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THE "LOST" MANUSCRIPT OF ADOLPH BANDELIER

MADELINE RODACK

OF ALL THE WORKS by Adolph Francis Bandelier, one of the most outstanding is his lengthy history of the Borderlands, often referred to as the "lost" manuscript. For many years its whereabouts remained unknown, in spite of every effort on the part of various prominent scholars to locate it. Repeated searches finally unearthed the document in an obscure corner of the Vatican Library. The story of the manuscript is an intriguing one and is not yet finished, for today its future still remains uncertain.

This important work of Adolph Bandelier might never have been written if that eminent historian, archaeologist, anthropologist and ethnologist of the Indians of the Southwest and of Northern Mexico had not found himself practically penniless in the city of Santa Fe in the year 1885. This was not a customary situation for Bandelier. Back in Switzerland where he was born his family never was lacking in resources. His father had been a prominent citizen in Canton Berne, a judge and an influential politician. Even when they came to the New World in 1848 and settled in the pleasant Swiss community of Highland, Illinois, they had no complaints. The boy, who was only eight when they arrived in America, was brought up in an atmosphere of comfort. His father lost no time in joining with two other local businessmen, F. Ryhiner and Mortiz Huegy, to establish a bank, known as F. Ryhiner & Co. He bought a farm near town and built a fine comfortable house. There was no need to actually work the farm to any great extent—the family lived there as on an estate and the Bandeliers were highly respected as leading members of the community. Perhaps they were not really rich, but they were considered quite well off.

As young Bandelier grew up, worked in his father's bank, and married Josephine Huegy, the daughter of one of his father's partners, his life seemed to be a model of ease and stability. He hated business and banking, and he willingly found time for the scientific and scholarly pursuits that really interested him. He enjoyed his trips to the excellent Mercantile Library in St. Louis, 40 miles away, where he could consult and even borrow books and documents relating to Spanish conquest, Aztec civilization, Indians of the Southwest, and he could absorb all of the archaeological, ethnological and historical information that he found so fascinating. To the collection of languages that he already possessed (French, German and English) he was able to add Spanish as well. Established scholars such as Lewis H. Morgan, the pioneer authority on the Iroquois, and Joaquín García-Icazbalceta, the celebrated Mexican historian, were showing interest in his early efforts. He had few material complaints; if only he could be free of that hateful bank. But from it came his family's income, and it was not easy to break away from his father who was a strong-willed and autocratic man. Bandelier did not like to think about money. He rarely had to. His main concern was how to follow his scholarly interests far from the daily routine of business and banking.

The pressures of trying to live in two worlds—the one he loved and the one he hated—led Bandelier to a nervous breakdown, and the doctor's orders to cease all intellectual activity forced him to make a decision. At long last he gave up the bank rather than his scholarly work. His friend Lewis H. Morgan came to the rescue and obtained for him a position with the Archaeological Institute of America, which would send him to New Mexico to make a study of the Indians of the Southwest. The salary was \$1,200 a year. It is unlikely that Bandelier lived entirely on this, though he seemingly preferred to stand on his own two feet as much as possible. He nevertheless still had the family resources to rely on in an emergency. But having his own income gave him the feeling of independence that he needed on that August day in 1880 when, at the age of 40, he boarded the train for Santa Fe.

At last the erstwhile amateur was able to become a professional. He was employed full time to do the work that he loved. He

could implement his firm belief that the historian should get out into the field and study at first hand the places and peoples to which the archives had introduced him. He started with Pecos, his first archaeological site (with the sole exception of the Cahokia Mounds which stood practically in his own back yard in Highland, but which were far different from anything he found in New Mexico). His report to his employer on Pecos, published by the Archaeological Institute as *A Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of the Río Pecos*,¹ was ready within a month. And here for the first time Bandelier drew upon a hitherto little used artistic talent to illustrate the book with ground-plans and pen-and-ink sketches, accurate enough to serve as guides to the ruins of Pecos even today.

Next, Bandelier seized upon an opportunity to live in Santo Domingo Pueblo to observe the customs and habits of the Indians there. But his lack of experience caused him an abrupt setback. Too inquisitive and aggressive for the inhabitants, who did not care to divulge their most secret rituals, beliefs and traditions so quickly to a stranger, Bandelier had an argument with the governor within a few days and was forced to leave. At nearby Cochiti he fared better and managed to make friends and gain information. Perhaps he had learned from his earlier experience. Here he spent a great deal of time painting and sketching the objects and people that he saw around him. It was then that he first visited the Rito de los Frijoles, now in Bandelier National Monument, an area which would later become the setting for his fascinating "pot-boiler" novel, *The Delight Makers*.

In 1881, the Archaeological Institute of America sent Bandelier to Mexico as its representative on the Lorillard Expedition,² to study the ruins of ancient cities there, but, much to his disappointment, the expedition was given up just as he arrived. According to his agreement with Lorillard and the Archaeological Institute, however, he was able to stay and carry on some of the work alone in the area of Mitla, Cholula, Puebla and Oaxaca. Upon his return to the United States he spent several years visiting all the New Mexican pueblos, travelling on to Arizona and into Sonora and Chihuahua on horseback, drawing and painting as he went and keeping a meticulous journal in a fine handwriting on diminutive

sheets of paper carried in his saddlebags. The Archaeological Institute was paying him and he was doing what he loved. It seemed that Adolph Bandelier had found himself at last.

During these years Bandelier was working on a comprehensive report which he owed to the Archaeological Institute of America. This book which was eventually published as the *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States (1890-1892)*,³ covered every aspect of "Southwestern" and Northern Mexican history, archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology. It seemed really essential to accompany the massive text with illustrations wherever possible, and these by rights, Bandelier felt, should appear in the original color of his sketches. But this, even as today, was a fearfully expensive process. Even if he had turned to his family's resources, he could not have hoped to meet the costs. Bandelier was then struck with the thought that in Europe, perhaps in Germany, the work might be done more cheaply. Thus, toward the end of 1884, he made a trip abroad. Again, this could hardly have been done on the yearly \$1,200 from the Archaeological Institute. His father did in fact help, and legitimately enough, for at the same time Bandelier was also charged with a mission relating to the bank.

