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of the Fourteenth  
Central American  
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Carnegie Institution  
of Washington, 1931**

edited, annotated, and  
with an introduction by  
**Peter Mathews**

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## Sylvanus G. Morley's Diary of the Fourteenth Central American Expedition of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1931

EDITED, ANNOTATED, AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
PETER MATHEWS

### Introduction

In 1931 Sylvanus G. Morley—then in the midst of an archaeological research program at Chichen Itza for the Carnegie Institution of Washington—mounted an expedition to the Maya ruins of Yaxchilan, in Chiapas, southern Mexico. This expedition was one of numerous almost annual forays Morley made into the hinterland of the Yucatan Peninsula in search of ruins and inscriptions between 1914 and 1934. Officially dubbed the Fourteenth Central American Expedition, Morley and his colleagues left Chichen Itza on March 22, and returned on May 15, having spent a total of one month at Yaxchilan (April 5–May 4). On the way to Yaxchilan Morley and his companions briefly visited Palenque, and they also spent some time at Piedras Negras, where J. Alden Mason had just begun an excavation program for the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

In the early 20th century, Yaxchilan was one of the most remote sites in the Maya area. Even today it has no road access, although it is reached quite easily by boat from the town of Frontera Corozal, about a half an hour upstream on the Usumacinta River. Nowadays, Piedras Negras is more difficult of access than Yaxchilan, but in 1931 the most direct way to Yaxchilan was via Piedras Negras—starting in Tenosique, overland to Piedras Negras (in part on a rough road put through by J. Alden Mason), and from there to Yaxchilan partly by a series of mule trails paralleling the Usumacinta

River and partly by the river itself. The one-way trip from Tenosique to Yaxchilan involved five days' or more travel by mule and boat.

In 1931 Sylvanus Griswold Morley (1883–1948) was already a towering figure in Maya studies. He had been instrumental in winning the support of the Carnegie Institution of Washington's long-term funding of Maya research (1914–1957), and he directed the Institution's first major excavation program at Chichen Itza (1924–1940). This was followed by other large-scale Carnegie Institution of Washington excavations at Uaxactun (1926–1937 [it was Morley who “discovered” Uaxactun in 1916]), Copan (1935–1942), and Mayapan (1951–1955). Morley's many expeditions throughout the forests of the Maya area (his first was visit to Mexico was in 1907 and his last expedition was in 1944) resulted in the rediscovery of dozens of sites and hundreds of carved stone monuments. His love of all things Maya was inexhaustible, but his particular passion was the hieroglyphic writing that was carved on many of the Maya stone monuments. In addition to his excavations and expeditions Morley gave many public lectures and wrote magazine articles that greatly popularized the Maya. He also published one of the the first general books on the Maya in English (Morley 1946), a book which is still in print, in its sixth edition (Sharer and Traxler 2006), over eighty years later.

A detailed biography of Morley has been written by Prudence Rice and Christopher Ward in their fine

introductions to Morley's early archaeological diaries published by Mesoweb (Rice and Ward 2021:vi-x, 1-18); Ward and Rice 2021:v, 1-17), 2022:17-41; Ward et al. 2024:iv-xiv). Other sources for Morley's life include a biography by Robert L. Brunhouse (1971), a lengthy obituary by his friend Alfred Vincent Kidder (1948), and a posthumously published collection of reminiscences called *Morleyana* (1950).

At the time of the 1931 Yaxchilan expedition, Morley was 47 years old, and his wife Frances 32. The other members of the expedition ranged from 25 years (John Bolles) to 63 (Frances's father Frank Rhoads) (Figure 1). The expedition would travel overland from Chichen Itza to Campeche and thence by boat to the Usumacinta River, which they would travel up as far as Tenosique. Along the way, from Emilano Zapata (formerly Monte Cristo) they made a one-day side-trip to Palenque. From Tenosique they continued by land to Piedras Negras, where J. Alden Mason of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania had just begun his first season of excavations. From Piedras Negras they proceeded overland to a small hamlet on the Guatemala bank of the Usumacinta River called Salvamento and from there by river upstream to Yaxchilan. Morley had allotted 28 days for the expedition's work in Yaxchilan; they spent 15 days getting to the site, and 12 days returning to Chichen Itza—a total of 55 days.

Throughout this journey Morley kept a detailed diary. He had kept diaries before, but not consistently—in his March 26 entry he says that the Yaxchilan diary was the first he had kept in six years. Several of Morley's other diaries have been published by Mesoweb: 1914–1916 (Rice and Ward 2021); 1917–1918 (Ward and Rice 2021); excavations at Quirigua, 1912 and 1919 (Ward and Rice 2022); 1920–1921 (Ward et al. 2024); and Morley's 1932 expedition to Calakmul, serialized in *The PARI Journal* from 2000 to 2013.<sup>1</sup> In addition, excerpts of various diaries have been published by Robert and Florence Lister (1970). They cover parts of Morley's diaries from 1916, 1918, 1920, 1921, and 1932.

The physical diaries that Morley used were specially made for the Carnegie Institution of Washington's field investigators. The books are 7½ inches (19.5 cm) high and 4½ inches (11.5 cm) wide. They have 75 pages, and the special feature that was built into them was that each page is "doubled" in that there is a second page beneath, which was perforated along its left edge, and over which a carbon sheet could be inserted. This produced two copies of the hand-written diary. The "original" would stay in the diary book and apparently be kept by the writer; the "carbon copy" sheets would be detached from each book, put in a small manila envelope, and

handed over to the Carnegie Institution of Washington for archiving.

During the 1931 Yaxchilan expedition Morley used six notebooks. He wrote in pencil, and his diary entries comprise 443 pages in all. Morley's writing is small but for the most part quite legible, especially when one gets used to it. The crosses of "t"s and the dots of "i"s are usually placed several letters afterwards, an indication that he wrote quite rapidly.

In addition to the two hand-written versions of the diary, there is also a typed transcription. Prudence Rice and Christopher Ward in their introduction to Morley's diaries (2021:29) say that late in his life Morley arranged for a typescript version of all his diaries to be made, possibly with an eye to publishing them. However the typescript version available to me, from the Carnegie Institution of Washington files in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, appears to be a different typescript version. Rice and Ward (2021:30) state that the typescripts they consulted contained no illustrations, whereas the version I have includes faithful copies of all the illustrations Morley drew in his hand-written diaries. I suspect that the typescript version in the Peabody Museum may be one that was transcribed much earlier by, or at least for, the Carnegie Institution of Washington. I have wondered whether or not Morley edited the typescript version, since many of the "errors" in the manuscript version remain uncorrected in the typescript version. Indeed, the typescript version contains mistakes that had Morley reviewed it closely I feel sure would have been corrected by him.

Accordingly, I have chosen to use Morley's manuscript diary as my primary source for this transcription, using the typescript version mainly as a backup to clarify words or sections that are not clear in the handwritten diary.

My biggest dilemma in this transcription was whether to correct Morley's spellings, punctuation, and (very occasionally) grammar. Morley's spelling and punctuation left something to be desired—but we must remember that these are field diaries, sometimes written at night (in his May 2 and 3 entries he describes how Frances and Frank Rhoads held flashlights for him to write by), with mosquitoes and other "night-friendlies" competing for his attention. And of course some "missing" punctuations and accents were possibly present in the "original" pages but were not written heavily enough to get through to the "carbon" pages that I have used for my transcription. In the end I decided to correct the misspellings: most "errors" are, I think, the result of writing in field conditions and often under some pressure of time. As such, many are "errors" which Morley himself would have corrected if he had ever published his diary. Some words—both Spanish and English—are consistently misspelled, however. "Dinning" rather than "dining" is one, and "cammion"

<sup>1</sup> Installments of Morley's Calakmul diary appeared in *The PARI Journal* 1(1), 1(2), 2(1), 2(2), 2(4), 3(2), 4(2), 4(3), 5(1), 5(3), 6(1), 6(3), 7(1), 8(2), 8(3), 10(2), 10(3), 11(3), 11(4), 12(1), 12(2), 13(1), and 13(3).





**Figure 1.** The members of the 1931 Yaxchilan expedition. Back row (left to right): Karl Ruppert, John Bolles, Dwight Rife; front row (left to right): Frank Rhoads, Sylvanus G. Morley, Frances Rhoads Morley (Gift of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1958. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 58-34-20/61582).

rather than “camión” [“truck”] is a Spanish example. These I have corrected.

Nevertheless, in this transcription some of Morley's idiosyncratic spellings have been kept, or, as the editor's note to an installment of Morley's diary in *PARI Journal* 13(1) so eloquently puts it, “Some infelicities of grammar and Spanish are preserved.” For example, Morley always called his trusted mayordomo “Tarsisio Chang,” even though the usual spelling of his name, and that used by his family, was “Tarcisio.” I have also kept the name of his friend Ovidio Jasso the way he always spelled it: “Obidio.” I have included Spanish accents where Morley often did not, but in Maya names and words I have generally left them out: the exception is the town of Chablé, to aid in its correct pronunciation.

I hope that in this process the immediacy and

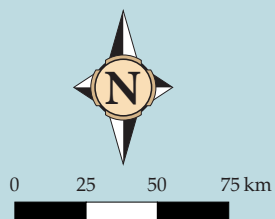
personal touch of Morley's writing have not been compromised. His writing is very free-flowing, witty, and engaging, and reads very easily in a way that I hope has been preserved.

Finally, when it comes to the footnotes, I can only apologize. It was never my intention to “go the full Tozzer,”<sup>ii</sup> but I seem to have unintentionally emulated that great man. My only advice to the reader is to avoid the footnotes like the plague. Morley's diary is a wonderful narrative, and best enjoyed by reading it straight through without distraction.

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<sup>ii</sup> There are more footnotes than main text on many pages of Tozzer's edition of Diego de Landa's *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (Tozzer 1941), and on some pages there is no main text at all.





**Figure 2.** The expedition route from Chichen Itza to Yaxchilan. The shaded area indicates the extent of the map on the facing page.

- Modern Town/City
- ▲ Archaeological Site
- Exact Route Taken
- - - Approximate Route Taken
- State/National Boundary

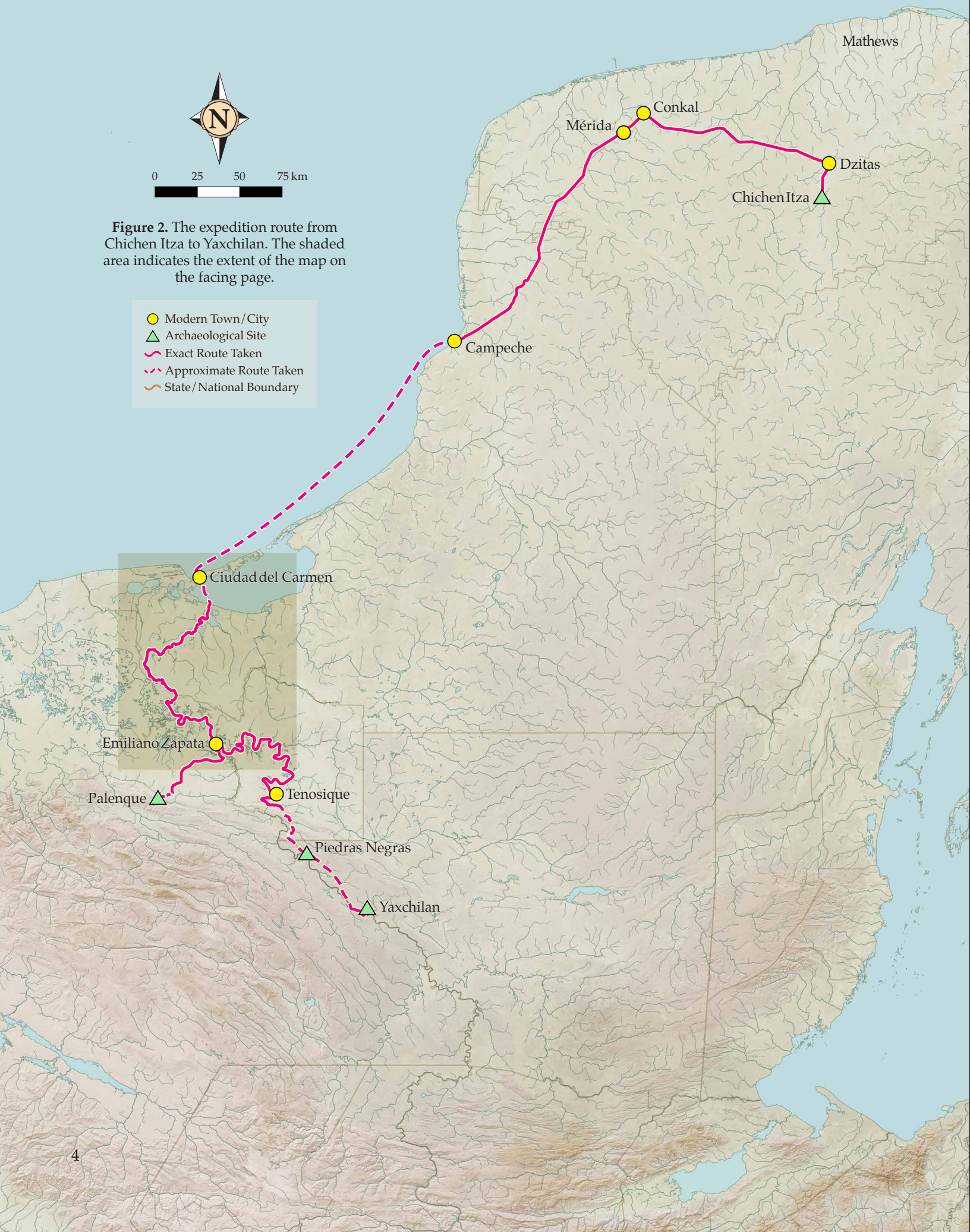






Figure 3. The expedition's route from Ciudad del Carmen to Emiliano Zapata (Monte Cristo).

