the Consumption chapter this week, as I hope to do, I shall have next week for the last chapter. Final typing (and, doubtless, some revision -- with, I hope, some cutting!) can be done in Chicago; but to be safe, I am going to mail you one copy of what I am adding and changing now and

sending another copy with my baggage.

Sally wrote that you were at home, ill, when she tried to call you. I trust it was nothing serious and that you are well now.

With our best regards, I remain,

Sincerely,

Sol

March 9, 1943

Dear Bob:

Enclosed please find:

1. Corrections and additions for my Economics paper.  
I suppose you might as well keep these safely for my return as to try to do anything about them. Although if there is somebody around with nothing to do, you may of course put him or her on the job.  
I shall send more next week.
2. A copy of the Project for Chiapas research ( the three students) that I turned in today.
3. My expense account of the past two months.
4. The remainder of the original notes of Zinacantan that I have had here for weeks; please put them with the others (still on your radiator, doubtless.)
5. All of the notes of Melvin Tumin that I still have; I have ended my correspondence with him for the duration in Mexico. If you haven't seen them, some of these notes are very interesting.

954

One way or other I have to get all of my papers and books back to Chicago, and I cannot take them with me. I haven't decided yet how to send them, but shall probably mail some of the things to myself at the University.

I wrote you an airmail letter today and have nothing more to say.

Sincerely,

Sol

March 11, 1943

Dear Sol:

Yours of March 1st took a long time to get here. You tell me you have asked Sally Tucker to reserve for you three rooms in the Midway Drexel for the 27th. Perhaps you have now heard from her to the following effect: One may now rent at the Midway Drexel only on a monthly basis, and the only apartment available costs \$85. To take it would require paying a \$25 deposit down which could not be recovered. I have told Sally that I do not think you would want to commit yourself to this and have told her to let that apartment go. She continues to say that you would all be welcome at her house until you can find a place, and I continue to tell you that you are welcome to live in the country in our house. The best chance of getting an apartment is, of course, when new leases are made May 1st. It seems to me you had better live either with her or with us until you can find a place yourself. If you want us to do anything different, please write or wire at once.

I am obliged to you for looking for the maps. I hope it will not be too much trouble. I am also obliged to you for looking up Cosfo Villegas.

I did write to David Stevens last summer about a little money for de la Fuente. He wrote back saying that he had already provided you for incidental expenses in Mexico. I did not press the matter further. I am perfectly willing to ask for money for de la Fuente again. Two circumstances stop me. De la Fuente has applied for a Guggenheim fellowship and the decision as to whether he will be awarded a fellowship should be reached within a few days. If I ask Stevens for the money and then de la Fuente accepts the Guggenheim fellowship, I will feel a little foolish. What do you think?

I had a letter from de la Fuente enclosing a chapter of his book which I look forward to reading. I repeat: If you want me to ask Stevens for the money without waiting for Moe's report, I will do so, but tell me.

I am glad to hear that you exerted your influence on Métraux. I rather think he will do a good job. I think you might speak encouragingly to Borbolla about the possibility of your returning, but I think the decision should be made when you get up here.

We are all well except Joanna who has the mumps. You will find this city full of mumps when you get back, also snow, also soldiers, also ration cards. Welcome home!

Yours sincerely,

Bob

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March 13, 1943

Dear Bob:

We haven't heard from you for a long time; I trust nothing is wrong.

Two and a half weeks advance notice for a Pullman reservation turned out to be too little, and we were unable to obtain anything at all before the 27th. Our homecoming is therefore deferred by four days, and now we expect to be in Chicago on the afternoon of the 30th. I shall have overstayed my draft-board permission by two or three days, but I suppose they will never even know that, much less jail me for it.

Sally wrote that she thought she could reserve a Midway-Drexel apartment for April 1st, and I asked her to do so. She kindly offered to take us in until then, or until we find some other place, and we accepted gratefully.

A few days ago I went to Tacubaya for conversation with Pedro Sanchez (whom I had not before met) and maps. I obtained a large wall map of Mexico and another of the Valley of Mexico. I was not charged, and I have sent them express collect to you. I thought of having them mounted here (where it must be cheaper) but was afraid of the time it might take. I hope now that the maps arrive in time for mounting before Dr. Caso needs them. Partly because I didn't have a map-stick or - tube for the packing, and partly because I needed to get them to Chicago anyway, I sent in the same package as the maps you asked for a number of others that I collected during my stay here. Will you please keep them for me -- or, rather, for us,

since, I think you will find some of them useful.

Things are going pretty well. I have just finished the chapter on Domestic Production; I still have that on Consumption to finish, and the last chapter to do. The Zinacantan report is stalled because I don't want to take the time for it now, but I hope to do enough with it for the students to be able to go on. The other day I went to see Dr. Saenz, the head of Statistics here, and made arrangements to have two students get data (out of original schedules) for the Linguistic-density map; now we shall be independent of Asuntos Indígenas, which has been the intermediary. I think also that Jimenez Moreno and Kirchhoff will give us the plan for the bibliography; I spoke with both again and am much more optimistic.

With best regards,

Yours,

Sol

I have just received from Tumin the enclosed. When I wrote him suggesting that he take time to get his material into some sort of shape before leaving it for the army, I knew nothing about SSRC rules. I was thinking only that it would be too bad to have the use of that material delayed indefinitely. I still think so. I know that the SSRC is interested in the training of its fellows, not in the material collected; but we are interested in the results of his study. If not from his fellowship grant, couldn't you get a little money elsewhere to permit Tumin to put his stuff together before he goes into the army?

March 15, [1943]

Dear Sol:

Well, we have gone and done it, and I hope we have not done ill. We have rented you a six-room apartment at 5517 University Avenue for \$72.50 a month beginning April first. The big point of hesitation was the price; we decided that you might be willing to rent one room to someone; there are students who desperately need places to live; in this way you could reduce the rent very considerably or obtain part-time service. There are two baths. One is a small bath with a small bedroom back of the dining-room. It would be possible to rent this back combination; or, to rent the front bedroom at the front door with use of the front bathroom across the hall.

The apartment is in a building neither old nor new across from the walled field connected with the Field House. David Daiches has an apartment in the building, and our friends the Salmons another. There is a sunporch, small, in front and a porch behind. This last is open, without screens or windows, but the door can be locked, and a baby can be put out there. The apartment is on the first floor, and there is a place for a baby carriage. The owner-landlady is Amalia Klausner, Jewish, born in Germany, apparently a good sort.

.... If we have done wrong, I feel pretty sure I can get someone else to take the obligation off my hands, as apartments are snapped up like flies by frogs. If you think this will do, then let us know if you want us to get your furniture moved in before you get here. Greta and I would be glad to take care of this.

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Decorating by owners is out for the duration. Mrs. Klausner will have the walls cleaned.

Yours,

Bob

March 16, 1943

Dear Sol:

This supplements the letter Greta and I wrote personally about the apartment and replies to matters taken up in your letter of March 9.

In effect, Tumin asks to have the Social Science Research Council continue to pay him a stipend while he is writing up his field notes. This is contrary to the policy of the Council, because the Council wishes to support the man only for the field experience. I am, therefore, going to write him, telling him that this is the case. I shall also suggest the possibility that a little additional support might be obtained for him for one month from other sources. I have in mind the possible use, say \$125, of money we have from Carnegie Institution for field and other expenses. What would you think if I put Tumin to work under your direction here after you and he get back, with the idea that his notes might be put into condition to be useful to us? I don't know whether this will meet his needs, but I should think that the preparation of materials for our purposes and his thesis would be substantially the same. Please let me know what you think.

I have heard from Cosío Villegas, and further discover that the Black Star contract was received by our Press weeks ago and that the

Press failed to inform me. No agreement has been reached as to the title of the book. I am going to talk it over with Arciniegas who is here and see what he thinks. Everybody I talk to likes La Cultura de Yucatan except Cosío Villegas.

I am sorry you are having trouble about getting the maps. I thought it would be just a matter of going to a book store.

Of course, I am delighted that you are getting along with the Panajachel Economics. I have read the version you left with me almost completely, but the suggestions I have are very trifling.

Nothing worse the matter with me than laryngitis and general decrepitude.

Yours sincerely,  
Bob

[March 1943]

Dear Gertrude:

Bob has written most of the things about the apartment we hope you may want to live in. I may add that there is a pretty good-sized back yard, enclosed. And the outlook at the back is pretty, with trees and other back yards. At the front you look out on Barrett field, so I believe you will get a good amount of sun both front and back. Of course the first floor is never as light as higher up, but I believe that you would prefer it because of being so much more convenient with the young ones. Closets are good sized, rooms larger than ours here. ....Joanna has been having the mumps, but it has been one of the lightest cases on record, she has had a tremendous

appetite, and from having so little to do has been more than ever bouncy. She has gone outdoors a bit, avoiding people, as her welling went down in a short time. She is still in quarantine, till tomorrow night, tho. Jamie is due to come down about the 23rd. The doctor thought he really should have it and get it over with, so he has been thoroughly exposed.

.... If mumps at this end don't interfere, we hope to see Lisa at the end of this month. She is planning to come for her vacation week, in company with Bob Peattie, whom she has decided to marry. I am not broadcasting the news generally yet by any means because Lisa doesn't seem to want to, but I know you and Sol will be discreet. I think she has had time enough now to really know her own mind, and they both seem to be very happy. In spite of the idea having been brought forward before, the actual engagement came as something of a shock to me, partly of course because I don't know the young man. But Bob does, and I shall -- and I'm sure that Lisa is a good judge. So many things happen so suddenly these days. I am telling you and Sol as old friends, and to ask you if you should happen to see something attractive and a good value in either luncheon sets or blankets (the light warm kind) would you please buy them for me to add to the small collection of household goods I am assembling for Lisa. I know that you are very busy, also that you will have much luggage, and I honestly don't want you to put yourselves out too much. But sometimes one does happen on things. I can't tell you about colors, but I think if possible colors that would harmonize with other things. One blanket would be plenty unless light weight, and maybe they are getting scarce down there as

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as they are here. In such a case, forget it.

It must be grand to have Sol back. Love to all.

As ever,

Greta

March 23, 1943

Dear Bob:

We were very pleased with your letter, and Greta's enclosure, informing us that we shall have some place to stay in Chicago. The rent is certainly beyond our means, and we shall have to follow your suggestion in one way or other after we get settled and give our mothers the chance to visit their grand-daughters.

Our furniture is at the Amstadter Storage and Van Company, 7315 Cottage Grove Avenue. It is Lot Number 01540. If our new apartment will be vacant then, will you please telephone them to be ready to deliver the goods on the 31st? You may tell them that I shall be in to settle accounts on the morning of the 31st. If the apartment will not be vacant until the first, please ask them to make delivery then. (I would send you the warehouse receipt so that you could get the furniture earlier, since you sound as if the apartment is now ready; but I am afraid it might be delayed or lost. Anyway, nothing could be done about unpacking until we arrive.)

I saw Julio de la Fuente the other evening. He had received your letter. If he does get the Guggenheim fellowship, I suppose it will not take effect earlier than October and perhaps not until later. If he gets relief from the demands upon his time that I mentioned, he should

be able to finish his Yalalog MS by the end of the year -- and perhaps by October if he knows he has to go then. I should think you can ask Stevens for money with that explanation. If something should turn up to make all or part of a grant unnecessary, Julio would surely return excess money. (I did not understand that the \$200 given last year was mine to spend any way I pleased; actually, I returned about \$50 at the end of the year.)

In the midst of packing and farewells (including a dinner party tomorrow night arranged by members of the Expedition to Zinacantan) I am trying to finish my work. I have finished what I am going to do at this point with the Zinacantan report and have passed it on to the students. I have just begun work on the last chapter of Panajachel economics, but that is not yet under control; my secretarial assistant is in bed with a cold, and that is causing some delay. The map project is going ahead now and I am more optimistic about the bibliography, having goaded Kirchhoff and Jiménez Moreno into a new and apparently fruitful conference.

This, according to your calendar, is James' day for the mumps; we hope it will be a light case. We were more than interested in the other piece of family news. We are bringing a few things home and you can have what you like, if anything; we find textiles -- and especially blankets -- expensive here and have bought little.

We shall see you very soon now. Thank you again for the apartment.

Best regards,

Sol

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April 8, 1943

To: Dean Redfield

From: Sol Tax

In Re: Julio de la Fuente

I have just had a letter from de la Fuente containing information he asks me to pass on to you:

1. He has been relieved of his art classes and can devote full time to the writing of his report. He will not need a grant of money. He does not ask for it, but I suggest myself that he could use a little money (say \$50) to buy stationery and to get some help in typing. I made this suggestion last summer, too, when I saw that the INAH pays him a subsistence wage but supplies nothing else.
2. He will soon send you more of his materials.
3. He was to have seen Cosío Villegas on the 6th "a liquidar los asuntos pendientes... y ya le comincaré lo que opinen los castizos editorialistas."

July 28, 1943

Dear Dean Redfield:

Mr. Tax left his manuscript on the economic system of the Indians of Panajachel, which I read during the past ten days. I would like to tell you that I consider it a remarkable piece of work. If the object of research is to discover new and reliable knowledge then I consider Mr. Tax's book as valuable a piece of scientific ethnographical work as I have ever seen. I doubt if Boas ever did a better job of this

nature. I wish all of our field workers in anthropology were as careful workers as is Mr. Tax. To me, it seems also a very important achievement to have made.

Our economic historians, I think, with Europe and the Near East as a subject matter, have associated commercial agriculture with the development of transportation. Earlier agriculture was self-subsistence farming and also associated with war and the feudal state. Mr. Tax has uncovered a high development of commercial agriculture, almost as high as our own, without any transportation system other than that of human beings. I think economic historians after this study will have to reorient themselves in their theories of agricultural production. It's a fine thing to have a record so objective and complete as this record of Mr. Tax. How the economic historians of the past would like to have a document like this for Egypt or Greece or the Middle Ages!

My congratulations on sponsoring such a valuable and able piece of work.

Cordially yours,  
William F. Ogburn [signed]

July 29, 1943

Dr. A.V. Kidder  
Carnegie Institution of Washington  
10 Frisbie Place  
Cambridge, Massachusetts  
Dear Ted:

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After W. F. Ogburn read Tax's manuscript, he wrote me this letter about it. I think you will want to know what one economist and sociologist thinks of it.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Redfield

August 6, 1943

Mexico, D. F.

Dear Bob:

The trip was uneventful. I was put off the plane in Kansas City for a few hours, had another layover at Dallas, but went into Mexico on the plane intended. The place is filled with tourists and hotel rooms next to impossible to obtain. After a night at the expensive Regis I got in here because I know the owner [ill-fated Amézquita lived here].

The last four days have been very busy and won't bother you with details. I have some points that I can enumerate:

(1) Villa is doing quite well. He has about 20 students, and they seem to like him, although some prefer that he'd skip the theory and get down to field techniques. Partly on my suggestion he is now going to devote an extra 2-hour period a week to those interested in discussing theory, and will cut it short in his regular class. He had been teaching only 2 hrs. a week before -- and since classes begin 15 minutes late, and end on time -- that wasn't enough anyway.

(2) Julio de la Fuente refuses to come in October on any terms for two reasons -- (a) he wants to finish his book within the next

months and wants nothing to interfere with that; and (b) an employee can never safely leave at the end of a year for fear of finding himself out of a job. However, he will accept an offer for January 1st. Since he will have finished his book then, that could not be his project in Chicago. After talking with him about his interests and plans, it is possible for me to offer on his behalf the following program in Chicago: The problem of social and ethnic relations in Mexico is proposed as a major interest, and he would -- with all the assistance he could get in the Dept's of Sociology and Anthropology -- analyze the problem on the basis of his experience and the literature, and develop a program of research [for himself] for the coming years.

It seems good to me; if it does to you also, could you take it up with the Dept.?

(3) I spent over two hours with William Barrien, talking about the school and other things. When he asked if I knew any promising young "cultural anthropologists" I described both de la Fuente and Palacios, mentioning that Moe had turned down fellowship applications. Barrien became interested in both and asked me to have them see him. As for de la Fuente, I told Barrien what our Dept. would probably do, and he seemed disposed to add enough to the \$1000 so that Julio would have no difficulties.

We can forget about this for awhile; but after Barrien talks to Julio, and after our Dept. acts, we can probably do something with the Foundation.

(4) When I spoke to Dr. Gamio one day previously, it occurred to me to mention Palacios' project for study in Chicago. You recall that

Palacios' project concerned, in part, study of the use of anthropology by the U.S. Indian office, etc. I thought it possible that -- especially if it were suggested by Gamio -- Collier might find a way to bring Palacios to the U. S. for a year's study. As you know, Palacios is head of the seccion de estudios of the Dept. of Indian Affairs here, and is in a position perhaps, to utilize what he would learn. Gamio, who knows and likes Palacios, was interested and said that when Maes passes through here about August 15th, he would talk to him about it.

Now when I spoke to Barrien I mentioned this, too. Barrien seemed more interested than I would have thought, and said that the Social Science division of the Rockefeller Foundation [not now, he said, interested in Latin America] might give him a fellowship. Of course nothing would be done until Barrien meets Palacios -- but then, if he likes him, he may suggest the fellowship to his colleagues. Meanwhile Barrien agreed that we might as well explore the Collier angle.

(5) The Zinacantan report engages considerable of my attention, and I hope to push it forward a final stage before I leave Mexico now. I'll have a meeting of the students on Monday or Tuesday.

(6) The Chicago project is definitely going through now. I had lunch with Caso and Borbolla today and we went over the budget and it was approved. There is no word of cooperation by the State of Chiapas, but nobody has much doubt of their assistance. Borbolla is writing a letter to the Governor now, and Reyes is expected up here by the end of the month. Even if there should be less help there than asked for, the project would go through because Caso promises more money than is called for in the budget. If absolutely necessary, the field season

could also be cut from six to five months, of course. So I repeat, that is effectively settled.

Have you ever asked anybody for the \$350 or will the Dept. put it up? If the latter, I trust there will be no difficulty in making the money available by about November 1st.

(7) I spoke several times with Comas about his project, and finally presented Villa to him and we all talked about it. First, I thought of a project that I believe is of importance and of special interest to us. The problem: Have the linguistic divisions [i.e., Tzeltal, Tzotzil, etc] any corresponding physical types, or in "race" are the municipios the units as they are in culture? The method: anthropometric and physiological observations on at least 75 adult males in each of four neighboring municipios, two of one language and two of another.

Since it is evident that the presence of physical anthropologists in the neighborhood where Villa, and now these three students, will be doing ethnology will disturb conditions of research, it seemed advisable to have the anthropometric project separated geographically from the sociological. I therefore spent two or three hours studying map and census and finally decided that the study could be undertaken profitably in four municipios near Comitán. Two are Tzeltal [one highland, the other lowland] and two are Tojcabal. The region is just to the east of the Las Casas region that we are working in.

Villa points out that the communities are fortunate from the point of view of case work, for the lowland Indians are much more friendly than those of the highlands, and the one highland village was for years the site of an Indianist boarding school and there the Indians are also

favorably disposed.