For some time problems had been developing in the family business. F. Ryhiner & Co. had made some injudicious land investments, with the result that the financial base of the company was becoming shaky. Some depositors in Switzerland, of whom there were a goodly number, had learned of this and had become concerned. They were threatening to withdraw their deposits, which would have been disastrous to Ryhiner. Bandelier's mission was to attempt to placate these creditors. He tried his best to convince them of the bank's stability, while he also tried to find an inexpensive means of reproducing his watercolor sketches.

As far as the bank was concerned, all seemed friendly. The Berne firm of Gruner-Haller & Co. that represented the Swiss creditors agreed to send a member of their staff to Highland to investigate the situation before making any drastic moves. With his drawings, however, Bandelier had less success. He showed them to various people and to several museums in Germany, but was

unable to obtain any assistance. The thought came to him that the originals might at least have some monetary value. This idea may have originated with the opinion expressed by Bandelier's friend, celebrated historian Francis Parkman,⁴ who had observed a few months before that they were "very saleable." Though unable to have them reproduced at a reasonable cost, Bandelier left them in Berlin with a Dr. Herman Gerlich whom he had known as German Consul in St. Louis, in the hope that the originals could be sold. Later there even seemed to be some suggestion that the Prussian government was prepared to publish them, but nothing came of it.

Thus, discouraged as far as his drawings were concerned, but somewhat encouraged regarding the bank, Bandelier returned to Highland in April of 1885, to find that the representative of Gruner-Haller & Co. had suggested some workable compromises. But negotiations were interrupted by word from Switzerland that Gruner-Haller's support was being withdrawn. Just why they did so at this point, when discussions were in progress, is not quite clear. But without this support the company could not meet its obligations and, when the word got out, a run started on the bank on April 28, 1885, forcing it to close its doors the next day.

Bandelier's father had conveniently made a trip to New Orleans a couple of days before. A letter arrived stating that his return need not be expected, and there was no word as to where he could be reached. The elder Bandelier's two partners were now the sons of the original men. F. Ryhiner, Jr. and Moritz Huegy, Jr. had each inherited his share of the partnership from his father. Ryhiner quickly took refuge with relatives in Dubuque, Iowa when the bank closed. He offered to return, but only did so much later. Moritz Huegy, Bandelier's brother-in-law, was the only partner remaining in town. He and Bandelier were arrested and charged with accepting deposits in spite of being aware of the bank's uncertain status, and with using bank funds for personal purposes. Huegy, unable to face the situation, committed suicide before the end of May. In the midst of Bandelier's ordeal, the shock of losing his brother-in-law was a terrible blow. And the former businessman turned scholar, though he had never been a

partner and had not even been a regular resident of Highland for several years, was left alone to bear the blame for the bank's failure.

He spent one night in jail at the county seat of Edwardsville, but was finally released on bond put up by a friend, Charles Boeschstein. However, to fulfill the bank's obligations to its creditors, Bandelier, holding his father's power of attorney, was obliged to turn over all his and his family's personal assets to them. This included not only all cash, but also all property—the farm and the house in which he had grown up.

There was nothing more for Bandelier in Highland. He and his wife Joe decided henceforth to make Santa Fe their home. Because of their impecunious situation as well as her poor health, Joe was obliged to remain in Highland with relatives for a few months, but the same friend who had gone bond for Bandelier helped raise funds for the scholar to go back to New Mexico. Bandelier remained subject to a summons to return later to Edwardsville for indictment and trial.

Thus, at the age of 44, Adolph Bandelier seemingly had nothing left. By an unfortunate coincidence, his salary from the Archaeological Institute of America had terminated shortly before the bank failure. The Institute apparently considered the project finished (except for the "Final Report" that he still owed them) and had cancelled his appointment as their representative. From here on, Bandelier's *Journals*⁵ constantly complain of the desperate need for money. The necessity of finding an income from somewhere became urgent. For all intents and purposes, Adolph Bandelier was broke.

As an established scholar he had by now made numerous contacts with various publications, many of which were in Germany. He wrote German with no difficulty. In fact, back in 1883, he had started to write a novel in that language, *Die Köshare*, about the early inhabitants of the Rito de los Frijoles. It had not progressed very far, but writing in German came naturally to him, despite the fact that he was of French Swiss origin. At the time of the disaster he was already working on a series of articles on "Cíbola" for the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*.⁶ In Germany he had called on various contacts and was known at the offices of such publications as *Das*

Ausland and Berlin's *National-Zeitung*. Several German-American papers, mainly St. Louis's *Westliche Post*, along with the *Staatszeitung*, were willing to read his work. He quickly set out to follow through on these contacts and sent out articles right and left, many of which were accepted. He hastened to add to the series of letters he had been writing for *Das Ausland*⁷ and wrote an article on the Apaches for the *Westliche Post*.⁸ In June of 1885 he mentions in his *Journals* that he was writing a paper for the *National-Zeitung*.⁹

Bandelier also sent some material in English to *The Nation*, for which he mentioned receiving \$20. This publication had printed a number of his articles in the past. He often wrote in English on many of the same subjects that he had dealt with in German. In August of 1885 he heard that some French publications were looking for material and he had recourse to his knowledge of French, which was more difficult for him to write. He managed to sell a rather lengthy piece on Fray Marcos de Niza to the *Revue d'Ethnographie* of Paris which published it in three installments.¹⁰ Later a shorter English article on the same subject appeared in the *Magazine of Western History*.¹¹

In October of 1885 he was called back to Edwardsville for indictment in the bank failure. At that time he took the final steps in signing over the last bit of his former possessions to the assignees of the bank—his share in the Confidence Coal and Mining Company of Illinois, which he had held for many years. He stated in his *Journals* that all he wanted from then on was time to make "an honest though modest living."¹² Bandelier was fortunate in that his case never did come to trial. Before this could take place things seem to have calmed down, people had cooled off, and the charges were eventually dropped. However, to this day, there are those in Highland who believe that Bandelier's research was financed by illegal bank withdrawals.

