The Grandest Thing I Ever Saw:

A Historic Resource Study of Bandelier National Monument

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About the title

The comment "The grandest thing I ever saw" comes from the section of Adolf Bandelier's journal in which he describes seeing Frijoles Canyon for the first time in 1880 (Lange and Riley, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier*, journals written 1880-82, published in 1966, citation on page 165.)

About the cover

Detail from "View of Talus House," pastel on paper by Helmut Naumer, 1935-1936. Naumer was a German American artist who created a series of paintings showing scenes in Bandelier National Monument and nearby pueblos as part of Roosevelt's New Deal WPA program.

About the back

Detail from "Frijoles Canyon, Second View," pastel on paper by Helmut Naumer, 1935-1936.

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Preface

We are pleased to make available this study as part of the National Park Service's ongoing efforts to provide comprehensive documentation for the prehispanic archeological sites and historic structures and landscapes of Bandelier National Monument. The National Park Service is the steward of the nation's most important cultural and natural resources, charged with their protection and preservation. The service's Cultural Resource Management Guidelines list baseline research reports as one element of the research, planning, and stewardship procedures that resource managers should follow, and a Historic Resource Study (HRS) is one such report. It calls for a historical overview of the park in question and evaluates the park's resources within that historic context for National Register eligibility. This study will provide the managers, planners, interpreters, cultural resources specialists, and interested members of the public with information on the history of the region and the monument's archaeological and historic sites.

Beginning in 1985, archeologists undertook a systematic inventory of the monument for all prehispanic and historic cultural resources. Based on the survey work carried out through 2010, a total of 2,903 archeological sites are now entered in the monument's database and an estimated 200-300 sites remain to be documented. The knowledge resulting from that inventory is distilled in this study. Many individuals contributed to the successful completion of this work.

A second portion of this project is the update of the monument's National Register of Historic Places nomination. The monument was originally listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970 under the Engineering and Prehistoric Crafts areas of significance. The monument's CCC district was listed as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) in 1984 under the Architecture in the Parks theme. Since 1970, additional lands have been added to the monument, resources that were not historic in 1970 have achieved the fifty-year age requirement for consideration of historical status, and the level of detail included in a standard National Register nomination form has grown. The updated National Register Nomination form will encompass all these resources.

Sources of information for development of the historic contexts came from a variety of historic documents, letters, and reports along with web site content, oral histories, and secondary sources. Information on prehispanic archaeological sites came from current archaeological literature, the monument's archaeological site files and databases, and personal communications from park archaeologist Rory Gauthier and others. For the historic periods, the Bandelier National Monument files contained many notable documents, but the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports are singled out for their invaluable "view from the trenches" for the formative years of the monument. The Catron Collection at the Chavez Library was a treasure trove of correspondence regarding the political battles around the park/monument controversy, and finally the Western Archeology and Conservation Center (WACC) archives contained a wealth of NPS material related to all eras of the monument. Information on the early historic period came from the pioneering work of Joe Sanchez and Bruce Erickson as well as some of the current archaeological literature. Finally, acknowledgments would not be complete without recognizing the groundbreaking research into

Bandelier National Monument and all the national monuments conducted by the late historian Hal Rothman.

Many people provided assistance and support for the research. Special thanks are due to IMR Supervisory Historian Bob Spude who supplied the funding for this project, and Bandelier National Monument Park Archeologists Rory Gauthier, Cynthia Herhahn and others who conceived of the historic resource study project. At Bandelier National Monument, Rachel Adler, Kay Beeley, Dale Coker, Carmen Robertson, Gary Roybal and Sarah Stokely dedicated their time and expertise to this project. Jamie Civitello was generously loaned from the Valles Caldera National Preserve to complete maps for the study. Dorothy Hoard, president of the Friends of Bandelier, gave permission to use personal photographs and illustrations. Robert Powers, University of New Mexico, shared the preliminary results of his archaeological research on Ancestral Pueblo agriculture on the Pajarito Plateau. Various archival collections and their staffs were of critical importance to the project. Librarian Allison Colborne of the Laboratory of Anthropology Library spent countless hours cheerfully and efficiently tracking down reports and publications of every kind. Marene Baker and Rick Martinez and the rest of the staff at Denver National Archives and Record Administration (NARA) were wonderfully supportive. Khaleel Saba worked tirelessly to locate very obscure historic references at WACC, and the staff of the Fray Angelico Chavez History Library in Santa Fe was always friendly and knowledgeable. Thanks are also due to Daniel Kosharek and the staff in the photograph archives of the Palace of the Governors and to David McNeece of the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture who responded with remarkable speed to a request for digital copies of images in their collection.

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1. Introduction

Bandelier National Monument was established in 1916 by a presidential proclamation by Woodrow Wilson for the "proper protection" of "certain aboriginal ruins…of unusual ethnologic, scientific, and educational interest."[1] The monument embraces more than 33,000 acres on the southern portion of the Pajarito Plateau, a southeast sloping tableland between the Jemez Mountains and the Rio Grande River. The plateau itself is a layer of solidified volcanic tuff 900 feet deep deposited over a million years ago by the explosion of the Valles Caldera. The park extends from the high country near the rim of the caldera across the width of the plateau to the canyon containing the Rio Grande River, itself a rift in the earth's crust. The entire plateau is also cut by deep canyons draining the higher regions of the Jemez Mountains, but only a few of these (namely Frijoles, Capulin, and Alamo canyons) have permanent or near permanent streams.

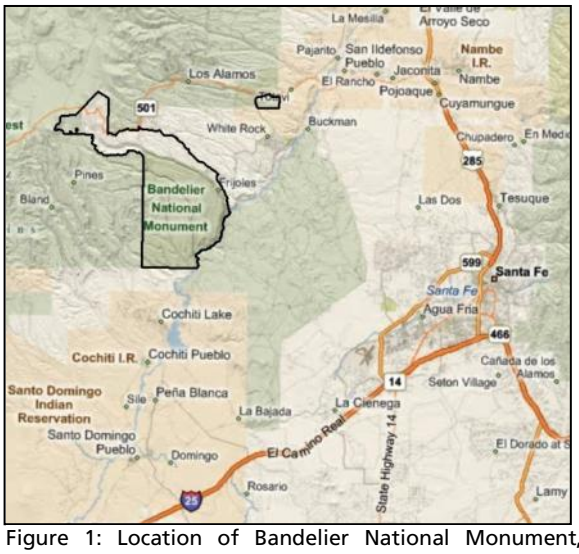


Figure 1: Location of Bandelier National Monument, 2010.

Archaeological sites are present in all parts of the park; nearly 3000 have been documented to date. Most Ancestral Pueblo sites are on the mesa tops where people built pueblos and raised their crops, but there are many in the canyon bottoms as well, including the pueblos incorporating rooms carved into the tuff canyon walls known as cavates. Because of its reliable water supply, south facing cliff sites, and easily worked tuff, Frijoles Canyon was the site of the pueblo of Tyuonyi and other Ancestral Pueblo dwellings that today comprise the primary visitor destination of the monument. The higher elevation portions of the park have less evidence of full time occupation by Ancestral Pueblo people, but there is abundant evidence of use of the area for procurement of particular resources, including obsidian.

The prehispanic and contact period archaeological sites are of national significance for their association with the development of Pueblo cultures and the settling of the Rio Grande Valley. Some of the prehispanic pueblos were the sites of early anthropological and archaeological investigations by Adolf Bandelier, Edgar Lee Hewett, and H.P. "Doc" Mera who were significant for their contributions to the development of anthropology and archaeology as scientific disciplines. The cavate sites are a unique architectural form, and they and the other prehispanic sites have the potential to shed light on a variety of Ancestral Puebloan topics, including settlement patterns, agricultural strategies and techniques, aggregation into larger settlements over time, travel routes, cultural and religious belief systems, social organization, land tenure and cultural landscape patterns, resource procurement, trade and economy, migration, and the establishment of the modern Tewa- and Keres-speaking Pueblo groups, use of the plateau by members of the historic pueblos, and the turmoil of the era of the Pueblo Revolt and Spanish reconquest, among others.



Figure 2: View of the Pajarito Plateau from the air as seen in 2005. Courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

The area now within the monument was allocated to various land grants by the Spanish, and there are records of Hispano families living in Frijoles Canyon in the late nineteenth century. The area was used in historic times for grazing, logging, and some mining, especially with the coming of the railroad. Most of the main sites associated with this economic expansion are outside the monument boundaries, but the activities had significant social and environmental impacts on monument lands. In addition, some homesteads were established within what would become the monument, including one in Frijoles Canyon, another in the high country, and a third in Tsankawi Unit. The Frijoles Canyon homestead eventually became a lodge that was incorporated into the visitor amenities in the canyon with the establishment of the monument, while the Tsankawi settlement, Duchess Castle, was the site of a school that was part of the native arts revival movement of the early 20th century. As such, both are associated with the growth of the American tourism industry. Duchess Castle is additionally significant for its association with San Ildefonso, having been built by San Ildefonso workmen, and for the role the school played in encouraging development and refinement of San Ildefonso pottery making and other arts for which that pueblo is now internationally known. The area encompassed by Bandelier National Monument and the neighboring pueblos were some of the most significant and influential tourist destinations in the region at the time.

The original Frijoles Canyon Lodge was replaced by a district of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) built buildings and landscape features that today includes a visitor center, lodge, administration building, employee housing, entrance station, comfort stations, and trails and trail features. It is the largest such CCC group in a national park that has not been significantly altered by the addition of new structures within the district. It is also an exceptional example of Pueblo Revival style architecture in addition to its association with Roosevelt's New Deal and that program's role in American social history. The lodge also played a part in the history of World War II, despite being geographically distant from

events in Europe and the Pacific, because it was one of the few places that personnel of the Project Y branch of the Manhattan Project in Los Alamos were permitted to come for recreation during the Project.

In more recent times, Bandelier National Monument has been at the forefront of management issues facing many federal land managing agencies. With high numbers of visitors from Los Alamos, the monument was among the first of the national parks to experience high levels of visitation following World War II. Monument managers built a new camp-

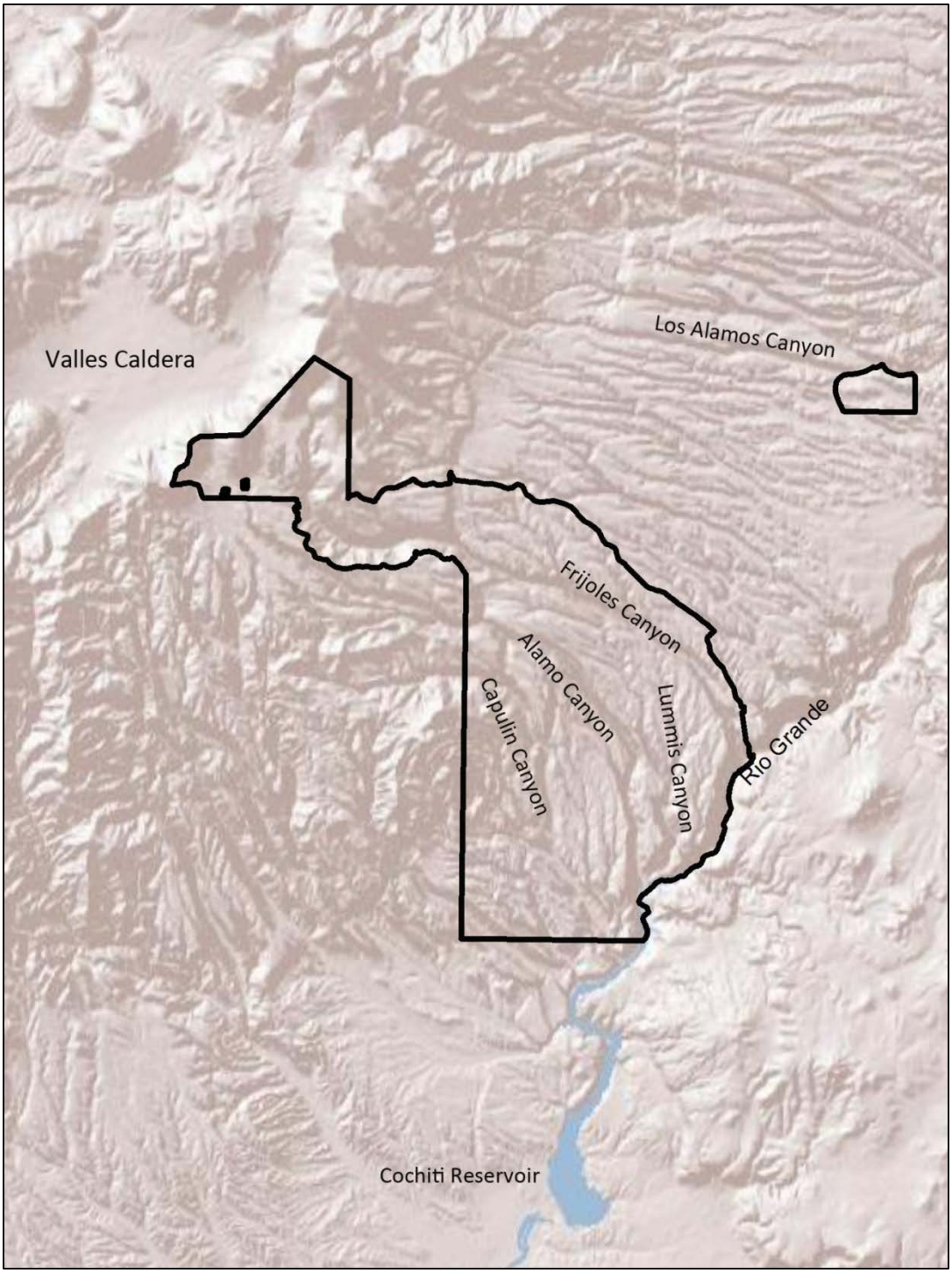


Figure 3: Bandelier National Monument, 2010.



Figure 4: View of Tyuonyi and Frijoles Canyon, as seen in 2008. Digital photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

ground and employee housing area outside the confines of Frijoles Canyon, thereby alleviating the overcrowding and successfully balancing preservation of the cultural and natural resources in the canyon with the needs of the visitors who had come to enjoy them.

The cultural resources of Bandelier National Monument encompass an unexpectedly broad stretch of history, reaching from Archaic period sites 8000 years old to World War II and events of the 20th century. In the years between the arrival of the earliest hunter-gatherer groups and the modern era, the Pajarito Plateau experienced in microcosm many of the events and trends of the nation's broader history, from the settlement of nomadic groups into enduring communities, the arrival of Europeans, to the settlement and economic development of the West, interactions between the Pueblo and Euro-American cultures, a world war, and a dialogue on the use and preservation of public land that continues today. Underlying every period of the human story is the Pajarito Plateau itself, an enduring and contradictory landscape of abundance and ecosystem limits.

[1] President, Proclamation, "Establishment of Bandelier National Monument," Proclamation 1322, February 11, 1916.

2. Historical Abstract

> The Pajarito areas … are very important places as sources of understanding and inspiration. … I guess what comes to mind for me is the fascination with the landscape that people who wrote had, not just its beauty but how barren it was, too, sparse in many ways. … What comes to mind for me is how those conditions connect our present to the past. The values that we acquired from them are the values of living together, dancing together, praying together. We still have that. … I think that what has happened there on the Pajarito is what we try to exercise still today.[1]

> Landscape is never passive. People engage with it, rework it, appropriate and contest it. It is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group or nation-state. Operating at the juncture of history and politics, social relations and cultural perceptions, landscape is a concept of higher tension.[2]

Bandelier National Monument is situated in the southern part of the Pajarito Plateau, beginning on the rim of a volcano crater and falling nearly a mile in elevation over the twelve mile distance to the Rio Grande to the southeast. The distinctive landscape of the plateau is one of broad mesas separated by steep-walled canyons, some with perennial streams. The steep elevation gradient leads to a broad range in biological diversity, from juniper savannahs above the river through ponderosa pine grasslands and forests to alpine mixed conifer forests and meadows.



Figure 5: The mouth of Frijoles Canyon where it enters White Rock Canyon, 2010. Courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

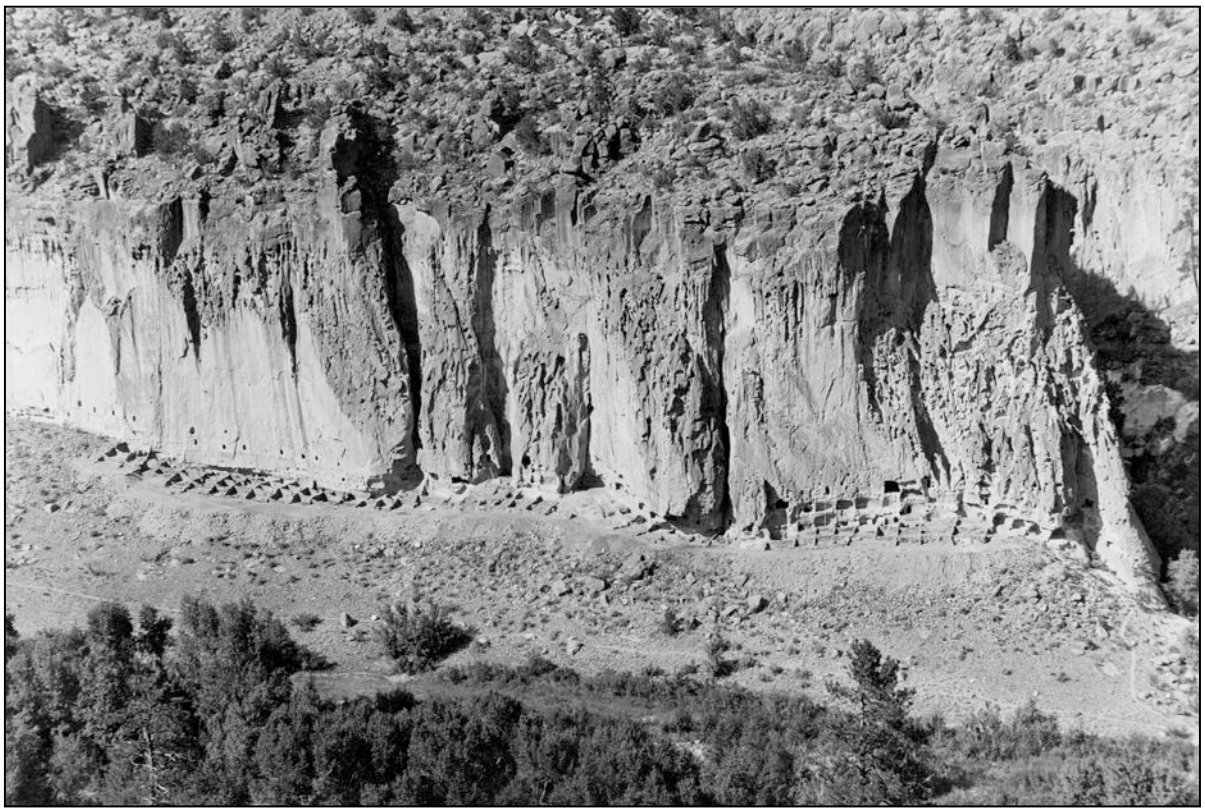


Figure 6: View of Long House, 1912. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 24754.

With this diversity of habitats and resources, it is easy to see how the characteristics of the Pajarito Plateau could shape the lives of prehispanic people who chose to come there. Drawn at first by the presence of certain animals and plants as well as mineral resources such as obsidian (Chapter 3), people later chose to settle on the plateau more permanently and grow their crops on the mesa tops (Chapter 4). And thus began the dialogue between land and its human inhabitants. People made changes to the land as they worked to make their living, and the land in turn demanded adjustments in how people lived and related to each other. Gathering in ever larger settlements (Chapter 5), the ancestors of today's Tewa- and Keres-speaking Pueblo groups eventually moved to the modern locations of their pueblos around the time the first Europeans came to the region. Archaeologists see a cycle of prehispanic colonization, aggregation, and moving on in the archaeological sites on the plateau that mirrors events in many other parts of the Southwest, but the Ancestral Pueblo story of the Pajarito Plateau is a history of specific, still living peoples who created a way of life emphasizing community over individualism as a means of meeting the challenges presented by the land.

The theme of marginality is one that reoccurs when one looks at the longer history of the plateau. The period after the Ancestral Pueblo peoples left the area for the pueblos they inhabit today saw little or no long term habitation. Instead use of the region ranged from sporadic to seasonal, with Apaches and Navajos doing as much to discourage would be visitors as the difficulties presented by the landscape (Chapter 6). Marginality, then, meant both scarcity of resources and a position peripheral to the growing European settlements of the Rio Grande Valley. Much of the plateau was included in various land grants issued by the Spanish colonial government, but during the administrations of the Spanish and Mexi-

can governments, habitation was restricted to areas protected from Indian raids with enough water to support a way of life dependent on subsistence-level farming and livestock production.

The modern story of the Pajarito Plateau begins with the coming of the railroad (Chapter 7). Peripheral even at the end of the 19th century, the plateau was at last physically connected through the railroad to the distant cities of the growing American nation and their markets for wool, timber, beef, and minerals. The cost of acquiring the land that could produce these things rose, creating an imperative to make the enterprises profitable. In the end, the numbers of livestock brought in to graze on the plateau proved unsustainable. Together, the extractive industries on the plateau proved devastating to its ecosystem. Coupled with fire suppression policies of the 20th century, the environmental degradation set in motion a cycle of soil erosion, vegetation change, and landscape-scale wildfires that is ongoing.

Some early visitors to the plateau perceived that it contained value beyond its natural resources in the form of its numerous archaeological sites. Adolf Bandelier's accounts of his expeditions onto the Pajarito Plateau from Cochiti Pueblo in the 1880s brought the area its first broader recognition. Archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett conducted the first extensive excavations on the plateau and became a major player in the early efforts to protect the area. Hewett was a controversial figure, but he was an educator dedicated to his craft and his legacy is one of having taught members of a cadre of scholars who played a central role in the establishment of American archaeology. Hewett and many others were also very active in the growing Native Arts Revival movement, promoting Pueblo arts and crafts and the region's archaeological sites as a means of making Santa Fe and the plateau the tourist destinations they remain today.

The story of the creation of Bandelier National Monument is a long and convoluted one fraught with personal agendas, politics, and competing visions for the future of the plateau (Chapter 8). It would be tempting to summarize this portion of the monument's history as prolonged and petty wrangling, but the debates surrounding the creation of the monument were part of a much larger discourse on the protection and preservation of the nation's cultural heritage. Many of the issues surrounding public lands remain contentious even today, but the triumph of the decades long acrimony and strife was the creation of the Antiquities Act and the establishment of a group of parks and monuments dedicated to protecting cultural resources, including Bandelier National Monument.

Initially, the monument was managed by the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) and some extractive activities were allowed to continue. Homesteader Judge Abbott managed a farm in the bottom of Frijoles Canyon, and provided limited lodging for the few visitors that made the arduous journey from Santa Fe to visit the canyon and its archaeological sites. His operation was later taken over by George and Evelyn Frey, who continued to provide accommodations to the increasing number of visitors. They were allowed to continue as concessioners after the property passed to the National Park Service (NPS) in 1932, and the ongoing need for lodging was recognized and incorporated into the canyon development plan when the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) built a complex of visitor and staff facilities during the New Deal (Chapter 9).

Despite the CCC era improvements to the facilities in the canyon, including a visitor center, lodge, and access road into the canyon, the monument and the plateau in general remained marginal and on the fringe of the greater development in the region. It was this very peripheral quality that made the plateau the choice location for Project Y, a branch of the Manhattan Project (Chapter 10). The need for secrecy and gas rationing conspired to ensure that the monument was one of the few areas available to Project personnel for recreation. This established a pattern of use of the area by people from Los Alamos that created severe overcrowding at the monument in the 1950s when their numbers were supplemented by visitors from outside the region. The dialogue surrounding the problem of overcrowding in Frijoles Canyon and attendant impacts on its cultural resources were

some of the earliest discussions in a discourse that—like the debate over the creation of the monument—was part of a national conversation on balancing visitor access and use of national parks with the long term preservation and protection of their cultural and natural resources. At Bandelier National Monument, the result of the debate was the development of expanded visitor facilities outside of the congested Frijoles Canyon area during the Mission 66 period.

Recent decades have seen ongoing but as yet inconclusive discussions regarding the extent of lands to be managed by the monument and within the national park system, the damming of the Rio Grande and creation of Cochiti Lake partially within the monument boundary, and research by archaeologists incorporating technology and broaching topics much advanced from the days of Edgar Lee Hewett (Chapter 11).

In summary, despite Bandelier National Monument's marginal position throughout much of its history it has been at the forefront of issues that have risen to the level of national debates, a bellwether of events and challenges facing public lands and the resources they contain. As such, even as modern day Pueblo communities look to the Pajarito Plateau as a source of inspiration and information on their culture and history, Bandelier National Monument is a touchstone for people studying prehispanic cultures, the history of the science of archaeology, the early days of the preservation movement, the development of modern Indian art, the experiences of people employed by the WPA, the stories of the personnel of the Manhattan Project, and the challenges that face modern land managers.



Figure 7: Trail worn into the tuff at the Tsankawi Unit, 2000. Courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

[1] Cochiti Pueblo member Joseph Suina in Julian Martinez and Joseph H. Suina, "Two Pueblo Perspectives on the Pajarito Plateau," in Powers, ed., *The Peopling of Bandelier*, 130-133.
[2] Barbara Bender, "Landscape," in *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer, eds. (London: Routledge, 1996), 323-324.

3. Earliest Use of the Plateau

Bandelier National Monument's wealth of archaeological sites caught the attention of early anthropologists and archaeologists such as Adolf Bandelier and Edgar Lee Hewett, and the heady combination of a rich archaeological record set in a landscape of stunning beauty has captured the hearts of visitors to the area ever since. Even as the landscape and dwellings of their ancestors are of deep importance to Pueblo peoples today, archaeologists look to the Pajarito Plateau as a representation of a part of the history of the discipline of archaeology as well as for the information on past peoples and their lifeways that it contains.

Hewett and Bandelier were contemporaries of Alfred Vincent Kidder, a pioneering Southwestern archaeologist who worked at Pecos Pueblo and elsewhere. In 1927, Kidder organized a regional conference of archaeologists held in Pecos, New Mexico, out of which came a classification system whereby all known Ancestral Pueblo cultures could be divided into chronological phases based on changes in architecture, art, pottery, and other cultural remains. The system remains in use (with a few modifications since its inception) and is a way to speak broadly of Southwestern cultures, but archaeologists working intensively in specific areas often develop regional sequences to express cultural changes they see in the archaeological record that did not occur at the same time as the changes that generated the Pecos Classification. This is true for the northern Rio Grande and the Pajarito Plateau where Bandelier National Monument is located. Table 1 shows how the Rio Grande Sequence correlates with the Pecos Classification. The Rio Grande Sequence is used throughout this volume.

The story of Bandelier National Monument prior to the arrival of Europeans is one of adaptation and change. The land set certain limits on the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Ancestral Pueblo peoples, even as it also provided certain opportunities. The human communities themselves created certain challenges as well, and the people innovated and adapted their societies to accommodate these as surely as they did their knowledge of the environment and the technologies they used in sustaining themselves from the natural world around them.

<table>
<tr><th>Pecos Classification</th><th colspan="2">Rio Grande Sequence</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">NA</td><td colspan="2">Paleoindian (10,500-5500 BCE)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Archaic (5500 BCE-600 CE)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Basketmaker II (1200 BCE- 500 CE)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Basketmaker III (500-750 CE)</td><td rowspan="3">Developmental (900-1200 CE)</td><td>Early Developmental (600-900 CE)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pueblo I (750-900 CE)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Pueblo II (900-1150 CE)</td><td>Late Developmental (900-1200 CE)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Pueblo III (1150-1300 CE)</td><td rowspan="2">Coalition (1200-1350 CE)</td><td>Early Coalition (1200-1275 CE)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Late Coalition (1275-1350 CE)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Pueblo IV (1300-1600 CE)</td><td rowspan="4">Classic (1350-1540 CE)</td><td>Early Classic (1350-1400 CE)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Middle Classic (1400-1450 CE)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Late Classic (1450-1500 CE)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Terminal Classic (1500-1540 CE)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pueblo V (1600 CE to present)</td><td colspan="2">Historic period (1540-1960 CE)</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1: Time Period Correlation

The Paleoindian Period (10,500 to 5500 BCE)

The earliest known inhabitants of the Americas are called Paleoindians, and some of the oldest known Paleoindian archaeological sites in North America are in the Southwest. Paleoindians were Late Pleistocene/Early Holocene (the transition occurred ca. 10,000 BCE) peoples whose ancestors came to the New World from Eurasia. The timing and routes of these migrations are controversial topics in American archaeology. Most scholars studying the first Americans believe people first came to the New World via the Bering land bridge, a 1,800 kilometer wide land mass that once linked Siberia and Alaska. While the presence of ice sheets make passage into North America unlikely before 25,000 years ago, various ice free periods between 10,000 and 25,000 years ago would have permitted multiple episodes of travel across the bridge from one continent to the other. In contrast, some scholars hypothesize that the first Americans reached the New World by boat, following the coast south. This could have permitted people to reach the Americas much earlier (and later) than the limited window offered by the land bridge. With the end of the ice age, sea levels rose and inundated any archaeological sites that would hold evidence of this migration route. Research into this topic is ongoing, with investigators working on the Pacific coast focusing attention on possible coastal migration.

Assuming they first arrived about 12,500 years ago, it took less than 1000 years for Paleoindians to spread through both continents of the Americas. In the American Southwest, the Paleoindian period is considered to date to



Figure 8: North American Pleistocene. Copyrighted image used with permission from Karen Carr.

10,500 to 5500 BCE. There are some purported archaeological sites that appear to date to pre-Clovis times, but uncertainty continues regarding the dating and geological interpretations of these sites. Sandia Cave, outside Bernalillo, New Mexico, is an example of such a site that is near the Pajarito Plateau. The cave was excavated by University of New Mexico archaeologist Frank Hibben and his field crews between 1936 and 1940, a time before the technology of radiocarbon dating. The site was one of a few in which evidence of human occupation was associated with the remains of extinct Pleistocene fauna such as mammoths, mastodons, horses, and camels. The artifacts and the Pleistocene faunal bones were recovered from mixed and unclear stratigraphic layers, making the association between artifacts and bones weak and leading to ongoing controversy about the existence of a Pleistocene Sandia Man culture.[1] Recent re-examination of the faunal remains has shown that evidence of human butchering or other modification is weak to nonexistent and that there is no evidence Sandia Cave was inhabited during the initial peopling of North America.[2]

Stone tools are the most common artifacts found at Paleoindian sites, partly because stone implements have been essential survival tools for much of human history, and partly because tools of more perishable materials such as wood and bone rarely survive to be found by archaeologists. Many Paleoindian sites in the region are identified as such by the presence of either Clovis or Folsom style projectile points, named for the towns in New Mexico near where the first examples were found. Both styles are characterized by a lanceolet shape and a long indentation from the base of the point up towards the tip known as a flute. Folsom points are generally shorter than Clovis points, and the style of the flute and the techniques with which they were made are slightly different. Such points would have been attached to shafts that could be thrown by hand or, later, using a throwing stick known as an *atlatl* that allowed weapons to be thrown further and with greater force. So distinctive are these two styles of points that the Paleoindians that made and used them are identified as belonging to the Clovis or Folsom cultures.



Figure 9: Clovis point, ca. 9500 BCE. Digital photograph courtesy of the National Park Service.

Paleoindians are typically characterized as big game hunters and controversy still rages about whether their depredations contributed in large or small part to the extinction of Pleistocene megafauna, though researchers also recognize that foraging for plants and hunting and trapping of smaller animals also likely took place.[3] Most known Paleoindian sites are situated in grassy basins or plains, near playa lakes and other water sources, and frequently afford a good view of the surrounding landscape. Scant evidence of Paleoindian occupation has been found in the Santa Fe area proper. Isolated remains from the Cody complex have been found in the Galisteo Basin and Reservoir areas.[4] Other Paleoindian remains have been found in the Tesuque area, the lower basin of Arroyo de los Frijoles, and the Cañada Ancha drainage.[5]

There is, however, evidence that in some regions Paleoindians made use of mountainous areas as well.[6] Recent research in the Chama area has revealed signs that late in the Paleoindian period, groups were making use of mountain resources and were perhaps less mobile than they had been in the past.[7] In this case, there is evidence they were making projectile points from the El Rechuelos obsidian source in the northern parts of the Jemez Mountains. Vierra speculates that seasonal mobility for Paleoindians may have been dependent on the abundance and distribution of faunal popula-

tions (in contrast to later Archaic groups with a greater reliance on plants).[8] Indeed, the sites near Chama are also on the path of a major elk migration route.

Paleoindian sites are sparse on the Pajarito Plateau as a whole as well as within the boundaries of Bandelier National Monument. Vierra lists two Clovis points, two Folsom points, and four late Paleoindian points as being the entire known artifact assemblage representing the Paleoindian occupation of the whole Pajarito Plateau.[9] An isolated Clovis point found on the mesa south of Capulin Canyon[10] and a Scottsbluff point found during testing at Shohakka Pueblo[11] are the only readily identifiable Paleoindian materials found within the park's boundaries. Dates assigned to the two styles of points found in the park suggest they were deposited between 9500 BCE and 8000 BCE, and from what archaeologists know of the period, it was a time when most Paleoindian occupation was of lower elevation areas where game would be most abundant.

Shackley has noted that stone tools and debitage made from a basalt-like stone known as dacite are common in Paleoindian and Archaic sites in the area, and that there is an excellent source of this material in Bandelier National Monument at the mouth of Lummis Canyon.[12] More research is needed before Paleoindian use of this particular source is identified with certainty, but, like obsidian, different dacite sources have different chemical signatures and it is possible that future analysis of Paleoindian and Archaic dacite artifacts will confirm early use of this area. A few projectile points and possible use of a stone tool material source are not a tremendous amount of information to go on with regards to Paleoindian occupation of the park, but it does point to Paleoindian use of the Pajarito Plateau for at least sporadic gathering and hunting forays.

The overall scarcity of Paleoindian remains is probably related to issues of visibility rather than absence of human occupation. Cordell suspects that many Paleoindian sites in the area are overlain with later occupations or are deeply buried, making them invisible to researchers relying on traditional pedestrian survey methods.[13] Indeed, most of the Paleoindian remains found in New Mexico in general were discovered in areas that have experienced significant erosion.[14]

The Archaic Period (5500 BCE-600 CE)

Although earlier scholars used the term "Archaic," it was Willey and Phillips who defined it as a cultural historic phase referring to a hunting and gathering way of life adapted to modern (post Pleistocene) environmental conditions differentiated from previous periods by an increased reliance on gathering as well as the presence of ground stone and the earliest cultivated plants ("cultigens").[15] According to their classification, the end of an Archaic way of life is defined by a shift to greater reliance on agriculture.[16] Additional work by Jennings provided the conceptual framework for applying the concept to the American West,[17] and Cynthia Irwin-Williams first identified and described the five subdivisions of the Archaic period in northern New Mexico, which she referred to as the Oshara tradition.[18]

However, "Archaic" has been used to define both a way of life and a time period, creating problems given that the Archaic way of life as defined by Willey and Phillips ended at different times in different places. For our purposes here with regard to the area around the monument, the Archaic is defined as the interval between 5500 BCE to 600 CE, a time in which people were more reliant on plants than previously, but had not yet settled into a fully agricultural way of life. The origin and spread of agriculture that marks the end of the Archaic has been a major topic of research and has generated a fair amount of controversy, with various researchers championing different models for the speed, means, and routes by which domestic crops entered the region and the circumstances that led to a transition from a hunting and gathering to agricultural way of life. Other research questions regarding the Archaic concern migration (where people went, when, and why), as well as the degree of sedentism vs. mobility (how often they chose to move or stay in one place and why), and how the degree of mobility reflected use of various resources (how availability of plants

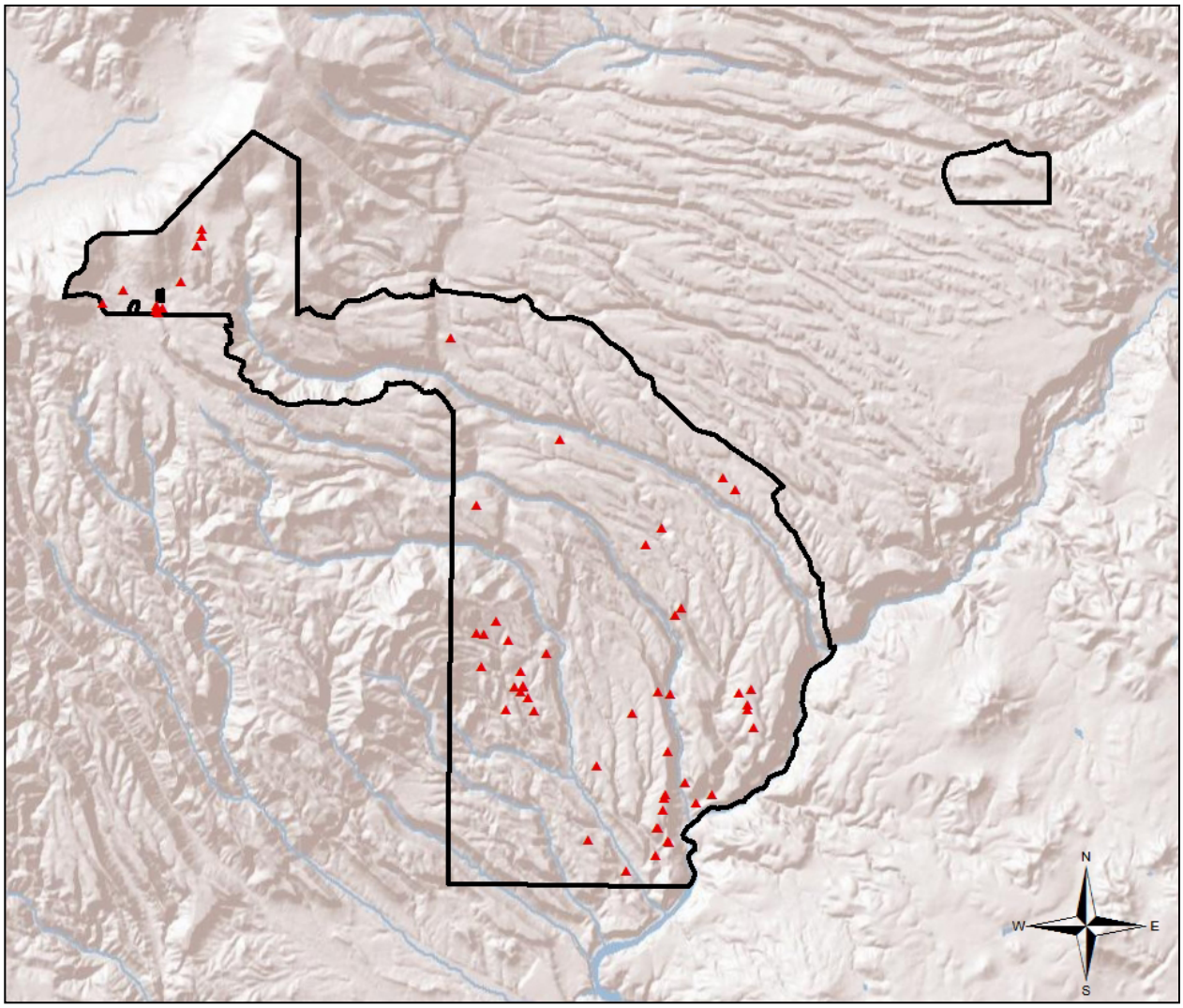


Figure 10: Archaic sites in Bandelier National Monument, 2010.

and animals affected where and when people moved); ethnicity (how groups defined themselves and interacted with one another); changes in technology and how they are related; and identification of procurement strategies for various resources (whether plants and animals were collected and brought back to camp or whether people moved their camps to be near resources in particular areas).

The Archaic period in the northern Rio Grande area has traditionally been defined as spanning the interval from 5500 BCE to 600 CE. Sites are identified as belonging to the Early, Middle, or Late Archaic based on changes in the shapes of projectile points and, to some degree, changes in stone tool assemblages and the organization of habitation sites.[19] Early and Middle Archaic sites pose some of the same problems for researchers as Paleoindian sites in that they are often deeply buried or covered by deposits from later occupations, though Late Archaic sites tend to be more accessible.[20]

Because of the mobility of people living in the Early Archaic and the fact that only very durable materials have survived during the intervening time, what is known of the Early Archaic period comes from sites that have only sparse evidence that people lived there.[21] These sites are small, making them difficult to find and recognize. Many consist primarily of Archaic style projectile points or tools mixed with deposits from later occupations; it is assumed the Early Archaic components in these

areas were left there by Archaic inhabitants, but they might represent recycling or scavenging on the part of the later inhabitants. In the region of Bandelier National Monument, Early Archaic sites are situated along the Santa Fe River and its tributaries in desirable campsite locations and appear to have been occupied for only a short period before being buried. Recent discoveries of Early Archaic material include hearths radiocarbon dated to the sixth millennium BCE and Archaic style artifacts.[22]

Middle Archaic sites are rare throughout the northern Southwest,[23] and the northern Rio Grande is no exception. To date in the Bandelier National Monument/Santa Fe area, the Middle Archaic is represented by only a few sites containing chipped stone tools and fragments of stones used for grinding seeds.[24] The cultural materials found in these excavations point towards more formal camps occupied for longer periods of time than those of the Early Archaic.

This trend appears to have continued during the Late Archaic. Late Archaic sites are more numerous, are found in a broader range of environmental settings, and were occupied longer. Changes in settlement locations, formality of the lay-out and the types of animal remains present in the trash areas point towards a series of base camps within expansive foraging ranges. However, Late Archaic sites in the Bandelier National Monument/Santa Fe area range both in distribution and function, including base camps with structures, limited base camps with no structures, and what archaeologists refer to as special activity sites related to collecting specific local resources found in riverine, piedmont, foothill, and montane environments.[25] Climatic data[26] show that the period from 240 to 400 CE had above average precipitation patterns and warmer than normal temperatures, which would have supported an abundant and possibly more diverse plant community and larger herds of game animals, making the area more attractive for habitation.

Post notes that most of the known Late Archaic Basketmaker II sites in the Santa Fe area consist of open air lithic scatters with or without concentrations of fire cracked rock or hearths.[27] He suggests that Late Archaic and Basketmaker II groups may have been the first groups to occupy the area year round, and that they could do so because of the resource diversity in the surrounding montane and piedmont environments. That said, most of the evidence still points to very mobile populations, with sites showing few characteristics of longer, more permanent settlements. Even as groups appear to have moved frequently, however, there is also evidence that some areas with water and other particularly important resources saw frequent reuse and reoccupation. Archaeologists find sites with evidence of remodeling episodes and greater organization within sites to distinguish between living and trash areas within sites.[28] In sum, many of the sites in the northern Rio Grande appear to be part of a general pattern of high mobility and wide ranging resource procurement, though there is also evidence of seasonal sedentism, with small groups living in pithouses over the winter.[29]

Generally, although mobile, the seasonal round of the Archaic is viewed as qualitatively different from the pattern followed by Paleoindians in that it is tied more closely to plant than animal resources.[30] Vierra and Doleman have taken that model further to propose that from spring through fall, Archaic groups in northern New Mexico could have broken up into smaller units that moved across the landscape to areas most suitable for gathering plant resources and hunting. This strategy involved people moving to the location of particular resources. Conversely, during the winter, populations gathered together and didn't move as much, relying instead on stored food and periodic logistical trips to hunt and to bring back food from caches created during the warmer months.[31]

Researchers studying the Archaic in the Jemez Mountains and Pajarito Plateau have pointed toward the high quality material available for making stone tools (including the dacite mentioned above) and the diversity of plant and animal resources as being reasons for Archaic use of the area. Vierra has proposed that over time, mobile groups in northern New Mexico experienced enough population growth that they faced a reduction in land available for seasonal migration, leading to a territorial division whereby groups from the San Juan Basin

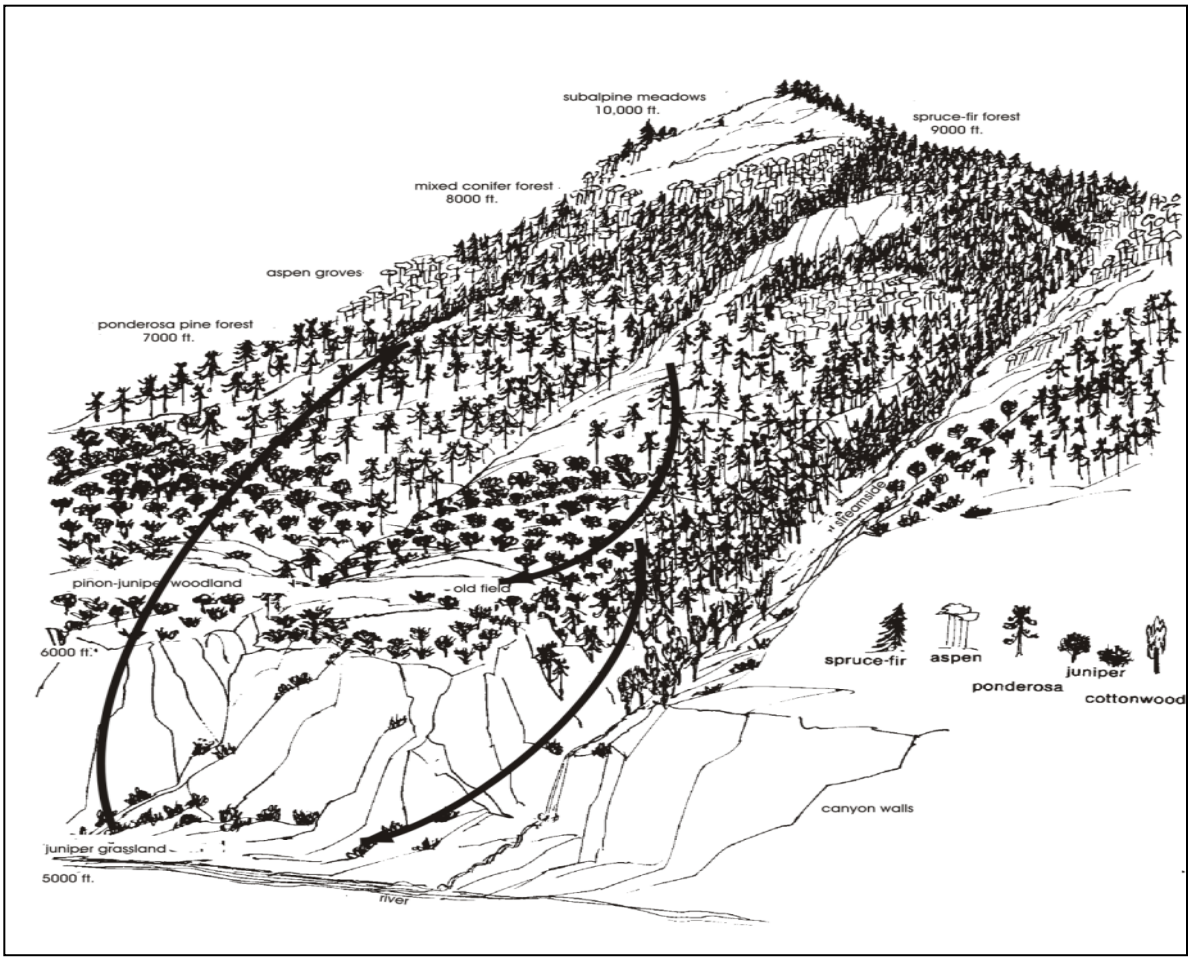


Figure 11: The seasonal subsistence round of Archaic peoples on the Pajarito Plateau. Courtesy of Dorothy Hoard; published in "Flowers of the Southwestern Forests and Woodlands" by Teralene Foxx and Dorothy Hoard, 1985.

utilized the western half of the Jemez Mountains, while groups from the Upper Rio Grande made use of the eastern half. [32]

While Archaic period sites are certainly not numerous within the boundaries of Bandelier National Monument, the northwest Jemez Mountains were inhabited by mobile peoples as part of their seasonal and cyclical subsistence rounds. Vierra and Foxx have modeled a seasonal subsistence round for Archaic inhabitants of the Pajarito Plateau generally, correlating availability of different plant species with season and elevation. [33] While their data are from sites on the Los Alamos National Laboratory land, this area is immediately adjacent to the monument and it is not a far stretch to apply their model to the Late Archaic occupation of the park as well.

In a nutshell, Vierra and Foxx use information on different vegetation communities at different altitudes to map out a possible seasonal strategy for exploiting these different resources by Late Archaic foragers. In their model, four resource zones were utilized: 1) juniper savanna zone in the Rio Grande valley, 2) piñon-juniper zone at the lower elevations of the Pajarito Plateau, 3) piñon-juniper/ ponderosa zone at mid-elevations on the Plateau, and 4) ponderosa pine/mixed conifer zone at high elevations. [34] They began by identifying plant species in each zone and which would be potentially useful for food, medicine, tool making, construction, smoking (recreational), and cordage, then looked at when and where each might be available. They conclude:

> In the juniper-savanna community, cool season grasses like Indian ricegrass are abundant,

> having seeds that are available in the early summer. Species used for greens such as chenoams … could be represented in the ponderosa pine zone and lower mixed conifer early in the summer. In addition, wild onions, berries, and wild potatoes are also available in these area during the mid to late summer time period. In contrast, acorns, pine nuts, broad leaf yucca and cacti would be available for consumption during the fall in the piñon-juniper zone. Dropseed grasses, seeds of chenoams, and saltbush could also have been exploited during the late summer in this zone.[35]

In addition to foraging of plant materials, obsidian from particular sources could have been collected as the seasonal round took people near these areas. Further, if these Late Archaic peoples were starting to practice horticulture, they could have planted maize in May, moved to the uplands for the summer, and harvested it upon returning in September or October. Maize planting sites could have been located in well-watered settings adjacent to piñon-juniper woodlands and fall plant resource areas to reduce scheduling conflicts and allow for a back-up strategy for resource shortfalls.[36] In sum, Vierra and Foxx propose that Late Archaic peoples on the Pajarito practiced a migration pattern involving seasonal movements from the juniper-savanna to ponderosa pine/mixed conifer zone, then back to the piñon-juniper zone.

One of the few Archaic sites within the boundaries of Bandelier National Monument to have been excavated is LA 12566, Ojala Cave. An overhang situated near the Rio Grande and now inundated by the waters of Cochiti Reservoir, the cave had adequate shelter to make it attractive during summer and fall, but not enough to make it comfortably habitable during winter months. Excavation during data recovery efforts ahead of construction of Cochiti Dam[37] revealed eight distinct occupation levels. The site is often cited in discussions of early horticulture in the area, as two kernels of corn were found in what the excavators labeled Occupation 5.[38]

This occupation included multiple living surfaces, extensive ash deposits, ground stone, chipped stone artifacts, and remnants of a cobble lined firepit. Bone from deer and other large mammals were present, as were the remains of wild plants such as hackberries, a piñon nut, and juniper berries. Four ceramic sherds, likely intrusive from a later occupation, were also found. Radiocarbon dates from Occupations 1 through 5 spanned the interval between 2010 BCE and 590 BCE (dating to the San Jose, Armijo, and En Medio phases). No radiocarbon dates were present for later occupations, but based on ceramics and evidence, it appears the cave was occupied sporadically on into Basketmaker II and III and Classic period times.[39] The authors interpret the site as a base camp for seasonal foraging activities.[40]



Figure 12: Ojala Cave ca. 1975. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

The presence of corn at Ojala Cave and other sites occupied during the late Archaic has led researchers to look at when, how, and why foragers in the area chose to include domesticated plants in their seasonal rounds. Many such models point to climate as the main reason people started relying more on domesticated plans, with some scholars suggesting domesticates were adopted when the climate was particularly conducive to growing corn (particularly warm and wet years), while

others suggest domesticated plants and the investment required by agriculture were only integrated into a foraging system that had worked for millennia when climate change brought droughts or other local conditions that made relying solely on wild plant resources a more risky proposition.[41] Some scholars have been uncomfortable placing the environment in such a deterministic position, preferring instead to explore more sociocultural reasons that people would choose to expand their horticultural efforts. These explanations are of course not mutually exclusive.

Dello-Russo looked at information from Late Archaic sites outside of Albuquerque to test how much of an effect changes in the environment had on the decisions people made about whether to engage in horticulture or not, and how severe such changes had to be for the environment to be considered a determining factor.[42] He began by identifying a drought that took place between 258 and 520 CE and correlating how many sites were occupied in the area before, during, and after the drought. He found that prior to the drought, there were 16 sites being occupied. During the drought, the number went down to four sites, all clustered near arroyos where plants would have access to what moisture there was, and it appeared that people were less mobile. After the drought, the number of sites rose to 19, but many were only special use sites and were not full time habitation areas.

He interpreted the pattern of site occupation and the artifacts and plant and animal remains present at the sites to show that before the drought was severe, people tried other strategies and growing corn was one of them. Once the drought become prolonged and severe, only a few groups were able to remains in the

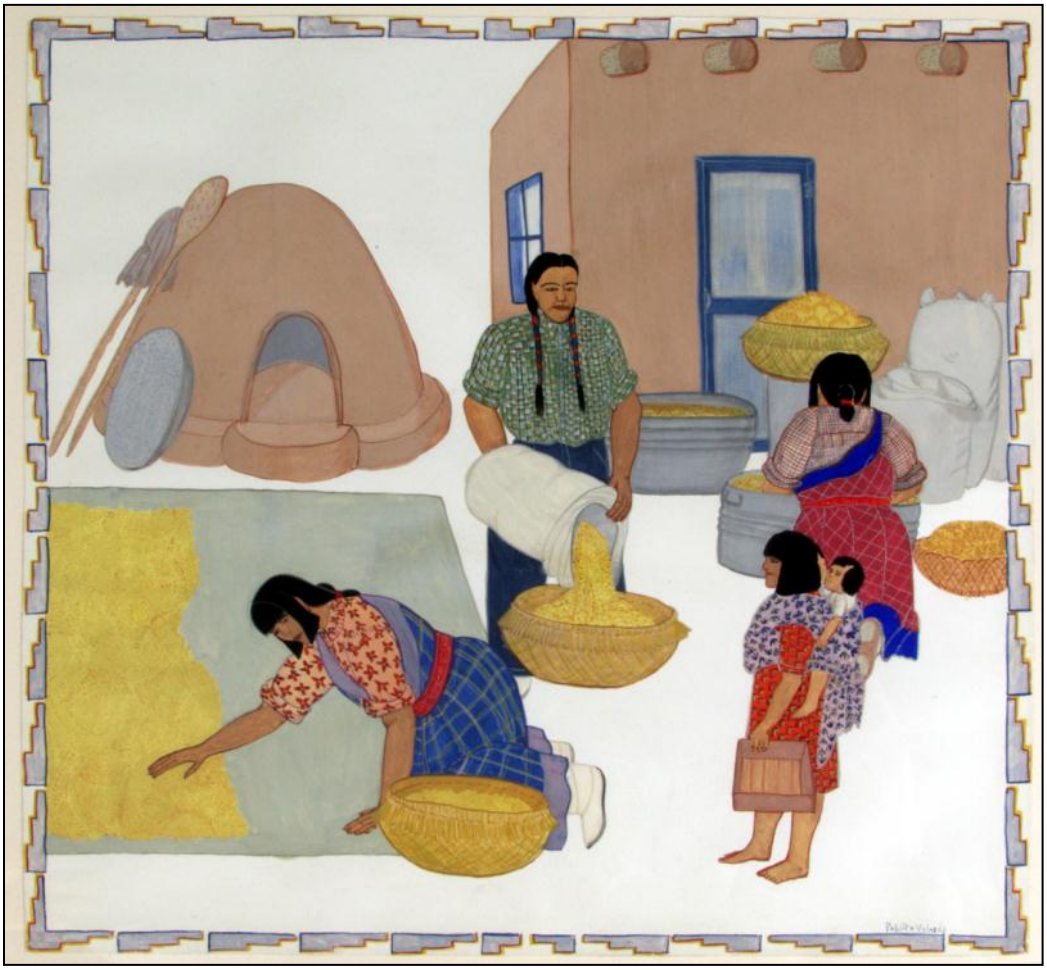


Figure 13: "Drying Corn" by Pablita Velarde ca. 1940. Catalog No. 2005. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

area and the rest chose to leave in search of a place with better conditions. Once the drought was over, while there were some fulltime residents, other groups only came periodically for special purposes. While this may seem to be a "just so story" about one very small area with little broader import, the significance of this pattern is that a shift to fewer, larger settlements in areas good for agriculture with only sporadic use of other areas is exactly the pattern researchers have traditionally identified as the typical trajectory from foraging to the adoption of agriculture. Dello-Russo was therefore not only able to prove that at a certain point, the environment can play a deterministic role, but also to illustrate how at least some groups in the Rio Grande Valley made the transition from a primarily foraging way of life to one in which horticulture played a larger role.

The adoption of agriculture in different regions of the Southwest is a subject of ongoing research. However, it is clear that the presence of the earliest maize in the San Juan Basin and Jemez Mountains corresponds with changing settlement and occupation patterns culminating in a more sedentary agricultural life for most groups.[43] Though most researchers believe there were some groups in the region that remained hunter-gatherers as late as 900 CE, the stage was set for the transition to a fully agricultural way of life evident at sites inhabited during the Developmental Period.

Developmental Period (600-1200 CE)

The period following the Archaic, from 600 through 1200 CE, is termed the Developmental period, because the cultures of this time were beginning to lead a less mobile existence more reliant on agriculture than before, but were not yet living in the large pueblo communities that began in the later Coalition period (1200 to 1325 CE) and continued through the Classic period (1325 to 1550 CE) into modern times. The Developmental period is divided into early (600 to 900 CE) and late (900 to 1200 CE) phases.

Similar to the Archaic period, the Middle and Northern Rio Grande areas were sparsely occupied during the late Archaic, and sites dating to the subsequent early Developmental period are also relatively few and far between. Some groups had left the area during the Archaic, and it wasn't resettled to any appreciable degree until after 1050 CE or the early 1100s. As a result, early Developmental sites are uncommon in the Rio Grande region. It appears that despite the adoption of some horticulture at the end of the Archaic, early Developmental groups were still quite mobile, with most sites occupied seasonally. Such sites as have been found are generally located near perennial water sources and arable land, including tributaries of the Rio Grande. In the Santa Fe area, small Developmental period pithouse villages have been found near the Santa Fe River, in the Tesuque Valley, and in the Santa Fe drainage.[44]

Akins et al. present a summary of what life was generally like during that time, based on their analysis of information from the excavation of six early Developmental sites north of Peña Blanca on the Santa Fe River.[45] Some sites contain pit structures that were probably occupied for continuous periods especially during cold weather, but there are other sites with less formal architecture or sites that were occupied just for special uses related to resource procurement representative of ongoing mobility and foraging. Compared, however, to Archaic sites, there is a greater differentiation between habitations and other kinds of sites, suggesting a year round occupation and a high level of dependency on agriculture. Researchers interpret this to mean that the year round sites were occupied by a relatively high number of older women and young children who were sedentary full time while the more able-bodied members of some groups traveled further and more often to bring back resources not locally available.

There are other patterns evident at the same sites. First, people were more often making stone tools from locally available stone rather than traveling to stone sources that were far away. Second, the animal bones present in

the trash mound suggest that people were often eating rabbits and other "pests" they could hunt right in their own gardens and fields, though people did travel further to hunt deer and antelope. In sum, it appears that the period between 700 and 900 CE was a period of experimentation as groups worked out a way of life more reliant on settled, agricultural habits.

No early Developmental period sites have been positively identified within Bandelier National Monument. The closest early Developmental sites are pithouses and early pueblos on the floodplains and terraces along the lower Santa Fe River such as those described above, and on the Rio Grande below the mouth of White Rock Canyon.[46] Even late Developmental sites are relatively sparse and limited to the last century of the period (1100 to 1200 CE).[47] Those late Developmental sites that are present on the Pajarito Plateau are generally spread over a large range in altitude, indicating willingness to move away from well watered lower elevation sites and engage in dry farming. New dryland farming skills may explain why the monument saw increasing occupation at last.[48]

Archaeologists have evidence that population in the northern Rio Grande valley was much larger in the Coalition period than the Developmental period. Some Coalition architectural features and black-on-white ceramics are similar to those found in the San Juan Basin and the Mesa Verde area, leading to speculation that some of the increased Rio Grande population originated in those areas. Given the rather spectacular archaeological sites at Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde, researchers in the past tended to assume that Coalition features originated in those areas. Other researchers disagree, arguing that many of the features usually assumed to be introduced by immigrant populations during the Coalition period actually have their origin in trends visible in local Developmental sites.

Lakatos carried out a detailed comparison of Developmental period pit structures in the Rio Grande and the San Juan Basin.[49] He sees sites in the Rio Grande progressing from groups of one to three square or round pit structures in the Developmental to groups of one to two

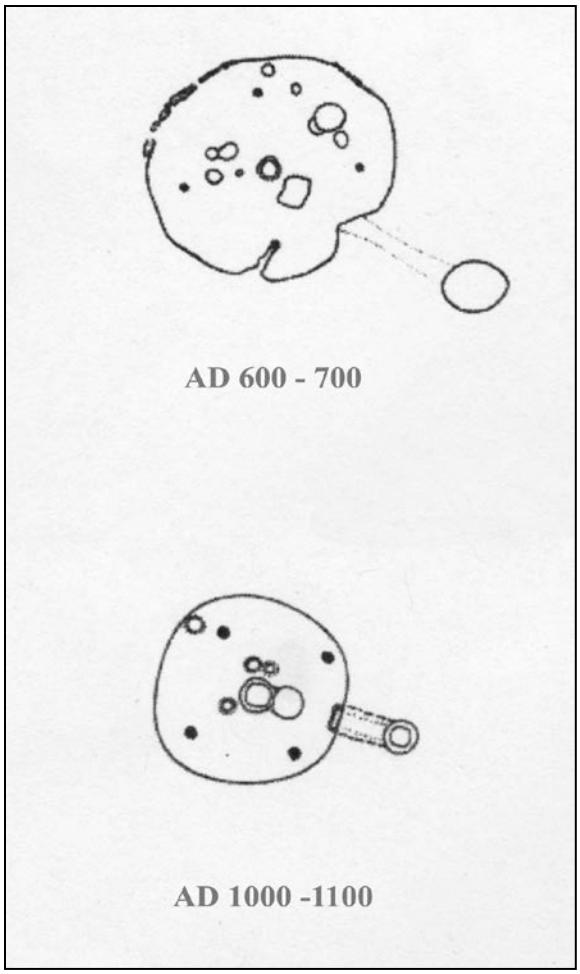


Figure 14: Maps of pithouses with southeastern alignments (after Lakatos 2007:Figures 8-9).

square or round pit structures associated with five to twenty surface rooms, some of which are D-shaped. He also reports the consistent appearance of a complex of architectural features in the pit structures that include a hearth (often lined with clay and with a raised collar), an ash pit, a ventilator shaft, and an upright stone deflecting the direct draught from the ventilator from the hearth. These features are usually aligned with one another, and appear as a complex as early as 600 to 700 CE in the Albuquerque valley, and north near present day Santo Domingo Pueblo by 600 to 800 CE, which he interprets as south to north expansion. Because the type of features and their arrangement isn't something that would be dictated by technology or function (except possibly the draught deflector), Lakatos be-

lieves that this is an expression of something cultural, an expression of a belief system.

As surface rooms become more common in the Late Developmental, those pit structures that remain and retain the characteristic complex of features increasingly begin to look like community facilities. They increase in size and begin to have features seen in ceremonial rooms such as kivas, including altar supports and floor vaults. More interesting still, the alignment of the hearth and ventilator shaft complex is often consistently in line with the place on the southeastern horizon where the sun rises on the winter solstice. This alignment, in turn, divides the pit structures into north and south halves, which may themselves be representative of ritual cycles associated with winter and summer, and perhaps in turn with the people within the group responsible for carrying them out. Lakatos concludes, "The symmetry, regularity, and continuity of Developmental structures provided the 'grammar' for conveying socially meaningful information. Therefore with the building of each new structure, the present connected the past with the future, which in turn reaffirms worldview."[50] A tradition not just of architectural style and features, but also of a dualistic structure of ritual and society and an archetype of a communal ritual structure was established early in the history of the Rio Grande valley, with its parallels surviving in modern Pueblo culture to this day.

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4. Aggregation and Immigration

Coalition Period (1200 to 1325 CE)

Researchers identify a transition between the Developmental and Coalition periods on the basis of a change they see archaeologically between the rather eclectic hunting and gathering economy of the late Developmental and one focused increasingly on farming during the Coalition (1200 to 1325 CE). People were giving up a highly mobile way of life and adopting a more sedentary existence that would ultimately culminate in the large, Classic period settlements.[1] The questions surrounding the process by which people changed from living in smaller, dispersed sites to gathering together in the large, aggregated pueblos of the Classic is the reason the Coalition has been of interest to researchers for decades. Why did people choose to live in large settlements? Did it happen slowly or quickly? How did they organize themselves socially and politically? How did they work out access to land and other resources? Why settle in more aggregated communities at this time and not earlier or later? What were the relationships among communities? How do the communities relate to the various linguistic groups of the pueblos that were here when Europeans came to the area?

As far as Bandelier National Monument is concerned, the early part of the Coalition saw initial settlement and swift expansion across the Pajarito Plateau, as well as rapid population growth and larger settlements than before.[2] Pre-contact population levels are notoriously difficult to estimate, but Ortman suggests that the regional population doubled during the Early Coalition and again during the Late Coalition—a rate of 1% per year for the Coalition as a whole.[3] Importantly for our examination of the monument, he also concludes that for the northern Rio Grande valley, "Early Coalition population growth is due almost exclusively to settlement of the Pajarito Plateau."[4]

At the area within the park boundaries, people moved initially into the areas between Frijoles and Lummis Canyons, but eventually spread throughout the area with sites primarily at canyon mouths and the ends of mesas. As elsewhere in the Southwest, the pattern seems to be that the areas with the best agricultural land were settled first.[5] At first, sites were small and not occupied very long, often consisting of a residential room, a storage room, and sometimes an enclosed exterior work area. Some have subterranean kivas or square ceremonial rooms, with sites south of Frijoles much more likely to have a ceremonial space than sites north of it.[6] While sites elsewhere in the Southwest are frequently south facing, some sites on the Pajarito Plateau are oriented to the east in what seems to be a continuation of the eastern orientation of earlier pit structures.[7] The fact that the majority of these early sites were never reoccupied once people moved on suggests that perhaps the inhabitants exhausted the agricultural potential of the soil in the immediate area and rather than take on a longer "commute" to fields at a greater distance from the dwellings, chose instead to move entire households to new field locations in unoccupied areas.[8]

Over time and as the population on the plateau increased, settlements appear in more diverse locations. Archaeologists have interpreted the great variety in site locations as evidence of latecomers trying to find places to settle and settling, as it were, for second best.[9] Population was fairly equal both north and south of Frijoles Canyon, but there were more slightly larger settlements south of Frijoles Canyon.[10] The number and size of kivas and other ceremonial spaces suggest that they were used by fairly small numbers of closely related people from clusters of settlements. The number of rooms per site increased slightly over the course of the Coalition, but there were none of the large communal pueblos that were to follow in the Classic. These clustered groups of sites have been identified, with the first one

between Frijoles and Lummis Canyons, a second coming later on the mesa south of Alamo Canyon, a third yet later on Burnt Mesa north of Frijoles Canyon, and finally a fourth between Capulin and Medio Canyons.[11] Thus, the smaller sites should be viewed as subsets forming larger communities, though such communities would have had no permanent political officers or much economic connection to one another other than reciprocity.

In the late Coalition, more settlements were situated on low-elevation mesa tops than any other landform, and there is a great increase in the number of agricultural features.[12] Archaeologists have found evidence of attempts to collect and conserve moisture, slow runoff, and protect plants from frosts that could kill them. These take the form of contour terraces, check dams, grid gardens, and gravel mulch (particularly of volcanic pumice), and such features are common all over the plateau.[13] In a few places where there are permanent streams or springs, irrigation ditches were built. There is also evidence that even when people lived in more permanent communities, they still rotated their use of different fields and planted fields in a variety of environments as a hedge against failure in a particular location. The small structures known as field houses that were used for shelter and storage often show evidence of short occupation or remodeling, and sometimes the materials of the roof and walls were scavenged for reuse elsewhere. Some fields were planted in the trash mounds of pueblos people no longer

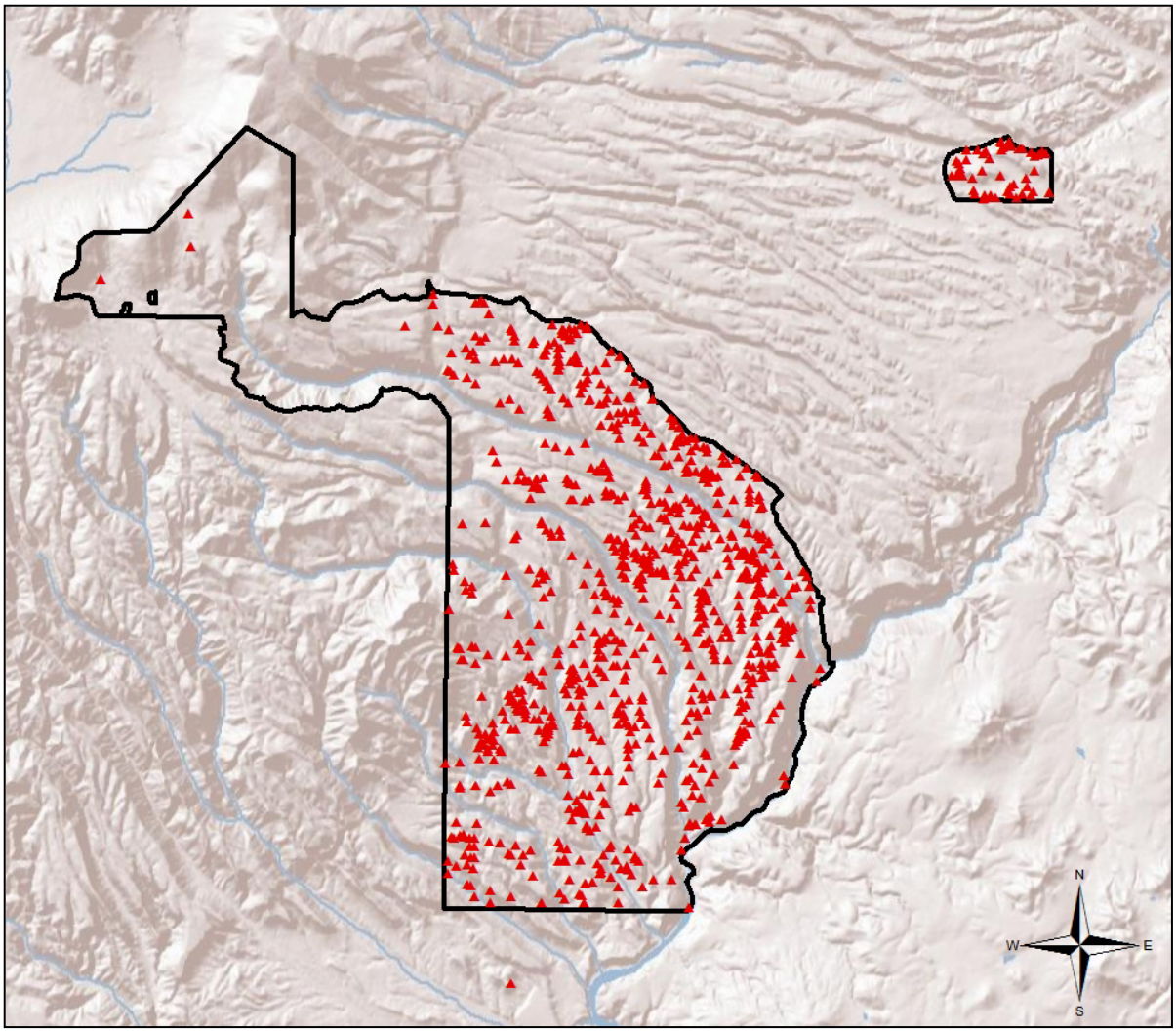


Figure 15: Coalition period sites in Bandelier National Monument, 2010.

lived in to take advantage of the nutrients added to the soil by the decomposing garbage, feces, and other organic matter left by the previous inhabitants.[14] As population increased, hunting territories became more circumscribed and there was an increasing emphasis on raising turkeys and growing beans to increase protein in the diet and broaden of the types of domesticated plants and animals people worked to cultivate.[15]

The kind of agricultural features archaeologists have identified are the type that would take a moderate investment in labor to build and maintain, according to research done by Adler. Worldwide, agricultural undertakings involving a moderate amount of labor investment (as opposed to swidden agriculture, which involves very little labor, or to rice paddies, which are very labor intensive) usually involves people working communally from a small group of households as opposed to just one household. Adler suggests that when access to viable farmland becomes more limited (for either social or environmental reasons), that people use the land they do have more intensively, which in turn requires a greater labor investment in water control features and soil improvement, making communal efforts in the fields more important and residence in larger communities more attractive.[16] The communities themselves have roles to play in this scenario as well as they are often the arbiters and perpetuators of the system of land tenure that develops as individuals and groups invest their time and labor into particular tracts of land. This often proves to be a self-perpetuating system as the offspring of individual households would have continued to reside with the older generation, both to assist with the agricultural labor and to be in a position to ensure their own access to productive lands with the household head stops farming.[17] If Adler's model is correct, the presence of agricultural features may well indicate the period in which land tenure systems and recognized community territories first appear on the Pajarito Plateau.

Some room blocks were multi-storied for the first time during the late Coalition, built around plazas defined by blocks of rooms on three or four sides, often with a kiva in the plaza and another outside the room blocks.[18]



Figure 16: Agricultural terraces at LA 65605, 2009. Photograph courtesy of Robert P. Powers.

This was true especially for communities north of Frijoles Canyon.[19] Such sites are known as plaza pueblos, and are the beginnings of the very large, aggregated pueblos to follow. Social scientists have always been interested in the process by which humans begin to live in aggregated communities, as large groups present several challenges when it comes to organizing everyone and working out the decision making process; resolving issues related to access to, and ownership of, farm land and other natural resources; and so forth. Smaller, more mobile groups can "vote with their feet" and simply move on when group politics don't go in their favor or when there is too much competition for resources. It makes sense for people to live in larger communities when there is the need for defense,[20] the need for group labor,[21] or the centralization of economic and ritual activities.[22]

While the impetus to gather in larger communities may well have been a combination of factors, Adler's model fits the timing and circumstances of the period on the Pajarito well. Immigrants coming to the area and settling in even the less desirable areas coupled with natural local population growth and a certain degree of environmental disruption and uncertainty (though not to the degree that occurred in the Four Corners) set the stage for the circumscription of agricultural land, the consequent agricultural intensification and, perhaps, the raison d'être for the first aggregated communities on the Pajarito Plateau—Yapashi, San Miguel, Casa del Rito/Shohakka, Tyuonyi, and Tsankawi within the boundaries of Bandelier National Monument and Tshirege, Otowi, and Puye elsewhere on the plateau.

Ortman presents a different scenario, however, based on his research into the source of the population growth during the Coalition and the origins of the Tewa, arguing that some of the larger pueblos were established by entire communities migrating to the area from the Mesa Verde region.[23] Ortman's work is discussed in more detail below, but some background on the questions surrounding immigration to the northern Rio Grande valley is needed to set the stage for his findings.

The subject of immigration to the region has been a focus of research even in the time of Adolf Bandelier as early scholars concerned

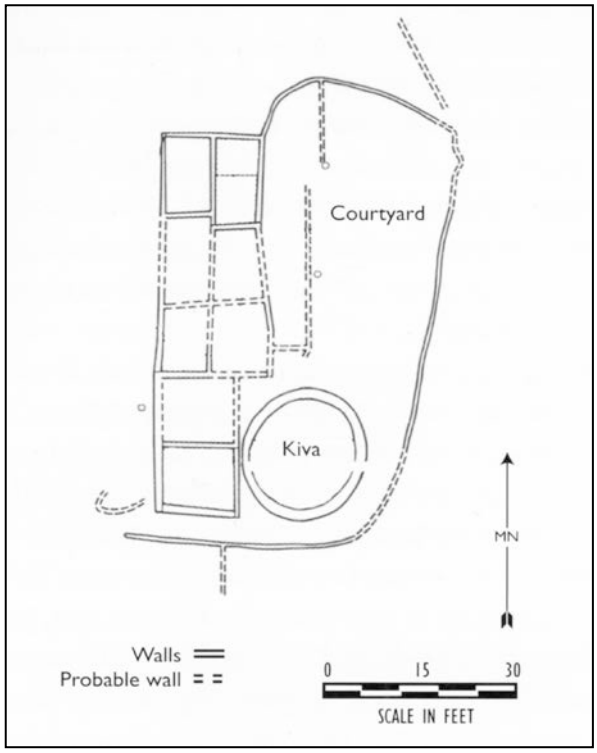


Figure 17: Map of Casa del Rito, Bandelier National Monument (after Van Zandt 2005:Figure 6.3).