Comas accepted the proposition gratefully, and then we made up a budget. He is taking one student, and figuring everything on a cash basis we came out to a total cost of 2,400 pesos for a 4-month season. He is getting 1,800 pesos from the Instituto, so needs only 600 pesos. Actually, he can get along with less -- \$100.00 (dollars) would do the trick, though \$125.00 would leave a better margin of safety.

I told him I would ask you to ask Dr. Kidder if he would put that sum into the project. It seems to me of interest to us, and cheap for us too. Dr. Kidder might be told, too, that he is willing to adopt his measurements and observations to those used by Steggerda so that the results will be comparable.

Just to avoid trouble, I told Dr. Casoo about all this, and he said the Instituto would be very happy for the assistance and collaboration of the C.I.W.

So will you ask Dr. Kidder? [and of course he can talk to Comas when he comes down here]

(8) My linguistic-density map made progress the past months, but has been suspended [as everything else here has] until after the Round Table. All hands are engaged in research on papers for that.

(9) The affairs of the Instituto are now in very good shape and it is expected that complete autonomy will be granted next month. Borbolla reported to me today that "revolutionary changes" will then be made in the school program. Among the changes will be a shorter term - 4 months. I didn't discuss the matter, but I confess it doesn't make sense to me; it looks as if there will still be 2 semesters, only

shorter, and I don't see the great advantage. I plugged for 3 3-month terms, you recall. I'll talk to Borbolla and see what it is all about.

(10) I think that Caso yesterday presented his request to Barrien for library - help and also extension of the fellowship program for 3 or 4 years. He and Borbolla told me they have included me in the budget for all those years, although you remember that Kidder agreed to lend me for but one year -- at least, one year at a time. I am saying nothing about this; I think that Gertrude and I would be as happy if the thing fell through and could stay put in Chicago while I finished my Panajachel, etc. On the other hand, I feel the missionary impulse. So I'll permit us to be a pawn for others to move around...

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I don't know what I've missed in this long recital. Mrs. Caso is in a hospital for 1 1/2 months (from yesterday) taking treatments for stomach ulcers -- apparently an uncomfortable business. Two of the children have scarlet fever, so he has his hands full.

Last night at the Anthropological Society meeting Castaneda of Texas gave a paper on Texas at the beginning of the 19th century -- full of the most unique events you could imagine for your methods course; they were utterly stationary. Then, under the leadership of Jimenez Moreno, a new Societal Mexicana de Historia was formed; I am glad of this because of the possibility that the straight historical papers will now move out of the anthropological society.

The Goubauds are still here and seem to be enjoying the sights.

I don't know when I shall leave -- partly because I don't know when I can finish my business, partly because plane reservations to

Guatemala are exceedingly hard to get.

Please write to me at the office in Guatemala. I have given up the idea of going overland through Chiapas to Huehuetenango because time is short.

I hope this finds you all well, I am.

Yours,

Sol

August 10, 1943

Dr. Sol Tax  
Carnegie Institution of Washington  
9a Avenida Norte #54  
Guatemala, C.A.

Dear Sol:

I hope all goes well with you. From the enclosed letter (copy of which I sent to you in care of Villa in Mexico City), you will see that the Department has offered de la Funete the Assistantship.

Nothing else to report. The Asiatic officers arrive on the 24th. Fred will be here on the 15th. All well personally.

Yours faithfully.

Robert Redfield

August 13, 1943

Dear Sol:

I have read your interesting letter of August 6 on your Mexican visit.

1. Apparently Villa, although employed to give a course in field techniques, is interested in talking about theory. Perhaps he should be allowed to give a course on that subject. But this is something he must work out with Caso's group.

2. You will by now have heard that we invited Julio de la Fuente to come for the Lichtstern-Assistantship. My guess is that if he is disposed to come in January, the Department will revise its offer for the Assistantship for nine months beginning in January, to become an Assistantship for two quarters for two-thirds of the \$1,000 stipend. The problem of social and ethnic relations is, of course, just what I would like to see worked up. At the same time I hope very much that he will participate in a seminar on the study of the rural community which some of us are expecting to hold, taking advantage of the presence here of Fei, the fellow who published a book on peasant China and who has organized research in rural communities in Yunnan.

3. I understand that if an agreement is arrived at between de la Fuente and the Department of Anthropology, I might ask Berrien for additional money.

4. You have also been enterprising and intelligent in promoting the connection between Palacios and the Collier group. If Gamio is willing really to talk the matter over with Maes, that is the best way for the matter to develop. Should Berrien take Palacios, that would be all right too, but I think the connection with Collier is perhaps better.

5. No comment on the Zinacantan report.

6. I think we had better ask the Department to provide the \$350

that it agreed it would toward this project. The money is available and can be drawn on when you want it.

7. The solution to the Comas matter which you offer seems to me very satisfactory. I will ask Kidder for the money, but first he should have a memorandum of the project. Will Villa or Comas draw the project up and submit a memorandum, or what is the next move?

8. As I have heard nothing more from Caso on coming to the Round Table as I do not have the money to take me there, I have given up all thought of going.

9. I am delighted to hear that the affairs of the Institute are so much better.

10. It seems to me good that Caso has included you in the budget even though you may not be able and willing to go to Mexico every year. The connection is a sound one and is getting sounder, and we should not discourage their formal approval of it.

I am wondering how much time you will spend in Guatemala and whether you will get out to the Lake. Pedro Alvarez tells me what a lazy scoundrel Mariano is and how it is necessary to re-tile the roof of my house. If you remember correctly, you are going to pay Juan Rosales 10 quetzales on my behalf for the care of my house. I am having 10 quetzales sent to Pedro to remunerate him for all the trouble he has been put to for me, and I am writing him that he is custodian. I understand that I have paid off Mariano, and if I come back there and if he is around I will take my chances in making my peace with him.

All well personally,

Yours sincerely,

Bob

August 21, 1943

Dear Bob:

I am using Goubaud's typewriter, which is a queer thing, so I am not entirely responsible.

Here in Guatemala I had lunch with Maes, who was leaving the next day for Mexico. I told him what I had suggested to Gamio about Palacios, and he said that they have a project to bring some 15 Latin Americans to the States, and that if it goes through, Palacios would surely be one of the Mexicans.

Comas was going to write a memorandum on his project; I shall write him now, reporting your reaction, to be sure that he does so and sends it to you.

I spent a couple of days at the Lake, chiefly to renew friendships in Panajachel and to prepare them for the Nutrition study. Things look as good there as I had expected. With Rosales I spent an afternoon in Agua Escondida. Mariano had heard that I was around and came to see me, so we took him home. They were expecting my arrival, and their impression was that I was to settle all difficulties on your behalf. I was very successful in doing so, from their point of view, but as I read your letter, I am afraid I might have gone beyond what you would have wanted me to do. I found the house repaired and in very good condition; you needn't worry about that. Without speaking to either Pedro or Mariano individually, I got both together in the house -- your house -- to try to straighten things out. As you can imagine, the difficulties were much ado about very little. Mariano complains that Pedro, who is not his patron, has been bossing him; Pedro says

that his only interest is yours, and he wants Mariano to work for the money you pay him. Mariano says he does. Pedro "fired" Mariano a couple of months ago, and Mariano theoretically didn't work for you for about two months; but he actually came and cleaned the house occasionally even then, as Pedro admits. It soon appeared to me that the talk we were having was erasing the hard feelings that may have developed between the two -- the Guatemalan Juzgado function, you recall -- and the thing could probably be brought back to the original status quo. Nobody liked to mention it, but it became clear that one of the difficulties of the past half-year was that Mariano had not been paid; you left him a year's pay, and when that ran out he kept working, but probably with decreased confidence that he would ever see you again, or collect. The \$10 that you recently sent was good for 5 months pay, but Mariano was still behind a full year in wages. When I brought up this matter, both Pedro and Mariano said that you did owe Mariano for a year (although Pedro was doubtful about the two months when Mariano was fired) and I saw the necessity of paying what seemed an honest debt. Finally, I paid Mariano \$30 -- including all the back pay and enough in advance to carry him through October. At the same time we all agreed that the only way really to watch the house was to have Pedro move into the kitchen; Pedro and Mariano were willing and anxious to have him do this, but they pointed out that you didn't want this done. I said that I would report to you, and that perhaps you would agree to have Pedro move in; but that meanwhile, he should stay in his own house. I told Mariano that he should report to Pedro the work he does -- that it would make Pedro feel better; and I had the idea then of suggesting

that Pedro write in Mariano's work-libreto the work done for you. I'm not sure whether Pedro has or has not been doing this; but I made a point of it, and it seemed to make them both happy -- Mariano because he would be credited with work done, and Pedro because he would be able to check up, like a Patrón, on Mariano.

Anyway, everything ended very happily, and the two averred that they were the best of friends. Pedro, I think, feels that Mariano will now work as he should -- and so feels justified -- while Mariano probably thinks the settlement vindicated him.

Now if you will look at the last paragraph of your letter to me, you will see that we have been working at cross-purposes. It is all right to send Pedro the 10 quetzales, for he has worked and worried a lot on your behalf, but if you have also written him that Mariano is off the payroll, it is too bad. After what I did, you have little choice but to ratify the arreglo that I made, and I suggest you do so in a letter to Pedro. As for Mariano's living in the house: I think it unnecessary from the point of view of the house -- they are over-excited over the possibilities of robbery (the previously stolen things were recovered, you know?) and really the house has been well enough cared-for. On the other hand, they would feel much better if Mariano lived in the house. I won't try to decide for you...

I found your linens very well stored in the tepanco of the Alvarez house. I decided not to move them for three reasons: (1) they will preserve better in that dry tepanco than in our damp office; (2) I thought the Alvarez' feelings might be hurt -- unnecessarily; (3) why drag them to the city and back without good reason? For the same

reasons, I moved your books -- which were pretty damp -- from your house to the Alvarez', asking them to sun them and then put them in a box in their tepanco.

The two books you asked for were not in the house; I figured then that Osler, at least, must be in the city, since you had it there last. And the other day I found both books in the office and will bring them with me.

I have cashed in your postage stamps, and with the currency found that I owe you \$5.40. On the other hand, you owe me \$30 I gave Mariano and \$10 I gave Juan.

Things have been going well here. I brought Juan to the city with me, and we had three full days of conferences (and errands) before we left this morning. Goubaud, Rosales, and I settled just what to find out, and how, and prepared schedules, etc. The project will be underway by the first of the month, when I expect that Goubaud will reach Jilotepeque. We have seen many people and things look all right. The big appointment is for Wednesday morning. I shall report in full when I return. I am expecting to fly to New Orleans next weekend and you can expect me in Chicago on or about the first.

Regards,

Sol

February 23, 1944

To: Mr. Sol Tax

Mr. Julio de la Fuente

From: Robert Refiêld

Your excellent memorandum on the distinction between gentes de razón and naturales in Zaachila suggests perhaps the time has come to publish a paper pointing out that the presence of two groups of this sort is a feature of the pattern of social organization in contemporary Middle America. It seems to me this distinction is quite an important and as significant for the understanding of other aspects of society as is the dual division, clans or some other feature more classically anthropological. Such a paper might offer preliminary generalizations as to the nature of these two groups and the relation between them, relying chiefly, of course, on the work of "our group" in Middle America but attempting to analyze Parsons and perhaps others from this point of view. What would you think?

With regard to the Zaachila memorandum I should like to ask a few questions. What is thought of intermarriage between members of the two groups? Are there individuals whose membership in the one group or the other is doubtful? Under what circumstances does a natural become gente de razón?

March 28, 1944  
 Mexico, D.F.

Dear Bob:

I have much to say, almost no time to say it... I had to spend a night in Brownsville because the planes didn't connect; otherwise no trouble this far, and I arrived in the city at 1:15 PM yesterday. Had lunch at 2 PM with Caso and Borbolla; then spent time with various ex-students and finally the evening with Comas. Today spent an hour

with Villa's Colombian student Ospina going over his notes; then several hours with Gamio, Comas, Lewis at the Instituto; an hour and a half with ex-student Rosas trying to explain the relations of pure and applied science to an impatient reformer who still thinks he wants to be an anthropologist. Then over 3 hours at the dinner table with Mr. & Mrs. Lewis. Then 2 hours with Borbolla. I have 45 minutes to get a record onto paper -- for the benefit of both of us -- before meeting Kirchoff at 9 PM. My plane leaves in the morning, but I still have an appointment with Palacios before plane time!

Many of these things you may know:

1. Caso has a leave of absence from the Institute; at the urgent request of the new Sec'y of Education (who took an honorary degree with him in New Mexico) he has the direction of all higher education in the Republic [excepting the Autonomous University and the private institutions] -- Universities, normal school, etc. He is trying to plan a good program. He hopes to get back to Anthropology the first of the year. Marquina is acting in his place.

2. I asked Caso and Borbolla -- together -- the future of graduating anthropologists. The answer: All government offices [Rural Education, Indijena, etc. etc.] will eventually be staffed by technical experts everywhere they can be used. Caso is optimistic about this. I am not so optimistic. Emanuel Palacios, the 1st of this year, was fired along with his boss; the Sección de Estudios was abolished entirely. They finally had to take Palacios back, at his old salary, doing clerical work, [his Trade Union interviewed] but the Sección

is still abolished, and neither Palacios nor Gamio has hopes of getting back in the present administration. So there, in the only case I know of the use of anthropology in a gov't office, you see the progress being made.

3. When I told Caso what Julio is doing he asked my opinion of how much ethnographic detail ought to be published. We had a long discussion and finally agreed on the following as a matter of policy. (I think it interesting and I hope we can discuss the matter when we return, since it concerns our material vitally):

a. A lengthy report as close to the field data as possible should be prepared, but not published; this may simply be a systematic ordering of field notes. It should not be published, but in some way should be made easily available to scholars. The best way would be to microfilm it and deposit positives in key places and make them available also on request.

b. Monographs should contain syntheses of data, and especially conclusions -- or, of course, there may be only (or in addition) special articles or what have you -- but there should be clear notations of the kind of material on which it is based, and where it is available for use. I think this is a practical solution of a serious dilemma. It would make available all of the material and yet not cost much. It would remove any excuse for drawing conclusions without full presentation of data; yet not make that data a burden.

We might think of what Tumin is going to do in terms of this policy. [Caso thinks it is a solution for the similar problem in archaeology].

4. Dr. Lewis has run into difficulties. He and Comas are almost not on speaking terms; Kirchoff is also against Lewis and Comas and Kirchoff dislike Lewis enough to want to gain adherents to their "cause". Gamio is distrubed, but wants to keep Lewis and also the peace. As nearly as I can reconstruct the story, it is nobody's fault. Lewis talked too much a few times and he was misunderstood by Comas and others. The result seems to be that Lewis is not doing the job he thought he was going to do; instead, he devotes almost full time to the Tepoztlán study. He almost has to do this because to try to make sense out of the "personality" study he has had to expand it into a general community study. So he is in Tepoztlán and Comas and Gamio run the Instituto without him [for the most part]. I am going to try to see Comas again for a few minutes:at least to try to effect better relations. I'll talk to Kirchoff too.\*

\*Later: The matter seems hopeless. Kirchoff claims Lewis is an old-woman gossip, finds out from each student about the others, doesn't get on with anybody he has contacted. I give up.

5. George Foster is not here. I can't figure out if he will come at all. Red tape with two governments has kept him away so far, and now (I hear) he is being drafted into the army.

6. Wendell Bennett is not coming. His last letter told Borbolla that he has an opportunity for field work in S.A., and he wants to do it. He was to teach S. American arch. & ethn. to help prepare students

for the return of Noguera (who is leaving soon for South America to bring back knowledge, collections, books); but Borbolla says he is relieved, because the arrangements weren't good anyway -- Bennett was to stay only 3-months, etc.

7. The school has changed its system rather mildly; Borbolla gives me credit. There are 2 4-month terms per year. Previously 1 year courses are now given in 4 months, and students take only 4 courses per term. Each teacher assigns reading and a term paper and gives an examination; and the students will be expected to do the reading and the paper. The next improvement, Borbolla says, will be that the teachers in each field will outline their courses together and coordinate them; my suggestion that a general examination in the field will force the Profs. to figure out what they want the students to learn was eagerly accepted -- and I imagine that may be a next step.

8. Borbolla expects the "ethnology" staff to recognize two fields -- of "historical ethnology and of "social anthropology." Eventually they might be split entirely - a new field added.

9. Borbolla says he wrote you about Villa: They want to pay him a nominal sum this year and increase it when they can until they are responsible for one half his salary, CIW for the other half. They want him to "belong" to the school, but still keep his CIW connection.

Borbolla wants him to give a three-year sequence of theory; method, and field techniques. But he wants me to be responsible for the course and plan it with Villa. Not, he says, because he is dissatisfied with Villa [but I know there was some dissatisfaction with his course last year because it was too much theory. and over the

heads of the students] but so that I can come in, if possible, during the 2nd or 3rd year. I added yourto the list of people responsible for the course, and possibly participating. Then B added that "Tax or Redfield or anybody might choose." It would appear that Borbolla is not completely happy about Villa, and I can't figure it out. There is another thing -- the money that was assigned for me is to be used within 5 years, and it is anxiety to use it that may be influencing Borbolla, anyway, we agreed that after the 3 years sequence by Villa, you or I or somebody might come down to add a word.

Naturally, I have to put this to Alfonso in some way that won't give him the idea [that is, in fact, Borbolla's] that it is not his course. But I believe this won't be difficult. I do not know what Borbolla wrote Villa, but I have a letter from Villa asking me to meet him in Tenejapa because "me <sup>gustaría</sup> ~~quería~~ charlar con Ud. sobre la forma y contenido del curso que Ud. habrá proyectado y, en el que ahora, <sup>y</sup> ~~existe~~ la posibilidad de que yo le sustituya <sup>te</sup> temporalmen<sup>te</sup>".

10. Borbolla spoke of the matter of bringing Cesar Tejeda to the school. You remember that he is the young Guatemalteco who has impressed Dr. Kidder with his potentialities as an archaeologist. When I was in Cambridge we talked about this, and Kidder expressed his doubts about his own plan to find money to bring Tejeda to Mexico for the 4-year course. He was worried that he might do Tejeda harm because there would be no future for him when he finished the course. Now Borbolla said that Kidder had written Caso along the same lines, and he (Borbolla) was extremely emphatic in expressing his and Caso's great disappointment. He said the pessimism was very unjustified,

that he is confident that in a few years conditions in Guatemala would change etc. Stevens of the Embassy came in meanwhile and joined in the conversation, agreeing with Borbolla. Borbolla asked me please to talk to people in Guatemala about it [perhaps he was really asking me to write to Dr. Kidder about it]; and Stevens suggested that I see Chamberlain and propose that he initiate proceedings to get funds to bring Tejeda here.

I don't know what to do; I am hoping that you know how and where to communicate with Dr. Kidder to pass this information along so that he can make up his mind and either do something himself or let me know what to do. I won't be in Guatemala City until May 3rd or so; so there is time for correspondence.

