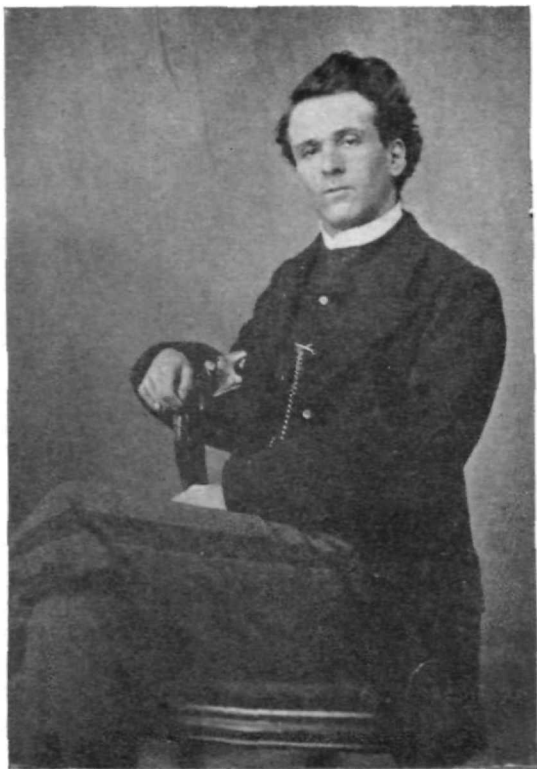


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ADOLPH BANDELIER IN 1865 AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-FIVE

In This Issue

BANDELIER IN THE SOUTHWEST

By HULDA R. HOBBS

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[The following sketch by Miss Hobbs is the beginning of what is planned to be an extended series on the life and work of Adolph Bandelier, derived largely from his own journal. This priceless record, along with other valuable Bandelieriana, came to the School of American Research by the will of Mrs. Bandelier. These articles will set at rest much of the erratic legendry concerning Bandelier that prevails in the Southwest. Most important of all, they will present to the world the authentic picture of the life and personality of the great Swiss-American ethnologist. Nothing else can ever reveal the character and struggles of this remarkable man as do these, his own day-to-day records, extending over the most productive period of his life, 1880-1911. Many of his letters will follow, and heretofore unpublished works, some of monograph proportions.]

Bandelier's Hispanic archive work in extent and value is amazing. The story of how it was accomplished in spite of pitiful resources and ill health ranging from writer's cramp in 1887 to blindness in 1912, is one of the most pathetic in the annals of science. We who knew him personally feel it a great privilege to help make the Man Bandelier better known.

This resumé by Miss Hobbs from the First Journal (Southwestern Period, 1880-1892) will be followed in the near future by more detailed extracts.—EDGAR L. HEWETT.]

THIS ACCOUNT of Adolph F. Bandelier—eminent scholar, pioneer archaeologist, ethnologist and historian of New Mexico and Arizona—is prepared from his journals and from reminiscences of Elizabeth Bandelier Kaune, a second cousin, who lived with Bandelier and his family for many years. It is presented in recognition of the approaching centennial of Bandelier's birth on August 6, 1840, and in partial fulfillment of the wish of Fanny Ritter Bandelier that a biography be published for the occasion. Mrs. Bandelier started to write a detailed biography of her husband. She planned to illustrate it with pictures of the cathedral of Berne, Switzerland, where he was christened; the castle where he lived up to the time he came to America; the chair with the Bandelier coat of arms in the senate chamber of Berne where his forbears sat in council. Unfortunately, her dream did not materialize.¹

Adolph's mother, Marie Senn, was a native of Berne. She was married when very young to a Swiss army officer named von Ritter. They used to travel to and from St. Petersburg, where they were associated with the gaiety of court life. Perhaps from this fact grew up the myth that she was a Russian noblewoman. Sometimes they traveled by sleigh on these long journeys, followed by bands of wolves. When still quite young, Marie was left a widow. She later married Adolphe Eugene Bandelier, who was of a distinguished family in Berne. When their only child, Adolphe² Francis Alphonse, was about five or six years old, the political situation became acute for the Bandeliers. The maid, Annali, told how the muzzle of a cannon was aimed at their home, Schloss Wyl, so that they were

1. The biography published in *Prominent Americans of Swiss Origin* (James T. White & Co., 1932) contains a number of errors. A complete and well rounded story of the life of Bandelier is yet to be written.