After returning from Edwardsville he continued writing even more profusely, for the *New York World*, the *Westliche Post*, *The Nation*, the *Globe Democrat*, the *Boston Advertiser*, the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, and of course, his old standby the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*. Occasionally his *Journals* mention receiving payments for his work—\$13 from *The Nation*; \$26.50

from the *Staatszeitung*, and another time, \$16; \$14.25 from the *Magazine of Western History*; \$25 from the *Westliche Post*. It did not seem to add up to a great deal, but one hopes he received more than he recorded. He always was a little in debt, but each time he received a check he paid some outstanding bill.

During this period, Bandelier had the idea of reviving the novel, *Die Köshare*, that he had started several years earlier, and wrote at it periodically in German. However, his contacts in Germany did not come through to publish it as he had hoped, and he ended up by undertaking an English translation. Unfortunately, this venture never did pay off to any great extent during his lifetime. Though it was partially published in German in the *Belletristisches Journal* of New York¹³ and eventually appeared in the English version as *The Delight Makers*,¹⁴ it never sold well and he received very little remuneration from it. Only years later, after his death, did it become a best seller, appearing in several editions right up to the present.

In December of 1885, after his return from Edwardsville, Bandelier turned to giving lessons in Spanish and possibly in German or French. At times he mentioned giving two or even three in a day (though not every day) and seems to have been pretty busy with his teaching. He received \$10 here and \$5 there "for lessons." For \$15 a month he and Joe managed to rent three rooms in a house which still stands today on De Vargas Street in Santa Fe, and is now owned by descendants of the Bandelier family, but he was often late in paying the rent. His *Journals* repeatedly complain about this way of life: "It is miserable. But then what else can I expect but misery."¹⁵ "No money and nothing coming in."¹⁶ "Our money giving out already."¹⁷ "No resources, no money from nowhere. Everything looks gloomy and dreary."¹⁸

In May of 1886, out of the blue, came a letter from "Papa." Bandelier, Sr., who had disappeared in New Orleans after the bank failure, had made his way to Venezuela. There is no mention of how he managed to live, but now he wrote that he was well and doing all right.¹⁹ Eventually he returned to stay with his son in Santa Fe, but fortunately for Adolph not until 1888, when the worst of the hard times were past. In 1886 all that the younger Bandelier would have needed was an extra mouth to feed!

Meanwhile, back in Germany, Dr. Gerlich had been no more successful with the drawings than had Bandelier. In May of 1886 he finally returned them and Bandelier received word that they were at the German Consulate in St. Louis and would be forwarded to him. Perhaps this mention of his "plates" reminded him that in some way his drawings might still bring in some money, which he now needed more than ever before. He quickly assembled any that he had not left in Germany, together with some that he had made since, and took advantage of an opportunity a few days later to show them to Archbishop Salpointe²⁰ with whom he had become quite friendly. Present upon that occasion was "Father Stephen" who, said Bandelier, "looked at the drawings very closely and promises to do what he can for their publication."²¹ Just what Father Stephen could do for him was unclear, but apparently he had connections, because Bandelier shortly afterward sent an article to him in Chicago. The priest was apparently Monsignor J. A. Stephen, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, who later did help Bandelier in various ways, employing him temporarily near the end of 1887 as Inspector of Indian Pueblos. In any case, it is doubtful if Father Stephen was able to help Bandelier directly as far as the drawings were concerned, but Archbishop Salpointe had had the opportunity to study them. When the ones left in Germany arrived a few days later, these too became available for any other use.

On June 7, Bandelier stated that "in despair, I went down to Archbishop Salpointe, who at once advanced me \$100." Whether this was just a loan, or whether the Archbishop already had formulated an idea regarding Bandelier's drawings is uncertain. Nothing happened immediately and Bandelier went on fighting his way through the summer, managing to eke out a living by continuing to publish various articles and to give language lessons. He visited the Archbishop periodically, but there is no mention of what they discussed. Finally, on August 23 he met with Salpointe and a Monsignor Straniero who may have been connected with the Vatican's arrangements for Pope Leo XIII's Golden Jubilee which was to take place at the end of 1887.²² The very next day Bandelier wrote in his *Journals*: "Went down town early and saw the Archbishop. He takes hold of the sale of the drawings for the

- 22^d of August A.D. 1886. Sunday.) I took # 53.
 2.30 p.m. with us. Strong Wind from the East set in after night
 fell, & soon Rain began. — At 8.55 P.M. the sky suddenly
 lit up for about 10 seconds. Possibly a meteor above the clouds.
 Snowing all night. Eddy went out to Teague. This my bad.
- 23^d of August A.D. 1886. Monday.) Heard Rain & E'ly Wind
 all night until after
 sunrise. The clouds broke in places & it grew warm. Letter from
 Lapa. I finished my article on the Cholula massacre &
 mailed it. I read matters for the Archbishop. Monsignor
 Stravens here & I spent part of the evening with him about the
 drawings. — It cleared at night. Cool, E'ly Wind. —
- 24th of August A.D. 1886. Tuesday.) Morning fine. Day
 hot. Went down
 town early & saw the Archbishop. He talks hold of the sale
 of the drawings for the purpose of presenting them to Pope Leo
 XIII. — Not again — mailed — Art. VI to Pretorius. —
 Evening at Fischer's. Very fine. Got a letter from F.L.
 Smith, — catalogue of Vreba, & water. — mail late.
- 25th of August A.D. 1886. Wednesday.) Beautiful
 morning. Cool &
 cloudless. Our river is high again since Monday morning.
 It rained slightly in the afternoon, thundered also. — I
 translated in Cap. III. Night very dark & rainy. Dr. J.
- 26th of August A.D. 1886. Thursday.) Beautiful morning
 Cool, — N.W. by breeze.
 Few clouds only. — It gradually cleared, but although
 thunder was very violent, little Rain fell comparatively.
 I finished Chap. III. Got a letter from J. D. Warner &
 replied to it at once. — Night cool & calm, stars out,
 but only dim. Began to write at the first chapter of the big
 book suggested by Archbishop Salpointe. — In French.
- 27th of August A.D. 1886. Friday.) Beautifully cool morning.
 Thick northerly Wind. No
 letters from. Rain in the afternoon. Cool. Mailed Art. IV. & the
 main chapter Allegance, & mailed to W. J. G. with letters. Art. VI to
 Pretorius. Archbishop here. age ... Evening at ...

purpose of presenting them to Pope Leo XIII." Two days later, on August 26, he wrote: "Began to write at the first chapter of the big book suggested by Archbishop Salpointe. In French."