11. Finally, with Stevens present, Borbolla said he looks forward to making arrangements to send students to the United States to study, and [with emphasis] that he wants them to go first to the U.C. when I raised the question of money, just to get the record straight, Borbolla looked at Stevens very significantly and indicated that matter was or was being taken care of. Of course, I welcomed the hypothetical students.

Some time during this conversation Borbolla said he wanted student field work to continue in the area of interest to the Carnegie Institution; he wanted us to continue supervising their work, and so on, and he had the hope that they would be useful to us and we would be interested in them. I am a little vague about this, but he said something about being interested in having them work more in Central America.

I don't know what message he was trying to convey with all this, but his manner and expression showed that he wasn't talking idly.

One way or other he wants to tie us [you, me, the C.I.W.] into his program. He said he wants to write you a long letter about all these matters, if he ever has time. But I suspect he was glad of the opportunity of delivering a message through me because it would be vaguer some way. Trial balloon technique, I think; he and Caso probably have something in mind that they don't want to come out and say. And I'm just too dull to get it.

12. It is now later and I have spoken to Kirchoff. He asked me to remember something. It appears that he is part of a group of ethnologists, sociologists, and folklorists who are interested in a movement to study systematically and for its own sake the Mexican Mestizo culture. The motive is at bottom historical, for the group is also interested in collecting data on Spanish regional folk culture [and in this they expect special help from all the Spanish refugee scholars]. But Kirchoff knows that we are interested in mestizo culture too and wants encouragement for a Mexican movement in that direction. I gave him information on what relevant material there already is [New Mexico, Guatemala Ladinos, that Costa Rica MS., etc.] and he wants us to keep the matter in mind and pass on what we know so that the movement can be sparked.

That's all I guess. Please write me to Cobán, anytime before -- say -- the 20th (see my itinerary).

Best regards,

Sol

ITINERARY (REVISED)

Sol Tax 1944

- March 25 ----- Lv. Chicago (Braniff Airways)
- 26 ----- Ar. Mexico City (PAA)
- 29 ----- Lv. Mexico City; ar. Tuxtla Gutierrez (CMA)
- 30 ----- Lv. Tuxtla; ar. Las Casas (By car)
- Mar. 30 to April 8 --- Ina and round Las Casas
- April 8 ----- Lv. Las Casas; ar. Comitán (by car)
- 9 ----- Lv. Comitán ar. Gracias a Dios (by car)
- 10 ----- Lv. Gracias a Dios; ar. Chocolá (by horse)
- 11 ----- Lv. Chocolá; ar. San Mateo Ixtatán (by horse)
- April 11-14--- In various towns of the Dept. of Huehuetenango (car-horse)
- April 14 ----- Ar. Huehuetenango
- 15----- Lv. Huehuetenango (by car)
- April 15-18 --- In various towns between Huehue, and Cobán (car)
- April 18 ----- Ar. Cobán
- April 18-30 --- In various towns of Alta Verapaz (car and horse)
- April 30 ----- Lv. Cobán; ar. Salamá (car)
- May 1 ----- To Rabinal and other towns and return to Salamá
- May 2 ----- Lv. Salamá; ar. Guatemala City
- May 4 ----- Lv. Guatemala City;(arrive New Orleans PAA)
- May 5 ----- Lv. New Orleans; arrive Chicago (Chicago & Southern Air)

ADDRESS: Mexico City: Hotel Avenida, Av. S. Juan de Letrán

Las Casas: Hotel Espanol, Ciudad Las Casas, Chiapas, Mexico

Huehuetenango: Lista de Correos, Huehuetenango, Guatemala, C.A.

Cobán: Lista de Correos, Cobán, Alta Verapaz, Guatemala, C.A.

Guatemala City: Carnegie Institution, 9a Avenida Norte, No. 54

Guatemala, C.A.

April 11, 1944

Dear Sol:

Your letter of March 28th written just after your busy hours in Mexico reached me about a week ago, and I have no very good excuse for not answering you sooner. You certainly accomplished a great deal in a short time. There is little I can say that will be of any use to the various matters on which you report, but in order that the record may be complete, I will take each one in turn.

1. Caso's present work: Another scholar gone administrative.  
2. The future of American anthropologists: Still very cloudy  
I should say.

3. The plan for publication of ethnographic material: This seems eminently sound to me. I talked it over with Julio de la Fuente with whom I had lunch recently and he seemed to like it.

4. Lewis' difficulties: No comment.

5. Foster: I know nothing.

6. Wendell Bennett: He is going to Ecuador this summer to do archaeology.

7. Improvements in the School. Good so far as they go.

8. Division of the ethnography staff: Probably all right.

9. Villa's future: I don't know what is involved here. I think probably Villa is not fully like because (a) he is a "gringo"; (b) his emphasis on theory sounds like an assumption of superiority. On the other hand, I think Borbolla knows he stimulates students. I hope you do see Alfonso, but I am afraid you aren't going to do so.

10. Tejada. I have little comfort here. I should think there is some opportunity for Tejada to get employment as an anthropologist in Guatemala at the present time.

11. Connections between the Institute and CIW. Borbolla has not written me about this or about Villa, and I do not know what is on his mind. I see nothing to do but continue to be generally friendly and wait for something to develop.

12. Mestizo project. It is not clear what this is, but I hope it develops in a direction where we can be useful.

News from here? The University is in one of its periodical convulsions with regard to the President. The situation is not good. Fred has been in the hospital for three days with sinus trouble and exhaustion. We are trying to get him to go away for a short vacation. Wolff was not given a fellowship but was told he could have a renewal provided he is able to show that he can convert field materials into scientific analysis to my satisfaction. He and his wife are coming to my house for tea this afternoon. I think Gertrude will be there also. This is about all that is going around here. I miss you enormously. I shall be glad when you are back. Take care of yourself.

Yours sincerely,  
Bob

Huehuetenango, Guatemala

April 14, 1944

Dear Bob:

.....After six days of horseback, Goubaud, Rosales, and I arrived

well but tired last night. The others met me at a finca near the Chiapas border and we have been together since. The information that the car-road reaches to San Mateo was ~~false~~, and they came up three days on horse-back to meet me. On the way down we came through Nentón, San Andrés, San Marcos, Jacaltenango, Concepción, San Martín, and Todos Santos; we stayed in each town for at least a couple of hours and generally had good luck in finding informants,. At least we have a good general idea of the situation in the regions through which we passed, and I think that so far the trip has been profitable. Now we shall start East in the morning; I think practically all the rest can be done by car. We did not traverse the Eastern towns of Huehuetenango (mostly Chuj); Goubaud and Rosales came that way and have some information. That is the country on which LaFarge has most information, so it is not so serious. We also missed Santiago Chimaltenango (Wagley's town). Almost on purpose we skipped S. Miguel (Siegel's); I wasn't keen on disputing him on the basis of a few hours' residence, and from the looks of the other towns I have an idea he has greatly exaggerated racial hostility. I would rather go on saying that I don't know San Miguel and it may be an exception. Not that I "know" the other towns, but in neighboring Jacaltenango we found cases of church marriages cutting across race lines both ways and a significant last of hostility in the attitude of a Ladina informant who (being borderline herself) might be expected to have a quite different attitude. It looks very much like Guatemala to me..

I spent nine days with the three students in Chiapas, and we went over the material systematically; I think they know now what they are

looking for. I am still pleased with them and their work, and they do better as time goes on. I explained to them, also, what I wanted done with their notes. They will divide the labor, and prepare very rough "monographs" of each of the 8 towns studied (except Oxchuc, of course, and only finishing off Zinacantan) by organizing the notes -- by clipping and pasting where possible. These "monographs" would then be treated as publications (and if the microfilm plan is adopted, they might be photographed and thus become publications) and they would write their theses by selecting what materials are relevant to their respective problems (together with what is relevant in other literature.) In this way they won't have to use all the data just for the sake of inclusiveness. And of course they or we or anybody else will have the material reasonably well organized for use.

All three students, despite that they have have been doing "hard ethnography", think of nothing except when they can return for more. I told them I didn't know, but that certainly they would have to complete the writing-up of the results of this season before even thinking of another. They agreed, but optimistically thought they would finish their work by the first of the year. I said I would see then about trying to get funds. Cámara plans to stay a month beyond the allotted six, and Guiteras perhaps two months (though Villa thinks the rains will make it impossible for her); I left them \$100.00 of the two hundred that I took from the Dept. to pay for this extra time and permit them to get information they can't afford to get now (assistance in copying records, etc.).

We went to Tenejapa one day and met the Villa entourage; we had only a few hours together, and most of the time I spent with Alfonso planning his three-year course. He said he would write you about it, and doubtless has. My notion was to have a series of lectures on culture (Soc. Org., Religion, Economics, etc.) running parallel with a seminar analyzing and discussing field methods and theory by using the notes of those who have been with him or me to Chiapas (and perhaps some other material). We planned a three-year program on this basis. The last year of the seminar would be devoted to the matter of how to organize and present the material, and by that time there would be available the three theses of my students, and (we hope) Villa's Oxchuc monograph; and by that time the class would have worked through all the field notes.

In my last letter, from Mexico City, I referred to some notion that Borbolla may have. Perhaps the answer is in this: my students in Chiapas say that he told them to stick with us, and so on, because he hopes that the C.I.W. will come around to giving the school money -- not for a research program under our direction, but with no strings attached. The idea seems ridiculous to me, as it must to you; but it still may be in Borbolla's head.

Dr. Kidder is in Guatemala City. Goubaud just called the office to find out about our gasoline situation (which looks bad) and he talked to Dr. Kidder. Apparently nothing to report, however. I believe that the Kidders are leaving this weekend.

I don't know when I shall have time to write again. On these

travels I find it barely possible to scratch out notes and a hasty diary in notebooks. I have just written home for the first time in nine days....

Did you have some money put into my account? I think I asked Mrs. Lavery to ask you to write for 300. Also, Goubaud seems to be way behind; he says he doesn't ask for money, but just lets you judge his needs by his expense accounts; but that way he is always short of money, due to communications delays. Why not have a reasonably substantial sum advanced to him?

Of course I agree with you about Siegel. And also about Tumin; I'm glad we have that money. But in light of the suggestion in my last letter, should we perhaps think of changing the plan of Tumin's work? Might it be good for him to order the notes that we have in some form (perhaps monographs of each town, like those of the Chiapas students) keeping as close to the original material as possible, with the view to microfilming; and then drawing on the organized material to make comparative and topical summaries? Perhaps there will still be time to talk about this when I return; but meanwhile, of course go ahead as you think best.

Our health is good and we have had no serious difficulties. I look forward to the next phases of the trip -- but most of all, I look forward to coming back to Chicago. I hope all goes well with you. Best regards,

Sol

994

April 26, 1944

Dear Sol:

This is just a note sent off I hope to meet your eyes just before you leave Guatemala to come back to us. Your trip has been short but you have been greatly missed. I am always finding questions that call for your advice and then not finding you here to give it.

I was delighted to get the good account of your trip from Chiapas to Huehuetenango and especially pleased to hear that the anthropologists you began to fashion two years ago are continuing to develop well. I am glad to hear that you have found a good place to spend some of the money you took with you.

The question you raise as to the way in which Tumin should do his work can easily wait until you return as Tumin is not yet free to begin and he may indeed become entirely unfree as he has been once more tentatively put in 1-A.

On April 5th Carnegie Institution sent a check for \$300 for deposit to your account in your bank here. More recently I have had \$300 sent to Goubaud. Our expense money for the year is going rapidly and when you come back we shall have to decide how best to husband what remains.

With best wishes,

Yours cordially,

Bob

April Is This Afternoon

Correspondence of Robert Redfield  
and  
Sol Tax  
1933 - 1944

(edited and with text by Sol Tax)

June 2, 1980

[Appendix A, pp. 995 - 1008]

[Appendix B, pp. 1009 - 1035]

[Appendix C, pp. 1036 - 1083]

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## Appendix A

April is this Afternoon

An Account of a trip to the Oriente

January 14-16, 1941

Appendix A

APRIL IS THIS AFTERNOON

An Account of a Trip to the Oriente  
January 14-16, 1941\*

Tuesday, January 14. With air-mattresses and blankets, gasoline lamp and camp-stove, utensils and food, we started from Guatemala City in the Institution station-wagon at 7:30 a.m. Leaving the international highway at kilometer 17, we turned east onto the Jalapa road.

After passing through Mataquescuintla, and about 15 kms. east of the town, we were stopped by the foreman of a road gang and had to wait while a ditch across the road was filled in to enable us to pass. Apologizing for the delay, he explained that the road was in disrepair and that a real ditch with a bridge over would have to be made because "ahora estamos en las cabañuelas." This appeared to us to make no sense. The cabañuelas--the first 12 days of January--were already past; moreover, they were, as we understood them, only to predict the weather of the corresponding month. Explanation was called for. It came out that for this man there are 18 days of cabañuelas--the first 12 representing the months January through December, and the following 6 representing them also, by half-days. Calculating with him we said that, as we figured it, this morning predicts the weather of March. But he looked at the matter in reverse fashion as well: the month represented by the day of the cabañuelas determined the weather of that day. Acting in a practical way on this belief, knowing that the rains begin in April and May, he was rushing to

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\*In the present form, a condensation of a Diary report written by Sol Tax in collaboration with Robert Redfield. The original appears as No. 19 (1947) in the Microfilm Collection of Manuscript Materials on Middle American Cultural Anthropology, Microphotographic Laboratory, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., 60637.

get the road in shape before the impending rain.

"Look at the clouds coming up," he pointed out. "There is the rain. April is this afternoon."

Driving on, we discussed ways of getting at beliefs. It seemed to us that the unplanned incident, of the kind which fortune had just given us, might be the most rewarding.

We lunched before reaching Jalapa, at a place called Agua Sana, above a stream. The name was given us by a little girl who kept passing and repassing the car with a gourd in which she carried water. We asked her why she didn't carry a tinaja instead to avoid so many trips; she didn't appear to understand, and after trying other words, we found that she understood not tinaja, but cántaro--and we recalled that this is the term used among the Chortí (Wisdom). The girl said that her mother had the family cántaro at the river where she was laundering. We gave her a gift of tin cans, which she examined for all the world as if she had never seen one before. Perhaps she hadn't; we had the distinct feeling that somehow we were out in the wilderness.

In S. Pedro Pinula at 2:30, we went directly to the Intendencia. Neither the Intendente nor the Secretary was present. A mature Ladino, who said he was the escribiente and whose name was Filoberto Berganza, said that the Intendente would be in shortly. While waiting, we introduced ourselves and began to ask casual questions. ~~But~~ shortly Sr. Berganza, who had been cold and formal, began to thaw and to answer our questions not only with willingness but with understanding. So we took out the prepared schedule and (explaining to him what it was and why we wanted the information) began to fill it out. The questionnaire begins

with geographical data, and only toward the end requires information about which there might be doubt as to official propriety; so as we began there was not even a question as to credentials. Before we were finished, the escribiente was contributing with interest if not enthusiasm. Later, while we were still working on the schedule, the Intendente came in, but we barely paused in our work for introductions. Our right to do what we were doing was not questioned, and Redfield talked to the Intendente while I continued with the escribiente.

The questionnaire was surprisingly successful, and was completely filled out by 5:00 p.m. We did not take the time to copy lists of surnames from the cédula books, or data from the birth records; but the escribiente allowed us to look at the records, and we noted that the Indians (as so labeled) have a limited number of the most common Spanish surnames such as Diaz, Perez, Vasquez, etc. We were especially interested in the escribiente's explanation of how the races are distinguished: when a person comes in for a cédula, his birth record shows his race; when a birth is registered, the parents' cédula show their race, which is thus entered as that of the child. Thus, it is conceivable that people who call themselves Ladinos are known to the officials as Indians; and race distinctions are thus perpetuated through written records. The escribiente indicated that some confusion results in cases of intermarriage; but he seemed to think that if a Ladino married an Indian woman legally, the children would be set down as Ladinos; otherwise they might be called Indians.

The schedule, completed, appeared to be rich in information (much of it surprising to us) and in hints and leads. Our next objective was to

talk to Indians, to follow up the leads, and to acquire information not covered in the schedule. We therefore bade the officials adieu (giving our informant a quetzal) and left.

It was now after 5 o'clock, and time to think of a place to camp. We passed the local pensión and (fortunately, as it turned out) decided to sleep in our car. While considering the matter, we passed an Indian house--afoot, our car having been left in the plaza--on the east outskirts of town; there was a group of three houses, built of cane and looking as though they must surely be inhabited by Indians if any of the houses were. We went in <sup>to the yard</sup> to ask for eggs. Through the door of the first house we saw a young woman grinding maize, and as she unquestioningly smiled and asked us to come in and sit down, we forgot about the eggs. We conversed casually and pleasantly, telling where we came from and whither we were bound, and asking about the family and about the things we saw in the kitchen. Shortly the young lady's mother (Mercedes Nájara, by name) came in; she too took our presence quite for granted and continued the remarkably casual hospitality of her daughter. Before our visit was over (and it lasted an hour) we were tremendously impressed not only by the friendliness around us but by the ease of manner of our hosts; it was as if this visit were an everyday affair, or as if we were cousins or neighbors dropping in for an afternoon chat. If it was courtesy we were shown, it was certainly natural courtesy bred of sincere and simple pleasure at our visit. As tortillas came hot off the griddle, we were given some to eat, and others "for our journey." Every move and word was of unaffected graciousness.

Meanwhile, we found no embarrassment here, at least, in the matter

of the Indian language. The mother especially exchanged words with ours "of the west" with a curiosity that matched our own. We learned a surprising lot in a short time, for we went on from a comparison of words to an exchange of customs. It was with genuine regret--personal and professional both--that we left; and since the regret was apparent on their side too, we promised to stop again on the way back from Esquipulas. We left marbles for the children; also, as the young woman (Josefa Vásquez) was preparing tortillas to take to Chiquimula in the morning (she would leave at 4:00 a.m., arrive at 7:00 p.m. Wednesday, and be home again on Friday), we left her twenty cents "for the road."

"But we did not sell you the tortillas!" they protested.

Assuring them that the money was not for the tortillas, but simply an expression of our good will and pleasure, and to help her on her way, we were thanked graciously. Information obtained in that house was, we felt sure, perfectly reliable.

East of town we found a camping place, by the side of a stream. Only later did we notice that there was a bath house there, and that the water came from warm springs. We were able to wash in warm water, and our dish-water came half-heated! While we were preparing supper Josefa's younger brother surprised us; in some way the family had quickly found our camping place. He said he would bring us tortillas and coffee for our supper, and left again. As we finished supper an older brother of Josefa's, whom we had not met, came with his young son, bringing tortillas--to be followed shortly afterwards by the younger brother returning with more tortillas and coffee. All of them stayed. The older brother was as cordial as the

others had been (indeed, hadn't he sought us out, bearing gifts? and seeking nothing in return?) and in the same casual way willingly answered our numerous questions. Again we learned a lot, drinking coffee and smoking together; and again the circumstances were such as to give us the utmost confidence in the data obtained. Altogether our friends spent nearly two hours with us, and all left together at 9:30. As we took notes before retiring, we were elated with our luck; we couldn't help but feel that fortune had given us a week's production since 2:30 this afternoon. But we knew, of course, that this afternoon was nothing less than April...