## 1. The beginning of the expedition: Chichen Itza (Figure 4) to Emiliano Zapata

### Sunday – March 22

We almost completely filled the first class coach going in from Dzitas<sup>1</sup> to Mérida<sup>2</sup> (Figure 5). Of our Chichen group there were 15 of us. I had ordered Elias<sup>3</sup> Ford (Figure 6) and Frances<sup>4</sup> and I and the three Coles<sup>5</sup> went in that. John Bolles,<sup>6</sup> Karl<sup>7</sup> and Tarsisio<sup>8</sup> rode in the Ford truck, which carried all the baggage, while Ted,<sup>9</sup> Wig,<sup>10</sup> Frank,<sup>11</sup> Karl,<sup>12</sup> Rife,<sup>13</sup> Andrade<sup>14</sup> and Don Juan Martinez<sup>15</sup> rode in the Dodge with Gustav<sup>16</sup> driving.

All of our impedimenta had gone yesterday and the day before – 28 gasoline boxes numbered from 13 to 40 inclusive with every assortment of food, and the next day, i.e. yesterday – 12 kayacks<sup>17</sup> (Figure 7) and 13 costales<sup>18</sup> with personal effects, kitchen outfit, medical outfit, phonograph, surveying outfit etc. with costals of saddles

etc.

These 53 containers weighed something over 3600 pounds, indeed with the truck of valises and handbags which we are taking in today, our total weight will run to two tons.

For the first time I saw the kilometer markers which Frances and I bought in St. Louis two days after Christmas. When we reached Dzitas I saw the rest of our baggage on the platform ready to go in with us.

There were three tourists from the hotel and some natives (first class) so that we were a good 20 at Dzitas who went into the first class coach; indeed just before we reached Mérida, four hours later, Fay Cooper Cole counted noses and found we were 72! I have never seen the first class coach so crowded.

As for us, we had the "Imperial Palace Hotel"<sup>19</sup> which Madeline<sup>20</sup> had sent down and this held us enthralled for the 4¼ hours of the trip in. After leaving Conkal<sup>21</sup> it grew so dark that we decided to read no more.

<sup>1</sup> A town 21 km (13 miles) north of Chichen Itza that was on the railroad to Mérida. A road from Chichen Itza to Dzitas had been completed in 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Mérida is the capital of the state of Yucatán. In 1931 it had a population of about 100,000 people.

<sup>3</sup> Elías Mdahuar Calife, of Turkish-Lebanese ancestry, was the owner of a general store in Dzitas and also of a truck used by the Carnegie Institution of Washington personnel for transportation between Chichen Itza and Dzitas.

<sup>4</sup> Frances Rhoads Morley (1898–1955) was Morley's second wife. At the time of the 1931 Yaxchilan expedition the couple had been married for three years.

<sup>5</sup> Fay-Cooper Cole (1881–1961) was an anthropologist who taught at the University of Chicago. In 1931 he was visiting Yucatan with his wife, Mabel Cook Cole. The third of "the three Coles" was presumably their then 14-year-old son, LaMont C. Cole.

<sup>6</sup> John Savage Bolles (1905–1983) was an architect who worked with Morley at Chichen Itza; at the time of the 1931 Yaxchilan expedition he was 25. He was responsible for the mapping of Yaxchilan. Bolles later became famous as the architect of Candlestick Park, San Francisco.

<sup>7</sup> Karl Ruppert (1895–1960) was an architect and archaeologist who worked for the Carnegie Institution of Washington from 1925 to 1956. He was a companion of Morley on many expeditions, and made an extensive architectural study of Yaxchilan while on the 1931 expedition.

<sup>8</sup> Tarsisio Chang, or Chang Seok Hwan, of Korean ancestry, was Morley's trusted mayordomo at Chichen Itza. He was a man of many skills and was of great support to Morley at Chichen Itza and on the 1931 Yaxchilan expedition. Morley always spelled his name "Tarsisio."

<sup>9</sup> Alfred Vincent Kidder (1885–1963), or "Ted" as he was known to his friends, and his wife Madeline were lifelong friends of the Morleys. From 1929 until 1950 Kidder was head of the Carnegie Institution of Washington's Division of Historical Research.

<sup>10</sup> This is probably a man named Wiggins who apparently worked at Chichen Itza during the 1931 season (there is a photograph of him with Bolles, Ruppert, Kidder, Pollock, and Strömsvik at the ruins). I have not been able to find any more about him.

<sup>11</sup> Franklin Koons Rhoads (1867–1943) was Frances Rhoads Morley's father.

<sup>12</sup> Karl Ruppert seems to have been named twice by mistake.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Dwight W. Rife (1896–1958) accompanied Morley as the 1931 Yaxchilan expedition's physician and survey assistant. He later published a brief article on the blood group of 124 Maya Indians whom he tested in Yucatan and while on the Yaxchilan expedition (Rife 1932).

<sup>14</sup> Manuel José Andrade (1885–1941) was a linguist who worked with the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the early 1930s, especially on the Yucatec and Lacandon Mayan languages.

<sup>15</sup> Juan Martínez Hernández (1866–1959) was a distinguished Yucatecan scholar. He is famous for his work on Mesoamerican calendars: he is the 'M' in the so-called "GMT correlation" between the Maya and Christian calendars (Martínez Hernández 1926). He also published many important works in the Yucatec Mayan language, most notably an edition of the (Yucatec Maya to Spanish) Motul Dictionary (Martínez Hernández 1929).

<sup>16</sup> Gustav Strömsvik (1901–1983) worked with Morley at Chichen Itza from 1926 to 1933 and then worked for the Carnegie Institution of Washington at various other Maya sites, especially Copan (1935–1942, 1946), until 1957.

<sup>17</sup> Kayacks are containers packed on mules, on both sides for balance. The Carnegie Institution of Washington had them especially made for their expeditions. From memory they are (very approximately) 22 inches high, 18 inches wide, and 12 inches deep, and made of a hard lacquered material (thick cardboard?). They have a lid that is tied to the main box with leather straps. They are sturdy, waterproof, and a good size for mules and humans. Morley more often spelled them "kayaks."

<sup>18</sup> Costales are sacks. The Spanish plural spelling is *costales* (Morley uses both plural spellings).

<sup>19</sup> *Imperial Palace* was a popular 1930 novel, by Arnold Bennett, modeled after the daily happenings at the Savoy Hotel in London. In a sad coincidence, Bennett died of typhoid fever on March 27, 1931, just a few days after the Morleys were reading his novel.

<sup>20</sup> Madeline Appleton Kidder (1891–1981), the wife of A. V. Kidder (see footnote 9).

<sup>21</sup> Conkal is a town 16 km (10 miles) northeast of Mérida.





**Figure 4.** The Hacienda Chichen. This was the headquarters of Morley's Chichen Itza Project and the point of departure for the expedition to Yaxchilan. Photograph by Sigvald Linné, 1932.



**Figure 5.** The road from Chichen Itza to Dzitas. Photograph by Sigvald Linné, 1932.

At Mérida there was the usual confusion—everybody trying to get off the train at the same time, porters seeking business, friends, the usual number seeking nothing and cluttering up space. I saw Pablo<sup>22</sup> for a moment and

he told me that he was already spoken for. There was

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<sup>22</sup> Pablo was apparently a Mérida taxi driver or chauffeur whom Morley knew.



Figure 6. The Chichen Project station wagon at Dzitas. Photographs by Sigvald Linné, 1932.





**Figure 7.** Kyacks loaded on mules at Uaxactun, 1926 (Gift of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1958. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 58-34-20/58484).

no difficulty, however, in finding a chauffer.<sup>23</sup> Frances, Frank, Tarsisio (Figure 8) and I, with our baggage, piled into a car and were driven to the Itzá.<sup>24</sup> Our old room, No. 1, was vacant, or, according to the boys, had been reserved against our coming, and we went up at once, Frank being assigned to No. 23, a communicating room.

We came down almost immediately, but not before that journalist, Gray,<sup>25</sup> had intercepted me with a note, asking me to give him a few more moments on his Chichen Itzá story, which I did.

Six of us sat down at table at the Gran Hotel<sup>26</sup> – Frances, Frank, Ted, Wig and Scholes.<sup>27</sup> The last had a recent letter from a friend in Albuquerque reciting the latest iniquities of our State legislature, El Toro,<sup>28</sup> etc. The latter, now nearing the Biblical three score and ten, still seems capable of delivering a lusty kick.

Scholes told us of one the other day. He – El Toro – was seeking to get approval of a plan to give graduate work in Santa Fe, where he said he had a number of

applicants for graduate work. This had been referred to the Graduate Committee of the University.<sup>29</sup> One of the

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<sup>23</sup> “Chauffer” is a Morleyism, combining the English word (from French) *chauffeur* with the Spanish *chofer*.

<sup>24</sup> The Hotel Itzá was the Morley’s favorite hotel in Mérida.

<sup>25</sup> Gray was a journalist who evidently wrote about Chichen Itza, but I have not been able to identify him further.

<sup>26</sup> The Gran Hotel is a venerable hotel in central Mérida.

<sup>27</sup> France Vinton Scholes (1897–1979) was a historian and ethno-historian who worked for the Carnegie Institution of Washington in the 1930s.

<sup>28</sup> El Toro, “The Bull,” Edgar Lee Hewett (1865–1946) was an influential archaeologist and Southwestern personality. He gave Morley his “baptism of fire” in archaeological fieldwork in the Four Corners area of Colorado in 1907, and Morley subsequently worked for Hewett until 1914, including Maya fieldwork at Quirigua in 1910–1912. Later they had a falling out and became rivals, but eventually reconciled.

<sup>29</sup> Edgar Lee Hewett had founded the Anthropology Department of the University of New Mexico in 1928.



**Figure 8.** Tarcisio Chang at Yaxchilan, 1931. Chang was Morley's mayordomo at Chichen Itza and on the expedition to Yaxchilan (see footnote 8). Photograph by Frances Rhoads Morley (Gift of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1958. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 58-34-20/61788).

members of the Committee, seeking further information, asked him what sort of further cooperation might be asked for from the University by other institutions, such as the Laboratory of Anthropology<sup>30</sup> in Santa Fe. El Toro came back witheringly. "There will be no immediate danger of such a cooperation with that institution," he said, "they haven't a man on their staff with a college degree."<sup>31</sup> Wow!

Supper was enlivened by some good *Marqués de Riscal*,<sup>32</sup> which is the first I've had for more than a year, owing to the blood-pressure business<sup>33</sup> and our *estado seco*.<sup>34</sup>

After dinner I lingered with Greg<sup>35</sup> and Ted in the bar for a few minutes, where Raul Cámara<sup>36</sup> introduced me to another movie man, a Mr. Kimbrough,<sup>37</sup> making some sort of a film of the Republic. I gave him a letter to Harry and then came back to the hotel. Frances was on the point of turning in and we were all tired with the trip in.

### Monday – March 23

As always, a last day in Mérida is crowded to the last second, and this was no exception. Pablo was waiting for us, and after an eight o'clock breakfast we got under way. Our first visit was at the tailors, Rochis, who undertook to fix Frances' riding trousers and coat.

Then we went over to 60<sup>th</sup> Street where Frances got some tea, and then to the Museum. Afterward we left each other; Frances and Frank went off to do a number of small errands and I went down to the station to see Don Rafael Ramírez.<sup>38</sup>

Three errands I had to take up with him: first to have him cancel the freight for the goods sent from Dzitas to Campeche, second an annual pass for Harry,<sup>39</sup> and third two trip passes for the six Chinese<sup>40</sup> at Chichen

<sup>30</sup> The Laboratory of Anthropology was founded in Santa Fe in 1927 by John D. Rockefeller Jr. As such, it was a privately funded rival to two other Santa Fe institutions founded by Edgar Lee Hewett: the School of American Archaeology and the Museum of New Mexico.

<sup>31</sup> Morley is probably commenting on the fact that the Laboratory of Anthropology's acting director was his good friend Jesse Logan Nusbaum (see footnote 112), who did indeed have a college degree.

<sup>32</sup> A red wine from Eltziego (Elciego) in the Basque country of Spain.

<sup>33</sup> Morley suffered from heart problems and had three heart attacks, the third of which, in 1948, after several weeks, proved fatal.

<sup>34</sup> Literally "dry state." This presumably indicates that the Carnegie Institution of Washington camp at Chichen Itza was alcohol-free. I have not been able to confirm this, but it should be remembered that 1931 was during the Prohibition era (1920–1933) in the U.S.

<sup>35</sup> I have not been able to find the identity of this man.

<sup>36</sup> Raul Cámara took photographs for the Chichen Itza project.

<sup>37</sup> Hunter Southworth Kimbrough (1900–1994) was in Yucatan to prepare for the filming in Chichen Itza of part of Sergei Eisenstein's epic film *¡Que Viva México!* The film was produced by the writer Upton Sinclair and his wife Mary Craig Kimbrough Sinclair, Hunter's older sister. The film was never finished, but an edited version was released in the Soviet Union in 1979.

<sup>38</sup> Rafael Ramírez was presumably a senior official at the Mérida railroad station.

<sup>39</sup> Harry Evelyn Dorr Pollock (1901–1982) was a major figure in the Carnegie Institution of Washington's programs in the Maya area. He worked for the Institution from 1928 to 1958, and worked closely with Morley at Chichen Itza. He directed the Carnegie Institution of Washington's last Maya project at Mayapan from 1951 to 1955.

<sup>40</sup> This passage brings to mind a Morley story from 1931 recounted by his friend J. Alden Mason:



Itzá for a trip to Mérida during Holy Week. In view of the economic crisis and the really alarming condition of the railroads in Yucatan, I was ashamed to ask these favors, but, as I explained to him, what he was able to save us in transportation and freight was not saved to the Institution,<sup>41</sup> but was reinvested by the Institution to the general use of the Chichen Itzá Project.

He was most kind, said anything we wanted was his pleasure etc. etc., and really meant it. In less time than it has taken to record it here, the passes were made out, the express receipts marked "paid" and I had bid him good-bye.