2. The French spelling, as Bandelier was probably christened. He signed his name thus; also as "Adolf" (Adolf and Adolph are German), and most frequently, as "Ad." The common English spelling is Adolph.

forced to flee for their lives. The father and a friend, John Balsiger, went to Brazil in search of a suitable place to live, but they were not satisfied, and so returned to Switzerland. Soon afterward, Mr. Bandelier came to the United States and settled down in New Switzerland, Illinois—now called Highland. When he had become established, he sent for his family. Mrs. Bandelier lived for only a few years in this country. She missed the life to which she was accustomed, and pined away from homesickness. Annali stayed on in the household after Mrs. Bandelier's death.

Adolph's parents tutored him until he was old enough to attend school. Even after that, they stimulated in him the spirit of scientific inquiry. They had a telescope, through which Adolph and his father used to study the heavenly bodies. They had a custom of reading aloud in the evenings. The remarkable breadth of Adolph's knowledge thus appears to have been built up from his early childhood. He and his father always spoke French together, unless others were present. They spoke perfect "Paris French"—not the Swiss patois. They were equally at home with German. Whether Adolph learned to speak Spanish in childhood is not known, but his first published works are based upon wide reading of Spanish documents.

The elder Bandelier made himself a leader in Highland, active in civic enterprises. He and two partners established a bank, in which Adolph, however, held no office. The Bandelier home was frequented by many friends, not only Highland people, but noted persons from nearby St. Louis and from the east. The Bandeliers were of a sociable nature, according to the customs of their homeland. John Balsiger always had Saturday dinner with them; and Graffenried and Wachsmuth were great friends. They all loved to talk and argue. Lewis Henry Morgan, the "father of American ethnology," was often a visitor at the Bandelier home. Adolph admired him especially, and was strongly influenced by his views of American Indian society. Morgan, in turn, appreciated Adolph's abilities, and

was instrumental in the Archaeological Institute's selection of him to initiate anthropological investigations in the Southwest. The Institute was so favorably impressed with Bandelier's studies of the Aztec Indians that it commissioned him to survey and report upon the living Indians and the ruins of "Colorado and New Mexico."³

Let us now turn to the scene of Bandelier's entrance upon the career that he had long dreamed of, and for which he had proven himself admirably fitted. Only his days in the Southwest, 1880-92, will be touched upon.

The southbound train which left La Junta, Colorado, sometime after midnight on August 23, 1880, bore a sleepless passenger. Since leaving the flat Kansas prairies the day before, Bandelier had kept watch eagerly from the windows of the coach. The country was entirely new to him, vegetation, mountains, even the insect life was different. He was in the prime of life—a man of medium height and slender build; dark eyed, dark haired and fair skinned; his expression thoughtful, his manner courteous and modest. From time to time he drew a stylographic pen from his pocket and made notes on what he observed: "Moonlight. Barren. Cool. Trees become visible ab't 2 A/M on high ridges. *Pines*. Slept till 4 A/M when a high range appeared *left*, & also, with distant hazy peaks right Began to ascend the Ratones at 5½ A/M. Very wild & picturesque Much more vegetation than at La Junta. Very wet. All one coal-field, Seams cropping out everywhere. Occasional glimpses at the snow covered Sangre de Christo Crossed into N. Mexico 6 A/M."

The train was late in reaching Santa Fe that evening. It had been scarcely seven months since the completion of the Santa Fe Railway into the capital. Of his first night's rest in Santa Fe, Bandelier remarks: "Slept till 9 A/M with bedbugs." Then he began hunting out General Wal-

3. "First Annual Report of the Executive Committee, with Accompanying Papers, Archaeological Institute of America, 1879-1880," p. 20; see also pp. 14, 29.