Wednesday, January 15. We arose at 5:30. This was fortunate, for we had hardly dressed when a Chinese father and his two sons came down for their bath. There are several Chinese in the town, married, we are told, to Ladinas.

We arrived in Esquipulas at about 11:45 and found a parking place not far from the Church. We were much impressed by the hundreds of cars, many of them large buses, that had brought pilgrims to the fiesta. All along the way we had passed cars either going to or coming from Esquipulas; and now we remarked not only the turnover but the thousands of people present at this particular time. The large majority, it appeared, had made the pilgrimage by motor, as compared with the few we had seen afoot. We went into the Church and made what observations we could. Except for the relative number of Indians and Ladinos and the kinds of Ladinos, and the religious and patently non-religious behavior around us, there was in

fact little we could learn. To make a real study of this fiesta one would have to live in Esquipulas for some time in advance to discover what it means to local people, and then to travel with the pilgrims in one of the buses to get an idea of why these people came.

We drove out into the country for a quick lunch, and then (with the excuse of delivering some tin cans and a paper carton) went with a young Indian boy to his house. We had a look at the kitchen, but were not invited in; unlike the case yesterday we were not made to feel welcome, and we departed--regretting the tin cans.

Back in town we went through the market-place and could see that a number of Indians from our part of the country (for example, Momostenango) were selling there. But, again, there was little we could learn. After another quarter hour observing in the Church, we left at about 3:30 for the town of Quezaltepeque.

In Quezaltepeque at about 4:30, we stopped first at a refresquería to quench our thirst; a sign advertised cold beer, and it kept its promise. Talking to the manager, we found that pilgrims begin to come through by January first, and continue to the 15th. Most who come depart after a day or two, so that during the fiesta period traffic continues to run both ways.

The manager also told us that the Intendente is a Colonel. This gave us pause, but we went to the Intendencia anyway. (We had discussed our program for Quezaltepeque and decided that if circumstances broke favorably we would fill out our schedule; otherwise we would let it go, for we had tried out the schedule in S. Pedro and found it satisfactory; since we could not hope to study this region now, it was not essential to fill out the schedule here.) The Intendente greeted us politely, and

officially. We explained our business and interests; he asked for credentials, and we showed him a letter from Minister to the U.S. Adrián Recinos. This appeared to satisfy him. He asked what we would like, but appeared not to hear that we were interested in general data about the municipio. He heard only that in the ~~west~~<sup>we</sup> were studying Indian costumbres, and forcefully said there were interesting ones here.

In true executive fashion, he thus "anticipated our desires" and forthwith passed us on to an Indian boy, telling him to take us to the cofradía. We surrendered easily and followed the ministril, as alguaciles are called here. The boy dutifully, and silently, conducted us to the cofradía, where we were allowed to approach the small altar. We looked in vain for the santo; all we could see was a bank of flowers. Explanations were soon forthcoming from one of the esclavos and the wife of the Padrino. The reason S. Francisco El Conquistador is covered with flowers is that it is hibernating in the dry season, and the cofradía is inactive; in the rainy season, after a fiesta connected with the coming of the rain and the planting of milpa, the santo comes forth again.

After leaving some money in the cofradía, we returned to the plaza. It was now becoming dark, and we hurried to the outskirts of town to make camp on the banks of a stream--Rio de la Conquista, it was labeled on the bridge. Our luck was not as good as last night, for we found ourselves camped in a cow-path and watering place, with obvious results. After a quick supper, we walked up to town again. There were many people in the plaza, mostly strangers returning from Esquipulas; near the telegraph office people were dancing to a miniature marimba. To one side we saw a

well-dressed young Ladino talking with a local Indian. We talked to the Ladino for perhaps fifteen minutes, the Indian also contributing to the conversation occasionally. We then retired to our camp and wrote up a few notes before calling it a day.

Thursday, January 16. We arose at 6:30 and after breakfast began our return journey, toward Ipala again. At about 9:00 a.m. we passed through the aldea of Ipala called Chagu<sup>u</sup>ite, a few kilometers east of the town. We stopped at a group of houses to "buy eggs." While Redfield talked to a woman in one of the rear houses, I entered the one closest to the road and bought three eggs. The man of the house, apparently noting my curiosity, asked me in, and after a moment's conversation asked if my companion and I could wait for a cup of coffee. Since conversation was our purpose, I asked Redfield his desires, and we accepted.

I had vaguely noted pustules covering all exposed portions of the man's body, but had thought nothing of them. Now, after going back to look at the maize harvest to see how it was stored, we sat down with the man on the porch of his house to talk and await the coffee. A cup was borrowed from a neighbor's; another from another house. The conversation eventually turned to our kind host's physical condition, when referring to the pustules he asked, "Do you know this sickness from your country?"

We answered, no, and he said, "It's viruela."

I, somewhat confused, ventured in an aside to Redfield, "Hm, measles?"

Redfield replied, "If it is of interest to you, that's smallpox."

Now we fell into something of a panic, and while we were considering

what to do our host informed us he was taken ill about two weeks ago, with fever. We decided hurriedly that we must make excuses and get out; but just as we began to present our regrets, the coffee and tortillas were ready on the table inside, and our host said "pase adelante." Our panic was now complete, for we surely could not drink coffee in that house. It was a painful decision, but at the moment it seemed the only thing to do: we said, "Just a minute, we need something from the car"-- and went down and drove quickly away.

Our discourtesy and seeming ingratitude weighed heavily upon us, and all the way to Ipala we weighed methods of making it up. The first idea was to take back a doctor, or pharmacist, to treat the man and make our explanations; or at least to send back a doctor. But it occurred to us the whole household might then be quarantined, or that at least the man might resent our interference; so we decided not to add injury to insult. Nevertheless, in Ipala we stopped at the pharmacist's and described the symptoms we had seen. We were considerably relieved when he told us the case was certainly not one of viruela, but of varicela, which we saw in his book was a very mild sickness. (Later inquiry, however, made it appear probable that the disease was indeed smallpox.) He said there were perhaps 300 cases of varicela around, and no treatment was required. Whereupon, satisfied that the officials would not make trouble for the man, we went to the Intendente to ask him how we could send a note to the house (since we did not know the man's name). The Intendente took the problem in stride, and said he would investigate and would surely be able to deliver our message from the description we gave. We therefore wrote a note of

apology, explaining that we had mistakenly thought he had a dangerous and contagious illness, and enclosed a fifty cent bill. This did not relieve our consciences much, since the penance was far too easy; but there was little to do but drive on--deciding for our own part and for our families' sakes to consult a doctor in Guatemala City.

On the outskirts of Jilotepeque we stopped again, having spotted an old man working in the patio. I approached him, this time not to buy eggs but to give some away. The man accepted the eggs with thanks, and when I showed an interest to stay and gossip his wife came out of the house to join us. Their manner was so friendly and eager that soon Redfield had joined us and we had all gone into the house. There for a quarter of an hour we talked to the old couple; when we hinted we might be interested in the Indian language, they seemed delighted and began to give us words. When we asked their names they gave them to us in both Spanish and lengua--thus giving us our first case of dual surnames. There were unbaked cántaros on the wall, and one pot still not dry on the floor. The woman ran out to show us how she breaks up cow dung for the firing. She so much regretted that the cántaros weren't baked so that she could give us each one! But she bethought herself to give each of us a bowl, at least. Both she and the old man seemed so anxious to please and to give us something of their poverty-stricken little household. When we left there were tears in the old folks' voices if not in their eyes; and by that time we were feeling much the same way.

It was no wonder that as we drove on toward S. Pedro Pinula we thought the Pokomán to be the very finest people in the world. We were, of course,

going back to see Mercedes Nájara in Pinula. It had occurred to us from what Josefa had said--that her father was a Principal (i.e., shaman) and that people came to him for cures when the children se espantan--that since Mercedes was, after all, the wife of a shaman, we should be in a position to get some rather special information. Accordingly, while driving along, we prepared a little list of questions to ask.

We stopped for lunch near where we had camped Tuesday night; our warm spring site was occupied by a truckful of returning pilgrims. We didn't take much time, so it was still before one o'clock when we walked into the house. Mercedes herself was now at the grinding stone where Josefa had been the other time. She gave us the same casual welcome, and we sat down to talk while she continued her work. We completed our list of questions as informally as possible, and got much good additional information besides. Mercedes meantime had spread a clean white cloth on the table and had served us hot tortillas, meat, and coffee. Again it was with real regret that we said goodbye and continued on our way.

After stopping at Jalapa, where we filled up with gasoline and beer--car and ethnologists, respectively--we continued west. We made our last stop at a roadside house beyond Mataquescuintla, this time again buying eggs and continuing our observations of material culture. But with darkness descending we would now have to hurry our return to Guatemala City, having wired in Jalapa to the Pensión that we would arrive at 8:00 "with hambre." It was quite dark when, suddenly, we were stopped at the roadside and handed a bag full of about twenty pounds of tortillas, which

we were asked to give to "three muchachos" who were digging sand a few kilometers down the road. We drove on and on, ticking off kilometers, and were becoming worried that the tortillas would wind up in Guatemala City, when we espied a fire ahead and determined to drop the tortillas there, no matter what. Sure enough, there were men working on the road, and we handed the bag to the foreman. He took it hesitantly, as we explained it was their bastamiento; his hesitation, plus our observation that there were many more than three men, prompted us to explain more fully--and when we mentioned sand, the foreman said the food must be for the "three from Jalapa" farther on. So we took back the bag, and to our relief eventually found three men by the roadside to whom we could give it; but this time we did not ask too many questions.

Without further incident, we arrived at the Pensión at exactly 8 o'clock, tired and dusty but also buoyant of spirits, knowing we had finished a fortunate expedition of three very full days. Later, with carnations decorating our city clothes, we went into the dining room to enjoy the fruits of virtue. The three days felt, indeed, like the six months we had learned they are counted in the east.

1009

Appendix B

Comments on MS of Folk Culture of Yucatán,

With Responses by Redfield

I have read the manuscript from cover to cover, but not all parts with equal care. In jotting down comments I proposely tended to be hypercritical, hoping to be more useful so. Since you are at liberty to ignore anything I say, I damage only my reputation with you if I go off on limbs, and so just beg your indulgence. Also, to save space I shall make no attempt to be polite or properly respectful. Nor do I propose to let a favorable word slip in, beyond saying now that as far as I can see you have nothing whatever to justify your modesty about this work.

Chap. I. P. 6. 5th last line. Shouldn't it read "summer months"?

(Yes. Thanks -- RR)

P. 8. 2nd last line. "occurred" during or in ..?

(Yes. Thanks -- RR)

P. 12. 2nd par., 3rd line. The qualification between dashes, which I suppose takes account of a recent car road, reads funny -- as if horses have changed their speed or as if the distance has changed.

(Yes. What has changed is that the settlements have been made. I am revising the sentence--RR)

P. 13. 2nd par., 2nd line. "thus" is confusing, since only the first of the three circumstances has been mentioned.

(OK. Throw out "thus" -- RR)

P. 14. 4th last line. I don't like "The influence...has been... present." It would be better without the "the", but best if it read, "Cuban negro culture probably has influenced..."

(OK. I think your phrasing is better--RR)

~~2-2~~

Chap. I. P. 19. Footnote. The last sentence makes no sense to me. If you mean, "...differ as to degree of homogeneity of behavior standardized by tradition, i.e., cultural" -- I can't manage to read it so.

(Right. Several words got omitted in copying -- RR)

Chap. II. P. 6. 2nd sentence of main paragraph. Can't this city directory reference be put another way so that it does not appear that Hansen infers that the 100 occupations would be multiplied by the number of letters of the alphabet?

(I don't see that it does so appear. I'm letting the sentence stand. -- RR)

P. 23, line 13. What kind of occupation is that of "renter"?

(You are right. It is not an occupation. It should be omitted. -- RR)

P. 30. Footnote, last line of text. Since reference to Hansen's table has been deleted above, something will have to be done here.

(Right again -- and easily done. -- RR)

P. 34. Last sentence of 1st par. Excuse me, but didn't you get your usual pile of mail???

(May not the ethnologist-author omit to his personal mail? -- RR)

Chap. III. P. 6. Last paragraph. I suppose that this is a functional interpretation, based on the facts presented -- or others not presented -- so boldly stated as gospel? As far as I can see, it doesn't follow infallibly from the facts presented. You state in several places that the essential criterion for judging a mazaheual is membership

in the in-group; then the indicia of Indian features and Maya surname are indicia only from the point of view of the ethnographers? What can you really say beyond that in QR the in-group and out-group distinction is more important than in CK and that in QR the two groups are named, while in CK the term mazehual means "genuine Indian" in race, culture and surname?

(I can say that in QR the word mazehual means one of us, even if white, or with European surname, while in CK the word is not usually extended to those persons; and I can point out that the difference in term is consistent with the fact of greater emphasis on in-group/outgroup in QR. This is, in fact, what I have said. But obedient to your rightful scientific caution, I will revise the paragraph so as to stick closer to the facts, with less interpretation.

-- RR)

P. 9. 2nd and 3rd paragraphs: also P. 11, 3rd line. The numbers of the groups in the text (I, III) do not correspond to those in the table of footnote 8. Since the numbers in the text recur (e.g., also p. 15) it might be easier to reverse the table. If you do that, however, not that in footnote 18 on p. 18 the group numbers correspond to those of the present table.

(Glad you caught this. -- RR)

P. 12. Footnote 10, 5th line from end. Is "same garb as the Indians" correct?

(No -- the word "did" was omitted somehow. -- RR)

P. 13. Footnote 12. Is Dona P. the woman referred to in the text? If so, wouldn't it be better to transpose the two cases and indicate that this is so? (Or are there two cases so similar?)

(No -- two different cases. -- RR)

P. 13. Footnote 13. "Great poverty" -- but a servant in the house?

(Yes--the servant was probably paid next to nothing when family has become poorer since then -- RR)

P. 16. 2nd par., last sentence. Not clear to me. Do you perhaps mean "definiteness" for "definition"?

P. 20. Footnote 20. What is your system of quotation marks? In the sentence beginning "When Don Francisco" the grammar or punctuation is off.

(Thanks - this note is certainly "punctuationally confused" -- RR)

P. 21. 6th line from last. Period after "E"?

(Then write it without -- RR)

P. 22. The long paragraph requires too careful reading before the situation becomes clear. If you could find names for the Upper and Lower classes, or not use the same terms for the vecino and indio sub-classes of the Lower, I think it would be simpler.

(No name for the old lower class is available. But I have made small changes in the paragraph which I hope make it clear -- RR)

P. 23. Lines 8-9. Ambiguous; can't you rather say "aristocrats disappeared, or never appeared"?

(OK -- RR)

P. 24. 6th last line. Better omit "racially" since it cannot refer also to customs?

(OK -- RR)

P. 26. 3rd line. A nice mixture indeed, that "between blood and custom, or both": Don't you mean between bloods or customs or both?

(Terrible -- I'll make it read "mixture of blood or of custom, or both" -- RR)

P. 29. 9th last line. Should "and mutually" read "any mutually"?

(Yes -- RR)

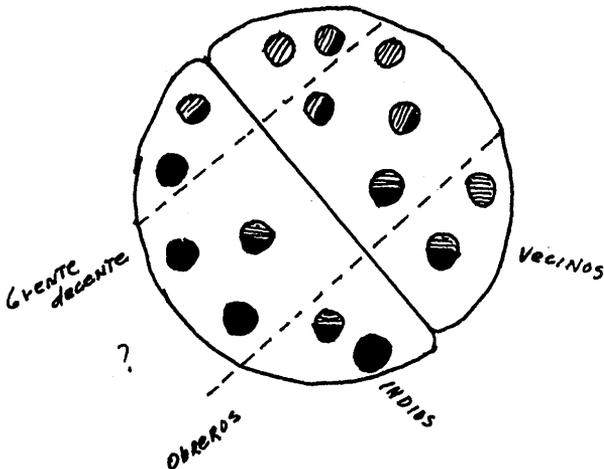
P.30. Middle of 2nd para. Shouldn't you change "In Tusik the dzulob and mazelualob constitute...", since as I understand it there is no dzulob society in Tusik?

(I will change it to "to the people of Tusik, etc." -- RR)

P. 35. The diagram of present-day Dzitaz is faulty in one respect that might be mentioned (since I don't see how it could be corrected). The shading in the small circles has reference to the two hemispheres of indios and vecinos, and not to the tripartate distinction of obreros, ? , and gente decente. Thus the diagram shows that all gente decente are ethnically "Spanish" and all obreros ethnically Indian, while in the text you say that this is not the case. (Perhaps you can change the diagram after all, by running your broken lines at a forty-five degree angle to the solid center line; this would throw at least some of the ethnically-mixed into each of the three new classes, and it would show that the classes cut across each other. The disadvantage might be that you want horizontal lines to show social stratification. But from your discussion I would judge that there is not today a clear acceptance of the new classes anyway, so diagonal lines might be actually more accurate. To go farther, wouldn't it still more accurate to draw the

indio-vecino line at a forty-five degree angle as well?

The recognition of superiority of vecinos is certainly not what it was in Old Dzitah. If you do all this, your diagram would be something like



If you do something like this, might it also be a little more accurate, in view of the Revolution and so on, to change the Merida classes so that they are not so vertically superimposed?)

(Yes -- but it makes the diagrams so confusing that they communicate little -- RR)

Chap. IV. P. 5. Middle of 2nd para. What exact meaning is "most strikingly" supposed to convey? Just the most obvious to the casual observer, or the most important, or in greatest number? If you are thinking in quantitative terms, are you sure the statement is true or should it be qualified to read "Of those elements certainly Indian"?

~~B7~~

Even with that qualification, the sentence as it reads doesn't appear entirely justified, unless you mean "the Indian elements universally distributed in Yucatan". As it reads, it appears to mean that even in Tusik the most striking Indian elements are the agricultural and culinary techniques, while actually I suppose that other Indian elements there are equally striking. I don't think you mean that.

(I mean just that. I mean that in Tusik and elsewhere in Yucatan, the elements of life that strike the observer's attention most, and that it requires only a little knowledge to see to be Indian, have these techniques. This paragraph still seems all right to me. -- RR)

P. 16. 1st full paragraph. I cannot understand this explanation. As I understand it, a hundred years ago the Indians of the CK region and those of QR were culturally about the same, and under the same missionary influence. [Chap. VII p. 7 -- "Segregation of QR people ... 90 years ago] Are we to suppose that both groups learned that balche is evil and then that either (a) both stopped using it, but then when the QR Indians became isolated they continued not to use it while the CK people, having kept it in the backs of their minds for we don't know how long, suddenly resurrected it for some reason? or (b) both continued using it notwithstanding, but then when the QR Indians got away (and away from missionaries) they recalled what the missionaries had said and, becoming conscience-stricken, prohibited it? You apparently prefer the first reconstruction; neither seems highly probable to me, but of the two, the second appears more plausible, simply because it is more common to have a trait dropped than resurrected.

