

ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

THE NEW MEXICO YEARS

By Carroll L. Riley



ABOVE: Adolph F. Bandelier

Photograph by C. L. Maechtlen, ca. 1882–84.

Neg. No. 9138, Palace of the Governors (MNM/DCA).

**New Mexico became
the focus of his attention
for thirteen years.**

On August 23, 1880, Adolph F. Bandelier, under contract by Boston's newly founded Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), wrote in his journal, "Crossed into New Mexico 6 A.M. Fine view on Ratones left, and 8:00 A.M. in the high range right fine mesas, prairie dogs, eagles and hawks." A collection of loose-leaf pages, the journal had been launched three days before, and this was the first New Mexican entry. Over the next quarter century, written in English, Spanish, German, and French, it would encompass thousands of pages. Covering the New Mexican years and Bandelier's work and life in other parts of the world, it is the most important source of our knowledge of his professional and personal life.



Adolph F. Bandelier at Pecos Mission ruins,
Pecos, New Mexico, September 1880.
Photograph by George C. Bennett. Neg. No. 40589,
Palace of the Governors (MNM/DCA).

Bandelier was two weeks past his fortieth birthday when he boarded a train in Saint Louis, bound for New Mexico. It was his first trip to the Southwest and his first full-time venture into the serious and demanding world of scholarship. Throughout his adult life, he had been primarily concerned with family business, though for a number of years he had expressed a somewhat amateurish but increasingly enthusiastic interest in scholarly pursuits.

It was probably Bandelier's perceived skill with languages that let him into historical and ethnoarchaeological studies. In his later childhood, he received a certain amount of public school instruction in English, but he was largely home-educated in German. French was also spoken in the home

throughout Adolph's boyhood. Spanish was self-taught, beginning when he was thirty-three years old. In later life, Bandelier spoke and wrote in all four languages with varying degrees of competence.

It was about the time he learned Spanish that Bandelier first attracted the attention of the influential American cultural evolutionist, Lewis Henry Morgan, and through Morgan, a few years later, met two of the main founders of the AIA: the Harvard scholar, Charles Elliot Norton, and the eminent historian, Francis Parkman. In 1880 these men, working through the AIA, launched Bandelier into a totally new career. It was decided that Bandelier should go to New Mexico Territory to investigate the archaeology and Native peoples of that area,



The Bandelier family in Santa Fe, 1890. Josephine and Adolph F. Bandelier (left) are with his father, Adolphe E. Bandelier, and niece, Fanny Lambelet. Neg. No. 9167, Palace of the Governors (MNM/DCA).

and the interaction of Indians and Spaniards, whose contacts with the Southwest began in the sixteenth century.

Railroad access to the main cities of New Mexico had begun only a year or so before, and a new era was dawning for the territory, one that saw rapid growth from a ruralized backwater to a region of thriving commercial and intellectual activity. Although Bandelier probably intended to spend only a year or two there, New Mexico became the focus of his attention for thirteen years.

Nothing in Bandelier's early life presaged this fascination. He was born Adolph François Alphonse Bandelier in Bern, Switzerland, August 6, 1840. His jurist father, Adolphe Eugene Bandelier, the imperious Papa of the journals, decided to resettle in the New World a few years after Adolph's birth, but New Mexico was not named. The elder Bandelier considered Brazil but then settled on the German-speaking Swiss outpost of Highland, east of Saint Louis in southern Illinois. In 1848 Papa Bandelier bought a farm near Highland and soon expanded his commercial activity by obtaining part interest in a Highland general store. In 1854 he became a partner in the newly founded F. Ryhiner and Company Bank.