This is the first mention of the book that was to become the voluminous *Histoire de la Civilisation et des Missions de Sonora, Chihuahua, Nouveau-Mexique et Arizona jusqu'à l'année 1700*.²³ Bandelier does not explain how it all came about, but it is quite evident that the drawings were the key to the whole project. Bandelier first went to the Archbishop with these illustrations, either for publication or for sale. It may have been the Archbishop's idea or it may have come from Monsignor Straniero, but someone around this time obviously suggested that Bandelier write a book and that the drawings should be included in the project as a presentation to the Pope. There is no mention of money, yet it would be hardly likely that such a task would be commissioned without an offer of some remuneration, especially in view of Bandelier's financial straits. Possibly Salpointe even had something in mind already when he "advanced" Bandelier the \$100, though Monsignor Straniero had not yet appeared on the scene.

Thus, because he was broke and in desperate need, Bandelier obtained the most important assignment of his life. His *Final Report*, which was not yet published (1890-92), may have been as lengthy a book, but he had taken years to write it. Here he had a deadline, hardly more than a year, for composing the whole history of the Indian civilizations, the Spanish conquest and colonization and the establishment of the missions in the area of the New World frontier, over a period of two centuries. The Jubilee celebrations were not far off. The anniversary of Leo XIII's priesthood would fall on December 31, 1887, and that of his first mass on January 1, 1888. The completed work was to be in Rome by that time. And Bandelier was going to have to write this book in French, a language which he did not particularly enjoy using since it seemed to give him some difficulty. In a letter to Charles Eliot Norton, President of the Archaeological Institute of America, he stated later on: "French is a horrid language to write in owing to grammar and syntax. I prefer German, Spanish and English, most decidedly, to French, notwithstanding the latter is my native tongue."²⁴ Presumably, however, French was the only language

he had in common with the Pope. No mention is ever made of any specific reason for the choice of language, unless of course Salpointe's own French origin was influential in the decision. The gift was to be from the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and was to be illustrated by a selection of the famous drawings.

However, the matter was not completely settled yet. On September 13, Bandelier wrote that the Archbishop's "talk is good," and that "the thing will probably go, but I must still—wait." Apparently the Archbishop was getting approval for his plan, for it was not until October 1 that Bandelier stated: "The Archbishop is home, and he directed me to begin at once. Thank God. . . ." His pleasure at being given the go-ahead could only have been caused by the knowledge that some remuneration would follow. Certainly the idea of writing a large book in French could not in itself have made him so thankful.

Meanwhile, Bandelier had some magazine articles to finish and worked from time to time on his translation of his novel. The chapter that he had started on August 26 was probably done only to get the feel of how to go about the job, but he finally got down to work on October 4, with some misgivings. "Began on my work for Pope Leo XIII! May God help me. . . ." By October 7 he had finished Chapter I. This was actually the first chapter of Part II (of seven parts), but he had not yet worked out the structure of the book and no specific parts had yet been planned. It was natural, however, that he should have started with the history of the earliest times of the Conquest and the subsequent exploration and colonization, which constitute the subject of Part II. Part I, concerning the physical aspects of the Borderlands area, was conceived later.²⁵

From then on Bandelier devoted much of his time to the "Histoire." He had arranged with Father Julius Deraches to copy the manuscript for him in order to revise it as he went. Bandelier was fully aware of the need for correction in his French text. On October 7 he turned the first chapters over to Deraches for revision. Working steadily, he completed ten chapters in a little more than a month, but not without incident. He had been reading his work to Archbishop Salpointe as he went along and the latter was quite pleased, paying him \$50 on October 20. Father Deraches, however, suddenly declined to do the copying work. No reason was

given except that Bandelier mentioned that the priest wrote him a "foolish letter" and bowed out.²⁶ The work was taken over by Father Augustin Navet, a friend of Bandelier and parish priest at the nearby town of Peña Blanca. No explanation is given of this, either. The scholar merely states on December 11 that he would be giving some of the manuscript to Navet to work on. By that time ten chapters of what was to be Part II were finished and Bandelier had gone back to fill in Part I. Its five chapters he found difficult to write, since they consisted of scientific material on the flora, fauna, geology, climatology and hydrology of the area, and he was obliged to do a great deal of research for specific information.

With all this work to be done and a tendency toward writer's cramp, Bandelier had found it necessary to acquire a typewriter. This was the Hammond that he often mentions in his *Journals* and which kept breaking down over the years, but which at this time proved to be of great assistance. On November 22, Bandelier received another \$90 from the Archbishop, presumably on account.

Next, Bandelier turned to a section that interested him more, the one that he entitled "Antiquities." This concerns the pottery, implements, dwellings, rock art, architectural details, agricultural methods and general habits of the early Indians, which later became Part VII, the last part of the book. He only completed two chapters of it however, before he began to prepare around Christmas, 1886, for a trip to Mexico City to consult the Archives there.

This trip was justified and partially financed thanks to another piece of luck that had come Bandelier's way. No sooner had he received a final commitment from Archbishop Salpointe than a letter arrived from his friend Frank Hamilton Cushing.²⁷ Cushing had been appointed head of the Hemenway Expedition, a project set up by a rich Massachusetts woman, Mrs. Mary Hemenway, to carry out a study of the Indians of the Southwest. Cushing felt that Bandelier would make an excellent historiographer for the expedition and offered him that position. Bandelier's main task would be to build an accessible archive on the Indians, taken from historical documents. From a famine, life for Bandelier became a feast. Coming so closely upon the heels of his other windfall, it seemed almost more than the scholar could undertake, but it was the kind

of work that he loved and he could not turn it down. For this he was paid \$116 a month, and part of what he had to do was to copy pertinent documents from the Archives of Mexico City. Thus he was able to go to Mexico to carry out the Hemenway assignment and also to research certain portions of the material needed for the book for the Pope.