(Your objections here are sound, I think I don't know what happened I heard Indians talk about "bringing back" balche, as if they realized

that once, though knowing of it, they had been forbidden to use it.  
I do therefore incline to the first explanation, implausible as it  
may seem to you. But as I have little or no evidence. I think I  
had better say nothing about it -- RR)

P. 20. 3rd line. Wouldn't Good Friday be more commonly understood than  
Holy Friday?

(Yes -- RR)

P. 30. Isn't conclusion No. 10 comprehended in the last part of the last  
sentence of No. 9?

(OK -- I'll strike out the last sentence -- RR)

Chap. V. P. 4., 9th line, "can" rather than "could"?

(Yes -- RR)

P. 11. 5th last line. I suppose you mean that is the manner of committing  
suicide? I reads almost as if a man after committing suicide hurls himself  
down.

(Yes, that's what I mean . Your reading seems to be far-fetched -- RR)

P. 12. 4th line. I think the sentence would read better with "is to be  
fetched" at the end.

(I don't -- RR)

P. 17. 2nd line. Delete "who at end of line?"

(Yes -- RR)

P. 18. 2nd last line. Apostrophe after "godparents".

(Yes -- RR)

General: In view of the comments in the next chapter, for example pp. 3-4  
mightn't you add a paragraph indicating that you have to some extent  
selected your sample of the life-view with a view towards showing its organ-  
ization and consistency? (You do not happen to mention, for example, the

Ten Commandments).

(Good idea -- followed -- RR)

Chap. VI. P. 6. Line 15. In the parenthetical sentence, do you not want an "also"? Or else what does it mean?

(An "and" is in the wrong place -- RR)

P. 7. 4th last line. "Not improbably native"; have you checked Spanish wakes to see if the Ladino custom of keeping the mourners happy is not Spanish (as I always thought), especially since the Guate. Indians don't have it at all, and revel in tearful mourning?

(Good point -- RR)

P. 9. First lines. I suppose in the long run I agree with this statement, but I am a little doubtful about the portion on "separates". I think there is a tendency for primitive-minded people to accept any number of superstitions that, as you point out, may never be incorporated into the web of the culture. How then can the presence of separates be a good criterion of disorganization? If it is given any important place as a criterion, we're going to be in trouble in Guatemala; in my work on the life view of the Panajachel Indians I think one will be able to find many separates -- little things like beliefs about animals and what-not that aren't very long threads. Yet thus far we have been calling the culture organized. We may have to analyze separates into several classes.

(I recognize this problem. Maybe we shall have to make classes of "separates" maybe we shall have to revise the conception of "organization" -- RR)

[By the way before I forget it. A Rabbi Max Kadushin at the U. of Wisconsin several years ago wrote a book on some phase of old rabbinic interpretations, and in the course of it adduced a concept

Which he called "organic thinking", not unlike your culture-as-an-organization, which proved for him the key to a number of otherwise inexplicable inconsistencies. I think the term is pretty expressive.]

(Have you the reference? -- RR)

P. 23. Is marida really a word in Dzitas? Never heard it in Guatemala. Lines 12-14: It is not made explicit that marida equals wife and señora mistress.

(All right -- we'll use the English wording to make it clear -- RR)

Chap. VII. P. 4. 3rd line. "prices are made of ..." is confusing. How about putting "are made" at the end?

(OK--RR)

Last sentence, main paragraph. Might be improved by deleting "in accepting a price" and placing it or "in fixing a price" at the end.

(OK -- good -- RR)

P. 5. 12th line. "Where they unfamiliar with market price" makes no sense, and I suppose the verb at least is missing.

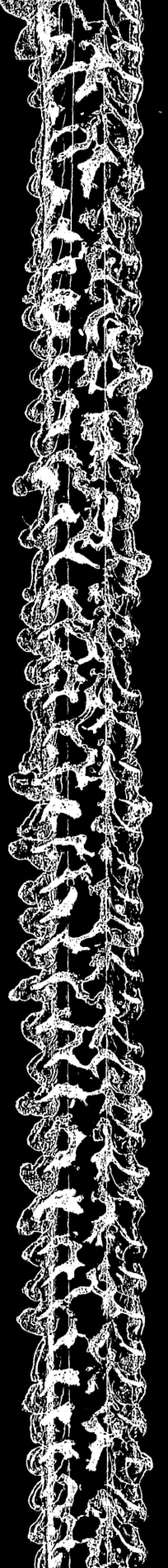
(Right -- corrected -- RR)

P. 6b. The middle paragraph doesn't seem to be on the level of importance of the others. Even if Hansen's point is well taken (and on the basis of similar institutions in G.C., I think it gives an exaggerated idea of the noneconomic aspects of bargaining) I don't see why it is "worth noting here."

(I don't agree. I don't see that it gives an exaggerated idea of etc.

I say bargaining is in substance economic, but in form has some of the characters of greeting ritual. The observation as to decline of bargaining in Merida is made use of in Ch. XII. -- RR)

P. 7. Lines 12-13. Ambiguous; it might be read to say that maize is as frequently bought-sold in Chan Kom as in Dzitas, while you doubtless mean



to tell about the manner in which it is bought-sold.

(Right -- I will re-write the sentence -- RR)

P. 9. 7th line. How about words for maize in Tusik? I am almost willing to be that the QR Inidans do not frequently use ixim for the maize in the milpa.. After all, even in Spanish the term maize seems to be applied only when the corn is ripe, and only to the actual corn; and then it is soon harvested. People talk about the "harvest of the milpa", and about mazorcas and so on, and my impression is that maize is the finished product.

(QR usage is the same as CK. So what? As for the Maize meaning; the point is that in the move to less sacred context of the field, maize is called by the word which means "essance of an offering,"

"spiritual principle." I can't get the force of your comment -- RR)

P. 10. 1st par. I suppose there are no data at all on the relative amount of money in circulation. Relative to the number of transactions, it may be greater in Tusik than in Chan Kom. Also, your paragraph switches from a discussion of small transactions in the first part to an implied explanation in terms of large transactions in the last.

(I see my data are incomplete--I am writing to Villa -- RR)

2nd par. What is meant by "prefer"? If just a sentimental attachment all right; but if they prefer to be paid in dollars or pounds, the explanation ought to involve a discussion of from whom they buy and sell. Where can they use U.S. coins?

(Right -- good point -- will revise -- RR)

P. 11. 2nd line. Are gold chains "consumable luxuries"?

(Of course not! I am saying that as chains are the only form in which to store wealth in QR, wealth is largely spent not on chains, but on consumable luxuries -- I will clarify -- RR)

Chap. VIII. 7th line. Perhaps there is no use mentioning it, but Wisdom's Chorti throw new light on the problem. (Chorti forbid cousin marriage, but a systematic sibling-exchange accounts for a kinship system very like ones for cross-cousin marriage). The Motul terms, with one exception, favor a sibling-exchange system as much as they do a cross-cousin marriage system, as Eggan noted. The probabilities about the Maya are slightly altered since we do not find existing cross-cousin marriage and we do find the sibling-exchange institution.

(OK-Included in footnote. -- RR)

P. 12. (Consanguinal Tusik chart). Don't you have terms for relatives married into ego's family (MBW, FSH) aside from those on the affinal chart?

(Alas, no, for Tusik. In CK no kinship terms are used -- RR)

Also, do you know what siblings' grandchildren are called

(in CK, Dz, Sobrino -- RR)

(or, reciprocally, grandparents siblings)?

(Don't know-- RR)

In general a notable omission in your discussion is the range of the kinship system: how far are relatives recognized? P. 23 you note the problem, but not its full application.

(Materials are defective on this point -- dreadfully sorry! -- RR)

P. 13. (Affinal). You have a term "cuñada -- rare"; What, if any, is the alternative term?

(Cic or idzim have added these -- RR)

Do you have terms for siblings-in-law's siblings?

(No in CK no kinship terms used -- RR)

(I mention these remote relatives because sometimes they are very significant

in understanding the logic or theory of the system and its relation to social institutions).

P. 19. 1st par., last sentence. "Speaker's own generation" includes "certain cousins". I suppose you mean "in terms for the speaker's own siblings," since "generation" includes cousins.

(Yes - will correct -- RR)

P. 20. 1st par., last sentences. Although I admit that many people, or most, would pass this over without a question or a frown, it seems to me superficial. This kind of direct explanation of kinship terms in terms of social behavior is to me a vice of our generation. Lacking a comprehensive set of theories on which to base explanations, we simply play around with interpretations. If I wanted to play, I think I could "explain" why with emphasis on the father-line, you distinguish the father and his brother and not the mother and her sister. Something like this: Kin who are socially unimportant are frequently lumped together (e.g., cousins with us; great grandparents almost all over; all relatives beyond a certain grade in a great many systems, and frequently the lumping is done more quickly with mother-line relatives in patriarchal societies). In Tusik the distinction between father and father's brother is important because the society tends to be patrilocal, the father's brother may be head of the lineage, etc. This important distinction is properly reflected in the terminology. The mother's sister is not apt to be as important as the father's brother, so she need not be especially distinguished from the mother. Etc., etc.

Actually, if I ask you whether you would suppose that in a partitending society the principle of the equivalence of siblings-of-the-same-sex would be applied more strongly to males or to females, you would answer

"males" (and I would agree); but if there are no clans or other strong institutions to reinforce the simple patri-tendency then evidenced only by residence, and power and property inheritance through males by primogeniture, I think the answer would have to be "females" for the reason that with such institutions brothers are more apt to be distinguished importantly by age than are sisters, thus weakening for males the principle of equivalence. To solve the problem you have, you would not look for positive "behavior which would group mother and mother's sister more closely than father and father's brother, but rather reasons why it is less necessary to distinguish M and Ms than F and FB.

But I am not trying to offer explanations; this is rather an argument against being superficial about them and in favor of working out general principles, of which there may be hundreds, that because they conflict work out in practice in an endless variety of ways. The absolute degree of emphasis on the father line may make all the difference in the world in a final explanation of the Tusik system; a slight difference in degree of such emphasis may, since in conflict with other principles strength is important, reverse the entire tendency of a kinship system (as for example, in the case of the Omaha-Crow difference).

The same criticism applies to your next paragraph. To attempt an explanation of these reciprocal terms requires a prior comparative study of, among other things, the use of reciprocal terminology. We know that there is frequently reciprocal behavior without reciprocal terminology, and vice-versa. Yet you assume that something must be haywire if you have reciprocal terms and not reciprocal behavior.

Pp. 23-4. When does recognition of kinship itself drop off in the various communities. Is there any difference in the size of the genealogies it is

possible to get, both with reference to the absolute numbers of relatives and the relative recognition of various collateral line?

(Material is inadequate -- RR)

Chap. IX. P. 11a. 10th line. Previously, in a reference to Dzitas, you used the term yerbatero with h-men in parenthesis.

(Change made to clear this up -- RR)

P. 18, insert On P. 18 you refer to the Virgin of Perpetual Sorrow; is this the same as the Virgin here mentioned?

(Revised to clarify --RR)

P. 20. 6th line. What is meant by "differentiated" here? Not from the Pagan, of course. I suppose you mean consisting of more elements?

(-yes- a lat word -- RR)

P. 27g. Why should dying out be an evidence of secularization? Sacred institutions disappear while still sacred and some secularized institutions certainly do not die out.

Chap. X. P. 27. 3rd line. "Costumes" correct?

(No! Customs! -- RR)

P. 32. 4th line. "ladinos" rather than "vecinos"?

(Yes -- RR)

Chap. XI. P. 3. 4th line. Impropriety of marriage with a godparent implies that with a godchild.

(So it does. But why not mention it -- RR)

P. 16. Footnote, last word: Dzitas or Merida?

(Dzitas -- RR)

P. 18. Footnote 4. Wouldn't it be better in the text? It would look better and make references to the case easier.

(Yes -- RR)

P. 25. 6th last line. "be" should be the last word?

(Yes -- RR)

P. 28. 4th line. You mean, I suppose, that it was a case of suspicion of sorcery and not that Villa suspected that there was a case?

(Yes -- RR)

2nd last line. If no cases were met in Tusik, how can you say that in every case the accusation was made against an outsider? (If you have cases, as indicated on P. 34 (middle of page) hadn't you better mention them here -- at the top of this page?)

(They were old. Cases told to Villa -- RR)

P. 37. I suppose you mean to qualify your "theory of magic" geographically, but I think you should make explicit that you are talking about Yucatán here. Obviously a student of Melanesia or Africa (or even Chichicastenango) would raise eyebrows at the statement that black magic expresses insecurity in the city. Certainly what you say about Yucatán is a contribution to the study of magic generally, but not in terms you use nor in the specific reasons you give. For example, you cannot possibly generalize such a statement as that beginning "The lack of an integrated culture..."

(Have put in a sentence to make this clear -- RR)

Since sorcery is so widespread among primitive tribes (even Australian) that we always think of as having "culture", it seems to me that you might profitably say more on the subject here, lest your reviewers do it for you.

P. 39. 2nd par., 2nd line. The word "occasions" seems to me too vague for the kind of statement you are making. Are examples of occasions sickness and death, fights with neighbors, or looking at the doorstep each morning? (Since you have no statistics anyway, and really depend on your general

experience to talk about the "amount", why be so careful when you do?

Or if you want to make the qualification, wouldn't it be as accurate to say "proportionate to population"?)

(Good idea - I adopt it -- RR)

Chap. XII. P. 4. 16th line. Wouldn't you rather say "somewhat nearer the facts?"

(OK -- RR)

P. 5. Middle ... "If carefull prepared ... etc." If the cultures really overlap, here is the tree-ring method of ethnology!

(Mebbe!' -- RR)

P. 7. 8th line. I don't think the statement that this type of comparison "is not a good way" to do history, is justified. On P. 5 you said "we are well advised" to do what you now say is no good. I suppose that what you mean to say here is that the comparison of contemporary communities, unless generation differences in each are studied and collated, is not a good way to get the history. But I think that even that is too strong, for surely some good for history would result from such a study (or where are all our traditional ethnologists going to be).

P. 9. 2nd par., 2nd sentence. I think it very confusing to talk about an inseparable pair of independent variables. If independent, how can they be made inseparable even for the purposes of discussion? I suppose that what you mean is that the factors of disorganization, secularization and individualization are all dependent variables of each and that you will refuse to consider situations in which isolation and homegeneity do not vary together. Either that or you define isolation and homogeneity in terms of each other, in which case isolation-homogeneity is one independent variable (not a "pair of ind. variables"). Or possibly you say that isolation and homogeneity are causally related, but you don't care how and are going

to take the two together; but in that case they are not independent variables, although again in that case the two can be taken together as an independent variable with respect to o,s, and i.

(Changed so -- RR)

P. 13. It seems to me that the word Alternatives is something of an ambiguity, and something should be done about it before it goes farther. Linton was confused when he invented it. He thought of Universals, Specialties, and Alternatives first as a classification of culture traits. In his discussion of the first two, he never gets away from that idea. The culture traits universally shared by the normal adults of a society are universal culture traits; those shared by recognized categories of individuals, but not fully (if at all) by other categories is a specialized culture trait, or a Specialty. Alternatives are also culture traits of culture shared by some but not all individuals and are not even by all of a socially recognized category.

(The point you make in this and following paragraphs seems sound. I will talk to you about it -- RR)

They are culture traits with sporadic distribution in the population. When he says that alternatives "represent different reactions to the same situations or different techniques for achieving the same end", what he means at this point is that one individual has one reaction or uses one technique while another has another reaction or uses another technique. At this point he does not say or presumably mean that a particular individual has a choice of reactions or techniques. For if in the society every individual has a choice between using a hoe or a plow both the hoe and the plow are universal culture traits.

In the same paragraph, however, Linton shifts his ground (or makes clear that he isn't saying what I claim he is.). In citing examples, he says our various kinds of vehicles are Alternative means of transportation inferring that they are Alternatives because anybody in the society can use whichever of them he pleases. On page 275 he is more explicit, saying that "The peculiarities of the various sub-cultures must be listed as specialties rather than alternatives since they are not presented to the individual as traits toward which he can exercise choice." So now an Alternative is defined as one of several Universals (or Specialties) from which each person involved can take his pick. It is no longer a culture trait distributed sporadically through the society. It is no longer on the same level as Universals and Specialties.

(The distinction between Variants and (True) Alternatives should be made, and must be made in order what is really meant by "Core of Universals." It seems to me that in the Yucatán materials we assume increase of both Variants and Alternatives -- we can't separate them -- RR)

It seems clear to me that two quite separate concepts have here been thrown together. It is true that there are some elements or traits of the culture of any society not shared by all and at the same time not distributed in groups recognized by the culture (such as men, women, the old, the young, laborers, managers, smiths, Bear clansmen, priests, etc.). I think I once called such Alternatives "simple variations."

It is also true that in the culture as it is represented in any individual of the society there are alternative solutions to problems. To get downtown I can walk, take the bus, I.C., surface, L. or drive my car. The Dzitas neurotic can go to an M.D., a spiritualist, a quack, or a curer

or h-men. The Panajachel Indian can plant onions or garlic or coffee or maize on his land, or rent it out, or do lots of other things to make some money. These choices which the culture allows the individual I am willing to call Alternatives.

It is also true that there are some significant relations between the Simple Variations (as well as the Specialties) and the Alternatives. One of these relations is the apparent cause of Linton's confusions. It is that people cannot help noticing the Variations, and sometimes individual A, seeing that B does something he has never done, copies what B does; it may be said therefore that A has borrowed from B a trait which may be an alternative of a trait that A has already had. Because of this relation between Variations (or heterogeneity) and Alternatives (or disorganization) Linton seems to have thought them the same thing. To emphasize that the two are different, notwithstanding their important causal relationship, I may point out that they can be independent of each other, that a society is conceivable in which for a given culture trait or for all of them a half-dozen alternatives are present in each and every individual in the society -- and the same alternatives in each case. Or, to be more practical, it is certainly true that there is no culture in the world in which there are no Universal Alternatives. And I hope that that phrase makes the point.

Now it appears that you have adopted, although irregularly, Linton's confusion. At the top of page 13 you quote his inconsistent definitions. At the bottom of the page (continuing to page 14) you apply the inconsistency. But by and large you appear to use the term Alternatives in the more restricted sense of which I approve. Thus in the last sentence of the middle paragraph on page 14, and even more closely in the paragraph that follows.

In that sentence beginning "Indeed it is the conversion..." there is the confusion, however. In order to point it out, I take the liberty to find an antonym for Alternatives-in-the-restricted-sense. For the moment I suggest Exclusives. The I think your sentence can be rewritten to say "It is the conversion of Exclusives (whether in universal elements of culture or in those which are special to sub-cultures) into Alternatives which is a feature of modern civilization...." Similarly, in the sentence previous, what is really meant by the "core of Universals" is the core of Universal Exclusives. Better still, since the number of Specialties is not a very good index of organization or disorganization, the most general statement had better concern the core of Exclusives. (Incidentally, sooner or later we shall have to distinguish between various kinds of Specialties, for some of them -- such as those connected with age, sex and kin groups and the like -- appear to be less involved in questions of disorganization than others -- such as those connected with class and economic groups.)