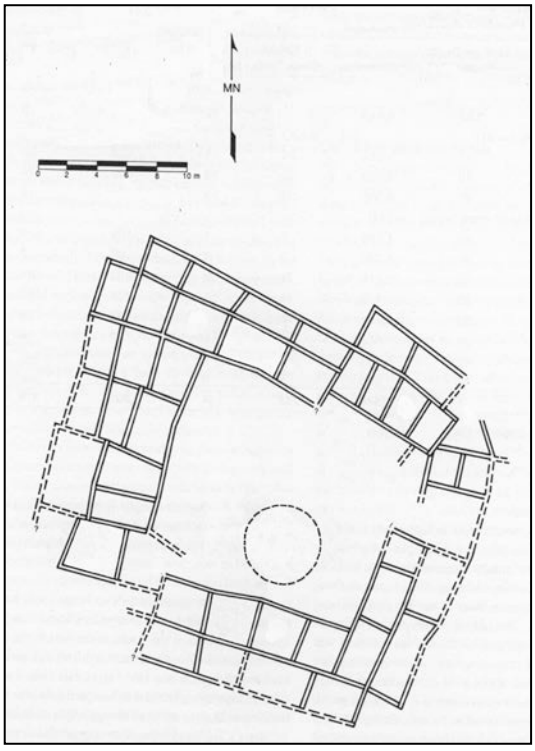


Figure 18: Area 1 of Burnt Mesa Pueblo, Bandelier National Monument (after Kohler and Root 2004:Map 5.2).

with interpreting the distributions of traits they saw in the archaeological record turned to explanations based on either migration or diffusion. Diffusion is defined as the spread of cultural traits through trade or emulation, while migration involves the actual movements of people. Bandelier and his contemporaries studied Pueblo population movements with the goal of identifying migrations that they could use to explain the distributions of, for example, black-on-white ceramics across broad areas.[24] H. P. Mera in particular attempted to identify the movement of prehispanic populations by identifying distributions of particular ceramic types.[25] While some early researchers concluded that immigration had taken place, others interpreted the evidence differently and no clear consensus was ever reached. Scholars in the 1960s even turned away from migration, which they saw as "a non-explanation or worse,"[26] but migration is a fact of life in the Southwest, and some Southwesternists in more recent times have revisited the topic and delved more deeply into the process by which groups migrate and become integrated into new areas.

There is a surprising amount of disagreement about whether the rapid rise in population and some architectural and ceramic traits found on the Pajarito Plateau that appear similar to those in the Four Corners area are in fact indicative of immigration from that region. Despite strong evidence that the population grew dramatically during the late Coalition, archaeologists have failed to find clear examples of Mesa Verdean traits at sites in the northern Rio Grande valley. In the absence of a clearly Mesa Verdean settlement, some researchers have been reluctant to consider migration to the area at any significant scale or have given the subject short shrift.[27] Others believe that the social disintegration in the Four Corners region was so great that the migration likely took place in the form of small groups of people that may have done their best to fit in with host communities and would have left very little trace of their place of origin for archaeologists to find.[28]

The disagreement among scholars comes as no surprise, as there are areas in the Southwest where archaeologists have been able to clearly identify evidence of migration of groups from one area to another. With clear examples to point to, lack of clear cut evidence in the northern Rio Grande valley has often been taken to be lack of evidence of any immigration at all or evidence that any immigrants came gradually in small groups that were easily assimilated into existing communities, leaving no trace of their place of origin.

As social scientists have thought more about the process of migration, however, they have come to realize that there might be very good reasons new immigrants would attempt to blend in to their host communities as best they could. Lipe has developed a succinct outline of why immigrants might choose to retain and display their original identity or try to assimilate as best they could.[29] In his scheme, migrants would choose to stand out when they:

- Move to unoccupied areas or areas with very low competition for land and other resources.
- Are farmers displacing foragers.
- Move as whole communities or large social segments/enclaves
- Don't share a basic way of life and beliefs with host populations
- Numerically overwhelm host populations
- Are significantly unequal in social status or power vis-á-vis host populations (e.g., conquerors versus conquered)
- Use visible ethnicity as a social strategy

They would choose to blend in when they:

- Share a basic way of life and beliefs
- Are attracted to a host's ideology
- Follow earlier migrants as part of long term migration flows
- Are viewed by hosts as social equals
- Don't use visible ethnicity as a social strategy
- Fit into a host culture's practices for integrating newcomers (e.g., shared clan or religious society affiliations)
- Must compete for land and other resources with existing populations

Considered systematically, it becomes clear that there is a good possibility that people moving across the landscape might not retain

all the trappings of their place of origin or might choose to display or downplay their ethnic identities. This, in turn, raises the possibility that the tremendous population growth evident in the northern Rio Grande valley is both due to the arrival of immigrants and the normal population growth expected for newly sedentary, agricultural societies.

In a very thorough and multidisciplinary study, Ortman sets out to examine the question of where the group of people identified historically as the Tewa came from—whether they represent a mass migration from Mesa Verde, an amalgamation of other groups, or expansion and development of people living in the northern Rio Grande valley from the beginning.[30] His work has obvious implications for the question regarding whether some of the population growth in the Rio Grande valley during the Coalition and Classic periods can be attributed to immigrants from Mesa Verde, but he also addresses other questions of interest to researchers studying the Pajarito Plateau and the northern Rio Grande valley in general. Specifically, in conjunction with his proposal for the process and events of Tewa ethnogenesis, he looks at why the immigrants settled where they did, why larger communities start to appear, and why the material culture at sites purported to be associated with an immigrant group shows few characteristics of their original region. Ortman's work is set out in some detail below, partly because the multidisciplinary nature requires a more extensive discussion, but also because his broad regional scope sets out the changes that took place in the northern Rio Grande valley during the Coalition and provides contextual information from other portions of the Southwest.

Ortman begins by pointing out that ethnic groups are often defined by their biology, language, and culture, though these are not necessarily correlates of ethnic identity. He therefore approaches his subject by analyzing genetic information, linguistic information, and material culture separately. He begins by putting forth the evidence for immigration to the northern Rio Grande valley. Some of this has been presented above, but of note is that Ortman sees evidence for population appearing in previously uninhabited areas even as other communities remain stable, which he interprets as evidence of an influx of people after 1275 CE.[31] This influx correlates well with the period in which the Mesa Verde area was abandoned.[32]

Ortman then turns to the subject of genes, comparing measurements of human crania from different groups to attempt to identify relationships between different populations. His results showed that "most post-A.D. 1275 populations of the Northern Rio Grande region, including those from the Santa Fe, Pajarito, Chama, Cochiti, Tano, Pecos, and Salinas districts, appear more closely related to earlier populations of the Four Corners region than they are to earlier populations of the Northern Rio Grande…"[33] He further concludes that the Keres are closer to populations of the San Juan Basin and Cibola regions.

The Kiowa-Tanoan language family, of which Tewa is a member, is examined next, using analysis of vocabulary, place names (including a few for Late Developmental sites on the Pajarito), metaphors, and other techniques. Ortman thinks a Proto-Kiowa-Tanoan language was spoken in the Late Archaic by hunter-gatherers on the Colorado Plateau, and that the language later diversified as its speakers adopted agriculture. While the ways in which the various modern languages of Tiwa, Tewa, Towa, and Kiowa grew out of this are complex, Ortman's conclusions can be summarized as a suggestion that Proto-Tanoan was spoken after 450 CE, a Proto-Tiwa-Tewa spoken from 725-920 CE, and that Tiwa was spoken by early inhabitants of the northern Rio Grande by 980 CE. Tewa itself became distinct between 920 CE and 980 CE, meaning it definitely predates any supposed immigration to the northern Rio Grande valley.[34]

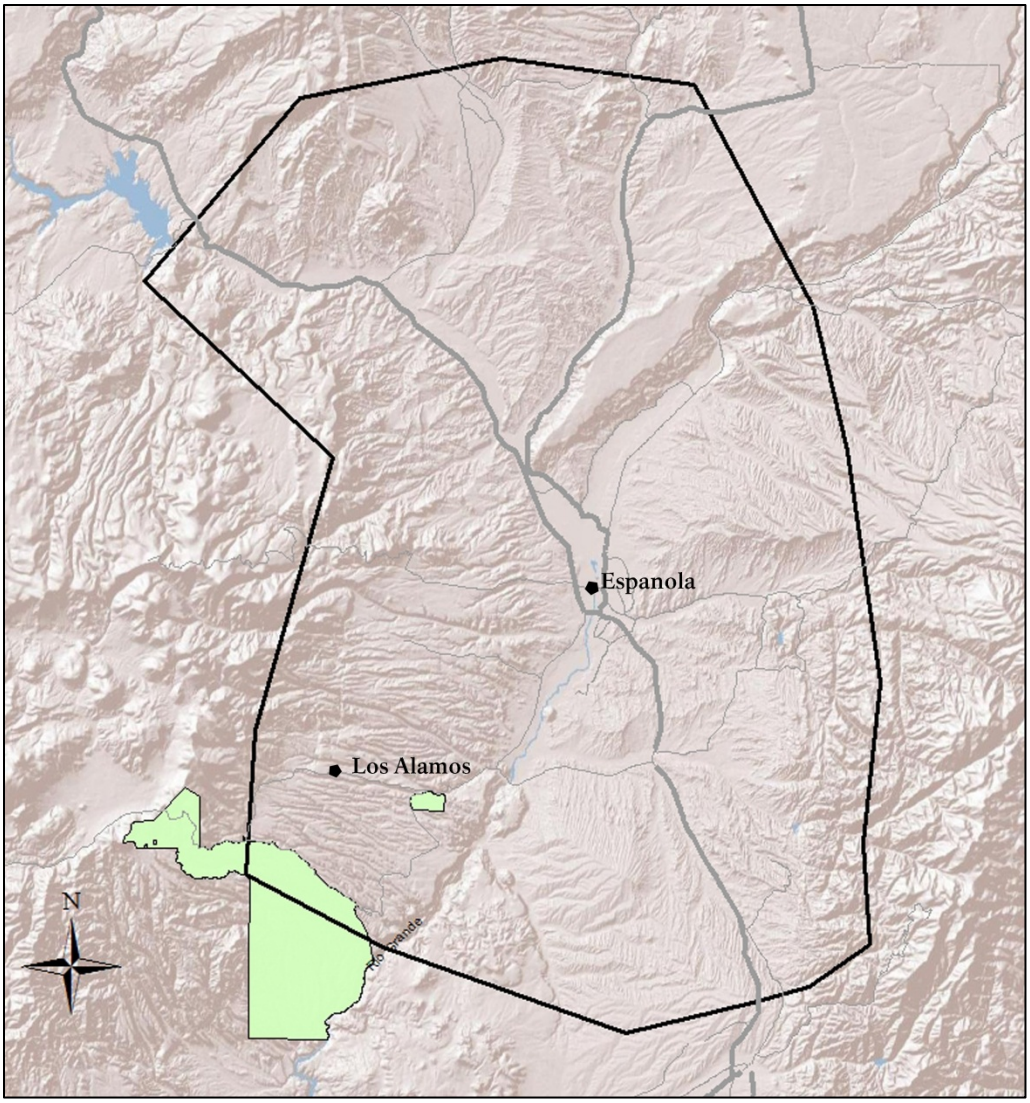


Figure 19: Extent of the Tewa Basin, 2010.

Given that time frame for Tewa, Ortman created a list of archaeological sites the Tewa remember Tewa names for and correlated them to the periods which archaeologists believe they were occupied. He found that there are a few sites on the Pajarito from the Late Developmental period for which the Tewa remember names, which could represent the period the Tewa people first came to the Rio Grande valley. He also found that the Tewa have names for sites in the Four Corners region, and that the site with the latest occupation date there that still had a Tewa name was Yucca House, one of the last sites occupied in the Mesa Verde region before it was completely abandoned.[35] This line of evidence would suggest that the earliest migration to the Rio Grande valley took place around 1150 and that the process continued until the late 1200s when the Mesa Verde region was completely depopulated.

Ortman then turns to settlement patterns and architecture. He notes that sites founded in the Tewa Basin before 1200 CE were relatively small ("hamlet" sized), those between 1200 and 1275 CE were more on the order of villages, and some of those between 1275 and 1350 CE would be considered towns. He interprets this as evidence of an advance migration of people from Mesa Verde by individuals and families, followed by larger groups such as extended kin groups or village factions, followed ultimately by entire communities or even

groups of communities during the final depopulation of the Four Corners.[36] Ortman also observes that many of these new communities were built on upland mesa tops and on land suitable for rain fed agriculture (the main strategy employed at Mesa Verde), a departure from the local pattern of Late Developmental sites which are located in areas that also receive water from run-off.[37]

Ortman then turns to the subject of material culture, looking at why it still remains difficult to see in the archaeological record if so many people came to the area from Mesa Verde. He begins by pointing out that people may have had social and political reasons to leave as much as environmental ones, a sentiment echoed by Glowacki, who has noted that environmental conditions weren't as extreme as to force literally everyone to leave. She sees evidence of social stress in the Mesa Verde region and for experiments involving "novel social organizations that may have involved transitioning from a household based organization to one that was more communal and potentially less kin based than the previous organization."[38] Beyond these social changes, however, there is plenty of evidence for violence and warfare in the Mesa Verde region just prior to the depopulation.[39] Glowacki also notes that "That the depopulation was widespread and long lasting, and that practices at southern destinations were readily adopted, suggests that the decision to migrate also implied forsaking the material connections to previous ideologies and practices, if not the deeply embedded Chacoan history and associated beliefs."[40] Both the existing and experimental social orders ultimately failed, giving people strong reasons to abandon both the region and many aspects of its sociopolitical traditions.

Second, the construction of smeared-indented-corrugated ceramics may represent a publically visible means of expressing a rejection of Mesa Verdean culture. Corrugated ceramics (Figure 20) have certain thermal properties that make the corrugation practical and they were common in the Mesa Verde region. Ortman interprets the smearing (Figure 21) as a way of maintaining the functional benefits of the corrugation while symbolically rejecting the cultural association of the corrugated style in a break with the past and an embracing of a new society.[41] Ortman further interprets a near complete replacement of Kwahe'e Black-on-white with Santa Fe Black-on-white during the Coalition as further evidence of the theme of simplification.[42] Such vessels are most often on bowls, a strict departure from the more graphically complex Mesa



Figure 20: Mesa Verde Corrugated vessel ca. 1200-1300 CE. Photograph by Robert Jenson, courtesy of Mesa Verde National Monument, 2011.



Figure 21: Smeared Corrugated vessel ca. 1325-1500 CE- from Bandelier National Monument. Catalog No. 5144. Courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.



Figure 22: Mesa Verde Black-on-white bowl ca. 1200-1300 CE. Photograph by Robert Jenson, courtesy of Mesa Verde National Park, 2011.



Figure 23: Santa Fe Black-on-White ca. 1200-1350. Courtesy of the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture www.miaclab.org, Catalog No. 43676/11. Photograph by Blair Clark.

> Verde Black-on-white jars and mugs that characterized the sites of the "novel social organizations" noted by Glowacki. Though Ortman doesn't say this, if one agrees with Adler's model that the agricultural features on the Pajarito Plateau are typical of those built by groups of kin, this may also represent a return to the more kin-based social organization and a rejection of the late Mesa Verde social experiments.

Ortman expands upon this theme of rejection of a prior social system and culture. He observes that because Tewa and Tiwa were related in the distant past, the language of the people in the Rio Grande valley the migrants encountered would have been somewhat familiar. Further if one looks at the way the local population was settled in relatively small groups, still relied on wild plant foods to a higher degree than the Mesa Verde populations had, and so forth, it is possible that the migrants saw the Rio Grande peoples as representing an older way of life more characteristic of their ancestors and predating the social upheaval of the thirteenth century.

The desire to return to an older, simpler way of life is often displayed by groups engaged in so-called revitalization movements;[43] well-known North American examples of which include the Ghost Dance,[44] the Sun Dance, and the Handsome Lake movement.[45] Revitalization movements are common among groups that have experienced stress in the form of some shift in social power, whether one that resulted in the loss of power, territory, autonomy, and wealth.[46] Certainly the tumult of the last decades in the Mesa Verde region would have provided the impetus for groups to engage in some reflection on their circumstances and make conscious decisions about the lifeways they wanted to pursue.

How did all of this create an ethnic group? Ortman concludes:

> Finally, the upheavals of revolution, including the breaking and burning of kivas and possessions, violence against opposing factions, the abandonment of villages, the long walk to the Tewa Basin, the construction of a new society, and public surveillance to ensure compliance with the new norms of behavior, would have encouraged the formation of strong bonds of solidarity and common commitment among the migrants. In short, these shared experiences and memories of having lived through them, would have provided ample material for the development of a new Tewa identity and bound the post-migration culture and practices associated with the revolutionary movement to the Tewa speech community and its associated mating networks."[47]

The post-migration culture and practices reflected in the archaeological record at Bande-

lier National Monument for the Tewa are the product of the history of the emigration from Mesa Verde. If we look again at Lipe's lists of reasons why a migrant group would choose to retain its own identity or attempt to fit in, we find that reasons from both parts of the list apply. The immigrants to the northern Rio Grande valley would have had reasons to be attracted to their hosts' ideology and did follow earlier migrants. They moved initially to areas with very low competition for land and other resources; later in the process they moved as large groups or even whole communities and may well have numerically overwhelmed the host populations, at least in some areas. With the identification of reasons immigrants may have both to attempted to fit in and retain their cultural identity, the reason the archaeological record of the period shows a dramatic rise in population associated with changes in settlement patterns, ceramics, and diet but none of the evidence archaeologists often rely on to clearly identify immigrant groups becomes clear.

It should be noted here that there are some scholars who disagree with Ortman's model of immigration and Tewa ethnogenesis, in particular Boyer et al.[48] In their alternative model, the existing population in the northern Rio Grande valley is large enough to account for the increase in population through natural population growth. They note that east-facing pit structures and kivas are most traditional for the Rio Grande valley, but that the area with the most east-facing examples are associated with the Tewa. South-facing ones are associated with the Keres, and the authors suggest this implies that it is the Keres who are the products of immigration. They dismiss Ortman's genetic analysis on the basis of small sample size, and disagree with his analysis of Santa Fe Black-on-white as associated with Mesa Verdean groups. Their alternative model returns to the idea of immigration of small corporate groups, which they argue were Keres who came through the Rio Puerco and Rio Jemez valleys onto the southern Pajarito Plateau and the Santo Domingo basin in the 13th century.

While the contributors to the article by Boyer et al. are all experts in their respective fields, their reasons for rejecting Ortman's analysis are problematic. The first and most significant reason to question their analysis and alternative model is that they do not include the Pajarito Plateau in their population estimates. In eliminating this area they exclude from their analysis the very region Ortman identified as having the most population growth during the Coalition, and it is therefore no surprise that they don't see the population increase as significant enough to require anything other than small scale immigration by corporate groups as an explanation. The rest of their arguments relate to Ortman's analysis of other lines of evidence, and while they make some excellent points (Wilson in particular with regard to the origins and development of Santa Fe Black-on-white[49]), their conclusions are not necessarily mutually exclusive to Ortman's even though they use them to refute his model.

Fowles provides additional reasons to question the rejection of the idea of large scale immigrations by Boyer et al.:

> Quite simply, it is difficult to imagine that the large villages that abruptly appeared in the early 14th century were under the direction of local peoples who had left behind their dispersed hamlets only a generation before. These were villages rapidly constructed in large building episodes following preconceived central plans, presumably by people already familiar with life in nucleated contexts. Furthermore, it is equally difficult to image that those accustomed to the sociopolitical complexity of the San Juan Basin would have been fully content to follow the direction of the poorly mobilized locals. Pushed by a climate of increasing instability and warfare, pulled perhaps by the prospect of Plains trade and a new start, the San Juan migrants undoubtedly did much to sculpt the Pueblo IV world in the Rio Grande Valley.[50]

In short, his point is from what anthropologists understand of the formation of large villages and towns, the transition to large Classic communities happened too rapidly and with too few signs of the interim steps to be a purely local development. Lastly, Boyer et al. provide no rationale for why the population growth and convergence into the large aggregated communities happened when they did, an omission troubling to anyone who has studied the sociopolitical structures of so-called middle range societies (groups that show some evidence of social complexity in the form of

limited government and limited social hierarchy, but have not yet reached the point of being full-fledged states).

The question of Keres origins, the boundary between traditionally Keres and Tewa territories, and the large communal pueblos are discussed further in the section on the Classic period, but the social conditions that resulted in the large, aggregated pueblos in existence when the first Europeans arrived in the region began during the Coalition, and this is especially true for the Pajarito Plateau. Beyond this local historical trend, however, this period on the plateau is an example of one way cultural transformation takes place as migrants move across the landscape under conditions of environmental and social stress, delivering a lesson with timeless relevance.

[1] Cherie Scheick, "The Late Developmental and Early Coalition of the Northern Rio Grande: Time or Process?" *Kiva* 73, No. 2 (2007):133.
[2] Powers and Orcutt, *The Bandelier Archaeological Survey*, 552-553.
[3] Scott G. Ortman, *Genes, Language, and Culture in Tewa Ethnogenesis, A.D. 1150-1400*. Ph.D. dissertation. (Tempe: Arizona State University) 2010, 136.
[4] Ibid., 562.
[5] Michael A. Adler, "Land Tenure, Archaeology, and the Ancestral Pueblo Social Landscape." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 13 (1996):354.
[6] Timothy A. Kohler and Matthew J. Root, "The First Hunter/Farmers on the Pajarito Plateau (A.D. 1150-1250)," in Kohler, *Archaeology of Bandelier National Monument*, 122.
[7] Ibid., 118.
[8] Powers and Orcutt, *The Bandelier Archaeological Survey*, 557.
[9] Timothy A. Kohler and Matthew J. Root, "The First Hunter/Farmers on the Pajarito Plateau (A.D. 1150-1250)," in Kohler, *Archaeology of Bandelier National Monument*, 169.
[10] Crown et al., "Pueblo Cultures in Transition," 195.
[11] Kohler and Ruscavage-Barz, cited in Kohler and Root, "The First Hunter/Farmers on the Pajarito Plateau (A.D. 1150-1250)," 126.
[12] Timothy A. Kohler and Matthew J. Root, "The Late Coalition and Earliest Classic on the Pajarito Plateau (A.D. 1250-1375)," in Kohler *Archaeology of Bandelier National Monument*, 174-175.
[13] Rory Gauthier and Cynthia Herhahn, "Why Would Anyone Want to Farm Here?" in Powers, *The Peopling of Bandelier*, 28.
[14] Ibid., 31.
[15] Kohler and Root, "The First Hunter/Farmers on the Pajarito Plateau (A.D. 1150-1250)," 171-172.
[16] Adler, "Land Tenure," 341-344.
[17] Ibid., 358.
[18] Some researchers point to this as further evidence of the dualistic spatial division that first appeared in the Developmental period and which would manifest itself in dual social divisions of communities into groups anthropologists refer to as moieties (see Preucel, Robert W., *Seasonal Agricultural Circulation and Residential Mobility: A Prehistoric Example from the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles (1988), 140).
[19] Crown et al., "Pueblo Cultures in Transition," 196.
[20] Jonathan Haas and Winifred Creamer, "The Role of Warfare in the Pueblo World," in Adler, *The Prehistoric Pueblo World*, 205-213.
[21] Robert D. Leonard, Resource Specialization, Population Growth, and Agricultural Production in the American Southwest." *American Antiquity* 54, No. 3 (1989):491-503.
[22] Steadman Upham, *Politics and Power: A Economic and Political History of the Western Pueblos*. New York: Academic Press (1982).
[23] Ortman, *Genes, Language and Culture*, 137.
[24] Catherine M. Cameron, "Migration and the Movement of Southwestern Peoples." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14 (1995):106.
[25] E.g., H. P. Mera, *Population Changes in the Rio Grande Glaze-Paint Area*. Laboratory of Anthropology Technical Series, Bulletin No. 9.
[26] Ibid., 108.
[27] For example, Crown et al., "Pueblo Cultures in Transition: The Northern Rio Grande," in Adler, *The Prehistoric Pueblo World* , 188-204; or Judith Habicht-Mauche, *The Pottery from Arroyo Hondo Pueblo, New Mexico, Tribalization and Trade in the Northern Rio Grande* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press) 1993.
[28] For example, Cordell, "Northern and Central Rio Grande," in Cordell and Gumerman, *Dynamics of Southwest Prehistory*, 317.
[29] William D. Lipe, "Lost in Transit: The Central Mesa Verde Archaeological Complex," In Kohler et al. *Leaving Mesa Verde*, 283-284.
[30] Ortman, *Genes, Language, and Culture*.
[31] Ibid., 137.
[32] It should be noted that Ortman does not argue that all people leaving Mesa Verde came to the Rio Grande; many chose to migrate elsewhere and incorporate into other groups.
[33] Ibid., 180, 182.
[34] Ibid., 280-303.
[35] Ibid., 327-328.
[36] Ibid., 475, 479.
[37] Ibid., 495.
[38] Donna M. Glowacki, "The Social and Cultural Contexts of the Central Mesa Verde Region During the Thirteenth-Century Migrations," in Kohler et al., *Leaving Mesa Verde*, 214.
[39] See for example Kristin A. Kuckelman et al., "The Bioarchaeology and Taphonomy of Violence at Castle Rock and Sand Canyon Pueblos, Southwestern Colorado," *American Antiquity* 67(2000):486-513; and Kristin A. Kuckelman, "Catalysts of the Thirteenth-Century Depopulation of Sand Canyon Pueblo and the Central Mesa Verde Region," in Kohler et al., *Leaving Mesa Verde*, 180-199.
[40] Glowacki, "Social and Cultural Contexts," 219.
[41] Ortman, *Genes, Language, and Culture,* 518.

[42] Ibid., 513-514, 523, 527; see also Timothy A. Kohler and Matthew J. Root, "The First Hunter/Farmers on the Pajarito Plateau (A.D. 1150-1250)," in Kohler, *Archaeology of Bandelier National Monument*, 169.
[43] Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements; Some Theoretical Considerations for Their Comparative Study." *American Anthropologist* 58(1956):264-281.
[44]Alice B. Kehoe, *The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization*. (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace) 1898.
[45] Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*. (New York: Vintage Books) 1969.
[46] Joel W. Martin, "Visions of Revitalization in the Eastern Woodlands: Can a Middle-Aged Theory Stretch to Embrace the First Cherokee Converts?" in Harkin *Reassessing Revitalization Movements*, 67.
[47] Ortman, *Genes, Language, and Culture*, 596.
[48] Boyer, Jeffrey L. et al., "Remodeling Immigration: A Northern Rio Grande Perspective on Depopulation, Migration, and Donation-Side Models," in Kohler et al., *Leaving Mesa Verde*, 285-323.
[49] See also C. Dean Wilson, "Examination of Trends for Galisteo Black-on-white," in *Chasing Chaco and the Southwest: Papers in Honor of Frances Joan Mathien*, ed. Wiseman et al., pp. 207-215.
[50] Fowles, Severin M., "Tewa versus Tiwa: Northern Rio Grande Settlement Patterns and Social History, A.D. 1275-1540." In Adams and Duff *The Protohistoric Pueblo World*, 18.

5. The Large Ancestral Pueblos

The Classic Period (1325-1600 CE)

The immigration and settlement that took place during the Coalition period set the stage for the Classic period (1325-1600 CE) on the Pajarito Plateau.[1] This period corresponds to the Pueblo IV period, a category applied more broadly over the Southwest. Generally speaking, this period is characterized by a number of changes that took place at the regional level as well as locally on the Pajarito Plateau.[1] There was a wholesale shift to nucleated settlements, and the typical village grew to more than five hundred rooms. Ceramics became more regionally distinctive, and a number of different new glaze wares appeared. Regional trade appears to have increased, with more trade in ceramic vessels, trade in more types of goods (including cotton), and increased trade with Plains nomadic groups.

This era is of particular interest to researchers for several reasons. The period is relatively recent in Pueblo history, and Pueblo oral histories collected since the late nineteenth century contain many references to specific archaeological sites that figure in their clan and village histories. From an anthropological perspective, the Classic period pueblos are an anomaly because they are large enough to require a certain level of governance, but do not fit many models where there is a single so-called big man or chief in charge, nor are they so complex as to be state-level polities. Social scientists refer to such groups as "middle-range" societies.

To explain this further, we turn first to the work of Johnson, who studied human decision making and how the size of a group changes the way the people in the group organize themselves. Observing that the potential for information exchange rises exponentially as group size increases, Johnson noted that this increased communication facilitated decision making only up to a point. Groups of over six members experienced inefficiency and other difficulties that Johnson referred to as scalar stress, necessitating individuals in leadership positions to organize or even take over the management process.[2] Taking the process to the next level, more than six groups attempting to function together need yet another level of hierarchy to ensure things run smoothly, and so forth. Leaders at any level could hold their positions permanently, forming a "simultaneous" hierarchy, or could take charge only under certain circumstances in what Johnson referred to as a "sequential" hierarchy.[3]

Building on Johnson's work, Kosse studied political organization in middle range societies cross-culturally. She concluded that in polities below five hundred people, there was no evidence of regionally organized politics, while in polities above 2500-3000 people, regional politics were always present and were more formally separated. In between, there was a great deal of variation in whether positions of authority were earned or inherited.[4] The ways in which simultaneous and sequential hierarchies actually develop and function is somewhat more complicated than the general outcome of scalar stress alone, but the point to be made is that knowledge of the scale of the group is critical to assessing its political structure.

The situation in the Classic period, then, was one in which the size of the large pueblos implies populations large enough to experience some scalar stress and the need to organize and manage themselves, but not so large that authority is formalized at the regional level. To accomplish the organization needed to address the scalar stress inherent in their aggregated communities, Pueblo groups created different social institutions on top of existing kin relationships. These created complex networks within villages but had no inherent associated hierarchy, being composed of institutions such as sodalities (religious fraternities), moieties (groups resulting from division of the community into two halves), and phratries (groups of

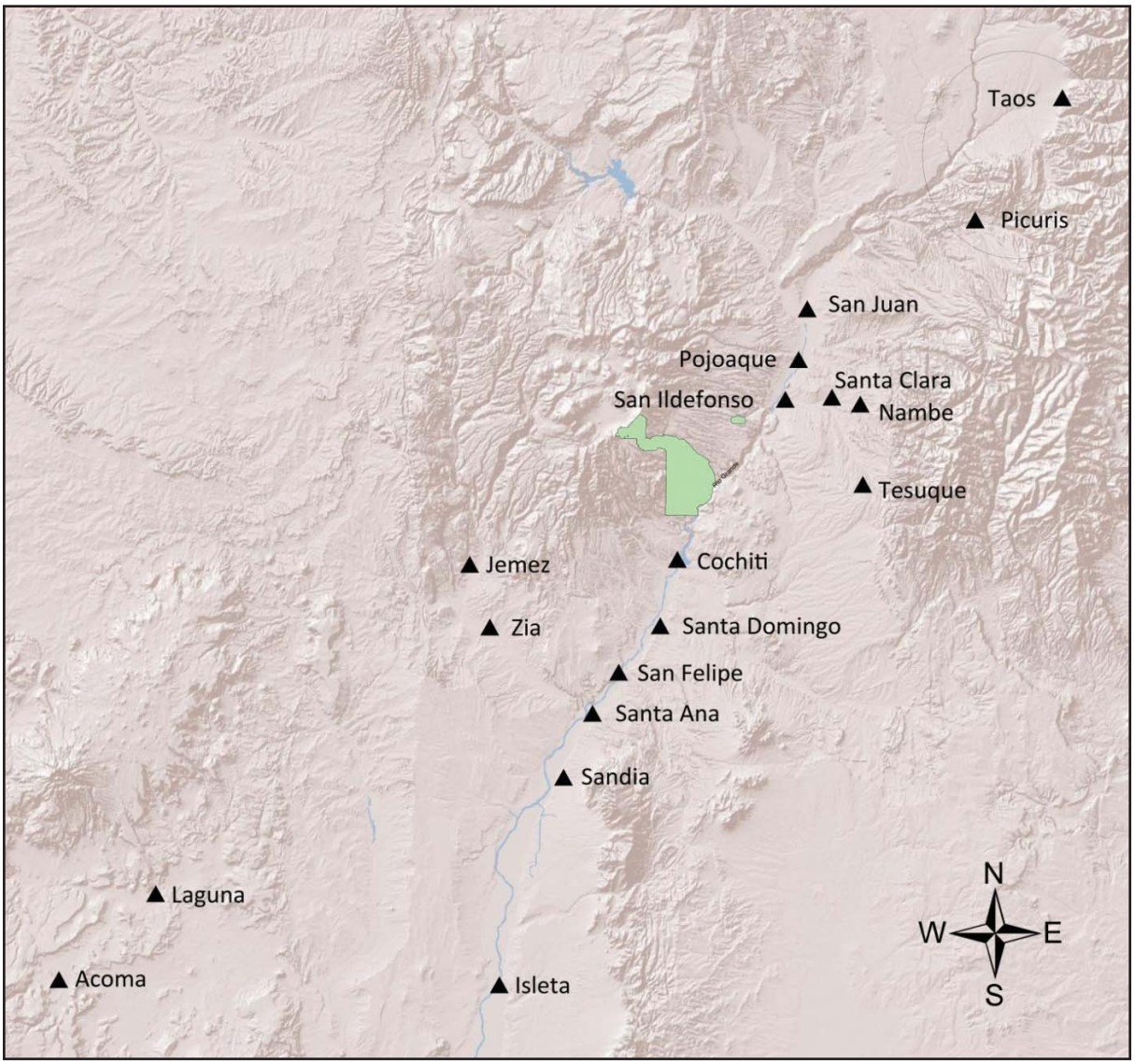


Figure 24: Picuris and Taos Pueblos Proximity – Locations of Modern Pueblos Along the Northern Rio Grande, map created 2010.

two or more clans). The point here is that the different forms of social groups created relationships that crosscut communities in different ways, knitting people together, facilitating information sharing, and creating social obligations and allegiances that would minimize the factionalism and competition for natural resources and social position that are inherent to larger groups in marginal environments like the Southwest.

The last point to be made about the large Classic period pueblos is that some researchers think that between the large populations and associated territories, each settlement had the potential to be socially, ritually, and politically autonomous and militarily secure, even as they participated in the regional economy.[5] Others question the idea of absolute autonomy and seek evidence of organization beyond the village level through exchange, leadership, and/or shared belief systems.[6] Economic autonomy and opportunity may well be one reason people living in smaller communities chose to join the larger ones. Such factors are particularly important when one considers how tenuous the relationships were among the larger communities.

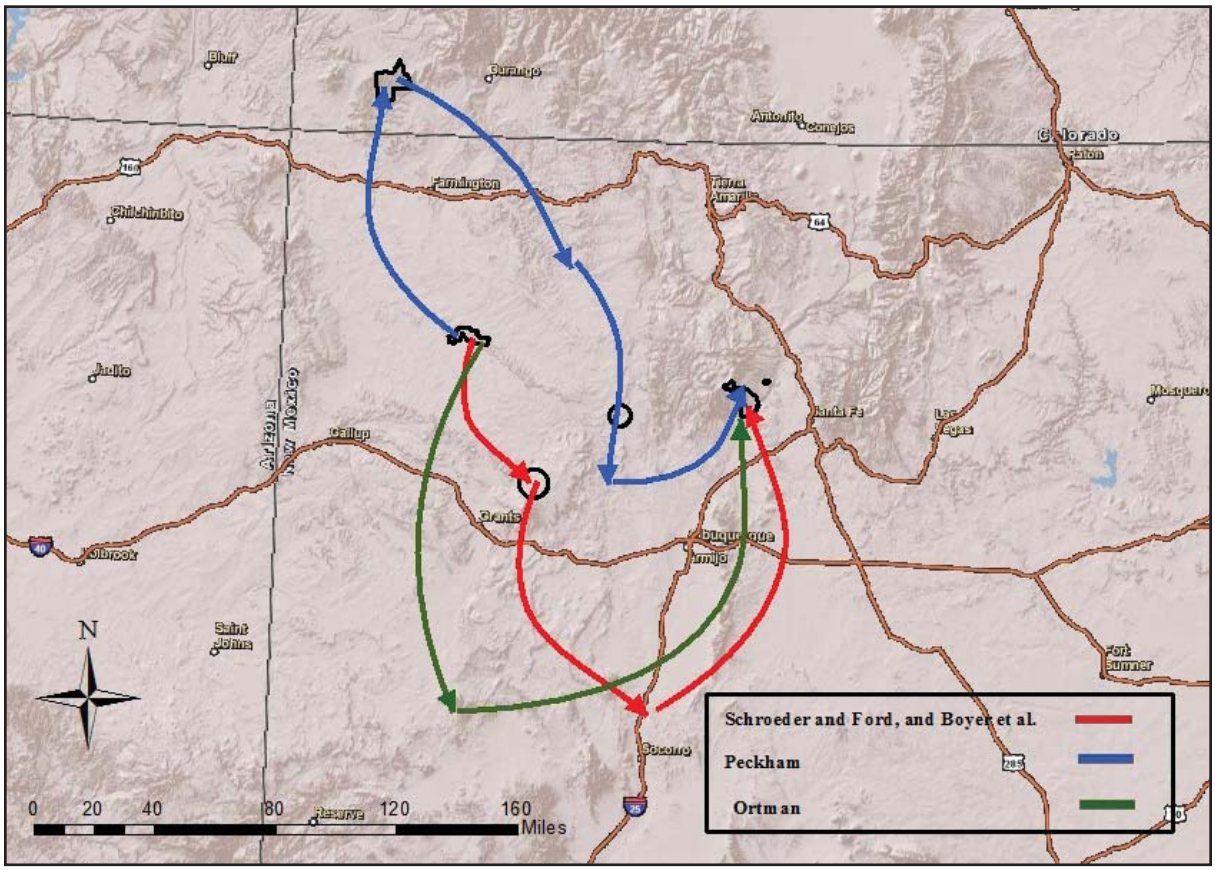


Figure 25: Proposed migration routes for the Keres from the San Juan Basin to the Rio Grande Valley, map created 2010.

In light of the amount of trade that went on, it is tempting to assume relations between pueblos, especially those that appear on the surface to be closely related linguistically and culturally, were always amicable. In fact, this is an erroneous assumption. As Fowles points out, Picurís and Taos are both Tiwa speaking pueblos and are only a day's walk apart and as such, would typically be classified as part of a single ethnic group. However, members of the two pueblos do not consider themselves to be of the same ethnicity and in the past have been openly hostile. In the end, one's nearest neighbors are in fact those with whom there is the most direct competition for resources in the immediate vicinity, and while the large sites on one level represent integration and centralization *within* communities, they may also represent factionalism and disintegration of relationships *among* communities. As Fowles notes, "The danger in drawing too bold a circle around a group of clustered villages is that it diverts attention away from the conflict that may have existing within the clusters."[7] While some researchers argue that the Kachina Cult brought pueblos together through shared religious belief and ritual experience, Fowles interjects a warning note: "Ritual may create emotive feelings of solidarity and economic ties through the necessity of trade in ritual items, but it can be—and typically is—a venue for powerful social factionalism."[8]

With this cautionary tale in mind, it is still instructive to examine the archaeological record for information on the development of the large communities on the Pajarito Plateau, the relationships between them, and the possibility of a Tewa-Keres boundary north of Frijoles Canyon.

There is no study for the Keres or other groups commensurate with what Ortman has done for the origins of the Tewa, and different researchers have different opinions. While most researchers see a connection with Chaco Canyon, there is disagreement about the degree of con-

nection with Mesa Verde versus Acoma and the middle Puerco. Schroeder and Ford favor the latter, hypothesizing that the Keres moved from Chaco to the Puerco around 1150 CE, then into the Salado River valley, then north to Frijoles Canyon. Peckham, in contrast, thinks the Keres left Chaco for Mesa Verde, then expanded into the San Juan Basin and thence to the Puerco and the Rio Grande.[9] Boyer et al. point to the Keres as their candidates for the primary immigrants to the northern Rio Grande in their refutation of Ortman, following Ford and Schroeder in arguing that the Keres moved through the Rio Puerco and Rio Jemez onto the southern Pajarito Plateau and into the Santo Domingo Basin in the thirteenth century.[10] Ortman notes that the Tiwa word for turquoise comes from Keres, and given the early split between Tiwa and the other Tano languages and the evidence for Chacoan mining and trading of turquoise, believes that Keres was the dominant language spoken at Chaco Canyon.[11] He asserts that Keres speaking peoples from Chaco went to the Cibola area, then entered the northern Rio Grande valley following the depopulation of the El Morro valley villages during the early fourteenth century.[12] Biella believes the aggregated pueblos in the Cochiti area of the fourteenth century were composed of the existing population in the area rather than immigrants, and Eckert and Cordell concur.[13 14] Clearly additional research is needed; the one area of agreement is that there is a clear connection with the San Juan Basin, though the dates and circumstances

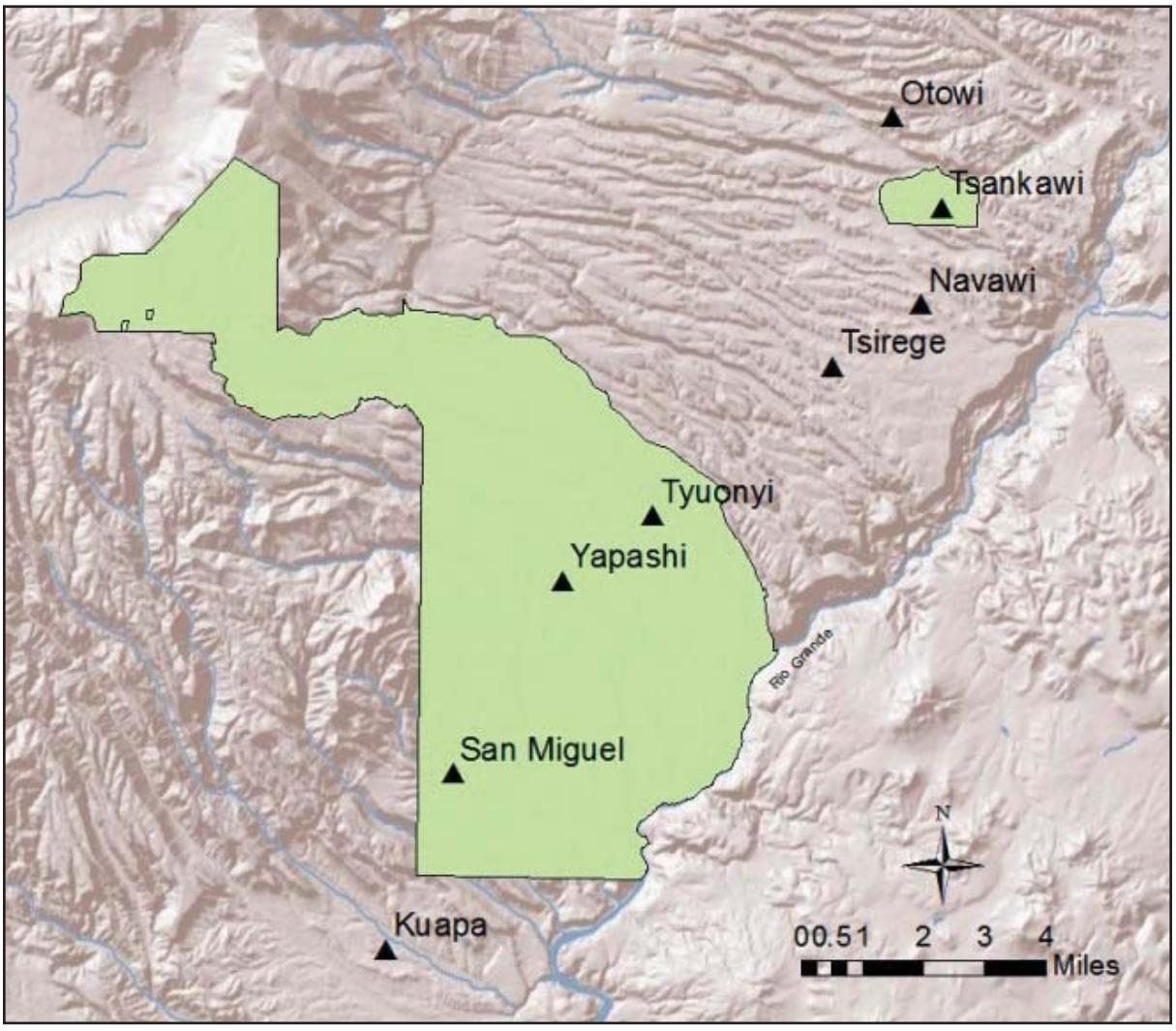


Figure 26: Large Classic communities closest to Bandelier National Monument, map created 2010.

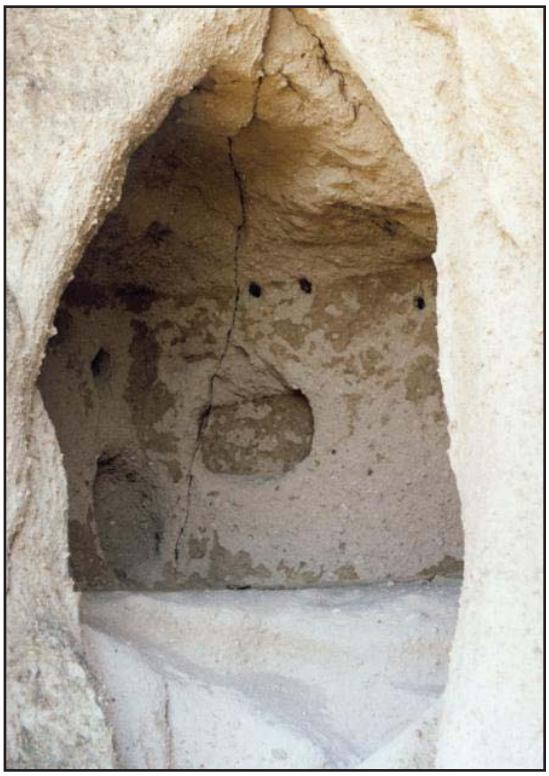


Figure 27: An example of a Classic period cavate at Tsankawi, photo taken 1999.

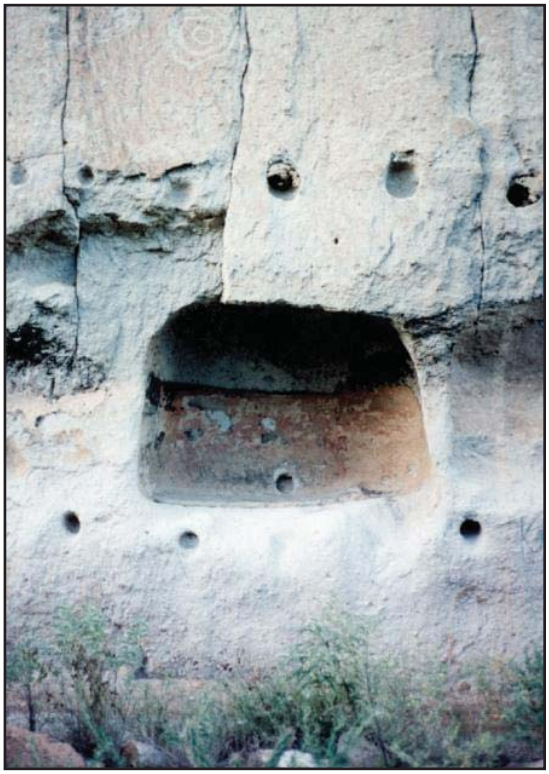


Figure 28: An example of a Classic period cavate in Frijoles Canyon, photo taken 1999.

of migration to the Rio Grande valley and the Pajarito Plateau Even prior to Ortman's detailed study; however, archaeologists identified patterns of sites and artifacts within Bandelier National Monument suggestive of a boundary between two different groups that developed during the Classic period. Drawing on oral history from San Ildefonso and Cochiti pueblos that refer to places their ancestors lived, archaeologists speculate that the boundary, just north of Frijoles Canyon, represents the border between lands occupied by ancestral Tewa and ancestral Keres groups. We turn now to a discussion of the developments within Bandelier National Monument and the evidence for the Tewa-Keres boundary, then address the topic of the aggregated pueblos, their territories, economy, sociopolitical organization, and changing ceremony and religious beliefs with the rise of the Kachina Cult.

Early in the Classic, the climate remained favorable for dry farming, and agricultural features and field houses were much more numerous. The communities listed in the Coalition continued to be occupied, and by the mid fourteenth century, the plaza pueblos of the Coalition were replaced by the large settlements of more than three hundred rooms. All the pueblos within Bandelier National Monument that eventually became major population centers on the Pajarito Plateau—Tyuonyi, Tsankawi, San Miguel, and Yapashi—all had some occupation by this time. By the fifteenth century, there were several major towns on the central and southern Pajarito Plateau—Tsankawi, Tsirege, Tyuonyi, Yapashi, San Miguel, and Kuapa among them—with very few other sites showing evidence of year round occupation (Figure 26). Preucel has noted that these settlements are spaced at an average of five kilometers apart in a line paralleling the Rio Grande "in an attempt to equitably divide the diverse resources of the plateau."[15] He suggests that the five kilometer separation between communities is evidence of increased competition between them for land and resources, and indeed the pattern of territory empty of permanent habitation between large, aggregated pueblos holds true for the rest of the northern Rio Grande valley as well.[16]

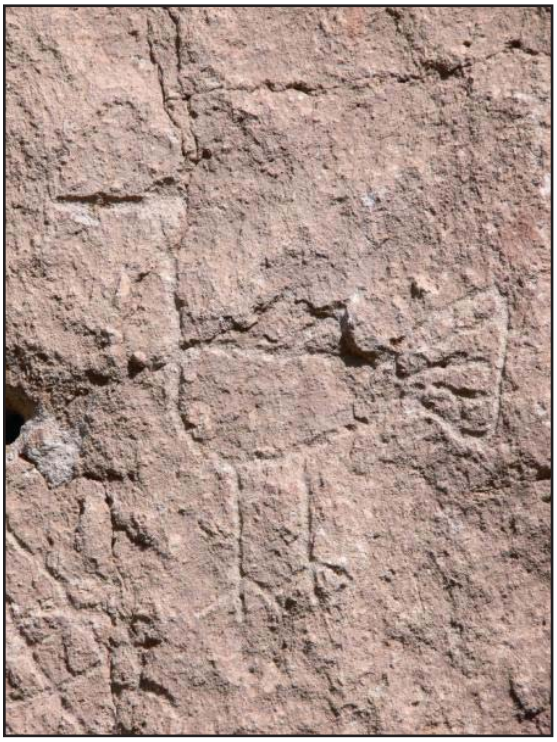


Figure 29: Petroglyph of a turkey at Long House as seen in 2010. Digital photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.



Figure 30: Petroglyph at Tsankawi, as seen in 2011. Digital photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

This is not to say that there are no other sites that were occupied during this time. The farmland in the immediate vicinity of the large pueblos would not have sustained the entire population, and certainly there was still the need to plant crops in different areas as a hedge against failure. Preucel has observed a pattern in which field houses from the Classic often have many more rooms than those from earlier periods. He interprets this as evidence of the development of what he refers to as summer pueblitos, places people would live in for the summer away from the main pueblo such as have been observed in historic times by ethnographers studying the Tewa and Keres pueblos (including Adolf Bandelier).[17] It should also be noted that while a few cavates (rooms formed by enlarging caves in the tuff walls of the canyons) were occupied during the Coalition, most were inhabited in association with the communities listed above as part of the aggregation of the Classic. It is in the context of the large Classic communities with extended territories in which members farmed, hunted, and collected other resources that archaeologists find evidence of a Tewa-Keres divide. The notion of a border between the two dates back to the investigations of Adolf Bandelier, who recorded the migration stories of the Cochiti, and Hewett, in his early synthesis of the architecture of Puye, Otowi, and Tyuonyi.[18] Steen also postulated its existence following his work in the 1970s.[19] Researchers since have documented the divide in rock art and cavate features.

In comparing architectural features between cavates in Frijoles Canyon and those at Tsankawi, Toll documented several consistent differences.[20] Those at Tsankawi were larger than those in Frijoles, both in height and square area. Tsankawi has more post holes evident, while Frijoles has more remains of masonry structures, plugs, and walls. Vertical holes, groups of floor pits, and deep incisions in the walls are present only at Tsankawi. Slots, metate rests, and floor ridges are present only in Frijoles. Loom anchors are present in both areas—testament to the economic importance of weaving but also an indicator that some cavate features are culturally determined and some are not. In

a survey of rock art across the monument, Olsen has discovered that "motifs vary according to site type, feature type, and agricultural potential…Even when the same motifs are in use across the whole plateau, differences between north and south contexts suggest that semantic boundaries existed."[21] Specifically, she found that images of ungulates and plants are most often portrayed at ancestral Tewa sites, while birds are most common at sites associated with the ancestral Keres. In keeping with our discussion above about the dangers of assuming shared identity based on language and material culture, Munson has concluded that rock art motifs also vary by Classic village. Tsankawi Pueblo has an abundance of flute players, thunderbirds, shield bearers and weapons, and people swallowing arrows. Another Tewa site, Tshirege (outside the boundaries of the monument), has shields and concentric circles. In Keres country in Frijoles Canyon, pecked faces, circles, and concentric circles are common, while further south near Painted Cave, people chose to paint images on rock rather than peck them into it.[22] Another line of evidence that a boundary developed north of Frijoles Canyon during the Classic was put forth by Walsh, who examined the changing distributions of obsidian, basalt, and chert used for stone tools over time.[23] Given that people could gather raw material for stones tools locally rather than having to trade for them, Walsh was able to assume that the distributions of different types of stone readily reflect social territories. Though locally available, the three different types of stone are found in different parts of the Pajarito Plateau, with obsidian most available in the northwest at Obsidian Ridge and the slopes of the Valles Caldera. Basalt is most abundant and highest quality near the mounts of Ancho and Lummis Canyons, along the Rio Grande, and generally in the southwestern part of the plateau. Chert is available in the northeastern part of the plateau where it erodes out of gravels in the mouths of canyons from Guaje Canyon to Garcia Canyon; it probably originated around Cerro Pedernal. With the exception of arrow points, for which obsidian was clearly preferred, the types of stone used for chipped stone tools clearly varied by village. The expected pattern would be for people to use the material type that was closest to hand and this generally holds true, with one twist. "Closest to hand" is not always defined by distance across the landscape, and in addition to the barriers posed by the Pajarito Plateau's steep canyons, Walsh found evidence that social boundaries effectively limited which stone sources different groups had access to and that these boundaries correlate well with those identified in Tewa and Keres oral histories. In Bandelier National Monument specifically, there is evidence that obsidian extraction was performed primarily by the Keres.[24] In turn, the Tewa appear to have relied on Pedernal chert.



Figure 31: Chert projectile point ca 1200-1500 CE, Catalog No. 5024. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.



Figure 32: Obsidian bifaces ca 500-1500 CE, Catalog Nos. 290 and 392. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

Additional research has been done since Walsh's initial analysis—the Bandelier Archaeological Survey recorded hundreds of additional sites and the dacite source at the mouth of Lummis Canyon has been identified and fit into a pattern of dacite sources in the northern Rio Grande valley that include the Lummis Canyon source, and Newman Dome and San Antonio Mountain (both part of the Taos Volcanic Field).[25] It is apparent that his model was too simplistic and that the realities of stone tool procurement and trade were more complicated. Certainly the use of the dacite source predates agricultural Ancestral Pueblo use of it. It may still be that a Frijoles Canyon divide will emerge during additional research, but currently it appears that the patterns Walsh observed were more a function of his sample based on the data available at the time rather than an actual cultural pattern. The different lines of evidence cited above are laid out in detail to present the archaeological testing and verification of the oral historical evidence for the Tewa-Keres divide. The reader should not come away with the impression that there was no contact and cultural exchange between the two areas, however, because there is also evidence of a great deal of trade and other forms of exchange. One

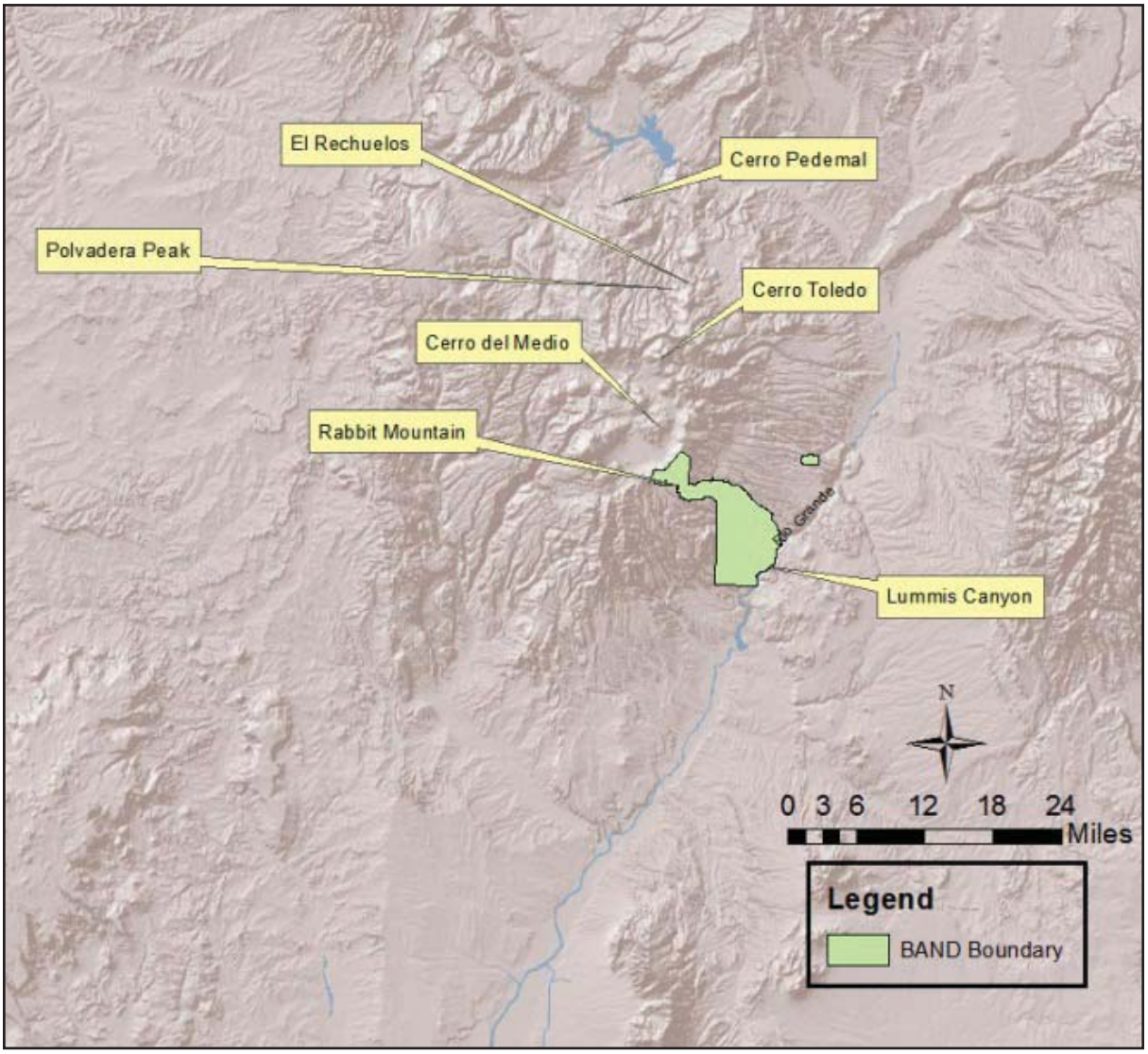


Figure 33: Lithic raw material sources along the northern Rio Grande. San Antonio Mountain, Newman Dome, and Lummis Canyon are sources of dacite. Cerro Pedernal is a chert source, and Obsidian Ridge is a source of obsidian. Map created 2010.



Figure 34: San Antonio Mountain, a source of dacite used for stone tools, photograph taken 2009.

way archaeologists know this is through analysis of the different varieties of corn found in different areas. Whereas the researchers cited above found distinct differences in distributions of rock art, stone tool types, and architectural features, corn varieties are relatively homogeneous across the plateau. While this could be attributed to pragmatic factors related to the challenges of growing maize in the relatively high elevation environment of the plateau, Preucel and Barber also postulate that communities traded with each other with regularity during festivals and ceremonial occasions as well as to obtain seed corn during periods of drought.[26] This is not to say that there were not other patterns in the maize data. Preucel and Barber found clusters of like maize types between Corral and Sawyer Canyons, Sandia and Frijoles Canyons, and Bayo and Garcia Canyons. Guaje Canyon was unique and surprisingly, given their proximity, Otowi was more similar to Bayo than to Tsankawi. They interpret the mix of homogeneity and



Figure 35: Ancient corn cobs ca 1200-1550 CE, Catalog Nos. 5027 and 5007. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

clusters as evidence of marriage migration with people taking their local maize types with them when they move to a new spouse's household, and purposeful social alliances. Some of the differences are attributable to new types of maize introduced by immigrants to the area.

Another trait shared by both Tewa and Keres is a concept behind some of the complexes of buildings that compose the large Classic communities. Fowler has observed a pattern among the Tewa pueblos of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Chama Valley of what he calls paired towns or companion sites located near other large pueblos.[27] In three of the examples he looked at, the paired sites effectively monitored or guarded major northern, western, and southeastern access routes into the entire region. He concludes "While the northern Tewa were . . . internally divided along religious, economic, and, probably, political axes, they appear to have collaborated militarily when confronted by an external threat."[28]

Snead has noticed similar patterns at sites within Bandelier National Monument. At Tsankawi Mesa, in Tewa territory, he identified the Duchess Castle pueblo as a guard site monitoring the North Mesa Trail and the trail that would have been the most direct route between Otowi and Tsankawi pueblos.[29] Further analysis of Tyuonyi and the sites around it, all ancestral Keres, yielded another example. Snead et al. observe that Tyuonyi, Frijolito, Rainbow House, Long House, and several of the cavate sites form an extended community with Tyuonyi and the residential sites on the canyon bottom forming the core. Serving as guard pueblos are Frijolito, on the south rim of Frijoles Canyon with extensive views; Rainbow House, situated just downstream from Tyuonyi where a major regional trail crosses Frijoles Canyon; and Alcove House, Cuevitas Arribas, and Pueblo of the Water People monitoring and controlling access from upstream in Frijoles Canyon.[30] The site of Caja del Rio North, across the Rio Grande from Frijoles Canyon, may have served a guard function for Frijoles before people left it in the mid fourteenth century. The authors further speculate that while the impact of the Keres-Tewa boundary near Frijoles Canyon on its inhabitants is not well understood, the location of the Tyuonyi group this close to the border is "unlikely to be a coincidence."[31] Further research may reveal additional examples of this pattern at other large sites on the Pajarito, both Tewa and Keres.

To further untangle the nature of the relationships between communities on the Pajarito Plateau and beyond, we turn now to a discussion of pottery—one of the most common artifacts found on Pueblo archaeological sites and one containing a wealth of information on trade, social identity, and changing social practices and economics. The early Pueblo IV/Classic era in New Mexico saw the beginning of production of red-slipped glaze ware pottery such as Agua Fria Glaze-on-red that may have been an imitation of those being produced in the Western Pueblo areas in Arizona, including Fourmile Polychrome and Zuni Glaze Ware. Glaze paints are lead-based, different from past means of ceramic decoration that were mineral- or carbon-based. Over the fifteenth century, the slips and decoration became more diverse, incorporating yellow and polychrome versions with many colors, even as fewer villages were engaged in ceramic production on any scale and the rest traded for the vessels they needed. Herhahn suggests Rio Grande potters first learned glaze technology through indirect means, but then developed and shared glaze technology through regular and direct interaction with one another (though others believe that glaze technology was learned from migrants from the west).[32] [33] Eckert and Cordell see the consolidation of ceramic producing villages as a sign that over time, relationships between communities became more stable and trade networks became more structured and formalized.[34]

On the Pajarito Plateau in earlier periods, pottery was probably made by people for use in their own households. In the aggregated pueblos of the Classic, it appears that individuals and pueblos began to specialize in this craft and deliberately produce more than they needed for their own use in order to trade the surplus for food and other goods. The same Tewa-Keres divide seen in other forms of material is observable in the ceramic distributions as well, first noted by



Figure 36: "Woman Making Pottery," by Pablita Velarde, Catalog No. 3098, ca. 1932 - 1941. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

Kidder.[35] Mera was the first to propose a Keres affiliation for glaze ware sites on the southern Pajarito and a Tewa affiliation for the matte paint sites to the north.[36] In his analysis of pottery at Bandelier National Monument, Vint found a pattern wherein the boundary between glaze and matte paint wares began south of Yapashi at the start of the early Classic, moving north to Frijoles Canyon by the middle Classic.[37] Because people who speak different languages can make the same type of pottery, he views ceramic types and distributions as better indicators of different regional economies than ethnic identity.[38] He finds no surprise in the mobile boundary, seeing it as a function of people's efforts to minimize conflict and competition, establish and maintain economic networks, and define territories, with settlements on the frontiers benefiting from trade with their neighbors.[39]

As discussed earlier, the types of ceramics made on the Pajarito Plateau during the Coalition were Kwahe'e Black-on-white and Santa Fe Black-on-white, with Santa Fe Black-on-

white becoming the dominant type in what is effectively a replacement of local technology with one associated with immigrants from the San Juan and Mesa Verde areas.[40] At the very end of the Coalition when people were living in the plaza pueblos, red- and yellow-slipped glaze paint pottery appeared, and as population continued to increase, Wiyo Black-on-white appeared on the northern Pajarito Plateau. Most important, glaze paint ceramics were also adopted—Agua Fria Glaze-on-red, Cieneguilla Glaze-on-yellow and Polychrome, and San Clemente Polychrome (together referred to as the Glaze A series because they share similar rim profiles). At the end of the Coalition, glaze wares were produced on the southern part of the plateau and south, with only glaze jars (not bowls) or their contents traded north. People to the north continued using Santa Fe Black-on-white and Wiyo Black-on-white, with few glaze wares.

The pattern of glaze wares to the south and matte paint ceramics to the north continues through the Classic. Santa Fe Black-on-white and Wiyo Black-on-white were gradually displaced by biscuit wares, so called because the clay is soft and porous, resembling the bisque, or "biscuit" stage in firing modern porcelain. Biscuit A appears in the north circa 1375 CE, followed by Biscuit B in circa 1400 CE. Some production of glaze-on-yellow types took place at Yapashi, San Miguel, Rainbow House, and Tyuonyi, even as glaze-on-red wares remained most common.[41] Biscuit B eventually eclipsed Biscuit A, to be followed by Sankawi'i Black-on-cream in 1525 CE, while wares classified as the Glaze E series were being made in the south, with many glaze wares becoming polychromes by 1425 CE. Despite the specialization in production areas, archaeologists find glaze wares in the north and matte paint wares in the south (with ceramics produced elsewhere in the northern Rio Grande valley present as well), leading Vint to conclude there was "relatively intensive interaction" among communities that produced, or at least had access to, one or the other.[42]

The challenge of defining various ceramic types and mapping the distributions of both the finished products and source materials is an ongoing research problem for archaeologists, who are increasingly realizing that a regional scale of analysis has masked some of the local diversity and complexity. The main point of the litany of types above is to highlight that many new types of pottery appeared in the Classic and they were made in relatively restricted areas but traded widely through formalized exchange networks within and among the large Classic communities. Trade in the raw materials used for ceramic production was also significant, and we should also keep in mind that trade also included intangible products such as "midwifery, healing, and traditional knowledge in the form of dance, instrumental music, ritual practice, song, and storytelling."[43] [44] The reason archaeologists are so interested in trade networks is that they have several qualities that do not apply to other forms of interaction between communities, namely: 1) trade can take place between people who are not of the same ethnic, language, or kin group; 2) participation is voluntary; 3) it reduces the importance of kinship and increases the importance of other kinds of social relationships; and 4) creates mechanisms by which strangers can have access to different communities.[45]



Figure 37: Sankawi'i Black-on-cream vessel, Catalog No. 735, 1960. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

The spread of the various ceramic types referred to as Rio Grande glaze ware has been associated with the spread of new religious ideas and practices, including public feasts, dances, and ritual performances.[46] Certain design motifs ap-

pear on glaze-painted ceramics, in rock art, and in kiva murals, appearing over regions broad enough that it is clear they represent something more than a the beliefs of a single community. That many early glaze-painted vessels were large, decorated bowls appropriate for serving food at public rituals and feasts lends credence to the connection with a new form of religious observance, as do murals painted on the plaster of kiva walls showing polychrome bowls filled with food and offerings placed on altars or associated with kachinas.[47] [48] To be clear, not every glaze-painted vessel was always used in a ceremonial context, but there does seem to be a clear affiliation between creation and use of glaze wares and the new belief system that developed in the fourteenth century.

The Rio Grande glaze wares are a local version of a pan-Southwestern trend in which representational motifs replaced geometric ones on both pottery and kiva murals.[49] Many relate to concerns with the earth and fertility, including the sun, Venus, stars, flowers, clouds, the sky, lightning, rain, and wind. Crown interprets this as evidence of a cult of the earth (as opposed an ancestor cult, or political cult), and observes that such religious complexes often develop out of a series of historical events that include increased contacts among different groups through migration and/or exchange, the breakdown of the village community, and the need for different explanatory models to explain particular misfortunes.[50] Such cults are regional, emphasize connections rather than divisions between groups, emphasize participation, and are general enough in their premises and requirements that people in different areas would all have access to any resources needed to do so. Of particular interest to our discussion here is that while cults of the earth may include a component honoring ancestors, they tend to relate them to natural phenomena that are widely experienced, such as stars and clouds, and are not reliant on graves or other place-specific elements. As such, they are more portable and inclusive, in keeping with their emphasis on the well being of the community and their de-emphasis of the interests of individual kin groups or other smaller social groups.

Crown has suggested that a cult of the earth she refers to as the Southwest Cult originated in the Mogollon Rim region soon after 1300 CE, though some imagery incorporated in the cult appeared as early as 1100 CE.[51] In her model, the religious ideology was closely associated with the production and use of Salado polychromes with an iconic system including images of parrots, snakes, horned serpents, eyes, stars, the sun, cloud terraces, butterflies, human and bird effigies, and masked and unmasked human-like figures. While the ceramic correlates of the Southwest Cult are rarely found in the northern Rio Grande valley, Crown demonstrates a close relationship between the Southwest Cult and the Kachina Cult, which was and is significant among most of the Rio Grande pueblos.

As with most things in archaeology, the origins of the Kachina Cult have been widely debated. Analyzing rock art, Schaafsma and Schaafsma argued that it was first practiced in the Jornada Mogollon area by 1200 CE, reaching most of the Southwest in the fourteenth Century.[52] In contrast, Adams postulated that the Kachina Cult arose in the Upper Little Colorado area on the basis of the presence of enclosed plazas, rectangular kivas, piki stones, and kachina depictions in rock art and on pottery.[53] Crown critiques Adams' analysis on the basis that he mistakes the appearance of the representational styles of ceramic decoration for the appearance of the cult itself, whereas she sees evidence of kachina-related symbolism in much earlier contexts (though she acknowledges the difficulties inherent in identifying kachinas in the earliest contexts with the most distant connection to the modern kachinas most archaeologists use as examples).[54] Crown sees the roots of both the Southwest Cult and the Kachina Cult in the Mimbres area well before 1300 CE. It is her belief that what was primarily an ancestor/death cult shifted into an earth/fertility cult in the early fourteenth century, and that the Kachina Cult is in fact one aspect of the Southwestern Cult.[55] Thompson has suggested that the connection between the iconographies of the Mimbres and the Kachina Cult is more remote, pointing instead to a stronger connection between the Mimbres and the Late Classic Maya.[56]

The Kachina Cult is a belief system that persists to the present day among most of the pueblos. Speaking generally, the kachinas are deities who visit the pueblos, represented by humans who wear masks and thereby become kachinas for the duration of the time they have the masks on. Kachinas are associated with ancestral spirits (and thus with the Puebloan dead) as well as clouds and rain, and their visits ensure successful crops. Some researchers argue that because the Kachina Cult draws its membership from entire communities, it performs an integrative function by bringing together people who would otherwise be divided by kinship or other social divisions.[57] Another integrative characteristic is that food is often distributed during kachina ceremonies, thereby fostering social and economic reciprocity.[58] In contrast, others see a strong connection between kachina societies and individual clans and assert that the integrative functions of the Kachina Cult are relatively weak.[59] There is also a strong warfare component to the Kachina Cult, with successful warfare closely connected to fertility and weather control.

Much of the difficulty in resolving this issue arises from archaeologists' reliance on studying the kachinas in the modern pueblos. There is no question that the pressure the Spanish missionaries put on the Puebloans to convert to Christianity had an effect on their traditional beliefs and practices, making the projection of modern examples into the past less secure. There is evidence that kachina ceremonies performed during the Spanish occupation were sometimes done in secret, and that there may have even been hiatuses in their practice.[60] In addition, if one attempts to connect certain characteristics of the kachina ceremonies as they vary among the different pueblos, one finds that there are no good correlations that would assist in answering questions about the degree of change under Spanish influence or the geographic location of the cult's origin. Varying with apparent disregard for geography, language, degree of Spanish repression, or other factors are aspects of the Kachina Cult that include: 1) the linguistic roots of different terms for kachinas (including *k'ats'ina* and *lhatsina*); 2) where the kachinas live and the names of that place (mountain tops or bodies of water); 3) whether all the dead become kachinas; 4) whether the kachinas perform initiations and exorcisms with yucca whips; and 5) whether men or women or both are initiated into kachina societies. The lack of a consistent relationship between any of these factors means that any analogs used to interpret archaeological evidence need to be used with care even though there is some evidence that certain core kachinas remain relatively unchanged throughout prehistory and the contact period.

It is important to note that the kachina religion did not completely supplant preexisting belief systems when it appeared in the fourteenth century. Among the Rio Grande pueblos the Kachina Cult appears to have been viewed ambivalently by the Puebloan leadership, for the new belief structure threatened a theocratic system of authority established early in Pueblo IV. Even today, kachinas are still much more marginal in the eastern pueblos of New Mexico than the western pueblos of Arizona, and they were never adopted among the northern Tiwa at Taos and Picurís. Sacred clowns in the modern Keres pueblos mock the kachinas between dances—commentary, as it were, by members of the much older institution of the theocratic hierarchy.[61]

Further evidence of Keres ambivalence toward the kachina ideology is the presence of kachinas at Acoma that actually attack the town, and Tyler makes the assertion that "at Laguna, they even murder people," though he does not provide additional information clarifying this statement.[62] Similarly, Lange reports that the Bloody Mask kachina no longer appears at Cochiti because it is considered dangerous.[63] In this instance, a new guard kachina appeared at the pueblo one day and challenged a man to a race, running away from, rather than toward, the spectators against regular custom. Once out of sight, the kachina pulled the man off balance, scalped him, and escaped over the flood-swollen Rio Grande River. This new kachina was subsequently impersonated a few times and named the Bloody Mask kachina, but the decision was soon made to discontinue the practice because

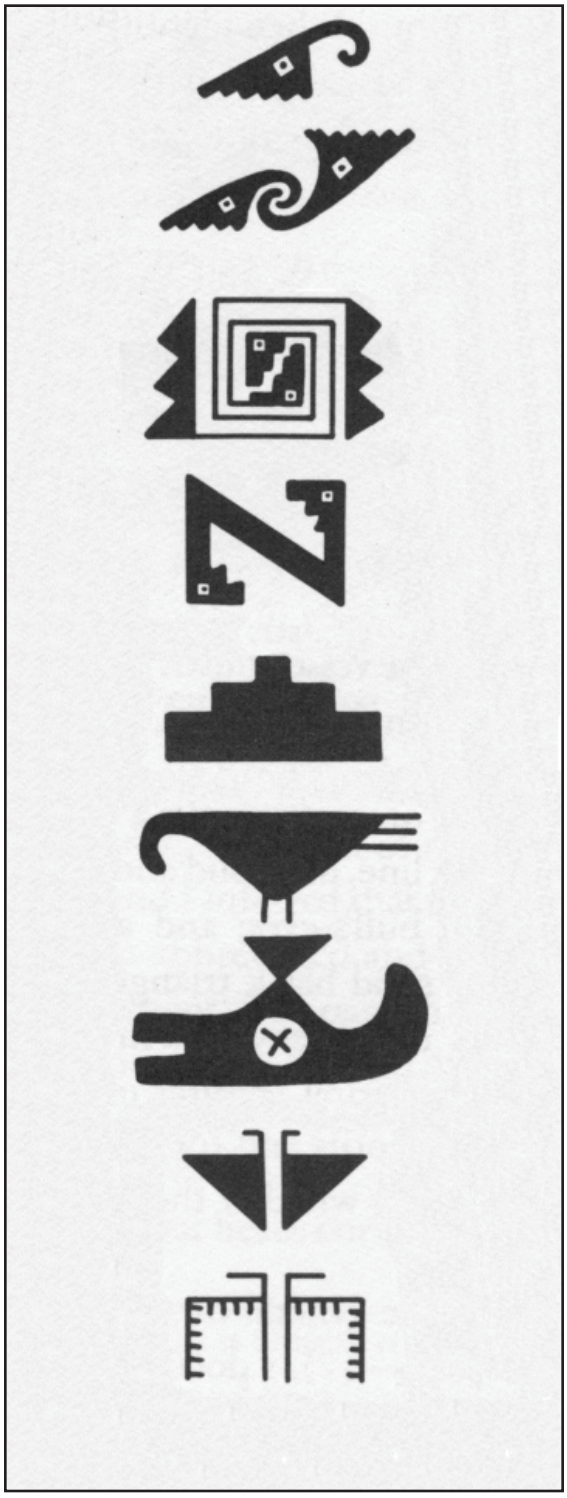


Figure 38: Design elements associated with the Southwest Cult. From top to bottom there are four serpents, a terrace, two parrots, and two butterflies (after Crown 1994: Figure 9.1).

of the violent incident. The other lesson to be gained from this account is that the pantheon of kachinas is flexible, with the possibility that different deities may appear and, just as quickly, fall out of favor.