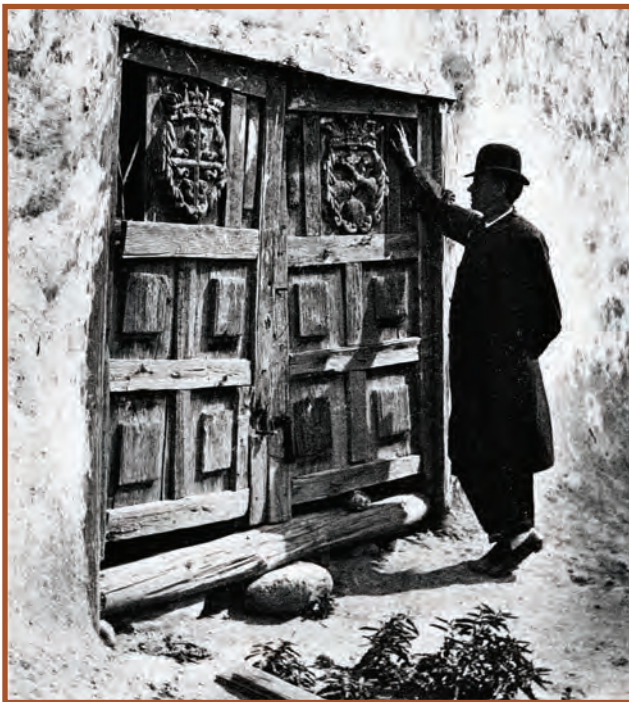
From adolescence the young Bandelier worked on the family farm and in his father's bank. In 1861 he married Josephine Huegy, the daughter of a Ryhiner Bank partner, almost four years his senior. Although Josephine, or Joe as she was usually called, was married to Bandelier for thirty-one years, we know little about her. Virtually none of her letters has survived, and a diary kept for a few weeks during a trip to Europe is remarkably uninformative. Photographs of Joe show very little change over the years—a placid, round-faced woman who stared blankly at the camera. Though she appears over and over in Bandelier's own journals and letters, we get very little insight into Joe's character. In the journal entries, Bandelier extolled her "goodness" and said that he loved her, missed her, and depended on her, but he said very little about her. Father Bandelier once referred to his daughter-in-law as "shy," and a female friend remarked that she was a remarkable cook but that Bandelier got very little intellectual stimulation from her.

Joe remained in Highland during most of Bandelier's business and research trips. She was left behind again on this initial journey to New Mexico. From Raton, Bandelier passed through Las Vegas and finally reached Santa Fe around 7:30 PM. The next morning, August 24, he remarked, "Slept till 9:00 AM with bedbugs." His hotel, or whatever other accommodation, has not been firmly identified.

During the New Mexico years, Adolph traveled incessantly. Almost immediately after his arrival in the territory, he began his first project, an archaeological and historical study of the recently deserted Pueblo of Pecos in the Pecos Valley, southeast of Santa Fe. Returning to the Santa Fe area in early September, the scholar attempted to work at Keresan-speaking Santo Domingo Pueblo. When his naïveté and lack of tact met a hostile reception, he moved a few miles up the Rio Grande to the Keresan pueblo of Cochiti. For the next three months, Bandelier worked in the Cochiti area, garnering a large amount of rather disconnected information—ethnological, archaeological, and linguistic. Led by Cochiti guides, he reached the isolated Frijoles Canyon during this time, with its spectacular pueblo ruins. In mid-December he returned to home and family in Highland.

In 1881, temporarily changing directions, the AIA sent Bandelier to Mexico for a number of months. Back in the United States, he began planning a return to the Southwest. This time with Josephine in tow, Adolph reached Santa Fe in mid-March 1882. Leaving Joe with friends in Albuquerque, he explored parts of northern and central New Mexico and toyed with the idea of a trip to the spectacular ruins of Chaco Canyon but decided to concentrate instead on areas farther south. In fact, Bandelier never visited Chaco at any time during the southwestern years.

Taking Josephine back to Highland in July, Bandelier returned to New Mexico late in the year, and the end of 1882 found him in the Salinas region, exploring the large historic pueblos of Quarai, Abo, and Gran Quivira. Early in 1883 he came back to the Rio Grande and then traveled west to Zuni Pueblo, where he met the ethnologist Frank Hamilton Cushing, who was living in the pueblo. From Zuni he traveled by horseback to southern Arizona, carrying a letter from Robert Todd Lincoln, US Secretary of War and son of the Civil War president, directing military personnel in the territory to give him any needed help. He also depended on a vast network of people who offered hospitality and places where he



Adolph F. Bandelier at the mission doors, Santo Domingo Pueblo, Oct. 1, 1880. Neg. No. 4299, Palace of the Governors (MNM/DCA).