P. 16. 9th last line. "reporting" rather than "deporting"?

P. 18. 9th line. Delete "his"?

P. 22. Footnote. The question about "limitations" might be broadened to include "preferences". Thus in Chichicastenango, anybody can tell the Adam-and-Eve story anywhere; but the telling of the story is associated with the marriage negotiators who particularly recount it during the negotiations.

P. 25. Mightn't you mention the possibility -- the one that Maine, Durkheim and perhaps Tonnies (I don't know him) would have countered with -- that primitive tribes represent a pre-Urban stage historically as well as typologically? Thus even if all the primitive societies are sacred, collectivistic and well-organized, it doesn't necessarily mean that all long-isolated homogeneous

societies are. You do not necessarily get a generalization. You may have an answer to this in the case of the Tusik reorganization of religious elements (if the case is demonstrable). The question might also be put in terms of such groups as the Pitcarin Islanders (perhaps not so good because of the Polynesian mixture) or the numberless sects and mountain groups, etc. that have become isolated.

P. 26. I am really very sorry about this. But where did you get the idea that I ever said that the local Guatemalan Indian cultures are "isolated?" In that paper I said that contacts with representatives of Civilization are not intimate, but at the same time I said that contacts with other Indian communities are not only frequent by (by inference) intimate enough so that they are familiar with each other's customs. Now if you are going to throw out contacts with other local groups in your conception of isolation, all right; but otherwise you can't say that the Guatemalan Indian communities are "isolated." (That in spite of the contacts and resultant knowledge of other peoples they keep their own customs, is another thing, and beside the point here as far as I can see).

Until you wrote this paper, you never set up isolation as a requisite of being primitive. You never set it up, either, as an independent variable upon which organization, etc. depend. Now, by your definition, Panajachel or Chichicastenango are no longer "primitive", so it is not surprising that they are secular and individualistic. But they are still relatively homogeneous. (But that violates your rule that for purposes of these studies isolation and homogeneity are an inseparable pair; and you will have to leave Guatemala out!)

What you did in 1934 was to set up a "culture" with a number of characteristics (with no indication of the order of their dependence) and a

"civilization" with a number of opposite characteristics. On the basis of that I wrote that Guatemala represents neither. You have now changed the rules, but you can't change Guatemala to conform to the new rules!

I still stick to what I wrote, but I can change the terminology to say that the Panajachelños, for example, live in a non-isolated but homogeneous society with a well organized culture characterized by secular and individualistic behavior. But I would add as important what I said in the paper I read last year, that the content of the culture (or if you prefer that part of the culture that is the World-view) is of the kind characteristic of long isolated societies. But apparently you didn't think much of the point I tried to develop from that.

P. 26. Revise to read:

"other we may recognize sub-types, or types in which various kinds of compromises or combinations of character are found. A recent paper by Tax<sup>20</sup> points out that while certain Guatemalan non-literate societies are characterized by local cultures (presumably well organized), and are homogeneous, nevertheless in their family organization is low, on the whole the conventions allow for much individualistic behavior, and the secular character of the social life is notable. (He also points out the impersonal nature of many institutions and controls in these communities, a matter not much discussed in the present pages with reference to Yucatán.) These Guatemalan societies are, as has been remarked above in connection with the rural ladinos, in relative equilibrium; that is, social disorganization is relatively small. In what sense the Guatemalans are or are not isolated is a matter requiring study and analysis. They do not meet the requirements of an isolated society as do, for example, the people of Tusik, for contacts within the local community, so far as Tax's materials indicate,

are less intimate than is the case in Tusik, and contacts with persons of other communities are more numerous than is true in Tusik. On the other hand, the contacts of the Guatemalan people with outsiders to the local community on the whole occur in the conventional situations provided by travel, the market and opportunity to visit a distant festival; they do not lead to much change in the local cultures. In coming to understand the relative secularism and individualism of the Guatemalan societies it will probably prove important to study the extent and nature of the out-group contacts. The Guatemalan societies are not as primitive, at any rate, as are the Andaman Islanders, or even the people of Tusik.

The conclusion indicated by the Guatemalan cases is that, however the matter of isolation is to be understood in connection with them, generally "primitive" and non-literate societies may be "mobile, with relationships impersonal, with formal institutions dictating the acts of the individuals, and with familial organization weak, with life secularized, and with individuals acting more from economic or other personal advantage than from any deep conviction of thought of the social good."<sup>21</sup> Tax's conclusion requires much more analysis of particular facts in Guatemala to enable us to regard the results of the comparison as established but the avowedly tentative conclusion may be re-phrased: There are non-literate, homogeneous, culturally well-organized local communities in relative

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<sup>20</sup>Sol Tax, etc.

<sup>21</sup>Tax, ibid

P. 33. 2nd last sentence. (I can of course fully agree with this statement of the problem.)

P. 35. 2nd paragraph. "The springs of power lie outside the ... community.

Officers ... are appointed from outside." Both statements are true only in very limited degree. Naturally the higher government makes the laws, but except insofar as they concern taxes and relations to outsiders (i.e., to work on Plantations), the Indians are practically not molested. In cases of serious crimes it is true that they eventually wind up before a higher authority. But in the normal course of commonplace daily life, the government to which the individual submits himself is a local one.

As for appointments of officials from outside, the statement sound much more important than it is. The intendente and secreatry are the officials appointed from outside. The latter is not an executive official or a judge. Prior to 1936 there were no Intendentes and the 1st alcalde was elected in the community; but since he was frequently a Ladino, the effect was much the same. Whether speaking of alcalde or Intendente ( and even today in small communities the Intendente is frequently a local person, even an Indian) however, it should be noted that in many communities (such as Chichicastenango) he does not act in internal Indian affairs. In places where there is no separate Indian juzgado, he does settle Indian cases, but on the basis of Indian custom and with the help of Indian officials. Nor can the role of the Principales, who are of course always of the local community, be neglected. They are not of (although they help create and control) the formal machine; but they have considerable influence.

To turn to the second last sentence of the page, it is true that in road-work Indians from various communities and unknown to each other are often brought together; and no doubt Maxeños personally unknown to each other are brought together in such public work. But I cannot think of a single example of a ceremony being conducted by people from various communities.

~~B-26~~

If you are referring to the fact that in a community as large as Chichicastenango the new members of a cofradía, being drawn from distant cantones, are sometimes unknown to each other when they first take office, I suppose that is true. But of course the officials continue year after year to serve and to climb the scale, so that the number who do not know one another in any one year is considerably smaller than population statistics would indicate. But the statement as it reads might give the reader the idea that ceremonies are conducted by people of different towns.

Appendix C  
An Exchange of Memos \*  
ON SOCIAL - CULTURAL CHANGE

\* Dr. Tax: Supply footnote here giving approximate date and something of the circumstances.

Tax to Redfield:

I.

Table I represents a rearrangement of the differences between Mérida and Tusik that you have summarized. It may be pointed out that

(1) It borrows your wording whenever convenient and changes it at whim;

(2) By deletion of some qualifiers, the table makes the series of characters delineate ideal types of communities (no longer Mérida and Tusik or perhaps any others in the world);

(3) By substitution of "other such institutions" for "godparental," the types are released from application to Middle America alone;

(4) Although it purports to represent ideal types, the table does not pretend to include all conceivable criteria of differences between types A and Z; actually, only those that you mention are included; and

(5) Perfection is not claimed for the arrangement or contents of the table; improvements and refinements must come after analysis, for which this table, like the phrases from which it is made, may serve as a starting-point.

In this discussion I propose to refer to the extreme ideal primitive or folk society as a Type-A society or simply as an A, and to the extreme urban civilized society as a Type-Z society or as a Z. The inference intended by the use of letters A and Z is that in all

characters (1 through 18) there is a range between A and Z.

To be sure that we understand each other, I shall now rephrase in terms of Table I the substance of the remarks of your section I:

1. Tusik approaches type A and Mérida type Z; Chan Kom and Dzitas are in all characters (1 through 15) intermediate, with Chan Kom closer to A and Dzitas closer to Z.

2. You argue that since at the time of the Conquest Yucatecan society probably approached typed A, and since the order of both greater-to-less isolation from type Z societies and of the present-day tendency towards A is from Tusik to Chan Kom to Dzitas to Mérida, then on the assumption that the more isolated the community the more it preserves old features, the trend of social history in Yucatan is seen in the successive differences as one goes from A to Z (and as it is crystallized at four stages in the four communities studied); and this conclusion is supported by the knowledge that in the recent past Mérida, Chan Kom and Dzitas all approached A more than they do today.

3. Type A is approached in primitive and peasant societies the world over. Upon contact with type Z societies they tend to change in all eighteen characters toward type Z. At least some of the fifteen characters are so interrelated that change in one tends toward change in at least some of the others.

Following your lead, I turn my comments from the historical discussion (No. 2 above) to the more general problem (No. 3 above); but before I do so, I have a little suggestion to make about your

historical argument. It seems to me that you don't have to assume that "the more isolated . . . the more the community is likely to preserve old features" but rather simply that "change is brought about by contact." The argument might then run:

The extent of change from A to Z is directly correlated with the degree of contact; on the assumption that the change was brought about by contact, it follows that the trend of history is seen in the successive differences as one goes from A to Z (or Tusik to Mérida).

The major question occupying your second section seems to be "How do A's change to Z's." Although you do not attempt a systematic answer, you suggest that

- 1. There is more than one way,
  - 2. One of the ways is by submission to the influence of a Z,
- and
- 3. Another way is through the development of a system of trade and a money-economy and/or possibly a hierarchical government.

I think that logic and common experience demand the acceptance of the first proposition, for

1. Logically type A must be able to change in the direction of type Z; for if originally all societies were A's, how otherwise could at least one of them have become a Z?

2. Students of the History of Civilization (i.e., the development of our culture and society from its primitive beginnings perhaps in Sumer and Egypt) are always devoting themselves to a change from A to Z independent of other Z's;

and indeed they give us some answers as to how the changes occurred, among which are "widening trade horizons," "spread of money economy," "use of writing and spread of literacy," "war and widening government and empire," and so on.

3. Anthropological references to pre-Conquest Middle and South American civilizations as "independent developments" carry an inference that (in our terms) the A's changed to Z or Z's without influence from the old-world Z.

The second proposition, meanwhile, has the weight of so much experience that it can no less be doubted; the "civilization of barbarians" from the earliest times furnish documented cases, and the very term "acculturation" generally refers to the process of A's being changed toward Z's under the influence of our particular Z. It will be noticed that in my statement of the second proposition I omit reference to the process ("through heterogeneity and disorganization of culture" —P. 16) by which you say the change from A to Z takes place upon contact with a Z; I do this because nowhere in the memorandum is there evidence for it offered, and discussion of an alternative is shunned (footnote 10, P. 16). Since the question of process is one on which we might be able to throw some light in our studies in the field, I think it is worth a digression:

Reading between the lines of the footnote, I infer that you cannot conceive A characters becoming Z by a process of simple diffusion of Z characters to an A-type society. Neither can I. Rather, such diffusion or "learning secular and individuated customs" is part of, but not all of the

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process. In Panajachel those who have done military service return to the community in some respects more secularized and individuated than when they left; to the extent that such men become numerically important in Panajachel the society moves toward Z (not to mention their added influence on others in the community as they become older and more respected and have grown children and grandchildren). By simple diffusion these men get from the army a wider mental horizon and a knowledge of their rights and privileges with some ability to stand up for them; they consequently gain some independence from the ways of thinking and doing of the society and lose some respect for the informally constituted authorities. But the presence of the army itself is the necessary condition for this diffusion, and that is just part of a general Z influence. More to the point is that by going into military service the Indians learn a way out, or get an alternative to acceptance of cultural ways and subservience to public opinion. This I suppose is the essence of disorganization; that he didn't have to help pay for the upkeep of a santo, but the society had a way to make him conform anyway and forget his idea, the society would stay A; but the presence of the Z makes it impossible for the society to force the man to conform and forget his idea. I suppose that the term "heterogeneity" in this context refers to the presence of different kinds of people and institutions brought in by Z.

Perhaps I can make clearer what I understand by what I suppose you mean if I take a simpler hypothetical case. In a

certain A society the rule is that the parents choose their sons' wives; since all the land is occupied, and owned by the parents until they die, no young man would dare disobey his father in this respect because he would have no place to bring a wife of his own choice and no means of livelihood. Yet sometimes the young men vaguely wish they didn't have to marry their fathers' choices. Now recently a Z society conquered this A society, and people of Z live in town nearby. John is a young man of the A society betrothed by his father to an ugly girl called Gladys; John, however, strikes up an acquaintance with a young fellow from among the Z's, and he visits around the Z-town quite a bit. One of several things can happen:

a. John learns that he can get a job as servant in one of the houses and live in town off his wages. It occurs to him that now he can elope with Evelyn, and he does and tells his father where to get off at and lives happily ever after. Others follow suit. Nothing was diffused at all from Z to A.

b. John, talking to his friend, discovers that he is to marry, and to his surprise he learns that not only does the father of the boy not approve, but he doesn't forbid the marriage either, and it is explained that "Among us Z's a man chooses his own wife because after all he's the one that has to live with her." This seems so eminently just to John that after brooding a day he goes to his father and says "I don't like Gladys; I am going to marry Evelyn because a man should be allowed to choose his own wife because after all he's the

one that has to live with her." For his pains, John is whipped for his insolence, and furthermore is told that he will marry Gladys the very next day or be left with nothing to eat and no home. So John goes to Z-town that evening and tells his troubles to his friend who might

(1) give him his heartfelt sympathy and nothing more; so John goes back home and prepared for his wedding with Gladys. They have children, and when the children grow up, John chooses for them their spouses; or

(2) offer him a job and a home and thus Evelyn, whom John forthwith marries. All the A's know this and many of them leave home and marry whom they wish. The old men see that, since they don't have anybody to work their lands in their old age, they'd better have wicked sons than no sons, and they forgive them and ask them please to bring their wives home with them. By this time the idea that a man should choose his own wife because after all he has to live with her is pretty well accepted.

(3) tell him to go to the Police, which John does. The sergeant says, "But he can't do that; you're 22, and the law says that a man over 21 can choose his own wife." "But does that apply to the A's too?" Of course, affirms the sergeant, "And furthermore, the law says that part of that family land belongs to you, so your father can't throw you out." So the police bring John's father to jail (for assault) and the next morning the judge explains to him the law and advises him that he can't stop John's

marriage to Evelyn, and if he tries he'll be fined everything he owns and go to jail too. John marries Evelyn and his father bears up under the strain. The news spreads, and other young men (who lack John's knowledge that a man should choose his own wife because...) marry whom they please when they please and get away with it with the help of the police. Pretty soon nobody thinks of telling his son whom to marry because it does no good.

In case (2) an idea was diffused, but it would not have been, or it might just as well not have been, if there hadn't been an opportunity for the boys to act on it. In case (3) no idea at all was diffused (any more than in case a) but knowledge that parental authority was superseded did permeate the group. Now, might you mean by heterogeneity the potential heterogeneity that is in the homogeneous society and that crops out when the disorganizing influence of a Z lets it?

The third proposition I shall discuss later; you will note that I have included the presence of a money-economy as a character of Z in the Table (No. 11), and the factor of a higher government is part of character No. 13; therefore this proposition must be restated to say that "the development of some Z characters in an A-type society brings about other Z characters," and that brings up the question of the mutual interdependence of all or some of the characters which I shall discuss in my section II.

But whatever actually happened in Guatemala and Yucatan is a matter largely of history (and for us insofar as we are historians).

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Our task as sociologists, aside from the question of how A's break down or change upon contact with Z's, is to determine

1. The interrelations of the characters that define a type, and
2. The relation of the types to factors outside, like physical geography.

Since, as you point out, the resolution of such questions depends upon how well we can analyze the terms and concepts involved and translate them into specific tools of ethnographic research, I turn my comments in my section III to your third section, where you indicate the method of such analysis and translation.

## II.

Insofar as the criteria of Table I are concerned, three kinds of societies are possible:

1. An A-type, tending toward A in all characters; societies like this are what we call "primitive" (this statement being the equivalent of your proposition (1), P. 16;

2. A Z-type, tending toward Z in all characters; societies like this are what we call "civilized" or "urban" (this statement being the equivalent of the opposite of your proposition (1), P. 16; and

3. A mixed AZ-type, tending toward A in some characters and toward Z in others; we seem to find societies like this in Guatemala, and probably there are many more in the world.

Knowing as we do that societies do change, we also assume on the basis

of historical logic that since once all societies were A's, the general direction of change has been from A towards Z (and we recognize that there can be reversions in the opposite direction, as — probably — in Yucatan); therefore, every Z society in the world became Z by a process of change from A. It follows that

If the eighteen characters of A or of Z are so inter-related that a change in one brings about a change in all the others, then there can be no mixed AZ-type

unless it be only temporary — a case of lag of one or more of the characters in the change from A towards Z.

Theoretically we could attribute all AZ types to lag over a longer or shorter period of time, and it would then follow that the eighteen characters are all so interrelated; but it jibes more with the common sense and experience to work on the assumption that if the mixed AZ characters in a society have been fixed for several generations and/or if they seem to be adjusted to one another, the condition is not attributable to temporary lag of some characters behind others, so that

If we find cases of mixed AZ type that have been so for generations and the characters of which are adjusted to one another, then the eighteen characters of A or of Z are not so interrelated that change in one brings a change in all the others.

In Guatemala we do seem to have such cases (Cf. your "conclusion," P. 11) and therefore we cannot consider all eighteen characters

interrelated in the manner posited.

This does not mean that some of the eighteen characters might not be so interrelated. How do we determine which are and which are not?

In the same manner that we found that all eighteen are not interrelated: what we did then was examine all cases of societies known to us (except then, since we drew a negative conclusion, all we needed was one negative case); had they been all of type A or type Z we would have said "It is probably that all the characters are interrelated." Now (ruling out cases where the element of lag is demonstrable or likely) if we examine all societies and find they are all

- |            |                                |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) pure A | (3) Nos. 1-8 A and Nos. 9-18 Z |
| (2) pure Z | (4) Nos. 9-18 A and Nos. 1-8 Z |

we shall say "It is probable that characters 1-8 are so interrelated and characters 9-18 are so interrelated."

Conceivably we might find, as we examine all societies, that not 2 groups of interrelated characters exist, but 4 or 8 or more; of course if none of the characters were interrelated, 324 kinds of AZ societies would be possible.

Following this method, as soon as we have an idea of how the eighteen characters are divided into interrelated groups, we can then try to determine in particular cases which of the Z characters probably changed first from A and which changed consequently. Thus if we find (as above) that characters 1-8 are interrelated and characters 9-18 are interrelated, we can go to Guatemala and see if there is any way of determining whether or not it was character 11-Z (Money economy)

that first developed from 11-A (No money economy). Your fourth hypothesis on P. 16 says in effect that it was. The proof of this hypothesis (limited as it is to establishing a general sufficient cause) rests on the history of Guatemala or any other place.