Kachina ceremonies are typically conducted in the large plazas established in the fourteenth century, and it is presumed that the same was true in the past. Duff goes so far as to suggest that "Pueblo IV settlements themselves should be considered communal ritual facilities—architecture that facilitated integration through structured interaction."[64] Adams argues that plazas in large Pueblo IV sites were built specifically as substitutes for the great kivas of the San Juan Basin from the preceding periods, positing that great kivas were simply not large enough to include enough village members to successfully integrate all the members of the larger communities in the way that larger plaza spaces were.[65] While this makes a certain degree of sense, Potter has pointed out that integration requires more than the occasional ceremony; the higher the frequency and intensity of social interaction in general, the greater the degree of social integration.[66] He tests the degree to which formal plazas are correlated with the Kachina Cult and with warfare, and finds that formal plazas are more common in the eastern pueblos while there is more evidence of Kachina Cult and warfare among the western pueblos. Thus while the function of plaza spaces as ceremonial space is important in the absence of the large great kivas, the symbolic weight they lent to the ideology surrounding the concept of what defines a community might have had just as much importance.

Kivas and ceremonial rooms built into the interior of roomblocks were other ceremonial spaces, but would have been much more restricted in terms of who had access to them than the plazas. Hegmon et al. interpret this pattern of restricted ceremonial space as a de-emphasis on households in the face of the rising importance of larger social units such as clans or moieties, which in turn would have contributed to the long-term stability of these large communities.[67] In light of the loom holes and features usually associated with male activities,



Figure 39. Pictograph of a kachina mask, Bandelier National Monument, 2001. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

they also believe that most decisions were made by men in the context of the social units privileged with kiva access, and that the decreasing emphasis on households and kinship lessened women's influence. However, an increase in community-level ritual and the associated need for food preparation and distribution on a large scale may have allowed some women to assume more prominent roles or even acquire some ritual power.[68] Communal feasting may have been a means of community integration rather than competition and differentiation, and the anonymity of the food donors and the literal masking of the distributors in the form of kachinas is evidence that social differences were being purposefully played down.[69] That said, there is less evidence of feasting in the Classic period on the Pajarito Plateau than elsewhere in the Southwest at this time, and it appears that other forms of integrating social groups were relied on.[70]

Contrary to Hegmon et al., Mills does not take for granted that women's access to ritual knowledge was drastically restricted in Pueblo IV. The control women had of the iconography that appears on ceramic vessels meant that women



Figure 40: "Basket Dance at San Ildefonso," by Pablita Velarde, Catalog No. 627, ca. 1932 - 1945. Note the two sacred clowns in striped paint and hats.

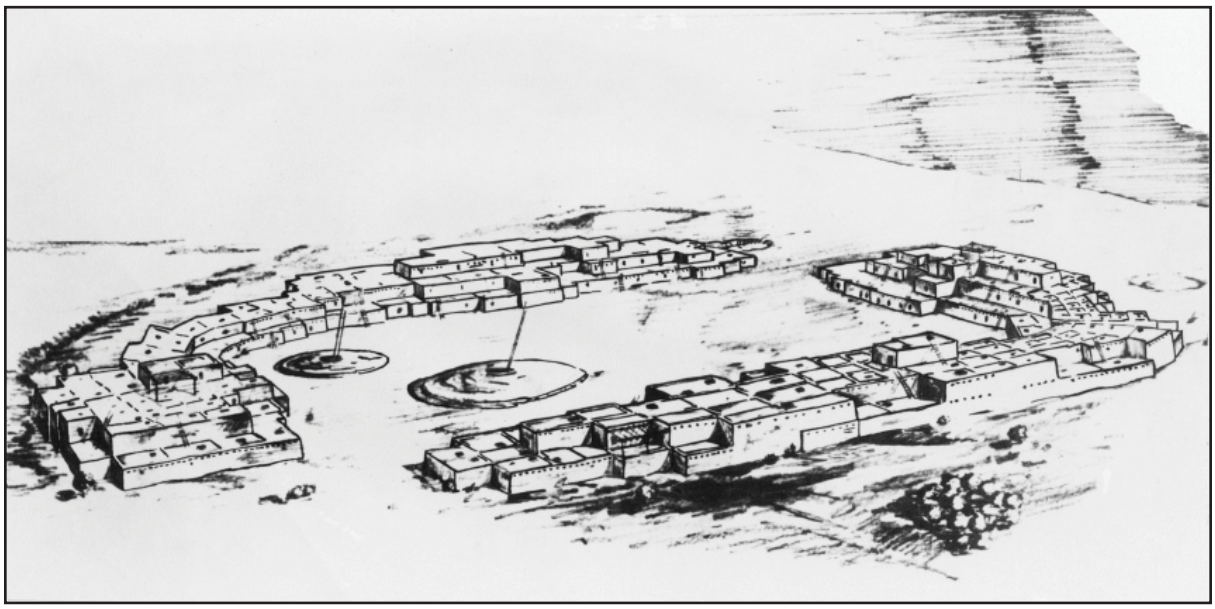


Figure 41: A rendering of Tsankawi, a Classic period pueblo, by an unknown artist (unknown date), Catalog No.14113. Note the large plaza space with two kivas.

were involved in the expression of ritual affiliation and ceremonial feasts.[71] Mills does not, however, address the difference between small-scale ceremonies that took place in kivas and the large, public ceremonies in plazas that would be the ones involving much more food preparation and distribution. It may be that women had much greater access and opportunities for participation in public ceremonies than they did in smaller, private ones (likely conducted by men in small, restricted kiva spaces) that were not for public viewing.

Brandt has conducted ethnographic research at Taos focused specifically on the control of knowledge, and the levels at which secrecy is implemented. She concludes that "Since Pueblo governing systems are linked in important ways with these small-group cultures [clans, kiva societies, etc.], the establishment of status hierarchies based on secret information in the possession of one group rather than another can have important political consequences."[72] Upham has reached similar conclusions, stating that "ritual knowledge and esoteric religious information is considered to be property, surpassing in value wealth, material possessions, and other kinds of 'property' valued in Western society."[73] Social divisions between people with ritual knowledge and training and those without ("important people" and "commoners") have been documented ethnographically among the Tewas, Zunis, Hopis, and other pueblo groups.[74] Thus, the possession and control of knowledge in Pueblo societies had the potential for an impact of real significance on the structure of the authority and decision-making hierarchies and relative status of their members.

Though ethnographic information such as this should be projected onto societies in the past only with caution, it is clear that people of the Classic period on the plateau lived in large, vibrant communities, had rich ceremonial lives, and participated in a regional exchange network that allowed for craft specialization and promoted social contacts within and between settlements. That the socially inclusive Kachina Cult with its focus on rain and fertility should take root here comes as no surprise when one examines the climate data for the Classic period. Though nowhere as severe as the drought that drove people from the San Juan Basin, the Classic period saw a period of sixty years of hotter and drier than normal conditions between 1390 and 1450, and the following years continued to be dry as well (until around 1790).[75] The most long-lived of the Classic period pueblos were

near permanent sources of water, such as the stream in Frijoles Canyon.

Kohler et al. think people on the Pajarito Plateau may have engaged in export of obsidian, deer, and deer products as a way to make best use of their locally available resources under these conditions even as other pueblos in the broader northern Rio Grande region were able to specialize to a greater degree in production of maize and cotton.[76] In the end, however, researchers studying Bandelier National Monument see the Classic as a continuous process of retreat to lower elevations as people moved off the mesa tops to the canyon floors and eventually to the better watered areas immediately adjacent to the Rio Grande in the general locations of the pueblos today.

By 1525 CE, Pueblo occupation of the Bandelier National Monument area was limited to people at Tsankawi and Frijoles Canyon. The people of San Ildefonso Pueblo consider Tsankawi Pueblo to be one of their ancestral pueblos and the place they lived prior to their migration to the pueblo's current location. Archaeologists believe this happened by 1550 CE. Cochiti oral tradition states that Tyuonyi was occupied by ancestors of the modern Cochiti people. Though accounts vary, the migration stories list Tyuonyi, the Pueblo of the Stone Lions (Yapashi), Painted Cave, San Miguel (Haatse), Kuapa, Kotyiti, and the modern village of Cochiti as the sites inhabited by the migrating people, in that order. Frijoles Canyon was empty of human occupation before or shortly after 1600 CE. Kohler et al. view the gradual movement of people down off the Pajarito Plateau as both an attempt to move away from areas no longer viable for agriculture because of the drier environmental conditions and as a way to participate more actively in the economic exchange and social networks among other pueblos in the Rio Grande valley.[77]

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[1] E. Charles Adams and Andrew I. Duff, "Settlement Clusters and the Pueblo IV Period," in Adams and Duff The Protohistoric Pueblo World, 4-13.

[2] Gregory Johnson, "Information Sources and the Development of Decision-Making Organizations." In Redman et al., Social Archaeology, 87-112.

[3] Gregory Johnson, "Organizational Structures and Scalar Stress." In Renfrew, Theory and Explanation in Archaeology, 389-423.

[4] Krisztina Kosse, "Middle-Range Societies from a Scalar Perspective," in Fish and Reid, Interpreting Southwestern Diversity, 90 and 95.

[5] Adams and Duff, "Settlement Clusters," 14.

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6. Newcomers

The Early Historic Period

Native Peoples (1600-1847 CE)

The move to the villages along the Rio Grande meant that the Pajarito Plateau was largely empty of long-term human habitation, but there is evidence that Pueblo people still made use of the area and its resources (though much less intensively). As a result, the physical archaeological record for this period is much sparser, and much of what we know comes from the presence of historic period ceramics at some sites, scattered and isolated hunting features, and rock art images of obviously historic subjects such as mounted horsemen. Observations by early Anglo visitors to the area and information provided by Pueblo people in their oral histories round out the available information. On the basis of these types of evidence, it is apparent that during the early historic period the plateau was used for hunting, as a sacred retreat, and as a refuge.[1]

While there was no full-time occupation, Smith notes that ceramics from early in the historic period are found in most of the monument, though sparsely, but with particular concentrations at Tsankawi and Frijoles Canyon. She interprets this as an indication that these areas held particular attractions, with Tsankawi drawing people for its defensive characteristics and Frijoles Canyon and the area around Painted Cave attractive for their permanent water supplies.[2] The cavates in Frijoles and Tsankawi would have provided simple shelter with little or no reconstruction or repairs needed.

Evidence of hunting comes in the form of deep



Figure 42: Painted Cave, photograph taken 1999. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

bedrock pits blocking former trails or on the edges of canyon cliffs. Snead believes that the former were used for hunting deer by Pueblo people following their moves off the Pajarito Plateau. The latter have often been interpreted as eagle traps on the basis of ethnographic data on similar features; the dates of use of these are generally unknown. Snead notes that the deer trap pits in the trails would have been inconvenient and hazardous while trails were in use, and also that deer would have been scarce in the area when people were permanent residents there.[3] Thus Snead reasons that they must postdate the main use of trails and the return of deer following abandonment of the area. The traps, both in trails and on cliff edges, are rare examples of non-ceramic evidence for use of the plateau by historic Pueblo people. Smith points out that the overall paucity of historic ceramics on the plateau may be attributable to limited use of the area, but could also be a function of changes in Pueblo material culture in the form of adoption of European goods with the arrival of the Spanish.[4] The latter process was slow, however, with pottery vessels not replaced consistently with metal pans and buckets until around 1850.[5] It should also be noted that early Spanish settlers used Pueblo vessels when metal ones were unavailable. Such intermingling and exchange make determining the ethnicity of the occupants of the generally ephemeral sheep herding camps on the plateau problematic for researchers.

There are other reasons to take a second look at the apparent emptiness of the plateau relative to surrounding areas. Pueblo populations in general fell following Spanish settlement of the area, between disease and skirmishes between Spanish and Pueblo groups. Spanish land grant policies also caused Pueblo populations to consolidate in the areas that are the modern inhabited pueblos. The Pueblos were granted their lands in the early 1700s, and while this guaranteed their access to and control of the good agricultural land they had settled in, it also restricted their use of outlying areas away from the population centers such as the Pajarito Plateau.[6]

The plateau may also have been used by nomadic Athabascan groups. Though there are some researchers who assign earlier dates, most scholars agree that the people who would become known as the Navajos and Apaches in historic times had arrived in the Southern Plains just east of the pueblos by 1525. From there, they moved west into New Mexico and Arizona, with the Navajos and Jicarilla Apaches towards the north and the Lipan, Mescalero, Chiricahua and the various Western Apache groups spreading out east to west across the southern parts of these states.



Figure 43: Game trap west of Tsankawi, ca 1972. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14113, Negative No. 04005W.

The effect of their arrival was creation of competition for hunting, farming, and foraging, with the Pueblos adjacent to groups of Athabascans restricted to a greater reliance on agriculture and with fewer options for hunting. The result, according to Gutiérrez, is that "A modus vivendi soon developed. Athapaskans bartered game and gifted the Puebloans to obtain farm products, but when necessary raided for what they wanted. The Pueblos hosted and even feasted the Athapaskans for obvious reasons: they were territorially constricted by them, and were eager to curtail their raids, and desired their hunt products."[7] Speaking of the Navajo, Merlan and Levine speculate that this uneasy relationship between Athabascans and Pueblo people persisted through the period of Spanish contact. "The suggested pattern, in which Navajo people both raid the pueblos and accept cultural traits from there, while occasional Pueblo individuals join and adapt to Navajo groups and some Navajos may likewise join and adapt to pueblo communities, is known in historic times."[8] There

is also evidence that Pueblo people would take refuge among the Apaches and Navajos when they had reason to flee their pueblos. Though at times uneasy and outright hostile, the prolonged contact between the Pueblo peoples and the Athabascans resulted in a cultural exchange that shaped historical events and culture on both sides.

Spanish Entrada (1535-1680 CE)

Though the Pajarito Plateau was on the periphery of the main Spanish settlements in New Mexico, the Spanish *entrada* and occupation mark a major turning point in the lives of the Pueblo people that affected them for centuries to come. The Spanish first heard about New Mexico from several castaways who made their way from the Texas coast to Mexico City who repeated tales they had heard about prosperous lands to the north. In 1538 CE, the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, ordered a small expedition to go north and explore the region. The very small group was led by Fray Marcos de Niza, who would penetrate to the region of the modern Zuni Pueblo and sight the then thriving pueblo of Hawikuh in 1539 CE. His vision of the pueblo inspired him to bring back the legend of the "Seven Cities of Gold."



Figure 44: Statue of Don Juan de Oñate, Oñate Cultural Center, Española, photograph taken 2010.

This story, inflaming the great Spanish desire for mineral wealth, would propel forward one of history's great expeditions under Francisco Vasquez de Coronado with Fray Marcos as guide. Departing from Compostela, Mexico in February, 1540 CE, a group of over 350 religious and military personnel accompanied by over 1300 native peoples and slaves would travel thousands of miles, eventually reaching modern day Kansas, only to debunk the Fray's earlier "discovery." Returning to Mexico empty handed ruined Coronado's promising career. For the next sixty years a small number of Spanish expeditions would crisscross what is now New Mexico, but no settlement was attempted.[9] This all changed in 1598 CE with the arrival of Juan de Oñate.

Oñate had been charged with the colonization of northern New Spain in 1595 CE. In the summer of 1598 he arrived at the Pueblo of Ohkay Owingeh, which the Spanish renamed San Juan. Adjacent to the pueblo, Oñate founded the first capital of New Mexico, called San Gabriel. The Spanish badly needed food supplies, and the Pueblo welcome convinced Oñate's group of a bright future. Oñate's vision for New Mexico had its roots in his native Basque region of Spain, where his family had been involved in silver mining and the Basque tradition of sheepherding. These twin elements would remain important to New Mexico. Precious metal discoveries, however, eluded the Spanish, becoming a source of frustration and eventually an excuse for relentless pursuit of any financial return from a territory more suited to subsistence. This relentlessness often led to excessive levels of grazing, and sheepherding would dominate the economics of the territory for hundreds of years.

By the fall of 1598 CE the bright future of Spanish New Mexico was quickly fading, however. In October, Oñate's nephew and ten of his soldiers were killed while camping near Acoma Pueblo. Oñate's subsequent retribution began a vicious cycle of revenge that would last for over one hundred years. Oñate eventually subdued the Acoma people and exacted a terrible price for their revolt. He ordered:

> …men over twenty-five to have one foot cut

> off and to spend twenty years in personal servitude; young men between the ages of twelve and twenty-five, twenty years of personal servitude; women over twelve, twenty years of personal servitude; sixty young girls to be sent to Mexico City for service in convents, never to see their homeland again; and two Hopi taken at Acoma to have their right hand cut off and to be set free so they might convey to their people news of the retribution.[10]

This very early brutality set the stage for escalating depredations against the Pueblo peoples for the next eighty years.

The location of Santa Fe, founded as the Spanish capitol in 1610 CE, was almost certainly chosen for its proximity to several pueblos, facilitating control over the people. Two Spanish policies were at the heart of these trials inflicted on the native peoples. First was the *encomienda* system.[11] This was established by Oñate to exact a yearly tribute in grain and weaving from every Pueblo household. The policy was in direct response to the inability of the Spanish settlers to provide enough food and other necessities for their own uses. This was later added to by a *repartimiento* system, which allowed any Spanish landholder to draft Pueblo labor for his holdings.[12] Although both *encomienda* and *repartimiento* were theoretically tempered by laws protecting the native people, both of these systems suffered abuses. Some greedy Spanish settlers saw the natives as a subjugated people ripe for any sort of treatment, especially in the face of the dearth of mineral discoveries. Years of abuse began to produce a deep resentment in the native population.

Two other factors, both fueled by the Spanish Franciscans, set a fuse to this already dangerous and unbalanced situation. First was the Franciscan use of native labor in as demanding fashion

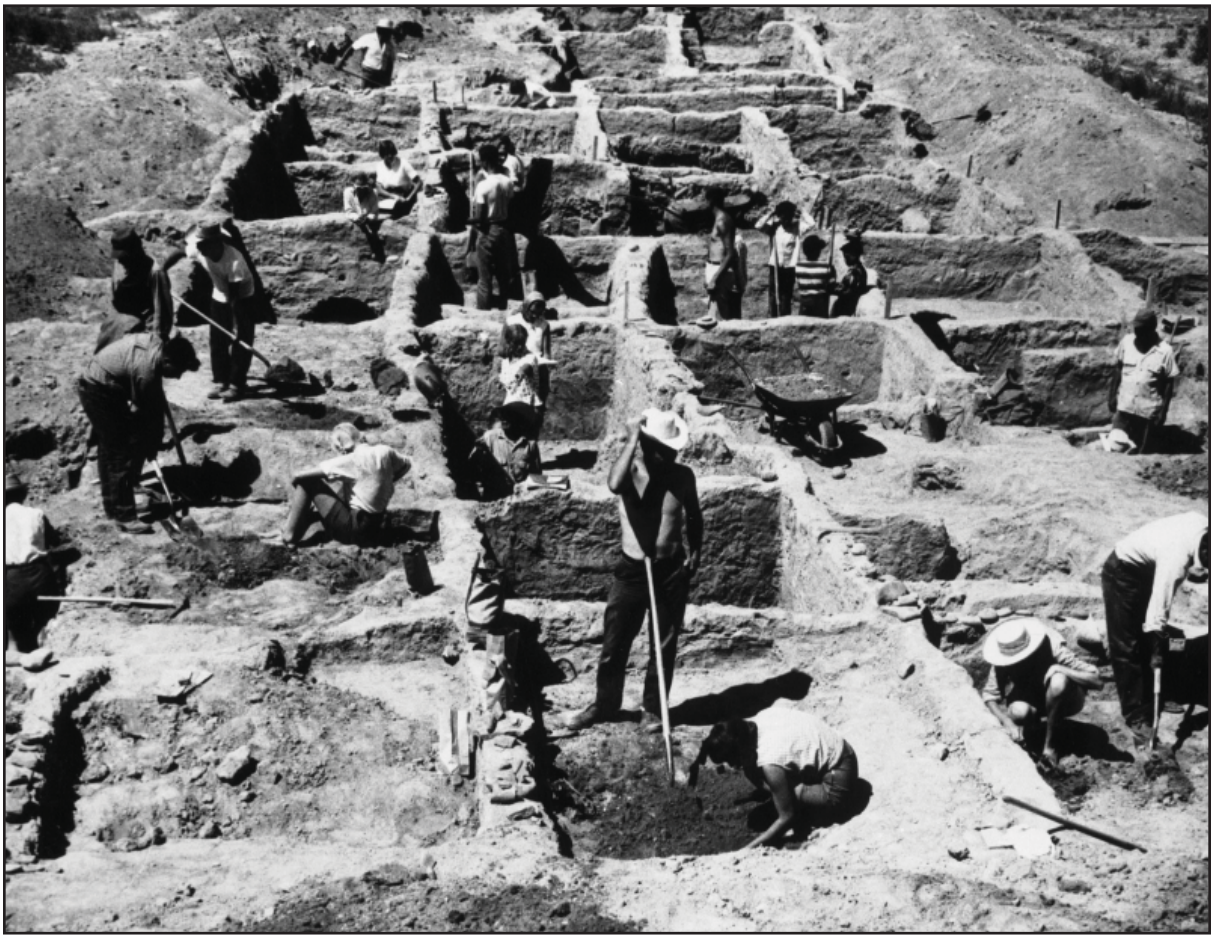


Figure 45: University of New Mexico excavation of San Gabriel del Yungue Yungue in Northern New Mexico in 1962. Photography courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 042236.

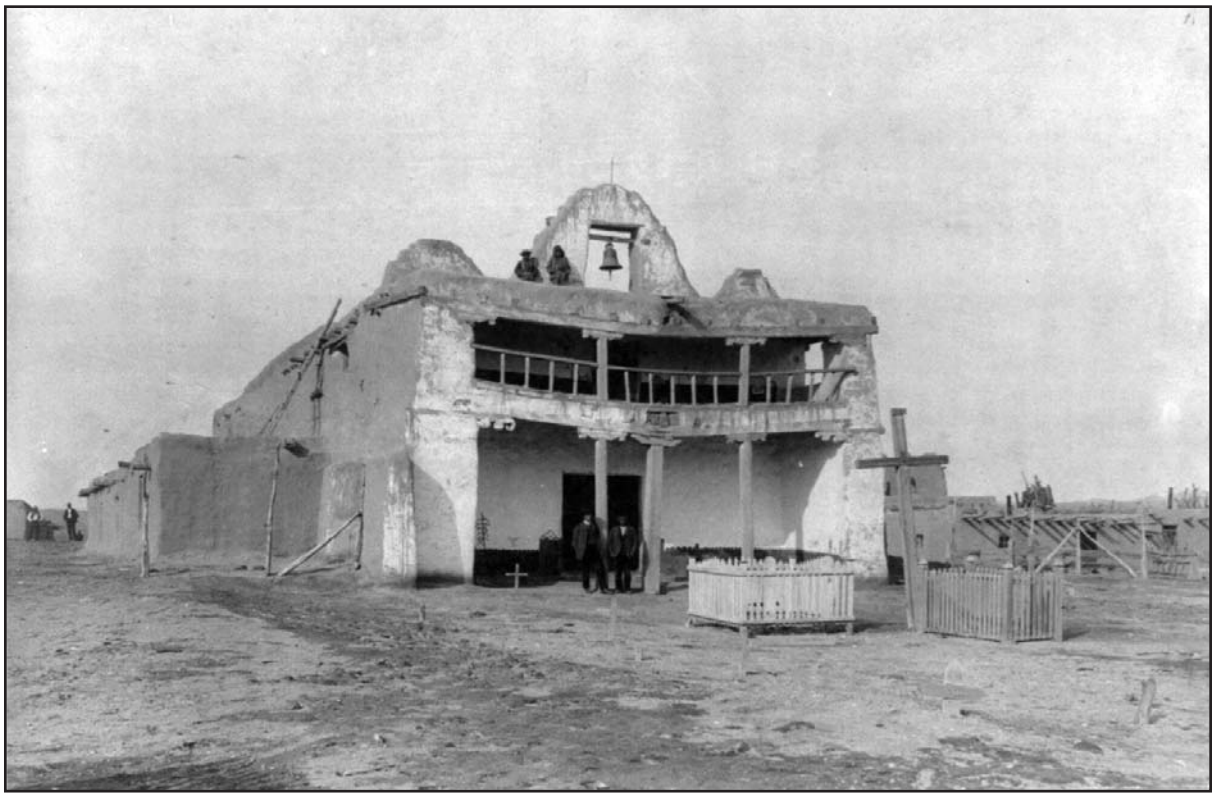


Figure 46: The Mission San Buenaventura de Cochiti, New Mexico, ca. 1906. Library of Congress Reproduction No. LC-US262-93048.

as any landowner in the construction of missions and their supporting compounds. On top of this was the increasingly brutal suppression of Pueblo religious practices. The Franciscans destroyed kivas, burned ceremonial paraphernalia, and imprisoned and sometimes executed ceremonial leaders. This suppression intensified after 1630 CE and further fueled native anger.

As these various abuses were being carried out, a split developed in the Spanish community between the two sets of Spanish authorities—civil/military and religious. The split originated between Governor Peralta and the newly arrived Friar Isidoro Ordóñez in 1612 CE.[13] The friar presented questionable documents of his appointment as prelate of New Mexico and immediately began to challenge Peralta over the leadership of the territory. While this first case was eventually resolved in favor of Peralta, the pattern of contesting authority between church and civil authorities continued through successive administrations. A state of virtual civil war between secular and religious authorities that often escalated into physical violence became the norm in the seventeenth century.[14] This conflict saw the ex-communication and arrest of governors and the beating or shooting of monks.

All of these events were closely observed by the native population, which began to perceive weaknesses in the Spanish grip on the region. Additionally, the climate cycled into a period of drought. For three long years between 1665 CE and 1668 CE, there was no harvest at all, bringing all inhabitants of the region to a starvation level.[15] Decades of anger exploded into revolt in 1680 CE.

"Burn the temples and break up the bells": The Pueblo Revolt (1690-1692)

In what historians view as one of the most successful rebellions in the history of the New World, the Pueblos and their Navajo and Apache allies attacked the Spanish colonizers on August 10, 1680. This uprising is best viewed in the context of a history of Pueblo resistance to the Spanish, ranging from secret practice of ceremonial observances to outright attacks. In addition to the scattered instances of resistance to the initial Spanish explorers and colonists such as the 1598 Acoma revolt discussed above,



Figure 47: The marble statue of Po'pay by Jemez sculptor Cliff Fragua in the National Statuary Hall Collection, 2005. Courtesy of the National Statuary Hall, Washington, D.C.



Figure 48: A statue of Diego de Vargas, Cathedral Park, Santa Fe, 2010.

Jemez Pueblo revolted in 1623, Zuni in 1632, and Taos in 1639. Groups of allied pueblos also rebelled, the earliest example of one such confederacy being the pueblos of Isleta, Alameda, San Felipe, Cochiti, Jemez, and the Apache in the 1650s.[16] The Revolt of 1680 was the largest and most successful example of coordination among the Pueblos and their allies in their fight of what Pueblo people today regard as a battle for religious freedom and independence; at least one Pueblo writer has referred to it as a "Holy War."[17]

The Pueblo leader best known for his role in the Revolt is the Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo) man *Po'pay* (Ripe Pumpkin). Known to the Spanish as El Popé, he was among a group of forty-seven Pueblo leaders who were arrested and accused by Spanish Governor Juan Franciso Treviño of witchcraft in 1675. Three of the men were hanged, a fourth committed suicide, and the rest were publicly whipped and sent to pris-

on. Pueblo leaders sent a delegation to Santa Fe to protest this treatment and threaten war. Short of defensive troops, Governor Treviño released the prisoners. Following his release, *Po'pay* went to Taos and worked with other Pueblo leaders, including El Saca and El Chato of Taos, Francisco Tanjete of San Ildefonso, and Alonzo Catiti of Santo Domingo to plan the Revolt.[18]

In August of 1680 CE, runners carrying knotted cords were sent to all the pueblos, from Taos to Hopi. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the coordinated attack. The chosen day was the eleventh of August, a time just prior to the arrival of the triennial supply caravan from Mexico City. Awaiting its supplies of ammunition and horses, the Spanish would be most vulnerable. Governor Otermín learned of the plot from leaders from San Marcos and La Cienega, who opposed the rebellion, and proceeded to capture and torture some of the messengers until they confessed the meaning of the knotted cords. When news of this reached the pueblo of Tesuque, runners were sent to the nearest pueblos and the attack was carried out a day early on the tenth of August. A total of 401 Spanish colonists and twenty-one Franciscan missionaries were killed, and an unknown number of Pueblo people also lost their lives.[19] The Spanish settlers fled first to Santa Fe and to Isleta Pueblo, which did not participate in the rebellion, and soon after escaped the region for the safety of El Paso del Norte. The people of the pueblos immediately rebuilt their kivas and revived their ceremonies, heeding *Po'pay*'s call to return to the authentically Pueblo way of life of their ancestors. Some left the villages by the missions and established strongholds on defensive mesa tops including one in the Cañada de Cochiti, Kotyiti, discussed below.

Historians view the Revolt as a time when a trans-Pueblo identity emerged. Preucel writes, "For the first time in recorded history, Pueblo peoples thought of themselves as a collective with a common genealogy and purpose."[20]



Figure 49: The pueblo of Kotyiti on top of Potrero Viejo, as seen in 1958. Photograph by Ed Ladd, courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14048, Negative No. D3757A.



Figure 50: Potrero Viejo from below, as seen in 2010.

This sense of unity and common purpose did not last, however, and the confederation soon broke down into two factions with the Keres, Jemez, Taos, and Pecos fighting against the Tewa, Tanos, and Picurís.[21] The factionalism proved both insurmountable and an opportunity which the Spanish capitalized upon. After a few failed attempts by former governor Antonio de Otermín and others, Diego de Vargas, the newly appointed governor of New Mexico, reached Santa Fe on August 10, 1692 CE, twelve years to the day after the Revolt, and proclaimed the territory's surrender.

The years that followed were not as "bloodless" as Vargas's initial re-entry into Santa Fe. The Pueblos retook the town in 1693, suffering executions and forced servitude in reprisal when it was recaptured. In 1694 CE, Vargas waged campaigns against three fortified refugee villages. Members of fourteen pueblos participated in a second organized revolt in 1696 CE, killing missionaries and settlers. Vargas's retribution was harsh, and by the end of the seventeenth century, Spanish reconquest was secure. Hendricks points out, however, that this success was due in no small part to the assistance Vargas received from allies among the pueblos, including Pecos leader Juan de Ye and Zia war captain Bartolomé de Ojeda.[22] Some of the military leaders that participated in the 1694 campaigns had grown up among the pueblos and knew their customs and languages; many were *mestizos*, mulattos, and *genizaros*. Vargas is known to have served as a godparent at the baptism of children as a way to create fictive kinship relationships (and subsequent obligations) with Pueblo leaders.[23] In short, relations among and between groups in the period of the reconquest were extremely complex as the politics of power, identity, and allegiance played out.

The Pajarito Plateau was peripheral to the events of the Revolt, which were focused on the population centers of the pueblos and Spanish settlements. In the years of tumult that followed; however, some people had reason to come to the plateau. Outside the current park boundaries on



Figure 51: Black Mesa, as seen in 2010.

the mesa known as Portrero Viejo in the Cañada de Cochiti, the pueblo of Kotyiti was built between 1680 and 1683 CE by Keres people who left Cochiti Pueblo. Analyzing the layout of the pueblo, Liebmann and Preucel have observed that it was highly planned, with features that represent an "archetypal traditional pre-Hispanic village."[24] The dual plaza layout is similar to those from Classic period sites that archaeologists view as having been used by pueblos with a moiety organization. The authors interpret the two plazas at Kotyiti as reflecting an intentional return to sociopolitical organization into the Turquoise and Pumpkin moiety groups on the part of the Cochiti people in the years immediately following the Revolt.[25]

Kotyiti was the subject of one of the campaigns against fortified refugee villages by Vargas in 1694 CE noted above. Vargas had visited the pueblo in 1692 CE and found individuals from Cochiti, San Marcos, and San Felipe there, though by 1694 CE, the San Felipe had switched allegiance and sent a war captain and warriors to aid the Spanish. In his records, Vargas stated that the effort against Kotyiti was in response to a request for assistance from Zia, Santa Ana, and San Felipe against the Keres and their Tewa, Jemez, and Apache allies.[26] The attack was a complete surprise and the allied army captured 342 noncombatants and thirteen warriors (who were later executed), and killed eight other fighters during the battle. The pueblo was plundered and set on fire, and the victors recovered more than 900 head of sheep and goats previously stolen from Spanish owners. Four days later, the Pueblo warriors staged a retaliatory raid. Again, the element of surprise proved key and the Keres managed to free half their women and children.[27] Vargas also led attacks against people from San Ildefonso Pueblo who had fortified themselves on Black Mesa, and against the Jemez Pueblo of Astialakwa on Guadalupe Mesa that same year.

Other occupations of the plateau were much less formal and reflect use of the area by refugees; San Ildefonso oral history includes accounts of women and children finding refuge at the remote site of Nake'muu north of Frijo-

les Canyon in the 1680s CE.[28] One of the sites within Bandelier National Monument proper that does seem to be associated with the events of the Revolt is the cluster of cavates in Frijoles Canyon known as Group M. The presence of Kapo Black, Tewa Polychrome, and a few Glaze F ceramics gives evidence of reoccupation of this site during the Revolt timeframe. Of particular interest to scholars of the Revolt is a petroglyph of the head of a figure with clear eyes, a well-defined nose, and a square mouth with triangular rays forming a halo or crown. Leibmann interprets the mix of stylistic elements that include eyes and nose reminiscent of Spanish depictions of the Virgin Mary and the rectangular mouth and the way the face is outlined with two concentric circles typical of Pueblo kachina imagery. Why, when the clash between the two cultures was so violent, would someone create such an image?

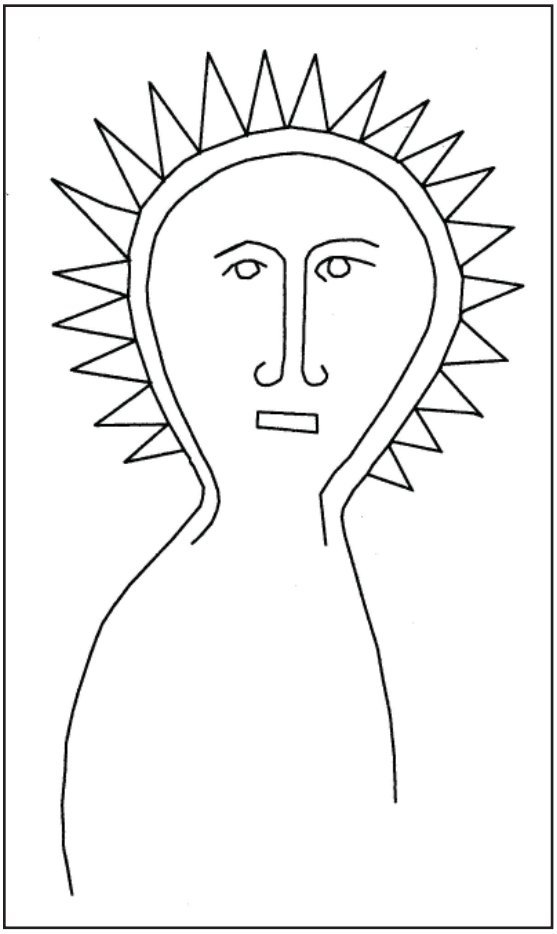


Figure 52: Petroglyph showing Pueblo and Catholic design elements (after Leibmann 2002:Figure 9.3).

Leibmann suggests two possible reasons this particular image may have been created. First, he postulates that the fusion of Christian and kachina iconography may be an example of the way Pueblo culture incorporated some Catholic imagery, "perhaps to assist in bringing Christia-nized Pueblo peoples back into the fold of traditional Pueblo spirituality."[29] Alternatively, because the missionaries were vocal in their condemnation of kachinas as "devils," the purposeful combination of Catholic images with kachina characteristics may have been created as a form of appropriation and an explicit manifestation of resistance, much as many mission sites saw post-Revolt Pueblo architectural renovations.[30] Regardless of the true intent behind the creation of the image, Leibmann takes it to be an indicator of the way in which Pueblo people "manipulated Spanish colonial symbols in an active, explicit resistance; assuming and transforming the symbols of the colonizer in the liberation of the colonized and forming identities in opposition to colonial power."[31] The Revolt was a complex time, as Revolt leaders called for the rejection of all things Spanish and a return to an older and authentically Pueblo way of life, even as they also appropriated elements of Spanish culture perceived as powerful and perhaps magically potent.

The Aftermath

After 1700 CE, use of the Pajarito Plateau by Pueblo people dropped dramatically. Preucel believes that although the Apaches and Navajos originally traded relatively peacefully with the pueblos, once they acquired horses from European explorers and settlers, they became able to move over great distances with relative speed and became much more predatory.[32] Utes, Comanches, and Kiowa are other nomadic indigenous groups were near enough that they may also have been involved in raiding, at least sporadically. There is little archaeological evidence of the presence of marauders on the plateau proper, though references in historic documents suggest it had become a dangerous hinterland despite portions of it being assigned to different Hispano families in land grants. Spanish

accounts from the nineteenth century include statements to the effect that Antonia Rosa Lujan and her husband, Jose Antonio Salas were forced to live in Cochiti Pueblo because the Navajo made life on their Rito de Frijoles tract untenable.[33] The early anthropologist Adolf Bandelier made two notes of interest here. First, "… the Rito during the past and present centuries has been inhabited several times, and… shepherds and cattle thieves have repeatedly made the caves their abode," he wrote, and though the ethnicity of the rustlers in question is unclear, it is certainly possible that some were Indian rather than Hispano or Anglo.[34] Bandelier adds that the trails on the Pajarito Plateau were "formerly much used by the Navajo Indians on the incursions against the Spanish and Pueblo settlements."[35]

The depredations made the plateau an unsafe location, a problem that only worsened through the early nineteenth century. While the Pueblo peoples generally stayed within their established territories (and later, within the reservation lands granted them), within those areas families would have fields in a variety of locations as part of a risk reduction strategy in case conditions caused crops in one area to fail. Prior to the raiding, families might stay the entire summer in field houses or small farming communities away from the main pueblo settlement. Once the raids began in earnest, this was no longer safe, and Pueblo people across the southwest, including Zuni, Acoma, Laguna, Jemez, Pecos, Picurís, Taos, and Santa Clara had consolidated for protection, a pattern reinforced and made permanent by later reservation boundaries.[36] In the 1860s CE, the subjugation of the Navajo and other groups at last allowed Pueblo people who so chose to live in their field houses seasonally or even permanently, returning to the main pueblos over the winter or for ceremonial occasions.



Figure 53: San Juan Pueblo in 1919. Figure 107.95 published in "The Proposed Park of the Cliff Cities, Report of Herbert W. Gleason. Part III." Bandelier National Monument Catelog No. 12814.



Figure 54: Navajo group. Photograph by T. Harmon Parkhurst, ca. 1925-1945, courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 003234.

As should be expected in a situation involving so many different groups (including different pueblos and different bands of the nomadic tribes), the situation is not as simple as preda-tory nomadic groups and victimized pueblos.

Archival research by Schaafsma has revealed Spanish accounts in which it is clear that the pueblos occasionally allied themselves with Apaches and Navajos against the Spanish during the seventeenth century.[37] Spanish accounts in the eighteenth century contain many fewer instances of collusion and many more references to attacks. The Spanish presence provided the means for increased mobility to the nomads, while the sedentary patterns of agriculture became literally common ground between the Spanish and the pueblos. As Schaafsma notes, more research is needed to tease out the changing relationships between different Pueblo and nomadic groups over time. His account presents a basic pattern of all native groups resisting the Spanish to some degree until the reconquest, and then a more predatory relationship until the Apaches and Navajos were subjugated in the nineteenth century.

One other aspect of Native experience in northern New Mexico in the Spanish Colonial period also bears mention. Indian slavery had been outlawed in Spanish territory as early as 1542 CE and the edict was reiterated in 1680 CE. Slavery was tolerated, however, as a means of informal compensation to the Spanish men who colonized remote regions of the empire, and it became a more significant source of wealth as it became apparent how poor the region was in mineral wealth.[38] Indians who refused to submit to Spanish rule or convert to Christianity could be held as captives as part of the broader "just war" against the infidel and held as slaves for ten to twenty years. Members of pueblos who resisted the initial Spanish colonists were enslaved, and the Spanish regularly raided Indian groups for slaves under the guise of punishing heathens. In addition to their value for the labor they provided, slaves could be traded for luxury goods and were, in essence, a medium of exchange.

Though the practice was tempered somewhat by the Revolt and the realization that the pueblos could only be pushed so far, the Spanish then turned the focus of the "just war" against the Apaches and Navajos, conducting slave raids against them. The Apaches themselves were not blameless in this matter, and both the Apaches and Comanches engaged in the slave trade as well, selling their own captives to the Spanish. The Spanish justified their own participation in this endeavor with the logic that they were "rescuing" captives who would otherwise simply be killed and saving their souls through baptism, and seasonal slave "fairs" were also referred to as "ransomings."[39] Captives were always baptized before being brought into Christian homes.[40] Baptismal records are, therefore, a good source of information on slavery. Gutiérrez states that of the 3,294 nomadic Indians baptized for Hispano households between 1700 and 1849 CE, Nava-jos represent thirty-seven and a half percent, Apaches twenty-four, Utes sixteen percent, and Comanches five percent (he does not state which groups the remaining seventeen and a half percent were from, though presumably they came from various pueblos).[41]

The presence of people of various Indian ethnicities who had nonetheless been baptized and lived in Hispano households gave rise to a new social category. Variously known as either *genizaros* or *criados*, people who were genetically Indian but were living in Spanish towns could be captives of the slave trade or prisoners of war, but the terms were also applied to marginalized Pueblo Indians who had been exiled from their pueblos for some transgression or simply chose to live in Hispanic towns (but who often ended up as domestic slaves as well). Over time, those two terms came to refer to all detribalized Indians and people of mixed race, regardless of their Indian group of origin and the degree to which they had adopted Spanish religion and culture. Simmons has suggested that the terms were euphemisms that allowed the Spanish to avoid calling such people slaves and running afoul of the laws against it.[42] There is little information available on whether such household slaves were entrusted with care of livestock, but it seems possible that some of the sheep and cattle herding attributed to Hispano families on the Pajarito Plateau and elsewhere was actually conducted by *genizaro* members of their households.

To return to the subject of the Pajarito Plateau and the area that is the monument today, un-tangling the ethnicity of the people who did venture into the area in the early historic period is difficult. It is probable that people from all the different cultures in the area made use of it at one time or another, as use of natural resources on a small scale was common to all groups. In addition, there were Pueblo people seeking access ancestral towns and shrines, or a place to wait out a period of tumult; marauders taking advantage of the isolation of the area to travel, base their operations, or hide their ill gotten gains; or early Hispano, Pueblo, or *genizaro* shepherds camping temporarily with their stock.

Land Grants

The earliest historically documentable period of European settlement in the region of Bandelier National Monument began about 1700 CE with Spanish land grants; these include the Cañada de Cochiti, Rito de los Frijoles, the Baca Location, and later the Ramon Vigil grants. The pattern established by these grants was one of remote ownership and the granting of rights to use or occupy the land. The borders of these grants, along with the borders of the neighboring pueblos, would be continually contested into the twentieth century.

The remote and harsh nature of the Pajarito Plateau precluded any large scale European settlement; sporadic use of the area by different groups making use of the area's resources is discussed above. Documentation prior to 1880 is sparse and researchers have relied on archaeological evidence to reconstruct the early use of the region. Some of the primary researchers comment, "Indeed the exact nature of settlement in the Cañon de los Frijoles, or Bandelier National Monument, is difficult to detail."[43] One of the documentary sources that is available are the records related to the land grants.

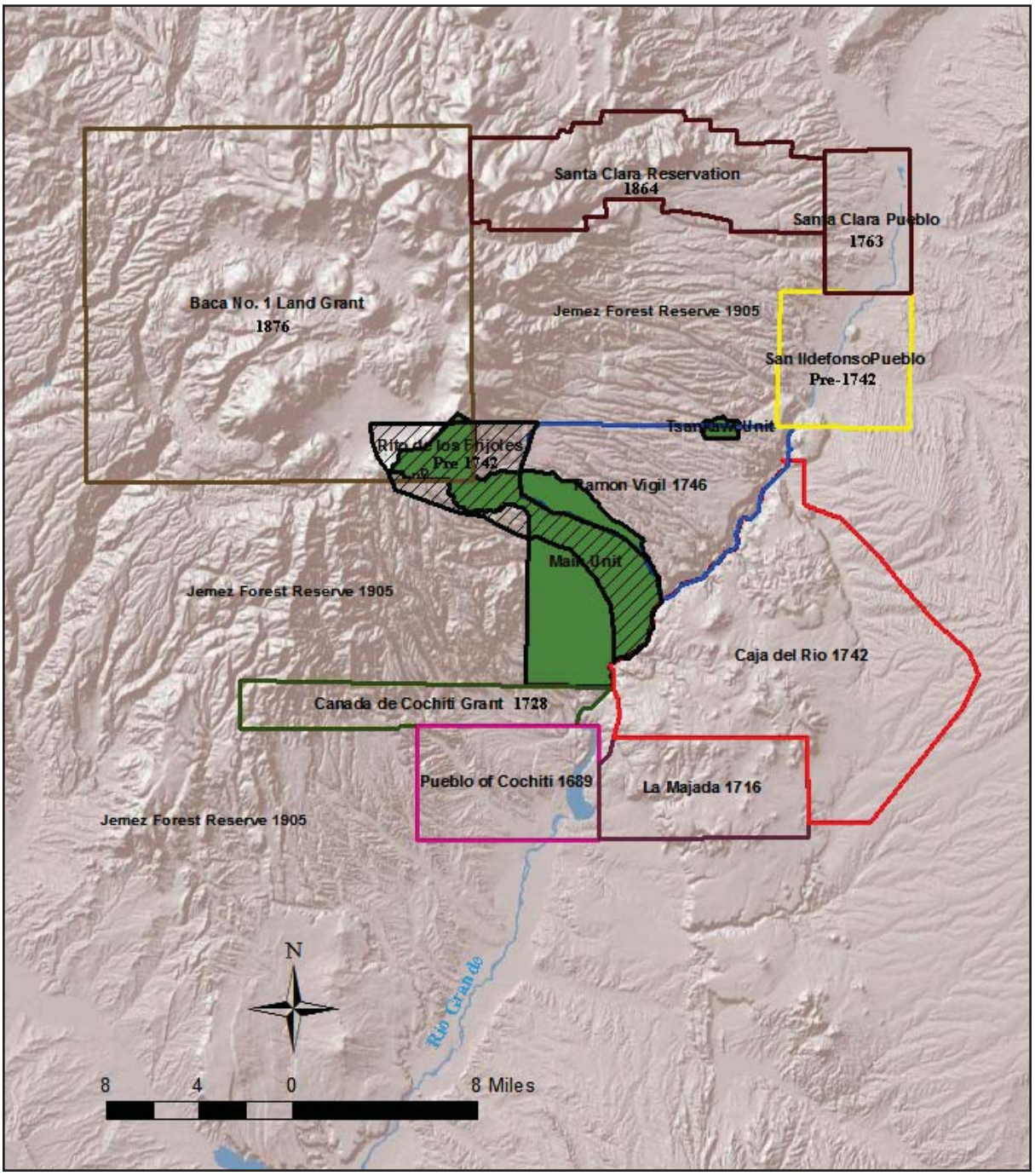


Figure 55: Land grants in the vicinity of Bandelier National Monument, map created 2010.

The record of the Spanish land grants is historically traceable to the early eighteenth century, although activity may have preceded this date. The grants were established after the 1680 CE Pueblo Revolt and Spanish reconquest of the region beginning in 1692 CE. They were intended to bring more settlers into the region to stabilize the political and military situation of the Spanish. Land grants established under the Spanish administration were recognized after the territory passed to the Mexican government after Mexican independence in 1821 CE. The United States acquired the New Mexico Territory following its victory in the Mexican-American War in 1848. The terms of the 1948 CE Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo specified that property

rights legally held under Mexican law would be respected by the U.S., but the federal government made no attempt to appoint an official or board to clarify land title problems until six year later, when Congress established the Office of the Surveyor General. This office proved more interested in expanding and consolidating the public domain in New Mexico and in solving Pueblo land grant problems than in exploring and settling Hispano land grant difficulties.

By the 1880s, speculation in land grants and the public domain had become a national scandal. In 1891 CE in response to public outcry and private capitalist pressure, the government created the Court of Private Land Claims, the goal of which was to facilitate the settlement of land grant questions and ensure marketable titles. Despite attempts to ensure the three people serving on the court were neutral, only six percent of the land grant cases brought before it between 1890 and 1919 CE were confirmed.[44] Despite the uncertainty of many land grant titles, expansion of the Anglo-American social, economic, and political systems into the American Southwest continued during the Territorial period. New Mexico be-came a state in 1912 CE. All of this was far in the future in the early eighteenth century when the first land grants on the Pajarito Plateau were awarded by Spanish authorities, but even before changing governments and policies, long-term ownership of granted lands proved tenuous.

The first was the Cañada de Cochiti grant, awarded to Antonio Lucero in 1728 CE.[45] This would become an active grant operating in general as a subsistence-level farming and ranching site. Next was the Rito de los Frijoles Grant, awarded sometime prior to 1742 CE to Captain Andres Montoya.[46] The Ramon Vigil Grant was awarded in 1746 CE to Peter Sanchez for small farming and ranching purposes.[47] This was followed by the Baca Location, which had a somewhat more complicated history. It was first awarded to Luis Maria Cabeza de Baca in 1821 CE, but was located near Las Vegas, New Mex-ico. There was a conflict with another grant, however, and the issue was taken up in 1860 CE by the U.S. authorities. The proposed

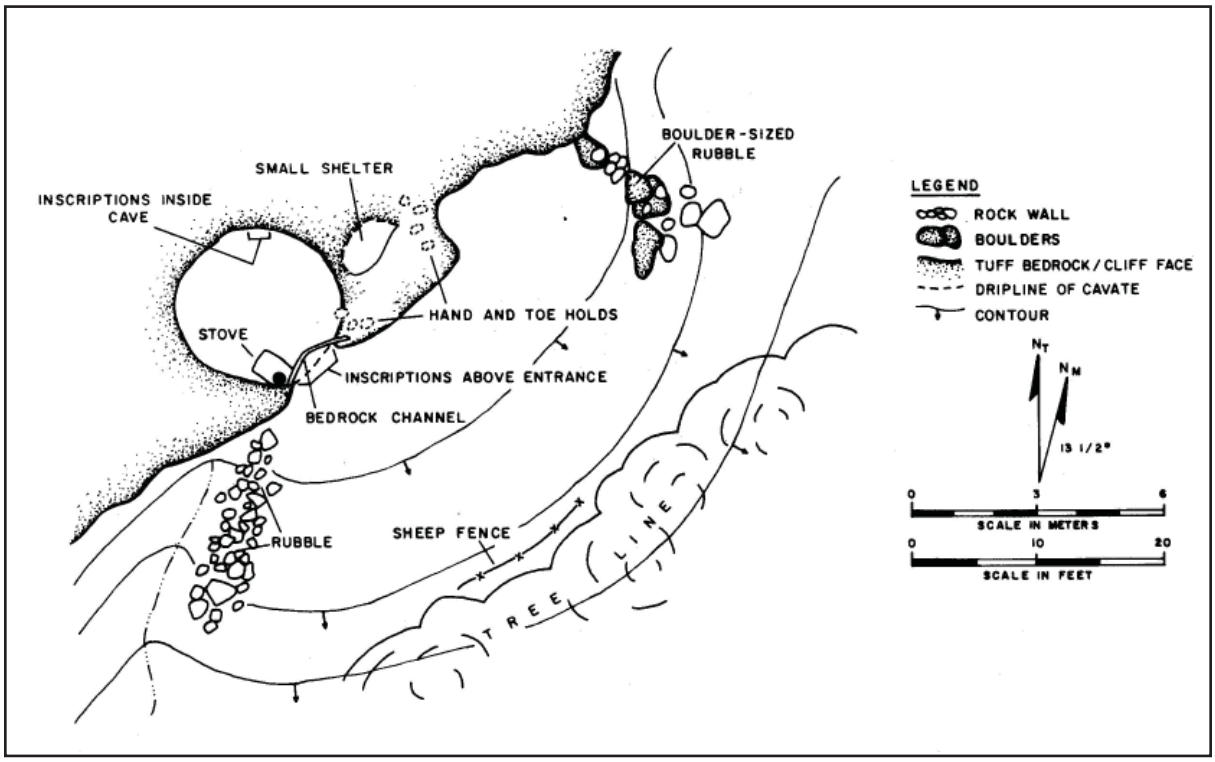


Figure 56: Map of LA 70940, an early (post 1880) sheepherding or ranching site near Medio Canyon in Bandelier National Monument. Published in Powers and Orcutt, 1999.



Figure 57: Early historic inscriptions in plaster in the intact interior of a cavate at Tsankawi, as seen in 2001 (text illegible).

settlement was a new land selection by the family. They chose the Baca Location 1 on the Pajarito Plateau and were awarded title in 1876 CE.[48] The pattern of land ownership and use was generally established by the land grant process over the course of 150 years and would last until the second half of the nineteenth century.

The locations and somewhat arbitrary boundaries of the land grants strongly influenced which types of economic activities the early historic-period European grantees could pursue. Rothman notes that grants to Pueblos generally respected locations of existing communities, with grants to Spanish settlers being more remote. He writes, "These land grants effectively limited each pueblo's land to the area in the immediate vicinity of its population center, but they also meant that the Pueblos tended to control the better agricultural land close to the rivers. Land granted to non-Pueblo individuals and groups were primarily devoted to ranching."[49] Most of this ranching was sheepherding with some presence of cattle and horses.

Often the day-to-day ranching was not carried out by the grant holder but was "subcontracted" to herders who would care for the flocks and herds. This was known as the *partido* system. "The system had its beginnings in Spanish practice, but like the environment of the region, it was harnessed to suit entrepreneurs and speculators."[50] Among these was Frank Bond, the largest business and land owner on the plateau in the late nineteenth century. Rothman describes how commercialization and Anglicization of the *partido* system changed it: "*Partido* had been a joint venture in which owner and herder shared profit and loss, a way for a father to help a son get started. Although the system had harsh features in the Spanish era, under Bond it amounted to little more that sharecropping."[51]

Whether under the traditional Spanish system or the later entrepreneurial one, these *partidarios* were generally very poor, occupied grazing land only seasonally, and were nomadic, leaving very little physical trace on the landscape. Their presence is made all the more challenging for archae-

ologists to detect because of their frequent reuse of prehispanically occupied cavates and shelters, further disguising their already faint footprints

There are a few sites documented for Bandelier National Monument that appear to have been used by herders from this period. While there are no remains of permanent structures, archaeologists have found animal enclosures, camps, and sheep dung in cavates and rock shelters. Of particular interest to scholars are places where people carved inscriptions into the walls of cavates or into the bark of aspen trees (called dendroglyphs). Such inscriptions often include names and dates, some prior to the nineteenth century and others later; Smith notes that the names are predominantly Hispano or Hispano-Pueblo, while Cochiti is the most common of the place names.[52] It has been pointed out, however, that many Native individuals took Spanish surnames, so that such inscriptions are not definitive indicators of ethnicity.

A direct method for obtaining at least a hint of how the land was used can be obtained from various legal issues surrounding the grants. Frijoles Canyon itself is not the center of these issues for the Frijoles Grant but we can deduce from nearby activities what level of use the land was seeing at any given period. The grant was first passed to Juan Antonio Lujan, the son-in-law of the original grantee, in 1780 CE.[53] There is evidence of permanent use of the land during this time and that immediately following. However, use by Lujan was also challenged by the Romero family, who claimed the grant as theirs; they were centered on a ranch at El Capulin. A canyon south of Frijoles Canyon still bears that name. The Romeros were eventually ordered off the grant.[54] However, in 1811 CE Lujan's descendants were also ordered off the land for harboring rustlers.[55] In 1814 CE, Rosa Antonia Lujan asked to be allowed to resettle the grant and the then Mexican Governor, Jose Manrique, noted that the rustlers, "…did not live in the houses on the grant but in caves like heathens."[56] The family was allowed to resettle, and by the time of Adolf Bandelier's expeditions on the Pajarito Plateau, the Baca and Pino families had established small ranches in Frijoles Canyon. Indeed, Bandelier reported staying with the Bacas.[57] He also noted that he did not see evidence of cultivation or irrigation in Frijoles Canyon.

In a general attempt to model where early Hispano sites might be found by archaeologists, Hannaford and Shirin examined archival maps, land grant documents, census data, genealogies, acequia systems, wills, soils, and known archaeological sites to identify historic land use patterns.[59] They found that the only permanent Hispano settlements were near water and arable land, and that virtually all the other portions of the land grants were used only for raising livestock. The few known homesteads they examined consisted of small adobe room blocks with corrals for the stock. Many had *torreons* and enclosed plazas or corrals that suggest a concern with defense. Such sites have been found on the Pajarito Plateau and in Frijoles Canyon specifically, fitting this model well. Early European occupation of Frijoles Canyon would have been near the stream and the very small amount of arable land in the canyon bottom, while the rest, as we have seen from other lines of evidence, was used primarily for stock. The main difference from the settlements nearer Santa Fe is that the plateau was essentially a frontier, and its occupation was sporadic.

After the Mexican-American War, the United States agreed in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to honor lands held under Spanish and Mexican Land Grants. During the late 1800s, legal action was taken to uphold such claims on the Pajarito Plateau and throughout the western U.S. but conflicting legal theories of land tenure as well as outright fraud under such groups as the Santa Fe Ring were widespread and land grant issues remain contentious to this day.

Through review of extremely complex documents from 1767 CE onward, the Rito de Frijoles claim was denied because the grant had been revoked during that period and only permission for use, not ownership, was given later. The claimants' appeal to the Supreme Court was denied in 1895, leaving the land without legally proven ownership. The stage was thus set for the General Land Office to acquire the land—a critical step in its eventual designation as a monument.

The land grant system also allowed the native people some recourse from the Hispano settlers violating their lands. Legal action was pursued a number of times by the pueblos of Cochiti and San Ildefonso in the vicinity of the Frijoles grant. Indeed, use of native land by the non-native settlers would continue to be a problem for hundreds of years, damaging both the land and valued religious sites. This would be partially addressed and resolved by the Supreme Court in the 1930s.

Through all of this complex legal record we see references to ranches, houses, and primarily grazing. The latter was most likely the chief activity in the region of the monument. At different times criminals and native raiding parties also used the area. Little of permanent structure remains to establish this footprint on the land. It is known that Hewett described at least one *torreon* in the area.[60] It is accepted that this was removed by the Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) during their work in the 1930s CE at the monument. Generally speaking, then, the picture of early use of the Pajarito Plateau in historic times was by people raising livestock, engaging in limited logging, or avoiding the law. Little of this changed during the years of Mexican rule or early U.S. governance. The coming of the railroad would be the first of many factors impacting these ways of life on the plateau.

In the late nineteenth century cattle grazing expanded, possibly linked to the elimination of the threat of Navajo raiding in the late 1860s CE under U.S. rule, but certainly encouraged by the 1880s CE arrival of the railroad.[61] There are a number of archaeological sites which Smith associated with these developments.[62] Logging in the immediate vicinity of the monument remained small-scale due to rugged terrain, but expanded elsewhere on the Pajarito Plateau as the railroad made exportation possible; Smith locates a number of sawmills in the area.[63] Subsistence land uses would begin to disappear as federal control of the region became more substantial and formalized. Large scale absentee ownership would also drive up land prices, pushing out the very small traditional operations in favor of larger commercial enterprises attempting to get short-term returns on investment. It is important to note that these larger enterprises all failed and did much damage to the plateau's environment and population (Chapter 7).

The large number of legal actions regarding grants in the Bandelier National Monument area points toward increasing awareness of the value of the land.[64] The federal government joined private land owners in seeking its share. In 1905 CE, 1,237,205 acres were set aside as the Jemez Forest Reserve; the area was designated a National Forest in 1907 CE, with a portion transferred to the Carson National Forest in 1908 CE. In 1915 CE, much of the area was combined with the Pecos National Forest to establish the Santa Fe National Forest. This set the stage for claims for land under the 1906 Homestead Act and the establishment of the Ranch of the Ten Elders in Frijoles Canyon.

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7. Change

(1847 - 1930 CE)

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, major changes took place on the Pajarito Plateau. Reflecting factors unique to New Mexico such as Spanish land grant litigation, and other more general dynamics, such as the arrival of the railroad, these new developments would provide the basis for the conflicts surrounding the formation of the Bandelier National Monument. These struggles would continue for nearly 30 years before the NPS would be given control of the monument, and the conflict would involve numerous government agencies, New Mexico Congressional and other elected officials, and some of the most well-known archaeologists of the day along with the pueblos of New Mexico and many of the state's citizens. These clashes reflected and influenced larger battles occurring in New Mexico at the time and made the eventual creation of the monument a very convoluted process.

Changes in Land Use

As discussed in the previous section, land use on the Pajarito Plateau was dominated first by the Pueblos and then shared with the Hispanos entering the area. Uses of the land had been characterized in the Historic period by hunting, low level farming, and grazing of small herds of sheep and cattle. These activities had only minor impacts on the plateau landscape, and with the withdrawal of both the Pueblos and the Hispanos to their Spanish grant lands, much of the area within the current monument boundaries saw very little use at all. This all changed in the late nineteenth century with the arrival of major sheep and cattle grazing, mining, and logging on the plateau.

Beginning in the mid nineteenth century, sheep production in New Mexico rose dramatically. Demand came primarily from the U.S. Army and the mining industry in western states. Little was made of the wool; these sheep, destined for the army mutton market, were driven to population centers for processing. The railroad changed and facilitated this development and by the late nineteenth century, New Mexico had more sheep than any other western state. This had little immediate effect on the environment until the arrival of the large flocks, but it did establish a pattern for long term environmental transformation. Hal Rothman comments, "Although the approximately two hundred animals grazing the area in a typical summer before 1880 CE did little immediate damage, they laid the basis for long-term change in the composition of plant species in the region."[1]

In 1883 CE, a Texas cattleman, W. C. Bishop, leased part of the Vigil Grant from its new Anglo owners, George Fletcher and Winfield R. Smith. He brought approximately 3000 head of cattle to graze there, thereby forever changing its ecology and economy.[2] These cattle soon spread over the plateau, overgrazing and disrupting the minimal use that had been the dominant land-use pattern among Hispanos. Some of these early Hispano homesteaders would find themselves displaced while others went to work for the new enterprise, ending centuries of their small holdings and independent traditions. According to Rothman, the total number of cattle that could be supported by the plateau was about three hundred. The effect of ten times that number was catastrophic and changed the ecology of the plateau dramatically.[3] Overgrazing denuded mesas of vegetation, and affected lands were made susceptible to flooding by the severe winter runoff and torrential summer rainstorms. Various native grasses were replaced by less valuable plant types. Rothman states, "Mass grazing permanently decreased the quality of range on the Vigil Grant…"[4] The diminishment of the economic return to the land owners would produce even more significant changes to the once remote region. A very severe winter in 1886-1887 CE in which many



Figure 58: Log jam on the Rio Grande ca. 1915 CE. The logs were most likely to be used for railroad ties on the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 039350.

of his cattle froze or starved ended Mr. Bishop's cattle business.

The next major enterprise to repeat the short-lived experience of the cattle business was the timber industry. Seeking a return on their investment to replace the grazing revenue lost with Bishop's cattle business, George Fletcher and Winfield Smith leased the grant's timber rights to Harry S. Buckman in 1898 CE. While his crews would range far and wide harvesting timber, Buckman's real financial strategy was to manipulate the scrip system (government-issued certificates that could be used to claim land, though some were sold to speculators for cash), hoping to purchase more profitable timber rights in the Pacific Northwest.[5] During his short-lived stay, Buckman made many changes to the plateau besides engaging in the early and unregulated timber harvesting practices of the nineteenth century. He built a small town for his enterprise, Buckman, where the railroad siding met the Rio Grande, built a bridge across the river, and constructed roads into Water and Pajarito canyons (at the cost of $40,000) to facilitate timber harvesting.[6] This new infrastructure provided some increased access to the area but would end with Buckman's departure in 1903 CE as the bridge was sold and dismantled for its wood. Buckman's infrastructure construction had one additional effect—it increased the number of visitors coming to see the area's archaeological sites. Harry Field, a visitor in 1900, recounted his experience: "Through the courtesy of Mr. McConnell, the manager of a large lumber camp, whose guest I became, I was enabled to spend some time right in the very heart of the region at one time most thickly populated by the cave dwellers."[7] It should be remembered that at this time the monument did not yet exist and very little, if any, protection was in place for the region's archaeological sites or their contents. Rothman paints a fascinating picture of how the intrusion of commercial interests in antiquities

began to impact the ancient sites in the canyons of the Pajarito Plateau:

> Buckman entertained visitors at his lumber camps and sawmills, and while his men built the road and cut trees, his guests lived a life of simple but exquisite pleasure as the guests of the backwoods gentleman. The visitors had free reign in a world choked with the ruins of a pre-historic civilization…Others were not as respectful, and Buckman's guests became a constant worry for Hewett. His fears were driven home during the summer of 1901, when the Reverend G.S. Madden of the booming mining town of Bland, New Mexico, showed his friend George Townsend Cole around the plateau. The youngest son of California Senator Cornelius Cole, G.T. Cole was a lecturer who had sketched, photographed, and made maps of ruins, and pueblos around the four-corners region….Guests of Buckman's, the two men had free reign on the Vigil Grant, and as Hewett seethed, they collected a number of surface artifacts. They took away what they could carry and stored the rest under the railroad station in Buckman.[8]

The remnants of Ancestral Pueblo habitations and the modern world had finally collided in the attempted economic development of the marginal land of northern New Mexico.

Another venture that was short-lived but which changed the land and economy of the area was mining. The mining town of Bland, New Mexico, was located about ten miles west of Frijoles Canyon. It boomed for a short time after its establishment 1893 as the inhabitants sought both silver and gold. Opals were also reportedly found in the area. The town's population eventually grew to 3000 people before collapsing in 1904. The failed project left economic misery along with environmental damage to the area in the form of chlorine contamination from one of the mills.[9] It also followed a trend of becom-

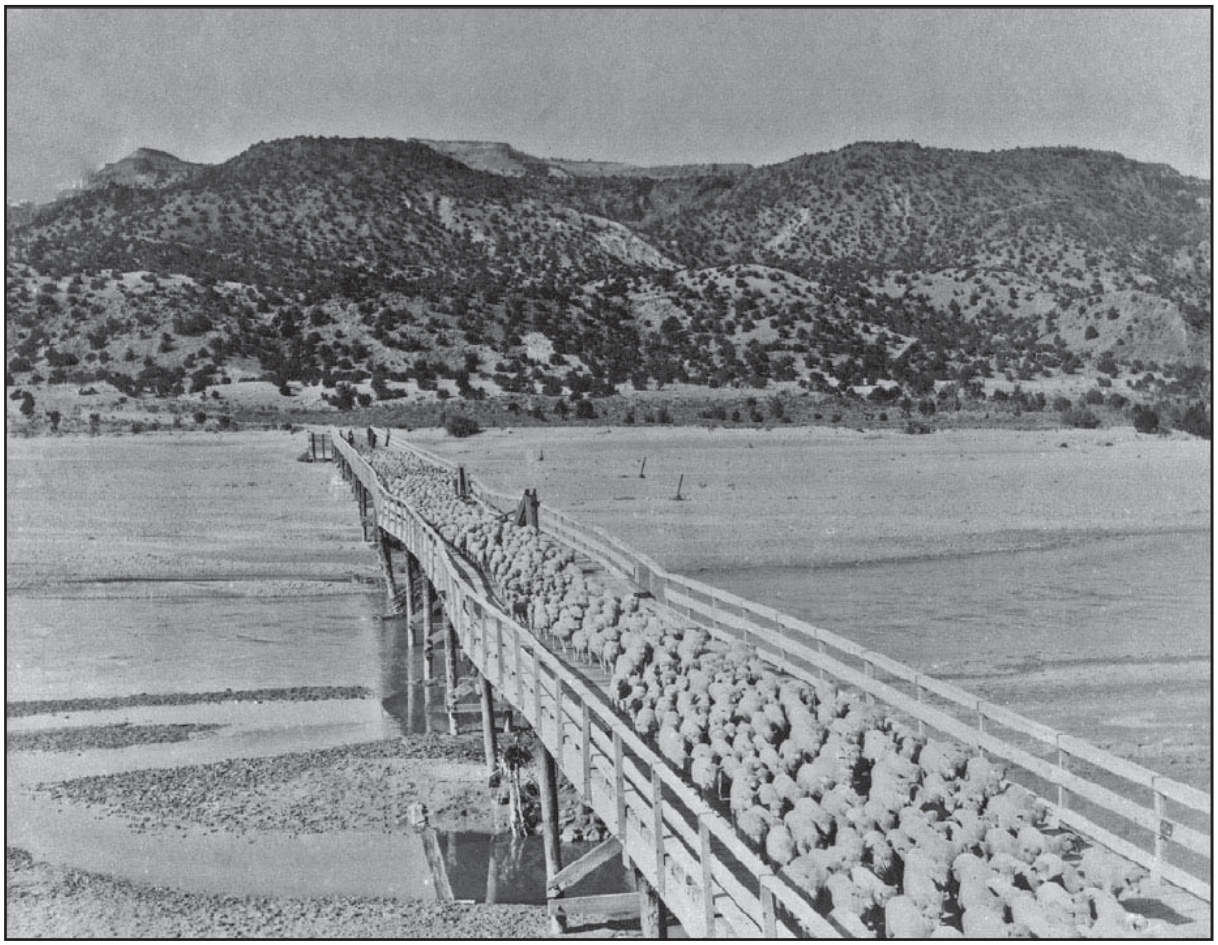


Figure 59: Sheep crossing the Buckman bridge over the Rio Grande, 1922. Bandelier National Monument Archives, Catalog No. 14336, Negative No. 01608A.

ing embroiled in land grant issues which, in this case, ended up in the Supreme Court.[10] Once again, a very short-lived project had long term negative consequences for the plateau.

Sheepherding saw a major resurgence in the late nineteenth century that lasted through the end of World War I. The year 1891 saw over 700,000 sheep transported on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad.[11] The growth of the industry was enabled by the ability to ship such large quantities of sheep by rail. However, new economic relationships prevailed over the small rancher and *partido* systems that had existed in the past. As Smith describes, "A modified *partido* system continued as merchants now took the place of ranchers and gave out cash and merchandise advances against the value of lambs and wool."[12] Following World War I, government loans were recalled. The system collapsed and with it the sheep industry in New Mexico.

While the railroad never touched Bandelier National Monument, its arrival in northern New Mexico, as across the western U.S., had a major impact on interaction between the extremely isolated Pajarito Plateau and the rest of the world. In many ways it caused the boom and bust cycle described above to be more extreme than it would have been without the impact on land prices.

The railroad arrived in New Mexico via the Atchinson, Topeka, and Santa Fe (AT&SF) line in 1880. However, this line stopped several miles away in the town of Lamy because of the excessive elevation gain required to climb to Santa Fe. The city fathers knew that to be left off the railroad was a death sentence for a major city and immediately began working to bring rail service to New Mexico's capital. This would be accomplished by the arrival of the Denver and Rio Grande (D&RG) line in 1887, affectionately known as the "Chili Line." Service would run from Santa Fe to Antonito, Colorado. Principal



Figure 60: Group including Edgar Lee Hewett and Agapito at the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, Otowi, ca. 1920. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 135361.



Figure 61: A Denver & Rio Grande Railroad bridge over the Rio Grande, possibly at Otowi, ca. 1890-1900. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archive (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 099813.

stops in the vicinity of the future Bandelier National Monument were at Buckman and Otowi, with Otowi being the major station. The line finally collapsed economically in 1941.

While this story appears simple on the surface, one of New Mexico's many monumental political battles decided the fate of these two railroad lines. Raton Pass, on the border between Colorado and New Mexico, had been used as the route to Denver and was the course into the Territory sought by the railroads. There was only one problem—there was only room for one line. Only after an extended legal battle and a two year period during which the railroad companies hired gunslingers and bought politicians was the issue resolved out of court by the famous Boston Treaty. The routes allocated under this agreement served to set the destinies of the three participants, the AT&SF, Union Pacific, and the D&RG. As the smallest, the D&RG was given some important rights in Leadville, Colorado in exchange for essentially not competing with the other two. The importance of the agreement to the Pajarito Plateau was that its fortunes were now tied to a small, underfunded operation which, under the original agreement, could only go 90 miles south of the Colorado-New Mexico border (a stipulation that resulted in the establishment of the city of Española). Santa Fe was not to be denied, however, and the line reached the city in 1887. For the rest of its existence, the Chili Line reflected the economic fortunes of the areas it served—northern New Mexico and the Colorado mining region. Both were subsistence boom and bust areas and the spending on the line reflected this.[13] Operations and line conditions were always being criticized by inspectors and accidents were many.[14] A fatal accident occurred in March of 1891 just north of Otowi crossing when the train jumped the track and killed its engineer, Fred Morse.

One significant effect of the railroad was an un-

precedented rise in land prices on the Pajarito Plateau. The Vigil Grant had not been caught up in the rampant land speculation raging elsewhere in New Mexico because of its remote location, and land prices had remained stable on the grant for years. The parcel was essentially valued at a subsistence level. However, once the area was served by a rail line, no matter how small, speculation began. This drove up prices such that Fletcher and Smith, the purchasers of the grant, paid one hundred thousand dollars for the tract in 1880.[15] This large investment caused an immediate search for sources revenue from the land. This in turn led to both economic and environmental issues for the region. Rothman discusses these aspects of the changing scene on the Pajarito Plateau.

> These men [Fletcher and Smith and other Anglo newcomers] shared the dominant values and cultural assumptions of late nineteenth century industrial America—growth, progress, development, and profit. They differed from other residents of the area in their perception of the tract. Like the majority of their generation, these men believed in competitive commerce as a civilizing factor. They also could not afford to let the Vigil Grant lie fallow. They had too much money invested in the land. As absentee landlords, they sought tenants who could make enough money off the land to pay both the taxes and a stipend to its owners. The railroad had radically changed the economy of the area just by its pending arrival before the first log, sheep, or person was ever transported.[16]

The second impact of the arrival of the railroad was more straightforward. The primary economic activities on the Pajarito Plateau, in the late ninteenth and early twentieth centuries would not change for several decades. The railroad obviously made it easier for those on the plateau to get their goods to a market or process center. Ranchers and farmers would load their goods for onward transport at the few local stops along the Chili Line. Most significant for the Pajarito Plateau were the stops at Buckman and Otowi, and Buckman was the stop for early travelers to Frijoles Canyon. The Chili Line connected to the Southern Pacific (later the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe) Railroad in Santa Fe on the route between Chicago with Los Angeles. This meant that virtually all markets were now available to these businessmen. Products of greater quality and variety were also imported to the region. Always a commodity line, over its history in the Rio Grande Valley the D&RG carried ore, timber, livestock, fruit, and nuts. These enterprises never provided enough traffic or growth to make the line successful in the long term, even as they ultimately proved economically unsuccessful for the ranchers, miners, loggers and farmers themselves.[17] The Chili Line lived on until 1941, though it was declared bankrupt in 1935. It allowed marketers to come to the Pajarito Plateau and the ranchers/farmers go to the market centers to develop their business.[18] This would encourage some growth, but with its basis in these elements, the economy of the plateau would progress only slowly until the arrival of the Manhattan Project.