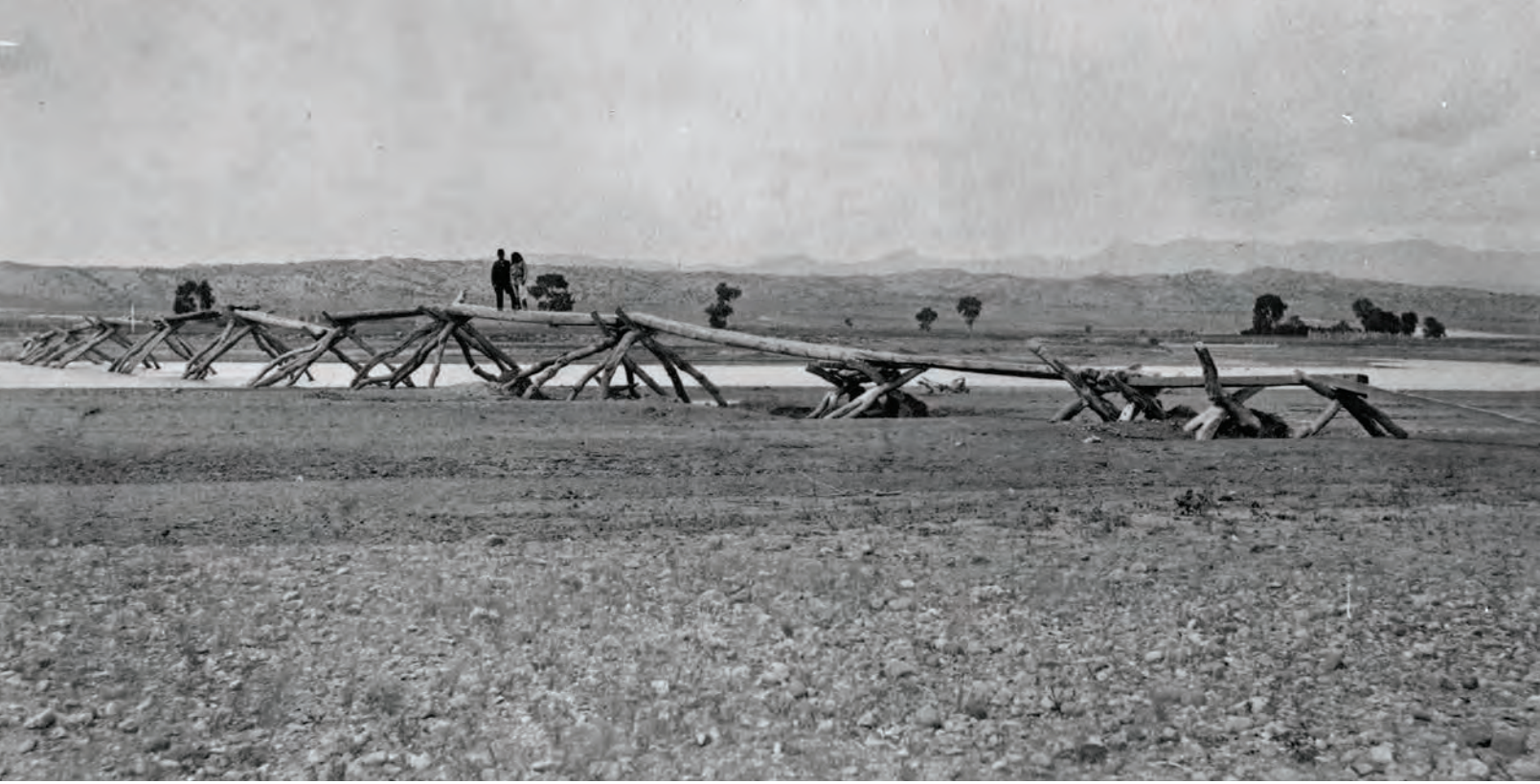
New Mexico on Foot

When Bandelier first reached New Mexico in 1880, rail lines connecting major population centers were just beginning their rapid expansion into the Southwest. There were also stage lines, but the main vehicles used in transportation were wagons and carriages. However, because roads were often very poor, many travelers rode horses or mules. And walking was always an option.

It happened to be an option that Bandelier favored. While in the Greater Southwest, and later in Peru and Bolivia, he never hesitated to walk, sometimes for long distances. While living at Cochiti, he often traveled on foot. In 1880, for example, he walked from Santa Domingo to Cochiti, to Peña Blanca south of Cochiti, and to La Bajada, where the old road descended the escarpment into the Rio Grande Valley. He walked part of the way from Cochiti to Frijoles and adjacent canyons, though he used local horses or mules occasionally. On the winter trip to the Salinas area in the winter of 1883–84, he went by wagon, but with side trips on foot, including one carrying a heavy camera in deep, drifted snow. Traversing northwest Mexico in 1884, he rode his horse Chico but would often walk for long stretches of trail. After settling in Santa Fe in 1885, he thought nothing of going on foot to nearby pueblos such as Tesuque.