A FAMILY GROUP: BANDELIER IN MIDDLE LIFE

Standing: Adolph Bandelier and his wife, Josephine. Sitting: Amelia Huegy (Josephine's sister) and A. E. Bandelier (Adolph's father).

This photograph was made in Santa Fe.

lace, Judge Waldo, General Atkinson, Padre Aiguillon, Samuel Ellison, and all whose assistance was needed in his preparations for historical research and archaeological reconnaissance. His first impressions of Santa Fe are interesting: "Houses all adobe, some new. Pop. of Santa-Fé 6500 souls . . . Saw Pueblo Indians on the streets, fine fellows, clad in white with hair tressed behind and hanging down each side. Driving a herd of burros. . . Meat (sheep & beef) hung out on the portales, here."

In a two-horse buggy rented for the occasion, Bandelier went to Pecos five days after he reached Santa Fe. This was his first field trip. He set about methodically to measure the ruin site. A photographer came out a few days later to take pictures, as had been arranged. After combing the vicinity for ruins, and gathering stories about Pecos, Bandelier returned to Santa Fe to search for maps and documents. The rapidity and thoroughness of his work can be appreciated by a glance through the ninety-five page report of September 17, to Charles E. Norton, president of the Archaeological Institute.⁴ Two days later, the classic "Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico"⁵ was mailed to Professor Norton.

The following week Bandelier was off on the second venture, to Peña Blanca, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti with his new friend, Padre Ribera. At the Ribera home he remarks: "Ate 'Atolle' for the first time. Tastes very good, also the 'frijoles.' Both are *excellent*." He took up residence at Santo Domingo pueblo. "I sleep in the Room of the priest in the old convent on a buffalo-hide, & covered by a quilt. For supper . . . I had 4 tortillas & excellent pea-soup with

4. "A Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of the Rio Pecos," Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, I, 1883, p. 37-135.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 3-33. Bandelier had collected some documentary material for both of these reports, and had begun preparation of the Historical Introduction, before he came to New Mexico.

green chile. Muskitos, but only a few. Room well white-washed. Window broken & no panes at all. Even the frames in pieces." His first ethnologic study of Pueblo Indians was here initiated. Bandelier's journal gives descriptions of crafts, occupations, daily life, pueblo organization, religion, traditions, which had never before been recorded. He began collecting Keres words and phrases; he sketched and photographed the pueblo. On an overnight visit to the Padre, he says: "It is so beautiful to sleep in a bed again, with the perspective of hot coffee before you."

Proceeding to Cochiti early in October, Bandelier undertook a comprehensive ethnological investigation of the pueblo, and a survey of ruins in the neighborhood. He lived in the pueblo most of the time until the middle of December. Perhaps of particular interest, in view of the naming of a monument which includes the Rito de los Frijoles cliff dwellings in honor of Bandelier,⁶ are the two trips he made to the Rito during these months.

"23 October 1880. . . . Left ab't 7 A/M from Cochiti. Road towards the Cañada, then to the left, crossing the Cañada ab't 4 miles below. . . . In some places the descents are terrible, & cannot be made on horseback. The Lava is reached N. of the Potrero Chiato, & thence on to the shores of the Cañon del Norte (which is reached by a horrible descent) it is but the ugly, black, cutting, ringing Lava-blocks. Reached the Rio Grande in the Cañon ab't 12 A/M. Towering cliffs on all sides, River rushing down rapidly. . . . Current of River very swift & distinctly audible. Water turbid but not bad. We unsaddled & made Coffee. The capitan de la guerra joined our dinner, which consisted of coffee, tortillas & of fine cheese. Brisk S'y Wind. Clouding S., but clear above.

"We entered the Cañon del Chapero. Exceedingly grand. Then ascended, leading our horses, rounding the Chapero. The Potrero del Alamo presented a grand sight.