As was the case across the West, the boom and bust cycle of these various commodity enterprises did little to advance the local population in its economic participation with either state or national interests. Two trends can be observed. First, more of the local population, primarily Hispanos, left their traditional way of life of subsistence farming or ranching to become wage earners than previously. This was caused in great part by lower yields of the land through the degradation of intensive use and the new enterprises springing up in the area. Second, wealth was generated for the merchants that sold locals food and clothing or the required tools of a trade. Ultimately, the phenomena of wage labor and dependence on merchants for subsistence goods did nothing to ensure the economic viability of the plateau, and a long period of economic stagnation followed.[19]

Finally rebelling against these trends, a number of Hispano families pursued both legal and extralegal means to redress their grievances. In some parts of the state in the late ninteenth century, local Hispanos formed bands to intimidate Anglos or collaborating Hispanos. These were generally termed *Las Gorras Blancos* (The White Caps), and during this period they protested the situation in a number of communities, most notably Las Vegas, New Mexico.[20] Besides cultural differences, one of the largest factors inciting the conflict was competition for land.[21] Certainly a major factor in this was the acquisition of Span-

ish land grants by very skillful and manipulative Anglo interests. With the courts on their side and U.S. law not attuned to traditional Spanish and Mexican land use practices, they swallowed up enormous amounts of land in the territory. However, the participants and sides were not always obvious or clearly defined. Some Anglos wanted all lands declared public domain and therefore open to homesteading.[22] Other Anglos, such as Thomas Catron (later the state's first Senator), defended Hispano claims but took land for payment and eventually became some of the largest landowners in the country.[23] This was just one of many complex legal techniques used to move land ownership from the Hispano population to the more commercially based interests. These speculators changed forever the historic Hispano use of the land. The situation was complicated but in general, the large and powerful interests were always the victors.



Figure 62: Thomas Catron, 1913. Harris and Ewing, photographers. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Reproduction No. LC-H261-2350.

In an example specific to the Pajarito Plateau, members of the Sanchez family, long-term land owners on the plateau, decided to sue the owners of the Vigil Grant, Fletcher and Smith, for misuse of the land on the basis that only partial ownership had been transferred under their original agreement with the Sanchez family—three of eleven members of the family had not participated in the deal. In turn, Fletcher and Smith had leased all of the timber rights to Buckman.[24] This clearly shows the differences in perception between the Hispano and Anglo populations regarding land use and the laws governing it. Filed in 1900, the case dragged on for five years with many of the major political figures in New Mexico taking sides. The ruling in 1905 by the Supreme Court was against the Sanchez family and was based on U.S. legal precedent rather than Spanish or Mexican. The U.S. system stressed the importance of paying taxes to establish and maintain ownership rights, but the Spanish/Mexican system did not. The significance of the ruling was that the large commercial landowners were now the predominant force on the plateau. The subsistence homesteaders would never achieve the clout that could be brought to bear by this group.[25]

In 1909, a major shift occurred from the somewhat seasonal and almost migratory homesteading on the plateau—Judge Abbott of Santa Fe established a permanent ranch in Frijoles Canyon that he named the Ranch of the Ten Elders. It was noted that this was the first time the canyon had been occupied in many years, but period accounts relate the presence of old houses and corrals still present where "the old Indian foot trail leaves the cañon on the East side" that were remnants of the Hispano occupation of the canyon.[26] [27]

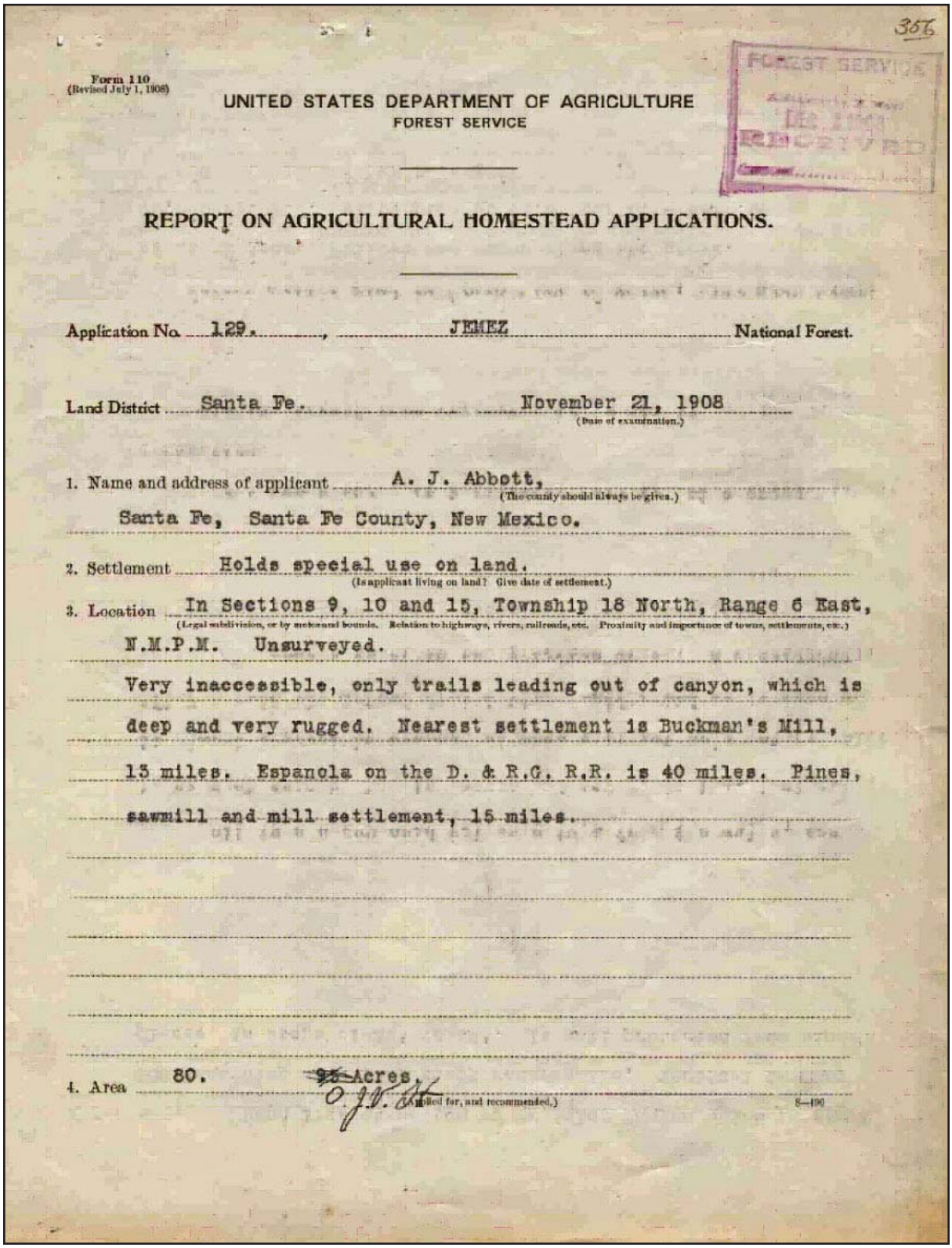
Abijah J. Abbott was born on a farm near West Milton, Ohio on August 14, 1842.[28] He spent his youth in Iowa, graduating from Iowa State University as a teacher in 1864. He married Ruth Barrington in 1865; they moved to Newton, Kansas in 1873 with their three children, George, Alice, and Clarence (their third son, Al-



Figure 63: Copy of Abbott Family photograph; Judge A.J. Abbott and his pack horse on the trail into Frijoles Canyon (unidentified source, date unknown).



Figure 64: Copy of an Abbott family photograph taken by Raymond Abbott at the Ranch of the Ten Elders July 17, 1914. Back row from left to right: Albert, Albert's wife Alice, A.J. Abbott, Ida Abbott, Louisa Abbott, Raymond's wife Cora, their daughter Jane, and Clarence Abbott. Middle row from left to right, Alice and Albert's daughter Ruth, Raymond and Cora's son Bob. Front row from left to right, Don Abbott and Alice and Albert's daughter Elizabeth (unidentified source).



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Form 110
(Revised July 1, 1908)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FOREST SERVICE

FOREST SERVICE
RECEIVED

REPORT ON AGRICULTURAL HOMESTEAD APPLICATIONS.

Application No. 129., JEMEZ National Forest.

Land District Santa Fe. November 21, 1908
(Date of examination.)

1. Name and address of applicant A. J. Abbott,
(The county should always be given.)
Santa Fe, Santa Fe County, New Mexico.

2. Settlement Holds special use on land.
(Is applicant living on land? Give date of settlement.)

3. Location In Sections 9, 10 and 15, Township 18 North, Range 6 East,
(Legal subdivision, or by metes and bounds. Relation to highways, rivers, railroads, etc. Proximity and importance of towns, settlements, etc.)
N.M.P.M. Unsurveyed.
Very inaccessible, only trails leading out of canyon, which is deep and very rugged. Nearest settlement is Buckman's Mill, 13 miles. Espanola on the D. & R.G. R.R. is 40 miles. Pines, sawmill and mill settlement, 15 miles.

4. Area 80. ~~95~~ Acres.
O.J.V.
(Applied for, and recommended.)
8—100

Figure 65a: Abbott homestead application file, 1908, page 1. Courtesy of the U.S. Forest Service (unidentified catalog reference).

5. Topography Land lies at bottom of Frijoles Canyon which is about
(Topography of tract applied for, and relation to surrounding territory. Topography should be considered particularly in its bearing on agricultural possibilities, altitude, slope, aspect, etc.)
500 feet deep with very steep rocky walls, vertical in many
places, in steps of 30' to 60'. Is well protected from winds.

6. Formation Soil is a decomposed volcanic tufa from the walls, seems
(Nature and extent of soil, rock, etc., particularly their influence on agricultural possibilities. Presence of water for irrigation and domestic use. Possibilities for developing water.)
to be rich enough, but is coarse and porous so that irrigation
is almost impossible because ditches will not hold water. Also
after a rain the ground drains very rapidly and so is soon dry
again. Permanent water in the Frijoles Creek. A considerable
portion of the land is too steep and rocky to cultivate.

7. Climate In wet years there is sufficient rain to raise crops without
(Precipitation, temperature, occurrence of killing frosts. Will it be possible to maintain a home throughout the year?)
irrigation.

Killing frosts from September 15 to May 15.

8. Cover Mature yellow pine on South side of creek, also good stand
(Nature and extent of cover, with estimate of amount and value. Accessibility and distance to market. Is cover needed for protective or scoring purposes?)
of black jack. Willows and aspen along the creek.

70,000 ft. B.M. yellow pine at $3.25 per M. = $227.50

600 [illegible]. Black jacks4" to 12"

8—490

Figure 65b: Abbott homestead application file, page 2. Courtesy of the U.S. Forest Service (unidentified catalog reference).

9. Claims This place was surveyed in February and June 1907 as a ran-
(Conflicting claims to land or existing improvements—by whom and on what grounds. Examiner is not to pass upon claims—merely to furnish all available information. Use in the past, and by what means. Existence of mining claims. Give any information available affecting qualifications of applicant to make a homestead entry. Show what improvements have been made, and their present state of repair.)

ger station and only thru discrepancies in survey and an over-
sight in Santa Fe Office, was not withdrawn at that time. When
special use was granted to A.J.Abbott it was supposed to be with
drawn, and just recently was discovered not to be. Improvements
small round stone house, log cabin and 5 acres of cleared & cul-
tivated fields, all made by Mexican settlers.

10. Economic possibilities Poor, not sufficient land to warrant an agricul-
(Reasons for application, and opinion as to success of applicant's plans. State fully agricultural possibilities. Value, if any, to Forest Service for Rangers' Quarters or other administrative purposes. If withdrawal of tract for administrative use is desired, submit separate report on Form 271. Distance and market price per acre of near-by farms. Transportation facilities.)

tural settlement, and do not believe applicant could make a liv-
ing except by grazing considerable stock which is not possible
on this area either. Is badly needed by Forest Service as a
Ranger Station. No other place near available with permanent
water. No farms near. Forty miles to railroad by mountain
roads and two miles of poor trail.

11. Recommendations That this claim be withdrawn as a Ranger Station,
(Specific recommendation for or against listing of land, with summary of reasons for recommendation.)

as it is badly needed as such, has the only available permanent
water near, and only by an oversight was not withdrawn a year
ago. Do not think applicant can make a living on it by agri-
culture and suppose he wants it for a summer resort. Finally,
it contains extensive ruins of ancient Indian Pueblos, Kivas,
and Cliff Dweller Caves, the former partly excavated by Prof.
Hewitt last summer, which cannot be eliminated from the claim
and are altogether too valuable to pass from the hands of the
United States to a private party.

12. Photographs
(Give numbers of negatives which go with this report. Photographs should be taken in adverse cases of doubt.)

John V. Hubbard.
(Signature of examining officer.)

Land Examiner.
(Title.)

Approved ....., 190 .

(In charge, Examinations.)

Approved ....., 190 .

Chief, Office of Occupancy.

S—490

Figure 65c: Abbott homestead application file, page 3. Courtesy of the U.S. Forest Service (unidentified catalog reference).

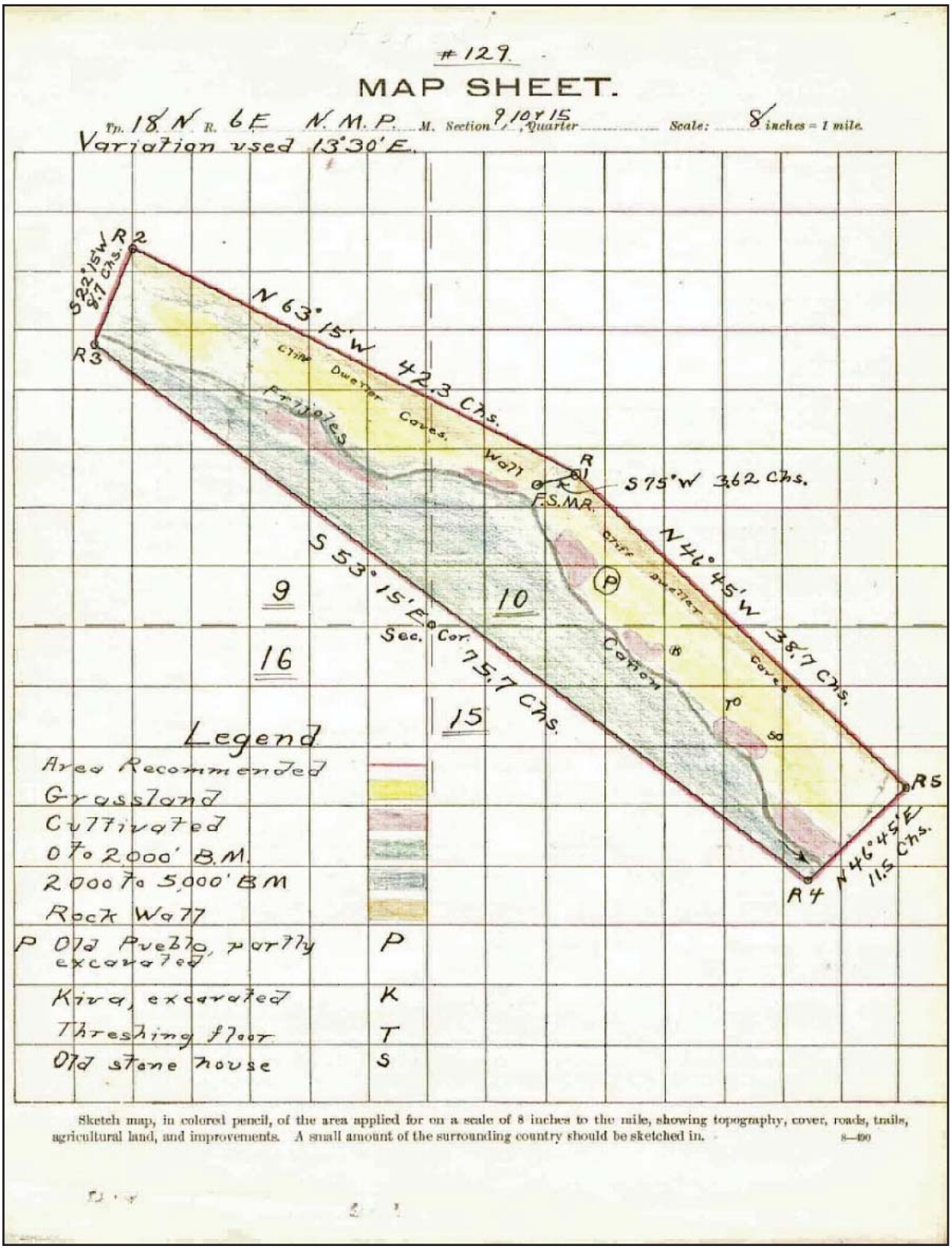


Figure 65d: Abbott homestead application file, page 4. Courtesy of the U.S. Forest Service (unidentified catalog reference).



Figure 66: Ranch of the Ten Elders, photograph by George Grant, September 1934. Davenport Collection, Bandelier National Monument Catalog No. 14019, Image No. 02093A.



Figure 67: Interior of the Ranch of the Ten Elders ca. 1922-1925. Note the turkey design on the curtains that would become an important motif under the CCC. Davenport Collection, Bandelier National Monument.

bert, wasn't born until 1883 and there were ultimately four sons and three daughters). Abijah tried his hand at farming while continuing to teach, but eventually gave up farming to practice law. As a prosecuting attorney, he struggled to enforce prohibition law, and Ruth eventually convinced him to move to Garden City, Kansas after his life was threatened on numerous occasions. There he again took up farming but found himself giving legal aid to numerous friends and so reestablished his practice and was eventually was appointed judge of the 27th Judicial District in southwestern Kansas.

After three terms, Judge Abbott decided to move to Trinidad, Colorado to practice law and did so in 1896. He then moved the family to Santa Fe in 1901 in order to form a law partnership with his son, Clarence, who had been appointed U.S. District Attorney. Judge Abbott was soon appointed U.S. Attorney for the Pueblos and held the position for eight years, gaining a reputation for balance and fairness.[29]

Ruth died in 1903; he remarried in 1905 to a woman named Ida Patton. By coincidence, his other son was a ranger for the USFS. The son had visited Frijoles Canyon and been taken by its beauty. After the whole family visited the site and fell in love with the area, he urged his father to obtain permission to build there. The Abbotts applied for title to the land under the Homestead Act of 1906 but were never granted it.[30] They submitted several applications, and the reasoning used to deny each of them centered on the archaeological sites and preserving the canyon for public camping to access them. However, the Abbots were allowed to return under a special use permit in part because of the improvements they had undertaken at the site and their willingness to further develop the site for "resort purposes," but also because of the Judge's prominence and his son's position with the USFS.[31] Coincidentally, the first federal structure in the monument, a USFS ranger station, was erected in close proximity to their ranch buildings. The Ranch of the Ten Elders was established in Frijoles Canyon in 1909, and A.J. and Ida lived there until 1919. During that time they hosted visitors to the canyon and became well known amongst them. When Bandelier National Monument was established in 1916, the ranch became the



Figure 68: Stone guest cabins at the Ranch of the Ten Elders ca. 1923-1925. Davenport Collection, Bandelier National Monument.

first lodge. The Abbotts moved back to Santa Fe in 1919, building a house at 161 Federal Place.

Judge Abbott passed away on May 24th, 1929. He and Ida are buried in Fairview Cemetery in Santa Fe. He was remembered as a gentle, kind, thoughtful man, and his upstanding character shows in the advice he gave at age 80 as his rules for longevity:

1. Not a thimbleful of whiskey at any time.
2. One-half cigar smoked in 80 years.
3. Fresh air life for hours each day in the open, rain or shine.
4. Plenty of hard work- but not to the point of exhaustion, for that work strains the heart.
5. Keep cheerful.

The tradition of providing food and lodging for visitors to the canyon was expanded by subsequent owners. John and M.J. Boyd purchased the property in 1919 CE. Little is known about the few years they owned the ranch, but it is known that they built a series of seven stone guest cabins.[32] In 1923 CE, they sold the ranch to Robert J. Reed. The Bill of Sale describes the property as 101 acres in the bottom of Frijoles Canyon with a main house, seven stone cabins, eight tent houses, stables, a chicken house, and toilets as well as fences and irrigation ditches. Also included in the sale was a warehouse in Buckman, a telephone line from the main house to the Pankey Pumping Station on the Rio Grande and the telephone line from the main house to the Ranger Station in Frijoles Canyon.

Reed ran the ranch with his wife, Susie Davenport, and her brother, John Davenport. Robert and John took guests on hunting and pack trips while Susie managed the lodge with the help of a cook, Joe Vigil. Dick Boyd, grandson of John

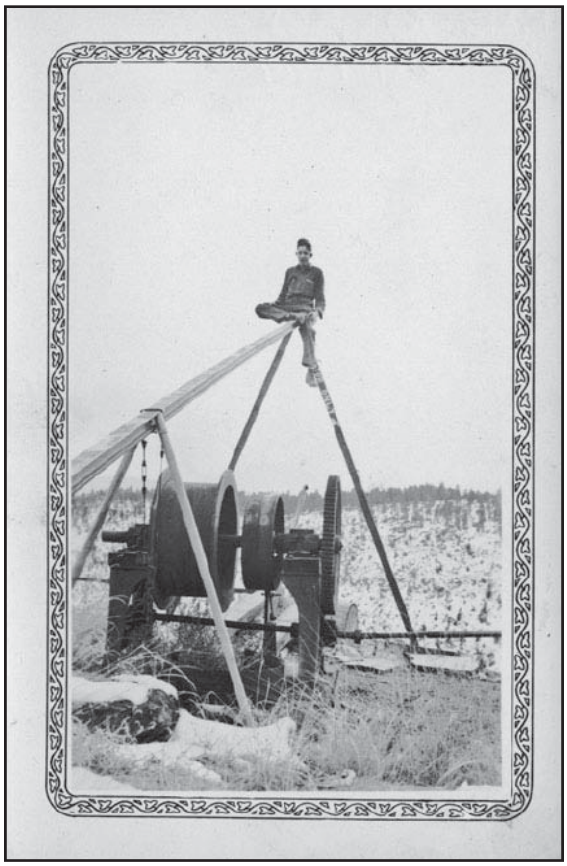


Figure 69: Head of the Frey tram on the rim of Frijoles Canyon, ca. 1933-1941. McAllister Collection Bandelier National Monument Archive. Catalog No. 18901.

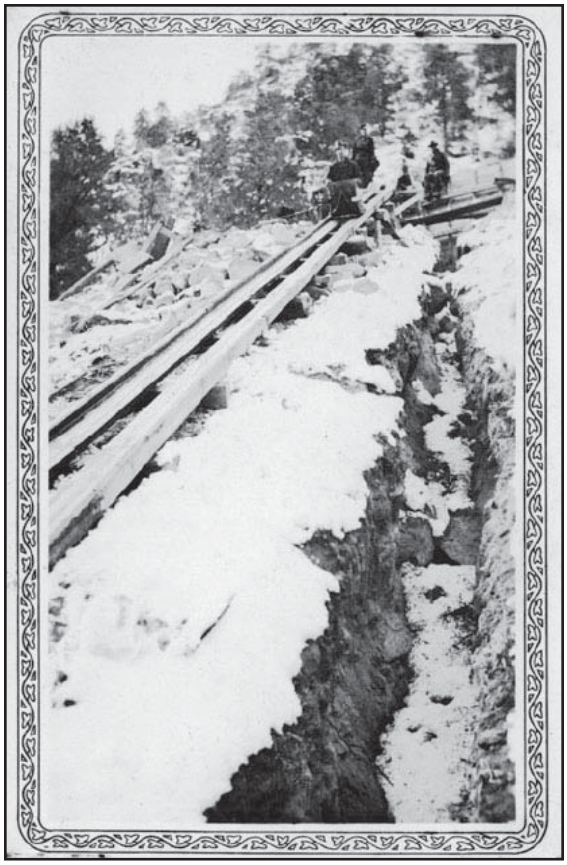


Figure 70: Rail of Frey tram descending Frijoles Canyon, ca. 1933-1941. McAllister Collection, Bandelier National Monument Archive. Catalog No. 18901.

Boyd, operated a stage from Santa Fe to the rim of Frijoles to shuttle guests and bring in supplies. The Davenports were good friends of George and Evelyn Frey, who purchased the ranch from them in 1925 CE. For the visitor willing to descend the steep trail into the canyon and receive their supplies by the Freys' mountain tram, the area must have seemed remote in the extreme.

The ranch played an important role in the early development of tourism and research at Bandelier National Monument. Abbott functioned as archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett's watchman before the government formally acquired the property, and the Freys continued this, providing the only source of hospitality in the canyon for many years and eventually managing the successor CCC-built lodge. Certainly these facilities hosted some of the key archaeologists of the day, including Hewett and A.V. Kidder, along with dignitaries making the trek to the canyon. Rothman also observes that based on Abbott's standing in all three New Mexican communities, Anglo, Hispano, and Native American, Hewett benefited by the association with Abbott. Today, little remains of the ranch complex, but this settlement proved an important transformational step in the development of visitor facilities at Bandelier National Monument.

An industry that would prove more enduring in New Mexico, film, saw its first enterprise when the Pajarito Plateau and Rio Grande gorge at the site of Buckman served as the setting of a major motion picture, *The Light That Failed*, in 1939 CE.[33] Starring Ronald Colman, Walter Huston, and Ida Lupino, the film portrayed the Mahdi Revolt in the Sudan against the British in 1883. Notably, more than six hundred Pueblo actors were made up as Africans and the Rio Grande was dammed to make it look more like the formidable Nile in flood.[34] A new land use had made its appearance on the Pajarito Plateau.

As the pressure on the plateau built from all of the activities seeking to exploit its perceived economic potential, the awareness of a completely different world also grew. As the plateau was reluctantly pulled into the Industrial Age, another interest in the region began to be seen as important by a wide variety of local and national groups—the ancient world of the Ancestral Pueblos.

The Early Archaeologists (1880 - 1945 CE)

The development of the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology started in the late 1800s. Initially considered avocations, these fields became established as viable professions in the early twentieth century. This period also saw initial scientific understandings of site formation processes, stratigraphy, dendrochronology, and other principles; most of these early scientific methods and theoretical approaches have been refined over time.

The Southwest was the scene of many of these early advances, and the progress in the discipline that occurred here was central to the establishment of American archaeology as a whole.[35] An emphasis on fieldwork as a part of formal training, public education, the creation of site museums, the partial reconstruction of ruins, and campfire talks all saw their inception in the

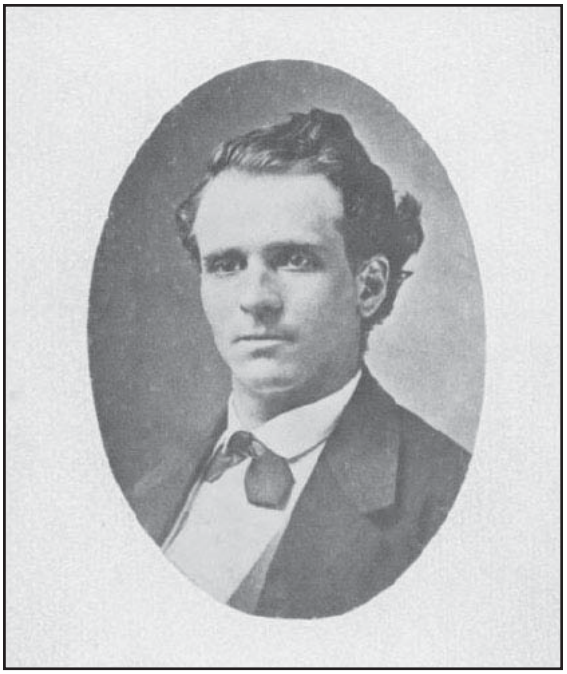


Figure 71: Bandelier as a young man, ca. 1860. Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 24759.

region. Three figures—Adolf F. Bandelier, Edgar Lee Hewett, and Harry P. Mera made important contributions to the discipline through their work on the Pajarito Plateau.

Adolf F. A. Bandelier (1840 - 1914 CE)

Adolf F. A. Bandelier was a Swiss-American anthropologist, historian, and archaeologist who was one of the first to study the native peoples of the American Southwest as well as those of Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru. He collected a great deal of ethnographic information on Cochiti Pueblo that is of great use today in identifying ancestral Cochiti sites within the boundaries of Bandelier National Monument. He was one of the first Anglos to visit Frijoles Canyon and it was his writings describing the Pajarito Plateau and its wealth of archaeological sites that first drew Edgar Lee Hewett and others to the area.[36]

He was born in Bern, Switzerland on August 6, 1840 to Adolphe Eugene Bandelier, a lawyer and politician, and Marie Senn, a Russian aristocrat. His family immigrated to the United States, settling in the Swiss immigrant community of Highland, Illinois in 1848. There, his father bought interest in a general store in Highland, but in 1854 became a partner in the newly founded F. Ryhines and Company Bank. A younger brother, Emil Frederick, was born in Highland, and Maria Senn died there in 1855 .

In 1857, Bandelier's father sent him back to Bern, where he studied geology. He then returned to Highland, where he married the daughter of one of the bank partners, Josephine Huegy, in 1861. She traveled with him when he returned to Switzerland in 1865, and they remained there through 1867 while he studied law at the University of Bern. Upon their return to Highland, Bandelier assisted at his father's bank and participated in the life of the community, including giving lectures on such subjects as meteorology. He became a U.S. citizen in November of 1877. It was through his friend and pioneering cultural anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan that Bandelier became interested in ethnology and history. Bandelier's friendship with Morgan lasted until Morgan's death in 1881, and it was during the four years of their friendship that Bandelier formed his theoretical preconceptions and did much of his documentary work. Some scholars believe that without Morgan, Bandelier might not have followed his intellectual pursuits, or certainly would have achieved much less.[37]

Bandelier also was involved in more of his father's ventures, including a foundry and the Confidence Coal Mine. He did not enjoy this type of work, and some authors attribute the strain of maintaining his father's businesses while attempting to follow his own intellectual pursuits as the reason behind the nervous breakdown he suffered in 1880.[38] He wrote to Morgan, asking him to find some project he could work on that would take him away from his other duties, and Morgan obliged. Though Morgan hoped to use Bandelier's Spanish skills to accomplish research on Aztec social organization, most of Bandelier's work would be done in the American Southwest. It was through Morgan that Bandelier was first introduced to Harvard scholar Charles Elliot Norton and historian Francis Parkman, two of the founders of the newly formed Archaeological Institute of America (AIA). It was the AIA that funded his first research project, which took him to New Mexico.[39]

Bandelier's first assignment was archaeological and historical research at Pecos Pueblo. He then attempted to work at Santo Domingo Pueblo, but his lack of tact swiftly wore out his welcome, and he turned to Cochiti Pueblo, where he found the people to be more welcoming. He recorded several stories, myths, and legends there, and it was during this time at Cochiti Pueblo that he explored the Pajarito Plateau, together with a Cochiti guide, Juan José Montoya. Several trips were made on horseback to various archaeological sites near Cochiti Pueblo, many of which his guide affirmed were places the Cochiti people had inhabited in the past. It was on October 23, 1880 CE, that Juan José took him to Tyuonyi Pueblo in Frijoles Canyon, in the area that would eventually be-

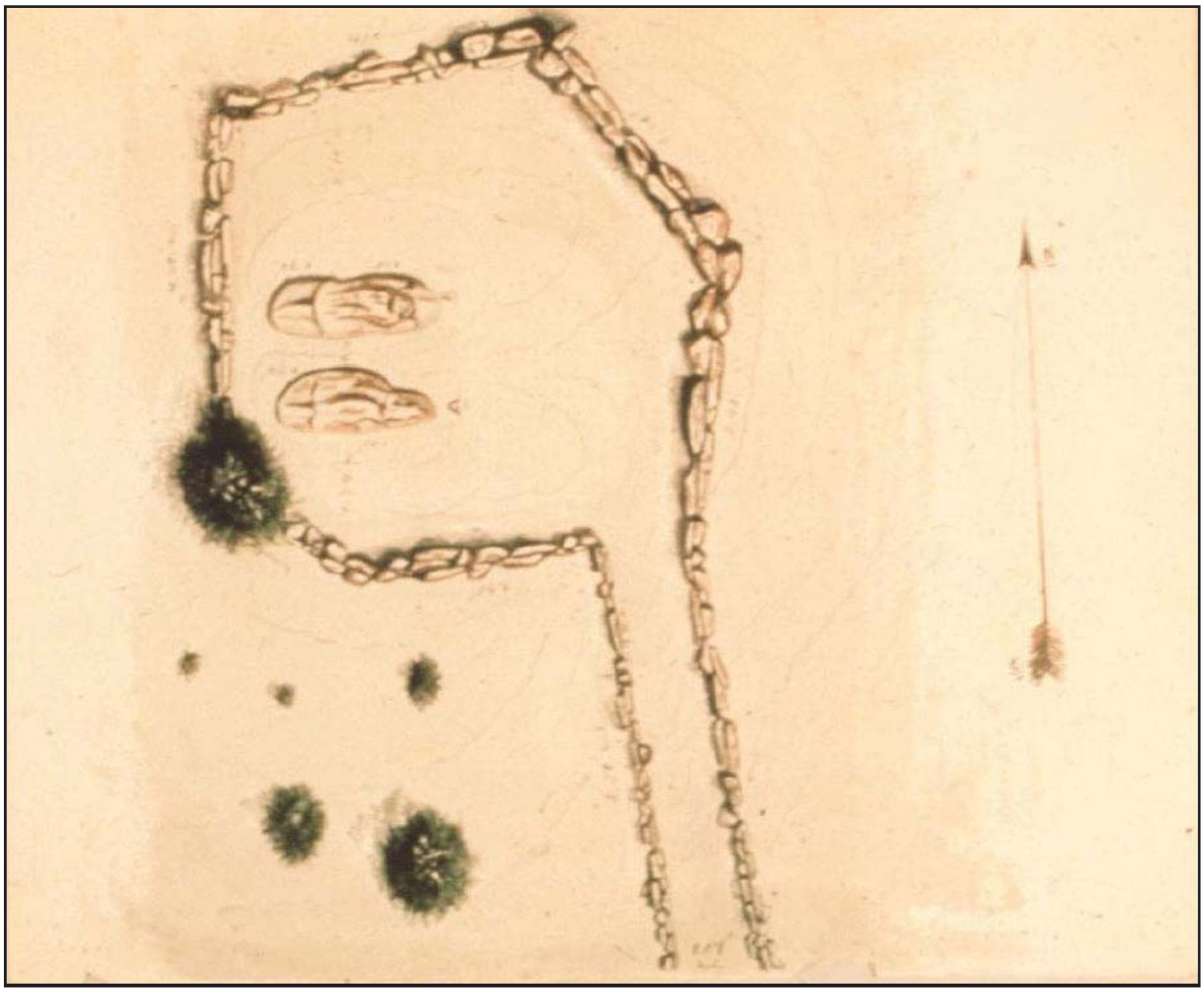


Figure 72: Sketch of the Shrine of the Stone Lions in Bandelier National Monument by Adolf Bandelier, 1880. Digital Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

come the park that bears his name. In his journal, Bandelier wrote, "About 4 P.M. the border of the almost precipitous descent into the Cañon de los Frijoles was reached, and it took one-half hour to descend—on foot, of course. The grandest thing I ever saw."[40] Bandelier subsequently spent more time on the Pajarito Plateau, making drawings and reporting on the archaeological sites.

The site of Tyuonyi and the setting of Frijoles Canyon made such an impression on Bandelier that he used them for the setting of a novel begun three years later that he titled *The Delight Makers*. Based on what Bandelier learned in his time at Cochiti Pueblo, the book is a work of fiction, but one he intended to be firmly grounded in scientific facts and meant to convey to the readers information on the archaeology, geology, and ethnography of the region. Even though Bandelier himself described it as a "romance," one of its main goals was to dispel the romantic image of Indians as put forth in contemporary literature such as James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*. It was published serially between January and May of 1890 CE in Germany as *Die Koshare* in the *Belletristiches Journal*. Bandelier subsequently translated it into English, and it was published as the full volume.

The Delight Makers is a significant work for several reasons. Though it was never the financial success Bandelier hoped for, it is the first full-length novel written about Pueblo Indians and remains one of the best published descriptions of the antics of the Pueblo ritual clowns. Bab-

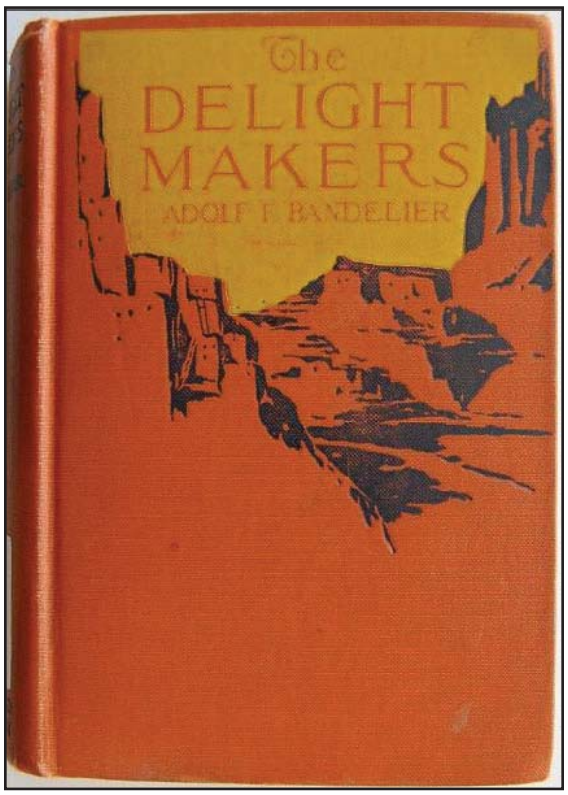


Figure 73: The original cover of *The Delight Makers*, first published in 1890. Photograph by Crossett Library, Bennington College.

cock describes the clowns as "among the most powerful of ritual personages, mediating between the worlds of the spirits and the living, controlling weather and fertility, and associated both with curing and with warfare, given punitive and policing functions, particularly against witches, and in fact managing and supervising many of the ceremonies they appear to disrupt."[41] Bandelier himself was somewhat horrified by what he perceived as unimaginably lewd and disgusting acts on the part of the clowns, and Babcock goes on to suggest that the prominent role of the clowns in *The Delight Makers* was one way Bandelier came to terms with the sacred Koshare. She observes that the novel is unique for its concern with "how ritual clowns are regarded from the native point of view."[42]

Adolf Bandelier's work in the Southwest was interspersed with efforts in other parts of the Americas. On subsequent trips, he explored the Salinas area, the Rio Grande Valley, Zuni (where he met early anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing), and southern Arizona. In the end, Bandelier visited almost all the Rio Grande pueblos and documented hundreds of archaeological sites in New Mexico, Arizona and northern Mexico.[43]

In 1884 CE, family troubles interrupted his travels when father's bank faltered, finally collapsing in 1885 CE. Warrants were issued for the arrest of the three partners, including Bandelier's father, and for Bandelier himself as someone known to have been involved with the activities of the bank. The elder Bandelier fled the country for Venezuela before he could be arrested, and Bandelier's brother-in-law and good friend, Maurice Huegy, committed suicide. Bandelier was arrested, though eventually he was let go on bond and his case never came to trial. Lingering anger in the community and the discomfort of being in Highland was probably behind Adolf and Josephine's subsequent move to Santa Fe, where they remained for the next seven years.

Bandelier's work for the Archaeological Institute of America had concluded in 1885; he joined the Hemenway Southwest Archaeological Expedition in 1886 CE. Bandelier's ever authoritarian father returned to the United States in 1888 CE, coming to Santa Fe to be with Adolf and Josephine. He was unrepentant and unapologetic for abandoning his son and bank partners, and relations were rocky. When Bandelier and Josephine traveled to Peru to conduct archaeological research funded by financier Henry Villard and *Century* magazine, Bandelier's father remained behind. He attempted to join them in South America, but when they refused, he returned to Switzerland and later died there.

Sadly, Josephine passed away while the couple was in Peru, dying on December 11, 1892 CE. Bandelier proposed to Fanny Ritter, the daughter of the family they were lodging with, on Christmas Day of the same year. This unseemly haste had apparently been blessed by Josephine on her death bed, and a yearlong engagement served to ameliorate the speed of the proposal.[44] The American Museum of Natural History took over Bandelier's contract in 1894 CE, and he worked for the museum, as a lec-

turer in Spanish-American literature at Columbia University, and eventually for the Carnegie Institution of Washington to conduct research first in Mexico and then in Spain. Fanny took a much greater role in his work than Josephine had, helping to translate documents and reading and writing for him for a period between 1909 and 1911 CE when cataracts rendered him almost completely blind. Bandelier died while in Spain on March 18, 1914 CE. Fanny finished compiling and transcribing the documents they had been working on, and delivered their work herself. Despite her close involvement in his research, she never saw New Mexico. Bandelier's longtime admirer, Edgar Lee Hewett, sent financial assistance to Fanny after Bandelier's death, and arranged for the School of American Research to pay the rent on Bandelier's *osario* in Seville's Catholic cemetery.[45]

In a curious postscript to Bandelier's life, his remains were shipped from Seville, Spain to New Mexico sixty-two years after his death. David Noble, Associate Director of the Santa Fe Anthropological Association and Douglas Schwartz and the rest of the Board of Directors at the School of American Research were unanimously in favor of reburial at Bandelier National Monument. The NPS opposed this plan and wanted him buried at the School of American Research, stating that 1) Bandelier National Monument was not created to commemorate Bandelier, 2) any plaque would set an undesirable precedent, 3) Bandelier's main accomplishments as an anthropologist took place in other locations, and 4) it would be against NPS policy to bury someone outside the grounds of an established cemetery.[46] Only Ernest Alan Connally, Associate Director of Historic Properties for



Figure 74: Adolf Bandelier and Fanny Ritter Bandelier. Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, New York Public Library published July 2004, Digital ID 1104636.

the National Park Service favored burying the remains at the monument. It is unknown what ultimately swayed the opinion of NPS management, but it may have been a compromise based on an agreement to cremate Bandelier's remains. In the end, Bandelier's ashes were scattered at an undisclosed location in the park by the following participants: Superintendent John Hunter; Chief Ranger Kevin McKibbin; Southwest Regional Chief of Interpretation Dan Murphy; Charles Lange (Bandelier biographer); and Doug Schwartz (director of the Santa Fe School of American Research also referred to as the School of American Archaeology). The ashes were scattered on October 16, 1980, four years after Bandelier's remains were returned to New Mexico.

From an anthropological perspective, Adolf Bandelier was one of the first cultural anthropologists to utilize the technique of participant observation, relying heavily on ethnographic analogy and history for his highly descriptive narratives. In this regard, he had much in common with other early ethnographers and archaeologists, including Jesse Walter Fewkes and Frank Hamilton Cushing.[47] In contrast to Edgar Lee Hewett, Bandelier was not swayed by political motives to argue that the connection between past inhabitants of the plateau and modern pueblos was tenuous. In remaining true to the evidence presented by his data from Cochiti Pueblo, he was also consistent with the tenets of the direct historical approach then being championed by early pioneers of cultural anthropology such as Franz Boas.

The work of early ethnographers is often criticized for its lack of consistency, their choices of what or what not to investigate or record, and the lack of sensitivity with which many researchers approached their subjects. Bandelier's research is no exception, but his journals are among the few first-hand accounts of the pueblos for the period. And, as Lange points out, "He readily perceived that ethnography had a definite contribution to make and an important role to play in the interpretation of archaeological evidence and the compilation of culture history."[48]

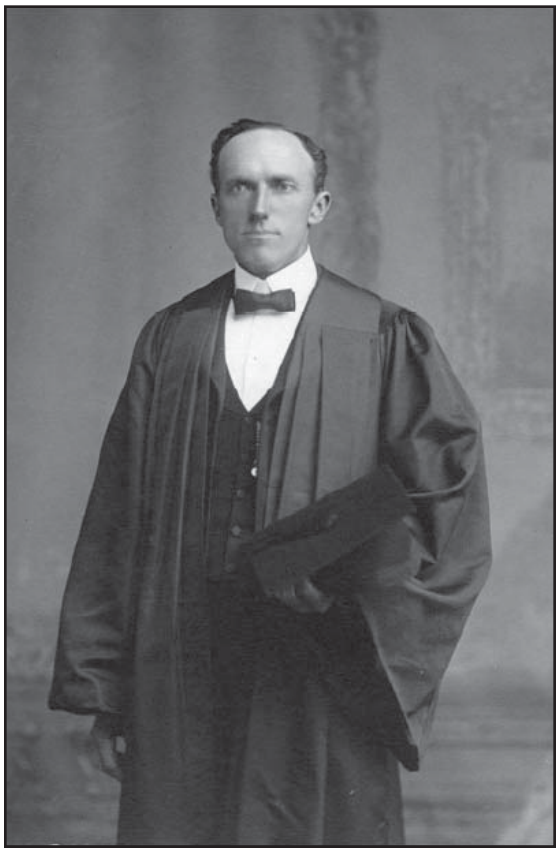


Figure 75: Edgar Lee Hewett, 1898. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 007324.

Edgar Lee Hewett (1865 - 1946 CE)

Edgar Lee Hewett is perhaps best known for his part in bringing about the Antiquities Act, as well as being the founder and first director of the Museum of New Mexico and the first president of the New Mexico Normal School, now New Mexico Highlands University. He also had a significant role in the formation of Bandelier National Monument and Chaco Culture National Historical Park. While he did not write extended professional reports on his archaeological investigations and tended to let political motives drive his interpretations of his data, he also fostered the education of many well-regarded professional anthropologists and archaeologists who went on to make substantive contributions to their fields. Many gained their first experience in archaeological fieldwork excavating for him on the Pajarito Plateau



Figure 76: Edgar L. Hewett at the Normal School, Greeley, Colorado, 1898. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 030977.

at what were essentially the first archaeological field schools in the country. Much of his archaeological fieldwork was conducted on the Pajarito Plateau, and it was his connection to the plateau that inspired his work to foster the Antiquities Act and Bandelier National Monument. Indeed, it was he who gave the plateau its name. The excavations he conducted there are significant partly because they set a standard whereby fieldwork supplemented the theory taught by academics as part of an archaeological education, and also because the excavations were the first large scale archaeological efforts on the plateau.

Edgar Lee Hewett's Scottish father, Harvey Hanson Hewett, married his German Scots-Irish mother, Tabitha Stice, in Illinois in 1851 CE. Edgar was the youngest of their five children, born November 23, 1865 CE. The family farmed while he was a young boy, but moved to Chicago in 1873 when his father joined a commission house (an early form of brokerage) enterprise. The venture eventually suffered heavy losses due to the "rascality" of one of the partners, and the family moved to Hopkins, Missouri in 1880 CE.[49] The family was never wealthy, and Hewett worked his way through high school and college, attending Tarkio College to earn his pedagogy degree.

Hewett worked first as a country teacher between 1884 and 1886 CE, then as a professor of literature and history at Tarkio, moving on to be superintendent of schools in Fairfax, Missouri in 1889 CE. There, he met Cora E. Whitford, another teacher, and the two were married September 16, 1891 CE.



Figure 77: Pueblo ruin on Puye Mesa in 1919. Figure 107.93 published in "The Proposed Park of the Cliff Cities, Report of Herbert W. Gleason. Part III". Bandelier National Monument Catelog No. 12814.



Figure 78: Pueblo workman excavating Tyuonyi for Edgar Lee Hewett, 1908. Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 14172, Image #01274A.

Contemporary accounts describe Cora as "weak," often a euphemism for tuberculosis, and doctors advised the couple to try the drier air of a western climate.[50] They moved first to Florence, Colorado, where Hewett served as superintendent of schools, then to Greeley, Colorado, where he worked as the superintendent of the training department at the new State Normal School. It was there that he discovered the writings of Bandelier and read them avidly. His interest in the Southwest inspired, he and Cora began exploring in a horse-drawn camp wagon. It was on one such expedition that Hewett, inspired by Bandelier's writings and guided by four Tewa men, came to know and love the Pajarito Plateau.[51] When the chance came to move to northern New Mexico as the first president and professor of anthropology and archaeology at the Normal University in Las Vegas, New Mexico (now New Mexico Highlands University), Hewett took it, and the school opened its doors in 1898 CE. From Las Vegas, it was only a short journey to Santa Fe and the Pajarito Plateau beyond.

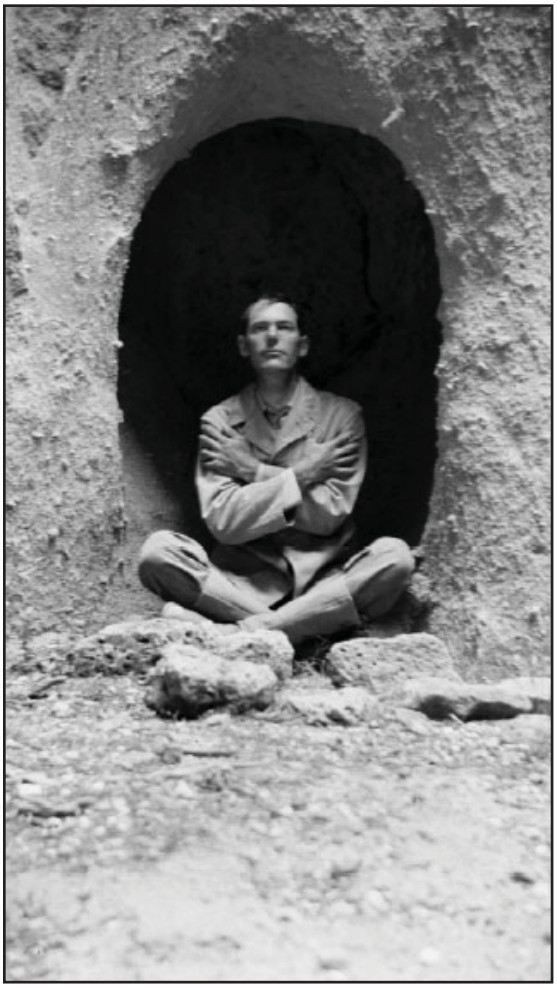


Figure 79: Kenneth Chapman in a cavate in Frijoles Canyon, 1915. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 028141.

Fascinated by the archaeological sites of the plateau and sensing an opportunity to leave his mark on Southwestern archaeology, Hewett devoted himself to the study of the area to such a degree that he has been described as a driven man seeking to make the Pajarito Plateau his exclusive domain.[52] In the interest of ensuring that the cultural resources of the region and other areas of the Southwest remained available for study yet protected from the extensive looting taking place during this period, Hewett turned his energy towards a political solution, working with legislators to pass a law to protect the country's antiquities.[53] In 1903 CE, he spent two weeks guiding Iowa Congressman John F. Lacey to various ruins on horseback, raising Lacey's interest in the sites and gaining his commitment to legislation to protect them.[54] After many attempts by others to create such a bill, it was Hewett's draft, written in 1906 CE and introduced by Lacey, which was approved by Congress and signed into law as the Antiquities Act of 1906 by President Roosevelt. Hewett was widely considered to have been a major force in its passage, which added considerably to his prestige and ambitions.

It was during this period that Hewett began occasional trips to Washington, D.C. in a pattern that would continue for the next decade. There he met explorer John Wesley Powell, Peabody Museum ethnologist Alice Cunningham Fletcher, archaeologist William H. Holmes, and archaeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes. The list of those he admired and counted among his early influences reads like a who's who of early anthropologists and other scholars, including Lewis Henry Morgan, Daniel Brinton, Frederic Ward Putnam, Adolf Bandelier, and Charles Lummis, as well as "Bartlett, Jackson, Simpson, and Marcy; Washington Matthews and James Stevenson (both army surgeons); Cushing, Hough, Hodge, Pepper, Pruden and Winship; Nordenskiold and the



Figure 80: Participants in Hewett's field school in 1910 CE. Back, left to right: W.W. Robbins, Donald Beauregard, J.P. Harrington, F.W. Hodge, Edgar Lee Hewett, Neil Judd, Maude Woy, Barbara Freire-Marreco. Front, left to right: Sylvanus Morley, Kenneth Chapman, Percy Adams, Jesse Nusbaum, Nathan Goldsmith, Junius Henderson. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 81918.

Mindeleff brothers."[55] In addition to providing Hewett with an opportunity to meet influential players involved in the young fields of archaeology and ethnology, his time in Washington D.C. also educated him on the complexities of the politics surrounding management of land and resources in the west. The political climate was such in the U.S. Congress that it was relatively receptive to bills protecting the country's natural resources, and private groups and institutions were quick to submit bills and lobby toward archaeological conservation.

In his capacity as a professor at the Normal University, Hewett had used student crews for preliminary excavations at Pecos Pueblo, and took them to the Pajarito Plateau to conduct mapping and excavations at Puye Pueblo and Frijoles Canyon. In an echo of the broader national debate on the role of fieldwork versus classroom learning in the young discipline of archaeology, some members of the university's board of regents were adamantly against Hewett's teaching methods, and his contract was not renewed after the end of the five year term.[56] Hewett realized that if he wanted to advance in the field of archaeology and establish enough clout to truly have an impact on future preservation efforts he needed the professional credentials of a degreed archaeologist and turned his energies towards that goal. Failing to obtain a research assistantship at the Carnegie Institution and unable to consider study at Harvard because of Cora's health, he went to Switzerland to earn his doctorate at the University of Geneva in 1903. His graduate work took him five years, and he received his degree in 1908. Hewett began his fieldwork in New Mexico during this period as well.

Cora passed away in 1905 CE, and perhaps in an effort to cope with this loss, Hewett traveled widely in 1905 and 1906 CE both in the Southwest and abroad.[57] He recruited students from Harvard (including Alfred V. Kidder and Sylvanus Morley, both of whom went on to distinguished archaeological careers in their own right) to conduct surveys in Colorado with the

goal of establishing boundaries for the proposed Mesa Verde National Park. Hewett began excavations, first at Puye in 1907, at Tyuonyi in 1908, then at other sites in Frijoles Canyon in 1909 and 1910 CE. Snead suggests that Hewett chose to work in Frijoles in part because of the hospitality available from his friend and supporter Judge Abbott and his wife Ida at their Ranch of the Ten Elders, and in part because the Santa Fe Archaeological Society had facilitated construction of a road to within reasonable proximity to the canyon.[58]

Hewett's field schools employed many of the best Southwestern archaeologists of the day. Permanent employees included Sylvanus Morley, Jesse Nusbaum, Kenneth Chapman, Percy Adams, and Adolf Bandelier (who did documentary research remotely and did not actually teach).[59] The schools launched the careers of many of the twentieth century Southwest's archaeologists and ethnographers. In addition to those already mentioned, Earl H. Morris and Neil Judd also worked with Hewett during Hewett's earlier field schools.[60] Other students included Bertha Dutton, Marjorie Furgeson Lambert, Elsie Clews Parsons, Arthur J. O. Anderson, Paul Reiter, Alfred M. Tozzer, and Reginald Fisher.[61] Ethnologist Barbara Freire-Marreco, archaeologist Donald Beauregard, and linguist J. P. Harrington were other attendants.[62] Hewett also made use of local labor; a Tewa crew from San Ildefonso and Santa Clara did much of the actual excavation work at Tyuonyi and the talus pueblos during Hewett's 1910 CE field season.[63]

In addition to students of archaeology planning to be professionals, Hewett also opened the field schools to other interested participants and provided demonstrations and lectures open to the general public. While Hewett was careful to maintain good relations with his local supporters of the field school, the public nature of it left it open to criticism from other archaeologists and members of the general public. In addition to more personal attacks, the primary complaint, voiced by eminent anthropologist Franz Boas, was that "in appealing to a public audience, he was hindering the professional development



Figure 81: Edgar Lee Hewett at his desk in the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, 1912 CE. Photograph by Jesse Nusbaum. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archive (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 007329.



Figure 82: Maria and Julian Martinez ca. 1920's-1930's. Bandelier National Monument Catelog No. 14335.



Figure 83: Pueblo potters at the 1915 Panama California Exposition in San Diego, California, 1915. Maria Martinez is in the center. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 001485.



Figure 84: Edgar Lee Hewett at the entrance to the Museum of Fine Art in Santa Fe ca. 1920 CE. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archive (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 028851.

of anthropology."[64] Opposition among other East Coast academics such as Harvard's Alfred Tozzer became entrenched as well.[65]

Hewett became involved in various New Mexico organizations, and in the state's politics, during this time. The American Institute of Archaeology, the same entity that funded Bandelier's initial work, appointed Hewett as director of its research branch in the Americas, analogous to programs the organization had managed in Greece, Italy, and the Orient. He was assisted by a committee of three scholars he had met in Washington—Fletcher, Holmes, and Fewkes. Under Hewett's leadership, the AIA reached an agreement with the New Mexico legislature, and the new School of American Archaeology was granted permission to work out of the old Palace of the Governors building. After intense lobbying by friends and advocates of Hewett, the legislature also created the Museum of New Mexico as an entity of the territorial government and named Hewett as director.

As part of his interest in the arts, Hewett became active in native arts revival efforts, actively encouraged potters at San Ildefonso to produce pottery of as high a quality as that he was finding at archaeological sites. These efforts led him to make the acquaintance of Maria Martinez and her husband Julian, both potters at San Ildefonso and proficient in making polychrome pottery. He suggested the task of replicating the ceramics he was seeing at sites in Frijoles Canyon and vicinity, and it was during their efforts towards this end that they developed a distinctive black-on-black pottery style. Today, original works by either of these ceramicists command fine art prices, and work in this style has become a significant cottage industry among the Tewa at San Ildefonso and Santa Clara Pueblos.

Hewett also supported the efforts of young San Ildefonso men such as Alfred Montoya, who were producing the first watercolor paintings of ritual dances from the Pueblo. While his support of Native artists would appear to contradict the federal government push for assimilation of Native groups at the time that discouraged practice of their arts, religions, and languages,

Hewett viewed his efforts to solicit objects from Native artists as an extension of his anthropological work. Traugott suggests Hewett and his colleagues viewed these activities as "visual ethnography" and did not consider the Pueblo artists to be on par with those in the contemporary Anglo arts community.[66] As an example, Traugott juxtaposes Hewett's commission of a series of watercolors depicting the San Ildefonso Pueblo ritual cycle from Crescencio Martinez with his failure to include a single Native or Hispanic artist in the group of thirty eight he selected for the first exhibition of the New Mexico Museum of Art in November of 1917 CE. "The implication was clear: only European Americans made art, and the door to the museum was open to them."[67] Hewett should certainly be judged according to the standards of his day in this, but the general consensus is that his role in fostering Native arts is somewhat peripheral when compared to that of Kenneth Chapman and others.

Hewett's interests were broad, and he conducted fieldwork elsewhere in the Southwest and in Guatemala between 1907 and 1917 CE. He remarried in 1911 CE; his new bride, Donizetta Jones, had been a girlhood friend of Cora and fellow teacher who had come to Santa Fe and was employed as Hewett's secretary at the Museum of New Mexico. She actively shared in his activities and travel, accompanying him around the Southwest and to Mexico, Central America, Europe, Africa, the Orient, and Arabia. Between 1911 and 1916 CE, he served as director of exhibits for the San Diego exposition, which became the San Diego Art Museum housed in a building planned by I. H. Rapp and built by Ralph Twitchell. He remained involved with the School of American Archaeology, which in 1917 CE became the School of American Research (today the School of Advanced Research). In 1919 CE, he helped revive the Santa Fe Fiesta and participated in the inauguration of Indian Fair (now Santa Fe's well known and well attended Indian Market), both of which were part of his so called Santa Fe Program aimed at reviving Native American arts and crafts. It was also during this time that Hewett and his supporters worked to create a state level fine arts museum in Santa Fe. With gifts from Hewett's friend Frank Springer, a new building was built and the New Mexico Museum of Fine Arts was dedicated in November of 1917 CE. Hewett's work in this regard coincided roughly with the arrival of several artists, notably the group known as the Cinco Pintores, whose influence strongly shaped Santa Fe's evolution into an arts community. Hewett's museum bought and showcased work by these and other artists.

Efforts to create a national monument on the Pajarito Plateau were ongoing during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Hewett's prominent role is discussed in detail in the chapter on the formation of the monument, but a few observations are relevant here. First, his proprietary interest in the plateau cannot be overemphasized. His opinion on the proposed monument flipped from support to opposition and back, making it clear that his primary goal was to protect the area's archaeological sites from looters and his competitors while ensuring that no one, even the federal government, would restrict his own access to them. In the end, some of his stances and political maneuvering earned him bitter enemies. The almost



Figure 85: Edgar Lee Hewett in San Diego, 1932. Photography by Jack Adams. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 007373.

frenetic pace he maintained through the 1920s and 1930s CE may have been an attempt to build a new community of supporters in California and revive his waning influence in New Mexico.

By the early 1920s, Hewett was teaching in San Diego and working to expand the various museums he assisted. In 1927 CE he initiated an alliance between the School of American Research and the State University in Albuquerque (now the University of New Mexico), was appointed head of the university's new Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, and founded the Museum of Anthropology of the University of New Mexico (later the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology). In 1930 he became vice president of the AIA. For the next ten years, Hewett served multiple organizations: the first elected president of the Southwest Division of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; vice president of the American Federation of Arts; a member of the Himalayan Research Institute; a Scottish Rite Mason; a Rotarian; and a member of Washington's Cosmos Club, San Diego's University Club, and Albuquerque's Ten Dons.[68] He also continued his teaching efforts, first at Teachers College in San Diego between 1922 and 1927, then at the State University in Albuquerque between 1927 and 1935 CE. Between 1932 and 1934 he was head of the anthropology department at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, and in 1930 CE he helped establish a School of Middle America Studies (a branch of the School of American Research) in Mexico and another at the University of Southern California.

Hewett continued to work as a field archaeologist almost until his death, even as his archaeological philosophy and field methods were becoming increasingly out of date. He maintained his role as the director of the Chaco Canyon field school through UNM until 1937 CE, and continued in his roles at the School of Advanced Research and Museum of New Mexico until the last year of his life. Hewett died on December 31, 1946 CE, after a series of strokes, leaving behind a legacy of institutions and other accomplishments both admirable and controversial.

Hewett was a driving force in the archaeological and arts communities in Santa Fe for the first half of the twentieth century. Blessed with apparently boundless energy, he was unique among his contemporaries for his background in pedagogy and administration, two skills that gave him legitimacy in the eyes of politicians at various levels. His direct experience working in the West and his professional and personal connections to Westerners set him apart from many eastern academics. He often sided with Westerners as both factions attempted to influence the development of American archaeology. Areas of debate encompassed establishment of archaeological organizations, as well as political decisions that affected archaeology and the preservation of archaeological sites and public lands. Hewett's emphasis on fieldwork as "experiential learning" and his ongoing and extensive work with avocational groups was viewed askance by more traditional academics such as Franz Boas, but this inclusive approach to the discipline gave him broad support when it came to his political endeavors. Similarly, his efforts toward establishing archaeological tourism educated a popular base in support of his goals, especially those associated with preservation and conservation. Today, fieldwork is considered a vital part of an archaeological education, and Hewett's pedagogical background gave him the vision to see this long before others in the discipline.

While Hewett had many strengths, he is also a controversial figure. He was capricious and readily engaged in factionalism, and many of his accomplishments were achieved with the goal of furthering his own career and influence. While his legacy of improving archaeological education is undeniable, his own archaeological reports are cursory, and many pieces written in later years simply rehash material originally presented decades earlier. While he kept notes on everything, including his observations of archaeological sites and conversations with Indian guides, they were intended only to refresh his own memory and once he had used them to write a report or essay, he destroyed them.[69] Later assessments of his excavations note that his goal more often seemed to be the acquisition

of complete objects worthy of museum display rather than actual archaeological knowledge.[70] Many of his writings attempt to cast doubt on the connection between the past inhabitants of the Pajarito Plateau and their descendant modern Pueblos and he even created the notion of a "Pajarito Culture," quite unrelated to modern Pueblos, to explain his findings. It is clear that in this instance, his goals and ambitions and the scientific facts were incompatible. The opportunity an imaginary "Pajarito Culture" provided for creating a mythic civilization useful for generating cultural nationalism and even moral value proved more compelling to him than his own ethnographic and archaeological data.

His efforts toward fostering Indian arts are overlaid with a patronizing tone, and while in some regards he was a product of the era in this, it is also true that his emphasis on cultural nationalism and developing antiquities as part of an Anglo rather than Native heritage meant that his interests were, on some level, fundamentally opposed to those of Native people.[71] [72] His populist effort to develop archaeology as public heritage was also, on some level, incompatible with the notion of archaeology as the domain of professionals that gave him much of his authority, setting up a dichotomy that was difficult to negotiate even for as political a person as Hewett and foreshadowing the tensions that can still exist between public and professional perspectives today.[73]

H.P. Mera (1897 - 1951 CE)

Harry Percival "Doc" Mera was among the first researchers to recognize that spatial distributions of specific ceramic types in the northern Rio Grande Valley had distinct boundaries, and that these distributions were culturally significant. He covered many parts of New Mexico, mapping hundreds of sites and making surface collections to define ceramic wares and establish more detailed chronologies than were available at the time. It was he who identified and named Sankawi'i Black-on-cream ceramics

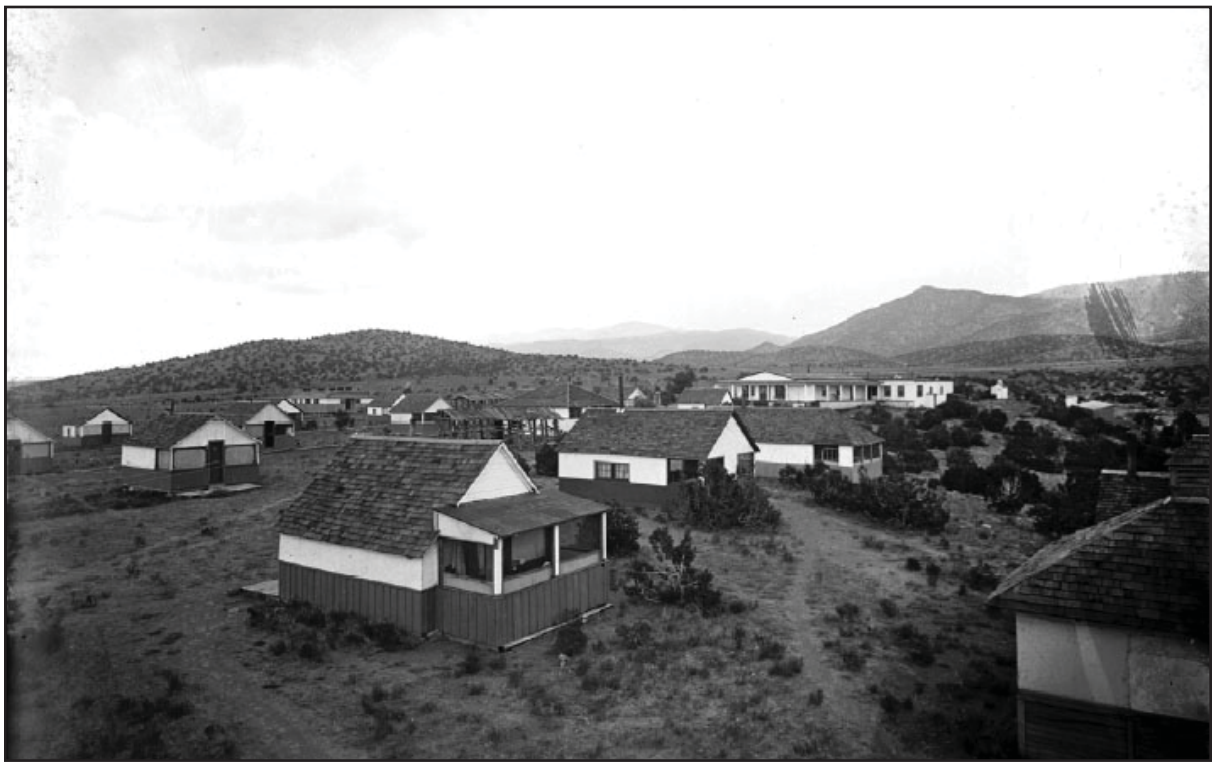


Figure 86: The Sunmount Sanatorium in Santa Fe, 1913. Photograph by Jesse Nusbaum. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 061390.

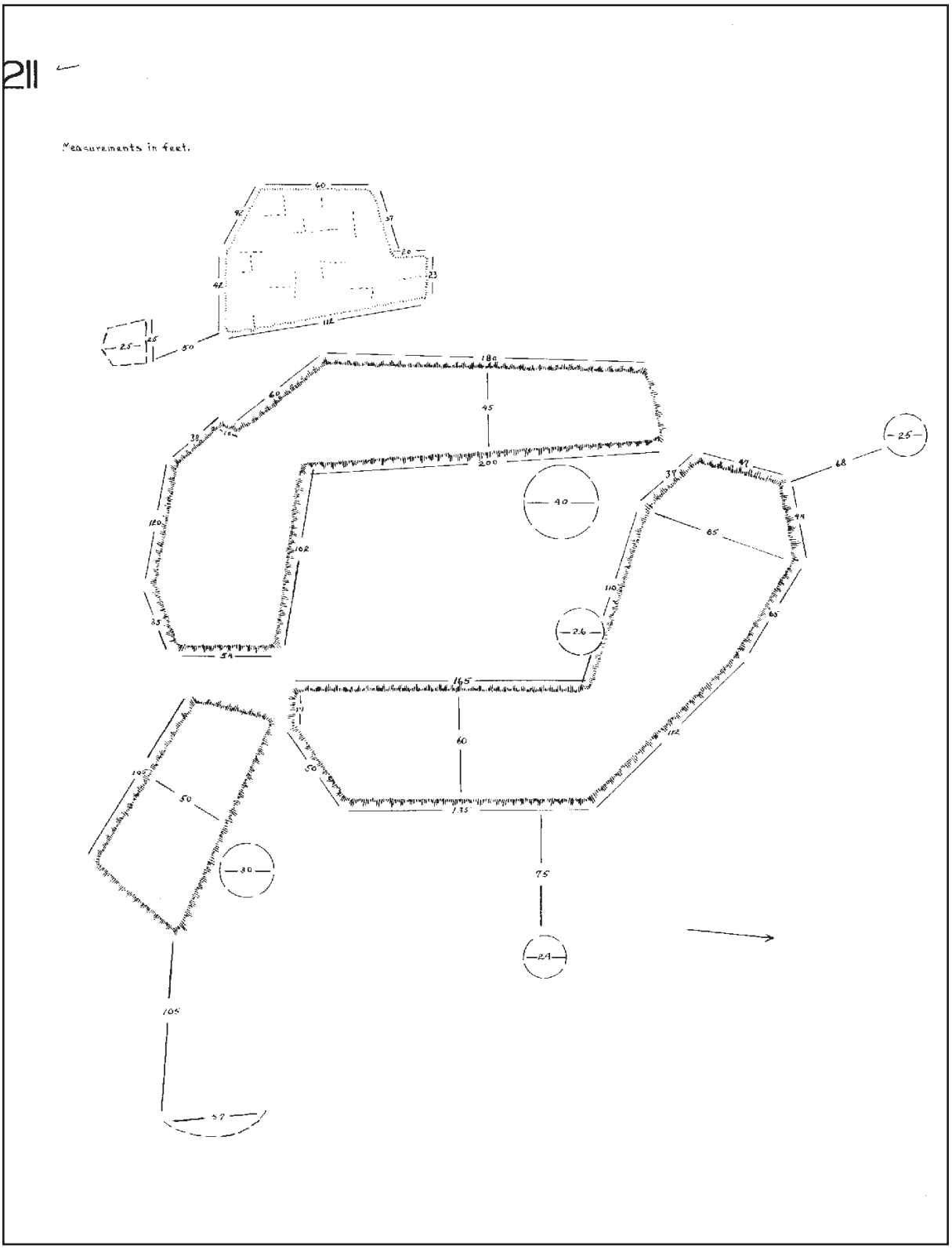


Figure 87: H.P. Mera's scaled map of LA 211, Tsankawi Pueblo ca. 1930. Courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Laboratory of Anthropology archive, Santa Fe, NM.

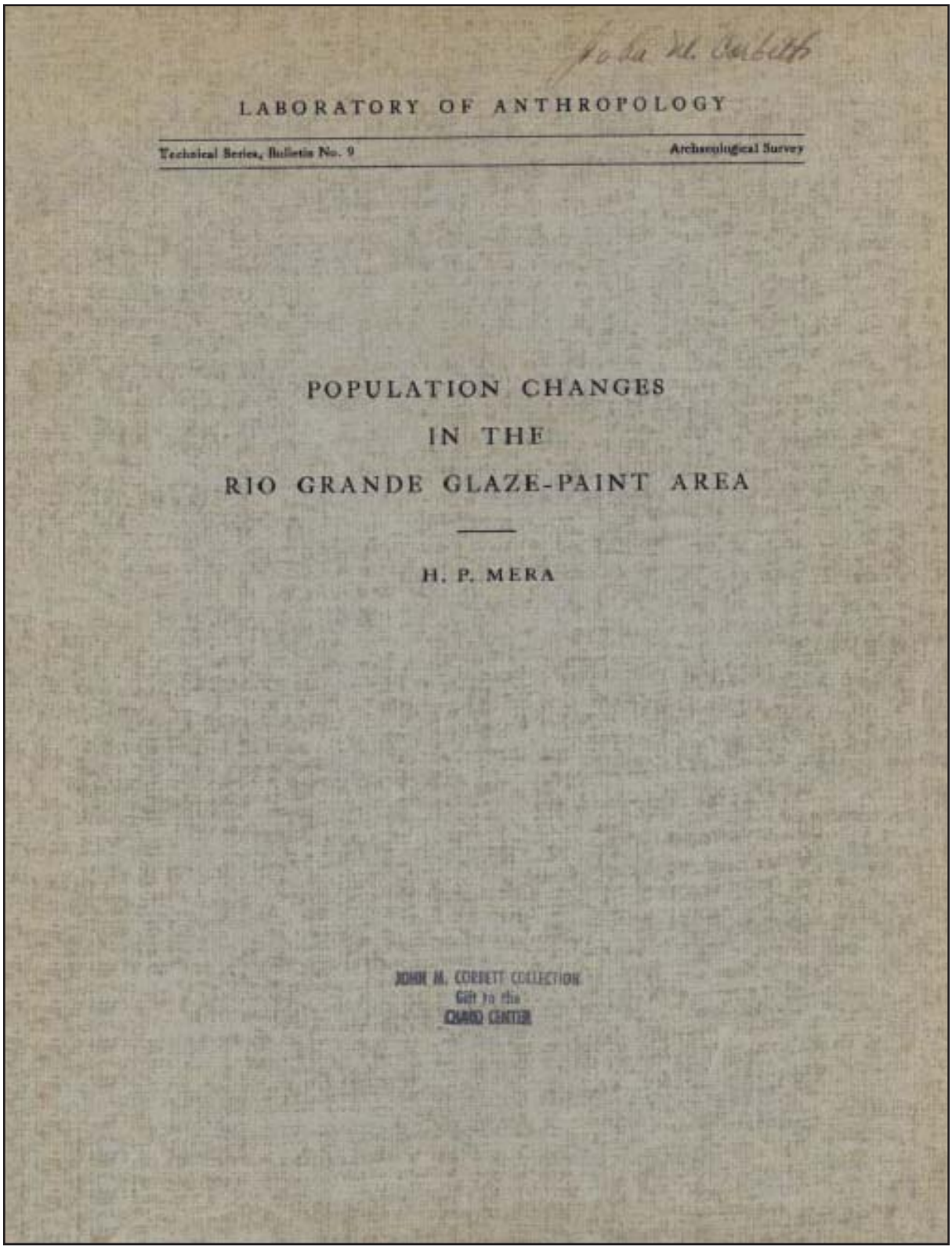


Figure 88: Cover - H.P. Mera's Laboratory of Anthropology Bulletins, 1940. Bandelier National Monument Archives, Catalog No. 12940.

after Tsankawi Pueblo, and Tsankawi was also one of the sites he mapped in detail. He was one of the first to assign dates to ceramic types drawing on dendrochronology, thereby (along with A.V. Kidder) establishing that ceramic types could be used to date the sites at which they were found. Some of this work involved treering dates and ceramics from the pueblos Frijolito and Tyuonyi. Mera's research is still cited by most researchers looking at ceramic types and distributions for New Mexico.