Sometimes it is not possible to tell from his journal entries whether Bandelier was afoot or on horseback, but often both were involved. For example, in 1888 he made a trip from the Española area across the Jemez Mountains to Valle Grande and on into the Jemez River drainage. Following the river, he reached Jemez Pueblo and continued to Zia and Santa Ana. He reached the Rio Grande at Bernalillo and followed the river north to Peña Blanca, where Papa Bandelier was living. This trip began on horseback, but large segments were done on foot, including the last leg of the journey, from Santa Ana to Bernalillo to Peña Blanca, and thence on to Santa Fe.

Of course, some of this travel on foot was necessitated by the extremely rough terrain that Bandelier explored and/or the unavailability of horses. But in large part it seemed to be a matter of preference. Adolph Bandelier really liked to walk. —CLR



Adolph F. Bandelier and others on a footbridge across the Rio Grande, near Santo Domingo Pueblo, 1880.
Neg. No. 2140, Palace of the Governors (MNM/DCA).

could receive and send mail. This practice, from the earliest days in the Southwest, was repeated in Mexico and years later in Peru and Bolivia. His contacts were army personnel, fellow scholars, business people, ranchers, and other settlers of various ethnicities, many of them German.

The trip to the Gila area was not without drama. On April 28 a telegraph from army headquarters in Arizona informed the world that Apache Indians had killed Bandelier. He frantically telegraphed Josephine to assure her of his safety. The following year (1884) saw Bandelier in northern Mexico in spite of the Apache danger. He traveled through northeastern Sonora, then turned east to northwestern Chihuahua, visiting among other places the great prehistoric site of Casas Grandes.

Returning to Highland, he found the Ryhiner Bank, the source of heavy investments by his father, to be in deep financial trouble. In spite of desperate attempts to shore up the bank, its affairs became ever more chaotic. In late April 1885, the Swiss bankers who had underwritten the bank withdrew their support, and the bank collapsed. Infuriated creditors gathered, and Papa promptly fled the country, leaving a bitter and nearly penniless Adolph to face the consequences of his father's betrayal. The younger Bandelier spent a night in the county jail, but it soon became clear that his association with the bank was incidental, and no charges were pressed. Nevertheless, distant New Mexico was no longer simply a

research opportunity. It now became a family refuge.

For the next seven years, Bandelier and Joe were centered in Santa Fe. In spite of their uncertain financial situation, they purchased a house on East De Vargas Street and seem to have lived comfortably. The AIA-sponsored work ended in 1885, but Bandelier had a number of irons in the fire. In 1886 he joined the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition as historiographer. That same year Archbishop Jean-Baptiste Salpointe of Santa Fe commissioned him to write an account of the southwestern missions for the golden jubilee of Pope Leo XIII. There was also income from books and articles in various languages, but it was a catch-as-catch-can life, and the return of the demanding and cantankerous Papa Bandelier from a long exile in Venezuela injected a note of discord into the couple's generally placid life. Here, Josephine showed a hitherto unsuspected mettle, not hesitating to rebuke Papa for his tyrannical behavior.

When the financier Henry Villard offered Bandelier and his colleague, Charles F. Lummis, a contract to collect antiquities in Peru, they quickly accepted. In May 1892 Adolph and Josephine left Santa Fe for the West Coast. Significantly, Papa was left in Santa Fe with his grandniece (Adolph's cousin), Elizabeth "Lizzie" Bandelier Kaune. During her childhood, Lizzie had lived with Adolph and Joe as an informally adopted daughter, and with her husband had followed the family to



Fanny and Adolph at home, with their ever-present dogs, no date. Detail from Neg. No. 7049, Palace of the Governors (MNM/DCA).

Santa Fe. Several subsequent attempts by Papa to join the Bandeliers in South America were rebuffed, and the old man eventually returned to Switzerland to die.

In Lima, Peru, the Bandeliers envisioned a new life and new career, but events rapidly overran their plans. In early December 1892, Josephine became desperately ill with a blockage of the intestines, a malady locally called “colico miserere,” which defeated the skills of the Lima physicians. Joe lingered for a few days in great pain and died December 11, leaving Adolph stunned and despairing.

Though Bandelier’s grief was certainly genuine, on Christmas morning he proposed to Fanny Ritter, daughter of the family the Bandeliers were staying with in Lima. Not only the timing of the proposal was unusual: Fanny was less than half Adolph’s age. According to him, it was Josephine’s deathbed wish that the two be married, and she had placed Adolph and Fanny’s hands together as a dying gesture. Even with Joe’s intervention and Fanny’s ready acceptance of the proposal, the marriage was delayed for a year, probably as a stop to propriety.