To be sure that the baggage really had gone on to Campeche this morning, I dropped around to the Express office, and found that the 53 pieces had left on the morning train.

One early task of the day had been to fit everybody with "sinews of war". Fernando Barbachano<sup>42</sup> took me to the National Bank of Mexico and I cashed a number of checks for Ted, for Cole, for Frank and finally for Andrade. The last took 400 pesos in drafts of the National Bank of Mexico and 400 in Mexican gold, and the balance of the \$400 in N. Y. drafts that I had turned over to him, he took in silver.

Frank had his money in silver in a paper envelope which broke and scattered a shower of silver over the floor. When this had been retrieved, he found six pesos and a quarter were still missing. The only place it seemed where these could be hiding out was under a wooden platform in front of the windows. This had wide cracks between the boards, like the board walks they used to have at Harvard in the winter. This was pretty firmly anchored down and I got more than one black look in trying to get it out. Finally it turned out it could not be loosened. Then to cap the climax, Frank found the missing 6.25 silver in his pocket!!

About eleven I took Ted down to see Julián Aznar.<sup>43</sup> There were 3 points I wanted to take up with him. First if old Mr. James<sup>44</sup> should die suddenly, what effect would it have on Institution funds on deposit with him. J. was of the opinion that it probably would freeze them temporarily if the old man should die suddenly.

He suggested as an alternative that next year we open the account in the name of David Goff<sup>45</sup> at the National City Bank instead of in Mr. James' name. It was finally decided I should see David in the afternoon and find out just his relation to James' business and what he intends to do after James' death.

My second affair was about the census.<sup>46</sup> Some time ago I got a letter from the Director of the Census at Mexico City renewing inquiries about Chichen. Last spring Frances and I had gone to Tinum<sup>47</sup> to take care of this very matter, but the forms were so elaborate and the local census officials seemed to know so little about them, that I could only answer some of the questions in a very general way. To begin with, the Institution is not

the owner of the plantation of Chichen Itzá,<sup>48</sup> but rents only a small part of it, i.e. about 114 acres. I suppose the

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On the train from Mérida to Dzitás . . . there were eight Chinese men, all with their white bags of clothing, all cheerful. We were surprised when they piled into the bus for Chichén, and learned that they were all going to work there for the Carnegie Institution. Vay's [Morley's] Korean mayordomo, Tarsisio, went into Morley's office, puffed up with pride in front of his quasi-compatriots.

*"Do'tor Morley, aquí 'tán los ocho chinos."*

*"¡Ocho chinos! ¿Qué quieren?"*

*"Pues, Do'tor Morley, Usté' me dijo que como vienen muchos huéspedes, necesitan ocho chinos."*

*"¡No! Hombre. Le dije 'otro chino.' No 'ocho chinos,' 'otro chino.'"*

And so they argued for a long time whether Vay had said "eight Chinese" or "another Chinese" . . . Vay's pronunciation of Spanish was a source of considerable folklore in that region (Mason 1950:151-152).

<sup>41</sup> Morley is referring here to the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

<sup>42</sup> Fernando Barbachano Peón (1901-1964) was the man most responsible for developing tourism in the Yucatan Peninsula. He founded Mayaland tours in 1924, and built the Mayaland Lodge Hotel in Chichen Itza. He was a good friend of Morley.

<sup>43</sup> I have not been able to find out anything about José Julián Aznar González-Gutiérrez, apart from the fact that he was born in 1871 and died in 1956. From the fact that Morley and Alfred Vincent Kidder ("Ted") were meeting him regarding the Carnegie Institution of Washington's funds on deposit in Mérida with the businessman William James (see footnote 44), it is likely that he was a lawyer. This has some support, perhaps, from the fact that he wrote about the succession of Edward H. Thompson's Chichen Itza estate (see footnote 48) (Aznar González-Gutiérrez 1942).

<sup>44</sup> William M. James (1851-1934) was a long-term American resident of Mérida. He was involved in insurance and the import-export business. Later he was the owner of the popular William James Furniture Company, which sold everything from kitchen utensils to automobiles in its large showrooms. James and his wife were among the first friends Morley made in Mérida, and they remained close friends until James's death. Reading between the lines of Morley's diary, the Carnegie Institution of Washington had their funds for the 1931 season on deposit with the 80-year-old William James. Although Morley was worried about his imminent demise, James lived on until 1934.

<sup>45</sup> David Ernest Goff Thomas (1880-1967) was an American who settled in Mérida and became the General Representative of William James's furniture store, and William James's right-hand man (he was the nephew of James's wife). He married into one of Mérida's great families (his wife was Soledad Rendón Muñoz), and he was also instrumental in introducing tennis to Mérida.

<sup>46</sup> The first General Census of the Republic of Mexico was held in 1895, and since 1910 censuses have been every decade. Presumably Morley and the Carnegie Institution of Washington staff, while working at Chichen Itza, were required to complete census forms.

<sup>47</sup> Tinum, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) northeast of Chichen Itza, is the seat of the Tinum municipality. It was (and is) the Mexican administrative district that includes Chichen Itza, and as such, census forms needed to be submitted there.

<sup>48</sup> The plantation, or Hacienda, of Chichen Itza (Figure 4), has a long history. One of the first great estates to be established in Yucatan, it was abandoned during the Caste War (1847-1855), a major

entire plantation must comprise, with its one or two annexes, something over 8000 acres.

Julián said he would answer this letter for me, and fill out the blank as he thought it should be filled out.

Our third matter of business with him was the projected purchase of Chichen Itzá<sup>49</sup> – the 114 acres mentioned above which we now have under lease – nothing new has come up in this business. The Government attorney in Mérida as well as the Federal Judge have begged Julián not to press the case as they both admit the Government would lose, and the latter at least fears political repercussions in Mexico. Julián thinks that the best thing to do is to get Puig<sup>50</sup> to ask the Procurador-General (the Attorney General) to drop the suit against Thompson.<sup>51</sup> If this suit were withdrawn the now-existing embargo would be raised automatically

and we could go forward with the purchase of the place. Ted will see Puig in Mexico City and keep the pot boiling from our end, so to speak. We bid good-bye to Julián and came back to the Itzá.

Here came a breathing spell of half an hour before we had to go out to lunch. Isela Molina<sup>52</sup> had asked us out to the Quinta Jacinta<sup>53</sup> – named for her mother – and Pablo came back for us at 12.30 and took the three of us thither – Frances, Frank and me.

At the quinta we were seven at table – Doña Jacinta,<sup>54</sup> Isela Molina, another daughter, Nellie,<sup>55</sup> married to a Cuban by the name of Larrea, and Augustito,<sup>56</sup> the son, who is not quite all there.

And what did they have for luncheon! Papadzul,<sup>57</sup> the most delicious I have ever eaten. I did four in. They are made of tortillas<sup>58</sup> with sliced hard-boiled

Maya uprising throughout Yucatan, and fell into ruin. Edward H. Thompson bought the Hacienda Chichen in 1894, the lands of which included the archaeological site of Chichen Itza. Thompson restored the hacienda, the main house, and outbuildings, including a small church, and lived there while he explored and excavated the site (see footnote 51). In 1921, however, the hacienda buildings were pillaged again and burned, destroying in the process hundreds of artefacts and all of Thompson's notes and photographs (Coggin 1992:26). Not long after, Thompson abandoned the hacienda. In 1926 the Mexican Government seized the Hacienda Chichen, citing Thompson's theft and sale of artefacts he had "excavated" – especially those he dredged from the Sacred Cenote. Legal battles over the Hacienda continued for years. Meanwhile the hacienda building had been briefly abandoned again. The Carnegie Institution of Washington leased the hacienda from Thompson when Morley began his excavations at Chichen Itza, and he restored the hacienda buildings again and made them his project's headquarters. In 1944 Fernando Barbachano Peón (see footnote 42) bought the Hacienda Chichen and converted it into a hotel, and it remains so today.

<sup>49</sup> In the wake of the seizure of the Hacienda Chichen from Edward H. Thompson by the Mexican Government in 1926, Morley and the Carnegie Institution of Washington entertained the idea of purchasing the Hacienda to use as their base of operations. Although the Carnegie Institution of Washington used the hacienda buildings as its headquarters for its Chichen Itza project, it never succeeded in buying the estate or its main house and outbuildings.

<sup>50</sup> José Manuel Puig Casauranc (1888–1939) was the Secretary of Public Education of Mexico from 1930–1931. His ministry oversaw the Departamento de Monumentos Prehispánicos, which was established in 1925 and in 1939 became the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, responsible for archaeology in Mexico.

<sup>51</sup> Edward H. Thompson (1857–1935) was a colorful and controversial figure in the annals of Maya archaeology. In 1879 he published an article in which he argued that the Maya and other American civilizations were possibly the descendants of Atlantis. Some wealthy benefactors, attracted by this proposition, got Thompson appointed as the American Consul to Yucatan so that he could conduct archaeological work in the area in order to research his theories further. Thompson arrived in Mérida in 1885 and proceeded to carry out several well-regarded archaeological investigations in sites south of Mérida. In 1894, with the help of his American supporters, he bought the Hacienda Chichen, which included the site of Chichen Itza, and proceeded to explore and excavate the site. A major focus was the Sacred Cenote, or "Well

of Sacrifice," at Chichen Itza, from which he dredged thousands of artefacts, most of which he sold. In 1926, citing Thompson's theft of national patrimony, the Government of Mexico seized the Hacienda Chichen, and legal battles over the property continued for years.

<sup>52</sup> Isela Peón Bolio married Ignacio Molina Castilla in 1913 in Paris and thus became Isela Peón Bolio de Molina; Morley simply called her "Izela Molina." Isela was the daughter of Augusto Luis Peón Peón (1845–1933) and María Jacinta Bolio Manzanilla (1870–1962), both of them descended from great Yucatecan families. Her husband Ignacio was the son of Audomaro Molina Solís (1852–1910) who "found" or acquired the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel and who was the patriarch of another great Yucatecan family.

<sup>53</sup> Spanish *quinta* refers to a grand house or estate, typically in the country but in this case a villa or mansion in the north of Mérida. Morley may have confused the name of this quinta with that of its owner, because it is referred to elsewhere as the "Quinta San Jacinto." The quinta formed a large city block with a magnificent Italianate-style house built in the 19th century by the Escalante family, yet another of the great Yucatecan families. It was later bought by Augusto Luis Peón Peón, the father of "Izela Molina" and then mayor of Mérida, for himself and his wife, María Jacinta Bolio Manzanilla, and their family to live in. In 1978 the quinta was sold and the house pulled down, to make way for the Holiday Inn hotel.

<sup>54</sup> María Jacinta Bolio Manzanilla (1870–1962) was the mother of "Izela Molina" (see footnote 52).

<sup>55</sup> Nelly Peón Bolio de Larrea (1901–??), sister of Isela, was married to Antonio Benito Larrea Pina (1889–1958), who was born in Havana.

<sup>56</sup> It is unclear whether this is a reference to Nelly Peón Bolio de Larrea's brother, Augusto Peón Bolio (1897–??) or to Nelly's son, Augusto Antonio Larrea Peón – more likely the latter.

<sup>57</sup> *Papadzules* (Morley spelled the singular "papaazul") are a Classic, tasty Yucatecan dish that, it has been claimed, inspired modern Mexican enchiladas. Essentially, as Morley says, they consist of maize tortillas dipped in a pumpkin seed sauce and filled with chopped hard-boiled eggs, and with a tomato-chilli sauce topping.

<sup>58</sup> Tortillas need no explanation, so I'll give a lengthy one here: Mexican tortillas are the thin, circular "flatbread" made of maize flour in which the maize has been soaked in a lime ash solution process called nixtamalization. They are cooked on griddles (originally ceramic, now metal), and were and still are the staple of Mexican cuisine.



eggs rolled inside and with a divine sauce – no less – made of the insides of the seeds of calabaza.<sup>59</sup> It was a gastronomic delight. There followed a heavy Yucatecan meal which, however, I scarcely tasted. I had filled up on the papadzul.

I drew a few birthday hieroglyphs and then we left these hospitable, friendly people. Nellie Larrea leaves on the next Munplace<sup>60</sup> for New Orleans and then we will hardly see her again for some time. Doña Jacinta, Isela and the others we will see the next time we are in Mérida on our return from Yaxchilan.

We returned to the center of town and I had a short talk with David Goff about his status at the James. He tells me he is named as the executor of Mr. James' will. He does not know whether he will carry on the business after Mr. James dies or not; a lot, he says, will depend upon the condition of trade; if he were to die now, business is so poor – the worst David has seen it in 27 years in Yucatan<sup>61</sup> – he would close up shop and pull out, but of course it may improve.

He suggests that we make our deposits for the next field-season – 1931<sup>62</sup> – in his name at the National City Bank, then if Mr. James should die suddenly he – David – would be able to continue making these payments. He is going to consult Amado Rendón,<sup>63</sup> his brother-in-law, who is a lawyer, and he will tell me on my way back from Yaxchilan, what Amado advises in the matter. It seems to me tho' that the simplest thing is opening our account next year in David's name instead of in Mr. James'.

From there we went to the market where in Kiosko No. 5 I bought some Keds<sup>64</sup> and also some cheap trousers. Thence to Dr. Pastor Molina's<sup>65</sup> eye, ear, nose and throat clinic, where he looked at my throat. He says I talk too much,<sup>66</sup> literally, and that I ought not to say anything for several days since my vocal cords are all inflamed. He gave me prescriptions for a gargle, etc. etc.

Our day was nearly over and we only had a few more odd items to attend to.

I must record the *amende honorable*<sup>67</sup> by Miss Baker.<sup>68</sup> While I was writing at the table at the Itzá, she came up and apologised for her brusque letter and thanked me for having given her the advice I did. She said she had come to realize that it was no trip for a woman to make by herself. I inquired how her work was progressing and she said she had found more than twenty bowls which should be painted.

This whole incident closes on a nice note after all, which goes to show that plain frank speaking in difficult situations is probably the best policy after all.