Of Irish background, Harry P. Mera, Jr. was born in Pottstown, Pennsylvania October 16, 1875 CE, though his family moved to Detroit when he was still a boy. His talent for drawing and illustration let him to work initially as a graphic artist and illustrator in New York. After two years of city life, he left for Leadville, Colorado, where he worked as a miner for a year. He subsequently attended Ohio State University to pursue a career in medicine, graduating in 1899. He practiced first in Detroit, where he met and married Harriet Turver, a registered nurse. He moved to Santa Fe in 1905 with his wife and his younger brother, Dr. Frank E. Mera. The move may, in part, have been driven by Frank's respiratory illness and the opportunity to purchase the Sunmount Sanitarium. Situated on what is now Mera Street, the facility originally consisted of wooden platforms with tents, which the brothers replaced with cabins and other amenities. Sunmount acquired a national reputation; clients included architect John Gaw Meem, poet Witter Bynner, artist William Penhollow Henderson, and others.[74]

Mera's lifelong interest in the Southwest began at this time, and while he and Harriet moved to Abilene, Kansas for better financial opportunities in 1907, they returned to Santa Fe to assist with the sanitarium whenever they could. They had four children (Hugh, Fergus, Aileen, and Elizabeth) between 1908 and 1912. Little detail is known about Harriet, but it is known that she passed away sometime between the last child's birth in 1912 and Mera's second marriage, to Reba Worley, in 1914. Mera served as a captain during World War I, returning to his practice in Abilene after the war. An opportunity to serve



Figure 89: One of H.P. Mera's whimsical drawings. From "The Wonderful Wit of H. P. Mera," El Palacio 74, No. 4 (1970).

as the Santa Fe County Health Officer allowed him to return to Santa Fe permanently in 1922, where he served in the National Guard as well. During this same year, Mera won the competition for a design for the New Mexico state flag, using the Zia sun symbol he had observed on local ceramics. Reba Mera, who was well known for her knitting, made the first New Mexioc state flag based on his design.

In the past, Mera had spent time in the New Mexico countryside collecting fossils that he donated to local museums and Ohio State University. He now turned to surveying archaeological sites and creating an extensive type collection of pottery sherds with examples of many different kinds of ceramics intended as a reference collection for researchers. Among the sites he collected from at Bandelier National Monument are Tsankawi, Tyuonyi, San Miguel, Yapashi, and Duchess Castle. As Daw points out, his early work "was the first systematic survey of archaeological sites in New Mexico."[75] But his goal was to do more than just catalog archaeological sites and pieces of ceramic: "…he was attempting to illustrate his perception of population shifts

and patterns through the pottery of the involved cultural groups. He was not simply collecting sherds for general information."[76]

When the Laboratory of Anthropology was dedicated in 1931, Mera was appointed as curator a year prior to the opening and brought with him his archaeological survey data and sherd collection. In this capacity, he continued his survey, mapping, and collecting efforts, publishing his analyses and articles by other researchers in a series of bulletins still widely used by archaeologists studying ceramics and population movements today. He also maintained an interest in Navajo textiles, silverwork, and Hispanic arts, writing monographs on these and other subjects. A series of heart attacks compromised his health toward the end of his life, forcing his retirement in 1946 and weakening him until his death on April 15, 1951.

Mera's involvement in the arts was indicative of an individual with an appreciation of the creativity of others. He himself participated in theatrical and musical endeavors (he sang tenor), was a gardener and woodworker, and participated in many committees and community events, including the Santa Fe Fiestas. He was a 32nd degree Mason, Scottish Rite, as well as Knight Commander of the Court of Honor. He continued in graphic arts throughout his life, producing woodcuts that were published in the literary magazine *Laughing Horse* and a series of pen and ink drawings. The latter were of fanciful fauna such as the Gwinkboozle Bird and the potbellied Squamfilts from the mythical Jagocene period (a highly humid era he fancied fell between the Pliocene and Pleistocene) that he attributed to a "Dr. Cecil Dionysius Shilttfarb" and sent to a friend whom he had the temerity to address as "Mrs. Schmaltz."[77]

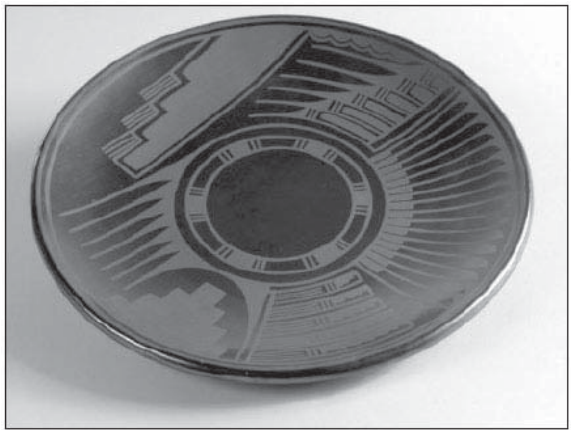


Figure 90: Black-on-black plate ca. 1960, Catalog No. 1499. Bandelier National Monument.

He was well loved by his colleagues at the Laboratory of Anthropology who viewed him as someone approachable, always in good humor, and an excellent lecturer on pottery, textiles, and archaeology. He was much admired for his idealism and dedication to the discipline of archaeology and the scientific and methodical way in which he approached his subject matter. In a field rife with ego and factionalism as exemplified by Hewett, Mera was admired for his true modesty and gentlemanly ways. In the words of F. H. Douglas, Mera was "the enlightened amateur in the old fashioned original sense of being a lover of his work… He communicated to so many others that feeling of excitement about the finding of a new specimen, an unrecognized pottery type, a solved problem, which is most fully developed in those who pursue learning for itself, not for the material rewards it may bring. To be with Harry at such moments was to learn the rewards of quiet satisfaction which work well done offers to the seeker of truth."[78]

Tourism and the Native Arts Revival (1910 - 1930 CE)

The revival of Native American arts in the Southwest included Navajo weaving and silver work and Pueblo baskets in addition to the revolution in pottery that promoted the production of true art quality objects instead of cheap tourist souvenirs. The link between these somewhat disparate factors was the promotion of the prehispanic pueblos of the Southwest as either a uniquely American heritage or the remains of a "vanished" civilization. While the facts behind this description of the Ancestral Pueblo sites were often wrong, there is no question that the Southwest's native cultures and archaeological sites ignited a fascination in the American public and foreign travelers.

Improved transportation brought more people to the Southwest, which in turn led to further improvements to the road and rail systems and interpretation and presentation of the region's archaeological sites. Further exposure through the National Geographic Society, the Smithsonian, and other prestigious institutions lent a stamp of legitimacy to the exercise. Without the archaeological sites, the commercial development of the West would have seen a very different path based solely on natural beauty rather than a combination of scenery and cultural heritage. With this co-attraction, the pace of visitation increased rapidly, bringing with it commercial opportunity.

The railroad started the surge in sightseers and tourists. Although seasonal and never generating major traffic, the much easier and more comfortable access granted by the trains proved a huge benefit to regional tourism. This had a direct effect on the monument through the work of a San Ildefonso native and monument employee, Maria Martinez. Her contributions to the development of traditional Pueblo pottery as an art form (analogous to the work of Nampeyo of Hopi), would create a completely new market for the native peoples of the region. The railroad bolstered this new market by providing easier access to "exotic" locations (including Bandelier National Monument) where the remains of prehispanic pueblos evoked a mysterious past that attracted tourists from around the world. The Pueblo artists now had a ready supply of consumers for their work and could ship their goods via train to New York or Boston for further market development.[79] The plateau began a transformation which is continuing today.

The growing opportunity of tourism and the native art market in New Mexico was exploited primarily by the Fred Harvey Company and its offshoot, Indian Detours.[80] These entities saw a burgeoning market and climbed aboard. Santa Fe was one of their major hubs and they offered tours to San Ildefonso Pueblo and Frijoles Canyon amongst other areas.[81] Beginning as a railroad hotel concession and meal provider, the Fred Harvey Company added many of the modern amenities that the modern day traveler now takes for granted. Before the organized Harvey trips, most visitors to the Pajarito Plateau traveled by horse, with some on foot or perhaps horse drawn wagon. The Fred Harvey Company would use motor cars, but once travelers arrived at Frijoles Canyon, the journey was on foot or mule down the steep trail. The Harvey Company established its own means of refrigeration and delivery to guarantee high quality meats. It also established its own dairies to ensure a healthy milk supply. Prices were kept reasonable and cleanliness of its facilities was legendary. All of this added to the ease of exploring the "Old West." The greatest surge in the Harvey Company's popularity was in the 1920s when it changed its emphasis from transport to touring. This, of course, coincided with the early Native Arts movement.

Not content with just displaying sights, the Harvey Company quickly graduated to orchestrating chance encounters with native peoples. This added a personal touch to the adventure and became a huge selling point. These tours would leave a hub such as Santa Fe and visit both ancient and current Native American sites. The whole concept was oriented to an in-the-field experience that would prove irresistible to the adventurous tourist. The brochures for Santa Fe feature not only the city but scenes of Frijoles Canyon and other sites.[82] The "chance encounters" also introduced the opportunity to market both souvenirs and Native American curios as well as, in the long term, true Native American arts. The selling point went both ways for Harvey and, in return, for the pueblos. Recognizing the desire on the part of tourists to take home evidence of their adventure, Harvey shops were more like museums. Staff encouraged tourists to purchase and join in this "revival" of a truly American art form. The development of this market directly was exploited by Edgar Lee Hewett, Kenneth Chapman, and others in their efforts to assist native artists in the Rio Grande region such as Maria Martinez to further expand their fine art work.[83] Similarly, the Hubbells were instrumental in developing Navajo arts at their trading post in Ganado, Arizona and Thomas Keam, the founder of the Keam's Canyon Trading Post worked closely with the Hopi. Both trading posts are still active market participants today. The development of the art of these

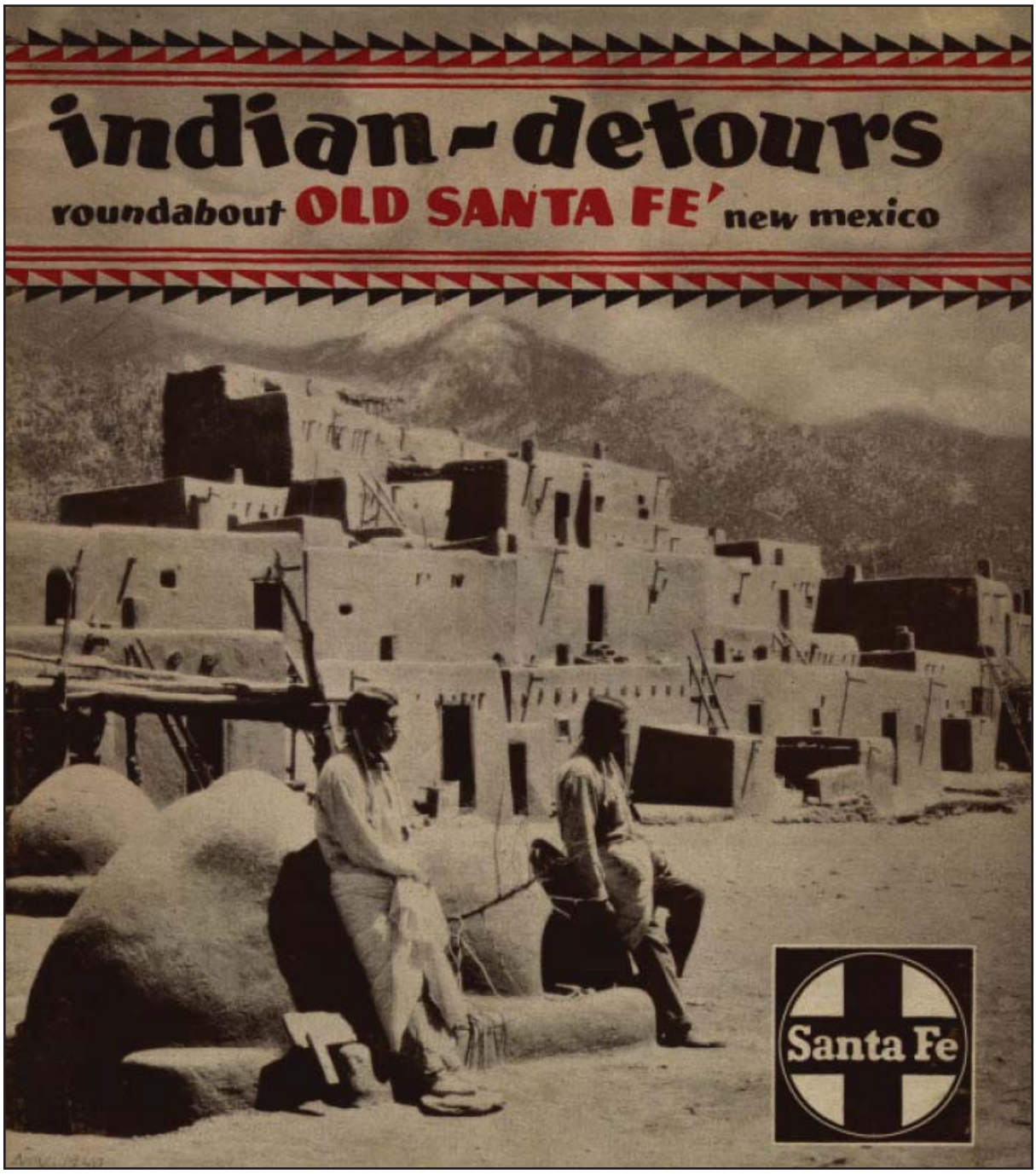


Figure 91: The cover of an Indian Detours brochure from the Harvey Company ca. 1925-1935. University of Arizona archive Collection No. F78615 Pamphlet.

early Native American pioneers and innovators and the others they inspired only fueled the attraction of the region to tourists. Even in the age of poor access, Bandelier National Monument was experiencing over 10,000 visitors a year. There can be little question that the prehispanic sites formed an important focus for commercial tourist interest, and Edgar Lee Hewett promoted this connection aggressively. In 1922, with the help of others, he founded the Santa Fe Fiesta with its attendant Indian Fair and Arts and Crafts Exhibition.[84] This effort was solely directed at increasing tourism to the Santa Fe region and exposing the works of Native Amer-



LA FONDA *"The Inn at the End of the Trail," in Old Santa Fé*

n the site of the original fonda of the turbulent days when Santa Fé was the end the trail for wagon trains, stands Fred Harvey's charming La Fonda, headuarters for Indian-detours guests. A full block in depth, it sweeps back from the laza in earth-colored terraces as naturally as the age-old Indian pueblos it glorifies.

Within, the life of the hotel centers about this sunny, rough-tiled patio, and the alled placita shaded by the spreading boughs of box elder. There are 147 guest ooms, each one individually developed, with rare furnishings, to give La Fonda unique charm and real old-fashioned comfort the year 'round. In the evening, a Fonda's famous native orchestra from Old Mexico plays during dinner and for ancing in the New Mexican Room. In the Lecture Lounge, there are informal lustrated talks on the Southwest three evenings a week. La Fonda is as delightful uring the sparkling winter as in the height of the cool mountain summer, with no ff season to disrupt the smooth perfection of the Fred Harvey service that has ndeared it to Indian-detour guests and Santa Fe transcontinental travelers.

Figure 92: Photograph and information on La Fonda, Indian Detours brochure by the Harvey Company ca. 1925-1935. University of Arizona Archive Collection No. F78615 Pamphlet.

INDIAN-DETOURS

Intimate Motor Cruises Exploring the Far Southwest

North and south of the Santa Fe mainline in New Mexico and Arizona lie 200,000 square miles of virgin territory varied in its human interest and scenic grandeur. Heretofore this region has been practically inaccessible to train travelers.

Today, Santa Fe transcontinental rail patrons can explore this vast and colorful country, intimately and pleasantly, via the Indian-detours and private motor cruises operated by Hunter Clarkson, Inc., in association with the Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company. These delightful motor explorations, available the year 'round, are distinctive in their staff of cultured young women couriers, and the charm of the Fred Harvey hotels located at Santa Fé, New Mexico, Winslow, Arizona, and other convenient base points.

The one-to-three day Indian-detours, starting from Old Santa Fé, are exceptionally popular with Santa Fe rail passengers traveling to or from California, for they provide a delightful break in their transcontinental journey, by enabling



Figure 93: This and the next figure are Information pages on the Indian Detours, Harvey Company brochure ca. 1925-1935. University of Arizona Archive Collection No. F78615 Pamphlet.



them to explore, unhurriedly, the age-old inhabited Indian pueblos and prehistoric cliff dwellings 'roundabout.

Santa Fe rail patrons planning to enjoy one of these one-to-three day Indian-detours, leave their train at Lamy, New Mexico, on the main line of the Santa Fe, from which point a waiting motor-coach takes them to **La Fonda** in Old Santa Fé, headquarters for the Indian-detours, and returns them to Lamy when they are ready to resume their rail journey.

Leaving Lamy behind, the car climbs for some distance up a twisting canyon road. The horizons are built of ranges of distant mountains—the Jemez Range west, the Manzanos and Sandias south and southeast, the Sangre de Cristos north. A few minutes puts us among high conical foothills, clothed with scrub cedar and piñon. Here we turn west on the route of the historic Santa Fé Trail and follow it for a dozen miles into Old Santa Fé itself.

It is impossible to more than outline here the varied points of interest encountered on an Indian-detour. Questions constantly will occur, and for enlightenment do not hesitate to turn to the Courier assigned to your car. It is her privilege to act as your hostess as well as your guide.



Figure 94: Photograph of a visitor at Bandelier. Harvey Company Indian Detours brochure ca. 1925-1935, University of Arizona Archive Collection No. F78615 Pamphlet..



Figure 95: "Guard Turning Tourists Away," by Pablita Velarde, ca. 1940. This scene depicts a guard turning away tourists from a Pueblo ceremony closed to the general public. Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 653.



Figure 96: Women selling pottery to Indian Detour tourists, Santa Clara Pueblo, ca. 1925-1945. Photograph by T. Harmon Parkhurst, courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 004141.

icans to a larger market than existed previously. This in turn resulted in encouragement and support for native arts.[85] The opening of the exhibit was judged a great success:

> On one side a trio of Navajos were engaged in sand painting, and on the other side Navajo silversmiths were fashioning ornaments, Pueblos were making pottery, Navajo weavers were weaving and a fifth Indian group was doing beadwork. For three days the exhibit hall was thronged by several thousand people passing the admission gate during that time.[86]

A representative of the Bureau of Indian Affairs spoke at the opening, and it is clear he saw the economic opportunity of the art market as one means by which Indians could be assimilated into American society: "His message was one of enthusiastic appreciation of the movement which he promised would have the heartiest support of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Through it, he predicted, would be solved the problem of the Indian."[87]

The period was rich with promise. Not all of it would be fulfilled, but this burgeoning awareness of both the ancient and modern civilizations of the Southwest would have a direct impact on the further protection and preservation of both Bandelier National Monument and other native sites. There is an important site from this period associated with Native Arts development within the monument. The experiment in Native Arts education known as "Duchess Castle" is evocative of the many forces at play in the development of both tourism and Native Arts as new economic forces on the plateau.

Verra von Blumenthal, Rose Dougan, and Duchess Castle

Duchess Castle lies below and to the north of Tsankawi Mesa within the boundaries of the monument. Now a ruin, it was the site where Verra von Blumenthal and Rose Dougan worked with potters from San Ildefonso to improve the quality of their ceramics and make them more appealing to tourists to the region.[88] [89] World War I had resulted in a decrease in tourist travel to the area, and the women saw an opportunity to improve the ceramics so that they would supply pueblo potters with income despite the economic impact of the war. Though von Blumenthal and Dougan did not, in the end, spend many years in the Southwest, they continued their support of the program even after returning to southern California, leaving a legacy of a rich, ongoing tradition of world renowned pottery production at San Ildefonso Pueblo.

Verra Xenophontovna was born in Russia around 1864 to an admiral of the Imperial Black Sea Fleet; her grandfather was a Russian count in Bessarabia. She married Dmitre Kalamatiano, a Greek trader, and moved for a time from Sevastopol, Russia to Vienna where her son Xenophon was born in 1882. Dmitre was killed when Xenophon was 12; Verra married a French-Russian lawyer, Constantine Paul (C.P.) de Blumenthal in 1895. They emigrated to the United States around the end of the nineteenth century and settled first in Chicago and then in Culver, Indiana where C.P. taught at the Culver Military Academy. Xenophon attended the academy, then the University of Chicago, graduating in 1903. C.P. took a job at the Harvard military School in Los Angeles, and he and Verra moved to Pasadena around 1905, sharing a home with a Dr. Redebaugh.

Verra had worked in Russia reviving and improving native arts and crafts before coming to the U.S. and continued her efforts to promote and preserve Russian lacework and other crafts even after her move to California. She continued a practice she had begun in Chicago of selling peasant made lace and handiwork out of her home. The percentage she paid for the work allowed many Russian women to start their own bank accounts, purchase materials, and improve their skills. She also arranged exhibits of Russian arts throughout the U.S. She is known for her book *Folk Tales from the Russian*, and she also wrote books on Peter the Great and translated other Russian authors.

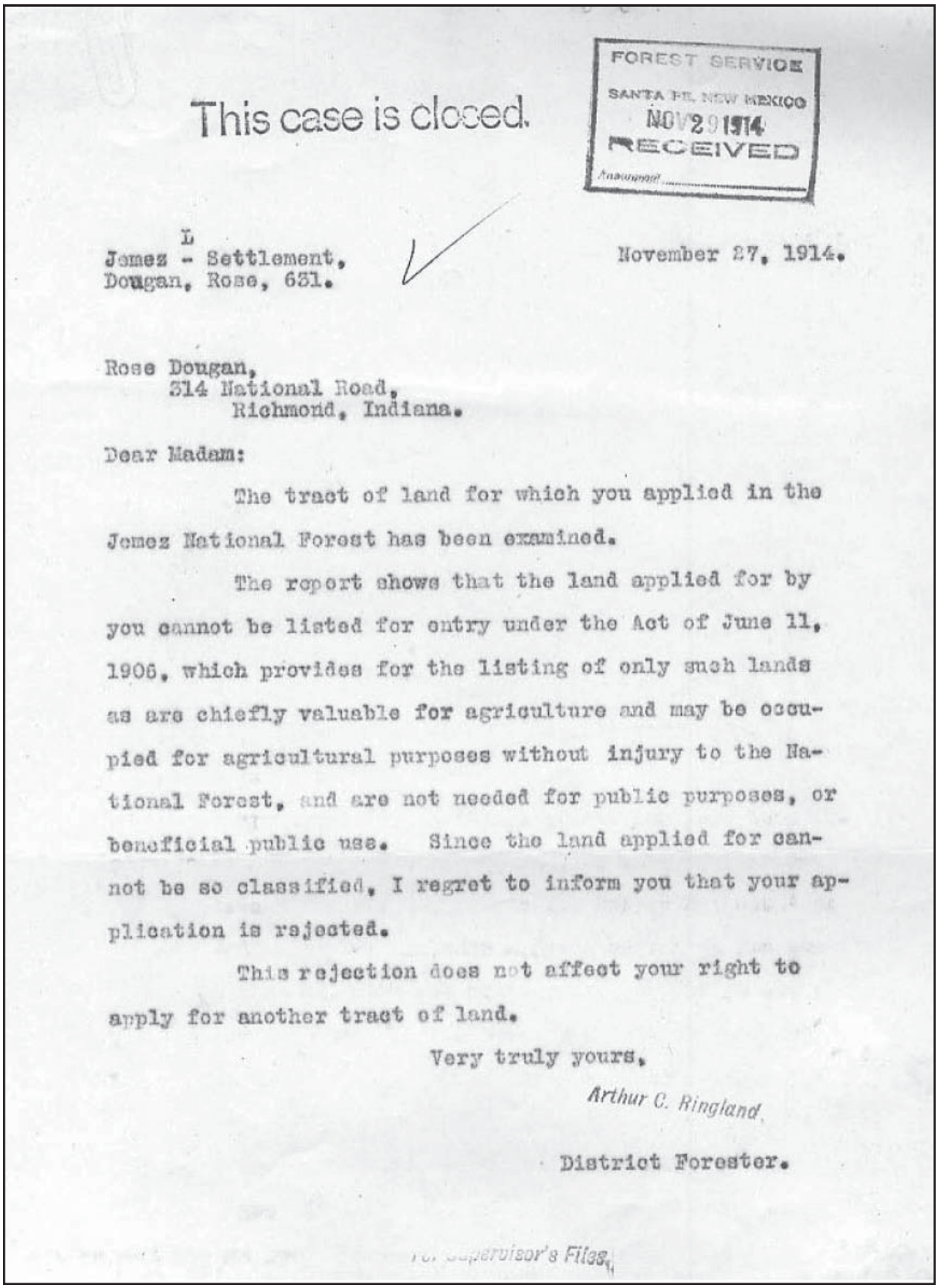
For his part, C.P., who had been involved with democratization efforts while in Russia, began assisting a colony of Russians who had broken with the Russian Orthodox Church and were

seeking freedom of worship in a new colony in Enseñada, Mexico. His efforts landed him in trouble with both the Mexican and U.S. governments, however, when he was accused of helping the Russian families enter the U.S. illegally (the Russians were afflicted by an eye condition called *trachoma*, reason at the time to deny them entry under U.S. law). Faced with the federal investigation and an inability to pay the Enseñada landowners $15,300 by the due date of September, 1906, C.P. disappeared. He began corresponding with Dr. Redebaugh, and eventually sent Verra a letter three months after his disappearance. At the time, there were rumors that Verra had an affair with Dr. Redebaugh, and she and C.P. divorced in 1907. Verra never remarried and changed her name to von Blumenthal, though it is not known why. C.P. did remarry, later becoming involved in an anti-Bolshevik movement and the Russian Revolution, and returning to America via Shanghai in 1923.

Accredited with being Russian nobility generally, Verra was later characterized as a refugee duchess on the run from the Bolsheviks, accused of being a Russian or Balkan spy using her work with Pueblo pottery as a cover for her illicit activities, and rumored to have buried the Russian crown jewels somewhere on the Duchess Castle property.[90] According to a memo written by archaeologist Jesse Nusbaum to then Bandelier National Monument's Superintendent Binnewies, many of the most fanciful statements were initially made by Brian Born Dunne, a New Mexico news reporter who was constantly seeking to interview Verra and whom she assiduously avoided after the appearance of the first few of his first page articles.[91]



Figure 97: One of the buildings remaining at the site of Duchess Castle, as seen in1999.



This case is closed.

FOREST SERVICE
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO
NOV 29 1914
RECEIVED

L
Jemez - Settlement,
Dougan, Rose, 631.

November 27, 1914.

Rose Dougan,
314 National Road,
Richmond, Indiana.

Dear Madam:

The tract of land for which you applied in the Jemez National Forest has been examined.

The report shows that the land applied for by you cannot be listed for entry under the Act of June 11, 1906, which provides for the listing of only such lands as are chiefly valuable for agriculture and may be occupied for agricultural purposes without injury to the National Forest, and are not needed for public purposes, or beneficial public use. Since the land applied for cannot be so classified, I regret to inform you that your application is rejected.

This rejection does not affect your right to apply for another tract of land.

Very truly yours,

Arthur C. Ringland

District Forester.

To Supervisor's Files.

Figure 98a: This and the next three images are from the homestead application for the Duchess Castle property filed by Rose Dougan, 1914. Courtesy of the U.S. Forest Service (unidentified catalog reference).

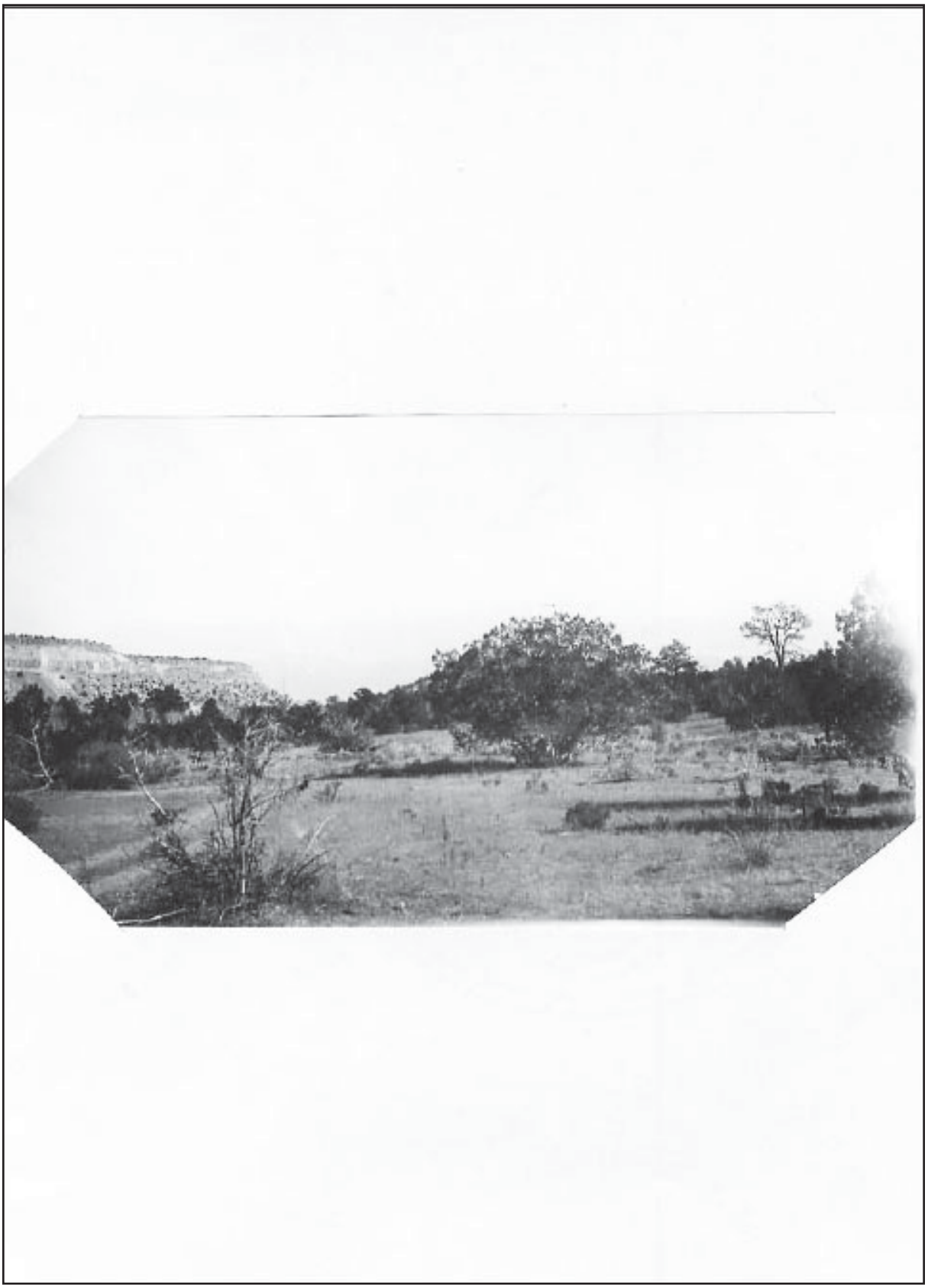


Figure 98b: Select views of Duchess Castle Property, 1914. Courtesy of the U.S. Forest Service (unidentified catalog reference).

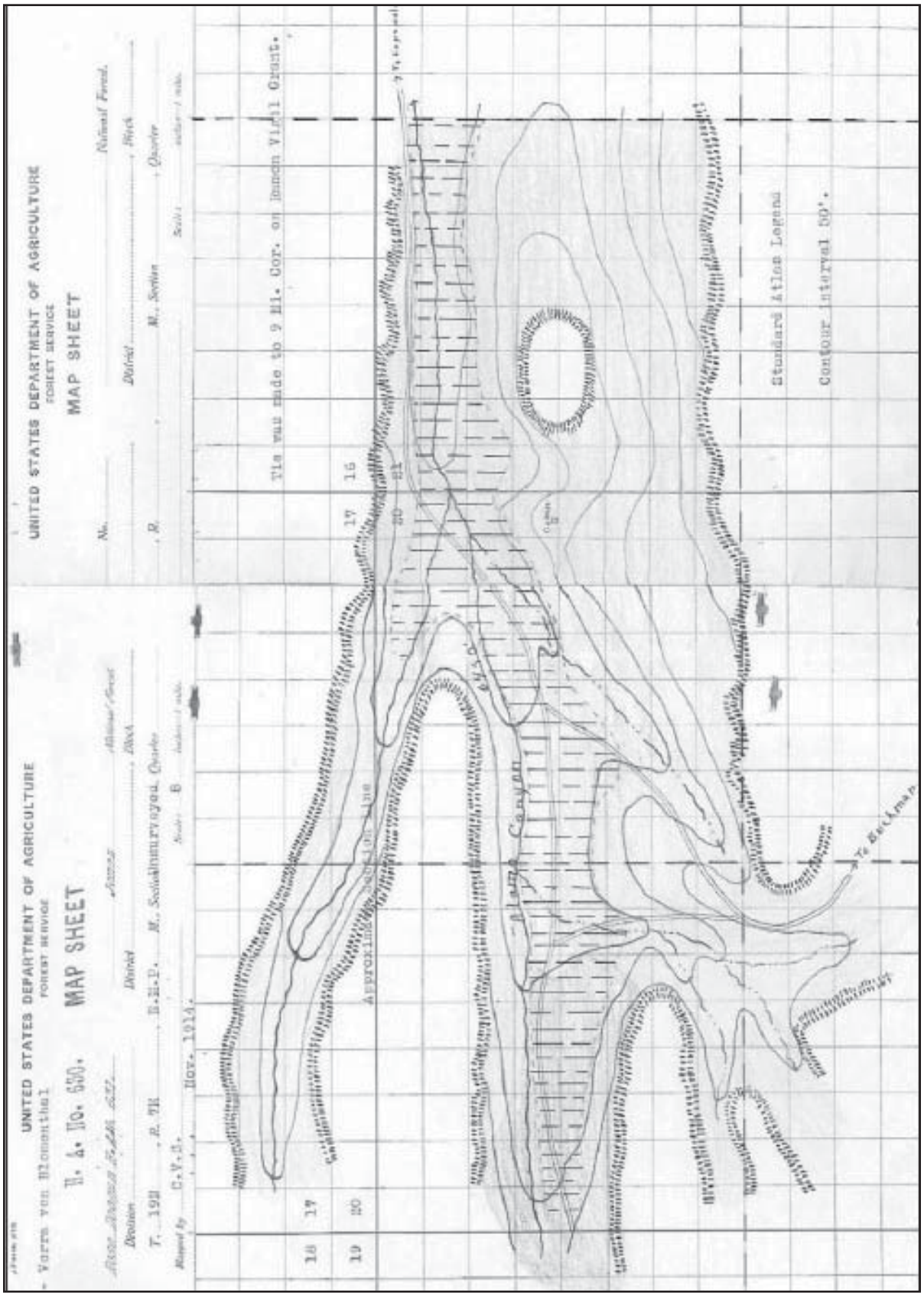


Figure 98c: Plan view of Duchess Castle Property, 1914. Courtesy of the U.S. Forest Service (unidentified catalog reference).



Figure 99: Pottery on display at the Santa Fe Indian Fair, ca. 1922. Photograph by Mack Photo Service, courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 042256.



Figure 100: Kenneth Chapman sketching Pueblo pottery designs, ca. 1915. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 013312.

It is unknown how Verra von Blumenthal was first introduced to Rose Dougan, but the two women formed a household sometime prior to 1916 CE. Much less is known about Rose Dougan, who by all accounts was a much more retiring personality than von Blumenthal. Rose Dougan was born in Richmond, Indiana, but her family moved early on to Colorado. Her father, David Henry Dougan, was in medicine, practicing first in Richmond, then Alma Colorado: the family moved west seeking a reprieve to his severe asthma. They finally settled in Leadville, where he became a banker. Her mother, Rosanna Lamb Dougan was from a wealthy family who dealt in the fur trade.

According to Roll, Rose Dougan attended public and private schools in Denver and studied music in Paris.[92] She was a linguist and a member of the Richmond Garden Club, the National Audubon Society, the National Travel Club, the American Museum of Natural History, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the Red Cross. He also notes her collection of native finger rings and her deep interest in Pueblo arts and crafts. She was one of the first female pupils of the Wright Brothers and was reported to have flown the first airplane to Santa Fe in 1916 CE.[93]

The von Blumenthal and Dougan Project

It may have been Dougan's older sister Blanche's interest in visiting archaeological sites that first brought Rose Dougan to Santa Fe; it is unknown whether Dougan met Verra von Blumenthal in southern California or in Santa Fe. With von Blumenthal's concern for developing native crafts, a mutual program to improve Pueblo pottery was a natural outgrowth of both their interests. While the two initially worked from Santa Fe, the difficulty of travel to San Ildefonso Pueblo and the desire to have their students work in a location away from the distrac-

tions of the pueblo inspired the construction of the complex that came to be known as Duchess Castle. Though both women applied to the USFS for adjacent homesteads on the tract in Alamo Canyon, the applications were denied and they proceeded with construction presumably under a lease from the USFS. Upon recommendation from Kenneth Chapman, they hired San Ildefonso men Juan Gonzales, Crescensio Martinez, and "later Tilano and some of the younger boys" to do the masonry work and the buildings were completed in 1918.[94] The name Duchess Castle appears to have risen from some of the speculation on von Blumenthal's status as refugee Russian nobility.

It eventually became apparent that the program would be more effective if it were done on a larger scale and continued year round rather than for just the summer months for which von Blumenthal and Dougan resided in the Southwest. In 1918, von Blumenthal worked with Hewett to arrange for Indian art objects to be sent to California to be sold at her Pasadena Russian Peasant Handicraft Center. Then, in 1919, von Blumenthal and Dougan handed the program over to Hewett and the School of American Research; Kenneth Chapman and Wesley Bradfield were assigned to continue their efforts with the assistance of $200 per year from Dougan.[95] They also endowed a fund to purchase some of the best pieces. Chapman outlines how the program was managed:

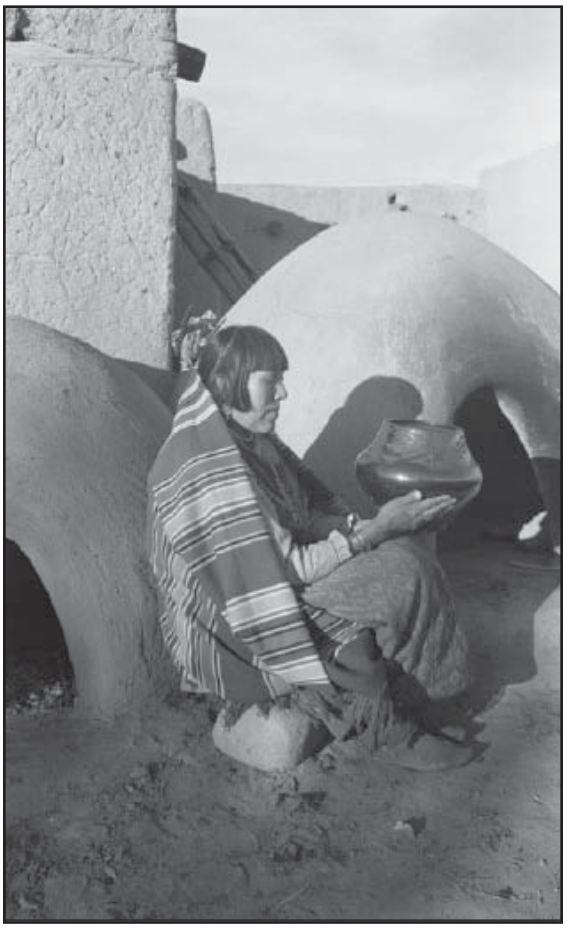


Figure 101: San Ildefonso potter Tonita Roybal ca. 1925-1945. Photograph by T. Harmon Parkhurst, courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 004030.

1. Inviting the potters to submit their wares to us at the Museum before offering it for sale elsewhere.

2. Asking each potter to set her price, piece by piece.

3. Selecting one or more outstanding pieces, if any, and explaining why they were chosen (for form, finish, decoration, etc.).

4. Adding at least 25% to the price named by the potter for those selected and promising still higher prices for further improvement.

5. Explaining that selected pieces would be sold at the Museum at a markup only sufficient to repay the School for time devoted to the project by the two staff members.[96]

Part 5 was eventually dropped as the museum was a tax supported institution.

In addition to the financial incentives outlined above, Chapman and Bradfield encouraged potters to work within each family's traditional style. To their surprise, Julian and Maria Martinez participated in the program despite their early independent success; Tonita Roybal is another participant named by Chapman in his account. In 1922 at the first Indian Arts Fair which was also supported financially by Dougan, Maria Martinez was awarded the Grand Prize of $5.00 of the Dougan Fund Prizes, but Tonita Roybal captured the best for San Ildefonso Pueblo and also received $5.00.[97] Indeed, Roybal shocked Hewett by asking the princely sum of $12.00 for one pot on sale at the fair. With the museum's percentage tacked on top, the pot sold for a re-

cord $13.20, a clear demonstration of the price people would pay for quality work. The exchange regarding this between Chapman and Hewett is worth reading for its views of Anglo attitudes towards the Native American potters at that time and how they were rapidly changing.

> Shortly before the opening hour, Dr. Hewett, who had been giving the displays a hurried inspection came to me and said, "Chap, some of the pottery prices are getting out of hand. Tonita Roybal has an ordinary size bowl priced at $12.00! You ought to do something about it." I reminded Dr. Hewett that the San Ildefonso potters had come a long way since he gave them their first encouragement, and that they knew a lot more about selling than any of us. Then I asked, "Do you know any better way for them to find out what the buyers will pay?" He had no ready answer.[98]

Verra von Blumenthal and Rose Dougan returned to their home in Pasadena at around the same time they handed the program over to the School of American Research. While many thought they intended to return, it apparently was never feasible. Verra's son Xenophon, who had been working as a spy for the U.S. State Department in Russia, was arrested and charged with conspiracy to destroy the Bolshevik revolution and assassinate Vladimir Lenin in 1918. Though sentenced to death, he was released in 1921 through Herbert Hoover's American Relief Administration. Verra's ex-lover, Dr. Redebaugh, died in 1920, and Xenophon died in 1923 in a mental health hospital outside Chicago. Rose returned to Indiana in 1919 to be with her father, who passed away soon after. She remained to assist with family finances, though she continued to travel to the Southwest throughout the 1920s and 30s.

Initially, von Blumenthal and Dougan remained as involved in the New Mexico native arts movement from a distance. Dougan continued her support of the project after 1922 CE in the form of a bond given to the School of American Research with instructions that the interest be spent on the annual cash prizes for the best examples of pottery to come out of the pottery improvement program. She also continued her direct financial support of Kenneth Chapman's efforts for many years and she contributed funds to the rebuilding of the old plaza at San Ildefonso Pueblo, making many suggestions as to how it should be done. Von Blumenthal focused her efforts in the Pasadena area, continuing her work with Russian crafts at least until 1933 CE. She died in 1942 at the age of eighty. Dougan eventually moved to Palm Springs where she stayed with Dr. Florilla White; she left Palm Springs upon White's death in 1947 but returned in the 1950s and lived there until her own death in 1960 CE.

In a postscript to Rose's passing, her will was contested soon after her death by her niece, Marjorie. Her original will, written in 1952 CE, had left the majority of her estate and business holdings to Marjorie. Her new will, written mere weeks before her death, left the estate and holdings to a nurse companion, Miss Travis Bishop, with only a small portion going to Marjorie. Marjorie prevailed in her contest, but died only four years after Rose in 1964 CE.

Duchess Castle remained closed but unmolested with their belongings inside after von Blumenthal and Dougan's 1919 CE departure until a frozen water line did damage to the walls and floors. Dougan had Kenneth Chapman and Harry Mera take the best of the pottery that was stored there for the Indian Art Fund's collection as a donation, which kept the pieces from being damaged or stolen. The disposition of the rest of their belongings is unknown save for the Steinway grand piano, which was acquired by Mrs. Allan Clark of Rancho Jacona.[99] Duchess Castle itself was not cared for after the water damage and was likely in poor condition when the National Park Service took over management of the area. The site is now a ruin in the Tsankawi Unit of Bandelier National Monument.

Chapman was solicited at one point by U.S. Indian Services Superintendent of the Northern Pueblos, Chester Faris, to expand the pottery improvement program Dougan and von Blumenthal helped establish to include potters from Cochiti Pueblo, instead of only those from San Ildefonso Pueblo. It appears that he never did so, citing the variety of ceramic styles (including some that were "not too Indian" with broader appeal to Anglo collectors), the ease of

access to the pueblo that came with improved roads and the Chili Line, the beauty of the setting, the proximity of the famous tea house, and the existing level of publicity as reasons San Ildefonso Pueblo was so successful in the program.[100] The absence of these features at Cochiti Pueblo indicated that a similar program would not succeed.

In the end, ongoing transportation difficulties, especially in winter, limited the program even at San Ildefonso Pueblo. Later road improvements allowed tourists to travel to the pueblo to buy pottery directly from the potters, making venues such as the Indian Arts Fair less crucial to market access. Water color paintings by young men had also grown in popularity. Eventually, San Ildefonso Pueblo became known as one of the most progressive arts and crafts centers among the Rio Grande pueblos. Nusbaum concluded his memorandum to the Superintendent of Bandelier National Monument by observing that "Madame Vera [sic] von Blumenthal merits great credit for stimulating and assisting Rose Dougan's work in the revival and improvement of Pueblo pottery, and [Kenneth Chapman], of course, contributed equally generously and importantly in his associated field work with the potters."[101]

The significance of the Duchess Castle project to the overall development of native arts in the Southwest may be debated. It certainly reflects some of the paternalism toward Indians during this period as well as the many varied agendas of the different participants. However, the fact that the collaboration took place and that by 1922 Chapman would view Tonita Roybal as the expert in her own field is significant. With their knowledge of commercialization and sales,



Figure 102: A photograph very insensitively, but perhaps accurately, titled "Digging for Dead Indians" showing looters at work. Richard Boyd College, Tent Rock Ranch, ca. 1915-1916. Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 14338.

Verra von Blumenthal and Rose Dougan helped build a market for Pueblo pottery and make ceramic production a viable industry. More than that, however, they helped steer Pueblo potters away from the production of cheap curios that held less artistic value and brought little money, and toward a more traditional and truly artistic style for which they could be recompensed at a level befitting their skill and artistry.

Early Government Agency Presence (1899-1932 CE)

As the work of the pioneering Western archaeologists in the last two decades of the nineteenth century became publicized, public awareness of these prehistoric treasures was heightened. This awareness was fueled by the nation's turn towards preserving its natural heritage under the aggressive leadership of President Roosevelt, and the romanticism associated with "lost" civilizations on our own continent. No matter the inaccuracy of the notion of the Ancestral Pueblo peoples as "lost"—as with so many changes in a democratic society, the public was instrumental in developing political pressure to protect the beauty and mystery of the region's archaeological sites. Unfortunately, along with the popularity of the sites for visiting, photographing, and so forth came the wholesale destruction by looters known as pothunters (both casual and "professional"), who sold the ancient art works for financial gain. This was brought to the attention of the federal government by societies and organizations dedicated to preserving this past. On the Pajarito Plateau it was no different than at other major sites. Looting and destruction came to the attention of the General Land Office (GLO) which, prior to the creation of the National Park Service, sought to protect of these assets.

The GLO was one of the oldest federal agencies, founded 1812 to oversee public domain lands (merging with another federal agency, it became the Bureau of Land Management in 1946). The GLO played an important role in the formation of national parks and monuments. Commissioners Binger Hermann and then William A. Richards were very active in protecting sites and making nominations for park status.[102] The primary tool in the protection of archaeological sites was to temporarily withdraw the land from being available for sale.

The first GLO inspection of Bandelier National Monument area was in 1899 CE, and the archaeological importance and scenic value of Frijoles Canyon was immediately recognized. Edgar Lee Hewett accompanied and certainly influenced the 1899 inspection by the GLO. He would become the chief archaeological advisor to the GLO leadership under Richards, and reach the zenith of his influence in Washington, D.C. during the first decade of the twentieth century.[103] Commissioner Hermann was responsible for the temporary withdrawal of the Pajarito Plateau in 1900 under which some of the earlier land use activities were halted.[104]

Thus began the long lasting fight among all manner of constituencies both for and against a national park on the Pajarito Plateau. It would be sixteen years before Bandelier National Monument existed, and a further sixteen years before the NPS was charged with administering the site. During these thirty plus years, a constantly changing group of those supporting the formation of a park and those opposed would battle in the communities of northern New Mexico (territory and state) and the halls of Washington in bewildering alliances to either protect or keep the federal government out of this remote and isolated piece of rich history and stunning natural beauty.

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[1] Hal Rothman, On Rims and Ridges (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1992), 17.

[2] Ibid., 27.

[3] Ibid., 29.

[4] Ibid., 31.

[5] Rothman, 32.

[6] Harry Field, *An Account of a Trip made to Bandelier National Monument Vicinity in 1900*, Bandelier NM Archives, 1.

[7] Ibid., 1.

[8] Ibid., 65-66.

[9] Marc Simmons, The Town of Bland Revisited, Santa Fe Always Online, accessed August 4, 2010, http://www.sfol.com/history/bland.html.

[10] Monica L. Smith, *The Historic Period at Bandelier National Monument* (Intermountain Cultural Resources, National Park Service, Professional Paper No. 63, 2002), 13.

[11] Ibid., 12.

[12] Ibid., 12.

[13] John A. Gjeve, *The Chili Line* (Espanola, NM: Agassiz Publications, 2008), 17.

[14] Ibid., 24.

[15] Rothman, 25.

[16] Rothman, 26-27.

[17] Gjeve, 116.

[18] Monica L. Smith, *The Historic Period at Bandelier National Monument* (Department of the Interior, 2002), 11-14.

[19] Rothman, 94.

[20] Ibid., 33.

[21] Robert W. Larson, "Territorial Politics and Cultural Impact," *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 60, No.3 (1985), 263.

[22] Ibid., 263.

[23] Ibid., 249.

[24] Rothman, *Rims*, 33.

[25] Rothman, *Rims*, 36.

[26] Smith, 14.

[27] Gloria Reed Weinrich, "Frijoles Canyon Ranch," *El Cronicón* (1991) 2, No. 2:4-8.

[28] The following information on the life of Judge Abbott was garnered from various links to short biographical documents on the Abbott's Internet Genealogy Resource webpage at http://users.ipfw.edu/abbott/family/aigr.htm, accessed February 17, 2011.

[29] The Abbott Family notes, unattributed, Bandelier Na-tional Monument Archives 12805.

[30] Rothman, 95.

[31] Letter Ass't. District Forester Pooler to Abbott dated December 20, 1910. Forest Service Grant records.

[32] Weinrich, 5.

[33] John A. Gjeve, *The Chili Line* (Espanola, NM: Agassiz Publications, 2008), 57.

[34] Ibid.

[35] James E. Snead, "The Frijoles Gazette, Archaeology and the Public on the Pajarito Plateau" in Powers, T*he Peopling of Bandelier*, 111.

[36] According to Rothman (*Rims and Ridges* 122), the name was suggested soon after Bandelier's death by Judge Abbott of the Ten Elders Ranch and Will Barnes of the United State Forest Service in July, 1915.

[37] Charles J. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, eds., *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1880-1882*, 65.

[38] Barbara Babcock, "Ritual Undress and the Comedy of Self and Other: Bandelier's The Delight Makers." *Discovery* 55.

[39] The reader should note that the acronym AIA also stands for the American Institute of Architects and the Anthropological Institute of America.

[40] Lange and Riley, *The Southwestern Journals*, 165.

[41] Babcock, "Ritual Undress and the Comedy of Self and Other: Bandelier's The Delight Makers." *Discovery*, 58.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Lange, "Adolf F. Bandelier", 28.

[44] Carroll L. Riley, "Adolph Bandelier as Archaeologist." *Kiva* 29, No. 1, 69.

[45] Beatrice Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe's Vibrant Era* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983), 121.

[46] Memo to the NPS Deputy Director from F. Ross Holland, Jr., Aug. 2, 1979.

[47] Ibid, 26.

[48] Charles H. Lange, "Adolf F. Bandelier as a Pueblo Ethnologist," *Kiva* 29, No. 1, 33.

[49] Lansing Bloom, "Edgar Lee Hewett," in *So Live the Works of Man*, eds. D. Brand and F. Harvey, 13.

[50] Edwin Nelson Ferdon, Jr., "Introduction," in *Ancient Communities*, ed. Albert H. Schroeder, 14.

[51] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 49.

[52] Ibid., 50.

[53] With archaeology in its infancy, the distinction between looters and professionals was often in the eye of the beholder, and the derogative term "pothunter" was often used against each other by rival factions amongst those digging in the Southwest. Looting was also a common pursuit among people with no archaeological background who sought to make extra money by selling artifacts to collectors or museums, or who simply wanted a "treasure hunt" as an afternoon's diversion. By any definition, ongoing looting was a major impetus behind the many efforts of the time to protect and preserve archaeological sites.

[54] Don D. Fowler, "Edgar Lee Hewett and the 1906 Antiq-uities Act." *Archaeology Southwest* 15, No. 1, 17.

[55] Bloom, "Edgar Lee Hewett," 18.

[56] Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, "Edgar Lee Hewett." http://www.newmexicohistory.org/ filedetails.php?fileID=21257.

[57] Flint and Flint, "Edgar Lee Hewett," http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=21257.

[58] Snead, *Ruins and Rivals*, 137.

[59] Ibid., 138.

[60] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 87.

[61] Flint and Flint, "Edgar Lee Hewett," http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=21257.

[62] Snead, *Ruins and Rivals*, 136, 138-9.

[63] Ibid., 141.

[64] Ibid., 144.

[65] Mathien speculates that the enmity between Hewett and Tozzer began when Tozzer refused Hewett access to particularly desirable archaeological materials Tozzer took to Harvard after his participation in Hewett's 1908

field season ("Glimpses into the History of the 1908 Fieldwork at Yapashi, Bandelier National Monument," in *Puebloan Past and Present: Papers in Honor of Stewart Peckham*, eds. Duran and Kirkpatrick, 129-130).

[66] Joseph Traugott, "Fraternity Row," *El Palacio*, 47.

[67] Snead, *Ruins and Rivals*, 46.

[68] Ibid, 21-22.

[69] Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends*, 41.

[70] See, for example, Frances Joan Mathien, "Three Months on the Jemez Plateau: An Account of Edgar Lee Hewett's 1905 Field Season," in *Clues to the Past: Papers in Honor of William M. Sundt,* eds. M.S. Duran and D.T. Kirkpatrick, 75-85. *Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico* No. 16.

[71] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 64.

[72] Hewett, perhaps more than many, was explicitly con-scious of the way antiquities could be construed as a heritage Anglo-American Southwesterners had inherited that came with the land. In his view, that heritage was bound up in a Southwestern identity that validated Anglo-American presence in the Southwest and set up an alternative and competing history to the Old World roots claimed by Easterners.

[73] James E. Snead, *Ruins and Rivals*, 126.

[74] Frisbie, in press.

[75] Stephanie P. Daw, "The H. P. Mera Collection", in *Clues to the Past*, eds. Duran and Kirkpatrick, 76.

[76] Ibid., 77, emphasis in original.

[77] Marjorie Lambert, "The Wonderful Wit of H. P. Mera," *El Palacio* 74, No. 4.

[78] F. H. Douglas, "H. P. Mera," *The Teocintli* No. 52 (1951).

[79] Leah Dilworth, *Imaging Indians in the Southwest (*Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 80-91.

[80] Ibid., 91-92.

[81] Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway Company *Indian-detours: Roundabout Old Santa Fe, New Mexico* [Chicago]: Rand McNally 1940 (reprint), 24 pages , University of Arizona Library, accessed on line, August 4, 2010, http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/pams/access.html

[82] Ibid.

[83] Dilworth, 127 and 169.

[84] El Palacio, The Southwest Indian Fair, 10/16/1922, v13, n8, 93.

[85] K. Krist Hearst, *The Potters of San Ildefonso*, About.com:Archaeology, accessed April 20, 2010.

[86] El Palacio, 93.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Unless otherwise noted, the information on Verra Von Blumenthal comes from Jessica L. Levis, *The Rise of the Santa Fe Aesthetic: The Von Blumenthal—Dougan Project* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, New Mexico Highlands University, 2007).

[89] Unless otherwise noted, information on Rose Dougan comes from Jessica L. Levis, *The Rise of the Santa Fe Aesthetic: The Von Blumenthal—Dougan Project* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, New Mexico Highlands University, 2007).

[90] John Young, "Duchess Castle, The Adobe Anachronism." *The Atom* (1965) 2:19-21.

[91] Jesse Nusbaum, Memorandum to Superintendent Binnewies, August 18, 1952.

[92] Charles Roll, *Indiana: One Hundred and Fifty Years of American Development* Vol. 1. (New York: Lewis Pub-lishing Co., 1931), 145.

[93] Walt Burton and Owen Findsen, *The Wright Brother's Legacy: Orville and Wilbur Wright and Their Aeroplanes in Pictures* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 148.

[94] Jesse Nusbaum, Memorandum to Superintendent Binnewies, August 18, 1952. page 2.

[95] Kenneth Chapman had a quiet manner and was more often behind the scenes than in the forefront of events. Despite his less visible place in the history of archaeology and the Native Arts Revival movement, he was very much involved in both. He was an expert on Pueblo pottery, he drafted designs for many buildings in the Santa Fe style of architecture, and he founded the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, thereby directly challenging Edgar Lee Hewett's position in Santa Fe.

[96] Kenneth Chapman, *The Pottery of San Ildefonso* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press (1977), 29.

[97] El Palacio, The Southwest Indian Fair, v13, n8, 10/16/22, p93.

[98] Chapman, 32.

[99] Jesse Nusbaum, Memorandum to Superintendent Binnewies, August 18, 1952. page 2.

[100] The tea house was in a little adobe cottage overlooking the Rio Grande near the suspension bridge on Highway 502. It was managed by Edith Warner, who served tea and cake to travelers along the route. Like Bandelier, this was one place participants in the Manhattan Project could come. Warner's biography has been published as *The House at Otowi Bridge*, by Peggy Pond Church.

[101] Jesse Nusbaum, Memorandum to Superintendent Binnewies, August 18, 1952. page 3.

[102] Raymond Harris Thompson, *Edgar Lee Hewett and the Political Process* (accessed on line, August 7, 2010) http://www.nps.gov/archeology/pubs/antiq/antiq05.htm, part V.

[103] Rothman, 81.

[104] Thompson, pV.

8. Formation of Bandelier National Monument

(1916 – 1932 CE)

The forces of change sweeping across New Mexico and the Pajarito Plateau in the early years of the twentieth century were not just localized to these regions. To a large degree they were being felt across the United States. Urged on by the vigorous presidency of Teddy Roosevelt, the country began to expand its cultural, international, and commercial horizons. These trends did not always blow in the same direction, nor did the various groups contending for "the" vision of the United States share a common perspective. This swirling social upheaval was instrumental in causing the formation of Bandelier National Monument to drag on for over sixteen years. During this period there were numerous changes of position—voices raised against the Bandelier National Monument project became supporters and vice versa. Some of the key figures of the time in their respective professions participated in the extended political maneuvering around the project, but no one had quite the level of influence or held center stage quite so long as the educator and archaeologist, Edgar Lee Hewett.

The Earliest Proposals

The Temporary Withdrawal of areas of the Pajarito Plateau in 1901 by the General Land Office (GLO) can be viewed as the first step towards the eventual creation of Bandelier National Monument. The GLO was the first federal agency to be concerned with preservation of the wealth of archaeological sites in the West. Temporary Withdrawals were implemented by the GLO to remove land from public sale to protect historical or other important features and was applied to lands, such as the Pajarito Plateau, that were not yet accorded any type of park or monument status. The intent was to give the review process time to work before the lands were irretrievably lost for preservation purposes. While seemingly a straightforward process, the campaign to establish a national park on the plateau ignited a sixteen year battle that saw archaeologists, federal agencies, and constituencies all fighting on various sides of the proposals at any given moment. To understand why this took place, a discussion of the formation of national parks in the early twentieth century is required.

With the creation of Yellowstone in 1872 CE, the designation of national parks became part of the drive to preserve important lands for the public of the United States. These designations represented a significant shift in the culture of the period. The general interest was in the development of land for commercial purposes, the "taming of the West." However, while the formation and development of a new park always gave rise to local disputes, the national mood was changing toward a more preservation oriented bent and the public was supportive of these protective efforts. It is important to note that the preservation of Civil War and Revolutionary War battlefields was part of this movement and provided a rationale for the federal involvement in the process. In the East, where the majority of the veterans and their families lived, this preservation was perceived with an almost religious quality by the large numbers of people who had recently been involved in the Civil War. In the West much more than in the developed East, however, the taking of more land by the federal government was viewed with suspicion.

To establish a national park a bill had to pass Congress. The criteria for the early parks were nebulous but seemed to center around spectacular scenery and a lack of commercial in-

terest.[1] The concept of using national park designation as a vehicle to preserve the archaeological sites of the Southwest was not widespread. Adding to this controversy was the fact that several parks had been established which clearly did not reach the standard of a Yellowstone or Yosemite.[2] This slackened enthusiasm in Congress for creating parks. Indeed the next major wave of park creation would not occur until 1916 with the formation of the National Park Service. As news of discoveries in the West at Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon, Frijoles Canyon excited the public imagination. Concurrently, reports of theft of artifacts and damage by thieves to the sites also became widespread and the public's awareness of the fragility of these archaeological treasures began to rise. These factors heightened the interest in the preservation of the Ancestral Pueblo sites in the proposed parks including Mesa Verde and the Pajarito Plateau. At the turn of the 19th century, both the public and the archaeological professionals began to push for some type of federal protection for such sites. This led to the first major battle over the designation of the Pajarito Plateau as a national park.[3]

Park or Monument?

The effort to protect the Pajarito Plateau with park status began as early as 1899 CE as Hewett urged the GLO to survey the area for a Temporary Withdrawal. This led to an inspection conducted by J. D. Mankin and guided by Hewett—the beginning of Hewett's influential association with the GLO.[4] Mankin's reaction is summarized by Rothman, "Atop many of the mesas were abandoned pueblos, and the south face of nearly every cliff contained innumerable cave dwellings. Prehistoric pottery and tools were scattered across the surface. Astonished by the sophistication of the construction, Mankin felt that he had stumbled on a place worthy of the interest of the nation."[5]

The result of this visit was a report, heavily influenced by Hewett, urging the establishment of a national park on the Pajarito Plateau.[6] The proposed park was a different type than the earlier established parks, however, in that it was to focus on the protection of archaeological sites rather than scenic beauty alone. Hewett's motive for this proposal had nothing to do with scenery, though the early bill would include regions just to satisfy that purpose. This bill was designed to keep looters out of the area and allow Hewett to pursue his excavations. The bill was prepared and the GLO sent a draft of the wording and Mankin's report to John F. Lacey, the conservation oriented congressman from Iowa. As a territory, New Mexico had no senator or representative to sponsor the bill. While Lacey and his committee reported favorably on the bill, a storm of controversy began to grow in New Mexico.[7] The introduction of the bill was directly responsible for the temporary withdrawal by the GLO in July 1901 CE.[8] After that, however, nothing went smoothly for the national park proposal.

Edgar Lee Hewett and the Antiquities Act of 1906

In an irony of history, the proposal for a park on the Pajarito Plateau was an important element leading to the passage of the Antiquities Act of 1906 and Mesa Verde's designation as a national park in the same year. These two events were a watershed in the preservation of archaeological and historic sites in the United States and likely outweighed any proposal for the a park on the plateau, even as they laid the groundwork for major shifts in support that would occur until the formation of the Bandelier National Monument.

Hewett's first trip to Washington, D.C. was in 1900, and he used the opportunity to begin to establish himself with the Eastern political leaders of the preservation movement. These included William Henry Holmes of the Bureau of American Ethnology,[9] Commissioners Hermann and Richards of the GLO, Congressman John Lacey, and to some degree the Smithsonian Institution, as well as the scientific societies of the day more definitively interested in archaeology—the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA), the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), and the American Anthropological Association (AAA).[10]

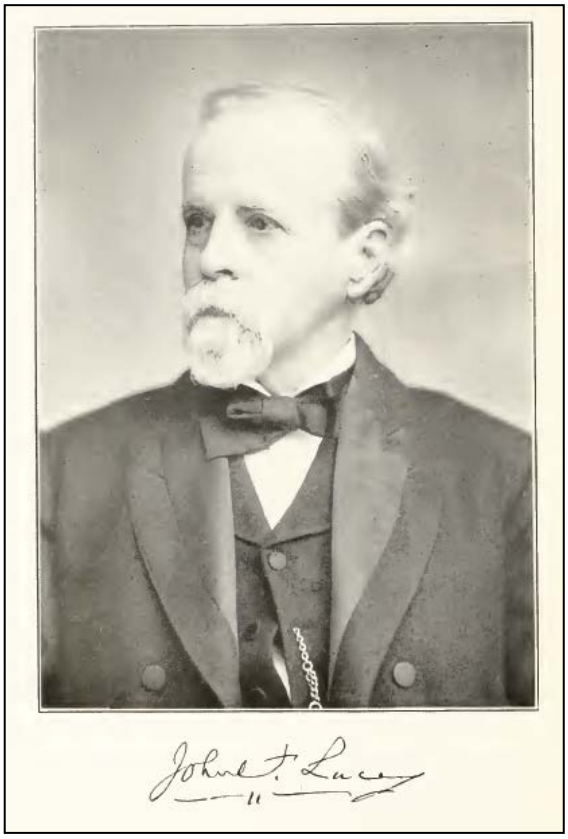


Figure 103: John Lacey. Photograph from *Major John F. Lacey Memorial Volume*, Iowa Park and Forestry Association, 1915.

John Lacey was the key player in Congress for the Antiquities Act, the Pajarito Plateau national park proposal, and the drive to designate Mesa Verde as a national park. He had led previous battles on all three topics starting in 1900. He and Hewett had become close when Hewett invited Lacey to see the archaeological sites on the Pajarito Plateau. Lacey commented on how this visit strengthened his resolve to protect these sites.[11] Quietly and efficiently, Edgar Lee Hewett became the behind the scenes director for all of these proposals. The new and major focus in the battle for archaeological site preservation became the Antiquities Act, envisioned as protecting the ancient sites from the pothunting trade and rampant theft or destruction of the sites. The two proposals for the new parks were subordinated to this all-encompassing legislation.

Two important assignments resulted from Hewett's connections. First, Richards of the GLO commissioned Hewett to write a report to be submitted to Congress and other federal agencies and preservation groups, his *Memorandum Concerning the Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah, and Their Preservation*. Completed in only six weeks, this document became key to the various battles that lay ahead and established his reputation in interested circles.

During this same period, Holmes of the Bureau of American Ethnology appointed Hewett to the committee responsible for drafting what became the Antiquities Act. The AIA also started a committee on the same subject. When they and other members of the "alliance" in favor of preservation suffered an overall lack of progress, they decided to work together. In 1904 they teamed with Lacey to drive a bill through Congress. Most of their earlier failures could be attributed to the efforts of the Reverend Henry Baum. Reverend

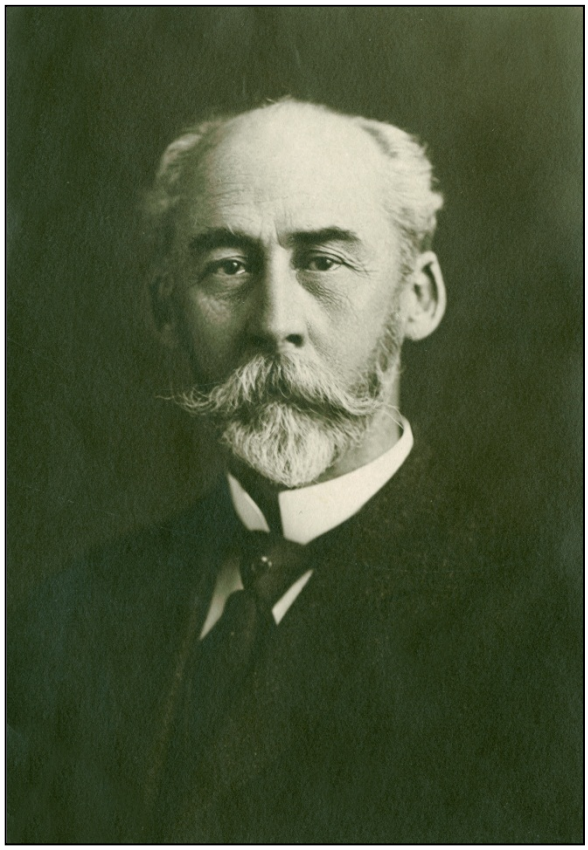


Figure 104: William Henry Holmes, ca. 1909. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 039397.

Baum was founder of the Records of the Past Society. Without credentials, he nevertheless considered himself the "preeminent living Americanist."[12] Baum dealt a blow to preservation activities with his support of the competing Lodge-Rodenberg bill in 1904. This bill, drafted by Baum and presented by the influential Henry Cabot Lodge, represented an aggressive federal move for preservation purposes. Rothman states, "The bill angered westerners, for it gave the secretary of the interior unlimited discretion over unreserved public lands."[13] This idea was dead on arrival in the view of Western congressmen and was a path Hewett declined to follow with his draft of the Antiquities Act in 1905 CE which emphasized protection rather than outright acquisition by the government and which may have also served his purpose of reserving exploration of the sites for himself.

Rothman describes Baum's attempt and the resulting fracturing of the preservation movement.

> Unfamiliar with Washington politics and the interests of his competitors, Baum set himself a difficult course. He refused to consider the merit in other points of view, and a competitive situation emerged in which the various groups each tried to protect their own position. Baum's attacks on government agencies splintered the developing consensus. To the General Land Office and the Smithsonian Institution, he was an interloper who sought legislation to further his goals. In contrast, Baum presented himself as a crusading reformer, ensuring fair access to the fruits of American archaeology. Baum's credibility became an issue that overshadowed the preservation question.[14]

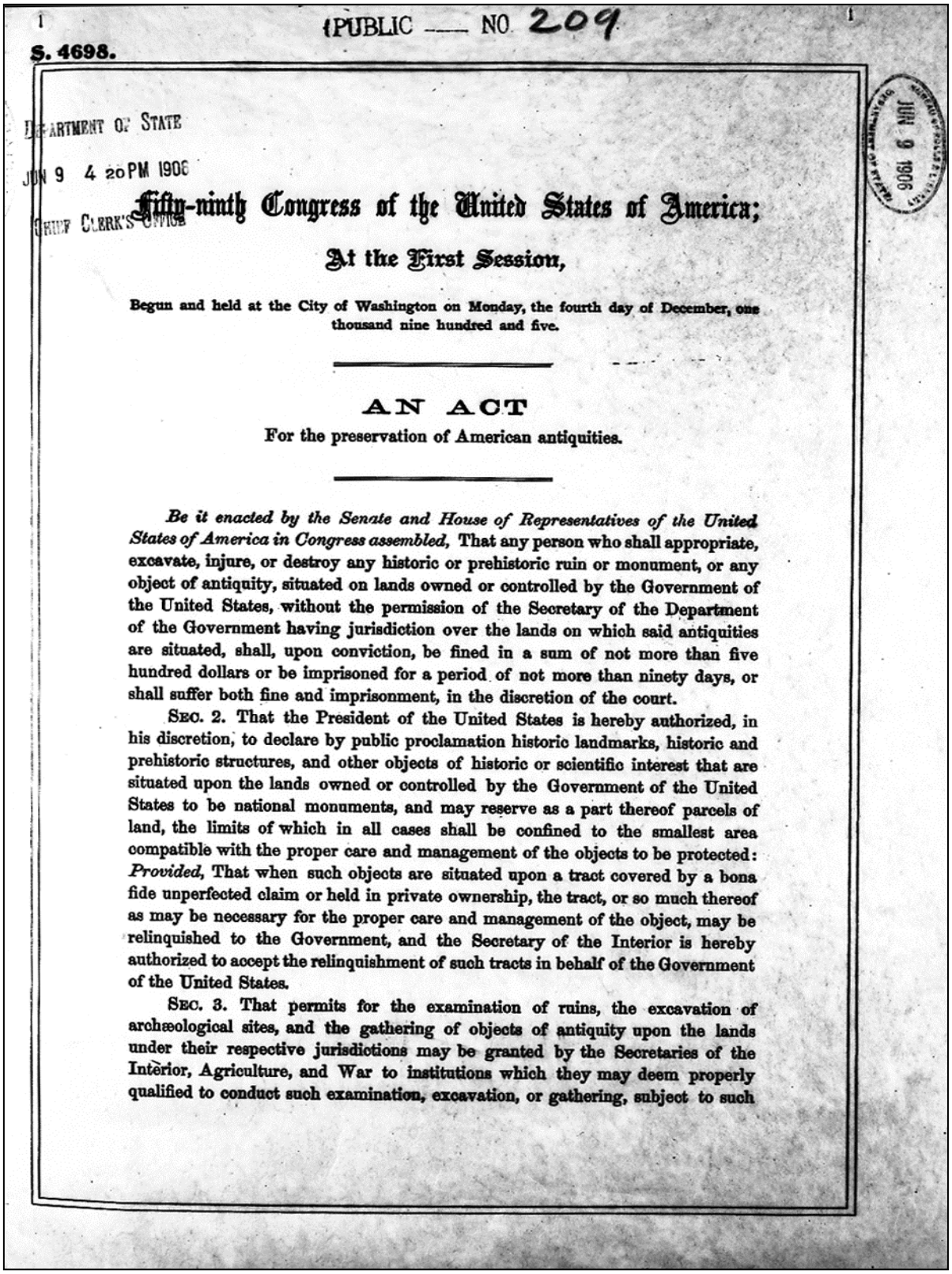
In their attempt to salvage the wreck of preservation activities in the Congress, the groups appointed Hewett as the joint committee's secretary and the key drafter, along with Lacey, of the revised legislation.[15] The period 1904-1906 also coincided with the height of Hewett's influence with the GLO and the Bureau of American Ethnology.[16] During the next 18 months, the bill went through a variety of drafts, mainly orchestrated by Hewett, to make it more palatable to the legislators. Perhaps most critical was the change from the federal government acquiring land with archaeological sites on them to the declaration of theft or damage to the sites as illegal: "…his draft implied that responsibility by making it illegal for anyone to damage ruins on federal land. Such a prohibition is something that every law abiding citizen can comprehend. It is difficult to object to such a prohibition for it is, after all, against the law to damage, destroy, or steal the property of others."[17] Everyone could understand that concept and it is likely that this change in focus allowed the bill to pass and be signed by President Theodore Roosevelt in June, 1906.

Besides prohibiting theft, destruction, or the sale of artifacts, the bill also established the right of the GLO to establish national monuments by executive order as well as by congressional legislative effort. This became a very important tool for preservationists as it removed the need for an extensive congressional process to establish national monuments.

In the campaign for the bill, other benefits accrued to Hewett. His presentation on the bill to the joint meeting of the AIA and AAA in 1905 was a major success, and his draft moved forward without change along with the recommendation to designate Mesa Verde a national park.[18] Also during that year he was named the Second Fellow for American Archaeology by the AIA.[19] His reputation and central position relative to the larger issues embodied in the development of archaeology were growing enormously. Meanwhile, with Hewett's assistance, Lacey was successful in his efforts to have Mesa Verde declared a national park in 1906. Clearly, Wetherill's exploitation of the ruins and the removal of many artifacts from the Mesa Verde cliff dwellings to Finland by European archaeologist Gustaf Nordenskiold were major factors in this speedy move for a change of status for Mesa Verde. No such immediate threat appeared to put the Pajarito Plateau ruins in immediate jeopardy.

The Pajarito Park Proposal

With Mesa Verde a national park and the Antiquities bill passed, where was the proposal for the Pajarito Park? During the years leading up to 1906 there was never a year without new



[PUBLIC — NO. 209]

S. 4698.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 9 4 20 PM 1906
CHIEF CLERK'S OFFICE

JUN 9 1906

Fifty-ninth Congress of the United States of America;

At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fourth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and five.