But a prerequisite (as you point out) to determining empirically which of the characters are interrelated is to know exactly what the phrases used to describe the "characters" mean and therefore to define the terms employed. Otherwise

1. As you say, we cannot allocate particular societies to types because we cannot determine in the case of each character whether they lean towards A or Z or how far; and

2. Our Table cannot be corrected and refined. With analysis we are likely to discover that

- a. A character really contains two or more characters. If these characters happen to be interrelated, the mistake wouldn't matter much' but if they should happen not to be (and we cannot assume that they are) then a particular society in which one of the sub-characters leans towards A and another towards Z would have to be arbitrarily allocated to A or to Z for that whole character and our results would be invalid; and

- b. Two or more characters are interrelated by definition; then if they are not joined as one character: in advance, we should be foolishly wasting time in the case of each society by laboriously allocating it to A or to Z for both characters when we might have known that if one is A the other also has to be A.

Therefore, even as you do in your third section, I shall see in section III what I can do with the analysis of the characters of Table I.

### III.

I shall take up the phrases and the terms in the order in which they appear in Table I. Although about some of them there may be something helpful said, it will not be so with all; something like this takes many heads and a lot of time.

#### 1. The isolation of the society

If we mean that an A-type society is isolated from all other societies, and that a Z-type society is not isolated from any other societies, we have three kinds of isolation:

a. Isolation-AA: "A-type societies tend to be isolated from each other"; so Tusik is isolated from the other tribal villages of Quintana Roo. We certainly mean at least is a character of A in the table. (But "Isolation-AA" is a very curious character for, as we shall see below, it has no opposite; the isolation can become less and less and yet it can never reach the opposite pole any more than one reaches infinity; when it diminishes to such an extent that there is no more Isolation-AA, the two A's are one and there is no question of mutual isolation. Since in our studies we are dealing with societies that do not nearly approach the impossible "non-isolation," all this need not bother us

at all).

b. Isolation-ZZ: "Z-type societies are not isolated from each other"; this is impossible; if the societies are completely not isolated, they are on society. (So, indeed, we tend to think of our civilization as One).

c. Isolation-AZ: "A-type societies are isolated from Z-type societies." This is also impossible to include in the Table, for

(1) as far as the second half of the statement goes it is impossible for the same reason that Isolation-ZZ is;

(2) the first half of the statement is logically as sound as Isolation-AA and has the same characteristics, but to include it in the Table creates practical difficulties. If we mean by isolation (even partly) the isolation of A-type societies from Z-type societies, "Isolation" would be on a different level from the other 17 characters; it would no longer be a characteristic of A-type societies but rather a relation of A-type to Z-type. The other 17 characters can (as I indicated on page 3 and as you agree) change from A towards Z without contact with a Z-type society; but with Isolation-AZ included in "Isolation," we must logically conclude that A can never change in all its characters in the direction of Z. That goes against common sense and experience.

Therefore, the character Isolation of an A-society in the Table means Isolation-AA, and the character Non-isolation of a Z-society is stricken out and the space left blank. (Incidentally I note in your memorandum that you never mention a pole at the opposite extreme of Isolation; this gives me heart in my analysis).

It must be emphasized at once that simply because Isolation AZ is left out of the table does not mean that it is not important; it is, and I shall talk about it together with Isolation-AA. It might be renamed the "factor of acculturation," i.e., the degree of isolation from or the amount of contact with Z societies."

Considering now isolation of an A society both from other A's and from a Z, I follow you in saying that there are three general criteria of relative isolation: (a) number of contacts, (b) the intimacy of the contacts, and (c) the amount of mutual understanding in the contacts. The practical problem is to determine some measure of isolation by determining measures for (a), (b), and (c). Towards that end, it may be pointed out that

There is an order of dependence in the three elements. If one thinks of a society that is completely isolated, he means one in which there are no contacts whatsoever outside; in such a case there is no question of "intimacy of contacts," so (b) is completely dependent upon (a); but since we deal with societies in which there are some contacts, we may consider (a) and (b) independent variables, i.e., the number of contacts can increase without any increase in intimacy, and the intimacy of the contacts can increase with no increase in their number. Mutual understanding, however, is strictly

dependent upon the intimacy of contacts, for

There are only two ways in which mutual understanding can come about: (i) if the societies are the same in all respects, in which case there would be automatic mutual understanding independent of any intimacy; and (ii) if the societies are different but members of one learn through intimate contact about the other. (i) is impossible because by definition the two societies would be but one; therefore mutual understanding is attained by intimate contact.

Furthermore it is common experience that humans are so made that the greater the intimacy the more the mutual understanding. Therefore, if we can measure (a) the number of contacts and (b) the intimacy of the contacts we shall have gone a long way. But in our scale of intimacy we should take into consideration opportunity for mutual understanding afforded by the kind of contact, and in this consideration the cultural (and linguistic) similarity or dissimilarity of the two societies in contact becomes important.

Theoretically in comparing the relative isolation of two A's, one must count and classify (according to intimacy) all of their outside contacts. In a very isolated society this may be practicable; in many cases it certainly isn't; but whatever approach towards this ideal that we can make is better than none at all, for it is the first step in defining the degree of isolation in the society. Table II, which follows, is a suggested schedule—neither very good nor very complete—suggesting the manner in which the various factors might be

taken into account and weighted to get a numerical figure for isolation or contact. I naturally am thinking of Panajachel as I make up the schedule; it will have to be generalized. I realize that the more I try to deal with numbers the closer I approach the ridiculous; but I would rather say "The measure of contact in Panajachel is 2500 and in Tusik 50" than to say that "Panajachel seems in a sense less isolated than Tusik."

Table II is a preliminary schedule for field-work in a particular community; the data must be transformed to a more general schedule for comparison with other communities perhaps far separated and thus much different (as between Tusik and Panajachel). The general schedule would have to

a. leave out column I entirely

b. Fill column II with successive index numbers (say from one to one hundred, thus taking a hundred lines or rows) and these numbers would have to stand for defined kinds or degrees of contacts. Thus No. 1 might stand for "somebody from another society, whom nobody here knows, passing through without hesitating and without being marked or remarked by anybody." No. 5 might stand for, "Somebody from here going to another town on a paid errand in which he is not interested, staying there no longer than a half-hour and engaging in conversation only about the business at hand and such things as the weather." And so on.

c. The numbers 1-10 of column three must also be strictly and absolutely defined. No. 1 might stand for "A society with



almost completely different language and culture," like Tusik and Chicago, or like the U.S. and Chichicastenango, thinking of contacts with the tourists; No. 10 might stand for "A society with practically the same language and culture, but with independent (of the same kind) institutions, "such as Tusik and a neighboring village, perhaps. Panajachel, considered from Sololá, would be No. 9: Atitlán, No. 8.

I would point out that a high Degree of Contact would not necessarily infer much diffusion; since there can be little diffusion between two societies of the same culture, then if the high Degree of Contact is attributable to the allocation of most of the cases to high numbers in column III, we needn't expect much diffusion. If most of the cases fall in low numbers of column III and there is still a high Degree of Contact, then we would most certainly expect diffusion to be taking place. That is, diffusion, breakdown, or culture change of any kind. That, I imagine, is what you find in societies being rapidly "acculturated"—perhaps Dzitas; you don't find it in Guatemala. (In Panajachel the Chancles ladinos would be perhaps No. 2 or 3 of column III, the Obreros No. 4 or 5; the kinds of contacts with Chancles would be all low numbers in the index, those with Obreros not much higher; therefore the presumably high total of the Degree of Contact for Panajachel would come from the great number of contacts of societies of the 8, 9, and perhaps even 10 type.)

It is evident that the analysis of such a general schedule would tell us very much about the isolation, or relative isolation, of a society. For one thing I believe it would help us to define

(or force us, really) different kinds of isolation or contact: depending upon from what part of the chart the society gets its total.

The discussion on pages 11 and 12, as well as Table II all concerns one kind of isolation or contact: personal and direct. I would introduce other kinds into our definition of isolation as well, i.e., "personal and indirect" and "institutional and direct":

a. Direct personal contacts refer to contacts between members of one society and another (Tusik and Chan Kom, Panajachel and the chancles of Panajachel).

b. Indirect personal contacts refer to contacts between members of one society and another through the medium of a third society (Tusik and Dzitas, through Chan Kom; Panajachel and High Society and Guatemala City, through the chancles of Panajachel). These indirect contacts may be subsumed under the direct contacts, if you wish, by including in the definitions of the numbers of column III of Table II the criterion of Z-ness of the society and its contacts with other societies still more Z. Thus No. 1 may be defined as "A society almost entirely different in language and culture, and Z-type," and perhaps No. 3 or 4 would be "A society 40% less different than No. 1 in language and culture, and 30% less towards Z, and in contact with a society 30% less different than No. 1 and 20% less towards Z" and ideally if we could do it, we would give the Degree of Contact the second society has with the other, third, society. If all that is too complex, and Z-ness is considered to be a separate

problem anyway, we could make a separate schedule for indirect contacts. (Indirect contacts are unimportant except in AZ relations.)

c. What I call "Institutional" contacts are always direct and practically always concern contact of the A with a Z (and thus find no place in Table I). They refer to such things as laws, political, military, and religious institutions imposed on one society by another. Accompanying the institution may be officials (giving "personal contact") or not. We need to grade the imposed institutions according to whether they are only nominally present or really incorporated into the A society.

Attention may be called now to the fact that so far we have dealt with contacts as if it didn't at all matter that there is a difference between simple exposure to influence in contacts and influence through contacts. For the table it does not matter; Isolation and its degree can be defined in terms of the kinds and numbers themselves. But societies may differ in psychological resistance to infusion of new ideas; and insofar as we are interested in culture change (especially toward Z) we must take that into account. To compare Chan Kom and Panaajachel you might give a high number to low resistance and multiply by it the Degree of contact in both cases to get "Effective contact."

## 2. Literacy in the society

A society may be literate in one of two ways:

a. Some or all of the people may know how to write,

whether they actually read and write or not and whether they have what I shall call "the idea of literacy" or not; and

b. They may have the "literacy idea," that is, obtain the benefit of letters, without even being able to read and write. This "literacy idea" includes

(1) in terms of your memorandum "the recording and rendering subject to consultation past experiences and judgments of the group,"

(2) recording sums and numbers, making bookkeeping possible,

(3) communicating within the society, and

(4) communicating with other societies.

I suggest that in an A group there is literacy in neither sense a or b, and you infer (p. 19) that you agree: But a group is still very close to A even when it is literate in the sense "a," and it really moves over towards Z in this character only when it gets "the literacy idea." I would point out that in Panajachel few can read or write, but the literacy idea has gone from A to about C because such things as legal documents (written by outsiders) are part of daily life. Since, however, the "literacy idea" when the people are illiterate depends upon contact with a literate society for its presence and fulfillment, we cannot consider it in the table under our Character two; it has to come in as a kind of contact with a Z society (and since AZ contacts are not in the table either it can't appear at all in the table). For the same reason, outside communication is ruled out as an element in the second character; it belongs as a part of the first character.

What we mean, then, in the Table when we say an "A" society is not literate is that they do not actually read and write; the society tends toward Z (literacy) in this character when it (1) has some members who can read and write and (2) when in addition it gets the literacy idea, i.e., makes use of its ability to read and write.

You may think that I quibble when I rule out "lack of use of reading and writing to bring the society into communication with other societies" but in the method I set forth I must rule it out as an element in being Unliterate. If we put it in, the character Unliterate of an A-type society is indissolubly linked to the character Isolated; I don't deny that it probably is, but simply say that we cannot make it so by definition; if it is so, it will be an empirical conclusion.

It is, of course, a simple matter to determine the relative literacies of two societies being studied. We have to ask the questions in each case, "Can the people write?", "What proportion?", "Do they use their literacy in the three ways mentioned (or more than two if I have left out some significant ones)?" "If so, to what extent?" To answer the last question (where the need arises) will require some classification of opportunities to use the writing. For example, one society may have private land ownership and may write and read documents relating to it; that does not mean it is farther towards Z in the Literacy but doesn't happen to have private ownership of land; instead the latter society may have a love-letter complex which should count for something.

3. Homogeneity of the culture

Since the term Culture appears in both characters three and

four, it may be defined at once for both. I willingly follow you in limiting the term to the mental life (as traditionally determined) of the individuals of the society, recognizing of course that that mental life is partly objectified or reflected in the behavior of the individuals in their artifacts, and also that it can be approached only through overt acts, including those of speech.

I think we have to cut out of the definition the word "organized" (mental life) -- see your Page 19 -- because it appears in character 4 in the predicate of the proposition. Whether as an A approaches Z it becomes both heterogeneous and disorganized may well be empirically true; but it should not be assumed in advance by definition.

With reference to your footnote on P. 19, on the distinction between behavior "standardized by tradition" and homogeneous behavior "of separate individual responses to the same situation," I suggest that while the distinction is analytically sound, we cannot apply it practically in our work, at least until the psychologists tell us how to do so. For examples: (1) if in a society everybody becomes frightened almost to death at a thunderclap, how are we to distinguish between the part of the behavior that is, say, biological, and the part that is "cultural"; and (2) if whenever a tourist-party lands at Santiago Atitlán all the children dash up to ask for money, what part of it is a "separate individual response to the same situation?" The essence of the problem is to be able to define the "situation" in terms of universal psychology and in terms of local culture. If psychologists could give us a complete

list of psychological responses, we could discount them from cultural behavior; or if they would just tell us how to distinguish in the situation the part that is individual from the part that is cultural, we might be able to do so. Now we can't, and I suggest that until we can, we must consider all standardized behavior that we find (aside from what the biologists have told us is biological—like breathing—and even there we have to be careful) as part of the culture.

The first essential practical problem in determining the homogeneity of the culture is to set the limits of the community considered. This is not always easy. In Panajachel, if we think of the whole municipio, the culture is quite heterogeneous; if we think only of part of it consisting of out-and-out Panajacheleños (blood, language, surname, costume, inclusion in political and religious servicios, etc.) the culture is very homogeneous. But should we include Indians of other towns who have been adopted into the community as far as servicios are concerned, and perhaps even costume? If not, are we at least to include those who have married "pure panajacheleños"? If not, are we to leave out their children too? I think that in Panajachel blood whom the principales recognize as having an obligation toward the non-legal servicios. But obviously those are no general criteria; and perhaps no general criterion is possible, and we shall have to decide the matter on the basis of each community—in which case all of us involved should have the same bases for judgment.

Towards determining a basis for judgment, I have this to suggest: that there are two general ways in which a localized

community can be heterogeneous:

(1) Due to the presence of simple variations in culture. The mental worlds of no two individuals can be identical. I propose to call the variations "simple" if, when the people are classified by their varying cultures in any aspect, the resultant groups have no other thing in common (like locale, wealth, etc.) but not counting such "natural" things as age and sex. Thus if in a society some people plant five seeds in each hole and others plant six, this is a simple variation unless those who plant five are the rich people and those planting six live on the other side, but notwithstanding if those who plant six are the older generation and those who plant five are the younger. Simple variations may accompany age or sex groupings (and perhaps others of that class that I can't think of) but not non-natural groupings.

(2) Due to the presence of complex variations, i.e., simple variations that go together with non-natural social groupings. There are two kinds of complex variations that I find a little hard to define but for which I can give examples; the distinction is important because the first kind mentioned cannot be considered when we measure heterogeneity to determine how far towards Z the society is in Character 3. The two kinds are

(a) those cultural variations connected with social groupings that I might call "recognized in the culture." All kinship groupings are of this kind; so are formal political groupings; so are professional groupings; so are groupings in the division of labor. There is a group

of "fathers" and a group of "sons," and the cultural variations accompanying the division are not to be considered as making the society less homogeneous. There may be a tribal council distinguishing some members of the society from the others, but the variation between councillor and tribesman is not a measure of heterogeneity. There may be shamans and laymen differing in their knowledge (or culture) but the difference doesn't count for us here. There are variations in the knowledge of artisans and farmers, but we can't count them here either. (variations among fathers, among councillors, among shamans, among artisans, however, must be accounted for; these may be simple variations or complex variations of type (b) below). I may say that complex variations of (a) type are not usually considered as measures of heterogeneity; and aside from usage there is the logical argument that they can't be included by us because they are included elsewhere in the Table (in characters 7, 10, 13 and 14) and we can't link character 3 to these others by definition.

(b) those cultural variations connected with social groupings not "recognized in the culture" in the sense above. Such groupings are on the basis of geography or locale, language, literacy, wealth, race (biological or sociological) and so on. (It will be noticed that these are all obvious objective criteria on the basis of which people can be classified without any reference to their culture). Thus if the people who speak Spanish plant six

seeds and those who speak Indian plant five, that cultural or technological variation is a "complex one." These complex variations of type (b) are the most important we have in measuring the heterogeneity of a society, and are certainly included (along with simple variations) in defining Character 3 in the Table, but in a special way.

On the basis of these distinctions, I think we are able to define the limits of the community being analyzed. Suppose that we find in two societies that all the complex variations are connected with social groupings definable by the criteria language, locale, literacy, and wealth. Then if in society X we find that all four criteria cut across each other so that the complex cultural variations can be connected with no less than 16 groups:

1. Spanish-speaking; center of town; literate; rich
2. Indian-speaking; center of town; literate; rich
3. Spanish-speaking; outskirts of town; literate; rich
4. Indian-speaking; outskirts of town; literate; rich
5. Spanish-speaking; center of town; illiterate; rich
6. Indian-speaking; center of town; illiterate; rich
7. Spanish-speaking; outskirts of town; illiterate; rich
8. Indian-speaking; outskirts of town; illiterate; rich
9. Spanish-speaking; center of town; literate; poor
10. Indian-speaking; center of town; literate; poor
11. Spanish-speaking; outskirts of town; literate; poor
12. Indian-speaking; outskirts of town; literate; poor
13. Spanish-speaking; center of town; illiterate; poor

- 14. Indian-speaking; center of town; illiterate; poor
- 15. Spanish-speaking; outskirts of town; illiterate; poor
- 16. Indian-speaking; outskirts of town; illiterate; poor

I would say that X has to be considered one society (rather than the 16 societies one might conceive them as) and indeed that is the kind of situation you get in a place like Mérida, only still more complex, and you do treat it as one heterogeneous society. The reason is that there is no way of drawing a line, and a complex society could be subdivided down to individual families.

But on the other hand suppose that in society Y the criteria do not cut across each other, and instead the complex cultural variations are connected with but two groups, as follows:

- 1. Spanish-speaking, center of town, literate, rich; and
- 2. Indian-speaking, outskirts of town, illiterate, poor

I would say that we were dealing with two societies, or two sub-societies in the community. Roughly, this situation Y is the one found in Panajachel. That is why I think it is fair to treat Panajachel as two relatively homogeneous societies, one Indian and the other ladino (for purposes of simplicity neglecting the subdivisions of Indians and Ladinos) and at the same time treat Mérida as one heterogeneous society.

This I propose as the basis upon which judgment of the limits of the society to be studied should be made. In a situation X we deal with the whole society; in a situation Y we deal with each part of the community as a separate society. The "A" society may therefore be a part of a Y situation; the "Z" society must be the whole X situation.