Dinner at the Itzá again – eight at our table – Ted, Wig, the three Coles, Frank, Frances and self. After our tremendous luncheon the Morley-Rhoads trio were hors de combat. Ted, too, ate very little. Marqués de Riscal again made the dinner convivial.

Afterward a few of us, Ted, Wig, Karl, John and I sat in the bar for a while before returning to the hotel.

<sup>59</sup> *Calabaza* is the Spanish term that can refer to winter squashes and pumpkins. Presumably here Morley is referring to pumpkin seeds. Morley spelled it "calabasa".

<sup>60</sup> The SS Munplace was a cargo and passenger ship on the run from New Orleans to Progreso (the port for Mérida). She was built in 1916 for the Munson Steamship Line, and acquired by the U.S. Navy in 1918 for war service as the USS Munplace. Decommissioned in 1919 she returned to the Munson Steamship Line until she was finally decommissioned and scrapped in 1939.

<sup>61</sup> Here and elsewhere in his diary Morley makes passing mention of the economic situation in Mexico and the rest of the world, which was still in the midst of the Depression. The Depression did not hit Mexico as hard as countries like Chile, which largely depended on copper exports (Mexico's economy was more diversified), but it still hit hard. Between 1929 and 1932 Mexico's exports shrank by 37 percent. For Yucatan the economy was especially hard-hit given its heavy dependence on henequen export (see footnote 72), which had already been in decline since the end of the First World War.

<sup>62</sup> Morley means 1932.

<sup>63</sup> I have been unable to find any information about Amado Rendón, beyond Morley's statement that he was a lawyer and apparently the brother-in-law of David Goff (see footnote 45), whose wife was Soledad Rendón Muñoz.

<sup>64</sup> Keds are lightweight canvas shoes with rubber soles.

<sup>65</sup> A doctor and surgeon, and a friend of the Morleys. Presumably he was a member of the powerful Yucatec Molina family.

<sup>66</sup> This is a good example of Morley's self-deprecating humor. He was so gregarious and valuable that, despite any undertakings he may have made to the doctor, it is hard to imagine that he refrained from talking for more than a few minutes!

<sup>67</sup> *Amende honorable* is a French term meaning an acknowledgment of a mistake coupled with an apology.

<sup>68</sup> Mary Louise Baker (1872–1962) spent most of her career working for the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania as an artist and restorer. She was a Quaker and is described as a "determined, focused, and strong-willed" woman (Simon 2017:12). A recent biography of "Miss Baker," as she was known by most of her contemporaries, gives the background of her contretemps with Morley:

Baker was sent by the Museum in February 1931 to Mexico and Central America to locate Maya pottery and reproduce the best examples in color for forthcoming limited edition portfolios of Maya art. After a rough trip through the jungle to Chichen Itza, she visited Sylvanus Morley, who was in charge of excavations and reconstruction of ruins there. She told him of J. Alden Mason's desire for her to visit his camp at Piedras Negras, Guatemala, which would subsequently require travel by canoe, mule, boat, and plane. Morley was insistent in his objections that "at the moment labour unrest in the chicle (chewing gum) industry made travel dangerous and besides women never travelled alone in that country." Baker wrote, "My ardor was somewhat dampened but not extinguished!" Morley refused to let Louise accompany him and his wife to Piedras Negras (Simon 2017:20).

Despite coming down with shingles, Miss Baker continued with her attempts to reach Piedras Negras, but eventually gave up and returned to the United States. Mary Louise Baker was a superb artist and made beautiful illustrations of archaeological artefacts from

In the lobby of the Itzá we saw the two Willards,<sup>69</sup> Don Juan Martínez and Eduardo.<sup>70</sup> We bid everyone good-night and in some cases good-bye, paid our bills against an early departure in the morning, left calls for 4.15 A. M. and went to bed.

Rafael Regil,<sup>71</sup> who was in the lobby, showed me a picture he is going to give us on our return. The frame is a lovely one of shell and mother-of-pearl, and the painting not without merit.

Frances had taken odd times during the day to do packing, with the result that it was about finished and we could turn in.

We have a bewildering number of miscellaneous containers such as I loathe to travel with – small henequen<sup>72</sup> bags, a poisonous-looking Oaxaca net-like bag, some cooking pots, actually, several photographic containers, suitcases, etc. We always manage to pick up this miscellaneous equipment at the last minute. This time I am lucky to have escaped a variety of baskets.

Frances is mad over them, and rarely lets an opportunity slip without indulging herself. This time, however, she abstained.

## Tuesday – March 24

We were called at 4.15 and were down at breakfast – five of us – Frances, Frank, Rife, Andrade and I – by 4.45. Tarsisio must have been up even earlier as he had appeared before we had finished dressing, and took our baggage down to the lobby.

It was again quite cold and both of us were comfortable in our overcoats – mine looked a bit ridiculous with a white sun helmet.

Pablo took Tarsisio, Frank, Frances and me with all our miscellaneous baggage down to the station. Andrade and Rife went in another car, and Karl and John, who had been stopping at the Gran Hotel, were already at the station when we arrived.

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all over the world. She is perhaps best known for her paintings of Maya ceramic vessels, including “rollouts.” Ironically, one of her most famous illustrations is of a Piedras Negras monument – a reconstruction drawing of Lintel 3, discovered by the University Museum’s Piedras Negras expedition while Morley was at Yaxchilan:

I was asked to make a reconstructed drawing of a badly defaced stone lintel excavated at Piedras Negras and of rare value archaeologically. I accepted it as my “Swan Song” . . . The reconstruction of this panel on paper required three hundred and sixty five hours of close work. (Simon 2017:21)

<sup>69</sup> Theodore Arthur Willard (1862–1943) was an inventor who became interested in Maya archaeology. After a very tough childhood (his mother died in childbirth and his father gave him away) he eventually moved to Cleveland to live with his uncle, the artist Archibald M. Willard (who painted the “Spirit of ‘76”). While there he invented a storage battery which could be used in automobiles, making him a fortune. In 1928 Willard (he called himself “T. A.” to separate himself from his father) retired from business and devoted himself to his interest in Maya archaeology. He traveled frequently to the Maya area and became a close friend of Edward H. Thompson, and helped fund the dredging of Chichen Itza’s “Well of Sacrifice.” In 1926 Willard published a book on the “Sacred Well,” which he ended with a list of “more important gold and jade objects found in the Sacred Well” (Willard 1926). The book was not well received in Mexico, and the list was largely responsible for the Mexican Government’s actions against Thompson in 1926 (see footnote 51). When Morley met Willard in 1931 he was accompanied by his fourth wife, Florence Voorhees.

<sup>70</sup> “Eduardo” and “Don Eduardo” are references to Edward H. Thompson (see footnote 51).

<sup>71</sup> Rafael Regil was a scion of one of Yucatan’s most powerful families. He was one of Morley’s closest friends in Mérida, and had an archaeological collection and an extensive library. He was a philanthropist: he ran a school and free kitchen for the poor of Mérida (Brunhouse 1971:177, 183).

<sup>72</sup> Henequen (Morley spelled it “hennequen”) is a species of agave which produces from its stalk several dozen leaves that are made up of numerous strong fibers that when processed can be put to many uses, especially for twine and rope. The henequen plant, *Agave fourcroydes*, is native to the Yucatan peninsula; a cousin, *Agave*

*sisilana*, “sisal,” was also grown, but henequen was more prevalent. The main Spanish colonial rural industries were cattle and maize, with sugar production becoming a major crop by 1800. But after independence from Spain, by the mid-nineteenth century, and especially after the devastating Caste War (1847–1855), henequen became a much more important part of the economy. The rural landscape of Yucatan was divided into hundreds of haciendas – large country estates that were largely self-sufficient, with a main house, a church and cemetery, a warehouse, stables, and houses for the dozens of workers and their families.

Increasingly henequen became the main crop in Yucatan. It was in huge demand, especially for ropes and riggings on sailing ships, but also for things like baling twine. Yucatan essentially had a monopoly on henequen, and the United States was its main market (the United States Navy had begun using henequen for ropes and rigging for its ships as early as 1820). Production of henequen increased from 11,383 tons in 1877 to 128,849 in 1910 (Katz 1974:Note 45). This rapid increase went hand-in-hand with two other developments: the industrial revolution, which developed machinery to help in the processing of the henequen leaves into fiber and railways to move the product to port, and the increasing control of henequen production by a few very influential (and very rich) families. These families became known as the *casta divina*, the “divine caste,” and they dominated Yucatan society and politics well into the twentieth century. Morley moved in these circles while in Yucatan, with friends from the powerful Molina, Peón, Rendón, Aznar, and Regil families.

Despite advances in the mechanical processing of henequen, the actual harvesting of the leaves was very labor intensive. Much of the native Maya population was tied to the henequen haciendas essentially as indentured labor if not in outright slavery. Their working and living conditions were appalling. And they were not enough: additional workers were imported from China and Korea (which is how Morley’s mayordomo Tarsisio Chang’s family ended up in Yucatan – see footnote 8), and also from other parts of Mexico – notably rebellious Yaqui natives from northern Mexico, many of whom were “deported” to Yucatan in the first decade of the twentieth century. The height of henequen production was during the First World War, with increased demand for rope and cordage, but the development of synthetic materials led to a gradual decline in the henequen industry. (Much of this brief history is taken from Rioux 2014.)



Having made terms with a couple of porters<sup>73</sup> – very necessary if one is not to be robbed blind – we got on board the Campeche<sup>74</sup> train. The carbide lamps<sup>75</sup> were functioning as usual – that is to say hardly at all, and the car was filled with a horrible stench. I have said it was cold, as it was, and we could hardly do much more at first than devote our time to being miserable.

We pulled out at five-thirty and presently, when it had grown lighter, Frances and I got out “The Imperial Palace Hotel” and read it practically all the way to

Campeche.

A big piece of luck befell us en route. Andrade and I had planned that he would accompany us to Ciudad del Carmen<sup>76</sup> and then make his way on as best he could to Puerto Mexico.<sup>77</sup> From there he was to go across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec<sup>78</sup> by rail to Gamboa<sup>79</sup> and thence down the west coast on the Pan Americano<sup>80</sup> to Arriaga<sup>81</sup> in Chiapas. Here he was to leave the railroad and take an auto to Tuxtla Gutiérrez<sup>82</sup> and thence on to San Cristóbal,<sup>83</sup> finally

<sup>73</sup> Morley continually had run-ins with porters, who in most places were unionized. He was not a union man.

<sup>74</sup> San Francisco de Campeche (also known as Campeche City or simply Campeche) is the capital of the state of the same name. In 1931 its population was a little over 20,000.

<sup>75</sup> Carbide lamps were a common form of lighting in areas where electric lights had not reached. They have two active components: calcium carbide pellets in a lower chamber and a chamber above for water. The water dripping into the lower chamber reacts with the carbide to produce acetylene gas, which flows through a small hole to be lit by a spark; the intensity of the flame is controlled by adjusting the amount of water released into the lower chamber, and behind the flame is a reflector dish to spread the light. Carbide lamps gave light, of course, but they were smelly and could cause health issues such as skin rash.

<sup>76</sup> Ciudad del Carmen (Morley often called it simply “Carmen”) is a city on an island in the Laguna de Términos (see footnote 144), at the southern end of the Gulf of Mexico. It was the major staging-post for boats headed up the Usumacinta River, and in the first part of the twentieth century it was a major port for timber (logwood, cedar, mahogany) from the hinterland of Campeche, Tabasco, and Chiapas. In the 1970s oil was discovered offshore, and it became a major oil town. In 1931 its population was a little over 7,000; today its population is about 200,000.

<sup>77</sup> Puerto México is the city at the southern end of the Gulf of Mexico that was founded in 1522 as Villa del Espíritu Santo. In 1825 the town became the port of Coatzacoalcos, but in 1900 its name was changed to Puerto México, the name that Morley uses. In 1936 the then-city's name reverted to Coatzacoalcos.

<sup>78</sup> The Isthmus of Tehuantepec is the relatively narrow neck of land between Coatzacoalcos (Puerto México) and the Pacific Ocean to the south. In 1907 the 304 kilometer (189 miles) Tehuantepec National Railroad opened, with new oil-burning steam locomotives, between Coatzacoalcos and Salina Cruz on the Pacific Coast. One major aim of the railroad was to transport freight between the two ports, thus avoiding lengthy and costly sailing around Cape Horn. The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 seriously dented freight traffic on the line, but passenger traffic continued to be popular for several decades.

Curiously, had history been different Andrade might have been able to get a ship across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec: in 1885 a ship railroad across the isthmus had been proposed. James Buchanan Eads (1820–1887), was one of the world's great engineers. Of humble beginnings in St. Louis, as a young man he developed a

way of salvaging wrecks in the Mississippi River, and made a fortune. During the Civil War he built ironclad warships, which were instrumental in Union victories along the Mississippi River system, most notably capturing Fort Henry. After the war Eads was involved in bridge construction, and he also engineered permanently navigable Mississippi River channels between New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico. In 1885, turning to Mexico, he proposed a novel solution to the problem of sailing “around the Horn.” Any scheme that could shorten ship travel between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans would endow its creator with fame and fortune. Canals were the most popular choice: canals across Panama, across Nicaragua, and across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec were all the subject of detailed surveys. Eads's proposal was different: instead of digging a canal across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, he would build a ship railroad. This would consist of three parallel tracks, and ships of up to 5,000 tons would be pulled by rail on a huge 400-foot long cradle along the 134-mile track, which would be nearly level and almost straight. The ship railroad would reduce a sea trip from New Orleans to San Francisco from 16,000 miles to less than 4,000 (also saving the dangerous trip around Cape Horn). At each end the ships would be put on and off the cradle in dry docks. Eads surveyed the route and obtained a 99-year concession from the Mexican Government: this project was no wild fantasy! Eads's estimated cost for the project was \$50,000,000, and he had several influential supporters. He was in the process of obtaining backers for the “ship railway” when he died in 1887, and his dream died with him.