AN ACT

For the preservation of American antiquities.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any person who shall appropriate, excavate, injure, or destroy any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States, without the permission of the Secretary of the Department of the Government having jurisdiction over the lands on which said antiquities are situated, shall, upon conviction, be fined in a sum of not more than five hundred dollars or be imprisoned for a period of not more than ninety days, or shall suffer both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected: *Provided,* That when such objects are situated upon a tract covered by a bona fide unperfected claim or held in private ownership, the tract, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the proper care and management of the object, may be relinquished to the Government, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept the relinquishment of such tracts in behalf of the Government of the United States.

SEC. 3. That permits for the examination of ruins, the excavation of archæological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity upon the lands under their respective jurisdictions may be granted by the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and War to institutions which they may deem properly qualified to conduct such examination, excavation, or gathering, subject to such

Figure 105: This image and the next are the two pages of the Antiquities Act. 1906 (34 Stat. 225, 16 U.S.C. 431-433).

rules and regulations as they may prescribe: *Provided*, That the examinations, excavations, and gatherings are undertaken for the benefit of reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects, and that the gatherings shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums.

SEC. 4. That the Secretaries of the Departments aforesaid shall make and publish from time to time uniform rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

J. G. Cannon

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Chas. W. Fairbanks

Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved.
June 8, 1906.
Theodore Roosevelt

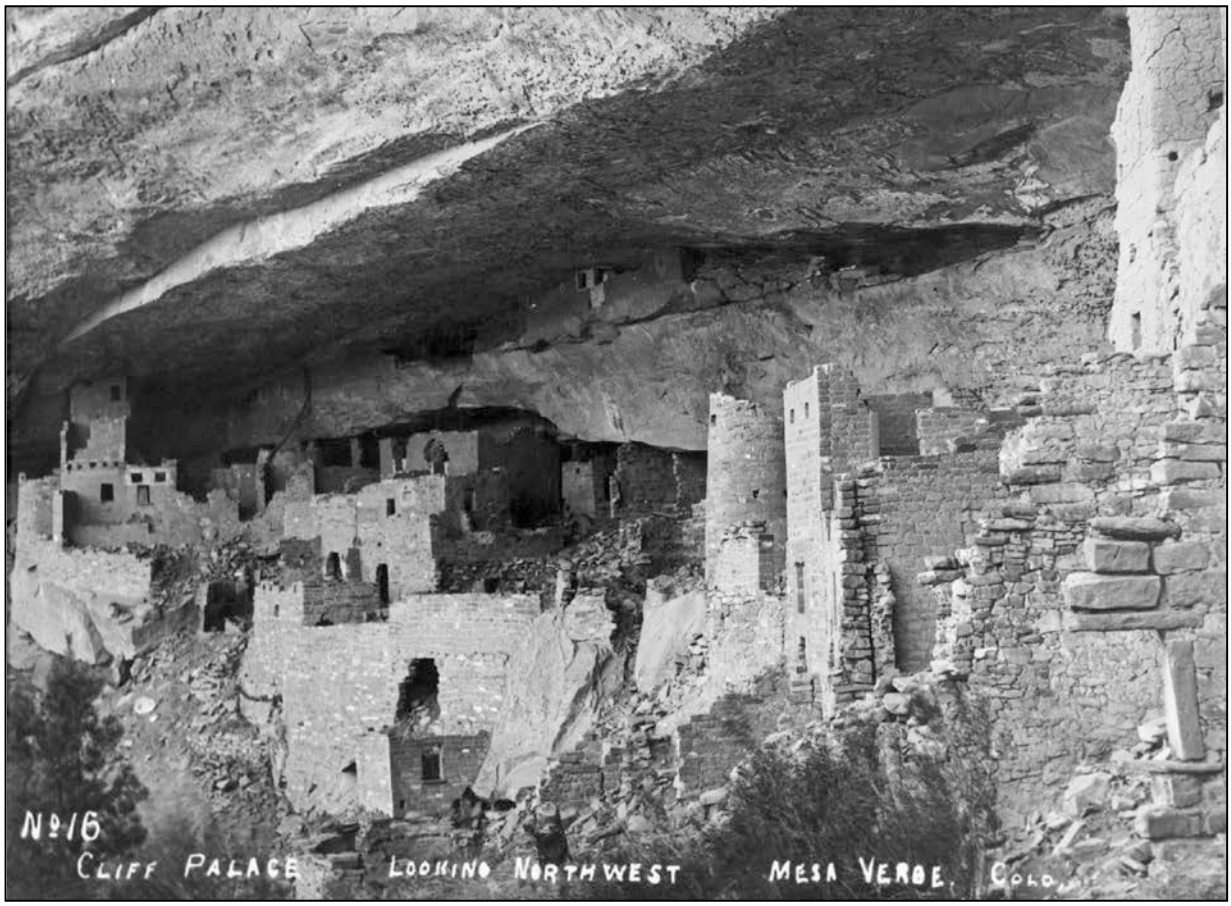


Figure 106: The archaeological site of Cliff Palace, Mesa Verde National Park, ca. 1890-1900. Photograph courtesy of Mesa Verde National Park.

action on the proposal. Lacey was desperately trying to find a solution to the disparate inter ests of the western homesteaders, timber, and ranching interests and the interests of the preservation groups vigorously led by Edgar Lee Hewett. As of 1906, nothing had worked.

One example of the curious course of controversy regarding the proposal was that in 1903, Henry Baum also joined the Pajarito Plateau controversy, throwing another wrench in the works and earning the undying enmity of Hewett. Baum wrote in his journal in December 1902 that he "… questioned whether the Pajarito sites needed national park status; he thought that their relative isolation would protect them from such depredation."[20] Knowing the increase in looting that was taking place on the Pajarito Plateau associated with the arrival of the railroad, this must have sent Hewett into a rage. It also confused the preservation groups, as Baum was quite respected at the time. After 1904, Hewett's star would continue to rise and Baum's to fade, but in 1903, this was a very difficult situation for those seeking park status.[21] Baum would later reverse himself after visiting the area and become a supporter of efforts to protect the area.

At about the same time Lacey revised the Pajarito bill to include a much smaller area than the one first envisioned, shrinking the protected area from 153,620 acres to only 35,000.[22] The proposal appeared to please neither the ranchers or timber interests, nor the preservationists. In 1903, another challenge was asserted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Native American population, specifically members of Santa Clara Pueblo. Led by Clinton J. Crandall, the superintendent of the San-

ta Fe Indian School and an agent for area pueblos, the goal was to extend Santa Clara Pueblo's boundaries to encompass their ancestral site of Puye.[23] This was an unexpected blow to park proponents. Combined with the local opposition to increased federal holdings, the weight against the project was becoming insurmountable.

Both the GLO and the BIA were part of the Interior Department, so a special field investigator was appointed to try and resolve the situation. Special Agent A. J. Holsinger was an important figure in the archaeological preservation movement at the time.[24] He had broken up a ring of pothunters in Arizona in 1902, and was responsible for restricting Richard Wetherill's activities in Chaco Canyon.[25] Holsinger was chosen to review the situation on the Pajarito Plateau. He visited the area in 1904 CE, meeting with Crandall and leaders of Santa Clara Pueblo. He was able to orchestrate a compromise with the Santa Clarans that increased their land, which they needed for pasture, fuel wood, and as a buffer against grazing by other land owners on their holdings.[26]

Holsinger's final recommendations strongly supported a national park on the plateau.

> The ruins are wonderful and of absorbing interest; as a resourceful field for ethnological and archeological interest, too much cannot be said of them. As a National Park the locality will present unique features, full of interest to the scientist and tourist alike, while it will preserve for ages the handiwork of a prehistoric race which must have occupied the region in great numbers for many centuries.[27]

He presented his report to the Lacey committee and the chances of establishing a park appeared much better. His solution to the standoff between the various interests was to make the Pajarito Plateau a national park that included all the major archaeological sites in the area (except those in the forested areas) and to allow stockmen to graze animals within the park's boundaries. He incorrectly claimed that provisions for the development of the park already existed. With vandalism in the archaeological sites remaining epidemic, Holsinger's plan received strong local support, headed by Hewett.[28] Indeed, after opposing the formation of the park in 1902, The Santa Fe New Mexican now threw its support behind the proposal.[29]

Despite this progress, only bad news followed. The New Mexico Territorial Delegate, Bernard S. Rodey, decided to oppose the measure based on philosophical disagreement with federal ownership of land, and this further confused the situation.[30] Also, Congress was not through amending the park's proposed boundaries. The House Public Lands Committee removed Frijoles Canyon from the bill and gave that area to the Jemez Forest Reserve, formed in 1905 CE.[31] Another blow was dealt in 1905 CE when Theodore Roosevelt granted forty-seven square miles, including Puye, to Santa Clara Pueblo.[32] With the removal of Frijoles Canyon, the exclusion of the Vigil Grant as private land, and the transfer of Puye to Santa Clara, even Lacey and Hewett began to despair.

Thus a controversy, still unresolved, would be born. Was the Pajarito Park project simply a stalking horse for getting Mesa Verde to national park status? There is some evidence that the experienced Lacey understood that only one of the two sites would gain park status at the time. After Lacey's death in 1917 CE, Hewett claimed that Lacey had walked away from the Pajarito Plateau in support of Mesa Verde.[33] Certainly the specters of Richard Wetherill and Gustav Nordenskiold were invoked to lend urgency to the need to protect Mesa Verde. Altherr states that after the passage of the Antiquities Bill, "…archaeologists no longer needed the national park to protect their treasures."[34] He goes on to comment, "Whether Hewett and Lacey had intended to sacrifice the New Mexico project to save Mesa Verde cannot be proved, but the lack of any mention of a national park proposal until 1914 CE was conspicuous."[35] This new effort saw the same shifting of interests and alliances even as new players entered the battle for a national park on the Pajarito Plateau.

The Drive to the Finish Line

Incredibly, the complexity of the political fight to establish the park on the Pajarito Plateau would only escalate. Hewett would remain the most central and controversial figure in the

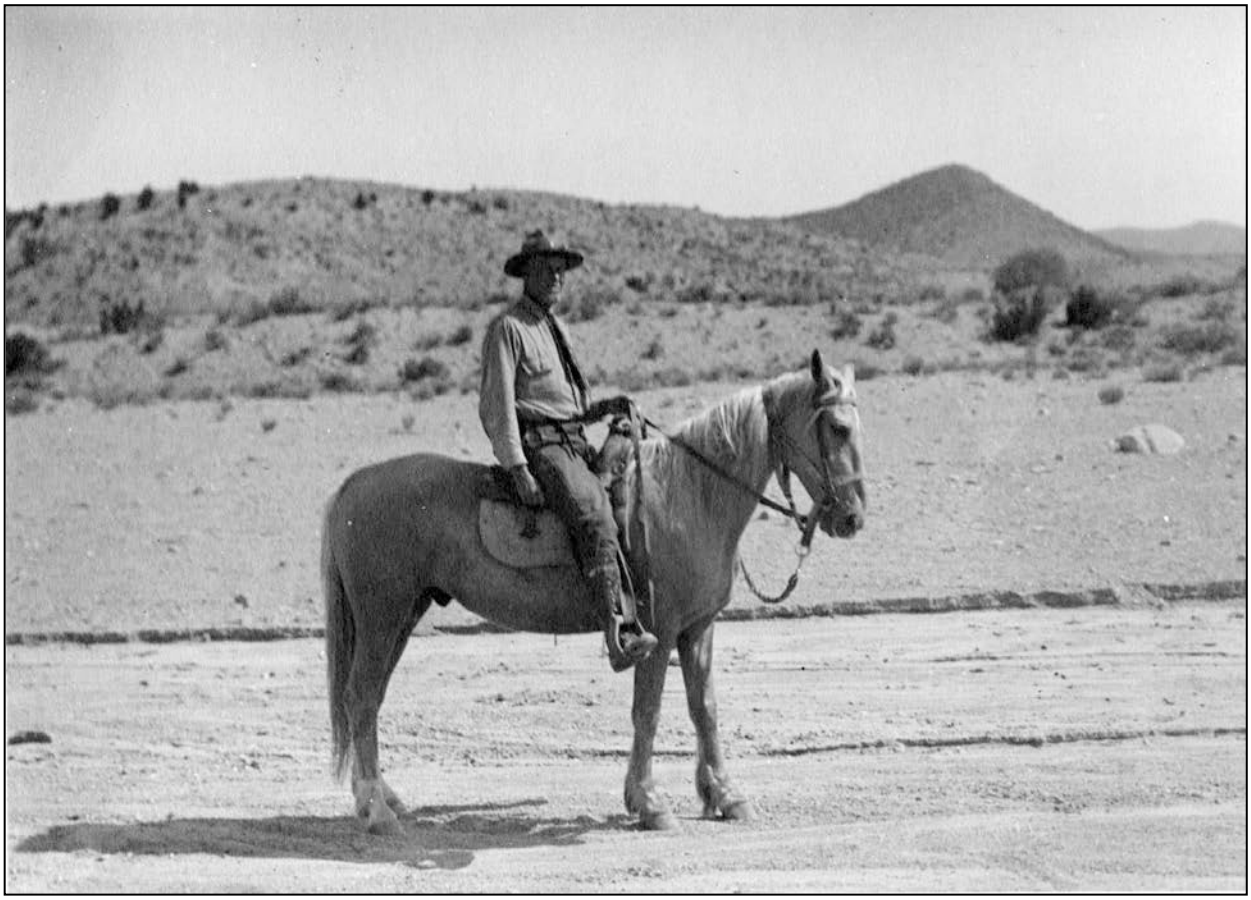


Figure 107: William Douglass in field uniform at Ojo Caliente. Published in "The Proposed Park of the Cliff Cities, Report of Herbert W. Gleason for 1919. Part III" Bandelier National Monument Catalog No. 12814.

ongoing battles. The next stage of the legislative efforts in 1914 would see the unlikely but active opposition of the USFS to the establishment of a national park on the plateau. Indeed, after the creation of Bandelier National Monument in 1916 CE, internecine conflict would occur until the NPS took over management in 1932 CE—another sixteen years and many controversies in the future.

Before we address the significant events of 1914-1916 CE, however, we must discuss the career of Edgar Hewett in the interim. After the successful passage of the Antiquities Act and the designation of Mesa Verde as a national park in 1906 CE, Hewett set out to further advance his reputation as the premier archaeologist of the American Southwest. This included earning his doctorate from the University of Geneva in 1909. Using his newly acquired status in Washington, D.C. and the legitimacy of the degree, he moved aggressively to ensure that his status was preeminent. With the backing of local supporters and the early major anthropological figure, Alice C. Fletcher, he was successful in establishing the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe and being named its first Director. His other local efforts also resulted in the founding of the Museum of New Mexico in 1909; Hewett and the School were established as the directing entity. This put Hewett at the top of both the public and private archeological institutions in the region and gave him a firm power base from which to influence future events.

Two other influences would impact the 1914-1916 campaign for a park on the Pajarito Plateau and the eventual establishment of the national monument. The first of these was the 1906 passage of the Homestead Act. Bureaucratic confusion regarding administration of

the bill only increased Western suspicion of the motives of the federal government. The issue was that the Act transferred the national forests to the USFS, which was more commercial in orientation than the GLO. In addition, the agencies involved handled the transfer information of the lands which had been part of the Temporary Withdrawals badly. Bureaucratic mismanagement and the resulting issues propelled this controversy to a full boil in 1907 with the Brook case in what is now the town of Los Alamos, about 12 miles from Frijoles Canyon.

In 1907, a Mr. Harold Brook filed a claim under the Homestead Act only to discover that his land, later the site of Fuller Lodge, had been subject to a Temporary Withdrawal in 1901.[36] Brook saw this as federal interference with private rights and waged a campaign not only against the federal agencies but against the concept of a national park. All of this reignited local fears regarding the motives and trustworthiness of the federal government.[37] Brook's claim was approved in 1914 CE, and the USFS asked that all of the withdrawn area be opened to settlement. The uncertainty created by these events led Hewett to ask the Department of the Interior for a review of the situation. The GLO was ordered to survey the region with this proposal in mind. This brought another player into the battle on the plateau and one Hewett already loathed—U.S. Examiner of Surveys, William B. Douglass.

Hewett had first encountered Douglass in 1909 CE when Douglass was instrumental in shutting down Hewett's excavations at Navajo National Monument in the Arizona Territory. Hewett tended to be fast and loose with the rules he helped establish under the Antiquities Act. He was not always present during excavations under his aegis as required, as he often worked on several projects in the field at one at a time simultaneous with his work in Washington, D.C. and Santa Fe. He frequently used students as field supervisors, which gave them experience but often led to inexperienced and sloppy work. These practices are what Douglass criticized.[38] Complaining to the Secretary of the Interior, Douglass had Hewett's work halted. The battle lines were clearly drawn.

For his part, Douglass was responsible for land surveys in the Southwest and ranged far and wide, taking a strong interest in archaeology. Rothman describes him: "…like many of his contemporaries, he disparaged the motives and actions of others while doing as he pleased…. He was a firm believer in orderly excavation of archaeological sites… He also engaged in excavations of his own, often without the permits he chastised others for not possessing."[39] These characteristics, of course, made him almost a carbon copy of Edgar Lee Hewett and the stage was set for a decade or more of vitriolic confrontation between the two men.

Hewett and Douglass next locked horns in 1910 CE, when Douglass was sent to the Pajarito Plateau to survey land outside of the Jemez National Forest for archaeological sites. He ended up focusing on Puye, where Hewett was also excavating. Hewett was ready for the challenge and brought in the BIA agent, Crandall. Together they opposed Douglass's final report, which sought national monument status for Puye. There are two interesting aspects to this conflict, one of national import and one which throws light on Hewett's political methods. The national issue regards encroachment on the rights of Native Americans. Crandall clearly saw that Douglass's recommendations would remove land from Santa Clara Pueblo and understood that taking land, not to mention religious sites, from the Pueblo peoples threatened their very survival.[40] The second point is more subtle and personal to Hewett. In opposing the GLO, he was turning against former allies and had to be very careful about how this was perceived. He therefore enlisted Crandall as his point man.[41] He would use this technique throughout the future controversies surrounding the various Pajarito Park proposals.

The result of the opinion by Crandall was the death of Douglass's proposal. Weak law had already caused problems with Pueblo land claims, resulting in damage to the integrity of the communities. By this time, the courts were moving to correct this, culminating in the 1913 CE Supreme Court decision to protect the

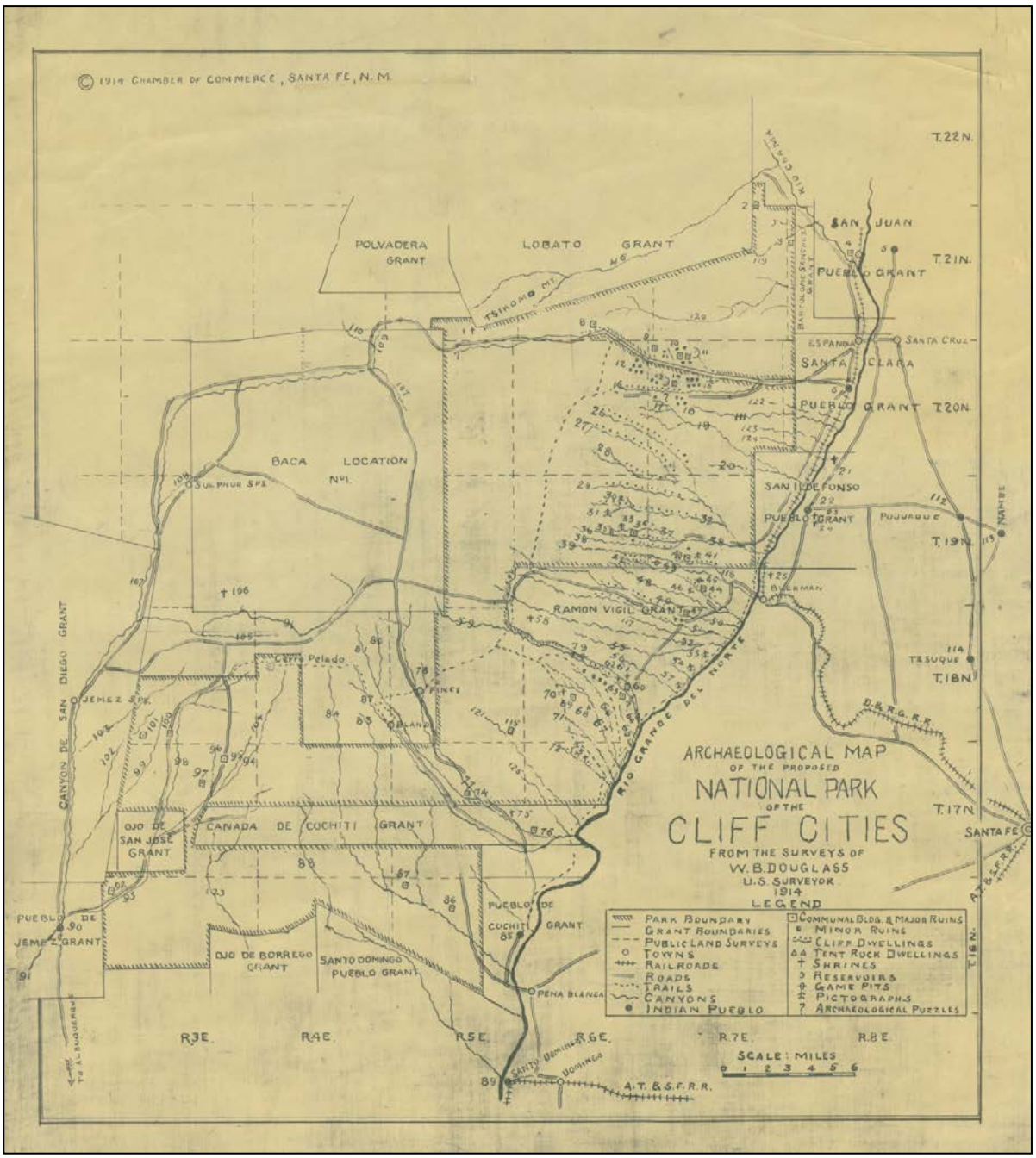
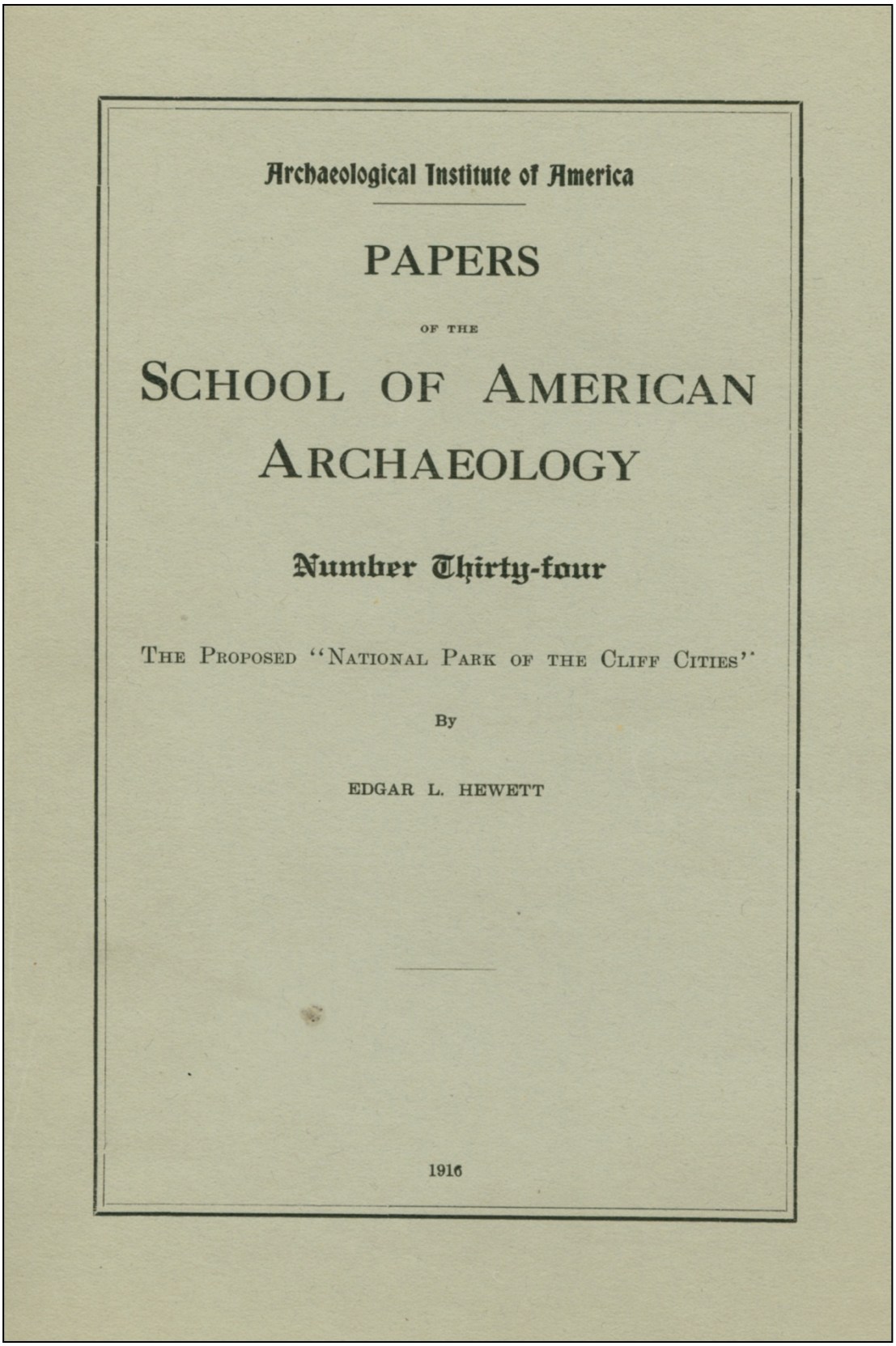


Figure 108: William B. Douglass's map of supporting the National Park of the Cliff Cities proposal, 1914. Bandelier National Monument archive, Catalog No. 24778.

pueblos.[42] Hewett now had more to gain by preserving exclusive access to the archaeological sites on the plateau than he did from efforts to establish a national park to protect them.[43] Douglass, in turn, fell in love with the Northern Rio Grande valley as many have before and after him. He stayed in the Santa Fe area and joined the Chamber of Commerce from which he would continue to wage his fight for a national park dedicated to the "cliff dwellings" of the Pajarito Plateau.

Prior to the reintroduction of a bill for a national park on the plateau, a number of major changes took place that once again muddied the political waters surrounding the project. In



Archaeological Institute of America

PAPERS

OF THE

SCHOOL OF AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Number Thirty-four

THE PROPOSED "NATIONAL PARK OF THE CLIFF CITIES"

By

EDGAR L. HEWETT

1916

Figure 109: The cover of Hewett's proposed National Park of the Cliff Cities, 1916. Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 12813.

1912 CE, New Mexico became a state and was very eager to acquire the status symbol of a national park. Additionally, Thomas Catron, a possible member of the mysterious Santa Fe Ring which reputedly ran both the politics and much of the economy in the state, had become Senator after being a leading advocate for statehood. He went to Washington at age seventy-two, determined to earn an enduring reputation. Finally, there was growing recognition that tourism, boosted by a national park, would be an important element of the state's economy as the timber and sheep industries declined. This mix of events did not fit the agenda of Edgar Lee Hewett, who saw tourism as a threat to the science of examining and documenting archaeological sites because it meant more potential looters and a greater chance of being barred from excavating on land likely to be subject to federal acquisition.[44] The stage was set for the next clash over the park proposal, and it would be the most convoluted and, to some degree, nasty fight yet.

Catron introduced S. 4537 on February 14, 1914 CE, to renew efforts to establish a park on the Pajarito Plateau. The bill was entitled, "A Bill to Establish the National Park of the Cliff Cities."[45] The New Mexican responded by hailing the creation of the Park as a "national duty."[46] The primary New Mexico support for the bill came from William B. Douglass and the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce, headed by Harry Dorman. The bill was very inclusive of sites on the plateau and included, "…the ruins from the Santa Clara Reservation, the Jemez National Forest, and the public domain."[47] Douglass published a survey map of the area to support the bill that included most of the plateau's known archaeological sites and boasted extensive boundaries which, it was hoped, would help justify national park status. The large size of the proposed park was, of course, an opening for opposition from the commodity based interests in the state. To include all important sites the proposed park was bounded by the Rio Grande on the east, extended almost to Bland and as far as the Canyon de San Diego Grant on the west. The other boundaries were formed by lands belonging to the pueblos, the Ramon Vigil Grant, and Cañada de Cochiti Grant.

Writing soon after the introduction of the bill, L. Bradford Prince, former Territorial Governor and still a powerful influence in the new state, wrote to Catron. "Mr. Douglass has been talking about [the proposal] for two to three years and the subject would have been pressed before but that we feared opposition from some of the Archaeology people who seemed to consider that section as their own particular domain."[48] This telling statement exposes the new issue being struggled with in Santa Fe and the region. Now the "Archaeologists" (and we can speculate that Hewett is referred to) were not partners but possible opponents. The idea that archaeologists might consider archaeological sites as their exclusive territory created a new divide. The civic drive for a national park was now based not only on preservation but the prestige and possible economic benefit to be derived from increased tourism. As stated above, this would disrupt Hewett's domination of the plateau.

Not to be left out, Hewett wrote somewhat obsequiously to Catron in April:

> We learn with much pleasure that you have introduced a Bill in Congress for the establishment of a National Park to include the Cliff Dwellings of the Parjarito [sic] Plateau. It is a measure that the people of Santa Fe, and I think all of New Mexico will take great interest in. If you have anything to suggest as to how we could go about it to arouse interest in the matter in Congress and give information upon the subject that could be of service we should only be too glad to assist.[49]

This letter is fascinating for a number of reasons. Catron very politely but perhaps a bit coldly responded, "I have no suggestion to make to you at the present time as to arousing any interest here in the matter, but should anything come up that will require it, I will write to you."[50] There is no rush to put Hewett on the team. In addition, a subtle but telling indicator which will come back to haunt the proposal and allow Hewett to deftly critique it is carried in the name where Hewett, perhaps in Freudian recognition of his future actions, misspells "Pajarito".

This seemingly minor misspelling touches on a critique first raised by Hewett in 1903. Back then, Hewett had objected to the term "Cliff

Dwellings" which Congressman Lacey used in the title of his early bill for a national park in which he urged for the park to be called the Pajarito Plateau National Park.[51] The more civic type of supporters feared that "Pajarito" was a difficult word to spell or speak for non-Spanish speakers. They also felt that "cliff dwellings" was a more romantic term and would make a more evocative marketing tool than the obscure "Pajarito." In the letter to Catron we see Hewett playing both sides, being very aware of the Chamber support for "Cliff Cities," also mentioning "Pajarito Plateau." His pamphlet on the topic, which he authored in 1916 CE, is also named *A Proposal for a "National Park of the Cliff Cities"* (most likely following the title of the bill), but the inclusion of the quotation marks was deliberate. He was laying a subtle but effective trap for the proponents of the park which he would spring during the next round of efforts in 1916. In January, 1914, Dorman had written to Catron of the Chamber's support for "Cliff Cities" but indicated that "Pajarito" was also acceptable.[52] The name, as well as the prospects for the park, would seesaw back and forth.

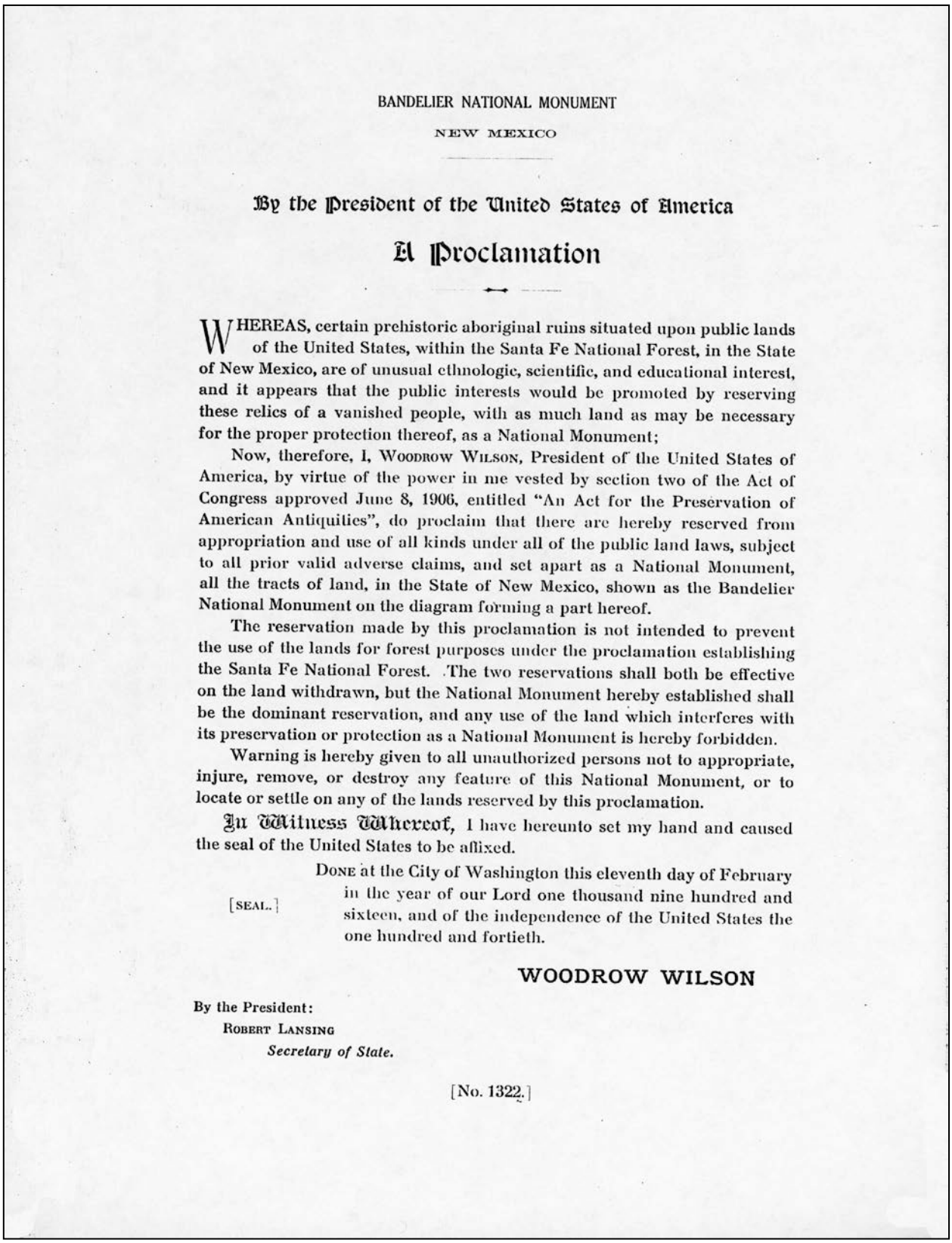
In 1914 CE, support for the park from the Chamber of Commerce and the New Mexican was very strong. Dorman was very assiduous in writing to the Congressional delegation, composed of Senator Fall and Congressman Ferguson, to enlist their support: "Santa Fe is vitally interested in the passage of Congress of Senate Bill No. 4537…"[53] In response to Dorman's letter requesting support for the park, Undersecretary of the Interior (and later New Mexico Senator), A. A. Jones, wrote, "Believing that these wonderful antiquities should be preserved, I am heartily in sympathy with the project of creating a national park, for that purpose, and shall cooperate in every way I can to secure the desired legislation."[54]

The most significant damage to the 1914 efforts was done by the GLO Commissioner Clay Tallman. Tallman wrote to A. A. Jones with two major objections. The first was that the park was not contiguous; the second was an accusation that the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce wanted a national park because of the availability of congressional funding which did not exist for national monuments.[55] The Secretary of the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce, G. H. Van Stone, wrote a blistering rebuttal to Catron:

> It is quite evident that the objection of the Commissioner of the General Land Office is based on erroneous data. Our map which he did not have before him shows that the lands in question are contiguous and not more or less scattered… Neither the Forest Service nor the Indian Office afford the required protection. Under the present rules, any college that wishes a collection of pottery can get a permit to excavate. Our Park is a virgin field and we want it developed by archaeologists, not by forest rangers and Indian police. We can demonstrate by scientific men that the protection of Forest, Indian, and Monumental Reservations is insufficient.[56]

The letter may well have been influenced by Douglass. As in his 1909 campaign against Hewett's excavations in the Arizona Territory, there are echoes of the argument against those archaeologists not observing the disciplinary standards of the day that Douglass criticized and worked to stop. Bringing more woe to the project, a group of wealthy industrialists purchased the Vigil Grant in 1914 CE, an event which appeared to doom any attempt at including this area within the proposed park. Additionally, the Department of Agriculture weighed in on the prospect of divided responsibilities of the park with the Department of the Interior and the value of timber on the proposed park land.[57] In turn, the USFS voiced objections to the transfer of its land to the park. Basically, federal government agencies were turning against the project, and they carried immense weight in the Congress. The GLO was eventually persuaded by Douglass to support the proposal, but the damage had been done. The federal officials felt that the definition of the proposal was unclear and fragmented. Eventually the Assistant Secretary of the Interior asked the Senate Committee to withdraw the bill.[58]

In spite of its promising start, the proposal ultimately failed, having been judged insufficient by its future administrators. Additionally, the complexities of Washington, D.C. defeated the efforts of some far removed Westerners. Where was Edgar Lee Hewett when needed? According to Rothman, he was playing a very



BANDELIER NATIONAL MONUMENT

NEW MEXICO

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

WHEREAS, certain prehistoric aboriginal ruins situated upon public lands of the United States, within the Santa Fe National Forest, in the State of New Mexico, are of unusual ethnologic, scientific, and educational interest, and it appears that the public interests would be promoted by reserving these relics of a vanished people, with as much land as may be necessary for the proper protection thereof, as a National Monument;

Now, therefore, I, WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section two of the Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906, entitled "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities", do proclaim that there are hereby reserved from appropriation and use of all kinds under all of the public land laws, subject to all prior valid adverse claims, and set apart as a National Monument, all the tracts of land, in the State of New Mexico, shown as the Bandelier National Monument on the diagram forming a part hereof.

The reservation made by this proclamation is not intended to prevent the use of the lands for forest purposes under the proclamation establishing the Santa Fe National Forest. The two reservations shall both be effective on the land withdrawn, but the National Monument hereby established shall be the dominant reservation, and any use of the land which interferes with its preservation or protection as a National Monument is hereby forbidden.

Warning is hereby given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, remove, or destroy any feature of this National Monument, or to locate or settle on any of the lands reserved by this proclamation.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[SEAL.]

DONE at the City of Washington this eleventh day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and fortieth.

WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING

Secretary of State.

[No. 1322.]

Figure 110: The presidential proclamation creating Bandelier National Monument, 1916. Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 24778.

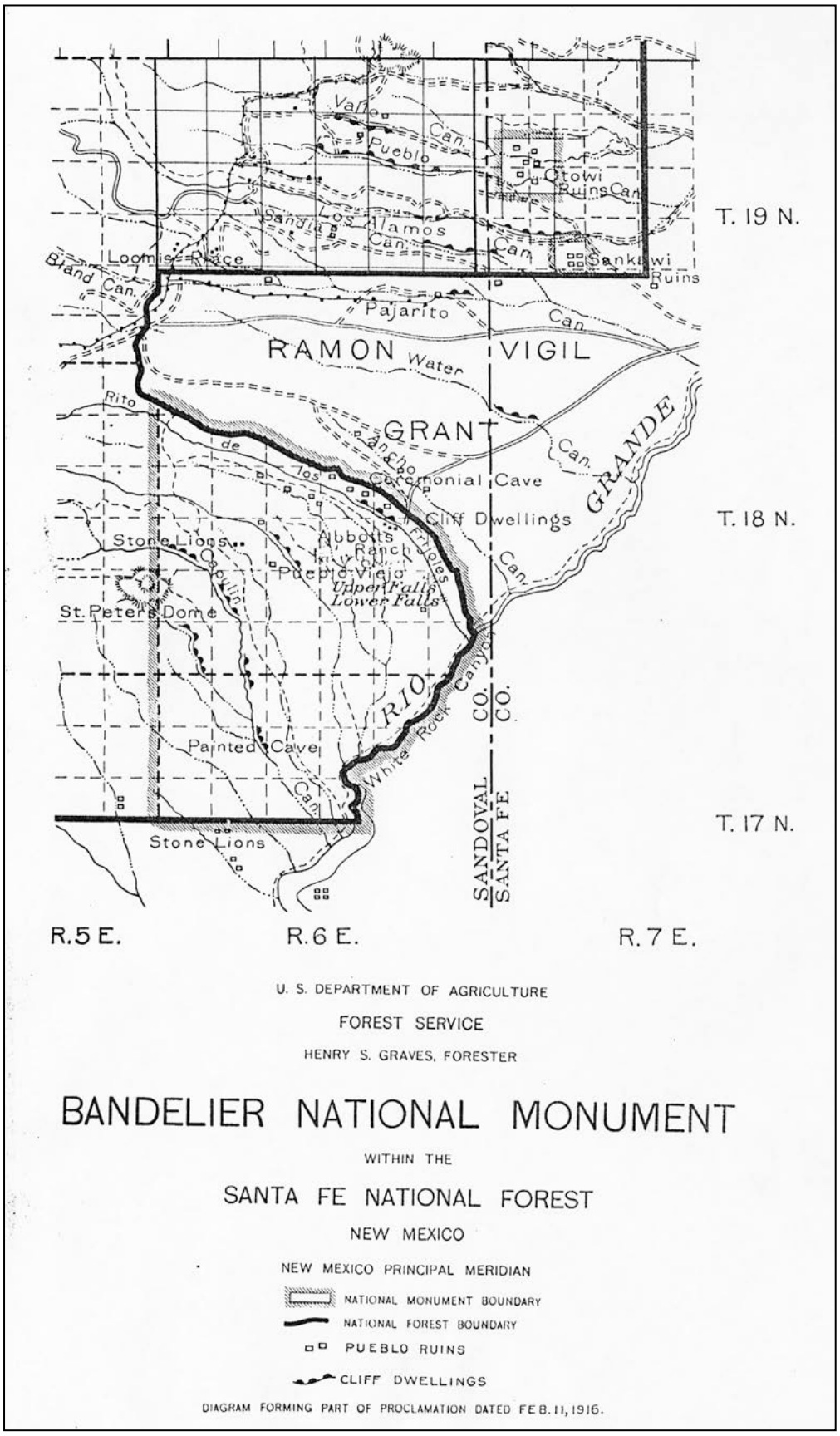


Figure 111: U.S. Forest Service map from 1916 showing the newly formed monument. Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 24778.

deep game with the New Mexican supporters of the park. Realizing that the park was intended to grow tourism and not just be a place for archaeological research, "[Hewett] began to clandestinely oppose a national park on the Pajarito."[59] How could it be that the champion of preservation was opposing the park he helped publicize? Once again, his nearly exclusive access to the archaeological sites on the plateau and his desire to maintain it drove Hewett's actions. From his point of view, a national monument would likely be administered by the USFS, an agency he continually advised on archaeology which would likely allow his excavations to continue unhindered. A national park was a new entity altogether that would likely be managed by a different agency, diminishing his access and influence. Preserving the status quo was to his benefit.[60] Hewett would not oppose the proposal in public and jeopardize his own standing in Santa Fe, however, and he likely wanted some of the credit if the park was established.[61] A very tangled web was being woven in New Mexico that would become even more convoluted when Hewett and Douglass became, for a time, allies before returning to their opposing positions during the 1916 CE and later efforts to establish a national park rather than a national monument.

Before recounting those events, we turn to the steps leading to the establishment of Bandelier National Monument in 1916 CE. All of the "Sturm und Drang" did draw attention to the need to do something to protect the ruins after sixteen years of political infighting. The argument caught the attention of Secretary of Agriculture Franklin Houston. He saw the need to unravel the very tangled web and ordered,"…an inspection of the area to find a compromise that preserved ruins and allowed the development of economic potential."[62] This was accomplished in July, 1915 by Will C. Barnes, in charge of grazing for the Department of Agriculture, and Arthur Ringland, the Chief Forester for New Mexico and Arizona. Interestingly enough, during their site visit they spent time with Judge Abbott, a strong ally of Hewett's.[63] Abbott told them that protecting Frijoles Canyon, the Stone Lions, and the Painted Cave was all that was required, and the three agreed that monument status was all that was needed.[64] They also named the future monument for Adolf Bandelier.[65] According to Rothman, this was all discussed around a campfire. This must have been the most memorable campfire ever held in Frijoles Canyon!

Based on their proposal and with the agreement of Stephen C. Mather, soon to become head of the new National Park Service, Woodrow Wilson designated 22,400 acres, including Frijoles Canyon and small tracts surrounding Otowi and Tsankawi, as Bandelier National Monument on February 11, 1916.[66] Because the new monument was carved out of land in the Jemez National Forest, the USFS was designated to manage the site. The event was almost an anticlimax to the 16 years spent arguing over park proposals and many, including William Douglass, remained dissatisfied with the monument, rather than park, designation. In the eyes of many, the status of the area as monument versus a park was not yet settled.

In late 1915, events around a national park proposal went into high gear again with the usual accompanying drama. There was a major factor driving the Chamber of Commerce and other supporters at this particular moment in time—the 1915 International Exposition in San Francisco and an accompanying exposition in San Diego focused on anthropology of the Southwest and South American regions. Hewett had been a major player in the San Diego event and raised the regional awareness of it in Santa Fe as well. The thinking in Santa Fe was that visitors traveling from the Midwest and East on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe might be enticed to stop and visit a newly formed national park centered on the archaeological treasures of the Pajarito Plateau.[67] This prospect lent a real sense of urgency to the project and once again the Chamber of Commerce called on Senator Catron, who introduced S. 2542 in December 1915.[68]

As with previous proposals, different factions supported or fought it. Things had changed for Edgar Lee Hewett in the last five years. While still a powerful influence in Santa Fe, his reputation was struggling on a number of fronts. The bitter fights with Douglass had alienated other important Santa Feans, most

notably the owner of the New Mexican and future Senator, Bronson Cutting.[69] Harry Dorman was disturbed over earlier incidents between himself and Hewett, and this sentiment generally carried over to the Chamber of Commerce. The New Mexican began running negative features on Hewett as early as 1913. Some of these attacks incorporated statements from leading archaeologists disparaging Hewett's professional status.[70] All of this fed even more bitterness into the fight for a national park on the Pajarito Plateau.

The main divide for Hewett and the Chamber of Commerce was the tourism issue. By this time, however, many New Mexicans saw the benefit of tourist dollars to the state's poor economy. The development of a tourism industry was furthered by Douglass's founding of the New Mexico National Parks Association in 1915 and the strong support of the New Mexico Federation of Women's Clubs in 1917.[71]

A significant source of opposition within the state came from Frank Bond. A longtime friend of Hewett's and a benefactor of the Museum of New Mexico, Bond was a partner in the merchandising firm of Bond and Nohl of Española. The firm traded in lambs and wool while providing the most modern farm tools and goods. Bond developed his empire until it monopolized grazing in the area. He became very wealthy collecting fees from the sheepherders using land he leased from the government, private landowners, and the railroad. He also sold them the tools for their trade. His wealth and influence only increased after he established a credit system for the whole enterprise; ultimately he gained control of much of the economy of northern New Mexico. He went on to purchase the Baca Location and the Vigil Grant during 1918-1919, making him the first major alternative to federal control of the Pajarito Plateau. His major concern with the park proposal was that it would somehow limit his interests on the plateau.[72] Joining Bond in his negative position was the past campaigner for homesteader's rights, Harold Brook, who was supported by the New Mexico Stockman's Association.[73]

This strong local opposition had to be countered to bring the proposal to a successful conclusion. This resulted in an almost unbelievable event—Douglass and Hewett sought common ground on which to come together in support of the proposal and settled on the fact that the senate bill allowed grazing in the national park. They therefore advocated for designation of four national monuments that would protect the archaeological sites and, as they saw it, be a positive step towards a national park.[74] However, the tenuous coalition could not last. The two sides fell out again and Hewett finally went public with his opposition to a national park.

Now the buried resentments Hewett had been nursing against Douglass, the Chamber of Commerce, and the New Mexican all poured out in an article published as a volume in the *Papers of the School of American Archaeology*. From the beginning, the gloves came off when he listed the six major categories of groups opposing the park creation. These include the state congressional delegation, the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior, the state of New Mexico, and scientific organizations including his own and the New Mexico Archaeological Society.[75] Of course he also attacked the name and specified Pajarito as the preferred title. Spending more than a page of his five and a half-page article on this effort, he stated:

> It is generally to be regretted that, in the search for a new name, publicity value is made the main consideration, to the disregard of all principles of place naming. It cannot be conceded, however, that even if willing to set aside local sentiment, and sound philological laws and the passion of the historian and scientist for truth, and view it from the purely mercenary standpoint of publicity value the case would be against the original name. The absurdity of the "National Park of the Cliff Cities" would achieve the publicity of ridicule…[76]

He also attacked the anticipated economic benefit of the park head on.

> What city has been built up or noticeably benefited by becoming a gateway to a national park? Will the tourist business gained by Albuquerque, Santa Fe and Espanola offset the prospective development of this vast region by settlement which can go on uninterruptedly under the present liberal forestry regulations but which is barred under the National Park restrictions?[77]

He clearly had not only the park proposal but the Chamber of Commerce in his sights.

This article proved to be the final dagger in the proposal in 1916. The bill had many issues, but Hewett's writing ensured that it would not see daylight in the Senate. Between his standing outside of Santa Fe and what remained in the town and state, his veto was still sufficient to doom the proposal. Douglass immediately fired back in the *New Mexican*, personally attacking Hewett, but to no avail.

Douglass accurately perceived that because the bill forbade the type of excavations which Hewett sponsored, involving removal of artifacts out of the state, Hewett's objections to the bill were to be expected.[78] Hewett does discuss this objection in his article.[79] Rothman summarized the personal dynamics and the cause for Hewett's public opposition.

> Hewett still saw southwestern archaeology as his personal domain, and Douglass still insisted that the ruins belonged to the government and that everyone, including Hewett, should excavate only by permission. The two were equally to blame for the impasse…In 1916 Hewett opposed a national park in order to preserve his control of the area. The establishment of Bandelier National Monument had allowed the continuation of his reign. Hewett had vast influence on USFS policymakers, and the protection of archaeological ruins was an ancillary issue to the USFS. The status quo served Hewett's purpose better than any proposed change.[80]

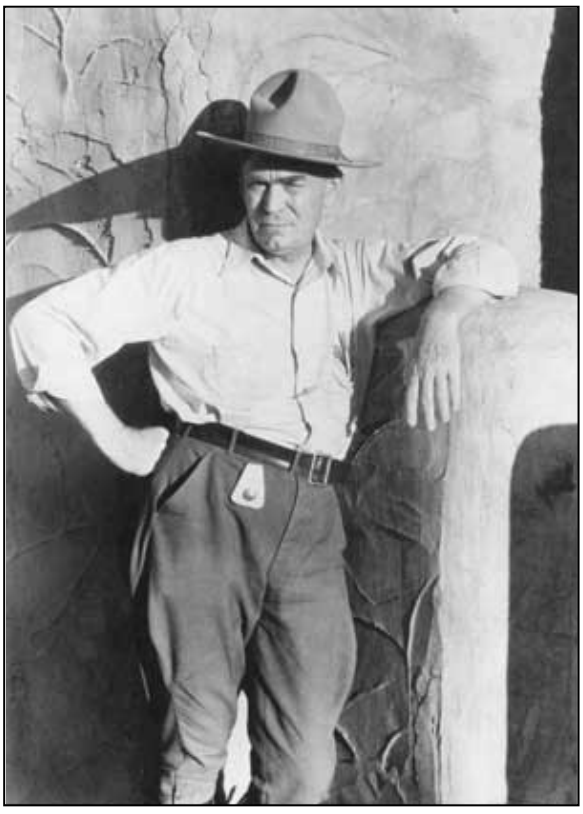


Figure 112: Frank "Boss" Pinkley, 1934. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Catalog No. HPC-001702.

This sorry situation once again shelved any plans for a national park on the plateau and did nothing for either man's personal reputation. Beginning in this period, Hewett would spend more time out of state and with the Native peoples in New Mexico. Was this an unconscious withdrawal from the political scene in Santa Fe? There is no way to know. He did spend time in the city at the museums and Laboratory of Anthropology and worked towards forming and sponsoring the Santa Fe Fiesta in the 1920s, but never again was his status as highly regarded as between 1904 and 1916. Two new players would now join the fray over national park status and control of Bandelier National Monument—the USFS as the current managing agency, and the fledgling NPS.

Another Sixteen-Year Battle: The USFS and the NPS (1916 – 1032 CE)

The fight to create a national park did not stop with the declaration of the Bandelier National Monument. Local interests still felt this was a critical component of attracting visitors to the Santa Fe region and the state in general. This battle has never truly ended and we will see it reappear in future years, but we turn now to the 1916-1932 CE period and another dynamic individual who took on the fate of the new monument, Frank "Boss" Pinkley.

A legend in his own lifetime in the NPS, Pinkley was both dynamic and driven. The status and care of national monuments became his mission and relentless focus. Taking a job as caretaker of the ruin of Casa Grande

for the GLO in 1901 CE, he quickly established his reputation as loving the ancient sites of the Southwest. He had a number of assignments in his early career, but became part of the NPS in 1918 CE as the superintendent of Casa Grande National Monument. By 1924, he was Superintendent of the Southwestern Monuments division of the NPS, with fourteen monuments under his control.[81] He would fight for the recognition of national monuments for the rest of his life. In 1927 CE, his monuments drew a larger number of visitors than Yellowstone on approximately half the budget.[82] His dedication and energy were unquestioned.

What was Pinkley's interest in Bandelier National Monument since it was managed by the

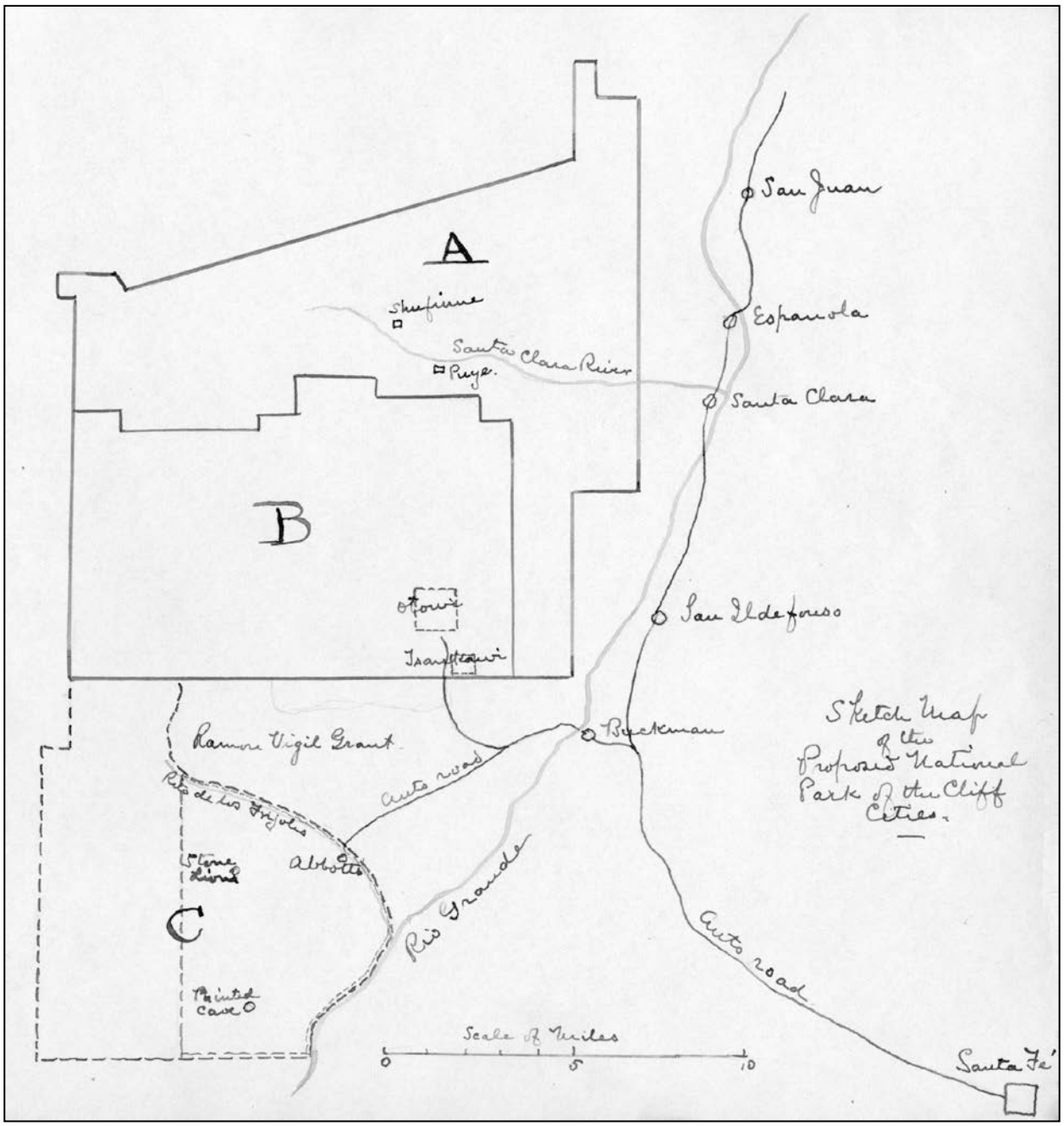


Figure 113: Gleason's 1919 map of the proposed national park in "The Proposed Park of the Cliff Cities. Report of Herbert W. Gleason for 1919. Part III." Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 12814.

USFS? Very simply, once he was given his Superintendent position in 1924 CE, the Bandelier National Monument was on his mind as a candidate for management by the NPS. Interestingly, he envisioned the monument remaining a national monument rather than being enlarged and elevated to park status. There was likely an element of bureaucratic "snatch and grab" involved, but Pinkley also had a strong motivation based on his assignment to head the Southwestern Monuments division. Rothman comments on his thinking about the monument: "Bandelier [National Monument] was the perfect site for Pinkley to administer. His programs were designed to reveal the nature of prehistoric Indian life on the North American continent as well as teach Americans to appreciate the aboriginal Indian culture. Few sites provided a better opportunity to convey this than did Bandelier [National Monument]."[83] The stage was once again set for the type of seesawing events that only New Mexico and its fledgling monument seemed to produce in such abundance. Certainly there was controversy elsewhere in the park and monument system, but Bandelier National Monument had more than its fair share for over thirty years.

Pinkley was not the only one to have his eye on the monument. From 1918 CE on into the mid-1920s, the efforts to establish a park on the Pajarito Plateau continued. There were a plethora of bills, all of which foundered for a number of reasons. Hewett even returned to the fray, almost always against the park effort. None of the bills passed and the congressional delegation began losing interest in this non-



Figure114: Stephen Mather at Petrified Forest in 1921. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14319.

productive activity. Major objections to the proposal were centered on worthiness to be a national park, Native American land rights, and grazing. Popular support remained, however, and sporadic efforts continued. In 1919 CE, Harold Gleason, a Department of Interior Inspector, was ordered to survey the area for a park.

Gleason became, in his own words, a "violent advocate" for a park to protect the Pajarito Plateau sites.[84] He and Douglass kept the campaigns going before the next significant attempt to establish a national park was undertaken in 1925. Hewett worked very hard to defeat these proposals to keep his primary relationship with the USFS.[85] While Gleason's efforts were not successful in the short term, his report cemented NPS interest in the Pajarito Plateau and a national park.[86]

These battles took place primarily in 1919 CE; over time they began to bring a change to Hewett's viewpoint. While he still deferred to the senior agency, the USFS, it was clear that the energetic and efficient first Director of the NPS, Stephen Mather, and his new agency were in ascendancy. Hewett's need for a new ally began to focus on the NPS. Hewett had so deftly hidden his opposition to recent park efforts by his skillful use of the USFS that he was on basically good terms with the NPS.[87] In his application for and subsequent excavation at Gran Quivira, Hewett met and began to establish a close relationship with Frank Pinkley. While Hewett would use this new relationship to benefit his own agenda, in the long term it was Pinkley's goals that were advanced.

There were also national events occurring that influenced events in New Mexico. New Mexico's other first Senator was Albert Fall. Fall was a very close friend of Catron, who had promoted Fall's congressional campaign. Fall was subsequently recognized as extremely corrupt and the New Mexico Republican Party asked Catron not to run for a second term because of his association with Fall. Passing away in 1921 CE, Catron did not live to see the damage done when Fall was implicated for his role in the 1923 Teapot Dome scandal. Albert Fall was the Secretary of the Interior during this infamous case of public corruption. Indeed, the whole affair damaged the state's Republican Party for years to come. This, along with Catron's death, changed the players once more in the Bandelier National Monument saga.

The next major attempt to establish the park occurred in 1925 CE. This time some of the giants of the preservation world would be engaged. In addition to Hewett, Douglass, Stephen Mather, and others who had already weighed in, Pinkley and the Superintendent of Mesa Verde and first NPS Archaeologist, Jesse Nusbaum, would be added to the list.

In 1925, Stephen Mather became convinced that a national park should be established on the Pajarito Plateau. With his new relationship with the NPS, Hewett reversed his earlier stance and supported the proposal. Mather prepared a report for the Coordinating Committee for National Parks and Forests (CCNPF), and the next phase of the saga of Bandelier National Monument was underway. To meet Mather's conception of a national park, the new proposal was of staggering dimensions, containing over 200,000 acres.[88] This moved the monument to the center of an already strained relationship between the USFS and NPS.

There were many roots to this bureaucratic rivalry. Some of the difficulties lay in the lack of clarity in legislation associated with preservation and even with the founding of the NPS itself. Some enmity grew out of competing missions to develop commercial value and implement preservation practices. Two opposing visions of the use of undeveloped areas stood at the base of the disagreement. Mather and the new NPS were not only preservationists but developers in the eyes of the USFS. In its view, the NPS brought in hotels, roads, and more visitors, which threatened the very areas they were charged with preserving.[89] Mather saw the issue from a different perspective. He and his friend Horace Albright, head of the National Parks Association, wanted national parks to hold the same attraction as cultural and historical sites in Europe. They both also wanted to extend the park definition beyond scenery to an "aggregate" park akin to Mesa Verde with both scenic and archaeological attractions.[90] The fact that both agencies shared management of national monuments

set a fuse burning. The powder keg was Bandelier National Monument.

Mather's proposal ignited the political tinderbox. Because both the USFS and NPS were federal agencies, it was decided by the CCNPF that a joint investigative team would visit the area and meet with interested parties. For his representative Mather chose the Superintendent of Mesa Verde—the much respected archaeologist and former student of Hewett's, Jesse Nusbaum. The USFS brought in a number of players including Arthur Ringland (the man who helped name Bandelier National Monument), and Leon Kniep. The team also included Congressman Temple from Pennsylvania and other committee members. The NPS was outnumbered and outmaneuvered on the trip. A public meeting in Albuquerque went well, but the one chaired by Hewett in Santa Fe was packed with USFS supporters and proved negative. Temple tried to broker a deal on the trip, but Nusbaum felt outranked and pleaded for the decision to be taken up in Washington, D.C.[91] The decision languished. Finally in 1927, an NPS person was sent by the CCNPS to survey the area and try to resolve the question—Mather chose his man and assured vote, Frank Pinkley.

Things did not go as Mather planned, however, as Pinkley had his own agenda. Instead of supporting his agency's position he took an alternate tack. Rothman recounts Pinkley's statements in his report[92]: "Boiled down," he wrote after his trip, "my report on the proposed Cliff Cities National Park is that the scenery is not of park status and ruins do not make a national parks, not in any number, kind or quantity; they make a monument." He reiterated his long standing contention that the ruins were inferior to those at Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde and that scientists like Hewett were more interested in the area than the general public. "It would be," he continued, "a distinct anti-climax for the average visitor to come from the Mesa Verde to the proposed Cliff Cities National Park." There was little in the way of exceptional scenery in the proposed area. Most of it could "be duplicated several times over" throughout the Southwest. Because the Frijoles ruins were already protected as a national monument, Pinkley thought it best to transfer administration to the Park Service. But he asserted heretically, "I would rather see them left as a monument under [the Forest] Service than be transferred to ours as a Park."

There are a number of interesting points in Pinkley's assessment. First and foremost, there is a sense that a national park is truly something extraordinary in the nation's public land holdings. Here we harken back to Mather's vision of these parks rivaling the greatest cultural monuments of Europe. Second is the continuing lack of a specific definition of a monument. Indeed, this has not been resolved to this day. It is clear, however, that Pinkley saw a monument as a very specific parcel of land focused on a specific ruin, land feature, or historic site, not just a second rate park.[93] While definitions would remain unresolved, this became a de facto definition for decades. The NPS implicitly recognized the importance of the monuments when it began to subdivide its management into regions in the 1930s. These regions managed all parks, monuments, etc. within their borders. Frank Pinkley's Southwest Monuments division remained one of the last holdouts to this system, but eventually it too was assimilated. With the advent of the Mission 66 initiative in the 1950s, the NPS recognized "consistency" with the funding and maintenance of all types of units under their jurisdiction.[94]

Mather buried the report and dealt for time. The attempted horse trading on the 1925 trip had set some precedent, with the USFS offering to give up some of the primary sites to the NPS. Over the next several years further studies were ordered. In 1930, John J. Connor wrote a finding on the park proposal in which he quoted NPS superintendents, Toll, Nusbaum, and Tillotson as stating, "The choice seems to be between having a large and important national monument, or a rather small and unimportant national park."[95] Another report was done by Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History in 1931 that basically supported Pinkley.[96] There was still interest in a national park in the state and among members of the congressional delegation, however. Very slowly momentum built for some resolution, fed by larger numbers of

visitors to the area which the USFS didn't have the resources to manage.[97]

On February 25, 1932, the monument and additional land was transferred to the NPS from the USFS. With more of a whimper than a large explosion, and for only a short time, the battle for a national park on the Pajarito Plateau was over. Things were bound to change under the management of the NPS and, most particularly, "The Boss."

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[1] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 57.
[2] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 1
[3] Thomas L. Altherr, The Pajarito or Cliff Dwellers National Park Proposal, 1900-1920. *New Mexico Historical Review,* Vol. 60, No.3, July, 1985, 272.
[4] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 58.
[5] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 58.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 61.
[8] Ibid.
[9] The Bureau was established in 1879 to manage the records of the American Indians for the Department of the Interior. Under the leadership of John Wesley Powell it took on a larger anthropological role in partnership with the Smithsonian.
[10] Thompson, part IV.
[11] Richard West Sellars, *A Very Large Array: Early Federal Historic Preservation,* The George Wright Forum, p80, accessed on line at http://www.georgewright.org/251sellars.pdf, August 20, 2010.
[12] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 72.
[13] Ibid., 76.
[14] Hal Rothman, *America's National Monuments* (Lawrence, KA: The University of Kansas Press, 1994), Chapter 3, accessed on line at http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/rothman/index.htm, on August 19, 2010.
[15] Thompson, Pviii, accessed online 8/18/2010.
[16] Rothman, On Rims and Ridges, 81.
[17] Thompson, pviii.
[18] Thompson, Px.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Altherr, 279.
[21] Rothman, 72.
[22] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges,* 71.
[23] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges* 72-73.
[24] Rothman, *Rims*, 73.
[25] Interestingly, this was done in response to a complaint by Hewett, who was at odds with anyone he perceived as a looter or who he thought threatened his owned right to excavate or criticized his field methods or field schools.
[26] A.J. Holsinger, Report on the Proposed Pajarito Park, 1904. BAND
[27] Ibid., 9. As a historical document, Holsinger's report is a fascinating commentary on Native American and Anglo relations at the time, being both condescending and asute.
[28] Rothman. *Rims*, 75.
[29] Altherr., 283.
[30] Rothman, *Rims,* 78.
[31] Ibid., 80.
[32] Ibid., 79-80.
[33] Ibid., 81.
[34] Altherr, 286.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 1.
[37] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 103.
[38] Idid.
[39] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 99.
[40] Ibid., 101.
[41] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 101.
[42] Rothman, *Rims*, 102.
[43] Ibid., 105.
[44] Ibid., 113.
[45] Ibid., 108.
[46] Altherr, 286.
[47] Rothman, *Rims*, 108.
[48] Letter, L. Bradford Prince to Thomas Catron, dated March 2, 1914, The Catron Collection at the Chavez Library
[49] Letter, Edgar L. Hewett to Thomas Catron, dated April 3, 1914, The Catron Collection at the Chavez Library
[50] Letter, Catron to Hewett, dated April 7, 1914, The Catron Collection at the Chavez Library.
[51] Thompson, piii.
[52] Letter, Dorman to Catron, dated January 12, 1914, The Catron Collection in the Chavez Library.
[53] Letters, Dorman to Ferguson and Fall, dated February, 26, 1914, The Catron Collection of the Chavez Library
[54] Letter, Jones to Dorman, dated March 4, 1914, The Catron Collection of the Chavez Library.
[55] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 114.
[56] Letter, Van Stone to Catron, dated May 5, 1914, The Catron Collection at the Chavez Library.
[57] Letter, D. F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture to Henry L. Myers, Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Lands, dated April 29, 1914., The Catron Collection at the Chavez Library.
[58] Rothman, *Rims*, 119.
[59] Ibid., 113.
[60] Ibid., 115.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 121.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., 122.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 109.
[68] Rothman, *Bandelier*, Chapter 2. Accessed on line August 21, 2010.
[69] Rothman, *Rims*, 111.
[70] Ibid., 112.
[71] Rothman, Bandelier, Chapter 2 on line access August 21, 2010.
[72] Rothman, *Rims*, 129-131.
[73] Rothman, *Bandelier*, Chapter 2.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Edgar L. Hewett, "The Proposed 'National Park of the Cliff Cities'", *Papers of the School of American Archaeology*, 1916, Nbr. 34, 50.
[76] Hewett, Cliff Cities, 53.
[77] Ibid., 55.
[78] Rothman, *On Rims and Ridges*, 134.
[79] Hewett, 51.

[80] Ibid., 135-136.
[81] Keith Hoofnagle, *Frank "Boss" Pinkley, National Park Service: The First 75 Years*, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/sontag/pinkley.htmaccessed online august 23, 2010.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Hal Rothman, Conflict on the Pajarito: Frank Pinkley, the Forest Service, and the Bandelier Controversy, 1925-1932. *Journal of Forest History*, Vol. 29, No. 2, April, 1985, 70.
[84] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 2.
[85] Rothman, *Rims,* 148-149.
[86] Rothman, *Conflict on the Pajarito*, 71.
[87] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 2 accessed on-line, August 26, 2010.
[88] Rothman, *Monuments*, Chapter 8, accessed online on August 26, 2010.
[89] Rothman, *Monuments*, Chapter 8.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Rothman*, Monuments*, Chapter 8.
[93] SWNM Monthly Reports, January 1935, p25. WACC.
[94] Ethan Carr, *Mission 66* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), p154-155.
[95] John J. Connor, *The Proposal for a Cliff Cities or Pajarito National Park*, 1932, p27. BAND
[96] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 2.
[97] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 2.

9. Polishing a Diamond

(1933 - 1941 CE)

With the coming of the National Park Service to Bandelier National Monument in 1932 CE great changes would also arrive, but it took a national economic disaster to make those changes happen. There is no doubt that Frank Pinkley knew exactly what he wanted at the new NPS site, but in the early 1930s with the Great Depression underway, funding was almost non-existent. Two very important developments changed this reality. First was the designation of the NPS as the agency solely responsible for preservation. This greatly increased the NPS's responsibilities and in the short run, provided even greater challenges for the already challenged agency. The second was more clearly a benefit and would have a direct impact on Bandelier National Monument. This was the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) under the Roosevelt administration's New Deal.

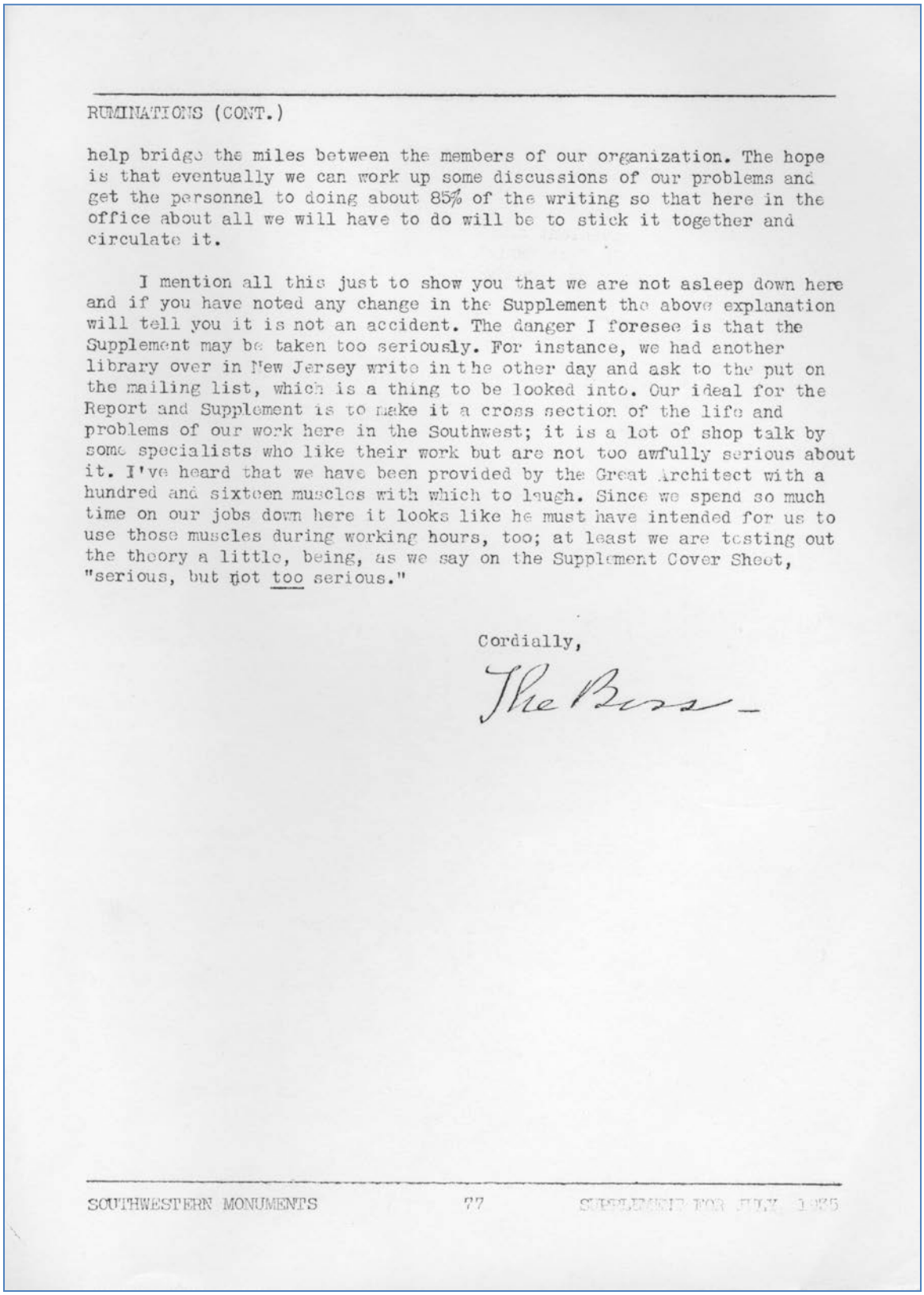
The CCC provided work for young, single men who were unemployed. The work was outdoors and benefitted some of the nation's greatest treasures, including Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon. President Roosevelt summarized the benefits of his radical program when recommending the bill to Congress.

> This enterprise is an established part of our national policy. It will conserve our precious natural resources. It will pay dividends to the present and future generations. It will make improvements in National and State domains which have been largely forgotten in the past few years of industrial development.
>
> More important, however, than the material gains will be the moral and spiritual value of such work. The overwhelming majority of unemployed Americans, who are now walking the streets and receiving private or public relief, would infinitely prefer to work. We can take a vast army of these unemployed out into healthful surroundings. We can eliminate to some extent at least the threat that enforced idleness brings to spiritual and moral stability. It is not a panacea for all the unemployment but it is an essential step in this emergency. I ask its adoption.[1]

Four companies of 200 men each were working in the Santa Fe National Forest by 1933. The men worked in camps that were generally run in a military style by the Army. These men soon caught the eye of the "Boss."