After arriving in Mexico City in January 1887, he spent a great deal of time on the "Histoire." Returning to Part II, he finished the other four chapters and sent them off to the Archbishop by the beginning of February. A check for \$75 was forthcoming. Then he tackled Part III, on the peoples and missions of Chihuahua. However, he did not get beyond Chapter I when he interrupted this work to copy the archival documents that he had come to study. Until May 28, when he had already returned to Santa Fe, he never mentioned the "Histoire" in his *Journals*, only his copying work at the Archives. After his return, however, he quickly got back to the Pope's book and finished Part III. He commented that this section was very difficult for him for the material was new to him, "almost." Though there are four chapters in Part III, he never mentioned when he wrote Chapter IV. Presumably he did not do it immediately, for the day after finishing Chapter III he reported that he returned to his "Antiquities," Part VII, to begin its Chapter II.

June of 1887 had now arrived and much still remained to be done. While working through June and July on the remaining six chapters of Part VII, Bandelier began to assemble his illustrations. The second chapter of Part VII alone included 256 ground-plans and 16 photographs. This work involved going over his whole collection of illustrations and erasing (scratching, as he called it) any inscriptions that may have previously been written on them that were not pertinent to their function in the book, or that were in English or German, as often was the case. Then he had to write new inscriptions in French wherever necessary. On June 27 came another \$30 from the Archbishop. Bandelier was so busy that he had to turn down social engagements. "I cannot afford to be with society that has no other object but entertainment," he wrote.²⁸

The illustrations were then taken to a "printer" who bound them in five leather-covered volumes, after mounting them on

sheets of cardboard. One of these volumes was an atlas of oversize drawings and maps. A topographic engineer of Santa Fe, H. Hartmann, had drawn a basic hectographed map that Bandelier used to plot in the various expedition routes, mission locations, and so forth. After finishing Part VII, he turned to Part V, on Sonora, toward the end of July, and completed its five chapters in mid-August. Part VI came next with seven chapters which the writer completed in mid-September. Here he discussed the various Indian peoples as they were in his own time. Finally, only Part IV remained, a long one of twelve chapters, taking up the historical events during the 17th century. Hurrying on, he managed to finish the last chapter on October 18, 1887, when he wrote in his *Journals* a jubilant "Finished the work for the Pope today! Thank God for it a thousand times!" Another \$90 from the Archbishop punctuated the completion of the assignment.

This, however, was not the end of the work. Father Navet still had a great deal of copying to do. By the time Bandelier finished the writing Navet had done only sixteen chapters, though some were the longest ones. There was nothing more that could be done until the copying was completed. Bandelier himself filled in the notes at the bottom of each page. It was not until January of 1888 that the text was ready to be sent off to Rome. Presumably, though Bandelier makes no specific mention of it, the illustrations had already been sent in the hope of meeting the deadline. The text was late, but all involved had worked as hard and fast as they reasonably could, and there were no complaints. On January 20, 1888 Bandelier helped the Archbishop pack the manuscript to be sent out the following day "by express."

The great task was finally accomplished, though slightly behind schedule. But the story was still not finished. On February 16, 1888, Bandelier received word that the "plates" had not arrived. They had been sent on the Italian ship "Estella" which had not reached port at the expected time. It was feared that she was lost at sea, and there was great consternation on the part of the Archbishop. Those illustrations were the foundation on which the whole project had been built. Bandelier was inclined to be philosophical about the loss, but was nevertheless overjoyed to hear, about ten days later, that the ship was not lost after all but had

17th of October A. D. 1887. Tuesday.) Stun. #36
 clouded shortly after noon, but soon cleared again for a h. or
 night clear, dully, quiet. Henry's furniture came. - sent
 the Introduction & the letter-press, & at the last Chapter! -
 Eddy was down town all day, & came home hopelessly -
 - heartily drunk. - The old bitch is furious. If they only
 would leave soon, for it gets very disagreeable. - went
 down town, to Manderfields, - this afternoon, letter from
 Papa at last. He won't come till March! - letter from Mrs.
 Balogh also.

18th of October A. D. 1887. Monday.) Cloudy, cool, &
 quiet. Faint
 h'ly breeze. Letter from F. Meadell. He wants the books sent
 to St Louis. Very fine on the whole, though clouds about. -
 night clear & quiet. Finished the work for the Pope to day.
 Thank God for it a thousand times! - It is very good! -
 I have now finished the manuscript in eight months at least.
 Henry moved into his new quarters to night. Louis was here.

19th of October A. D. 1887. Wednesday.) At last the
 north wind
 sets. Blowing stiffly & cold. Sina de Abiquiu again
 snow covered. Cloudless & beautiful. Enlivening air. -
 wrote to Papa & to P. Fisher. Also Review of Brinton's book.
 "Natural Songs", & sent it to Garrison. Whole day splendid.
 Got \$90. - from the Archbishop again Henry \$50. - of it.
 Spent a good deal of time down town, at Hartmann's &
 Koch's -

20th of October A. D. 1887. Thursday.) Very similar.
 most beautiful.
 Cool early in the morning. Henry frosts, and killing. Did
 the work for Mrs. Cotton and brought it down to her. The
 whole of the Hartmann family spent the day at the
 ...