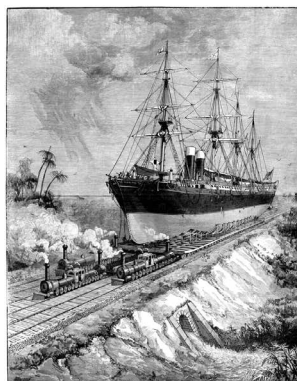
<sup>79</sup> Gamboa, Oaxaca, was a station on the Coatzacoalcos–Salina Cruz railroad, near the Pacific terminus, about 10 kilometers (6 miles) to the northwest of Juchitan, near or at Ixtepec. It was also where the railroad intersected with a railroad spur line, the Ferrocarril Panamericano, the Panamerican Railroad, which was built in stages to the Mexico–Guatemala border and completed in 1908.

<sup>80</sup> The “Pan Americano” refers to the Panamerican Railroad (see footnote 79), not the highway, which was not constructed until later.

<sup>81</sup> Arriaga is a town in Chiapas and was a station on the Panamerican Railroad. From Arriaga a road (now part of the Panamerican Highway system) led to Tuxtla Gutiérrez, 130 kilometers (81 miles) to the northeast.

<sup>82</sup> Tuxtla Gutiérrez is the state capital of Chiapas. The first part of the city's name is derived from the Nahuatl name Tochtlán, “place of rabbits,” which itself was translated from the local Zoque name Coyatoc, meaning the same. The second part of the name honors Joaquín Miguel Gutiérrez Canales (1796–1838) who promoted Chiapas's becoming part of Mexico rather than Guatemala after its independence from Spain. Tuxtla Gutiérrez took over as state capital from San Cristóbal de las Casas in 1892.

<sup>83</sup> San Cristóbal de las Casas is a city in the highlands of central Chiapas. It was founded as Villa Real de Chiapa in 1528 by the Spanish conqueror of Chiapas, Diego de Mazariegos. It had several



from there by mule to Ocosingo<sup>84</sup> and thence to the nearest Lacandone<sup>85</sup> villages – an enormous detour to get into their country, consuming both time and money, to say nothing of his strength.

A chance conversation with an unknown man on the train changed all this almost in the twinkling of an eye.

Andrade, who is a very friendly person always, began talking to a well-dressed young man on the train, and presently came back to me with his eyes blazing with excitement. The young man, it seems, has a finca<sup>86</sup> near Monto Cristo<sup>87</sup> to which frequently come Lacandones, who also speak Spanish! It has been A's fear all along

that he would not be able to find any Lacandones who also spoke Spanish, and he was making this enormous detour across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and down the Pan Americano and thence up into the highlands of Chiapas, largely in order to reach a finca, "El Real,"<sup>88</sup> belonging to Enrique Bulnes.<sup>89</sup> From there he was going to have to go 2 days more to the rancho of Capulín<sup>90</sup> where there was a Mexican in charge, named Ausencio Trujillo, who speaks both Lacandone and Spanish.

From the Rapids of Anaite to Capulín, the journey would have been as follows:<sup>91</sup>

Anaite to

name changes but for most of the Spanish Colonial period it was called Ciudad Real. During the Colonial period Ciudad Real was the administrative capital of the Province of Chiapa, which in turn was part of the Kingdom of Guatemala. After independence from Spain in 1821, Chiapas was split on whether to remain part of Guatemala or join Mexico; a referendum in 1824 decided for Mexico, and Chiapas became the nineteenth Mexican state. In 1829 the name of the city, still the capital of the new state, was changed to San Cristóbal, and in 1848 the name was expanded to San Cristóbal de las Casas, in honor of Bartolomé de las Casas, who had been bishop of the province and was revered as "Protector of the Indians." The capital city of Chiapas shifted back and forth between San Cristóbal de las Casas and Tuxtla Gutiérrez throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, but in 1892 the capital was finally settled as Tuxtla Gutiérrez.

<sup>84</sup> Ocosingo is a city in north-central Chiapas, in the country of the Tzeltal Maya. In the mid-sixteenth century it was the place to which various Maya communities were forcibly relocated by Spanish colonial authorities. Ocosingo sits in the broad valley of the same name; cattle-raising is the main industry, but its pleasant climate enables a wide range of products, from its famous cheese to honey and coffee.

<sup>85</sup> The Lacandon Maya are a group of Maya inhabiting the area of the tributaries on the Mexican side of the Usumacinta River, and speaking a language closely related to Yucatec Mayan (see footnote 175). During the Spanish colonial period they moved to that region – both sides of the Usumacinta – from further north, away from Spanish control. The thick forest of the Usumacinta region was rarely penetrated by Spanish authorities, so they had several centuries of relative peace. By the eighteenth century, however, there were attempts to round up non-Christian Maya people who were living outside Spanish control. In Chiapas and the Usumacinta basin most of this effort was aimed at another group of Maya whom the Colonial authorities called Lacandon, but who spoke another Mayan language, Ch'ol. The (non-Ch'ol) Lacandon largely managed to avoid this "reduction," as the Spanish authorities called the process. They were first reported in Spanish records at the end of the 18th century, but for most of the 19th century they were left alone and had few contacts with the outside world (many of those contacts were passing archaeologists). With the advent of wood extraction from the forests of the Usumacinta and its tributaries, contact became more frequent and much more dangerous for the Lacandon. Their numbers – and the region they occupied – steadily declined, until by the 1930s and 1940s the Lacandon were almost extinct. They have survived, and are estimated to number about 700 today. Morley referred to the Lacandon people and language as "Lacandone," which is a common alternate spelling due to the

pronunciation of the name.

<sup>86</sup> *Finca* is Spanish for "ranch, farm, country estate."

<sup>87</sup> Monte Cristo is the name that Morley called the town of Emiliano Zapata, Tabasco. Originally called Monte de Cristo, its name changed to Montecristo and then, in 1927, to Emiliano Zapata, after the Mexican Revolutionary general who had been assassinated in 1919 (see footnote 159). Morley preferred the old name.

<sup>88</sup> The finca El Real was a storied ranch deep in the Lacandon rainforest, about 40 kilometers (25 miles) in a direct line east-southeast of Ocosingo. It was the headquarters of Enrique Bulnes (see footnote 89), and was considered the jumping-off point for expeditions further into the interior.

<sup>89</sup> Enrique Bulnes Tavares (1869–1937) was a major figure in the history of the Lacandon rainforest. His base was his large finca at El Real. He had been educated outside Mexico, spoke English, and was a gracious host to explorers, Mexican and foreign, who passed through El Real. He was also a major player in the mahogany extraction industry.

<sup>90</sup> I have no information about this ranch beyond its likely location (see footnote 91), nor about the man in charge of it in 1931, Ausencio Trujillo.

<sup>91</sup> The journey from Anaite to Capulín (or Chapulín – Morley spelled it both ways in his diary) would have led Andrade west into the Lacandon rainforest once he reached the lower end of the rapids of Anaite on the Usumacinta.

Anaite is the name both of the rapids and of other localities nearby, including two archaeological sites. There are grounds to believe that Anaite was a very ancient toponym, for there is a hieroglyphic reference at Tonina, around AD 692–699, to an "Anaayte' lord" as a captive from this region.

Santa Clara is the name of a lake and ranch a few kilometers west of the bottom of the rapids of Anaite.

Cafetera is a place on Frans Blom's 1953 map of the Lacandon Forest area (Blom and Duby 1955-1957, at end of Volume 2), shown with the symbol "uninhabited place." It lies about 13 kilometers (8 miles) northwest of Lake Santa Clara.

Ojo de Agua is Spanish for "spring pool," and there are numerous places called Ojo de Agua in the region; this particular one is difficult to locate.

Santo Domingo today is a community about 15 kilometers (9 miles) west of Cafetera. It is on the Santo Domingo River; Andrade's Santo Domingo ranch was presumably somewhere along this river.

*Culebra* is Spanish for "snake," obviously very common in the region (although far more common are *víboras*, "poisonous snakes"). This was likely a ranch to the west or west-southwest of Santo Domingo.

Sibal Lagoon is a small lake to the west-southwest of the likely



Santa Clara	4½ leagues <sup>92,93</sup>	to
Cafetera	5	" "
Ojo de Agua	3	" "
Santo Domingo	5	" "
Culebra	4	" "
Sibal Lagoon	3	" "
Capulín	1 league.	

His chance discovery of Spanish speaking Lacandones living near this young man's finca makes an entire change of plans, eliminating this enormous detour possible. This makes certain that there will be no difficulty in getting to his Maya direct.

He introduced me to this heaven-sent travelling companion, and the latter offered everything. Indeed, he has a *pariente*<sup>94</sup> at the village of Santo Domingo<sup>95</sup> who can let us have horses from the village to the ruins, a matter of 10 kilometers.

This has made a tremendous change in Andrade's plans, since now he will go up the river with us as far as Monte Cristo and then on to this chap's finca where Spanish-speaking Lacandones may be found within a 6 hours' ride.

location of Santo Domingo, in direction that Andrade would have been heading in at this point.

Capulín is shown with an "uninhabited place" symbol on Blom's 1953 map. It is about 58 kilometers (36 miles) in a direct line west of the Anaite rapids. Since this is deep in Lacandon territory, I think it is likely that this is where the ranch was that Andrade was heading for. On Blom's map, Capulín is about 8 kilometers (5 miles) southwest of Lake Naha, which was then and still is a Lacandon community. Morley also spelled this place "Chapulín."

<sup>92</sup> In his diary (and also in the typescript version) the distances are entered rather confusingly. A quick reading of "Santa Clara . . . 4½ leagues to . . . Cafetera" is not what Morley intended: the "4½ leagues" is the distance between Anaite and Santa Clara. Morley's list would make more sense if he had written ". . . 4½ leagues. To . . ." I have kept Morley's original manuscript version here; the typescript version inserts a comma after "leagues."

<sup>93</sup> Blom in his 1953 map (Blom and Duby 1955-1957:2:End), lists two types of *legua*, "league": an "official" league of 4190 meters and a "muleteer's league" of 3500 meters. This means, if we take Morley's distances and Blom's leagues, we arrive at a total distance for Andrade's trip from Anaite to Capulín of 108 kilometers (67 miles) using "official" leagues, and 90 kilometers (56 miles) using muleteer's leagues. Given that Morley would have been talking to locals about these places and distances, I think it more likely that the distances were calculated in muleteer's leagues.

<sup>94</sup> Spanish *pariente* means "a relation, relative."

<sup>95</sup> Morley is referring to the town of Palenque (see footnote 156), 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) from the famous ruins.

<sup>96</sup> Spanish *cocal* means a stand or plantation of coconut trees.

<sup>97</sup> Salustino Abreu Díaz (1878-1951) ("Don Sal"), scion of an old illustrious Campeche family, was a businessman and a good friend of Morley's. He had large landholdings in Campeche and Tabasco, including his huge hacienda at Chablé. "Don Sal" and his wife Vicenta Ochoa Jiménez had eight sons and nine daughters.

<sup>98</sup> Chablé, now Villa Chablé, is a town on the right bank of the

But we were coming into the suburbs of Campeche, hot, but not too dusty and a fine sea breeze. A beautiful waving *cocal*<sup>96</sup> stretches along the sea here.

At Campeche Don Salustino<sup>97</sup> met us. There was very little confusion, since a carter of his own choosing took over the removal of our baggage, which was to be taken directly to the wharf.

An Immigration inspector very courteously inquired our names, which I wrote on a paper, and then we got into two autos and were driven direct to Don Salustino's house. The large, oldest daughter, Alicia, received us with a cousin named Isabella Ocampo. It was the same hospitable home of 2 years ago, only now almost empty, since the señora and most of the children are up at Chablé,<sup>98</sup> where we will see them.

While breakfast (*almuerzo*) was being got ready the men of our party, everyone except my Frances, took to the cars and we drove out to the new wharf, about 4 kilometers south of town, and about 2 kilometers before reaching Lerma.<sup>99</sup> The road thither has been asphalted and the wharf itself, which extends some 400 meters into the sea, lacks about 90,000 pesos<sup>100</sup> of being done.

Usumacinta River in Tabasco. In 1931 Chablé was the property of Salustino Abreu Díaz, a large hacienda focused on cattle-farming, but which was essentially a self-contained community (ruled by "Don Sal"): it had its own church, machinery and carpentry workshops, a smithy, a tin workshop, a tannery, and bakery, as well as houses for the workers and their families (Abreu del Valle n.d.). The hacienda began in 1827, when Eugenio Abreu bought about 1886 hectares (4660 acres) of land. By 1840 the estate was flourishing: John Lloyd Stephens on his way back from Palenque to Mérida visited the hacienda:

Don Francisco [Hebreu (Abreu)] was a rich man; had a hacienda of thirty thousand head of cattle, logwood plantations and bungaloes [bongos, small flat-bottomed boats], and was rated at two hundred thousand dollars. The house in which he lived was on the bank of the river, newly built, one hundred and fifty feet front, and had cost him twenty thousand dollars. (Stephens 1943:2:379).

<sup>99</sup> Lerma is a town about 8 kilometers (5 miles) southwest of Campeche. At the time of Morley's visit Lerma's main industries were fishing and boat-building.

<sup>100</sup> The main unit of currency in Spanish Colonial America was the *real*, and eight-real coins were called *pesos* (*peso* means "weight" in Spanish). The coins were minted from the rich silver deposits of Mexico, and Mexican silver pesos were actually legal tender in the United States until 1857. Reales and pesos remained the currency in Mexico long after independence from Spain. It wasn't until 1863 that the real was dropped, and the peso was divided into 100 centavos.

In his diary Morley twice gives information allowing us to calculate the approximate exchange rate between Mexican pesos and U.S. dollars in 1931. In the March 25 entry of his diary he says he "sold two drafts for \$500 U.S. currency each, receiving in turn a silver credit of \$2387.90." This rate gives 2.388 pesos to one U.S. dollar. In the March 28 entry of his diary, Morley gives the approximate exchange rate when talking about a bill for hiring mules: "\$1450.