Before detailing the CCC program at the monument, a further discussion of "Boss" Pinkley and his role in the 1930s NPS is required. Self-educated and focused to a razor sharp self-defined viewpoint, Pinkley was driven and protective of his realm. As Superintendent of over two dozen national monuments in the Southwest, he concentrated on their unique role in educating the American public about the region's prehispanic inhabitants. This passion also took the form of educating his superiors, which did not bode well for his efforts to influence policy in the 1930s. A legend in the late 1920s for his dedication and his ability to motivate his generally volunteer staff to perform any needed task, Pinkley nevertheless found his standing deeply damaged by his disagreement with Director Mather on the issue of a national park on the Pajarito Plateau. Coming at a time when Directors Mather and then Albright were consolidating and trying to professionalize their new agency, Pinkley's self-determined policies, informal ways, and frequent disagreement with NPS management became a major nuisance for the NPS leadership.[2]

It probably began with the title "Boss." Sometimes when writing to Albright, Pinkley would sign as "the Boss." How did Albright appreciate this? Perhaps to lessen the impact, Pinkley addressed Albright as "Chief."[3] None of this was very professional and with the development of NPS bureaucracy, this must not have been eyed very favorably. There was also quite



RUMINATIONS (CONT.)

help bridge the miles between the members of our organization. The hope is that eventually we can work up some discussions of our problems and get the personnel to doing about 85% of the writing so that here in the office about all we will have to do will be to stick it together and circulate it.

I mention all this just to show you that we are not asleep down here and if you have noted any change in the Supplement the above explanation will tell you it is not an accident. The danger I foresee is that the Supplement may be taken too seriously. For instance, we had another library over in New Jersey write in the other day and ask to the put on the mailing list, which is a thing to be looked into. Our ideal for the Report and Supplement is to make it a cross section of the life and problems of our work here in the Southwest; it is a lot of shop talk by some specialists who like their work but are not too awfully serious about it. I've heard that we have been provided by the Great Architect with a hundred and sixteen muscles with which to laugh. Since we spend so much time on our jobs down here it looks like he must have intended for us to use those muscles during working hours, too; at least we are testing out the theory a little, being, as we say on the Supplement Cover Sheet, "serious, but not too serious."

Cordially,

The Boss

SOUTHWESTERN MONUMENTS 77 SUPPLEMENT FOR JULY 1935

Figure 115: A page from one of the Southwest Monuments Monthly Reports showing Pinkley's signature as "The Boss", 1935. Bandelier National Monument archived reports (no catalog number).

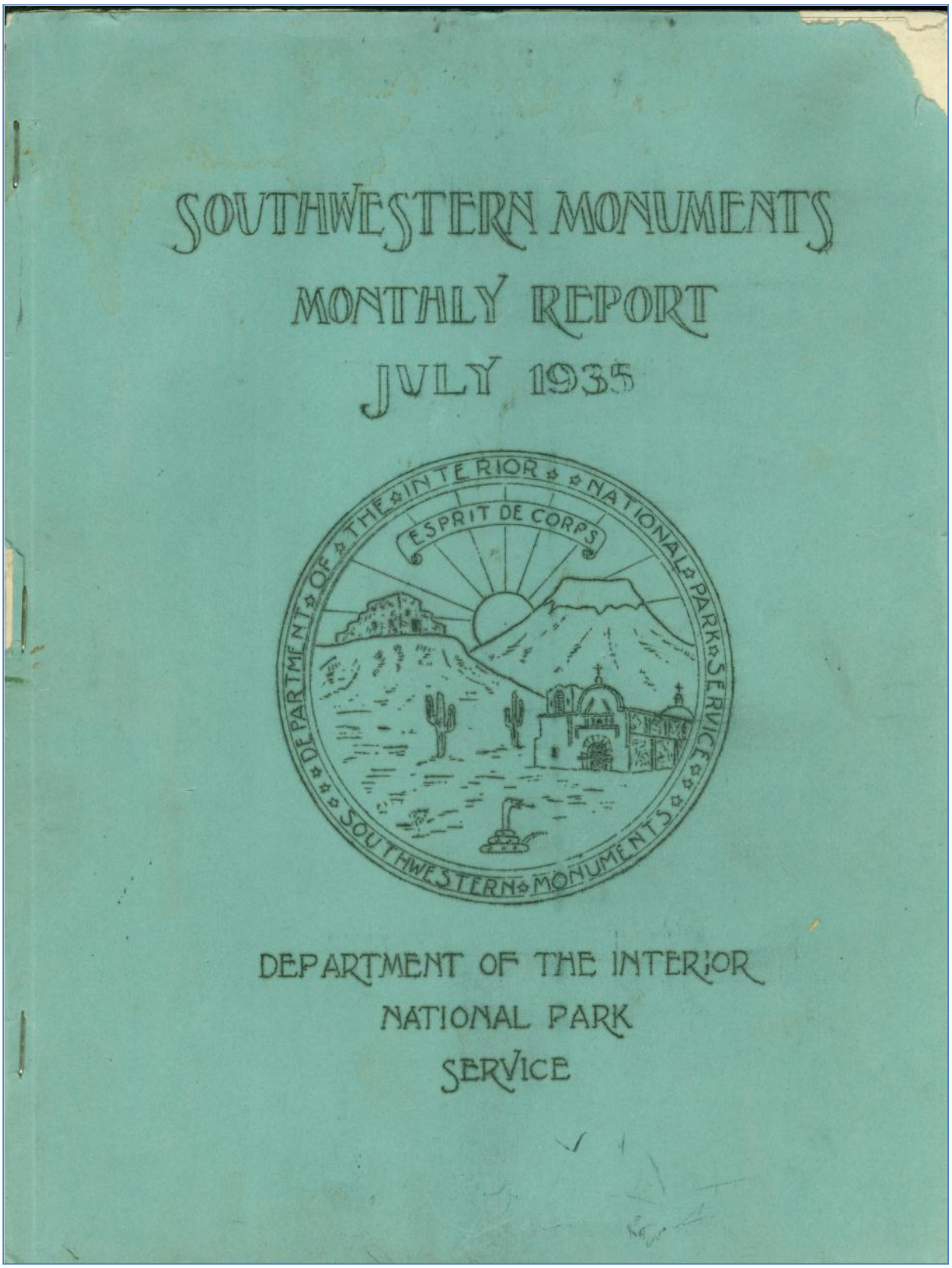


Figure 116: The cover of a Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report showing the seal Pinkley designed, 1935. Bandelier National Monument archived reports (no catalog number).

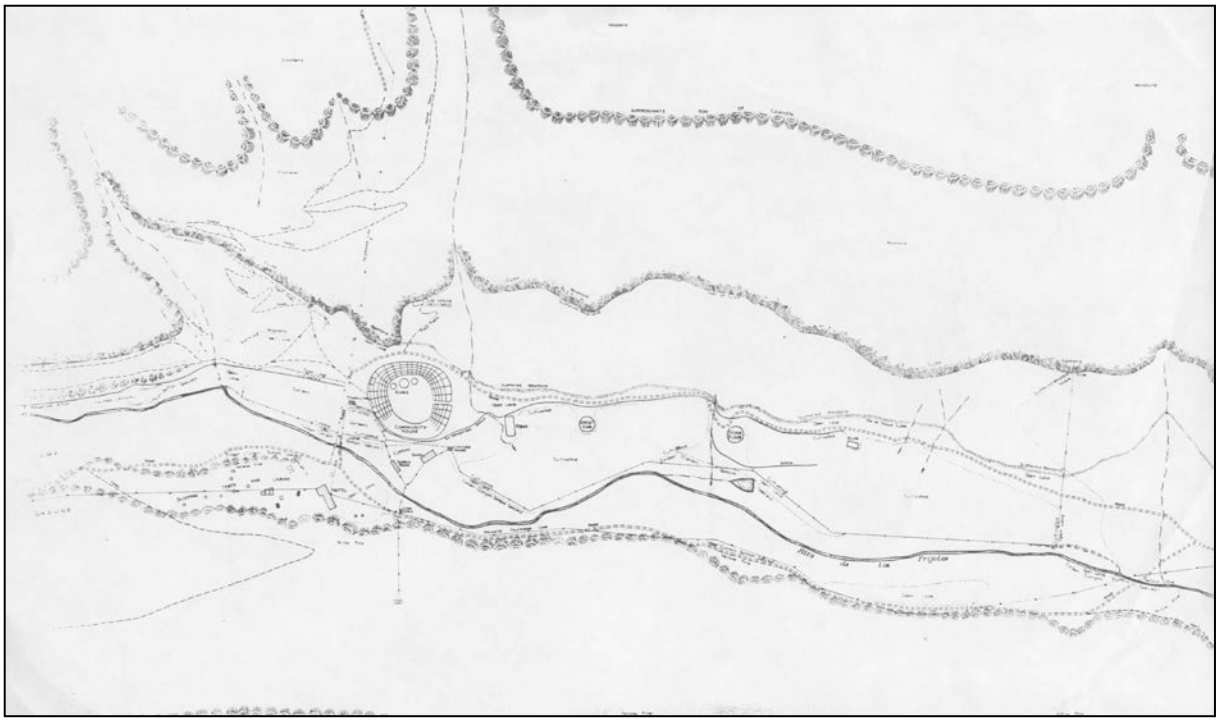


Figure 117: A sketch map of Frijoles Canyon showing the facilities present when the National Park Service acquired the monument from the U.S. Forest Service (unidentified source, date unknown).

a row when Pinkley was asked to stop writing his informal newsletter, *The Epitaph*, in which he expressed his opinions to any and all who would listen. Ordered to stop criticizing the agency in print, he wrote a final damning column which raised the ire of management. Not to be outdone, however, he went on to publish (to the public as well as inside the NPS) his *Southwestern National Monuments Superintendent's Monthly Reports*. These were a mixture of Custodian's reports, Pinkley's thoughts on any subject, poetry, and pieces of interest. One can only imagine how the NPS leadership in Washington, D.C. waited to view these monthly productions!

Pinkley also designed a seal for the cover of the *Monthly Reports*. Hand drawn, it quaintly showed different aspects of the monuments' prehispanic and historic structures, and natural formations, and flora. Significantly, there was also a coiled rattlesnake. Pinkley described his seal in a monthly report.

> Behind and over all rises the sun of our destiny: on its way up and nothing in the world can stop us so long as we hold our Espirit de Corps.And just to show that we are serious, but not too serious, we put the rattler in the immediate foreground to show that we are good fighters, gentlemen who do not strike without warning, but when we do strike we mean business, and finally, that it takes the wisdom of a serpent to operate this far-flung group of the most interesting units in the National Park System on the money we get![4]

The amazing aspect of this running battle, which lasted until Pinkley's death in 1940, was that even as Pinkley's political influence diminished, the concept behind the development of Bandelier National Monument's built environment over the next fifty years was his. To some degree this reflects strategy of NPS upper management to leave him to his own devices when he was working on approved projects within his monuments, although he was ordered to not distribute his reports far and wide. However, whatever immunity his reputation and the hands-off stance of his managers granted Pinkley vanished in 1934 when he aroused the anger of Secretary of the Interior Ickes.

In 1934, Pinkley refused to guide a U.S. sena tor and governor and their entourage through Casa Grande National Monument because they arrived an hour after closing. The governor was a friend of Ickes and reported the incident to him. Despite a protracted defense by

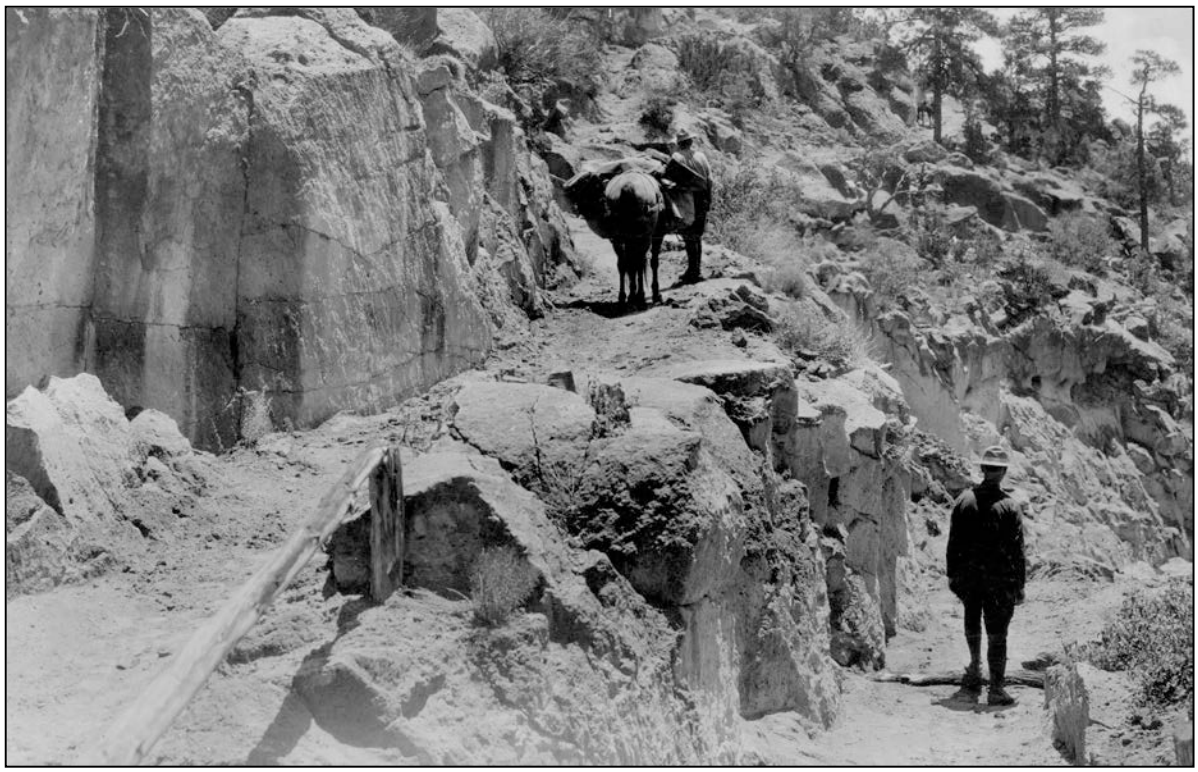


Figure 118: The trail that was the only way into the canyon (now known as the Frey Trail). Photograph by E.S. Shipp, 1924. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14300.

the new NPS Director, Arno B. Cammerer, Pinkley was reprimanded. His standing was irrevocably damaged and he rarely attended Washington, D.C. conferences after this.[5] The reprimand also resulted in increased oversight of his activities, especially as New Deal money poured into the monuments. His pleas for funds were answered, but the power he craved was diminished.

The USFS had left little in the way of infrastructure for the NPS to make use of. A small cabin and phone line were the most conspicuous assets. Pinkley saw Bandelier National Monument as not only an important monument in its own right but a gateway to other monuments.[6] He hoped that the dramatic ruins presented with the right infrastructure and interpretation would inspire visitors to visit other monuments in the region. Clearly more facilities were needed, but prior to the New Deal, money was almost non-existent and plans had to wait. The first steps to improve Bandelier National Monument began in September, 1933 when some of the Santa Fe National Forest CCC crews were assigned to the monument through the efforts of Jesse Nusbaum. Nusbaum started a sequence of letters of inquiry to Engineer Kittredge in San Francisco regarding high elevation camps which culminated with Kittredge's support for the camp at Bandelier National Monument.[7] After some discussion, no further objections were raised and CCC personnel began the transfer to the monument in early November, 1933. The work accomplished during this period would be done primarily by the CCC, whose funding was sometimes referred to as ECW (Emergency Conservation Work); the CWA (Civil Works Authority) and the WPA (Works Progress Administration) would also provide funds.

Shortly after the approval for the CCC camp, Pinkley was ready with his project list. Writing to Director Cammerer, he listed, in order of engineering efficiency, water and sewer, tent caterpillars, trails, fencing, and removal of buildings as his priorities.[8] Notably absent from the list was an entry road into the mon-

ument, but the "Boss" had another plan for that most urgent of needs.

A road to the canyon floor was an integral part of Pinkley's vision for the next stage of development for Bandelier National Monument. The Freys had depended on a steep walking/horse trail to get visitors to their rustic lodge situated near the site of Tyuonyi. Their supplies came down via a tram in the same area. These hardships placed a severe limit on the type and number of visitors. The "Boss" needed a road to bring the monument up to the standard he envisioned, but the idea of the road did not sit well in Santa Fe. *The New Mexican* lampooned what a road would do to the ruins, while Hewett opposed the project for his own reasons.[9] Pinkley himself saw the threat. He wrote in a letter to Director Albright, "I am looking for a small group of conservatives…to start an insurrection about the time we start the road…The mud hut nuts are all right and I am for them, but we can't refuse 15,000 visitors admission into a national monument just because the Spanish didn't use automobiles three hundred years ago: it just doesn't make sense."[10] Pinkley's vision was large—yearly attendance at that time was approximately four thousand.[11]

Pinkley's plan was to build a "truck trail" into the canyon. One year before the greatly enhanced CCC plans were developed, Pinkley saw the immediate need for custodian housing and an administrative structure to manage access to the ruins. The road was needed for this construction at this scale. By 1932 CE, there was already a dispute among NPS staff landscape architects, the New Mexico State Surveyor, and the local NPS staff about where to build the road. The landscape architects wanted to minimize the visual impact of the road, while the staff engineer, Walter Attwell (who would work at the monument for the next eight years), protested at the steep grades required to do this.[12] The "Boss" stepped in to resolve this and on November 2, 1932 CE, Attwell wrote to his superior, Kittredge, "Superintendent Pinkley suggested that I try a line behind the ridge so the road scar would be



Figure 119: Construction of the Entrance Road into Frijoles Canyon, 1933 – 1941. McAllister Collection, Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 18901.

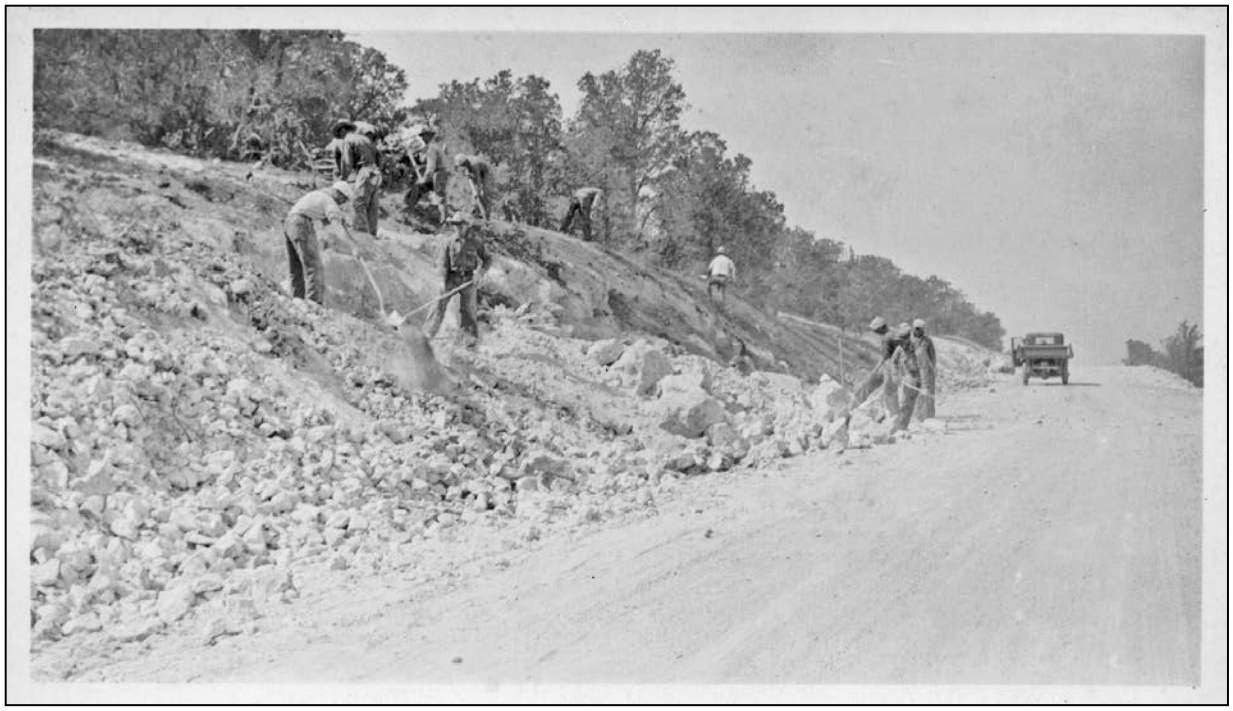


Figure 120: Work on the Entrance Road into Frijoles Canyon, 1933 – 1941. McAllister Collection, Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 18901.

hidden… The scars from the cuts on this line would be concealed behind the ridge and not visible from the floor of the valley."[13] The landscape architects made some further changes and the plan was approved.

The question remained of who would do the construction. Negotiations for the CCC were going on at this time and they became the obvious candidates. The moment the CCC camp was approved for Bandelier National Monument, work swung into action on the road. Initially, it consisted of a twelve foot wide graded "trail" that was eventually widened to twenty-two feet and then paved in 1940.[14] A guardrail constructed of local stone was built between 1934 and1936 CE, adding greatly to both the safety and visual appeal of the entrance drive to the canyon. The engineering and construction tasks associated with the route, chosen for its minimal impact, were staggering. The stone retaining wall rose to a height of thirty feet and was 225 feet long.[15] On November 9, 1933 CE, the first vehicle negotiated the road, carrying Engineer Attwell and Mrs. Frey.[16] Automobile access brought the greatest change to Frijoles Canyon and its treasures since its re-discovery by Adolf Bandelier.

Roads would remain challenging issues for the monument until the 1950s, including the road into the monument (until its final stabilization) and State of New Mexico roads on the Pajarito Plateau. Things had improved greatly, however, since the early days of visiting the site. In 1907, long before completion of the road into the canyon, a young woman (a relation or friend of the Abbotts) described her journey into the canyon. The first day was spent driving from Santa Fe to Buckman. The second day they saddled up, crossed the Rio Grande and arrived at the Abbott's Ranch at about 3:00 pm, quite a different journey than today's one hour drive! To top off the adventure they slept in a cavate.[17]

This type of visitor experience was not what Pinkley had in mind. He understood that modern tourism was fast paced and while visitors were occasionally interested in the rigors of a backcountry trip, that was not always the case. He had his staff continue to push for

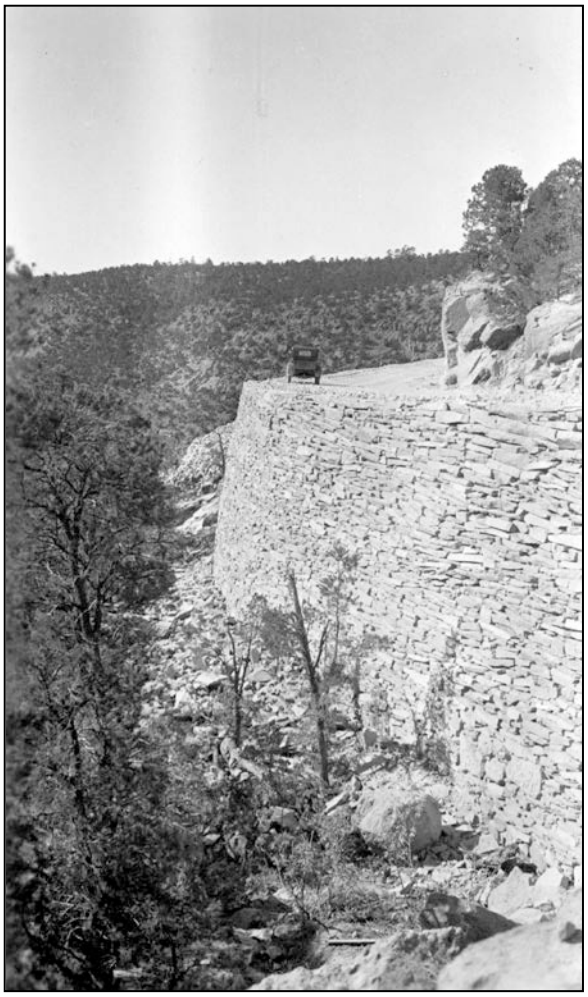


Figure 121: The large retaining wall along the Entrance Road, 1933 – 1941. McAllister Collection, Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 18901.

road improvements. In January 1935, the custodian of Bandelier National Monument reported, "For ten days the road out from Santa Fe was practically impassable during daylight hours. Travel was safe only at night when the road was frozen."[18] In August, the road to Santa Fe through Pojoaque was deemed impassable for three or four days because of quicksand, forcing travelers to detour through Española. Route 66 from Albuquerque was closed with four fatalities due to flooding at the same time. It was noted that the road out of the canyon held up well.[19] Clearly travel could be difficult and hazardous in both winter and summer, a reality incompatible with Pinkley's vision for increased visitation and the Harvey Company's plans for expanding car travel in the area. The monument custodians took on the role of active advocates to improve the state roads, as evidenced by this report by Custodian Earl Jackson to Pinkley in June, 1935. "I explained to him [the State Highway Engineer] that two bridges on State Highway 4 [in the Otowi-Tsankawi area] in the detached portion were bad, and that one was positively dangerous, and that Santa Fe people had made some complaints on that condition."[20] This problem would continue until the Pajarito Plateau saw the major growth and development associated with the Manhattan Project.

In the meantime, welcome news came in the form of a complete turnaround in opinion regarding the road into the canyon. The New Mexican waxed eloquent in its praise for the new access to the monument. "What is being done by the Park Service CCC workers on the Bandelier National Monument constitutes the most scenic highway development New Mexico has seen…The whole development is of great magnitude and far reaching consequences."[21] Pinkley must have beamed when he read this and the NPS management breathed a sigh of relief.

With the camp established in the first week of November of 1933 CE, plans went into high gear for the development of the monument facilities. First was the construction of the CCC camp itself. The men were housed in basic lodging provided by uniform barrack type quarters and gradually began work on improvements to park trails and the destruction of the tent caterpillars. Eventually, the work on the permanent structures began.

During 1932 CE, a number of visits had been undertaken by the engineers Kittredge and Attwell with Landscape Architect Charles Richey, Pinkley, Architect Lyle Bennett, and Chief NPS Architect Tom Vint.[22] These men and others would form the engineering and design team that would bring Pinkley's vision to a reality. There would be disagreements and one or two serious controversies, but in most aspects Pinkley's plan would prevail. The plan contained several key elements. First, in ac cordance with NPS policy, was the use of National Park Service Rustic style or Parkitecture for the whole scheme. Second (and pure Pinkley), was the emphasis on NPS control of

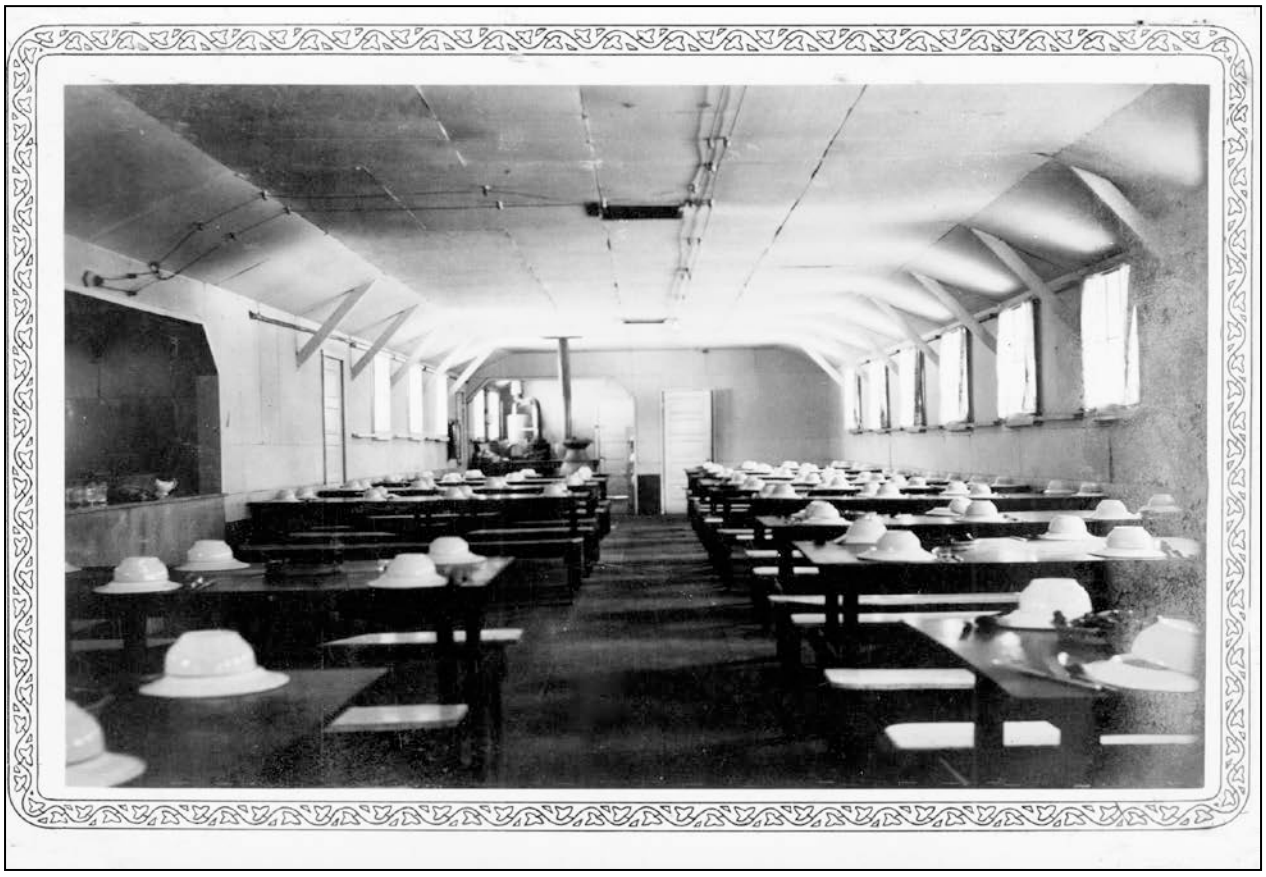


Figure 122: The CCC mess hall (now demolished), 1933 – 1941. McAllister Collection, Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 18901.

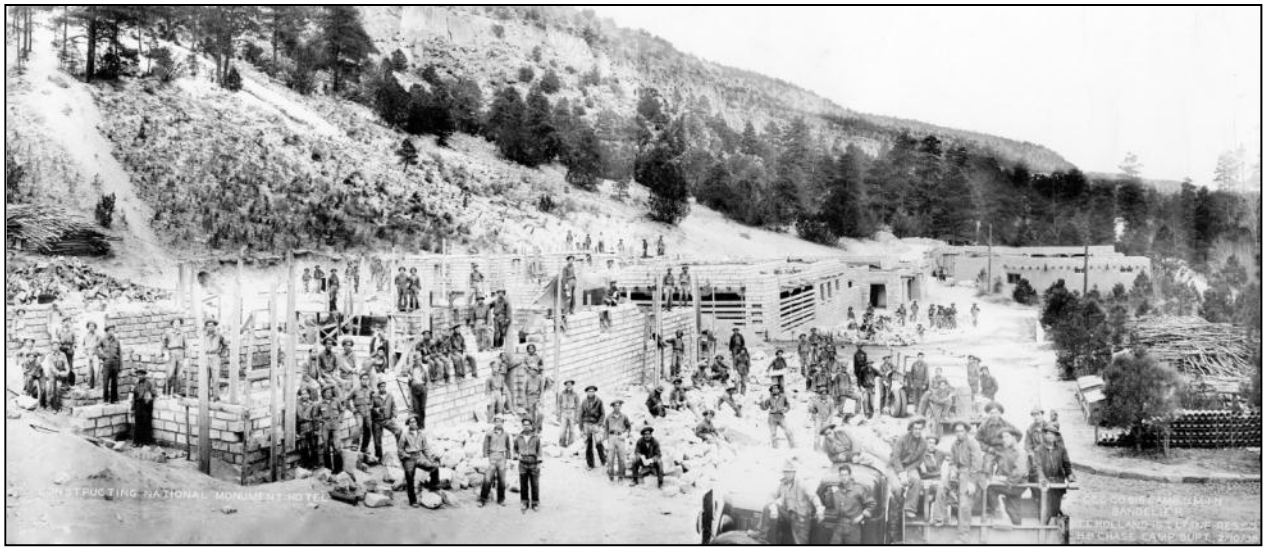


Figure 123: The CCC workers during construction of the Administration Building and Lodge, 1933 – 1941. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14030.

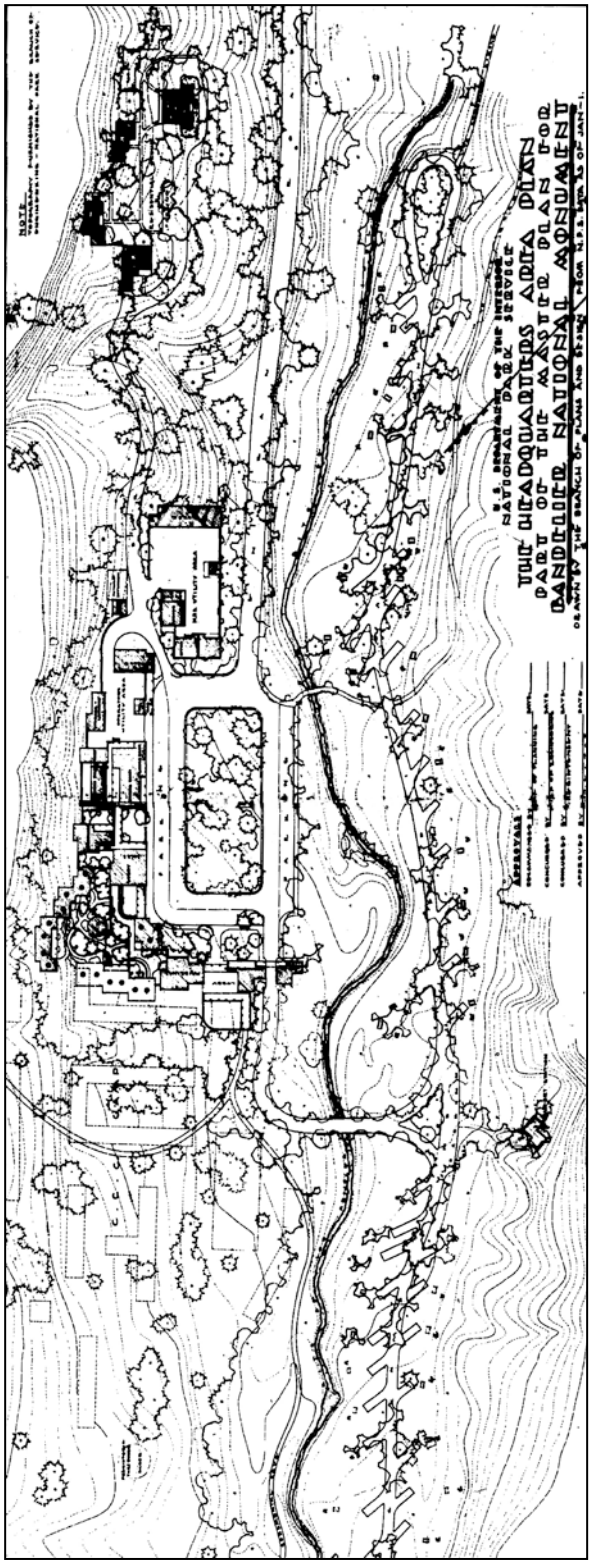


Figure 124: CCC plans for the development in Frijoles Canyon, 1933. Denver Service Center Technical Information Center (unidentified reference, date unknown).

the site and the role of its staff members as chief interpreters of the archaeological sites. Finally, and again pure Pinkley, was the removal of the Ranch of the Ten Elders buildings and the construction of a new lodge embedded into the NPS administrative and interpretive area, clearly highlighting NPS control of the whole site. These key points all became bricks and mortar under the direction of the management team.

Since its founding, the National Park Service has striven for architecture that is both inexpensive and representational of the area it serves. Beginning in the 1920s, Thomas Vint and his staff of architects and engineers were at the center of this effort. Vint's philosophy epitomized the time: "The 'first work' of the agency, therefore, was 'the protection and preservation of these landscapes'. Its 'second work' was to make the areas 'accessible to the people' so that they could be enjoyed."[23] To accomplish this during the CCC era, Vint's staff grew from 16 to 220, not counting those on site with the CCC that also worked for him.[24] It can be argued that in planning and designing the NPS complex at Bandelier National Monument, Vint and his team hit these objectives with true aim. The road discussion had already brought some of these issues to light, but what of the design for the buildings? What type of controversy did that generate? Surprisingly, very little—there was virtual unanimity on the style from the beginning.

Charles Richey, a landscape architect for Vint, saw the possibility on his first visit. In 1932, before active CCC work began, Richey had inspected the monument and recommended to Vint that a ranger residence and administrative office be built.[25] In keeping with his boss's philosophy and NPS practice, he suggested the "Santa Fe style."[26] This local inspired construction, incorporating extensive use of native rock and tree products, would give the canyon buildings a unique look. Popularized under the architect John Gaw Meem who designed Hewett's Laboratory of Anthropology in this style, use of the "Santa Fe" aesthetic was to prove the crowning achievement of the pro ject. To this day visitors from outside the Southwest gaze in wonder at these buildings, perfectly designed for and representative of

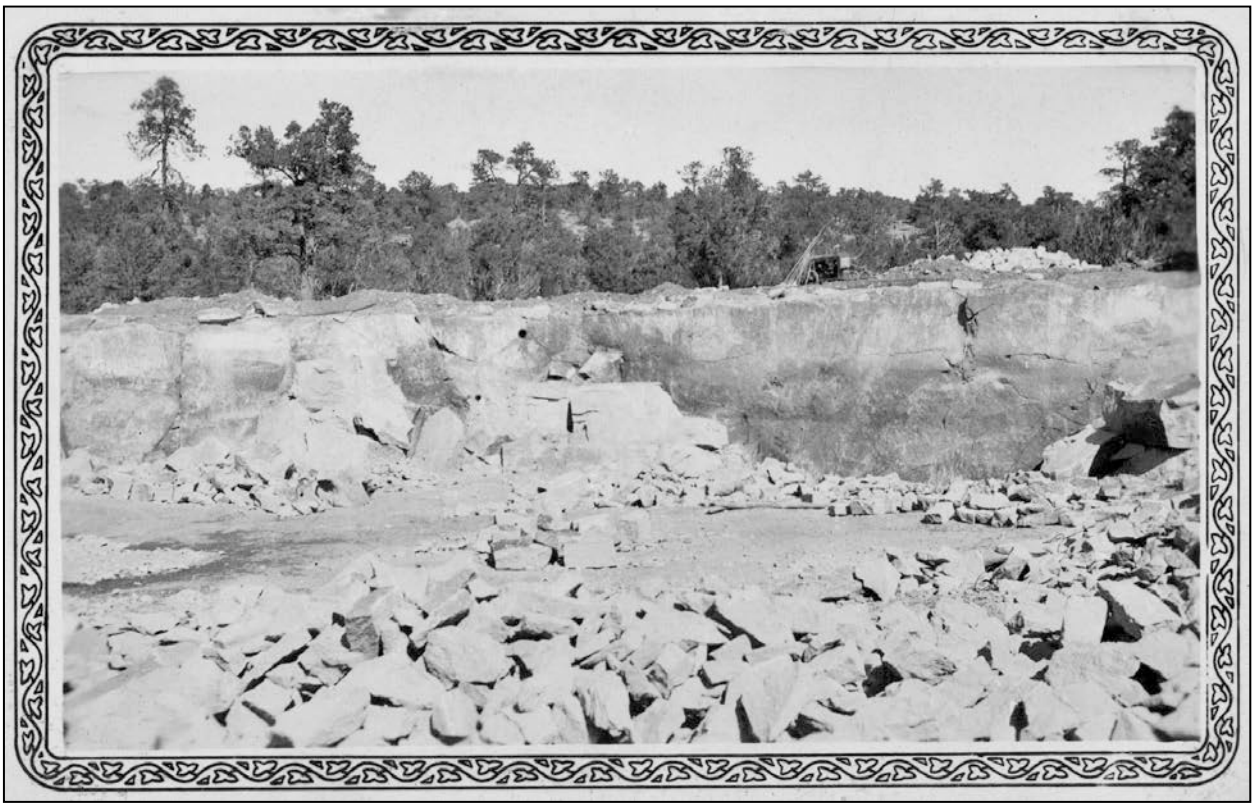


Figure 125: The quarry where the CCC workers procured the stone for the buildings in Frijoles Canyon, ca. 1933-1941. The quarry now houses the monument's amphitheater. McAllister Collection, Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 18901.

their environment. At the time it seemed to bring the way of life of the previous inhabitants into to the present. Indeed, a number of details in the style were taken from early Pueblo and Hispano building practices. The whole layout would flow from this design approach. Pinkley was supportive of the look and the designers got down to serious work.

The "Santa Fe style" issue also played into the next of Pinkley's major concerns—road development within the canyon—that set off a series of controversies with Vint and Kittredge that lasted several years. As discussed, Pinkley wanted to control access to the archaeological sites and ensure NPS contact with visitors to promote visitation to other monuments in the region. This dovetailed nicely with Richey's concept of the parking area outside the administrative building acting as a de facto "plaza,"[27] plazas being central features of both early Spanish settlements and the pueblos. Pinkley, however, also wanted the administrative building to act as a gate to vehicles on the road to the archaeological sites in the canyon to control access and ensure contact with the visitors. This drove Kittredge to observe, "Where is [sic) the moat and drawbridge?"[28] The amount of access became a central issue between the two during design and construction. Essentially, Kittredge was advocating ease of use for the visitor while Pinkley was more interested in control and preservation. The controversy was resolved when the only permanent road to be constructed ended at the campground. An early road up the canyon was removed in 1935. Visitors were now di rected towards contact with the ranger/custodian. Rothman praises the solution for its ability to transition the visitor from the modern to the prehispanic world. "The compound served as a midpoint between the modern world and the prehistory of Frijoles Canyon, between accommodation and use, and as a barrier against the impact of future visitation."[29]



Figure 126: The original drive-through part of the visitor center that was later filled in, ca. 1933 – 1941. McAllister Collection, Bandelier National Monument archive, Catalog No. 18901.

Pinkley also did not like the Freys' sprawling buildings and fields. He felt that they distracted the visitor from the evocative atmosphere of the canyon, and as part of the CCC work he had these buildings removed. However, NPS leadership sensed the controversy inherent in this move and pushed the demolition to the end of the CCC's tenure at the monument.[30] Even Pinkley realized that the Frey concession or lodge would have to be reconstructed, but he wanted that done in a way that made it clear that this was just a concession and not more important than the preservation and interpretation of the site.[31] This was accomplished in 1939 when the new lodge was built at a location peripheral to the parking area while the administration building and museum were the centerpieces of the development and closest to the archaeological sites. Hugh Miller, one of Pinkley's staff, could report, "Mrs. Frey has finished furnishing a total of ten rooms. The hotel is running much better than when I visited the monument last spring."[32] It should be noted that Mrs. Frey also believed that a more central location was better for business and that relations with the NPS would also improve.

What did the new visitor and administration facilities look like? Some of the participants recorded their impressions. A staffer commented to Richey on one of the early constructions, "This is a fine little building and every detail has been kept in harmony with the Architecture of the surrounding region."[33] The look of the buildings he was referring to were all similar one-story, pueblo-style made from local timber and stone quarried on the plateau. As the CCC was intended to create jobs and build character, the use of large machinery was discouraged. All of the stone was locally quarried and sized and shaped by hand.

This was one of the largest tasks in the project, but the finished product garnered widespread admiration. This philosophy also applied to

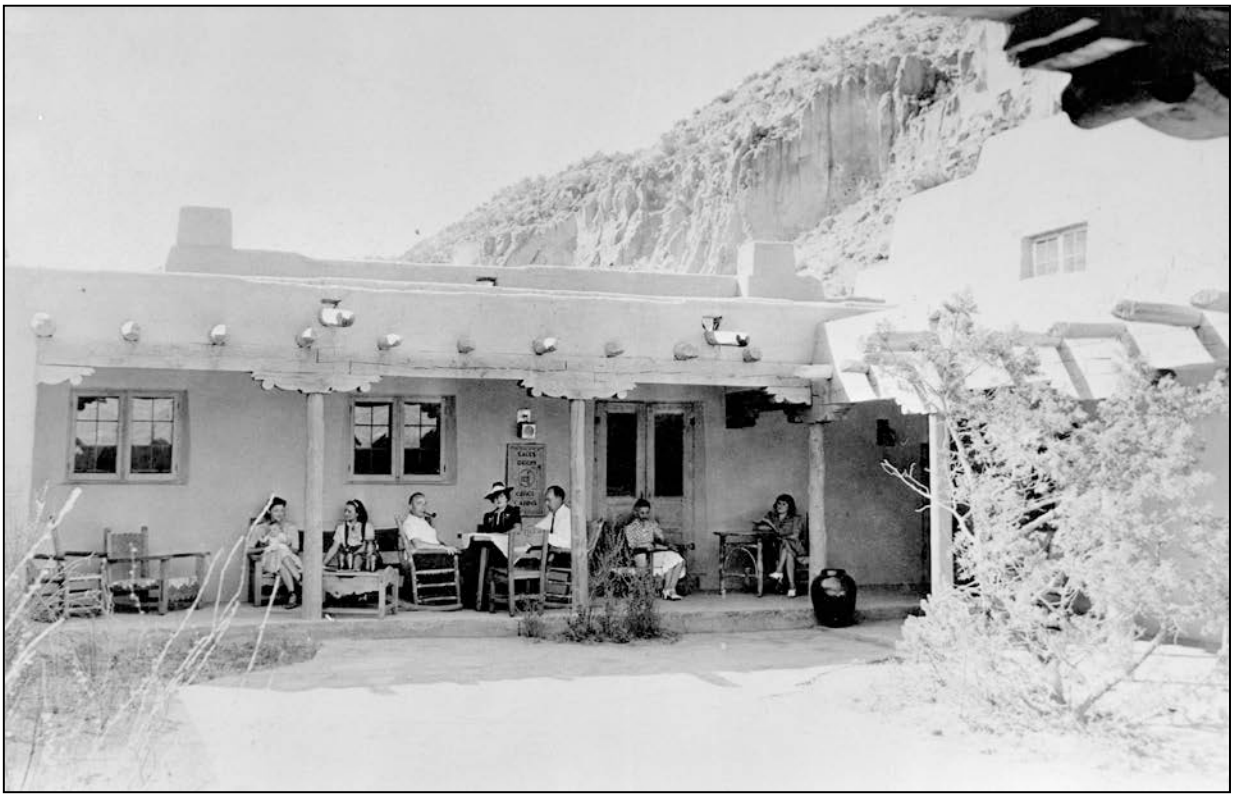


Figure 127: Visitors at the new lodge buildings ca. 1940. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14031, Image # 03898A.

the furnishings. The furniture was all handmade as were the light fixtures, which reflected the New Mexican heritage. The Regional Landscape Architect, Harry Cornell, could report that a senator he was showing around the site was, "…very much impressed with the work underway at Bandelier…He was particularly interested in the making of furniture and lighting fixtures."[34]

The magic which Frank Pinkley had envisioned was indeed coming alive in Frijoles Canyon and, thanks to the hard work and sensitive design, still captivates visitors today. His plan for controlled access was also accomplished and would remain the norm for another thirty years. The vision with which Pinkley stamped Bandelier National Monument is both enduring and worthy of praise. However, the accomplishment was not without tragedy and controversy.

The saddest victim of the new plan in Bandelier National Monument was its first custodian, Edgar Rogers. By all accounts a good custodian, Rogers was thrust, in a very short period of time, from management of a remote and slow paced monument into the center of a major construction effort involving over two hundred souls living on site. The strain was too much for a man focused on the past and the outdoors. In October 1933 CE he took his own life, becoming the most significant casualty of the great change happening at Bandelier National Monument and on the Pajarito Plateau. Pinkley named as his replacement a staff procurement specialist, Martin O. Evenstad. This quickly led to the most significant conflict between the army management of the CCC and the NPS.

The period between 1933 and 1934 CE was probably the toughest year for the project. In the camp itself there were numerous complaints about the food and the work required. This was exacerbated by the poor relations between Evenstad and the army. Personnel issues were at the core of the problem, brought to a head by a certain CCC'er named Pruitt. Known for insubordination, he was



Figure 128: CCC workers cutting stone, 1933– 1942. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument Catalog No. 14343.



Figure 129: CCC worker carving corbel, ca. 1933 – 1941. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14353.

eventually fired from the project, only to be rehired by Evenstad a day later. This was the last straw for army leadership, and Pinkley was forced to intervene. Pinkley wrote to Evenstad regarding Pruitt, "…his presence at Bandelier is subversive of discipline and cannot be contenanced."[35] The army was asking for Evenstad to be replaced, so Pinkley sent his staff troubleshooter, Hugh Miller, to report on the camp's condition and the army's accusations. Miller ended up generally supporting the army. On the Pruitt issue he wrote in a report to Pinkley, "Pruitt's discharge is reported as a turning point in the discipline of the camp and the incident regarded as closed."[36] This was followed by documentation by Miller of a wood gathering issue which the army was complaining about, along with other charges.



Figure 130: The lunch room at the lodge, 1940. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14032.



Figure 131: A settee made by CCC workers. Digital photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, 2004.

The army supervisors "…feel that Evenstad is not cooperating."[37] Miller went on to suggest that Evenstad be replaced even though most issues were now resolved. Pinkley acted and appointed Earl Jackson as Custodian but kept Evenstad at Bandelier National Monument as procurement officer, thereby dividing the duties which were likely too much for one man.

The next major controversy was ignited by an inspection visit by Charles A. Richey, Jr., one of Vint's staff and one closely associated with the project. His report for the period November, 1933 to April, 1934 was extremely critical of many construction details at the monument and included controversial photos that provoked an uproar and rebuttal from Attwell.[38] Attwell responded in a detailed report to Kit tredge, but the damage was done.[39] Relations amongst the team suffered and a number of replacements were made. Most notably, the local architect and a significant contributor, Lyle Bennett (who did much of the early design at Bandelier National Monument and Mesa Verde National Park), was replaced by the even more experienced Jared Morse. This was marked by efficiency and orderliness which resulted in a decided increase in the



Figure 132: Painted metal wall sconce made by the CCC, 1933 – 1941. Digital photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 21815.



Figure 133: Metal table lamp made by the CCC, 1933 – 1941. Digital photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 16645.

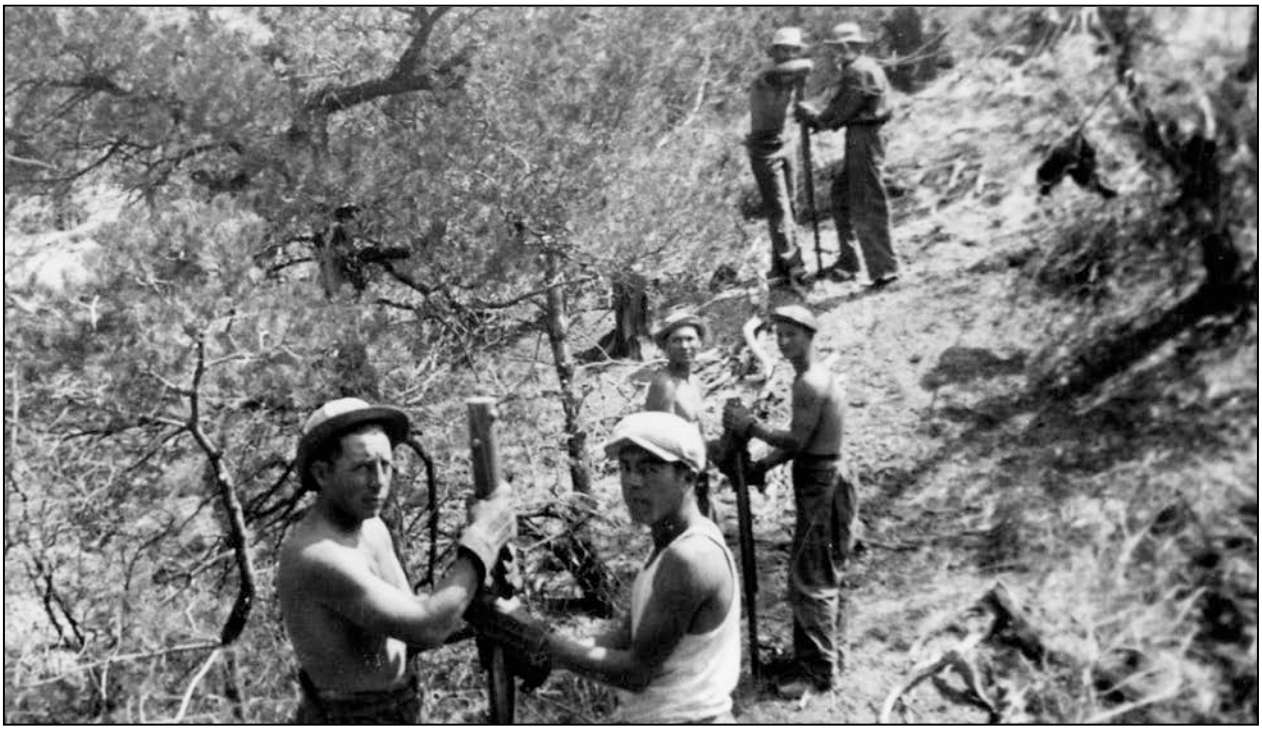


Figure 134: CCC men building a trail, ca. 1933 – 1941. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14351, Image #02017A.



Figure 135: Artist Helmut Naumer on horseback ca. 1935-1936. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 24745.

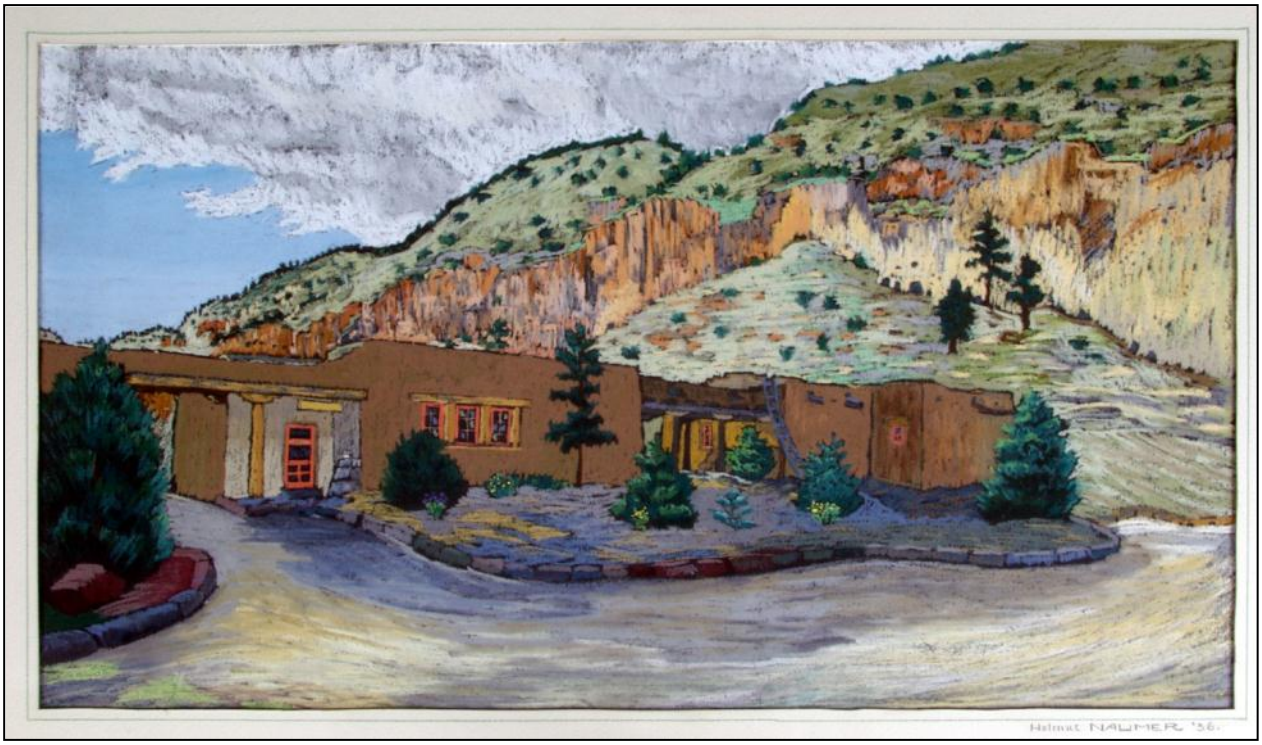


Figure 136: "Administration Building, Frijoles Canyon," by Helmut Naumer, 1935-1936. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 21201.



Figure 137: Pablita Velarde (date unknown). Photograph courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

quality and amount of work completed."[40]

In addition to the buildings already discussed, there was construction of other aspects of the physical plant. In the end, over thirty-one buildings were constructed that included the museum, administration building, and ranger housing, as well as maintenance, power, and water and sewage facilities. The maintenance buildings and facilities provoked some minor controversy between Kittredge and Pinkley, but multiple visits by the principals aided in their resolution. In fact, Custodian Jackson seemed to breathe a sigh of relief after a visit by numerous staff including Pinkley, Vint, and Richey, reporting:

> …immediately thereafter followed inspection of construction activities in the canyon, and then all heads went together in a huddle. As a result, ye humble scribe was delighted at the decisions the visiting officials rendered. All was quiet on the western front by nightfall of the 25th, but it was felt by all that momentous things had been accomplished.[41]

On the occasion of another visit, Jackson commented, "As a result of the visits of Messrs. Pinkley, Diehl, and Richey (fortunately they were all here at the same time) many problems pertaining to permanent development were settled and other valuable points were settled by Mr. Pinkley."[42] Clearly the staff and "The Boss" were all paying close attention to Bandelier National Monument.

The new water, sewage, and power plants changed life in the canyon for the first time in hundreds of years. Water had traditionally been taken from the stream and was frequently contaminated. Miles of water line were laid to bring in fresh water from further up the canyon. New septic systems were built to prevent human contamination, and cattle were fenced out of the canyon to limit animal waste. The power plant was powered by diesel and provided electricity throughout the new complex but required frequent repairs and getting "on the grid" would continue to be a priority. Life was now much easier for the average visitor to the canyon and by 1935, the number of sightseers began a steady climb. The increase in tourism was interrupted only during the war years and rocketed upward after the war.

With all the construction surrounding the physical plant in the canyon, there was also great emphasis on the visual impacts of the development. The landscape architects assigned to the project took great care to provide pleasant surroundings in the built up area and promote spectacular and unobstructed views of the archaeological sites. Landscaping was done with native vegetation imported from the mesas. The paths between the buildings were paved with local stone, and the building finishes created an ageless effect. The combination of these treatments was intended to enhance the visitors' feeling of being in a different time and place.[43]

Trails were constructed to enhance the visitors' access to the various archaeological sites. The trail system was extensive and also provided for spectacular views of the canyon and mesas. Archaeologist Dr. H.P. Mera of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology remarked on the trails on his visit, expressing "high approval of the new trail system installed by the C.C.C."[44]



Figure 138: The main administration building at the Santa Fe Indian School, ca. 1910. Photograph courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Negative No. 082540.

Along with these outdoor projects, the museum saw a major enhancement that added further luster to Bandelier National Monument's central role in the development and growth of interest in Native American art. The WPA funded art work at major government sites during the Depression to provide work for artists as well as the trades. Bandelier National Monument was to be no exception and indeed was something of a showcase. The noted Santa Fe artist Helmut Naumer was brought in to execute scenes of the new facilities and the New Mexico environment. His integration of stark Southwestern light in his renderings of scenes in Frijoles Canyon perfectly captured the vision of the CCC and NPS designers. His spectacular portrayals of the new facility caught the moment when the monument most closely resembled the designer's vision.

An even more significant event was the engagement of Santa Claran Pablita Velarde, born *Tse Tsan*, Golden Dawn, to paint over 80 scenes of Pueblo life to enhance the museum displays. She would carry out this work from 1939-1945. The 19 year old was a graduate of Dorothy Dunn's program at the Santa Fe Indian School. She had already had exhibitions in major museums, but the detailed and imaginative images of Pueblo life she produced for Bandelier National Monument were a tremendous success and proved a powerful boost to her career.



Figure 139: "Men's Dance," by Pablita Velarde ca. 1940. Bandelier National Monument Archives, Catalog No. 674.

Study under Dunn demanded a rigid adherence to native tradition and design.[45] The School and Dunn would later be criticized for this strict interpretation, but in the 1930s it resonated with the Native Arts Revival movement and seemed to have been validated by the School's popularity and number of students. Velarde herself commented positively on the School's emphasis on tradition. "…we may like to do something different but we more or less go back to the traditional style every time and this seems to be our way of painting now."[46] Dunn was carefully coached by Kenneth Chapman of the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe. "Years later she reported that the Studio was 'under direct and regular surveillance of Indian Art Consultant, Dr. K.M. Chapman.'"[47] Velarde was also greatly influenced by Tonita Peña, the greatest Native American woman painter at the time.

In the past, Velarde had worked on murals for the federal government. Now she would be asked to record her people's lives in a new and meaningful way. To do this she used techniques she had refined at the School. The paintings were done using the milk derivative, casein, and painted on glass and masonite board.[48] The colors remain vibrant to this day, enlivening the subjects portrayed.

The scenes were intended to represent everyday Pueblo life. Velarde commented on how this task enlivened her artistic and cultural horizons.

> Of course that was a very educational assignment as far as I was concerned because up to then I took everything for granted, I mean I lived like the Indians when I was at Santa Clara and didn't think twice that it meant anything for anybody else but to the Indians, and I never felt that they were worth painting about it, you know, until I went to work for the Park Service and then they began to ask me to do little scenes of how to make moccasins, how to make pottery, which plants were used for medicine, and how they built houses. All this took



Figure 140: Pablita Velarde reading from her children's book (date unknown). Photograph courtesy of Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

> research, you know, and it made me read and it also made me ask questions and then I'd go to the Pueblo and find out a few more things so I could correct what I did…[49]

A few titles include: "Procession from Church," "Guard Turning Tourists Away," "Woman Making Pottery," and numerous dances. What a representation for the visitors to reflect upon amidst the ruins surrounding them. One must wonder if the obvious came to mind—that the Pueblos were the descendants of the "cliff dwellers" and that their culture was continuous. It does seem that the many allusions to "vanished peoples" were believed, despite the evidence to the contrary. To get a glimpse of Ms. Velarde's work ethic and the early appreciation of her work we turn to Ranger Eden, sitting in for the monument custodian. "Pablita Velarde is turning out her own unique paintings for the museum one after another. She has completed all of those needed for Case #17 and is now working on #16."[50] She would continue her work, eventually bringing along her two children who would "give the rangers a lot of trouble."[51] One of these children was Helen Hardin, who became an acclaimed artist in her own right.

Despite the disconnect regarding the continuity between the ancestral and modern pueblos, there must have been a sense of an important link being created between the past and the present and the Anglo and Native worlds. This

was further enhanced by Pueblo people performing traditional dances at Bandelier National Monument and serving as wait staff in traditional costume. To the average Anglo of 1940 CE, this must have represented an adventure almost beyond imaging. To the Pueblo people, it provided income and a market for their arts as well as a chance to expose the larger national population to their culture. Velarde commented, "…just about the time I was getting desperate the Park Service hired me."[52] Velarde was paid five dollars a day compared to the one dollar a day for the CCC men.[53] The importance of this economic and artistic boost to the region cannot be overestimated. Velarde went on to say, "This period of my life at Bandelier, I figure, I've learned more about my own people than I would have… and I appreciate what the old ones have tried to pass on. I want the earth to remember me through my work."[54] Frijoles Canyon and Bandelier National Monument were once more alive with the visions and echoes of the Pueblos.

The Civil Works Administration also funded the first NPS archaeological research and stabilization at the monument. Tyuonyi was in poor condition after its masonry was exposed to the elements for decades after Hewett's excavations. Pinkley realized he needed more substantial structures to illustrate the pueblos of the past to the monument's visitors. With funding from the Civil Works Administration, he brought in archaeologist Paul Reiter to supervise a crew of CCC workers. Reiter and his men excavated portions of the midden mounds at Tsankawi, cleared and mapped Tyuonyi and did some minor excavations there, and cleaned, repaired, and installed a glass cover over a painted plaster mural near Long House.[55] Additional stabilization work was carried out under the direction of Jerome W. Hendron, a seasonal ranger with archaeological training. In 1937 CE, he and his crew replaced the roof on the kiva in Alcove House (then called Ceremonial Cave) and did additional work at Tyuonyi and the large kiva nearby.[56] Stabilization work at various cavate sites[57] and Long House[58] was done by Robert Lister in 1939 and 1940. The CCC crews also improved many of the trails in the canyon for use by visitors. Some of this early stabilization work was cosmetic in nature, meant to give visitors insight into life in the canyon centuries

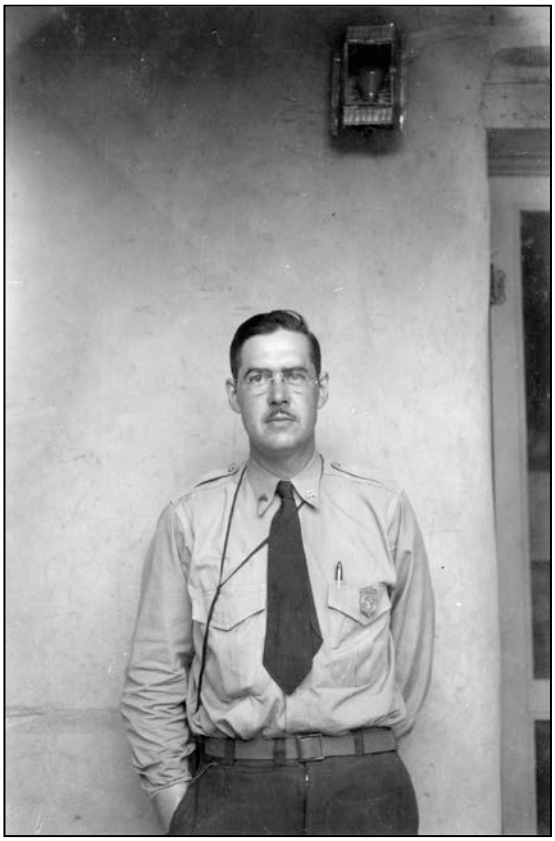


Figure 141: Jerome Hendron, Catalog No. 14010. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

before, but much of it was vital to the long term preservation of the monument's archaeological sites.

The CCC camp was successful in fulfilling most of the projects asked for in the plan, but other factors interceded to close the CCC program at Bandelier National Monument. Part of this could be attributed to the program's success in that the temporary camp buildings were now in the way of permanent construction. The camp was moved to a site just over nine miles away, and the final cleanup of the original CCC camp location was scheduled for early 1940 CE. The landscape architects wanted everything returned to a natural state so as not to impede the appreciation of the canyon. By June 1941 CE, the project at Bandelier National Monument was terminated.[59] The whole CCC built complex was named a National Historic Landmark in 1987 CE in a fitting tribute to those who lived and worked in

the largest human community in the canyon since prehispanic times.

Who were the men who joined the CCC? How did they enjoy or not enjoy their experience? What were some memorable moments in their eyes? How did these young strangers get along and accept army discipline? We are fortunate to have some of their impressions captured via oral history interviews conducted in the late 1980s by Maria Montoya.

There were certainly ups and downs in the process of converting civilian young men to almost military style recruits. That first winter was tough for all and saw the removal of some troublesome elements. This was also true on the military side with the commander removed after suggesting to the men, "Forget the grub complaint I will bring in 20 cases of beer and one hundred women."[60]

Most of the men remember it as a tough but good time in the interviews. Their pay was $1 per day, of which they could keep $5 a month; the rest was sent to their families and was an important source of income. On top of this they were fed, housed, and clothed. The work was demanding. There was timber cutting and hauling, quarrying, and heavy construction as well as the metalworking and furniture making. The plan throughout the CCC program was for "Locally Experienced Men" or LEMs to guide the younger, less experienced participants in learning trades. This proved an extremely successful approach. As evidenced at Bandelier National Monument, Pinkley's staffer and successor, Hugh Miller could state, "…the results are satisfactory beyond our most optimistic expectations."[61]

There were also educational programs and various training sessions for the volunteers. These included trades, forestry, and other associated topics as well as archaeological and historical subjects. These were young men and had to be kept busy or discipline would suffer. Recreation was allowed and encouraged. On site was a baseball diamond and tennis courts. There were boxing matches and trips to neighboring towns to compete in baseball.[62] Day trips to Santa Fe were arranged, though one volunteer remembered, "But the road into Santa Fe was very narrow, one lane down to the Otowi bridge, just a one lane road and boring."[63] Some also got lost hiking and had to be rescued by the custodian during a snowstorm! The men also served the area by training as firefighters—a skill much in demand by the USFS. This provided some important memories for them and was also hard work, recounted by Gordon Brown as being "24 hours a day."[64]

Finally, who were the men of the CCC and how did they get along? Most were locals from the neighboring towns. New Mexico's fragile, commodity based subsistence economy was hit very hard by the Depression, and the state provided many volunteers. The locals were augmented by others from Texas and Oklahoma. One might wonder how these groups did or didn't mix. A volunteer named Robert Bennett remembered:

> One of the leaders of the camp was a real nice fellow by the name of Frank Delgado I recall. And he decided that the Mexican people should be isolated from the Caucasian in the dining hall…So they tried one night and it was very unsuccessful. We had these boys from Texas that really objected to the whole thing and went on a temporary strike. Fortunately the problem was resolved by the next morning… there were really no racial problems that I knew about.[65]

Just as quickly as they came, they left. These young men had transformed Bandelier National Monument into a dual monument commemorating both its ancient and modern builders. The monument staff returned to routine maintenance, visits, and complaints about the road; it must have seemed very quiet after almost eight years of hectic activity.

The 1930s saw the end of NPS attempts to acquire or manage the Puye ruins. Beginning with efforts by Hewett and Holsinger at the turn of the century, there had been many attempts made by supporters of a national park to include Puye among the sites assigned to the park, monument, or NPS at any particular moment in time. The final attempt to make this happen was conducted as a prelude to another attempt to create a national park by the NPS in the early 1930s.

Horace Albright, NPS Director after Mather, instituted another campaign to acquire the site.[66] Arthur Demaray was tasked with accomplishing the designation of Puye National Monument. Even "Boss" Pinkley had thought



Figure 142A group photograph taken at the 1940 custodians' conference; the empty chair honors Frank Pinkley. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14319.

that Puye should be in some manner managed by the NPS; as his 1927 CE report was addressed to Demaray, perhaps this influenced the latter's thinking. As the NPS liaison to Congress's Appropriations Committee, he arranged a tour of Puye and other archeological sites in the region for committee members. They were convinced that Puye should be managed by the NPS.[67] Jesse Nusbaum was enlisted to continue his efforts with the BIA and Santa Clara Pueblo to accomplish the transfer. A plan for joint NPS-Santa Clara management was agreed upon by the two agencies.

However, they had not counted on the strong historic memory of the Santa Clarans. Holsinger's 1904 description of the Santa Clarans' statement regarding Puye sheds light on the next event. Holsinger recounted in his 1904 CE report the story of an elderly Pueblo member:

> He said he well remembered that when a child his father had told him the story of the wanderings of his people and how they had struggled against the fierce attacks of the Navajos. He often related that his people had once lived in the cliffs which are now the ruins of 'Puye'. When the first Spaniards came to the country, they took up the cause of the Pueblos and induced them to move out of the cliffs and build homes with the new allies, promising that they would assist them with their struggles against their ancient enemies. They then settled on the fertile lands along the Rio Grande River and built the present pueblo of Santa Clara.[68]

In 1932 CE the Pueblo unanimously voted against the NPS-BIA plan and all further attempts to acquire the Puye site were halted.[69] The monument would live within its original boundaries for another thirty years. However, a new federal player was to appear on the plateau in the 1940s.

A significant federal acquisition in the late 1930s set in motion a series of events that would forever change the region and the monument. It began with attempts by the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) to correct the soil management issues devastating the West and

Midwest in the 1930s. The SCS was established to deal with distressed and damaged lands in American communities. Formed in 1935, the agency became part of the Department of Agriculture after a short period under another designation in the Department of the Interior between 1933 and 1935 CE. The period also saw much contention between the two departments, including a disagreement that arose when the Ramon Vigil Grant was considered for acquisition by the SCS in 1938 CE. The NPS was not consulted and launched its own study in response—the plan to establish Jemez Crater National Park discussed above. The NPS effort failed and the Ramon Vigil Grant was acquired by SCS. The SCS also took an active role in the region advising the pueblos on land improvements.[70] This activity eventually led to the transfer of lands sacred to San Ildefonso Pueblo back to the pueblo in 1939 CE, and the transfer of the rest Vigil Grant to the USFS (Santa Fe National Forest).[71]

The significance of the federal acquisition would become apparent only a few years later. This land formed a major portion of what became Los Alamos National Laboratory, home of, as it was known in wartime, "Project Y" or the Manhattan Project—the development of an atomic bomb. Little did Custodian Thomas know that the Frijoles Canyon, Bandelier National Monument, and the Pajarito Plateau were about to experience a tidal wave of change associated with the development of the deadliest weapon ever devised by humankind. In this quietest of ancient places, the blazing light of the unleashed atom was about to throw a long shadow onto the Pajarito Plateau.

Prior to these world changing events came an important local event which would forever change the monument's world—the death of "the Boss." After these world and local tremors and after the war had ended, Bandelier National Monument would bear little resemblance to the sleepy monument of the 1920s and 1930s.

Frank Pinkley was fighting one last battle with the NPS leadership and bureaucracy in 1939 CE and 1940 CE—the creation of a training program for his custodians and rangers. The training would be focused on national monuments and not the NPS in general. Pinkley eventually persuaded the NPS Director to allow the session and provide a budget of $25 per attendee. The first session was held in February 1940 CE, the last day of Frank Pinkley's life. After giving the opening address setting out the goals of the session and taking a few swipes at management, Pinkley sat down to let the session get underway. In front of his "outfit" he suffered a massive heart attack and passed away. The men and women attending were naturally shocked and saddened, but it was decided that the session would continue. The funeral service was held at Casa Grande National Monument, Pinkley's first assignment and base, with about five hundred attending.[72] His longtime assistant, Hugh Miller, succeeded him and was replaced later by Charles Richey. The world of the Southwestern National Monuments was changed forever.

There was much to like and dislike in Pinkley's approach to management and preservation. He is still remembered fondly in the NPS; perhaps time has erased some of the sharp edges. On the plus side, his dedication and competency were unchallenged. His unique vision for national monuments drove this segment of the NPS for years to come. He clearly inspired his workforce and earned their loyalty. He had a profound impact on Bandelier National Monument, first by bringing it into the NPS realm and later through his visionary assistance to the design and execution of the new CCC construction. These two accomplishments alone make him deserving of recognition. Unfortunately, his stellar qualities of dedication and vision could be eclipsed by his self-interest and negative attitude towards the direction the NPS was heading. His almost constant battling with NPS management in the 1930s, and indeed his somewhat cavalier attitude towards U.S. government figures in general, demonstrated a lack of understanding regarding their role in the monument's future. All in all, "the Boss" was one of those figures at a moment in time that became a legend when legends were required. The modern NPS does not need a giant to make its reputation, its standards and bureaucracy see to that. For all his shortcomings, "the Boss" was the man for

the moment but, as with all men, time passed on.