21st of October A. D. 1887. Friday.) Very similar, but
 all Colorado
 Wednesday going to Pueblo, or to morning. Most of the
 market. Henry is making up the book up to itself -

made port. The plates had simply "miscarried." They had perhaps somehow been delivered to the wrong destination. No explanation is given as to what actually happened, but they did finally arrive in Rome according to a telegram that Bandelier received on March 7. Presumably the manuscript also arrived in due course, for some time later Bandelier philosophized in a letter to the wife of a friend, Thomas Janvier: "My book for Leo XIII is safely at the Vatican. There it will remain, until doomsday, perhaps. Like everything else, I have had the honor of doing my duty and, as Schiller says, 'The Moor has done his duty; the Moor may go.'"²⁹

From the time when Archbishop Salpointe first suggested the book to Bandelier until they packed the manuscript for shipment to Rome, less than seventeen months had elapsed. It was a monumental task to accomplish in such a relatively short time, especially since Bandelier had other commitments as well during that period. He definitely spent some time during his Mexico City stay working primarily for the Hemenway Expedition. There were also other short breaks in his writing schedule, but the publication of magazine articles and the giving of lessons definitely stopped, although there might of course have been some question as to how much time he was devoting to the Hemenway work outside of the research period in Mexico. In 1938, an interesting correspondence took place between two friends and colleagues of Bandelier, Frederick W. Hodge and Edgar L. Hewett. Hodge, then involved in the search for the "lost" manuscript, wrote to Hewett:

Bandelier was appointed Historiographer of the Hemenway Expedition in December 1886, from which time until the following year he was working on his manuscript for the Archbishop and drawing Hemenway salary at the same time. I am pretty sure that Cushing did not know that Bandelier was engaged in any work other than that for the Hemenway Expedition, for he was complaining during the period mentioned that Bandelier was not producing results; indeed a serious breach was almost the result, but it was patched up.³⁰

To which Hewett answered:

Your sidelight on the period when Bandelier was writing the manuscript for the Vatican is very interesting. We can find no evidence that he even received any remuneration whatever for the writing of the Vatican manuscript. I presume it was done on Hemenway time. However, since Bandelier worked so incessantly, I suppose the time would have been considered due him by almost any employer.³¹

Bandelier himself does indeed never mention any specific financial agreement. However, it would certainly seem that something was received. The references in his *Journals* to various odd sums from the Archbishop would imply that these were payments. However, they only add up to \$335, unless the original \$100 received before the idea of the book had actually been discussed was part of it. Still, this was not very much for such an extensive project. Leslie A. White, in his edition of the *Bandelier-Morgan Letters*, states that Bandelier received \$1,500 for the work. He found this information in a letter from Bandelier to Charles Eliot Norton written on May 27, 1887.³² So it would seem that Bandelier was paid, and not too badly, for his effort. Certainly it would be hard to believe that he could never have afforded to take on the assignment otherwise, since this meant dropping his other writing and teaching activities, which had been his sole source of income, and he had as yet no inkling that the Hemenway offer would be forthcoming.

The dimensions of the work itself attest to the effort involved. The manuscript consists of 1,400 foolscap pages in Father Navet's rather fine handwriting, with notes inserted at the bottom of each page by Bandelier himself. There must have been excellent teamwork for Navet to have left precisely the amount of space necessary for Bandelier to add the notes, though some lines are occasionally a little cramped. In addition, the illustrations were contained in four leather-bound albums and the atlas of larger drawings and maps. In all, there were 502 plates. These included mainly watercolor paintings and sketches of ground-plans representing Indian ruins, artifacts, pottery, architectural details

and costumes. They included also a number of rare black-and-white photographs of Indians and their pueblos in Bandelier's time. This massive opus was lodged in the Vatican Library and Bandelier never again laid eyes on his work. Though he did get as far as Spain at the end of his life, he was never able to travel on to Rome where he might have seen where it had come to rest. Whether the Pope ever acknowledged it and thanked the Archdiocese for it is a good question. Perhaps somewhere in the Church archives of Santa Fe there may be an official "thank you" letter, but so far it has not been brought to light.

Who knows whether the Pope ever actually perused the manuscript that had taken so much labor? Perhaps he may have glanced at the pictures, but did he ever really read the text? In any case, if he did leaf through it, he was the last person to see it for a long time. Some obscure librarian probably stacked it along with many other papers in the far recesses of the Vatican Library, and everyone promptly forgot about it. It was referred to in Bandelier's *Journals* and in a number of his letters, but these were not published for many years. Only a few scholars knew of the existence of the "Histoire." The general consensus seemed to be that its whereabouts was unknown. It did not appear in any catalogue of the Vatican Library. It was uncertain that it was even there, though this would certainly have been the logical place to look for it. Lansing Bloom, who conducted a search for the manuscript in 1938, wrote in a letter to Hewett: ". . . Matta ³³ seems inclined to think that, if the manuscript was ever with the illustrations, it 'disappeared' at the time of the Jubilee; he says that other things were lost track of at that time."³⁴

Early in this century Hewett claimed to have seen some of the illustrations there, but under what circumstances and whether he saw the text also is not clear. When Lansing Bloom went to Rome under the auspices of the Bandelier Centennial Commission he did find the illustrations, and had them photographed in black and white, but the text remained "lost." Its location was still a mystery, but it was presumed that, since the drawings were there, the text must be. Finally, Father Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., a regular researcher at the Vatican Library, alerted the staff there to keep an