I understood Montes de Oca<sup>101</sup> promised these duros<sup>102</sup> would be forthcoming.

On our way back to town, we visited a delightful finca, Buena Vista,<sup>103</sup> belonging to a Señor Pedro Montalvo,<sup>104</sup> now unfortunately very much run down and, as one would say here, “finished”. There was a delightful old casa principal<sup>105</sup> with moorish arches and a very fine well, but all down at the heel.

We stopped at the aviation field, now temporarily out of use, but young Humberto Abreu<sup>106</sup> says the service will be resumed in April.

We returned to the Abreu house where a delicious breakfast had been prepared. A soup with everything under the sun in it, alimentación fuerte,<sup>107</sup> pompano,<sup>108</sup> chicken and rice, frijoles refritos,<sup>109</sup> meat, fruit and dulce.<sup>110</sup> By the time this enormous meal was disposed of I was nearly dead for sleep. It was, however, my last opportunity to write to True, and so we left the Abreus’ shortly after lunch and came to the Abreus’ office at the waterfront.

We stepped into the old Hotel Vetancourt<sup>111</sup> which

was under repair. Jess Nusbaum<sup>112</sup> and I stopped here in 1913 – eighteen years ago. It wasn’t much then, and it is very much worse now, a poor third-rate.

I wrote a long letter to True.<sup>113</sup> Her row is not easy and she needs help and comfort – someone to be able to confide in, sorely – and long distance comfort is better than none.

Rafael Regil had given us a letter to a Señor Fernando Gutiérrez MacGregor,<sup>114</sup> who had had a mother of Scotch descent. Rafael tells me that<sup>115</sup> some MacGregors came to Mexico when the crowns of England and Scotland finally came to rest on one head,<sup>116</sup> and their descendants are to be found both in Mexico and Campeche today. These hotheads were of the same stout fibre as our own unreconstructed southerners, some of whom migrated to British Honduras<sup>117</sup> after the Civil War<sup>118</sup> to escape living under the hated northerner.

Frances, Frank and I looked up this gentleman, and after waiting a few minutes in his dining room, met him. Charming he was, but with a sort of sadness too, as though he saw clearly the end of his class, and certainly

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pesos plata [silver] or just about six hundred American currency.” This rate boils down to “just about” 2.42 Mexican pesos to one U.S. dollar. In other words, the 1931 exchange rate seems to have been about 2.40 Mexican pesos to one U.S. dollar.

<sup>101</sup> Apparently Faustino Crescencio Montes de Oca Brizuela (1899–1955). I have not been able to find out any information about him.

<sup>102</sup> A Spanish term, short for *peso duro*, “hard peso.” Morley is referring to the 90,000 pesos still needed to complete the wharf.

<sup>103</sup> I have not been able to find out any information about this finca, apparently a (once) rather grand estate between Campeche and Lerma.

<sup>104</sup> Possibly this is a reference to Pedro Montalvo Salazar (1894–1968), the owner in 1931 of the Finca Buena Vista. I have not been able to find out any information about him. The Montalvo family was a grand Campeche family, but it appears that Pedro Montalvo had fallen on hard times.

<sup>105</sup> *Casa principal* is the Spanish term for the “main house” of a hacienda or estate, where the family of the owner lived.

<sup>106</sup> Humberto Abreu Ochoa (1901–1982) was the eldest son of Salustino Abreu Díaz (“Don Sal”) (see footnote 97).

<sup>107</sup> Literally “strong food,” *alimentación fuerte* has the sense of rich food or spicy food, and usually, like *comida fuerte*, is a reference to the main meal of the day. In other words, this was a sumptuous breakfast.

<sup>108</sup> The pompano (*Trachinotus carolinus*) is a game fish endemic to the Gulf of Mexico, averaging about 1.5 kilograms (3 pounds) and 40 centimeters (16 inches) in length.

<sup>109</sup> *Frijoles refritos* are “refried beans.”

<sup>110</sup> Literally “sweet,” *dulce* here means some form of sugary treat to end the meal.

<sup>111</sup> I can find no information about this Campeche hotel.

<sup>112</sup> Jesse Logan Nusbaum (1887–1975) was an American archaeologist and photographer. He and Morley, along with Alfred V. Kidder (see footnote 9), spent 1907 working in the Southwest desert for Edgar Lee Hewett (see footnote 28), and the three

became lifelong friends (they were called “the Three Musketeers of Southwestern archaeology”). In late 1912 and early 1913 Morley and Nusbaum made a movie of everyday village life around Chichen Itza (Ward and Rice 2022:28-29). Jesse Nusbaum went on to work on archaeological and historic sites in the Southwest, and became Superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park; he continued working for the National Parks Service until 1957.

<sup>113</sup> “True” was the affectionate name of Morley’s daughter Alice Virginia Morley (1909–1981) with his first wife, Alice Williams Morley, whom he married in 1908. Alice divorced Morley in 1915, claiming desertion (with Yucatan and Peten as co-respondents, one imagines), but Morley remained very close to “True” for the rest of his life.

<sup>114</sup> Fernando Gutiérrez MacGregor (1890–??) was a member of an illustrious Campeche family: his father, Carlos Gutiérrez MacGregor (1847–1924) was Governor of Campeche from 1898 to 1902.

<sup>115</sup> At this point in the typescript version of the diary, six words have been missed in transcription.

<sup>116</sup> In the case of Fernando Gutiérrez MacGregor, Morley – or perhaps Rafael Regil – is not quite right in saying that the MacGregors emigrated from Scotland to Mexico when the crowns of Scotland and England were united “on one head.” This is a reference either to 1603, when King James VI of Scotland succeeded Queen Elizabeth I as James I of England, or more likely to when England and Scotland were politically united through the Acts of Union in 1707. In Fernando’s family’s case, his great-grandfather, John Louis MacGregor (1785–1841), was born in Charleston, South Carolina and moved to Campeche some time before 1811. He was a merchant and had a successful shipping company transporting goods from Campeche, Veracruz, Sisal (then the port for Mérida), and Havana to New York. He made a fortune exporting henequen from Sisal and logwood from Campeche.

<sup>117</sup> Now Belize.

<sup>118</sup> Meaning, of course, the American Civil War (1861–1865).



their former predominance in the Peninsula.

But what porcelain he showed us, English, French, German, Sèvres vases<sup>119</sup> of real elegance, Davenport,<sup>120</sup> and wares I did not know. Part of the set we were to have purchased – the lovely green set which Frances so wanted – was left, some 18 pieces, 9 plates, vegetable and meat platters. This he is disposed to let us have. He withdrew once to consult his mother and she reported herself as willing. But most beautiful of all was the family silver – several great platters and plates, alas not to be had at any price.

He is going to look for some more china for Frances and me, and will show it to us on our return some 5 weeks' hence.

Afterward he took us to the Instituto de Campeche,<sup>121</sup> formerly the Augustinian convent or monastery – lovely old arches, but now like all establishments of the church in Yucatan falling into decay. When we return the Director, a MacGregor pariente of Don Fernando, promises to show us some valuable archaeological specimens in a former museum, now closed.

Next to the convento<sup>122</sup> is the Church of San José, where many of Don Fernando's ancestors, as well as Rafael Regil's, are buried. Rafael's great-grandfather lies there, behind an elaborate sculptured white marble slab made in Paris in the last century, the thirties as I remember it. The mourning family are grieving around

a draped urn – I daresay the figure of each individual a portrait – somewhat self-conscious in their studied attitudes of mourning, perhaps even rococo, but not without effect.

Below was a large black marble slab, which had been injured by a shot during a recent revolution, a sad commentary on the state of the country. The church, in spite of a lovely frieze of blue and white tiles, is bare; during General Alvarado's<sup>123</sup> time, another revolutionary general, one Mucel or Muselle,<sup>124</sup> did for the altars and reredos<sup>125</sup> of San José, what Alvarado himself did for those at the Cathedral in Mérida.

But it was getting late, after five, and we had to return to the shore to take our boat to Campeche.<sup>126</sup> Don Fernando showed us a few more elaborate white marble sculptures hiding the remains of his ancestors.

We returned to the shore and, having already concluded financial matters with Don Salustino, we walked out on the wharf. All our impedimenta was loaded into two large row-boats, and we put off for the "Nueva Esperanza,"<sup>127</sup> the same boat as Fanny and I had used last time (1929) for this same leg of our journey (Figure 9).

On board all was in readiness. There were only eight other passengers, and we broke open deck-chairs and chose comfortable positions beside the forward hatch. We weighed anchor and set off at 5.45 P. M.

<sup>119</sup> The Manufacture National de Sèvres was a major European producer of fine hard-paste porcelain, often with a distinctive deep blue glaze. It is located in the west of Paris, and still operates today; it has been owned by the French government since 1759.

<sup>120</sup> Davenport Pottery was an English company that produced stoneware and porcelain between 1794 and 1887.

<sup>121</sup> The Benemérito Instituto Campechano was inaugurated in 1860, but it had a much longer history. Well into the Spanish Colonial period there was no formal place of public education in Campeche. In 1715 the Jesuits founded a school, which was next to the church of San José, which they substantially rebuilt. The Jesuit order was expelled from Mexico in 1767, and the Franciscans took over, and ran the school, the College of San José, until 1820, when their order was suppressed. The municipal government of Campeche took over the school, which in 1860 was reorganized and named the Benemérito Instituto Campechano.

<sup>122</sup> *Convento* is, surprisingly, Spanish for "convent."

<sup>123</sup> General Salvador Alvarado Rubio (1880–1924) was governor of Yucatan from 1915 to 1918. Born in Sinaloa, he fought in the Mexican Revolution, first with Madero against Porfirio Díaz, then for Huerta against Emiliano Zapata, then for Carranza against Huerta (all of which reminds me of the immortal Goon Show lines "there are no sides – we are all in this together"). In 1915 Carranza appointed Alvarado military commander and governor of Yucatan. Once installed in Mérida, Alvarado gathered information on the social and economic conditions in Yucatan, and quickly made major changes in how the state was organized: indentured labor was ended – he believed that if the haciendas were changed from a feudal to a capitalist

system, with the workers paid living wages, that production would increase. Minimum wages, maximum working hours, and the right to strike were introduced. Alvarado also made school education mandatory and passed decrees supporting and protecting women, and introduced an old age pension. He banned gambling and drinking, and also believed that devotion to the church rather than to the state was harmful to society. Accordingly he closed churches and confiscated religious relics. Obviously many of these changes would not have endeared him to the great "divine caste" families of Yucatan, nor particularly to Morley, who moved in their circles.

In 1918, with the Revolution still raging elsewhere in Mexico, Alvarado was recalled to military duty. For the next few years he was caught up in the ever-shifting politics of the time, ultimately opposing the government of Álvaro Obregón. Pursued by Obregón forces, Alvarado was ambushed and killed in 1924 at the finca El Hormiguero, between Tenosique and Palenque.

<sup>124</sup> Joaquín Mucel Acereto (1888–1970) was a colonel who became provisional governor of Campeche at the age of 27, in 1914. He held this position until 1917, when he was elected constitutional governor, until 1919.

<sup>125</sup> A *reredos* is a frieze or screen placed behind the altar. Usually it is richly decorated with religious images such as statues of saints placed in niches.

<sup>126</sup> Morley means Ciudad del Carmen.

<sup>127</sup> The "Nueva Esperanza" was a 50-ton schooner owned by Salustino Abreu (see footnote 97) (Morley 1931:132). It had an auxiliary engine and was well maintained and comfortable, and one of the grandest boats on the Usumacinta River.



**Figure 9.** The “Nueva Esperanza,” 1931. Photograph by Frances Rhoads Morley (Gift of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1958. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 58-34-20/61828).

It began to be roughish a little almost at once, so much so that I had no desire to eat, but lay uncomfortably on an almost horizontal deck-chair. It was ..ell.<sup>128</sup> Frances and I, and Andrade, were on the port side, beside the forward hatch. Frank and Rife were on the forward hatch, and Karl and John were on the port side forward of the wheel.

It came on to blow more and more and a canvas covering was put up over us. Some time early in the morning, when we were off the Aguan bar,<sup>129</sup> a nasty, choppy sea blew up and some of us were very sea-sick, notably Karl, John, Tarsisio and I; even Frank admitted to a sourness of the mouth, whatever that may be; my own tasted like the bottom of a bird cage.

K. threw up, as I also suspect Tarsisio of having done. I could not since I'd eaten nothing but a couple of oranges since the noon-day meal, but I would have felt better if I only could have. But I only ruined myself by vain attempts to do so. We shipped a good bit of water at the bow, which thoroughly drenched Karl and John so that they had to take refuge elsewhere. It was a miserable night altogether and no one was sorry when the sky began to show the first flush of dawn. I wonder that Fanny did not feel it. She thinks she did, but had she, she could not have moved around as much as she did. I was literally flat, finished, with no desire to do anything

but lie on that deck-chair and try to keep stomach and contents together.

### Wednesday – March 25

In this miserable way we reached Ciudad del Carmen at nine o'clock sharp, 15¼ hours on the way.

One of our passengers was a local celebrity, Señor Don Benjamin Romero,<sup>130</sup> who had been Presidente Municipal of Carmen and is now running for the Governorship of Campeche – the official candidate I was told.

A great concourse of people were waiting to greet

<sup>128</sup> This word is unclear in the manuscript diary; the typescript version has “It was well.” In context, this doesn't make sense. The first letter of the last word is incomplete and not clear, and there is space before it for an additional letter. “Swell” and “hell” are possibilities; in context “hell” would make the most sense, perhaps, but the first letter does not look like “w” or “h.”

<sup>129</sup> The Gulf of Mexico has several shoals and bars of sand and shell, and of mud, just off its Campeche shore, but I have not been able to locate the Aguan Bar.

<sup>130</sup> Benjamín Romero Esquivel (1895–1982) indeed became governor of Campeche, and held office from September 16, 1931 to September 15, 1935.



him. Some had put out in a swift motor-boat, which circled around us, shooting off day-rockets. A band, more rockets, vivas,<sup>131</sup> etc. We waited until this personage had disembarked.