6. The area was proclaimed a national monument by President Wilson on February 11, 1916.

Reaching the crest, the view is fine, the Sierra de Sandia, & even the S^a. de la Magdalena in full view, & the S^a. de S^{ta}. fé very fine & grand. The crest, which we followed from S. to N., is overgrown with fine Sabinas, cedars, and lower down with splendid Pinavetas. Turkey-tracks, but hardly a living animal. About 4 P/M the border of the almost precipitous descent into the Cañon de los Frijoles was reached, & it took ½ hour to descend—on foot of course. The grandest thing I ever saw. A magnificent growth of pines, Encina, Alamos, & towering cliffs, of pumice or volcanic tuff, exceedingly friable. The cliffs are vertical on the N. side, & their bases are, for a length as yet unknown to me, used as dwellings both for the inside, & by inserting the roof poles for stories outside. It is of the highest Interest. There are some of one—two & 3 stories. In most cases the plaster is still in the rooms. Some are walled in, others are mere holes in the rocks. Much pottery of the older, painted sort, but as yet no corrugated one. Entire chimneys, metates, manos, a stone-axe I found. Aside from the caves, there are ruins of a large pueblo, immense Estufas, round towers of 2 stories etc. etc. . . . The valley is almost fully closed on the E. where it enters the Rio Grande which, there, flows through a fearful dark cañon. The Rito is a splendid clear brook, Vegetation around it splendid, showing very good soil . . .”

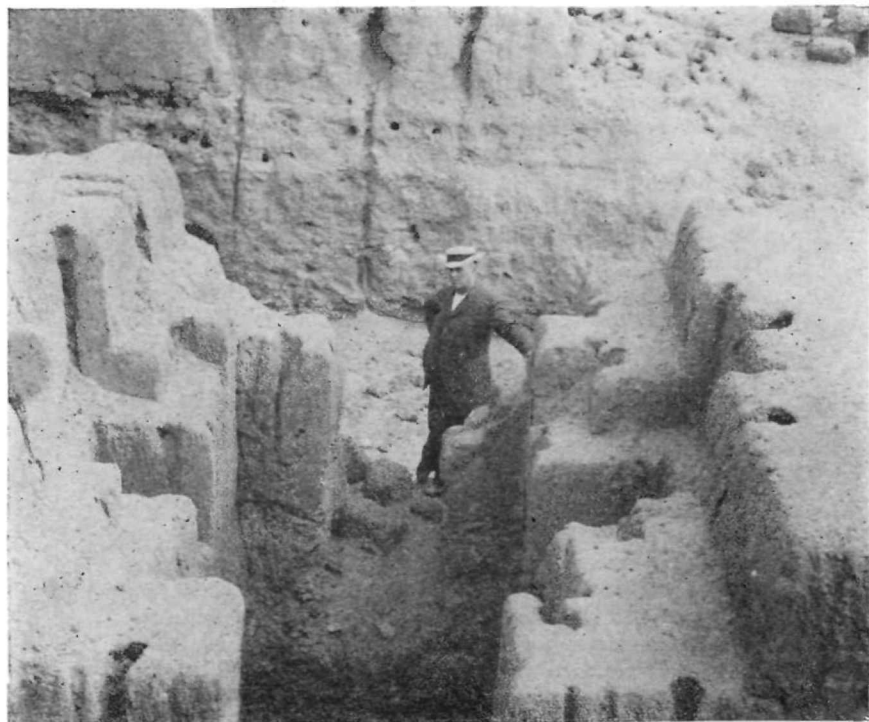
The next day Bandelier spent in examining and sketching the ruins of the Rito.

“24 October 1880. . . . I omitted to state that, yesterday, tracks of deer, mountainsheep & turkeys were seen in the Valley. . . . Ab’t sunset, Juan José ret’d with a young turkey. He shot him near the entrance of the Cañon below. . . . Juan José has gathered ocote & made a terrible fire. The dog is uneasy, & outside. Stomach of turkey is a peculiar dish, particularly if not well cleaned. This cañon shows no trace of agriculture, although very fertile & many weeds. Night splendid, after a very hot & hard day. It is Sunday, but how different.