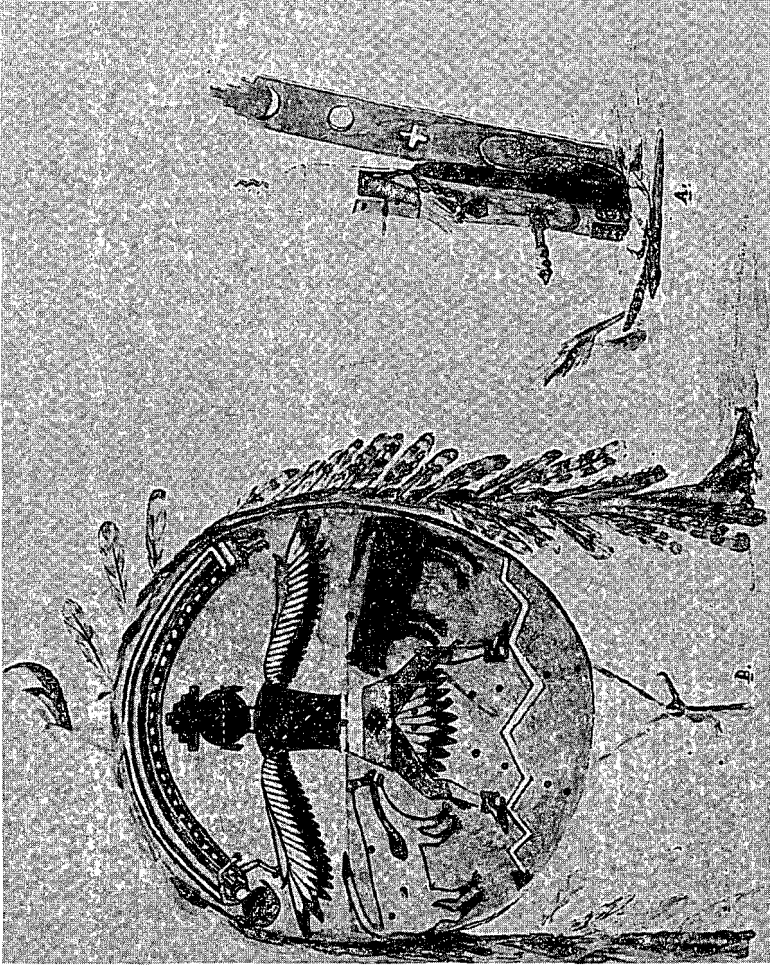


Illustration from Banelier's "lost" manuscript, found in Father Burrus's A. F. Banelier—A History of the Southwest, II: Supplement to Vol. I.

eye out for the manuscript. In June, 1964 his efforts were rewarded. One of the workers there, Alberto Magistri, was sorting out some uncatalogued documents that had been merely piled up in one of the rooms of the library when he spotted what he believed to be the "lost" text. He immediately informed Father Burrus who was working in the library that day, and for a moment the usual silence imposed in that august institution was broken by the excited conversation between the two men. This breaking of rules brought a reprimand from authorities who were, however, placated when they discovered the reason for this breach of Vatican etiquette. The text of Adolph Bandelier's "Histoire" had finally been found.

Father Burrus had many contacts at the Vatican Library and was able to make arrangements very quickly to photograph the manuscript. Copies of the illustrations had already been made in the form of color slides for the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library in the Pius XII Memorial Library at St. Louis University. It was Father Burrus's plan to publish and annotate the original French text of the "Histoire." He set about this without delay and in 1969 the first introductory volume appeared (in English). This included an excellent introduction on Bandelier and on the manuscript, together with an index of the chapters in French and English and a complete catalogue of the illustrations in both languages.³⁵ This was soon followed by a portfolio of thirty of the drawings and ten of the maps in full color, excellently reproduced.³⁶ However, for health reasons and because of the pressures of other work, Father Burrus did not immediately continue the project. He had however published previously a very fine description and analysis of the manuscript in *Manuscripta*, a journal edited at St. Louis University.³⁷

In 1975, the American Division of the Jesuit Historical Institute, under the direction of Father Burrus, brought a collection of books, manuscripts, microfilm, and assorted published and unpublished material to the University of Arizona, where it was housed under the contractual care of the Arizona State Museum. The photostat of the Bandelier text is part of this collection. The University of Arizona, realizing the importance of this manuscript, since it is the only known major work by Adolph Bandelier

that has not yet been published, decided to undertake the English translation and editing of the book, a task which was completed in 1978. Unfortunately, further editing and publication are currently delayed because of a lack of funds. The University decided that all of the 502 illustrations should be reproduced, since they are an integral part of the text and the book would be incomplete without them. They do, however, also constitute the main problem. History seems to be repeating itself: Bandelier's obstacle, when he hoped to print his drawings as part of his *Final Report*, was that he found it too expensive a project to be realized either in the United States or Europe at that time. Today the same problem exists. The publication of 502 illustrations, most of which are in color, costs far more than is normally available for such projects.

Until the funds can be raised the only known copy of the manuscript, together with the English translation, will rest in the collection of the Jesuit Historical Institute at the University of Arizona, while the original is still lodged in the Vatican Library, though now it is at least catalogued. It is devoutly to be wished that the money will be forthcoming, though no source has yet been found, and that Adolph Bandelier's "lost" manuscript will finally be made available in all its glory to the scholars and general public who have expressed much eagerness to have access to it.

The book is a complete history of the Borderlands up to the year 1700, with emphasis on the various Indian peoples, their customs and ways of life, their ancient traditions, beliefs and cultures, as well as their contact with the Spaniards and the effects of this contact as revealed by their condition in Bandelier's day. Though Bandelier discussed much of the same material in his other works, such as the *Final Report*, never did he express it so succinctly and clearly and bring it all together so completely as he does in the "Histoire." It is the most readable of his scholarly books. The University of Arizona hopes that it may soon be shared with persons interested in the early history and life of the Borderlands.

NOTES

1. Adolph Bandelier, *A Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of the Río Pecos*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, vol. 1, No. 2 (Boston, 1881; Kraus Reprint Co., 1976).

2. This was an expedition financed by the tobacco millionaire, Pierre Lorillard and headed by the French explorer Claude Joseph Désiré de Charney, sent to search for the remains of ancient civilizations in Mexico and Yucatan. However, they were beset by illness and various other problems and decided to give up and return to France.

3. Adolph Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, carried on mainly in the years from 1880 to 1885*, parts I and II, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, vols. III and IV (Cambridge, Mass., 1890-92; Kraus Reprint Co., 1975).

4. Francis Parkman was also one of the founders of the Archaeological Institute of America.

5. The Bandelier's *Journals* are part of the Bandelier Collection housed in the History Division, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe. *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier*, published by the University of New Mexico Press, contains his field notebook of his travels and observations of New Mexico. The first three volumes cover the years 1880-88; the fourth projected volume will take it to 1892, the year he left for South America.

6. Adolph Bandelier, "Cíbola I," *New Yorker Staatszeitung, Sonntagsblatt* (1885): part I-VII, Mai 24, 31, Juni 7, 14, 21, 28, Juli 5; "Cíbola II," parts I-IV, Okt. 25, Nov. 1, 8, 15.