Don Salustino Abreu, the owner of the "Nueva Esperanza," was with us, as also Andrade's young finquero<sup>132</sup> of the train, whose name turns out to be Ventura Marín.<sup>133</sup> He has taken Andrade under his wing and will send his younger brother with A. to the Lacandone settlement which lies 6 hours beyond his finca.

Another passenger is a Yucatecan from Tizimin,<sup>134</sup> a Señor Barrera,<sup>135</sup> who speaks Maya fluently.

Here came another important change of plan, almost immediately. Mr. Moore's<sup>136</sup> agent met me at the wharf when I got off the "Nueva Esperanza" and informed me that the "Marsopla,"<sup>137</sup> which I had chartered to take us up the river, was in dry dock and could not possibly be put into condition to get off until tomorrow at the earliest.

It seems they had not received my letter of March 13 bringing forward the date of our departure from Ciudad del Carmen from March 28 to 25. Leslie Moore had gone to Mexico City and a girl whom he had left to open his mail had had to go to Mérida with a sick sister, and the letter had remained unopened.

Don Salustino had offered to take us on as far as Monte Cristo in the "Nueva Esperanza," a much more comfortable boat than the "Marsopla" appeared to be, and much larger, and he now suggested we consider renting his boat for the entire journey to Tenosique.<sup>138</sup>

I was more than willing if I could make some satisfactory arrangement with the owner of the "Marsopla".

We had taken two rooms at the Madrid Hotel<sup>139</sup> where Frances bathed, and where I had ordered a fish and chicken luncheon to be ready at 11.30 sharp, asking Don Salustino to dine with us. With these preliminaries attended to, I returned to Moore's office where the Captain of the "Marsopla," a Señor Gomez, was summoned. He agreed to release me from my commitment to him for \$25.<sup>00</sup> pesos and I asked him to await me in Moore's office until I could return to the "Nueva Esperanza" and make final arrangements with Don Salustino for his boat to take us on to Tenosique.

I was fortunate enough to catch him at the wharf, and we quickly came to terms: \$275.<sup>00</sup> silver<sup>140</sup> for the journey to Tenosique.

This was a great stroke of good fortune, as we will not have to unload all our outfit until we reach Tenosique. The "Nueva Esperanza" is large, comfortable and swift. She makes 9 miles an hour right along. In every way this change was for the better and I was well contented, but I had other business at Moore's. I sold two drafts for \$500 U. S. C. each, receiving in turn a silver credit of \$2387.90. I was given a letter of credit – it might well be called – to Don Pancho Villanueva,<sup>141</sup> and through him I will do all my business at Tenosique.

Remained one piece of business, the Chinese cook, Luis Chang,<sup>142</sup> whom I was to pick up here. He is going to be good, I think, though he speaks no more Spanish and not much more English than does our cuadrilla<sup>143</sup> at Chichen Itzá. He seems quite intelligent, even young (he cannot be over 30), and I believe he will be all right. I gave him some money to lay in some eggs, herbs, etc. for an omelette tonight.

All business at Moore's was finished and I returned to the Hotel Madrid at 11.25 and we began to foregather

<sup>131</sup> By *vivas* Morley means shouts of "¡viva!," "long live!"

<sup>132</sup> A *finquero* is the owner of a *finca*, a ranch, farm, or country estate. Morley spelled this word "fincero."

<sup>133</sup> Ventura Marín Ocampo (1900–1977) was a pioneer in aviation and cattle farming in Tabasco and Chiapas. He introduced the Gyr breed of cattle so common in the region today. The baseball stadium in Emiliano Zapata is named in his honor.

<sup>134</sup> Tizimin is a city in eastern Yucatan, 150 kilometers (93 miles) east of Mérida.

<sup>135</sup> It is possible that this was Alfredo Barrera Vásquez (1900–1980), a great Maya scholar of linguistics and anthropology. But if so, it is curious that Morley refers to him matter-of-factly, because the two had first met in 1916, when Morley gave a public lecture in Mérida (Barrera Vásquez 1950:267–268). Barrera Vásquez and Morley later became good friends, and together published an important study of the Maya Books of Chilam Balam (Barrera Vásquez and Morley 1949), published shortly after Morley's death.

<sup>136</sup> Leslie Moore had extensive business interests in Campeche. He had been involved in at least two American companies extracting mahogany, cedar, logwood, and chicle from the hinterland of Campeche and Tabasco. He was a friend of Morley's and acted as banker for the 1931 expedition. Morley says that in 1931 Moore was

the manager of the Phoebe Hearst Estate (Morley 1931:132). Phoebe Hearst, the mother of William Randolph Hearst, owned lands in Campeche for the exploitation of their timber.

<sup>137</sup> The "Marsopla" was one of many boats that transported goods and people on the Usumacinta River, from the Gulf of Mexico as far as Tenosique.

<sup>138</sup> Tenosique de Pino Suárez is a city on the Usumacinta River in eastern Tabasco. It is the birthplace of the Mexican hero José María Pino Suárez (1869–1913). Tenosique is the largest city in eastern Tabasco, and was the jumping-off point for overland expeditions to Piedras Negras and Yaxchilan.

<sup>139</sup> I have no information about this Ciudad del Carmen hotel.

<sup>140</sup> What Morley means here is "pesos silver" (see footnote 100). The \$275 pesos silver would have been about \$114.50 in U.S. currency in 1931.

<sup>141</sup> Francisco Villanueva (possibly Francisco Villanueva González [1881–??]) acted as the Carnegie Institution of Washington's agent in Tenosique (Morley 1931:132).

<sup>142</sup> Luis Chang, of Chinese heritage, was the cook hired by Morley for the 1931 Yaxchilan expedition. The typescript version of Morley's diary calls him Luis Chiang.

<sup>143</sup> Spanish *cuadrilla* is literally "gang." Morley is referring to his Maya work crew at Chichen Itza.

for luncheon.

We sat down eight at table, myself, Fanny, Karl, Rife, Andrade, Don Salustino, John, Frank. The luncheon was built around pompano, which was really delicious, and a chicken and rice, which was only so so. Ventura Marín was eating at a neighboring table and we had all finished by 11.45 and, paying the bill, we left for the boat.

All were finally aboard except Luis, whom John had dispatched at the last minute to mail a letter. It wanted a few minutes to one, when we saw him running along the shore toward the boat, and at one we were off.

The first hour and a half was taken to cross the Bahía or Laguna de Términos;<sup>144</sup> then we reached the first of a series of lagoons and soon passed the sunken "Clara Ramos," which went down last December. Only her pilot house now remains above water.

I spent most of the afternoon bathing and sleeping; also at four we had tea, some of the China tea Fanny bought in Mérida, and it was delicious.

We were well in this particular branch of the Usumacinta<sup>145</sup> by this time and as I was tired of writing<sup>146</sup> I talked with Don Salustino, Andrade, Ventura Marín and the Señor Barrera from Tizimin.

We talked of the coming trip of Andrade to the Lacandon rancherías. Finally I drew their several birthday glyphs and the session became very amistoso.<sup>147</sup>

It had been decided previously that Rife was to prepare an Italian spaghetti for supper and a scrambled eggs with herbs by Frances, Luis helping. Supper came on at six thirty, and we shared our portions with the others. I ate with Don Salustino, Ventura, and Barrera. The two principal dishes were delicious, as also some French fried potatoes by the ship's own cook.

We reached Palizada<sup>148</sup> at 7.30, the home town of the

Abreus. Don Salustino was born here, and half the town is Abreu. He tells me that his immediate relationships: brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc., number by actual count between eight hundred and a thousand souls. Some progeny! Don Sal himself has 17 children!

Palizada is a pretty place on the left bank of the Usumacinta of about 4000 people. We strolled around for a half an hour, followed by a small host of boys of various ages. It was impossible to shake them so we returned to the boat to make ready for the night.

We lost Señor Barrera here, and Tarsisio saw an old acquaintance, that miserable Pedro Sánchez, the owner of the scarcely less reputable "Inhálamblica,"<sup>149</sup> which I had chartered for the journey up the river two years ago. I did not see him but T. tells me he says he has a new canoa<sup>150</sup> now, worth \$2000. "Que le vaya bien."<sup>151</sup> I never want to see either him or his canoa again, a worthless n'er do well.

Four of us slept on the forward hatch: Frances forward, then myself, next Frank, and last Rife. Andrade slept at our feet in the port scuppers, John and Karl forward of the wheel again on our port side, and Tarsisio behind us, who slept on the forward hatch, i. e. in the starboard scuppers. I don't know where Luis slept.

John put us all to bed with a phonograph concert, and we were under way for Chablé, Don Salustino's main hacienda, by nine o'clock, perhaps even earlier.

## Thursday – March 26

It must have been no later than 5.30<sup>152</sup> when we made Chablé and in a long circle put in at the bank. It was semi-dark, but two of the sons – the newly married

<sup>144</sup> The Laguna de Términos is the large tidal lagoon on the southeastern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. It was called "Lagoon of Ends" because the earliest Spanish explorers thought Yucatan was an island, and that the Laguna de Términos marked the entrance to a passage south of Yucatan leading to the Caribbean Sea. Two branches of the Usumacinta River (see footnote 145) flow into the western part of the Laguna de Términos, and it is one of these – the Palizada River – that the Morley expedition took in 1931, upstream to the Usumacinta River proper.

<sup>145</sup> The Usumacinta River is Mexico's greatest river. Its upper tributaries are in the highlands of Guatemala and Mexico, and when its two major tributaries – the Río de la Pasión and the Río Chixoy (or Salinas) – join, they form the Usumacinta River. In its upper reaches the Usumacinta River forms the border between Mexico and Guatemala. The ancient Maya sites of Yaxchilan and Piedras Negras are along this stretch of the river, and shortly after the river enters fully into Mexico it punches through a final ridgeline onto the broad coastal plain of the Gulf of Mexico. It was (and is) navigable by big boats upstream as far as Tenosique, Tabasco (see footnote 138), which was as far as the 1931 expedition was going to sail on it, before heading mostly by land upstream to Yaxchilan.

<sup>146</sup> Morley must indeed have been tired. After frenetic days in Mérida and Campeche, his March 25 had turned out as follows: 9.00 a.m. – reached Ciudad del Carmen, badly seasick, after 15½ hours on the boat from Campeche; met by Moore's agent to find the boat they had hired was not ready; Don Sal offered his, but arrangements would have to be made; got to the Hotel Madrid, ordered lunch for a couple of hours later; disengaged from the delayed boat contract and hired Don Sal's; did some banking; picked up the cook for the expedition; met for lunch at 11.25 a.m.; finished lunch at 11.45 a.m.; sailing on board the "Nueva Esperanza" at 1.00 p.m.

<sup>147</sup> Spanish *amistoso* means "friendly."

<sup>148</sup> Palizada is a small town on the Palizada River, the westernmost of the two branches of the Usumacinta River that flow out into the Laguna de Términos. Morley spelled it "Palisada."

<sup>149</sup> Spanish *inalámbrica* means "cordless," or "wireless."

<sup>150</sup> Spanish *canoas* means literally "canoe," but in this case Morley clearly means a larger boat.

<sup>151</sup> Spanish *¡Que le vaya bien!* literally means "I hope things go well for you." In Mexico it is a very commonly used way of saying "farewell."

<sup>152</sup> The manuscript diary has 5.30; the typescript version has 5.50.



César and another – came down to meet their father.

I lay abed for perhaps another half hour and then Don Sal routed me out to go up to the Casa Principal. The men of our party finally got themselves together and we climbed the bank, leaving Frances in her deck-chair.

The house is the same thoroughly delightful place that it was two years ago. The suitcases were sent up and we all treated ourselves to long overdue shaves, real washings, and tooth brushings. Presently Fanny came up and went over to the house where the family lives, and somewhat later we all repaired thither for a most delicious breakfast.

We met a number of the smaller as well as the larger children, and César's new wife. They were married in January when Mason passed through here.

Breakfast was elaborate and delicious. Eggs, frijoles refritos, tortillas, French bread, totoposte,<sup>153</sup> and the most delicious pollo con arroz – I have that wrong, it is arroz con pollo<sup>154</sup> – I have ever eaten.

Running around in the garden were some tame ospreys with their lovely tail feathers. They literally ate from Don Salustino's hand.

This hacienda of Chablé has over 40,000 acres in the States of Campeche and Tabasco, most being in the latter. The long Casa Principal, well over a hundred feet in length, built of old brick and covered with plaster, has a roof of lovely old French tiles, a delightful variegated red (Figure 10). It was started by his grandfather 70 years ago, added to by his father, and completed in its present form by himself. It is now used only as an office building, the family living in a large new house built about 20 years ago by Don Sal.

The principal industry of the finca is cattle, and

some 150 families live on the place. Don Sal himself reminded both Andrade and me of the fine old gaucho in "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse,"<sup>155</sup> who is surrounded with progeny. Unfortunately, Ibañez kills off his best character in the first few pages. His resemblance to Don Sal had struck both A. and myself independently.

After breakfast it was decided that we would stay on here for luncheon, leaving at one for Monte Cristo; indeed, Ventura Marín left in a launch immediately after breakfast for Monte Cristo to find out whether we could get animals at Palenque.<sup>156</sup>

I devoted the morning to this somewhat neglected diary – it seems queer keeping one again after these last six years of not having done so<sup>157</sup> – and others scattered to various tasks. Rife opened a clinic here in the office where I am writing, lanced an infected boil,<sup>158</sup> compounded a salve for a mangy pet dog, and saw an epileptic, or engaged to see one.

Karl took some movies. Frances, with some of the Abreu girls, also took pictures and in the late morning everybody bathed – Karl, John, and Rife in the river, Frances, Frank and I over at the Abreu house.

Ventura Marín telephoned in the late morning that the mules had been arranged for us at Palenque and also a breakfast. We will leave Monte Cristo, if possible, at four sharp.