In 1894 the American Museum of National History took over the Villard contract, and Bandelier remained with the

Joe and Fanny

In spite of his rapid transition to a new marriage, there can be no doubt Adolph Bandelier had a deep (perhaps obsessive is a better word) regard for his first wife, Josephine. After her death in Lima, Peru, in December 1892, Josephine attained a supernatural status, at least in Bandelier’s mind. Adolph envisioned her as an angel in heaven who, henceforth, would help guide his earthly journey. Bandelier clearly believed that the celestial Josephine had become his ally against a fickle and bad-humored deity, a sort of oversized “Papa” up in the sky.

One wonders what the lively and outspoken Fanny, Bandelier’s second wife, who had known Joe for only five months before the latter’s fatal illness, really thought of this beyond-the-grave relationship. Though Fanny wrote voluminously during her forty plus years as Bandelier’s wife and widow, she made very little mention of Joe. Late in life, a lonely and frightened Fanny made a number of attempts by automatic writing to contact and get help from Adolph and others who had “passed over.” Josephine is ignored. —CLR



Josephine Huegy Bandelier.
Photograph by C. L. Maechtlen, ca.
1878. Neg. No. 9129, Palace of the
Governors (MNM/DCA).



Fanny Bandelier. Detail from
photograph by E. Courret y Cia. Neg.
No. 9128, Palace of the Governors
(MNM/DCA).



Adolph F. Bandelier, photographed in Seville, Spain. No date. Neg. No. 9145.
Courtesy of the Palace of the Governors (MNM/DCA).

AMNH for a number of years, first in Peru and Bolivia, then at the museum in New York. An attempt in 1907 by New Mexico's former governor, L. Bradford Prince, and Mrs. Prince to secure Bandelier a position with the Museum of New Mexico fell through for reasons now unclear. The final fieldwork of Adolph and Fanny was sponsored by the Carnegie Institution of Washington: a research trip to Mexico in 1911, then Spain and the famous archives of Seville. It was in Seville, alone with Fanny in the early hours of March 18, 1914, that Adolph Bandelier died.

When Bandelier left New Mexico in 1892, he almost certainly expected to return, for his father and surrogate daughter lived there. But as events unfolded, he never saw the Southwest again. Though she lived for twenty-two years after Adolph's death, a life spent promoting her husband and his works, Fanny Bandelier seems never to have visited New Mexico.

This is surprising, for the New Mexico years were surely the most productive period in Adolph Bandelier's professional career. He was very much a part of the intellectual life of New Mexico during this period of rapid growth in the territory. He studied the Pueblo Indians and Pueblo ruins, both historic and prehispanic, and the early Spanish documentation of early New Mexico. His first archaeological publication, on Pecos Pueblo, appeared in 1881, as did the first of many writings on New Mexico Hispanic history. The two parts of Bandelier's great *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States* came out in 1890–92, and beginning in 1880 there were monographs and a flood of articles and reviews written in several languages in scholarly journals, popular magazines, and newspapers. Some of this material, including a book coauthored with Edgar Lee Hewett, *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*, was published as late as the 1930s.

During the New Mexico years Bandelier also experimented with fiction. After writing *The Delight Makers*, a novel about the prehistoric Cochiti Indians, he began a novel about the Coronado period in New Mexico that never progressed beyond the first few chapters. *The Delight Makers*, however, has long been considered a minor classic of American literature. It and Bandelier National Monument, located in Frijoles Canyon near Cochiti and established in 1916 to honor the Swiss-born scientist, are the things for which Bandelier is best known today, permanently establishing his link with New Mexico. ■

Carroll L. Riley, Ph.D., is the author of many books including these that are related to the topic: *Bandelier: the Life and Adventures of Adolph F. Bandelier*, 1996, Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, Salt Lake City, The University of Utah Press; and from The University of New Mexico Press, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier: 1880–1982* (1966); *The Southwestern Journals, 1883–1884* (1970), edited and annotated by Lange and Riley; *The Southwestern Journals, 1885–1888* (1975); and *The Southwestern Journals, 1889–1992* (1984), edited and annotated by Lange, Riley and Elizabeth M. Lange. He lives in Las Vegas, New Mexico, and is a contributing writer at *El Palacio*. Photograph by Eliza Wells Smith.



Read "Adolph Bandelier's Last Journey," letters by Fanny Bandelier, at elpalacio.org