7. In 1884 *Das Ausland* had already published several "letters" from "a traveler in Southwestern North America," among others, one on Cochití and one on Ácoma. Now Bandelier was working on another series of seven entitled "Briefe aus Neu-Mexiko von Adolph F. Bandelier," which appeared in 1885-86 in Vol. LIX.

8. Adolph Bandelier, "Der Indianer Ausbruch in Arizona und der Feldzug gegen die Apaches in Neu-Mexiko," *St. Louis Westliche Post*, June 21, 28.

9. Adolph Bandelier, "San Bernardino Chalchihuapán. Ein mexikanisches Abenteuer.," *National Zeitung* (Berlin, 1885), vols. 581, 593, 595.

10. Adolph Bandelier, "La Découverte du Nouveau-Mexique par le moine franciscain Frere Marcos de Nice en 1539," *Revue d'Ethnographie* (Paris, 1886): janvier-février, pp. 31-48; mars-avril, pp. 117-34; mai-juin, pp. 193-212.

11. Adolph Bandelier, "The Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos de Nizza [sic]" *Magazine of Western History* 5 (1886):659-70. Reprinted in the *New Mexico Historical Review* 4 (1929):28-44. Condensed version reprinted in *The Masterkey* 2 (1929):5-15. The complete text has been translated into English by the author of this article and is scheduled to appear in book form in 1980 (University of Arizona Press).

12. Bandelier, *Journals*, November 10, 1885.

13. In installments from January 1 to May 14, 1890.

14. Adolph Bandelier, *The Delight Makers* (New York, 1890). Reprinted in 1916, 1918, 1946, and 1971.

15. Bandelier, *Journals*, January 4, 1886.

16. Bandelier, *Journals*, April 17, 1886.

17. Bandelier, *Journals*, May 17, 1886.

18. Bandelier, *Journals*, May 18, 1886.

19. Bandelier, *Journals*, May 23, 1886.

20. Jean Baptiste Salpointe had become Archbishop of Santa Fe the previous year, upon the retirement of Archbishop Lamy. He was born in France and had come to New Mexico as a missionary in 1859. Lamy had appointed him Bishop of Arizona in 1869 and Bandelier had first met him in Tucson in 1884 while traveling through that area.

21. Bandelier, *Journals*, May 29, 1886. For information on Father Stephen see Lange, Riley, and Lange, eds., *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier*, 3 vols. to date (Albuquerque, 1966-), 3:449, note 588. See note 5, above.

22. For information on Monsignor Straniero see Lange, Riley, and Lange, *The Southwestern Journals*, 3:460, note 644.

23. Adolph Bandelier, "Histoire de la civilisation et des missions de Sonora, Chihuahua, Nouveau-Mexique et Arizona, jusqu'à l'année 1700" (manuscript in the Vatican Library, Rome, Vat. Lat. 1411-14116), 5 vols. and atlas (1887).

24. Leslie A. White, ed., *Pioneers in American Anthropology. The Bandelier-Morgan Letters. 1873-1883*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque, 1940), 1:73, note 20.

25. To sum up the composition of the "Histoire," it consists of seven parts. Part I (5 chapters) discusses the land itself, the setting where the described events took place. Part II (14 chapters) covers the history of the expeditions to the Borderlands area from the beginning of the Spanish occupation to the end of the 16th century. Part III (5 chapters) deals more specifically with the missions and Indian tribes of Chihuahua. Part IV (12 chapters) tells the story, both religious and civil-military, of New Mexico in the 17th century. Part V (5 chapters) concentrates on the history of Sonora during the same period. Part VI (7 chapters) tells of the Indians in the Borderlands as they could be observed in Bandelier's own time. Part VII (8 chapters) outlines in great detail the "antiquities" found in the area.

26. Bandelier, *Journals*, October 24, 1886.

27. Cushing had spent several years at Zuñi, under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for the purpose of studying the Indians. He succeeded in being accepted as a member of the tribe and initiated into one of their secret societies. Bandelier met him during his travels through the area and had visited him in Zuñi in 1883. They developed a great respect for each other and became close friends.

28. Bandelier, *Journals*, June 10, 1887.

29. Paul Radin, ed., *Southwestern Archaeologica: The Unpublished Letters of Adolphe F. Bandelier concerning the Writing and Publication of the Delight Makers* (El Paso, 1942), p. 23. In A. F. Bandelier—*A History of the Southwest. A Study of the Civilization and Conversion of the Indians in Southwestern United States and Northwestern Mexico from the Earliest Times to 1700*, 2 vols., I: *A Catalogue of the Bandelier Collection in the Vatican Library*, found in Sources

and *Studies for the History of the Americas*, vol. VII (St. Louis, 1969), Father Ernest J. Burrus points out that this is a quotation from Schiller's play *Ver schwörung des Fiesco*, Act III, Scene 4.

30. Letter from Frederick W. Hodge to Edgar L. Hewett, May 3, 1938, Bandelier Collection, Museum of New Mexico.

31. Letter from Edgar Hewett to Frederick Hodge, Los Angeles, California, May 8, 1938, Bandelier Collection, Museum of New Mexico.

32. White, *The Bandelier-Morgan Letters* I:6, note 14.

33. Dr. Ricardo Matta was assistant to the Cardinal-Librarian of the Vatican Library, Giovanni Mercati. He had been assigned to help Bloom in his search for the Bandelier text.

34. Letter from Lansing B. Bloom to Edgar Hewett, Rome, April 26, 1938, Bandelier Collection, Museum of New Mexico.

35. Burrus, A. F. *Bandelier—A History of the Southwest, I: A Catalogue of the Bandelier Collection in the Vatican Library*.

36. Burrus, A. F. *Bandelier—A History of the Southwest, II: Supplement to Vol. I. Reproduction in Color of Thirty Sketches and of Ten Maps*, in *Sources and Studies for the History of the Americas*, vol. VIII.

37. Ernest J. Burrus, "The Bandelier Collection in the Vatican Library," *Manuscripta* 10 (1966):67-84.