"25 Oct. 1880. Splendid morning, but cold . . . Juan José went for the horses. I leave the metate & everything else here, like pottery, manos etc. etc. The hunters bird again sings lively. Cooking coffee. There are, higher up, 2 other pueblos in the rock. Some 20-30 y's ago, the walls of the buildings outside of the rocks were still standing. . . . Reached the Rio Grande 11½ A/M. . . . We descended into the barranca and to the Rio de la Cuesta Colorada, a limpid, murmuring Stream. Our resting place is on the left bank in the narrow Cañada, under magnificent Pinavetas, behind a huge Rock, & before a big fire of ocote . . . All these arroyos, from the Rito de los Frijoles to the Cañada de Cochiti, issue from the Sierra del Valle . . . The night splendid but, feeling cold, I moved to the fire & succeeded in burning a big hole through the middle of my Serape . . ." On the following day, Bandelier and Juan José returned to Cochiti.

Then on December 3, Bandelier took Bennett, the photographer, to the Rito. He relates: "Reached the Rito at 5 P/M & took rooms in the 'house of the cacique.' . . . The night is very clear & warm even, & as we sleep 6 in the Room together it is very comfortable. On the 4th: "Snow ceased ab't 10 A/M & we photographed . . . standing with the Instruments in snow up to the ankles & with a fierce N. W'ly Wind blowing, making it necessary to hold the Instruments." Next day the photographing was continued. "Then I completed the E'ern end, which is very rugged & almost impossible to survey owing to steep slopes & Erosion cones etc." On the 6th: "Started from the Rito early, & took a stereoscopic view of the Cañon del Norte, reaching the Cañada of Cochiti at Sunset." And on the 7th: ". . . reached Cochiti by 5 P/M very kindly received. Trip so far glorious."

There is a current legend about Bandelier living in the Rito de los Frijoles for a number of years, but it is only a legend. He made two more brief visits to the Rito, one in 1885 and another in the fall of 1890, the latter in com-



BANDELER IN SOUTH AMERICA INSPECTING ONE OF THE GREAT RUINS

pany with Charles Lummis; and still another in 1891 which was incidental, since he merely passed through the Rito while walking from Cochiti to San Ildefonso.

Toward the close of 1880, Bandelier rejoined his wife, Josephine Huegy Bandelier,^{6a} and his father at their home in Highland, Illinois. On the last day of December, he wrote: "Thus the most important year of my entire life draws to a close Have no reflexions to record. Future action is all that occupies my thoughts."

It was the spring of 1882 before Bandelier again set foot in New Mexico. Most of the interim had been spent in an archaeological reconnaissance of Mexico, in the states of Mexico, Puebla, and Oaxaca.⁷ On reaching Santa Fe, he says: "The City has grown considerably. New houses have sprung up, some two-story, of stone and brick, some one-story of adobe, with metallic roofs. The latter houses are very fine & good-looking." A cordial welcome was accorded him by his friends in Santa Fe, where he worked in the archives for two weeks, and likewise at Cochiti, where he stayed for the greater part of April. On April 28, he gave an address, "Kin and Clan," to members of the Historical Society of New Mexico in Santa Fe. The investigations begun in 1880 were resumed. Some of the ruins of the Galisteo basin and the Sandia and Manzano mountain regions were visited, as were Quarai⁸ and Abó, the important ruins along the Rio Grande valley as far south as San Marcial, the pueblos of Isleta, Laguna, and Acoma, and neighboring sites.

The year 1883 found Bandelier at Gran Quivira, Isleta, western and central Arizona, Isleta del Sur, and in the Mimbres country. He visited F. H. Cushing at Zuñi pueblo in February. At Casa Grande in June, he says:

6a. Whom he had married in 1862.

7. "Report of an Archaeological Tour in Mexico, in 1881," Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, II, 1884. (Dated Feb. 9, 1882, Highland, Ill.)