When we talk about relative homogeneity, or about the tendency towards heterogeneity, we are therefore talking about two different things:

1. The number of simple variations in the society, or their importance; and the Table supposes that an A-type has fewer simple variations and is thus more homogeneous than a Z-type, and a change in the direction of Z means an increase in the simple variations; and

2. The degree to which the society is in an X situation; the Table supposes that an A-type is not at all in this situation, and that a Z-type is, and that a change in the direction of Z means a change in the direction of an X situation.

The first may be measured (very approximately) by sampling culture elements and the population to see what simple variations there are; variations in folk-beliefs, technology, etc. should be separately measured so that totals will be broken down for comparison. (Remember that simple variations include those that go together with differences of age and sex, and when they do go together it is especially important to note them for other purposes; so in your memorandum you suggest that differences between old and young will help tell us how equilibrated the society is and that the differences between males and females in Guatemala might help us to see what effect travelling has on acculturation and individuation.)

The second may be measured, I think, more accurately than the first, by counting how many of the criteria by which groupings

connected with complex variations are determined cut across each other. With some refinement of method, we could in that way get the "degree of X-ness" of the society.

Since I see no way of predicting whether after empirical study "simple heterogeneity" and the "X-ness" of the society will be found to change together, I suggest that we must separate Character 3 of Table I into two characters:

1. Character 3a: on one side (A) is the statement "The culture is simple-homogeneous," and on the other side (Z), "The culture is simply-heterogeneous."

2. Character 3b: on one side (A) is the statement "The society is not an X-situation," and on the other side (Z), "The society is an X-situation."

I had intended to go through all of the eighteen characters of Table I to see what I could say about them. I find that it would take more time than I could possibly spare right now. I think that I have written enough to give some indication of how in my notion the job has to be done. At the end, when analysis is completed for all the terms we need to use, we of course need a revised table similar to Table I and a systematic series of definitions and instructions as to how to grade the particular society in every respect. Then we shall have made a start in a Science of AZology; there will still remain the matter of the relation of AZology (which might be defined as the science of the development from A to Z) to other sociological sub-sciences.

Redfield to Tax:

Comments are grouped according to sections I, II, and III of my manuscript. Arabic numbers in parentheses refer to pages of your manuscript.

I.

1. I do not think I understand you when you suggest (2) that I need not assume that the more isolated the community the more it is likely to preserve old features, but that I need simply assume that change is brought about by contact. How can I assume the latter without also assuming the former? Whether the change is brought about by diffusion, or by relative intensity of contact operating "without" diffusion, does it not follow that the more isolated community, being by virtue of its isolation the less affected by contact, will have changed less from early conditions than a less isolated community?

II.

2. In re your "digression" (3-6): Your touching case of Gladys, Evelyn and John reaches into the meaning of my contrast between changes through diffusion and change through disorganization and heterogeneity and comes out with an understanding of the matter which is also mine. The "(a) case" might be generalized in such terms as these: Where, as a result of contacts with a Z-society, an individual of the A-society finds himself in a new sort of position which does not call for, on his part, the performance of (a) cultural behavior and (b) traditional behavior supported by sacred sanctions, his behavior (and by so much the social behavior characterizing the society of which he is a member) is less representative

of the old organization of conventional understandings partly sacred, than it was, and so bring about individuation and secularization through "disorganization and heterogeneity." Another example from Yucatan: When the railroad entered Dzitas natives were given jobs on the tracks. Natives who had previously been farmers took the jobs. These natives now having no milpas, were no longer placed in those situations which called for agricultural religious behavior. Their total behavior, now without the ceremonies, was less completely representative of the old organized understanding, was more individualistic, and was more secular. This happened even though no one by example or instruction taught them to be independent or skeptical of religion. Do these remarks and this example justify, in your mind, the affirmative answer I give (if I understand it correctly) to your question on the bottom of p. 5?

3. I accept your statement (6) of our "problems as sociologists."

4. You say (bottom of p. 6) that societies A-like in all characters are what we call "primitive." But this is not quite in accord with the terminology of my ms. For convenience I selected four easily accessible characters — (isolation; non-literacy; homogeneous; with culture) and denoted all societies that have these four characters as primitive. The Guatemalan societies are primitive by this definition. The hypothetical ideal type of society that fulfills column A of you Table I has (with some omission of characters) been called the "ideal isolated society" by Howard Becker (thesis). In my 1934 paper I referred to it as

"culture" (vs. civilization). This terminology now seems to be confusing and undesirable for several reasons. We might call it the "ideal type of folk society," or better, as you have done, "the A-society."

Similarly, instead of calling the opposite type "urban," let us call it "Z type," and then ask, To what extent are the (real, actual, identifiable) urban societies (those characterized by large, permanent aggregations of heterogeneous individuals?) Z-like?

The selection of the four characters was made to make a beginning in learning something of the interrelations of two other characters, secularization, and individuation, to others of the characters.

5. Your analysis (7) of the possible AZ relations provides logical support for my conclusion on my p. 11.

6. Similarly, your analysis (7-8) generalizes on the method I have defined only by inference in my memorandum.

7. And also with your remarks (8-9) on the definition of terms.

### III.

Here is your chief contribution:

#### On isolation

8. Your analysis of the kinds of isolation is intellectually bracing, but is some distance aside from the direct line of research. AA and ZZ, you eliminate as the infinitely remote termini of the arms of our parabola, to speak suggestively.

9. I have indeed mentioned three main criteria for

isolation. But are more than two needed? What important difference is there between intimacy and amount of mutual understanding? Isn't it true that what we are really interested to find out is the extent to which communication involves participation in the whole mental world? Perhaps "intimacy" in the sense of "the exterior circumstances attending the contact" serves as a fair measure of the degree of mutual understanding and so can be used as a surrogate for the latter in actual research. In effect is this what you have done in Table II?

10. Table II, as I remarked, is too good for present purposes. I suggest that, while in the field, we try to work out a somewhat simpler, workable table for a few households with which we are in contact.

11. Your p. 12: In short, a measure of contact is not a measure of diffusion. It is a way of classifying the community as to its degree and kind of isolation.

12. I do not quite understand the distinctions among the three types of contact you propose (13). Perhaps if some questions are asked and answered the matter can be made clear. If we say that some of the contacts are "institutional" are we saying any more than Wissler is saying (Man and Culture) when he refers to "organized diffusion"? Can institutional contacts occur without personal contacts, direct or indirect? What purposes are served by making this three-fold classification?

13. Have you any suggestions as to how to make more precise a comparison with reference to resistance to contacts?

On Literacy

14. I must admit that you are right in pointing out that to say

that a society uses literacy to enable the group to communicate with other groups is to make a statement about the relative lack of isolation (and about a means of communication whereby the isolation is reduced). Hereafter I shall define literacy as the use of the arts of reading and writing for the three purposes, within the group which you enumerate (14). But I shall go on to remind myself and others that some actual linkage of literacy and non-isolation is to be expected because literacy is an available means whereby extra-group contacts may be multiplied or changed in character at least the relationship is a matter to be investigated.

"The literacy idea" is evidently a compound, a concept with varying content. We may break down the gross categories "literate and non-literate societies" by asking a number of questions: (1) Who know how to (a) read; (b) write? (2) What kinds of people are expected to have these kinds of knowledge? (3) What do these various people read and write? (4) What are people expected to read and write, i.e., books without literacy. (b) Is literacy used for sacred books which are read as oracles of wisdom? (c) Is literacy used in writing commentary on such traditional material? And so on, to specify the uses and meanings of literacy for other purposes, the prestige attached to the literate; literacy as a universal necessity, etc.

In other words, I think your statement that "a society may be literate in one of two ways" should not be used to bring about the use of the two categories you offer as the necessarily basic categories in terms of which this subject is to be broken up.

On homogeneity

15. I agree that the word "organized" should not be included

in the definition of culture, and am vexed that I overlooked the point.

16. I suggest that the distinction between mass behavior and cultural behavior may be made in practice by taking advantage of our knowledge of the cultures involved, without waiting for the psychologists. If we know that the behavior of the children at Santiago Atitlan when the tourists arrive is not only uniform and expected, but involves many meanings, which are articulated with and form a part of the whole organization of conventional meanings which characterize Santiago Atitlan, then we are safe in saying that to that degree the behavior is cultural. What is left over is mass behavior. If fathers instruct their children to behave so to tourists, if there are myths justifying and interpreting the behavior, if the relative success of the children in getting money from tourists is a measure of, let us say, their qualifications for marriage and adulthood; then we will say that the behavior is in these respects cultural. But if we can say none of these things, or make no analogous valid statements, if the behavior is outside of and independent of the traditional organization, then (as I suppose) it represents mass behavior better than do some other kinds of behavior to be observed in Santiago Atitlan.

17. I note that while I speak of the homogeneity of the society you speak of the homogeneity of the culture. I think we achieve clarity better by doing the former.

18. I agree that the delimitation of the society to be judged as to homogeneity is arbitrary. One simple way of making up one's mind is to deal with a community: a society with spatial limits. Here too, of course, there are difficulties, but the choices are relatively simple. To define the society in terms of a community in Panajachel would require you to include even the tourists. But their part in the community is probably so simple that it can be easily disposed of.

19. Your remarks on homogeneity and heterogeneity are to me the most interesting in your memorandum. But they are also the most difficult to follow.

I do not see why you exclude the sex and age groups from the groups to which your complex variations are connected. Sex and age groups are recognized in the culture; that the composition of the groups is biologically determined seems to me for our purposes irrelevant. Your definition would put the fact that, say, women carry burdens on their heads while men use a tumpline in a different category from the fact that shamans do one thing and laymen do another. The examples seem to me to belong together. If you would define "complex variation (a)" to include behavior conventionally associated with any culturally recognized group, the concept becomes identical with Linton's "specialties" (The Study of Man, p. 272).

In the second place I have difficulty in identifying your "complex variations (b)." How do I know whether or not a group is "socially recognized?" You say such groupings are on the basis ". . . race, etc." (18). Are not the ladinos a socially recognized grouping in Panajachel? Even in the Indian culture? In a vaguer way

are not literate people recognized? and rich people?

How would it be to use Linton's categories, universals, specialties and alternatives? Specialties are "elements of culture which are shared by the members of certain socially recognized categories of individuals but which are not shared by the total population" (272). Alternatives are "traits which are shared by certain individuals but which are not common to all the members of the society or even to all the members of any one of the socially recognized categories." Alternatives are open to any one who happens to learn of them and to be in a position to make use of them. These include habits of individuals; choices at the discretion of individuals without reference to social grouping (take a street car, a bus, an automobile, or walk); ways learned from outside by some people but not others.

My notion of a heterogeneous society is one in which there are many specialties and many alternatives in relation to (a) the universals and (b) the number of people in the society. I think, however, that the ratio of alternatives to specialties has something to do with the difference between a society in equilibrium and one in disequilibrium. I think this is implied by Linton's statement (277) that "It is only when the hold of the local group or social class upon its members is broken, as it is beginning to be in our own society, that the sub-cultures tend to merge and disappear. The first effect of this merging is that the distinctive features of the sub-cultures cease to be specialties and become alternatives, i.e., are thrown open to individual choice."

I like this suggested line of analysis however, very little

1076

~~B-9~~

better than I like yours. The matter needs further thought.

Yours for AZology (Sounds like a TIME word!)

Tax to Redfield:

My replies follow the numbers of your comments:

1. Do you mean you think that it logically follows that where contact causes change, the greater the contact the more the change? Whether the last statement is true or not depends rather, doesn't it, on empirical observation? If so, and if you were assuming that it is true, my point was that I do not think you need to assume it. Doesn't empirical observation itself tell you that in Yucatan those communities that have the greatest contact with the Z society are also those that are the most Z-like? Then if you assume only that they became more Z-like due to contact with the Z, you have the basis for your historical method.

2. Mightn't it be better to say "heterogeneity through disorganization" than just "disorganization and heterogeneity"; if I understand correctly, that is more specifically what you mean.

4. I accept your correction; there is no need to identify "primitive" with A and "urban" with Z.

8. Either there is a typographical error here or you misunderstand me. I do not eliminate AA; on the contrary, I say that isolation AA is the only isolation not to be eliminated from the table. ZZ is entirely ruled out; AZ is to be considered only apart from the table; AA is the isolation of the table.

9. Yes, I agree with you that "intimacy" really includes the criterion of "mutual understanding." What I have done in the table is to measure intimacy in two ways: (a) the nature of the contact — trading, fiestas, intermarriage, etc., and (b) the similarity of the

cultures of the two communities in contact. My notion is that these two criteria of intimacy cross-cut each other so that there will be more intimacy with mutual understanding in a trading contact of persons whose mental worlds are very dissimilar. I suppose that (b) tends to measure presumptive mutual understanding, but not all of it, and not exclusively.

10. I'm afraid I shall have to work out some sort of table (or at least a good way of summarizing contacts) for my Panajachel report. I am working on it, and don't yet know how I shall come out. Incidentally, I find that a rather sharp line will have to be drawn between the rather casual contacts (trading, markets, working as mozos, going to fiestas, etc.) and contacts embodied in permanent social relations (baptism, intermarriage, foreign residence, etc.). Perhaps there is a fundamental distinction that should be made here; if so, I don't know on what basis to draw it.

If we draw up a table or schedule for a few households in the community, as you suggest, I suppose we shall have to generalize from that data to the whole community. But I find that in Panajachel, at least, I shall probably get farther by dealing with the whole town (number of cases of intermarriage, market and merchant data and statistics, foreign residence, etc.) to start with; that is why I made up a community-table rather than a household table. For certain kinds of contacts—for example those with ladinos in town—only vague generalizations can be made at all, and for such contacts household-sampling is perhaps the only practicable method.

11. Check.

12. You agree, I take it, with the distinction between direct and indirect contacts, but don't follow that between personal and

institutional. I think you have me there, all right. I do mean about the same thing by "institutional contacts" as Wissler does in his "organized diffusion"; also, if you include written documents in "indirect personal contacts" (as I think we should) it is true that you don't have institutional contacts without personal. Nevertheless, I think you will agree that in practise we should distinguish between non-institutional and institutional contacts (natural vs. organized diffusion); in Guatemala I think that most of the effects of Z upon the local societies come from institutional contacts; I think it is less true in Chan Kom. The distinction may be put another way: with institutional contacts, forms may be diffused without the ideology on which they are based (the intendente system replacing the alcalde system in Guatemala) whereas with non-institutional contacts ideas are what diffuse primarily. In the one case the emphasis is on social structures, and in the other on culture. That is not to say that culture change does not often (or always) accompany institutional change.

13. I can't think of how to compare relative resistance to contacts except in a way that seems methodologically dubious to me. The difference between the measure of contact and the measure of diffusion is the measure of resistance! The argument runs that since Panajachel has many more intimate contacts with a Z society than has Chan Kom, and since Panajachel is being less changed in the direction of Z, therefore Panajachel is more resistant to contact than is Chan Kom. There is in this no definition or measure of resistance as an independent character or factor; I for one would like one, but don't know how to work it out.

14. In your questions to be asked for a society to see whether (and to what extent) it is literate, two of the four depend upon counting noses to see who can read and write, or who do read and write, and upon observing what is actually written. The other two depend upon finding out something about what is in people's minds—who is expected to read and write, and what and when they are expected to do so. I had in mind only the first two (your numbers 1 and 3) and I identified the answer to the first question with the extent of actual literacy and the answer to the second (your 3) with the extent of development of the "literacy idea." It seems to me that you are not so much discarding the two categories I offered as adding a pair of criteria that cuts across it. The answers to your questions would give us (1) the actual number of readers and writers in the society and their characters, (2) the number of readers and writers and their characters as expected in the culture, (3) the character of the things that are read and written and the circumstances in which they are read and written, and (4) the character of the things that in the culture are expected to be read and written, and the circumstances in which they are expected to be read and written.

I quite approve of the additions, but they certainly complicate the measurement of relative literacy. I wonder if perhaps at least (1) and (2) are not so closely related and correlated (empirically) that actually all we'll need to measure is (1)? Perhaps where only a few people know how to read, say only the priests, they are the only ones expected to know how. On the other end of the scale, it may turn out that when 90% of the people are actually literate, the culture expects 100% to be so! (Wouldn't it make a nice study (if

something like this is the case) to see what the literacy rate must be in order to make literacy compulsory in the culture?)

16. Yes. I thought only of determining what is mass behavior in order to subtract it from the whole to get cultural behavior, and am sorry to have raised a futile point by overlooking the possibility of determining what is cultural to start with and then dropping off the rest as mass behavior.

17. Yes again. (In your previous publications, and in the first sections of your memorandum, you talk about cultural homogeneity, and only when you come to your analysis do you change to "homogeneity of society," and I unfortunately didn't notice the change and wrote "homogeneity of culture" in the table.) It occurs to me now that possibly we can profitably talk about both (meaning different things, of course) and that they are interrelated in a certain way; I suspect that such a distinction would help me make sense out of my analysis of homogeneity and heterogeneity, but I can't take the time to work it out now. Maybe we can talk about it some time.

18. I think I must differ with you. I don't see how we can measure the heterogeneity of the society by measuring the heterogeneity of the community when they are not necessarily coterminal. Specifically in Panajachel the community (including as it does local Indians, foreign Indians, obrero and chancle ladinos) is very heterogeneous; meanwhile the local Indian society is very homogeneous. It seems to me that the presence of these other societies in the community is better considered a factor in the non-isolation of Panajachel Indian society.

On pages 18 and 19 my view of how the limits of the society for purposes of this kind of study can be set off. If I succeed in making

that more understandable, I've a hunch that you will agree that it is a practical way.

19. I thank you for bringing Linton's distinctions again to my attention. I think that I can link his terminology to my classification of variations. "Alternatives" are my "simple variations"; "specialties" are my "complex variations (a)"; Linton does not talk about my "complex variations (b)" unless he would include them in "specialties" (which I doubt).

The reason that I excluded variations connected with age and sex differences from "complex variations was practical rather than logical. Had I not done so, I would have had to exclude them from consideration of relative homogeneity in the table; but it seemed to me then that I couldn't do that, for some kinds of generational differences and sex differences are certainly measures of heterogeneity (as in examples on bottom of my page 19 and top of 20). However, I see now that you are right and that my reasoning escapes the frying pan for the fire. Like the rest of the "specialties," variations connected with age and sex differences are not to be included in our measure of heterogeneity; they are accounted for elsewhere in the table (division of labor, isolation, etc.).

Before I go on to answer your comments on my distinctions, I would like to emphasize that my purpose throughout was only to clarify what might be meant by the phrases in the table so that we would have a common understanding as to what must be measured to determine relative isolation, homogeneity, etc. as independent characters. I should have said, and didn't, that as far as homogeneity and heterogeneity are concerned, what we measure are the simple variations, or alternatives.

We do not consider the complex variations, either (a) or (b); and the only reason why I distinguished these two was to get at a way of delimiting the society the homogeneity of which is to measure. My point was that complex variation (a)—or specialties—are not part of the character homogeneity at all and that complex variations (b) are only indirectly part of it.

Now I shall try to do a better job of distinguishing complex variations (a) and (b).

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