After an enormous but delicious luncheon at which the Chichen Itzites fell behind on all the later courses we rose from the table, replete, at 1.30 and got off for Monte Cristo at two flat.

In the "Nueva Esperanza" the run is 1½ hours; the afternoon was warm and the river so wide that it was uninteresting.

We reached Monte Cristo, now rechristened

<sup>153</sup> Mexican Spanish *totoposte* means toasted tortilla chips.

<sup>154</sup> *Arroz con pollo* literally means "rice with chicken," and it is a popular dish throughout Latin America, with each country having its own variation on the theme. In the Mexican version, chicken thighs are cooked with rice, along with onions, garlic, poblano peppers, and spices, and garnished, of course, with cilantro.

<sup>155</sup> *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* is a novel by the Spanish writer Vicente Blasco Ibañez. First published in 1916, it was published in English translation in 1918, and was an instant best-seller. The plot centers on two daughters of an Argentinian ranch owner who marry and go to Europe – one to France and the other to Germany – before the First World War, thus setting up that during the war the two families are on opposite sides. The book was made into a movie in 1921, starring Rudolf Valentino.

<sup>156</sup> Palenque, now a major tourist city, was founded as Santo Domingo de Palenque around 1567 by the Dominican friar Pedro de la Nada. Its major industry in the early days was converting the surrounding Maya people to Christianity, with a little cattle-raising on the side. Initially it was a lonely outpost on the route from Ciudad Real (now San Cristóbal de las Casas [see footnote 83]) to the Gulf Coast plains of Tabasco. Reports during the eighteenth century of the presence of nearby ruins led to

various expeditions to explore "Palenque," as the ruins were also called. The town of Palenque still remained, however, a sleepy, isolated town throughout the nineteenth century. "It was the most dead-and-alive place I ever saw," said John Lloyd Stephens in 1841. "A boy could roll on the grass from the church door out of the village" (Stephens 1841:2:280). But more visitors came, at first inspired by Stephens's account of the ruins and later by the scientific study of Alfred Maudslay (1889–1902, Volume 4). In the twentieth century the Mexican archaeological authorities began excavating at the site, and the town of Palenque began to see more visitors. The discovery in 1952 of the tomb of Palenque's greatest king, K'inich Janaab Pakal I, by the Mexican archaeologist Alberto Ruz Lhuillier, put Palenque firmly on the map, and in the 1950s Palenque was connected to the outside world by rail and paved road.

<sup>157</sup> We can only regret that Morley missed six years of diary writing. For published transcripts of earlier diaries see Lister and Lister 1970; Rice and Ward 2021; Ward and Rice 2021, 2022; Ward et al. 2024), and the serialization in *The PARI Journal* (see footnote on page 2 of this article).

<sup>158</sup> The word in the manuscript diary is not clear; the typescript version has "boil."



**Figure 10.** The Casa Principal at Chablé, 1931 (Gift of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1958. © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 58-34-20/61830).

Emiliano Zapata after the dead Revolutionary hero.<sup>159</sup> Many people were on the bank – I suspect that when Don Sal travels it causes much movement.

When I was in Monte Cristo (I shall keep to the old name) in 1918, I slept in the house of one Celestino Martínez,<sup>160</sup> who was assassinated in the Revolution; by a curious chance Ventura Marín, to one of whose fincas Andrade is going, has this same house as his office, and

thither we all repaired.

Don Obidio Jasso,<sup>161</sup> who married Don Sal's sister, and who is one of the big men of Monte Cristo, met us with a real tortoise-shell stick – very elegante.<sup>162</sup> There was much business to transact. Andrade made arrangements with Ventura to leave for La Central<sup>163</sup> – where the latter has finca – early in the morning.

The Governor's *camión*<sup>164</sup> is ready and at our

<sup>159</sup> Emiliano Zapata Salazar (1879–1919) was one of the major figures in the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1920. He was born in central Mexico in rural Morelos state, and became the leader of the peasant revolt in Morelos against the Porfirio Díaz regime in 1910, which ultimately became the Peasant Army of the South. Zapata's men contributed to the downfall of Porfirio Díaz in the Battle of Cuautla in 1911, but the new President, Francisco I. Madero, sidelined Zapata, calling him a bandit. In November 1911 Zapata proclaimed the Plan de Ayala, calling for major land reform in Mexico. Madero was overthrown in a coup in 1913 by General Victoriano Huerta, but he in turn was overthrown in 1914 by a coalition led by Venustiano Carranza, Álvaro Obregón, and "Pancho" Villa, with the support of Zapata's army. But the new leaders fell out, and Zapata returned to Morelos, which he controlled, to begin instituting his long-planned land reforms. The forces of Carranza and Zapata fought over Morelos for several years, until in 1919 Zapata was ambushed and killed. Members of his army, the Zapatistas, continued the fight and helped drive

Carranza from power in 1920. The Zapatistas, still controlling Morelos, instituted many of the land reforms that Zapata had dreamt of.

<sup>160</sup> I can find no information about Celestino Martínez apart from Morley's comment about him.

<sup>161</sup> Ovidio Jasso Abreu (1876–1948) was a major figure in the cattle industry of Tabasco (Morley refers to him as Obidio Jasso). His son, Ovidio Jasso Abreu Jr. (1909–??), a twin, would have been 21 or 22 when the Morleys met him. The "Mrs. Jasso" was Esther Abreu Díaz de Jasso (1883–??), who was Salustino Abreu's younger sister.

<sup>162</sup> Spanish *elegante* means, unsurprisingly, "elegant."

<sup>163</sup> I have found no more information about the finca, or ranch, of Ventura Marín Ocampo (see footnote 133) at La Central, apart from the fact that it was near Emiliano Zapata (Monte Cristo), according to Morley in his diary entry of March 24.

<sup>164</sup> Spanish *camión* means "truck, lorry." Morley spelled it "cammion."



disposition. I am to buy 2 cases of oil for the trip (\$22.<sup>00</sup> pesos plata<sup>165</sup>) from a Turk, Jacobo Nazar;<sup>166</sup> probably also we will have one of his boats come for us from Monte Cristo. He is to let me know his price later.

Two of Don Sal's daughters had met the boat and these took Frances up to see their aunt, Mrs. Jasso, and their mother, who is stopping with a married daughter.

After making the arrangements for tomorrow's excursion to Palenque, Don Obidio's son, also an Obidio, who has just returned from a school in New Orleans and speaks English very well, took me up to the house.

I no sooner entered than I noticed a general air of *tristeza*,<sup>167</sup> and when Señora Jasso came out of an adjoining bedroom, there were tears in her eyes. Don Obidio told me they were "*afligido*,"<sup>168</sup> in sorrow. A grandson of 3 years some five days ago, while playing with an air rifle, had accidentally shot his little brother, 1½ years old, the shot lodging in the eye. The parents had taken the child to Carmen immediately and from there by airplane to Mérida. Today they received word that the eye had been successfully removed by Doctors Molina and Rodríguez – I suppose our Pastor – and that the child was doing well.

As though this were not enough, the little boy who had shot his brother was seriously ill with a complication of disorders: malaria, *trichomonas intestinalis*,<sup>169</sup> together with an allergy which manifested itself by a skin eruption, and asthma. These last diagnostic details are not mine. When I found out the child was really ill – he had a fever of 39 C. during my visit to the house – I told Don Obidio that I felt sure Dr. Rife would be glad to look at the child. They were delighted and it was arranged that they should ask their own physician, a Dr. Alcalá, if he were willing to have a consultation, and if he were, that they would let me know later in the afternoon.

In spite of their trouble and the grief over the eye operation, they all but insisted that we sleep at their home; that is Frances and I; the rest were to sleep at Ventura's office. We deferred deciding until later.

I left the Jassos for the house of Don Sal's married daughter, to pay my respects to Don Sal's wife, who, as I have recorded, is stopping there.

Frances and the two daughters were leaving as I got there. The señora has not changed, and we had a pleasant reunion. Here I only stopped a few moments, returning

to Ventura's office to make the final arrangements for tomorrow.

The Governor's *camión* had been brought to the office and stood in front of it when I got back. The chauffeur, a boy named Carlos Samudio, was there and impressed me favorably. The truck is covered and has 8 seats behind, 4 on a side with a central aisle; it will be just what we want.

The two cases of gasoline were at Ventura's and I gave him 22 pesos to give to Jacobo Nazar.

We are to rise at 3.30 and leave at 4.<sup>00</sup> sharp for Palenque. Ventura has wired to one of his *parientes*, Francisco Cabañes L., there, to have *desayuno*<sup>170</sup> ready for us when we arrive, and 7 horses.

There would have been so much business entailed in getting hammocks, cots, and *pabellons*<sup>171</sup> out of the hold that we have decided to sleep in deck-chairs on board the "*Nueva Esperanza*" for the last three nights. The only drawback to this procedure is the mosquito plague on shore, but I arranged with Don Sal that, when we go to bed, the boat will be put off into the middle of the river, where, with the strong breeze which springs up after nightfall, we hope to be free of this ubiquitous pest.

We had supper on board, though afterward I had to eat another. The Jassos had asked Fanny and me up for "*chocolate*," which I thought was that, but which turned out to be supper. F. had a headache and couldn't go, but I did. One has to repay in such ways the hospitality that money simply could not buy in these countries.

It was a much better supper than we had had on board – thus virtue is its own reward – and Don Sal, Don Obidio and I discussed the world economic crisis and overproduction.

Finally, bidding Doña Esther Abreu de Jasso good night, I left. I should add here that just before supper Rife examined the sick grandson with their own Dr. Alcalá and found all the things wrong with him that I mentioned above, and suspected others.

I returned to Ventura Marín's office and wrote an order on Leslie Moore in Don Sal's favor for \$275 pesos, the price agreed upon for the "*Nueva Esperanza*" from Monte Cristo to Tenosique. Andrade was sleeping in Ventura's office.

We had another proof of the Governor's friendship. Just before supper, Ventura's brother, Álvaro Marín,

<sup>165</sup> See footnote 100. \$22.00 pesos plata was roughly \$9.00 U.S. in 1931.

<sup>166</sup> Jacobo Nazar Bulos (1895? – 1955?) was a storekeeper and cattle rancher in Emiliano Zapata (formerly Monte Cristo). In the 1960s his son José Jesús Nazar Jaidar was a Deputy in the State Congress of Tabasco, and the street where his father's store was located is now named "*Calle [Street] Jesús Nazar Jaidar*."

<sup>167</sup> Spanish *tristeza* means "sadness, grief."

<sup>168</sup> Spanish *afligido* means literally, "afflicted." The meaning here is that the family was grieving. Morley misspelled the word as "*afflegido*."

<sup>169</sup> *Trichomonas intestinalis* is an intestinal parasite that was common in the area.

<sup>170</sup> Spanish *desayuno* means "breakfast."

<sup>171</sup> Mexican Spanish *pabellón*, "pavilion," is the term for "mosquito net," hung above a hammock or bed. The Spanish plural is *pabellones*: Morley spelled the plural form "pabellons."

came down to the boat; he had just received a telegram from Don Tomás Garrido C.<sup>172</sup> ordering him to put himself at our disposition in whatever way he could.<sup>173</sup> This was very friendly indeed. I told Don Álvaro,<sup>174</sup> who is Presidente Municipal of Monte Cristo, that we lacked for nothing, thanks to the Governor, Don Sal, and his own brother Ventura. Our trip to Palenque is arranged for tomorrow; our trip to Tenosique for tomorrow night. Don Sal himself may accompany us, and Ventura has provided Andrade with letters to people at La Central, including the school-master; this latter individual A. thinks will prove especially helpful as he speaks

Yucatecan Maya.<sup>175</sup> No, we certainly lack for nothing due to the kindness and local influence of these friends.

But it was time to think of bed. I bid everyone good-night at Ventura's and descended the steps – they actually have a flight of concrete steps going down the bank at Monte Cristo.

The others were getting ready for bed; as formerly, Frances, myself, Frank, Rife, and Tarsisio, in this order, slept in deck-chairs over the forward hatch, Karl and John on ditto forward of the wheel. While we were getting to bed the "Nueva Esperanza" was put out and anchored in mid-stream. [To be continued]

<sup>172</sup> Tomás Garrido Canabal (1891–1943) was governor of Tabasco from 1931 through 1934. He was active in the Mexican Revolution, and by 1920 he was the most powerful man in Tabasco. In some areas he was progressive: he introduced women's suffrage to Tabasco in 1934. A fervent socialist and anti-Catholic (he named one of his sons Lenin and another Lucifer!), he led an infamous crackdown on Catholic priests, many of whom were killed by his brutal "Red Shirts." Graham Greene in his novel *The Power and the Glory* vilifies a character based on Garrido Canabal. Nevertheless, Garrido Canabal and Morley appear to have got on well.

<sup>173</sup> This is the last word of Book I, page 41 in the carbon copy of Morley's manuscript diary. The page that follows is in a different hand from his, presumably because the carbon sheet was not inserted, or was inserted back-to-front.

<sup>174</sup> Álvaro Marín Ocampo was the Municipal President of Emiliano Zapata (Monte Cristo) in 1931. He was instrumental in

forming the Emiliano Zapata Local Livestock Association: this was a time when, due to the Depression, the price of livestock had more than halved. The cattle industry in Tabasco and northern Chiapas was a major industry, and one of its main markets was Yucatan, which was also suffering badly economically. One change the Tabasco Livestock Association made was to appoint Ovidio Jasso Abreu (see footnote 161) as its sole seller of cattle in Yucatan, to try to get some control over the situation. Álvaro Marín Ocampo was the brother of Ventura Marín Ocampo (see footnote 133).

<sup>175</sup> Yucatec Mayan is the language spoken by Maya people in the northern part of the Yucatan Peninsula, mostly in the states of Yucatan, Campeche, and Quintana Roo, but also in the northern part of Belize. Today there are over 800,000 native speakers of what they themselves call *maaya' t'aa'n*, or simply *maya*. Linguistically, the closest language to Yucatec Mayan is Lacandon (see footnote 85).

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