8. There was an epidemic of smallpox at Punta de Agua late in 1882. Lummis says that Bandelier contracted the disease at that time, but Bandelier's journal does not support the statement.

"Have now, up to date, measured on this trip, 39 Ruins in New-Mexico, & 71 in Arizona, or 110 in all. In 1880 I measured 25, in 1882, 20, all in New-Mexico, making a Total of 84 in N. Mexico & 71 in Arizona, or 155. To this should be added in Mexico 11, or 166 Ruins in 3 years. I believe that this is a fair work. But donot let me become proud, I may fall at any moment." A new undertaking was begun in August—the writing of what Bandelier always referred to as "my novel," but it was only started. The first chapter of *The Delight Makers* was not finished until more than two years later.

In spite of warnings, Bandelier risked his personal safety and explored the Sierra Madre of northern Sonora and Chihuahua early in 1884. Returning, he says: "On the whole, I am well satisfied with the results of my explorations. But it is decidedly the last trip." After visiting Pecos again, he remarks on July 12: "I made calls as fast as I could, preparatory to leave at last. Shall I ever return. It is impossible to tell. . . . At all events I believe it will not be very soon, if ever. I leave S. Fé as quietly as I came into it, 4 years ago, without noise & fussing at all, no state-dinners nor banquets, hardly noticed by the papers." After his forty-fourth birthday, spent in Highland with his family, the affairs of the bank in which his father was interested became serious. On August 25, he wrote: "Today we at last came to a final resolve, & I am going to try a last resort. God grant a good end may turn up after so many terrible years." Bandelier went east to Cambridge and New York, where he endeavored to find aid for the bank, and to sell paintings and drawings of Indian artifacts. He was evidently trying, also, to arrange continuation of his salary from the Archaeological Institute. Early in October, he was "Much discouraged & dejected," and in November: "I draw a veil over my stay at N. York, it is useless to comment upon it. Times are dark, very dark & threatening. Still, there are some redeeming features."

A trip to Europe in the interest of obtaining loans to aid

the bank in Highland occupied Bandelier until April, 1885. On April 7, he says: "Wrote at 'Cibola.' It is a new trial and attempt, which may have no result, but the intention is to earn some money as soon as possible. I must have something to live off. All other resources are cut off for the present, & nothing is left to me but to make money if possible, by writing." After the bank's failure in the spring of 1885, Bandelier returned to Santa Fe to take up archaeological and historical research, writing newspaper articles meanwhile, and visiting the eastern Keres and Tewa pueblos. Josephine joined him at Peña Blanca, and they moved to Santa Fe in December, "to settle ourselves and take root permanently."

There followed a desperate attempt to make a living by writing. On May 12, 1886, he wrote: "To-day, at 7 P. M. I finished my novel! Thank God! I began it in 1883, and until the 28th of Dec. 1885 had only written 2 Chapters, of 56 pp. about. The other 20 Chapters of 420 pages I consequently wrote in 4 months and 15 days. If only the result justifies the work and time spent on it. That God alone can determine." A few days later: "Our money is giving out already." And on May 28: "No resources, no money from nowhere. Everything looks gloomy & dreary." In August, Bishop Salpointe suggested the writing of the work to be presented to Pope Leo XIII on the occasion of his jubilee, on the history of the colonization and missions of Sonora, Chihuahua, New Mexico, and Arizona. This monograph Bandelier began immediately. Then, in October, he says: "Thank God a thousand times for the good news from Cushing." The good news was of his attachment as historiographer to the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, the first assignment of which was to study archives pertaining to the Southwest in Mexico City. This kept Bandelier in Mexico from December, 1886, to May, 1887. In the meantime he was painfully afflicted with writer's cramp. By the middle of October he had completed the work for the Pope, "... in eight

months at most." Soon after, Father Stephan gave him an assignment as inspector of the pueblos "for one year at \$25.- per month, from the 1 of December next, & expenses for travelling."

Incessant writing brought on writer's cramp again in January of 1888: "My hand troubles me so much that I can hardly write. Still I copied, for the holy-days are over." He kept no journal for nearly three months for this reason. During the year he went to Arizona, to the pueblos of Zuñi, Cochiti, Santa Ana, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Nambe, Taos, Picuris, Jemez, to the Valle Grande, and in the fall to El Morro.

The finding and recording of valuable historical documents for the Hemenway Expedition continued to occupy much of Bandelier's time even after field work for the expedition came to an end in May. His salary continued through 1889. It was, however, a discouraging year, as Bandelier testifies on his birthday: "I am now 49 years old, and: What have I done? Nothing." Again in the fall he says: "... it is disheartening to write solid things without the least assurance that it will ever come to anything at all." In December, an eastern university arranged to pay him for a historical research project. Encouraged, he forthwith set to work. Then, early in January, 1890, the *Belletristisches Journal* bought his "unfortunate novel." This good beginning was soon upset by a refusal of compensation by the university, and by news that no remuneration was to come for the monumental history in honor of the Pope's jubilee. In April, Bandelier says: "I am to furnish monthly eight columns to the *New Mexican*, of generally interesting reading matter with special attention to New Mexico." Finally, in November: "... at last the contract with Dodd, Mead & Co., with a letter from them. So at the end of eight years, the 'Novel' is going to be published."⁹

9. This part of the journal is in Spanish. Translation of: "... al fin el contrato con Dodd, Mead y Cia, con una carta de ellos. Así que al cabo de ocho años, la 'Novela' va a publicarse."

The Archaeological Institute had been contributing toward Bandelier's researches since June. In January, 1891, he received a letter saying that the Institute could not continue after March, or April at the latest. These and succeeding months were occupied by the writing of articles for magazines and newspapers, and by archive work, the legislature having appropriated money for it in February. Says Bandelier: "The thing is arranged for a year, but who knows?"¹⁰ In July, commissioned by Mrs. Hemenway for further historical studies, Bandelier remarks: "At last I can work again with pleasure and hope."¹¹ During the year he went to Ojos Calientes, the Rito Colorado, Tierra Amarilla, San Juan, Rancho de Taos, Cochiti, San Ildefonso, and Santa Clara. He had become well acquainted with Charles Lummis in 1890 and 1891, and was with Lummis at Isleta in the last days of 1891: "It is the most dismal time I can recollect, except that at Highland in 1885 . . . I am going to try and get East after New-Years with Lummis if I can raise the money at all. Perhaps I may succeed." Succeed he did, for early in 1892 he and Lummis went to New York, and Bandelier presented his plans for work in South America to Henry Villard at the latter's request. By March Mr. Villard had arranged to finance them in archaeological and historical research. On March 22: "Went . . . to Villard's office. Settled at last! Thank God!"

Then, on May 20, 1892: "With this I close this Journal, beginning a new one for the coming period of my life. I stopped keeping the Journal while at N. York, as I was too much preoccupied with what was going on . . . arrived at Santa Fe on the 12th Thursday morning. . . . Thus the greatest undertaking of my life is done and, so far, successfully. Now begins a new period. . . . It will be difficult

10. Translation of: "La cosa esta encaminada para un año, pero quien Sabe?"

11. Translation of: "Al fin podre trabajar otra vez con ganas y espero."

frequently, but I hope that I may be equal to the task. . . . We go ahead, and he [Lummis] may follow, if nothing happens in the meantime Next Monday or Tuesday we are to leave for San Francisco at last. Thence to Bolivia." The clearness with which Bandelier saw the beginning of a new period in his life was prophetic, for, although he wrote about it in later years,¹² and always intended to return to it, he never saw the Southwest again.

12. While lecturing at Columbia University, he was from 1909 through 1911 a member of the staff of the Museum of New Mexico and School of American Archaeology (now the School of American Research). During this time he wrote, from notes collected in earlier years, the "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos of New Mexico," published in the *New Mexico Historical Review* (Oct., 1929-Oct., 1930) and in *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*, University of New Mexico Press, 1937.