[1] John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History*, NPS, 1985, Chapter 1, http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/ccc/ccc1a.htm, accessed on September 1, 2010.
[2] Rothman, Monuments, Chapter 8, accessed on line September 1, 2010.
[3] Ibid., Chapter 9.
[4] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Reports, February, 1935, TICC, Tucson, AZ.
[5] Rothman, *Monuments*, Chapter 9.
[6] Rothman, *Rims*, 191.
[7] Letter Kittredge to Cammerer dated November 2, 1933, BAND.
[8] Letter Pinkley to Cammerer dated November 16, 1933, BAND.
[9] Rothman, *Rims,* 192.
[10] Harrison, Copeland, and Buck, Historic Structure Report, CCC Buildings, Bandelier National Monument. NPS, 10.
[11] Rothman, *Administrative*, Appendix A.
[12]
[13] Letter, Attwell to Kittredge, dated November 2, 1932, BAND.
[14] Harrison, et al, *CCC Buildings*, 21.
[15] Ibid., 20.
[16] Ibid., 14.
[17]
[18] The Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, January, 1935, p30. TICC
[19] Ibid., August, 1935, p119.
[20] Letter Jackson to Pinkley, dated June 26, 1935, BAND.
[21] *Santa Fe New Mexican*, March 10, 1934.
[22] Harrison, *CCC Buildings*, 20.
[23] Ethan Carr, *Mission 66* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 203-4.
[24] Ibid., 22.
[25] Harrison, 20.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Harrison, et als, *CCC*, 20.
[28] Harrison, et als, *CCC*, 22.
[29] Rothman, *Rims*, 198.
[30] Ibid., 196.
[31] Rothman, *Rims*, 196.
[32] Letter, Miller to Pinkley dated September 26, 1939. BAND
[33] Letter Asabone to Richey dated October 16, 1935. BAND
[34] Report Cornell to NPS Director, etc. dated August 26, 1938. BAND
[35] Letter Pinkley to Evenstad dated January 21, 1934. BAND
[36] Report by Miller to Pinkley dated March 16, 1934, p6. BAND
[37] Ibid.
[38] Status Report, Richey and Bennett to the Chief Architect through the Superintendent Southwestern Monuments, et as, dated April 31, 1934.
[39] Undated document Attwell to Kittredge. BAND
[40] Status Report, Richey and Jared Morse to the Chief Architect through the Superintendent of Southwestern Monuments for April 1, 1934 through October 1, 1934. BAND
[41] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, March, 1935, p130-131. TICC
[42] Ibid., September, 1935, p167.
[43] Harrison, et als, 40.
[44] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, April, 1935, p168. TICC
[45] Michelle McGeough, *Through Their Eyes,* (Santa Fe, NM: The Wheelwright Museum,), 38.
[46] Oral History Interview with Pablita Velarde by Sylvia Loomis, September 29, 1965, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
[47]McGeough.,37.
[48] A New Deal for Tse Tsan: Pablita Velarde at Bandelier National Monument (Tucson AZ: Western National Parks Association, 2007).
[49] Oral History, p11-12.
[50] Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, March, 1941., 76. TICC
[51] Smithsonian Oral History, p12.
[52] Smithsonian Oral History, p11.
[53] Oral History, Velarde and Montoya, August 8, 1988, p1. BAND
[54] *A New Deal*.
[55] Paul Reiter, final Report of the Archaeological Reconnaissance Part, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico. (Manuscript on file, Bandelier National Monument 1934).
[56] Jerome W. Hendron, The Stabilization of the Large Kiva, Frijoles Canyon, Bandelier National Monument. (Manuscript on file, Bandelier National Monument, 1937).
[57] Robert H. Lister, Stabilization of Frijoles Cave Ruins, Bandelier National Monument. (Manuscript on file at Bandelier National Monument, 1940).
[58] Robert H. Lister, Stabilization of Long House, Bandelier National Monument. (Manuscript on file at Bandelier National Monument, 1939).
[59] Harrison, et al., 27.
[60] Harrison, et als, 17.
[61] Ibid., 28.
[62] Oral History Transcript Maria Montoya with Benny Lucero, July 28, 1988. BAND
[63] Oral History Transcript Maria Montoya with James Johnson, July 22, 1988. BAND
[64] Ibid, Gordon Brown March 17, 1988.
[65] Oral History, Montoya and Bennett July 16, 1988. BAND
[66] Rothman, *Rims*., 172.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Holsinger, 5.
[69] Rothman, *Rims*, 173.
[70] Rothman, *Rims,* 204.
[71] Ibid., 204-205.
[72] Dietmar Schneider-Hector, *Sun Dipped Memories of Frank Pinkley* (Percha Creek Press, 2003), xx.

10. Don't Look Back

The Manhattan Project (1940-1947 CE)

The years 1940 and 1941 CE saw events that shattered world history and the local trajectory of Bandelier National Monument. As the world sank into war, major changes at the monument began slowly but gained great momentum by 1943. In the quiet before December 7, 1941 CE, Bandelier National Monument returned to its seasonally driven existence. The monument began closing for the months of December through February to save on expenses and this would be formalized during the war years. The lodge closed for even longer periods. Visitors still arrived during the closures, and were not turned away. The custodian and a possible assistant or two were involved in preservation work or maintenance of their wonderful new world of buildings which at times threatened to overwhelm them.

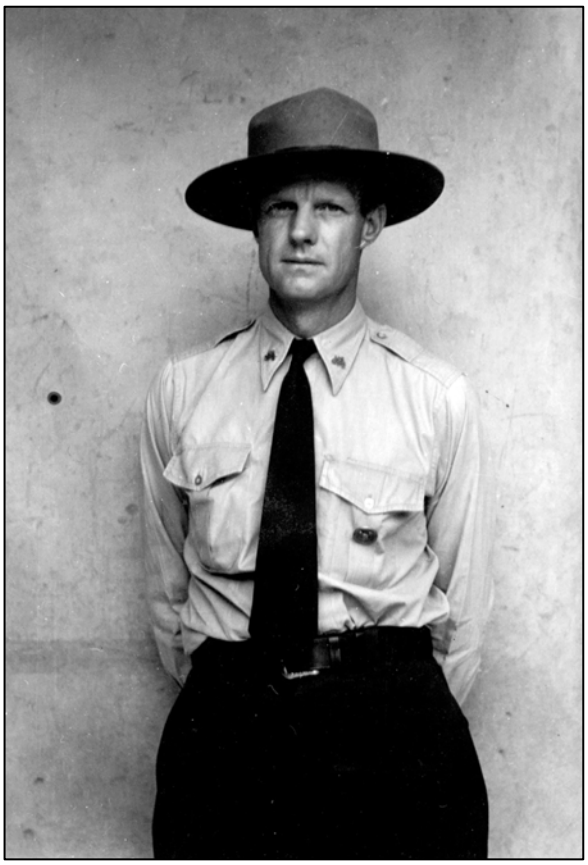


Figure 143: Custodian Chester A. Thomas, 1943. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14010, Negative No. 03026 A.

The museum seemed to require the most attention with several anti-pest closures. There were numerous roof leaks, which were a constant issue for all structures early on. This was the time when Pablita Velarde was doing her work so she must have born some of these challenges. Roads across the plateau continued to be a problem with Custodian Thomas commenting, "For many days the only means of getting to Santa Fe was via the detour of the CCC camp and Los Alamos Ranch. The sixteen mile section from the pavement to the Otowi section early became a sea of mud by day and an area of deep canyons and craters by night."[1] The visitors got through, but it was still a major challenge to do so in anything other than perfect weather.

An important project previously delayed, ruins stabilization, received funding and got underway during this period. Complained about for years by all custodians, work to repair the archaeological sites finally began. Tyuonyi Pueblo was an early candidate for such efforts. The first projects involved repairing the walls in over two hundred rooms to seal cracks and assist preservation. Also, an early archaeological dump was removed from the site.[2] This activity would continue, albeit slowly in accordance with the general pace of activity at the monument. Also of note was the work being done with the neighboring pueblos of San Ildefonso and Santa Clara on mutual fire suppression efforts.

The war came a bit closer with the establishment of Japanese internment camps in the Santa Fe area. Acting Custodian Jim

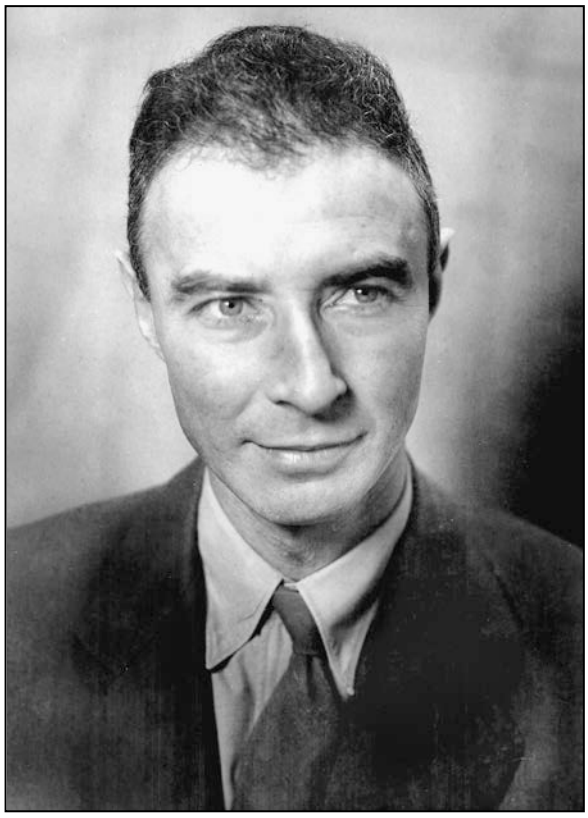


Figure 144: J. Robert Oppenheimer. Reprinted with permission from *Images of America, Los Alamos 1944-1947*, by Toni Michnovicz Gibson and Jon Michnovicz.

Eden commented, "There is increasing evidence that we are going to have Jap neighbors at the NP-4-N CCC camp. The Army is rapidly preparing the buildings for occupation and will turn them over to the Immigration Service in the near future. Several hundred aliens are already interned in the Santa Fe CCC buildings."[3]

The war also slowed visitation. The rationing of tires and gasoline definitely curtailed travel and Chester Thomas, the custodian during these years, commented on how difficult it was to get tires for the monument vehicles. Attendance peaked at 14, 619 in 1938, sank a bit in 1939, recovered to 13,689 in 1940, then plummeted to a low of 3,765 in 1943 CE. The year 1944 saw a doubling of visitors, however, possibly because of Los Alamos and the impact of better roads. This increase began a steady trend upwards until 200,000 annual visitors were surpassed in 1970 CE.[4] Those heady days were far in the future, however, and life was on the verge of changing much more dramatically than any of these events presaged.

In August 1939 CE, one month before Hitler invaded Poland, a concerned Albert Einstein had written to President Roosevelt urging the creation of a new type of weapon—one that used the energy of the split atom to unleash an explosion of terrifying proportions. Roosevelt responded by launching a secret project to explore the possibility of developing such a weapon. The project went into high gear in December of 1941 CE. By August, 1942, it was designated the Manhattan Project and headed by General Leslie Groves[5] with J. Robert Oppenheimer[6] in charge of the development itself. How did this history-changing effort come to the quiet backwater of the Pajarito Plateau in New Mexico?

Oppenheimer convinced Groves that it would be best to have the majority of the project's

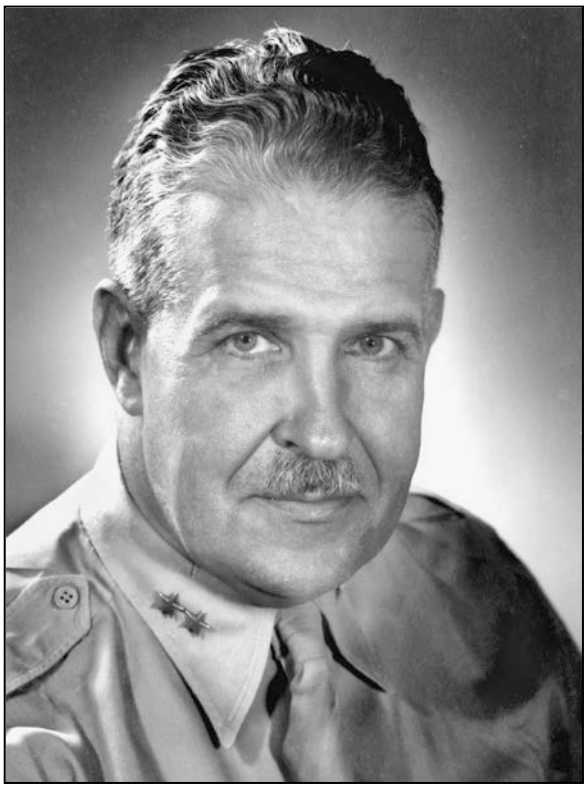


Figure 145: Major General Leslie R. Groves. Reprinted with permission from *Images of America, Los Alamos 1944-1947*, by Toni Michnovicz Gibson and Jon Michnovicz.

development staff in a single location that was isolated from contact with the public. Some of the site criteria used were: "… the population within 100 miles of the site was sparse, Access by roads and railroad was necessary…The climate was mild enough to allow outdoor work to proceed throughout the winter …The ownership and/or easy acquisition of the land had to be considered."[7]

Oppenheimer and Groves had a list prepared of possible sites, which all proved to be in New Mexico. The main competitor to Los Alamos was Jemez Springs, but it was ruled out by both Groves and Oppenheimer. Oppenheimer knew of the boys' school at Los Alamos and favored that location due a late boyhood association. The frail and somewhat sickly Oppenheimer had been sent west to "toughen up" and, in the process, fell in love with the region. He first saw the Pajarito Plateau in 1922 CE and visited often after that.[8] He and his brother eventually owned a ranch in the Pecos Valley and dearly loved New Mexico. The boys' school, known as the Los Alamos Ranch School, had been founded in the 1920s and was now prospering under the management of former USFS employee, A. J. Connell. The rustic school provided learning and physical conditioning for privileged children who were primarily from the East. Among the students were writer Gore Vidal and the artist Wilson Hurley; the latter would create haunting renderings of Southwest landscapes.[9] Interestingly, Connell had been a major part of the opposition to a national park on the plateau, but he would bow to the army. The army would use tough tactics to clear homesteaders from the plateau and staff and students from the boy's school. With the prior federal purchase of the Vigil Grant in the 1930s, the area would be almost completely in government hands. Groves immediately approved.[10]

There were problems with the site, especially the primitive roads and housing. Nevertheless, the army purchased the boys' school that would serve as "Project Y's" center and moved in in December 1942 CE. Custodian Thomas declared in his monthly report,

> The big news topic of this part of the region this month is the activity of the Army in taking over the Los Alamos Ranch School adjacent to the Monument… All ranch personnel are to move immediately and all students sent home. Speculation is rife as to the nature of the project. What the camp is to be used for is a closely guarded military secret. Suggestions all the way from a chemical warfare proving ground to a training camp for WACC's have been rumored. (If it's the latter, Chuck, you may rest assured that the Otowi section will be well patrolled and inspected…) The monument stands to be effected by the construction by the Army of an all-weather road, telephone line, and power line across the Otowi section.[11]

Thomas's remarks, though winsome regarding patrolling, would actually become true as the army began construction of the infrastructure required to support the project. Otowi, then part of Bandelier National Monument, would be the focus of a number of conflicts between the NPS and the army. Relations would seesaw back and forth but in the end a tentative positive working relationship was established between the two government entities.

Almost immediately, roads and power became issues. In January, Thomas halted army gravel excavations in the Otowi section. Charles Richey in his capacity as the Superintendent of the Southwestern National Monuments and a landscape architect inspected the work with the army and issued a permit to allow continuance of the operation.[12] The pace of construction surrounding the Manhattan Project was reflected in the participation of the monument custodian in a variety of activities.

During the month of February, one army contractor was killed in a road construction related rockslide. Another managed to survive the plunge of his bulldozer over a cliff. Such incidents illustrate the rapid pace of construction which only increased when the army brought in a generator and lights to enable work to progress twenty-four hours a day.[13] All of this required constant visits to the site by both the Bandelier National Monument custodian and Superintendent Richey. Monument staff did not know it, but they were at the very center of the most secret



Figure 146: Ranger Jewell Eden in the relatively new NPS uniform for women ca. 1942. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Negative No. 03054 W.

project of WWII. While maintaining the high standard of effort coordinating with and monitoring the army, at the monument fires were still fought, maintenance done, a new water filtration system installed, and training accomplished. The month of May saw Bandelier National Monument hosting the regional fire training school, requiring a large logistical effort to guarantee success. It must have been a very frantic time for Chester Thomas.

Change was also affecting the monument in other war related ways. Ranger Eden joined the navy and his wife became the seasonal ranger after an interim assignment was filled by another ranger. In the eloquent words of Custodian Thomas, "The Ranger is a Dame."[14] She served several seasons and garnered an excellent reputation. The first visitors from the project began to arrive, and this began a trend that would last to this day. Thomas commented, "In the past stormy days invariably meant that we would have few visitors, but the reverse has been true this month. Men working on the war projects work seven days a week normally, but sometimes are forced to lay off for stormy weather."[15]

Perhaps the most poignant note was also from Custodian Thomas in November, 1943 when he noted,

> Ensign S. J. Keefe and wife, former seasonal ranger at Bandelier, spent two days at Bandelier during the month. Joe has completed a year and a half of training and is now being assigned to the Pacific Fleet as communications officer. Joe had only a week's furlough before shipping to sea but stated that the one place he wanted to see before shoving off was Bandelier.[16]

Obviously there was a deep love of the monument by those privileged to work in its environs, but this visit must have been very special for the staff.

Relations between the government entities were difficult. Thomas seems to have done his level best to preserve a working atmosphere, but the army exhibited little concern about that aspect of their project. Negotiations were conducted over all manners of construction issues. Actions were often taken by the army without NPS approval, necessitating apologies. A number of incidents in 1944 required Custodian Thomas to summon Superintendent Ritchie to come to the scene himself. One such incident involved Thomas halting some unpermitted road re-widening. At that time, "Major Salfingere expressed profound regret at the unauthorized use and stated that he was unaware that unauthorized work had been performed."[17] How convincing this excuse was to the NPS must remain conjecture. But in the spirit of cooperation easements were given by the NPS for roads, power lines, and small buildings. This would become an important base for post-war cooperation between the two agencies. At the same time came a portent of things to come. In a confidential memorandum, also in October, 1944, Tillotson wrote the NPS Director that:



Figure 147: NPS staff at Bandelier, 1944. From left to right: Custodian Chester Thomas, Superintendent Harold Bryant, Regional Director Miner Tillotson, Ranger Jerome Hendron, and Director Newton Drury. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service, Negative No. 9482.

> Rumors have reached us that the Army is particularly desirous of obtaining this portion of the monument in consideration with the use of explosives in the sandy washes of Bayo and Pueblo Canyons…As you know the entire Army project is highly secret…Naturally we would be strongly opposed to either proposition.[18]

The Otowi issue would remain unresolved for another 15 years.

During June 1943 CE, a major change occurred within the monument itself that further demonstrated the cooperative attitude of Thomas, Mrs. Frey, and the NPS. For several months the army had been seeking to use the lodge to house contractors. On June 3, Mrs. Frey signed a right-of-entry for the army, and the first of approximately fifty contractors arrived on June 12.[19] There would be sporadic army use of the lodge through 1945 CE; this would also limit access to the monument as the closure of the lodge to the general public meant the trip to the monument had to be done in one day, a feat that remained difficult. However, Thomas and his crew maintained a close-lipped approach to the situation and respected the army's secrecy requirements.

The move of personnel to the lodge was caused by a severe housing shortage at the project. Like everything else, housing was being built as the team members arrived. Los Alamos boomed from the population of the small boys' school, with rarely more than two hundred students and staff, to over 3000 in 1945 CE.[20] Life was difficult for all concerned as this mini city grew at an astonishing pace, quickly becoming the largest settlement ever on the Pajarito Plateau. One of the participants, Jane Wilson wrote, "In the mountains of New Mexico the women aged.

We aged day to day. Our electric power was uncertain. Our water supply ran out. Crisis succeeded crisis. Everything went wrong. . . ."[21]

Housing was the major logistical concern early on as there was not enough of it within the project until 1944 CE, and most of that was of poor quality. Some couples actually slept on the portal of the John Gaw Meem designed boys' school building.[22] When the opportunity opened up for some of these personnel to move to the Frijoles Canyon Lodge, it provided a welcome respite. This was true for temporary stays as well. A member of Project Y, John Young, remembered, "Also it was a way station. Lots of people would arrive before their security clearance, which was very common…The guy would show up outside the gate with no pass, so they'd park them down at Bandelier or somewhere else…"[23] For those lucky enough to be assigned to Bandelier National Monument, usually young families, life was better than at the project site. Still things were not perfect. Morris and Edith Kolodney, her mother, and their new baby shared two rooms at the lodge in September 1943 CE.[24] Life was still a bit primitive, with wash being done in sinks, but the conditions were much better than at Los Alamos itself. The fireplace in the lobby was a favorite gathering place for those fortunate enough to be there.[25] With Mrs. Frey referring to them as "those atomic people," the scientists and their families enjoyed the remoteness of the lodge and the beauty of the canyon.

The use of the lodge by project personnel rose and fell over the duration of the project. Thomas could report in October, 1943 that the project tenants were moving out and upon inspection by himself and army staff, "Buildings were inspected with army appraisers and found to be in remarkably good condition despite several months of intensive use."[26] The next major occupation of the lodge would begin in January 1944 CE.



Figure 148: Trying living conditions in Los Alamos in the 1940s. Reprinted with permission from *Images of America, Los Alamos 1944-1947*, by Toni Michnovicz Gibson and Jon Michnovicz.

Not all families living at Bandelier National Monument stayed in the lodge, however—some camped out for the duration! The Wilders and their children were one family who did so. They remembered their adventure living at the campground in March, 1945: "The Park Service people were so nice. I know we weren't supposed to have been there so long…"[27] The Wilders would pair up with another family that was camping, using one family's car as a supply depot while the husbands commuted in the other. The campers really appreciated the campground laundry tubs and showers.[28]

The very primitive living standards must be viewed in the context of the technical work being done on the project. Arguably the most advanced scientific endeavor of its day, its participants were more or less camping out. In another contrast, Custodian Thomas mused on the phenomenon of riding horse patrols with his rangers while often within sight of the most advanced project on the planet.

The beauty, solitude, and quiet of Frijoles Canyon combined with the archaeological treasures to leave a deep impression on almost all the project participants who saw it firsthand. Recreational visits by project personnel increased in 1944 CE when Groves and Oppenheimer ordered Sundays to be a mandatory day of rest. The project team was simply burning itself out with overwork and

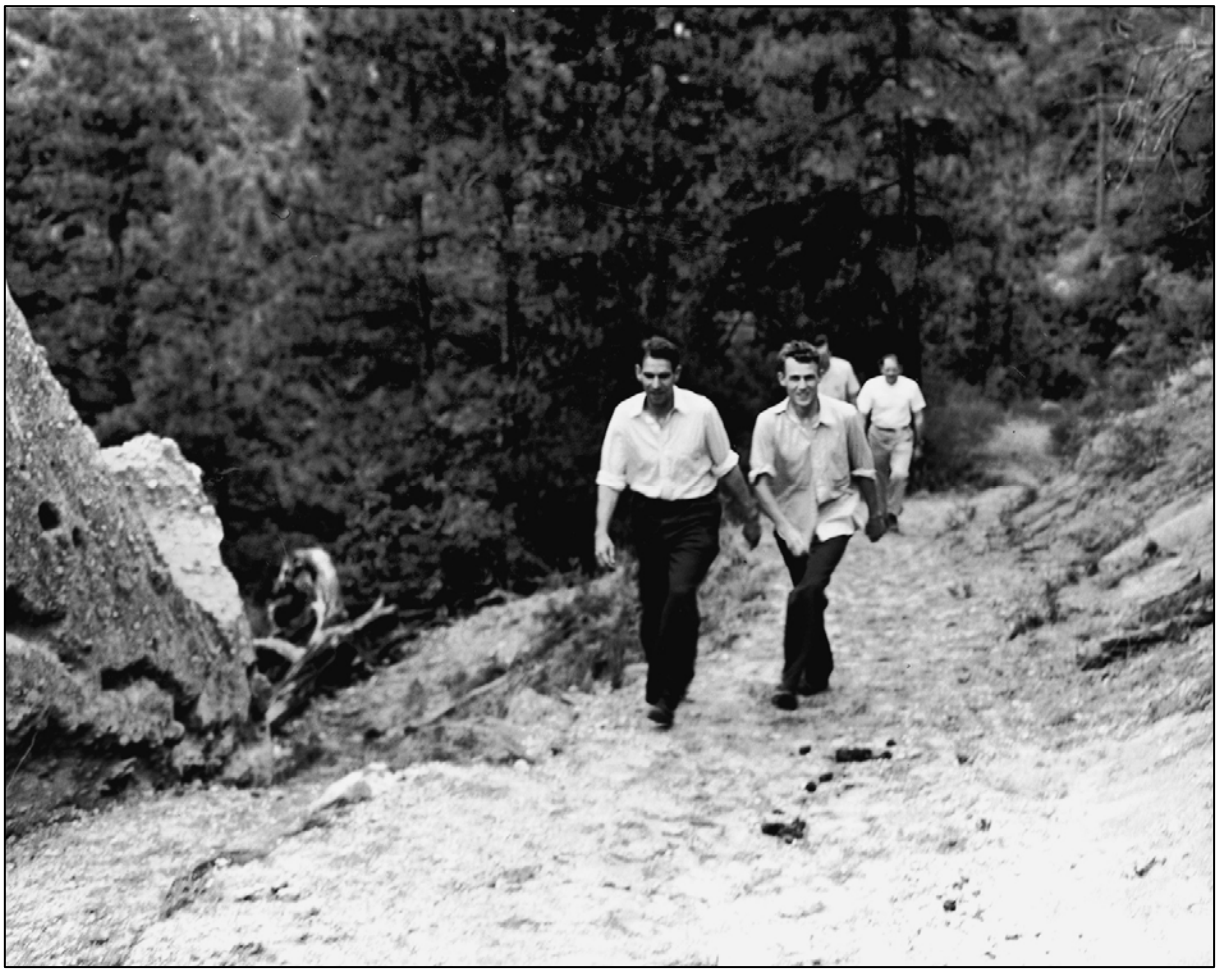


Figure 149: Project participants Les Seeley, John McGee, Gil Campbell, and J. Clark on a trail in Frijoles Canyon. Reprinted with permission from *Images of America, Los Alamos 1944-1947*, by Toni Michnovicz Gibson and Jon Michnovicz.



Figure 150: Picnickers at an evening steak party in Frijoles Canyon on March 24, 1945. Reprinted with permission from *Images of America, Los Alamos 1944-1947*, by Toni Michnovicz Gibson and Jon Michnovicz.

stress. Its members clearly understood the importance of their work, those who knew, and the weight of the fundamental necessity to beat the Nazis in this effort weighed on them heavily. British metallurgist Cyril Smith commented, "The ability to hike in the mountains on Sundays was one of the things that kept one sane."[29] Oppenheimer himself would lead horse trips into the Frijoles.[30] Mark Fiege in his article, *Sense of Wonder*, noted that Smith's favorite partner was the Nobel Prize winner and project expert on fusion, Edward Teller. He also described Enrico Fermi's wife, Laura, taking another Nobel winner and inventor of the cyclotron, Niels Bohr, to Frijoles Canyon. Fermi, the creator of the chain reaction and Nobel Prize winner, wrote, "There is a sense of reverence in the perception of some landscapes."[31] These must have been amazing discussions given the goals they were trying to accomplish and the extraordinary character and minds of those involved.

One reason that Bandelier National Monument was popular was its accessibility by automobile. With strict gas rationing, a visit to Santa Fe was only possible once a month and that was with coasting down the hills![32] A later Director of Los Alamos National Laboratory, Norris Bradbury, and his wife Lois commented,

> Yes, we used it a lot. You see we had no gasoline to speak of…No one else had gas to get there so we had it all to ourselves…There was at least one family living there. They brought themselves in a big tent…Of course, it meant a great deal to people who couldn't leave the hill. I mean, you know, to have a place you

> could go…So it was a getaway essentially, for people up here [in Los Alamos]."[33]

James and Betty Lilienthal simply said, "Well, we called it our backyard…"[34]

During one of the later years of the project, Dorothy McKibbin, the well-known keeper of the project "front" in Santa Fe at 109 East Palace was asked by Oppenheimer to help with getting personnel settled at the lodge. She settled in with her son for a summer stay. When the number of expected recruits did not materialize, she turned the monument into a weekend retreat for the project personnel. "By comparison, Frijoles seemed like a desert oasis, and Dorothy's lavish spreads, and the many small ways she catered to their comfort, all made for a sweet escape… All of them fell under the spell of their magnificent surroundings."[35] Dorothy commented to her interviewer, "At twilight every night in the canyon hundreds of bats flew out of a cave high in the cliffs and the watchers sat below close to a frieze which had once decorated the wall of a house, and thought of the people who had lived in the valley long before."[36]

All of this was changing the plateau forever. In the 1950s it became clear that Los Alamos was permanent; it eventually grew to a city with suburbs and the population now numbers over 12,000. In one jump the economy of the plateau went from subsistence farming to the most advanced scientific community in the nation. The people working in the facilities appreciated both the natural setting of the plateau and its archaeological treasures. Things can be loved to death, however, and this established the next great challenge for Bandelier National Monument. The Lilienthal's had been correct—it literally became Los Alamos's backyard.

The growth of Los Alamos was indicative of the growth of the Los Alamos National Laboratory. With the laboratory a permanent facility, the federal government became the largest land owner on the plateau. The challenges posed first by the army, then the Atomic Energy Commission, then the Department of Energy would make allies of two old enemies—the NPS and USFS. As the junior federal partners in the region and with a mutual concern for preservation in the latter



Figure 151: Postcard from 1944 showing the popularity of Bandelier National Monument as a destination. Bandelier National Monument Archive, Catalog No. 5037.

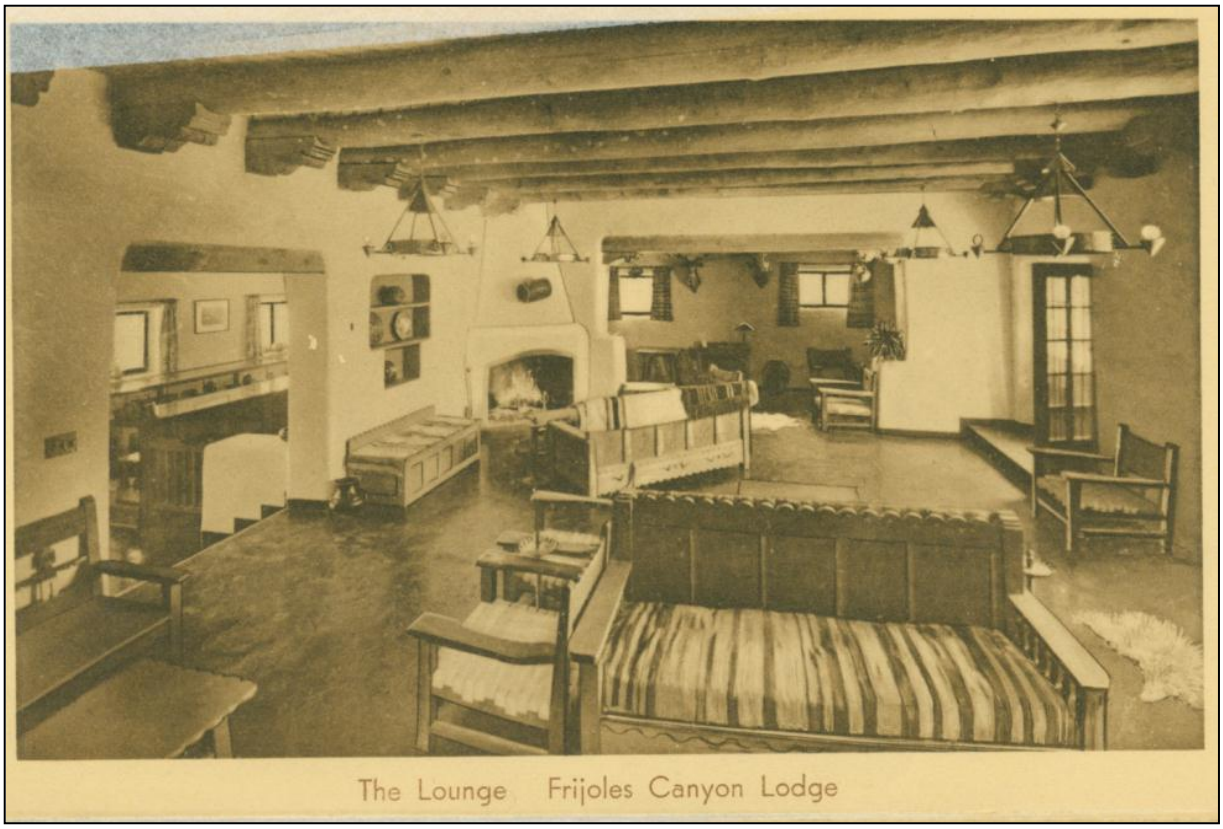


Figure 152: Postcard showing the lounge at the Frijoles Canyon Lodge that was a popular gathering place for Manhattan Project scientists. The room is now the gift shop (unidentified source, date unknown).

half of the 20th century, cooperation between the two became more the rule than the exception. Change had certainly come to the Pajarito Plateau.

With the end of the war came the end of gas and tire rationing, although the rubber industry took some time to catch up with civilian demand. The years 1945 and 1946 CE also saw the release of millions of servicemen and women who would begin the national boom in education, families, and the economy. These trends would directly impact Bandelier National Monument. From 1943 to 1954, monument attendance went from approximately 3800 to 64,000[37]--an increase of 1700%! Frank Pinkley's vision of annual attendance of 15,000 was surpassed by a factor of four. Along with increased numbers of first-time visitors, repeat visitors were also noted by the custodian.

The monument's first superintendent, Fred Binnewies, arrived in 1947 CE. Binnewies would manage the monument until 1954, but the issues he would face during his term were already coming to the fore in 1945 CE. The army still controlled the lodge, and the lack of services combined with poor roads and the threefold increase in visitation all led to woes for Custodian Thomas (who was still patrolling the monument boundaries on horseback).[38] In June 1947 CE Thomas reported, "The weekend influx of Los Alamos people creates a small 'Coney Island' in Frijoles Canyon and is assuming the proportions of a serious problem."[39]

The lodge concession was returned to the monument after the war. The last tenants had not been as well behaved as the 1943 group and extensive restoration was required. The work of repairing the building lasted through 1946. In January 1946 CE, Custodian Thomas noted that the monument received $8700.00

for repairs to the lodge and, "From the fallen plaster and cracks in our buildings, the Atomic Bomb fell on us just about as hard as it did on Hiroshima. Only we withstood three years of bombing."[40] Work would not continue until the fall of 1946 CE when the lodge closed for the season. In early summer it appeared that Mrs. Frey might close the Lodge early due to light occupation, but in August business soared with some visitors having to be turned away. In addition to challenges with visitor accommodations, telephone service was intermittent because of army interference with the line, and this also hampered visitation. Custodian Thomas could proudly report, however, that on one day they had fifty-five Ph.D.s and four Nobel Prize winners, including Drs. Lawrence and Fermi![41] All in all, 1946 CE was a hectic recovery year. In 1947 CE, the lodge reopened, much improved by the repairs which had ultimately cost in the range of $14,000.00.

In addition to the repairs to the lodge, research and stabilization at the archaeological sites resumed. Limited excavations and stabilization at Tyuonyi were done by Thomas B. Onstott in 1947 and 1948 CE[42]; he also did stabilization work at Long House[43] and the large kiva[44] near Tyuonyi. In 1948 CE, Frederick C.V. Worman of Adams State College in Colorado began what was intended to be five years of excavation and stabilization of Rainbow House, a pueblo in the bottom of Frijoles Canyon along the entrance road. The crew from the college also did additional archaeological survey on the mesa north of Frijoles Canyon and some excavating at Tsankawi. Unfortunately for the project, Worman took a job with the Department of



Figure 153: Maintenance worker Cordero stabilizing walls at Tyuonyi, 1948. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Negative No. 03581 A.



Figure 154: Fred Binnewies, Superintendent of Bandelier from 1947 to 1954 CE. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14010, Negative No. 03060 W.

Energy at Los Alamos National Laboratory after three years, leaving the NPS to complete the excavation and stabilization at Rainbow House.[45] Rainbow House was open to visitors until it was backfilled in the late 1990s.

The pueblos and scenery of Bandelier National Monument continued to be a growing attraction. The two major trends impacting the monument at the time are evident in the August 1946 CE Southwest National Monuments report—tremendous growth in visitation and heavy use by Los Alamos personnel. It would be up to Superintendent Binnewies to try to solve these issues of "too much love." Binnewies arrived in August 1947 CE, serving initially as Custodian. During his first month on the job he met with the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) to try and revoke all of their special use permits from the war. He also attended Hewett's funeral in Santa Fe, and likely because of that event was visited by the prominent archaeologists Kidder and Nusbaum. He noted that the campground saw the highest use since 1940 CE and that the number of re-entries was significant.[46] The "backyard" of Los Alamos was moving into high gear. Relations with the AEC would also start a decade of negotiations that would have a profound effect on Bandelier National Monument.

Binnewies explained his goal in negotiating to revoke the AEC's special use permits: "We are attempting to eliminate all permits except those of permanent need and consolidate the remainder on a longer term basis than the present yearly basis."[47] In the same report he also noted Los Alamos personnel visiting the Otowi section and conducting target practice, another sign of the "backyard" syndrome.

In another indication of changing times and reduced NPS funding, Binnewies reported, "Pablita Velarde Hardin had to leave because of the shortage of funds, but she took the paintings home with her to finish them. A gesture, which needless to say, is greatly appreciated."[48] There was no longer any doubt that World War II hurt the funding surge the NPS had seen in the 1930s and that national defense (and, locally, the AEC) was the new top of the federal pyramid. Despite intermittent squabbling, however, the two entities cooperated. Approach roads became a priority for Los Alamos but also benefitted the monument and the two entities divided the work among themselves and the state.[49] Gone was the era when a visit to the monument required two days—now the trip from Santa Fe was two hours or less. Eventually, Bandelier National Monument also received power and phone service through new lines run for Los Alamos. These developments greatly enhanced the visitor experience at the monument and, of course, fed the rapidly growing visitation numbers.

Other areas of cooperation were characterized by a "live and let live" attitude by the NPS. During 1952 and 1953, the AEC conducted explosives testing that initially caused windows to slam shut but which, on two other occasions, completely blew out the windows at the fire lookout. It was noted that the AEC rushed to replace the windows immediately.[50] This cooperation also provided an important base for negotiations on more difficult topics that would follow.

Along with managing the AEC relationship, Binnewies began to draw up plans to try to address the monument's major challenges in the early 1950s—the heavy use by Los Alamos personnel, the large increases in visitation, and the subsequent congestion in the canyon. Beyond the problems associated with high visitation, the Otowi section was being highly misused. Because of its isolated nature it became a victim of off-road vehicle use, vandalism and looting of the archaeological sites, and target practice. The area had also been used extensively by the army during the war for roads and power line access to Los Alamos. With the necessity to manage the crowds at Frijoles Canyon, little attention was given to Otowi by an overstretched staff. The conditions were termed "disastrous" by the NPS.[51]

Some of the Los Alamos residents were becoming more sensitive to the monument's dilemmas and needs. In May and June 1953 CE, the Los Alamos Outdoor Association showed up to do maintenance at the monument. This greatly brightened Fred Binnewies's attitude. He commented,

> Since maintenance funds have been extremely limited this year the services of the Association are greatly appreciated and provides means of accomplishing some urgently need work that would otherwise have to be deferred. So far as we know this is one of the very few instances in the Park Service that an organized group has made such a donation.[52]

While these types of volunteer activities are fairly common today, the same was not true at the time. It is important that the Los Alamos community recognized a responsibility to assist the overwhelmed NPS to preserve Bandelier National Monument very early on. This very early example of what would become many "Friends of the Park" groups around the country is a credit to the Los Alamos personnel. This cooperative and informed relationship would become a critical element in the temporary solution to the many challenges facing the monument and its staff.

The master plan for the monument was reviewed and edited a number of times during the 1950s. It is also important to note that in 1953 CE Bandelier National Monument was transferred from the Southwest National Monuments group to Region 3 of the NPS. This was likely due to its size and particular challenges. A new superintendent, Paul Judge, replaced Fred Binnewies, but despite the organizational change, there were no funds to accomplish the vision of the master plan.

With the chief problems facing the monument identified as the overcrowding in the canyon and heavy use by the Los Alamos population for more outdoor rather than historical interest, monument management was debated within the NPS. Judge thought that the acquisition from the AEC of Frijoles Mesa was a significant part of the solution. He planned to move camping out of the canyon and up to the mesa. His supervisor, Regional Director Hugh Miller, disagreed. Miller saw a change in the fee structure as a way to change the use profile.[53] In the end, it did not matter because there were no funds to implement either plan. This changed in 1957 CE when the recently appointed NPS Director, Conrad Wirth, implemented Mission-66 to address the whole system's shortcomings. This was largely based on his 1953 CE development of master plans for all NPS sites. Mission-66 would forever change the NPS and Bandelier National Monument.

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[1] Southwestern Monuments (SWNM) Monthly Reports, January, 1941, p6, WACC.
[2] Ibid., January, 1942, p9.
[3] SWNM, March, 1942, p7, WACC.
[4] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Appendix A.
[5] Major General Leslie Groves was best known before the Manhattan Project as the builder of the Pentagon—the largest building in the world at that time. His no-nonsense, security-minded management did not always sit well with the project scientists but the job was done and basically on schedule.
[6] Oppenheimer's selection by Groves to head the actual bomb development surprised many in the scientific community at the time. His unique scientific talent and the ability to get the best from people and work with Groves made him central to the project's success.
[7] Toni Michnovicz Gibson and Jon Michnovicz, *Images of America: Los Alamos: 1944-1947*, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 9.
[8] Conant, 71.
[9] Rothman, *Rims*, 220.
[10] Jennet Conant, *109 East Palace* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2005), 43.
[11] SWNM Monthly Reports, December, 1942, p5, WACC.
[12] Ibid., January, 1943, p5.
[13] Ibid., February, 1943, p5.

[14] SWNM Monthly Reports, April, 1943, p5, WACC.
[15] Ibid, March, 1943, p5, WACC.
[16] Ibid., November, 1943, p6.
[17] Memorandum for the File, Custodian Thomas, October 22, 1944, BAND
[18] Confidential Memorandum, Tillotson to the Director NPS, dated October 21, 1944, BAND.
[19] SWNM., June, 1943, p6.
[20] Rothman, *Rims*, 222.
[21] Conant, 143.
[22] Ibid., 95.
[23] Oral History, Montoya and Young, May 23, 1988, BAND.
[24] Montoya and Kolodney, BAND.
[25] Harrison, et als, p31.
[26] SWNM Monthly Reports, October, 1943, p5, WACC.
[27] Oral History Montoya and Wilder, BAND.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Mark Fiege, *A Sense of Wonder,* Environmental History 12: July, 2007, p598.
[30] Conant., 222.
[31] Fiege, 598.
[32] Conant, xx.
[33] Oral History, Montoya and Bradbury, BAND.
[34] Montoya and Lilienthal, BAND.
[35] Conant, 223.
[36] Conant, 224.
[37] Rothman, *Administrative*, Appendix A.
[38] SWNM Monthly Reports, November, 1945, WACC.
[39] Ibid., June, 1947, p4.
[40] Ibid., January, 1946.
[41] SWNM Monthly Reports, August, 1946, WACC.
[42] Thomas B. Onstott, Stabilization Records for Bandelier National Monument, Tyuonyi Ruin, 1947-1948. 2 vols. (Manuscript on file at Bandelier National Monument, 1948).
[43] Thomas B. Onstott, Report on the Stabilization of Long House Ruin, Bandelier National Monument. (Manuscript on file at Bandelier National Monument, 1948).
[44] Thomas B. Onstott, Stabilization Records, Bandelier National Monument, Large Kiva. (Manuscript on file at Bandelier National Monument, 1948).
[45] The only report on the project is the following: Louis R. Caywood, *Excavations at Rainbow House, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico*. (U.S. National Park Service, Globe, AZ., 1966).
[46] SWNM Monthly Reports, August, 1946, WACC.
[47] Ibid.
[48] SWNM Monthly Reports., April, 1948, p2, WACC.
[49] Ibid., November, 1949.
[50] SWNM Monthly Reports, January, 1953.
[51] Ibid., 251.
[52] SWNM Reports, May, 1953.
[53] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 4.

11. Evolution

The National Park Service and Mission-66 (1948 – 2010 CE)

"The principle that is guiding the Mission-66 Committee and Staff is that the parks belong to the people, and they have a right to use them."[1] This seemingly self-evident statement made by Conrad Wirth in 1955 actually encompassed the spirit and direction of a revolution in management of the national parks that has left both major architectural and philosophical legacies for today's NPS.

Following World War II, the effects of a booming United States economy, an unprecedented population surge, and the dramatic increase in the availability and use of the automobile all combined to bring visitation to national parks to staggering new levels. World War II had not been kind to the parks financially. The resulting challenges in maintenance and access were brought to critical levels by these demographic trends in the post-war era. New, young families wanted to experience America in the parks, both historically and for a wilderness retreat including forests, deserts, and mountains that they perceived as still "undisturbed." The national parks became the focus for this new trend and quickly began to demonstrate their lack of readiness to handle the greatly increased numbers of visitors.



Figure 155: Conrad Wirth in 1960. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection, Catalog No. HPC-001130.

In his excellent study of the period, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma*, Ethan Carr captured some of the drama and urgency of the response of the public, media, and government to this new and mostly unforeseen explosion of use of the wilderness areas of the nation. Carr cited articles in prestigious press asking for a closure of the parks to prevent their irreparable overuse. He also discussed the level of criticism directed at the NPS for these conditions in magazine articles such on titled, "National Park's: Tomorrow's Slums?" adding fuel to the public debate.[2] Many of the most famous of the parks became "poster children" for large scale traffic jams, overcrowded camping facilities, and lack of adequate visitor facilities— interpretive and even sanitary. Yosemite, Grand Canyon, Glacier, and the Civil War military parks were prime examples providing graphic illustration of these situations to the public, media, and Congress. Clearly something had to give.

The newly appointed NPS Director, Conrad L. Wirth, a long term employee of the NPS, immediately began to address these issues upon taking office in 1951. Looking back, he realized that his predecessor, Newton Drury, had been clearly focused on preservation versus visitation and, perhaps in recognition of both pre-war economic conditions and the necessities of wartime economic and other sacrifices, had allowed budgets to be lowered.[3] An influx of money and staff was clearly required and in the spirit of U.S. success in World War II, it was to be a directed, urgent, almost military-type response to the "crisis." Wirth named the program Mission 66 with the intention that it would be complete by the 50th anniversary of the NPS in 1966.

Under Wirth's direction a small team was formed to establish the plan and requirements

to correct the situation. One of the primary causes of the surge in visitation was identified as the automobile. Carr identified the problem with the statement, "By 1950, up to ninety-nine percent of visitors to the national park system were arriving in their own cars or in increasingly popular 'drive yourself' rentals. Just finding room to drive and park millions of automobiles became a chronic and worsening problem in the country's national parks."[4] This however was not the only major target for the newly envisioned Mission-66—to accommodate the large numbers of visitors, all facilities had to be upgraded and expanded. This included the new concept of a centralized "visitor center" and the modernization of comfort stations, campgrounds, and interpretive areas. Roads had to be either built or upgraded, which actually fed the process they were envisioned to resolve.

These opportunities opened Mission-66 to what was perhaps its most lasting and controversial contribution beyond increasing visitation—the development of Modernism as a major architectural theme in the parks. From Mount Rainer National Park to Smoky Mountains National Park, new forms and shapes in primary visitation structures assured the American public that the parks were part of the modern world and forward looking in their participation in this societal progress. At least initially, the President and Congress responded very positively to the vastly increased budget requests, and the modernization of the parks became a national development program.

The Modernism trend was not completely germane to Bandelier National Monument; this trend was critical at other sites around the country and provided the basis for a large amount of the later critical response to Mission-66. For our purposes, the focus on access

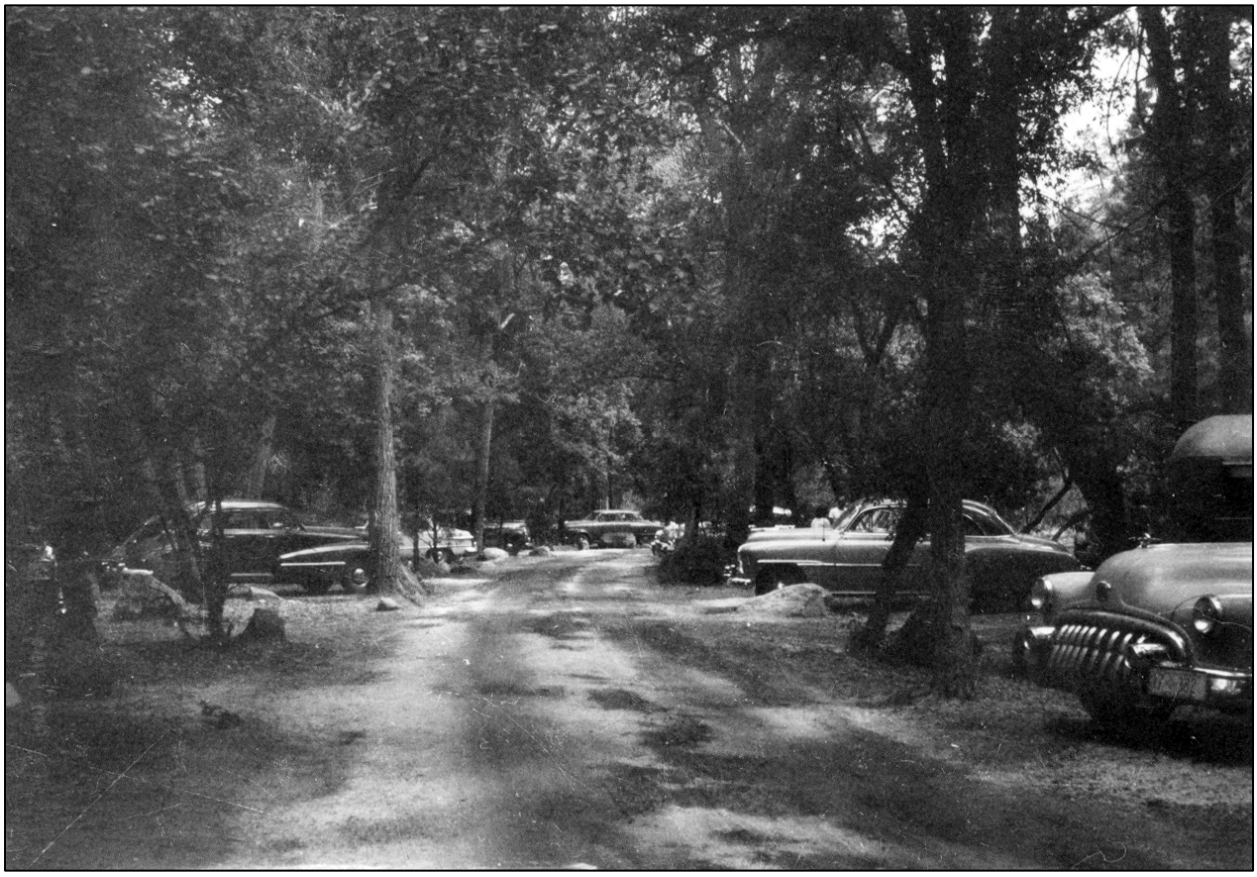


Figure 156: View of the crowded campground in Frijoles Canyon, 1951. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14011, Negative No. 0287A.

and accommodating large numbers of new visitors is the most important aspect of the Mission-66 plan as implemented at Bandelier National Monument.

Bandelier National Monument and Mission-66

Bandelier National Monument was subject to the same increase in visitation as other parks around the nation but, as discussed above, was also seeing high numbers of visitors from the local area. From 1945 until 1952 attendance grew from approximately 9500 visitors per year to 50, 000. By 1963, annual visitation was 100,000 and the trend would continue.[5] Clearly Bandelier National Monument was a very good representation of visitation growth and its attendant problems. Indeed, the possibility of closing the monument during the war had been considered because of its proximity to the Manhattan Project site at Los Alamos. In the end, the relative inaccessibility of the park and the policy of restricting the lodge to Project personnel only had rendered this unnecessary. By the 1950s, however, things had clearly changed.

The primary challenge at Bandelier National Monument was both the number and type of visitors. The numbers alone provided their own challenge, but the pattern of use was somewhat unique and exacerbated the situation. In short, the now growing population of Los Alamos used the monument as a "city park."[6] This meant the new American national park visitor, traveling great distances to visit different sites, encountered an already crowded or full campground immediately adjacent to the main attraction—the pueblo sites in Frijoles Canyon. The 1930s CCC built facilities were never intended to handle the levels of visitation that were being experienced.

In a succinct summary of the situation, Hal Rothman stated:

> By the early 1950s, Bandelier was overwhelmed. It had acquired many of the characteristics of a city park. Residents of nearby communities accounted for more than half the annual visits, an eventuality that Frank Pinkley and the others who designed the site in 1930s could not have foreseen. The facilities at Bandelier were not constructed to accommodate the conditions that came to exist at the monument. Recreational day use was simply not an issue during the 1930s. The new master plan had to address the realities of the moment. Planning for the future had to be delayed.[7]

Park staff, assisted by regional NPS offices and national Mission 66 staff began to envision a solution to the problem that would move the visitor overnight use away from the primary day use area of Frijoles Canyon. The plan was modified at the request of Regional Director Miller to utilize fee changes to manage the situation, but the final plan directed further study of the camping and picnicking issue.[8] The early plan also recognized the need for additional staff and their housing, a new physical plant, and new trails as important parts of the solutions to the monument's challenges. Additionally, a visitor center for the Tsankawi/Otowi area was advocated. The intent of this portion of the plan was the protection and interpretation of the Otowi section.[9] It was also envisioned that staff housing would be built in that area. The plan stated, "Consideration will be given to the construction of a new campground in another suitable location in the monument if necessary."[10] As we will see, negotiations with the AEC later changed that portion of the plan.

Talks with the AEC regarding acquisition of Frijoles Mesa had been ongoing on for some time. There was really no objection to the proposal from the AEC, as it would maintain the area as a protective space for the labs. In 1960, however, a second element was added to the proposal by the NPS when Conrad Wirth expressed an interest in acquiring another tract of AEC land known as the Upper Crossing area that was adjacent to the Frijoles Mesa tract. The proposal called for the NPS, in turn, to transfer parts of the Otowi section to the AEC. This prompted a significant debate within the NPS between those wanting to protect the primary site, Frijoles Canyon, for its scenic value and those wanting to also save the archaeological sites in the Otowi section. Some in the NPS contended that Otowi was already terribly compromised and perhaps the AEC could better police the area. Others argued

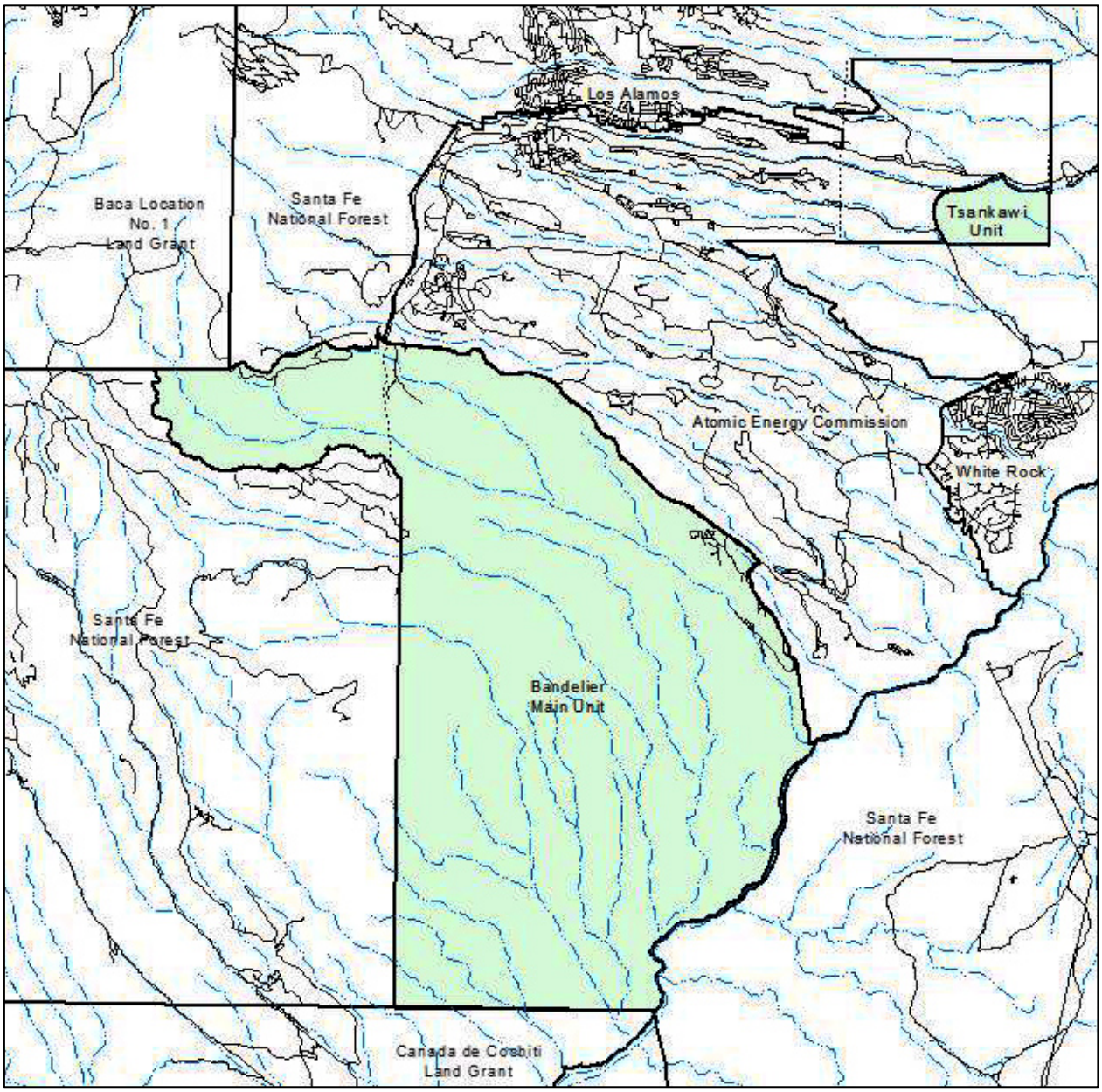


Figure 157: Map of the 1963 revised boundaries of Bandelier National Monument, courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

that the NPS would do more to preserve the archaeological sites than the AEC would. The debate was an intense one, reflecting different visions of the monument's future. As early as February, 1960, Superintendent Judge noted that a swap was viewed favorably by his contacts in the AEC.[11]

If the AEC was in favor of the deal, the debate within the NPS and the opposition to the swap by the USFS was to continue for approximately two years. The debate within the NPS was healthy in that the modern era began to be addressed realistically on its own terms and the blind implementation of past practices began to be questioned. This rethinking of mission and practice by the NPS would actually accelerate during the next few years. The debate between the NPS and the USFS opened the schism between the two agencies again, however, and became a critical element in the future of the Pajarito Plateau. Rothman described the opposition from the USFS at this point as "legendary."[12]



Figure 158: Photograph taken in 1961 to demonstrate the need for additional parking. Photograph by Rowe and Widmer, courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, Catalog No. 14018, Negative No. 02526 W.

At one point, it appeared that the consensus within the NPS was in favor of the swap and the report was submitted to the Regional Planning Chief, William Bowen and then to the Regional Director, William Allen. At this critical point Allen decided he did not favor giving up all of Otowi and linked the Frijoles Mesa and Upper Crossing proposals so there could be no forward progress unless both parts of the plan moved forward.[13] Soon the USFS intervened and Allen shelved the project.

Other constituencies then began to pressure the NPS to move forward. These included high ranking politicians such as Secretary of the Interior Udall and portions of the New Mexico congressional delegation. The USFS still resisted this pressure but time was not on its side. Eventually the AEC declared the Frijoles Mesa as surplus to their requirements and the NPS released Otowi, with the exception of the Tsankawi portion, and the transfer could be made. On May 27, 1963 President Kennedy made it all official.

Frijoles Canyon area became strictly a day use area with its visitor center, museum, and concessions supplemented by a picnic area in the old campground. The mesa top, connected by a trail to the canyon below, became the overnight camping area with the typical Mission-66 addition of an amphitheater—a new interpretive venue. All of this provided some relief for the overcrowded Frijoles Canyon but did not change the pattern of increasing visitation that had been established.

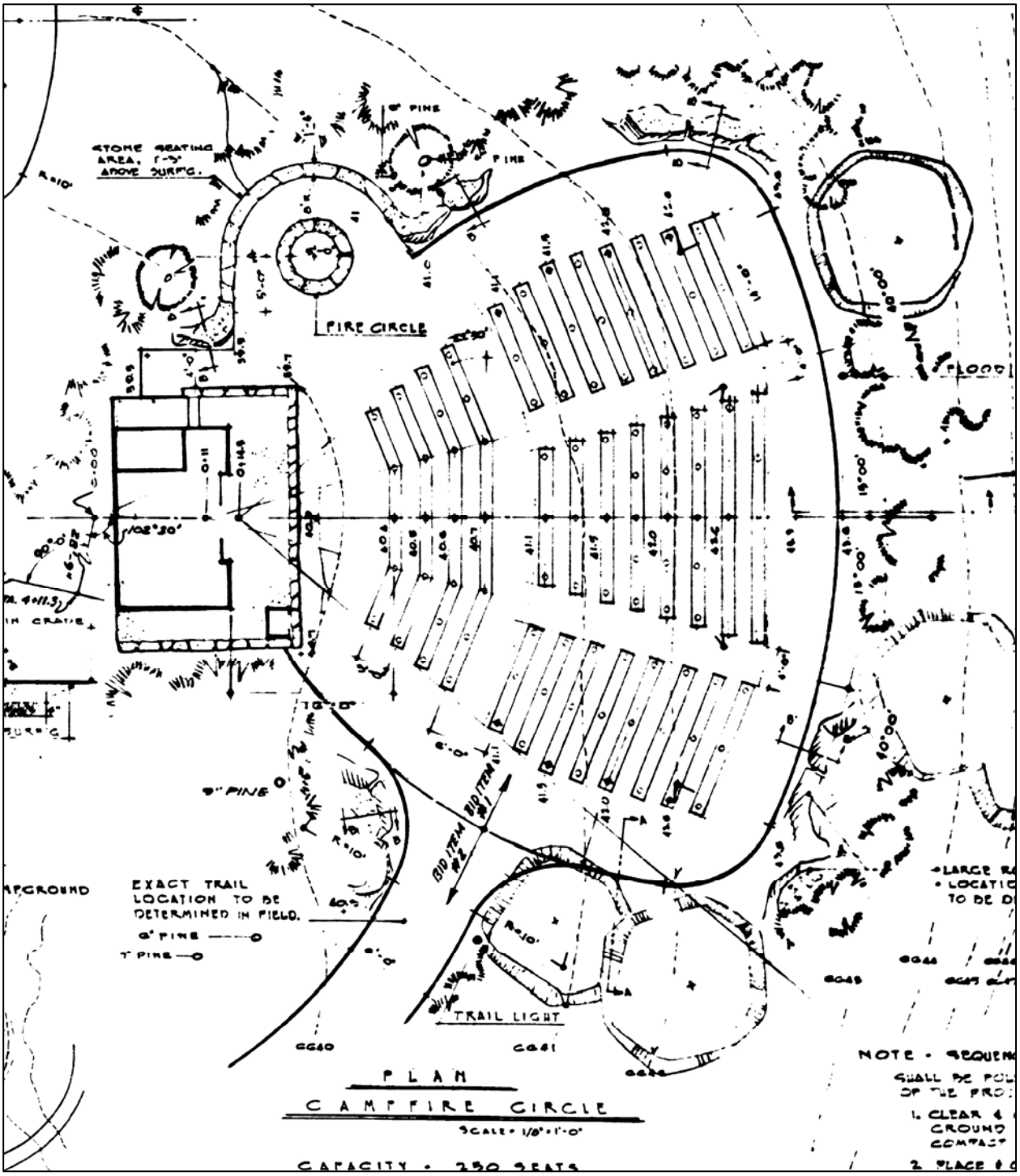


Figure 159: Mission-66 plan for the Bandelier National Monument amphitheater. Bandelier National Monument archives, Map Case 3, Drawer 5, Campgrounds.

Two issues remained unresolved after the land transfer, however. First was the continuing animosity between the NPS and USFS, a dysfunctional relationship that would have extreme consequences in the future. Second was that fact that the background to this transfer was an attempt to once again establish a national park on the plateau. It was hoped this would be accomplished by the addition of either a portion or all of the Baca Location grant lands, known as variously the Jemez Crater or the Valles Caldera. This would be a major is-

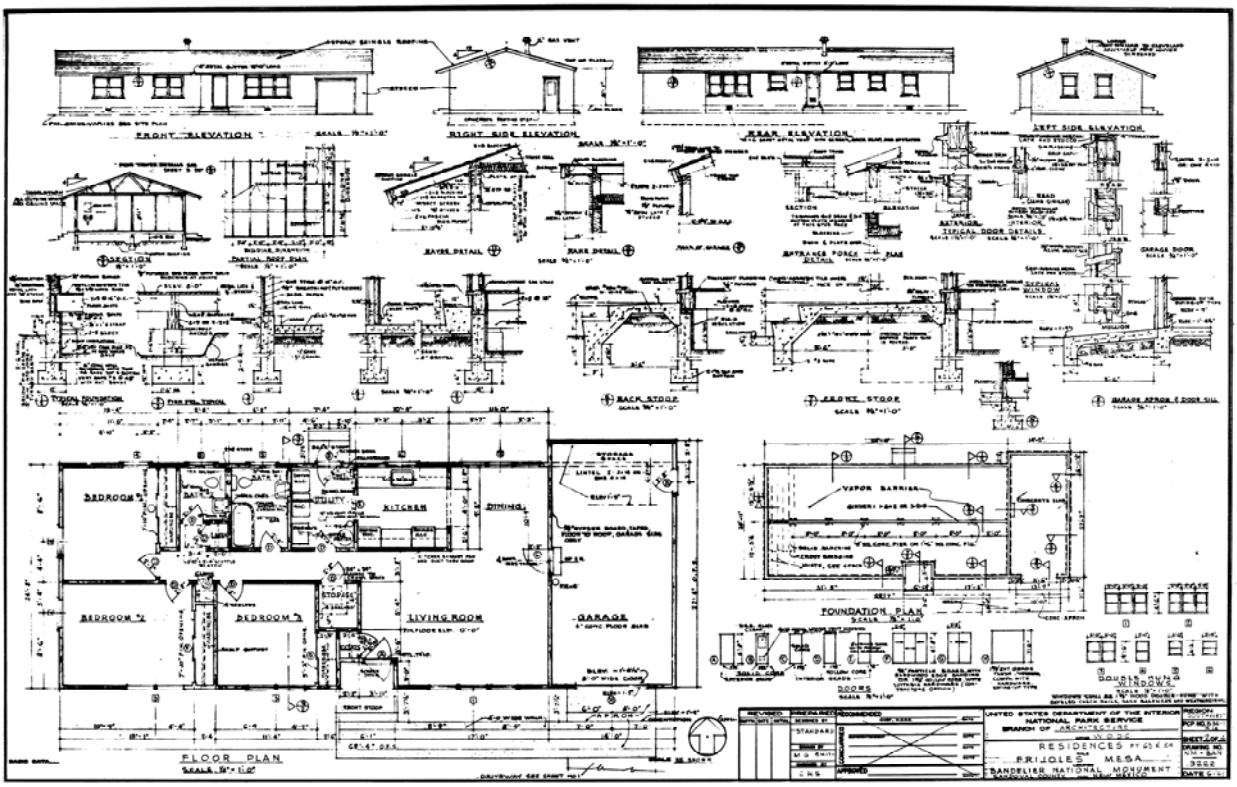


Figure 160: Mission-66 plan for employee housing, 1963. Denver Service Center Technical Information Center 315-3222 Sheet 2 of 4.

sue for the monument throughout the 20th century (one that remains unresolved to this day) and a disagreement that fed the competition between the two agencies.

Acquisition of Frijoles Mesa allowed Bandelier National Monument to achieve many of the Mission-66 goals along with its own local imperatives. The funding to accomplish the intent of the 1950s planning allowed the relocation of the campground and construction of new housing and maintenance facilities in an area outside of Frijoles Canyon proper. As a result, the aesthetic of the CCC buildings in Frijoles Canyon was preserved and little further development in that area has taken place. In the new campground and employee housing established on the mesa, NPS Mission-66 standards were used, but these were of the most unobtrusive types compared to the modernistic visitor center at Mount Rainier or the new Cyclorama on the Gettysburg Battlefield. Mission-66 at Bandelier National Monument achieved a relatively harmonious blend with the innovations required to save the park from its visitors.

By 1970, visitation topped 200,000 and Bandelier National Monument was presented with other challenges which the Mission-66 solutions did not address.[14] Unforeseen by Mission-66 was the growth of the wilderness preservation and environmental movement in the 1970s and later years. Also unforeseen were the challenges presented to the monument by the development at the Cochiti Dam and other areas surrounding the park. These provided subjects for constant and sometimes heated debate between the park and its neighbors.

The lasting legacy of Mission-66 at Bandelier National Monument is less about buildings or roads than is the case at other NPS properties. Instead, the legacy of Mission-66 at the monument is a shift in management philosophy that recognizes the need to accommodate and improve the experience of a wide range and increasing number of visitors while working to preserve the monument's cultural and natural resources.

From a strictly Mission-66 perspective, Bandelier National Monument was a relatively

minor implementation of standardized national policies. A broader view suggests that its attempts to accommodate popular visitation while protecting resources were part of an important trend in park management that continues to grow in relevance today. As a response to population pressures, spatial separation of attractions from pragmatic facilities became a necessity. That response is still part of current sustainable parks initiatives, such as the extremely successful removal of private vehicles and camping from Zion National Park. At Bandelier National Monument, structural modernization was modest, but modern planning concepts of visitation with preservation were proactive solutions to problems many parks continue to face today.

Growth

Following the completion of the major portions of the Mission-66 plan at Bandelier National Monument, the focus once again turned towards expansion of the monument and possible ascension to national park status. The efforts undertaken from the 1960s through the 1990s focused on the acquisition of the Valles Caldera portion of the old Baca Location land grant to the north; to the south the focus was another land grant, the Cañada de Cochiti. These lands were viewed not only as valuable acquisitions themselves but important buffer areas to the core archaeological sites on the plateau. They would also allow expansion of monument activities to include the more recreational ethos of the period which had become a strong force nationwide.

In the late 1930s the area then called the Jemez Crater and now commonly referred to as the Valles Caldera came under scrutiny by the NPS for a possible expansion of Bandelier National Monument. Chief Regional Geologist Charles Gould was commissioned to study the suitability of adding the area to the monument to form a national park or as a future monument or park on its own. He eventually recommended the acquisition and the formation



Figure 161: The Valles Caldera, as seen in 2009.

of a national park. Charles Gould was responsible for compiling the final recommendation and it findings are fascinating. As might be expected, there was ample justification from archaeological and geological (Gould) perspectives in addition to landscape architecture. Interestingly, the landscape section notes, "The two most important points on the area on a national park from a landscape standpoint are: First, its scenic value; and second, its possibility as a winter sports area."[15] However, the section on archaeology suggested, "that the idea of the Jemez National Park should be dropped and the old idea of a Pajarito National Park or Monument should be prosecuted once more."[16] The remaining disciplines, wildlife, forestry, and engineering, were negative regarding the proposal.

There is a sense from these reports that the criteria for the potential park are being stretched, and this was likely the case. This activity was prior to the wilderness movement that rocked the NPS in the 1960s and 1970s. There was minimal interest in winter sports, camping, and what can be termed "average" scenic beauty for a destination. The infrastructure was not yet in place to support these activities. Research was also not considered major criteria for a national park. What was the impetus behind these latest efforts?

As early as the 1927, Jesse Nusbaum of the NPS had included the Valles Caldera in the discussions with the USFS.[17] While this portion of the negotiation eventually fell by the wayside, the idea was revived during the 1930s, as were additional attempts at acquisition of Puye just prior to this time. Late in the 1930s the national park concept for the Pajarito Plateau was again brought up at the highest levels of the NPS, including the possibility of acquisition of the Valles Caldera and the Cañada de Cochiti. This was in response to a bill to delegate management of the Vigil Grant, recently purchased by the Soil Conservation Service, to the USFS. The NPS put forward the concept of a Jemez Crater National Park of gigantic size—almost two million acres—requiring large purchases from the private domain and a transfer of over 500,000 acres from the USFS.[18] Needless to say, after some investigation it was quietly shelved. The concept died hard, however, and Director Cammerer took an amended, smaller proposal to Secretary Ickes. It was never acted on. This defeat for the NPS would be long remembered.

Despite the setback, the impetus to acquire the additional properties for Bandelier National Monument did not fade. The issue came up again when Evelyn Frey, the monument lodge concessionaire, wrote to Senator Chavez of New Mexico when she heard that the Baca Location grant lands might be for sale. Conceivably she had always had an interest in the growth of Bandelier National Monument, but whatever her reasoning, her 1961 letter restarted the whole process with Chavez contacting the NPS for a plan for this acquisition.[19] There was still considerable interest in a national park in the region and all of the old drive returned with a new, culturally aware twist.

In 1962, the heirs of Frank Bond, the plateau's most prosperous businessman and one time owner of both the Vigil Grant and the Baca Location, sold their Pajarito Plateau land to Texas developer James Dunigan. A twisted maze of negotiations that would last for a decade began. Dunigan was not opposed to entertaining federal proposals to purchase the land, but his involvement did halt progress on the current push for a park by removing some of the proposed acreage from the overall deal. He had his own plans as well and in April 1963 it was reported that he intended to build a "ski resort, racetrack, and resort community for the Baca."[20] Public pressure in June 1963 forced him to abandon these plans and settle for a one involving cattle ranching.[21] Attempts by the NPS to acquire the area would take many a turn and detour—indeed, they continue to this day—but the importance of the area is demonstrated by the fact that efforts to obtain it have continued for over 70 years.

There would be three major attempts to incorporate the Valles Caldera into NPS lands in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The first occurred in 1964 after Mrs. Frey's letter highlighting the importance of the area. Even while this was still ringing in various state and federal ears, proposals to acquire the Valles

Caldera were being developed by the NPS. It was no coincidence, therefore, that while the NPS would lose the battle in 1964, it was a more promising attempt than the 1939 proposal. Quite simply the nation's attitude towards the environment and natural landmark areas had changed. A groundswell of environmental awareness had washed over the nation. Scenic qualities gained their own value and outdoor sports participation skyrocketed.

An unsigned memo in the Bandelier National Monument files, likely "talking points," details the value of the Valles Caldera as a national park. Some of the key features are presented as: "World class geological features, Spectacular scenery, Rich(est)…wildlife habitat, Major archaeological sites nearby, High quality year-round recreation potential, and Economic benefit for the region."[22] The case for the addition of the area to the monument was strengthened by the fact that the NPS was acknowledged as having particular expertise in managing these types of locations for the federal government.[23]

The case for a national park on the Pajarito Plateau had advanced and incorporated the significant developments of a new type of preservation and protection. Both NPS proposals echo these criteria. In 1964 the report stated:

> The portion of the caldera proposed for inclusion in the National Park—the Valle Grande and its surrounding volcanic mountains—contains enough interpretable features of a nationally significant geologic story that its addition to Bandelier will eminently clarify the fascinating geologic-archeologic relationship in the Pajarito Plateau region. It will also add delightful scenic features and interesting biological values to those of Bandelier.[24]

In this language, with its emphasis on geology and archaeology, we hear a distant echo of the 1939 proposal with its added emphasis on scenery.

This tone had developed further by the next major attempt at acquisition in 1978. In the interim there had been an attempt to develop the geothermic potential of the area and with the new energy consciousness of the 1970s, environmental education also made an appearance. This latest proposal highlighted land uses such as: "hiking, fishing, picnicking, camping, winter sports, environmental education, research…"[25] Additionally, "…the Valle Grande tract represents a tremendous challenge to develop a comprehensive energy-oriented interpretive program…"[26] Clearly there had been significant development of these concepts from the first proposal in 1939, even as more revolutionary aspects were also very apparent.

In October 1976, Bandelier National Monument was authorized to attempt to acquire two pieces of property considered critical to the monument's future. The attempted acquisition of the Valles Caldera had heightened the understanding of the monument's vulnerability to activities on bordering lands. This prompted proposals for land acquisition that were accepted by the NPS leadership. An example of the forces driving the monument in this direction was first apparent in the Valles Caldera when a timber company used some poor logging practices that threatened the upper Frijoles Canyon watershed. In 1977, the monument was successful in obtaining 3,076 acres from the Valles Caldera owner, James Dunigan, to protect the watershed of Frijoles Canyon.[27]

As this acquisition was being signed and delivered, negotiations continued apace for a much larger tract in the Valles Caldera and the formation of a national park on the plateau. So why is there not a national park on including the Valles Caldera site today? A number of events conspired at different times to derail the proposed park. The difficulty of negotiating with James Dunigan was part of the issue, and when he died in 1980 his heirs were not interested in selling. Disagreement within the NPS regarding the viability of the area for a national park existed as well.[28] Finally, even with Congressional support there was division within the state over establishing a new park. Some of the most recent attempts in the late 1990s and early twenty-first century continue this trend of citizen groups raising the stakes by calling for NPS acquisition of very large areas of the region, raising concerns among other residents sufficiently that they pressure their political representative against the acquisition. These many stumbling blocks ensured that deadlock would develop.

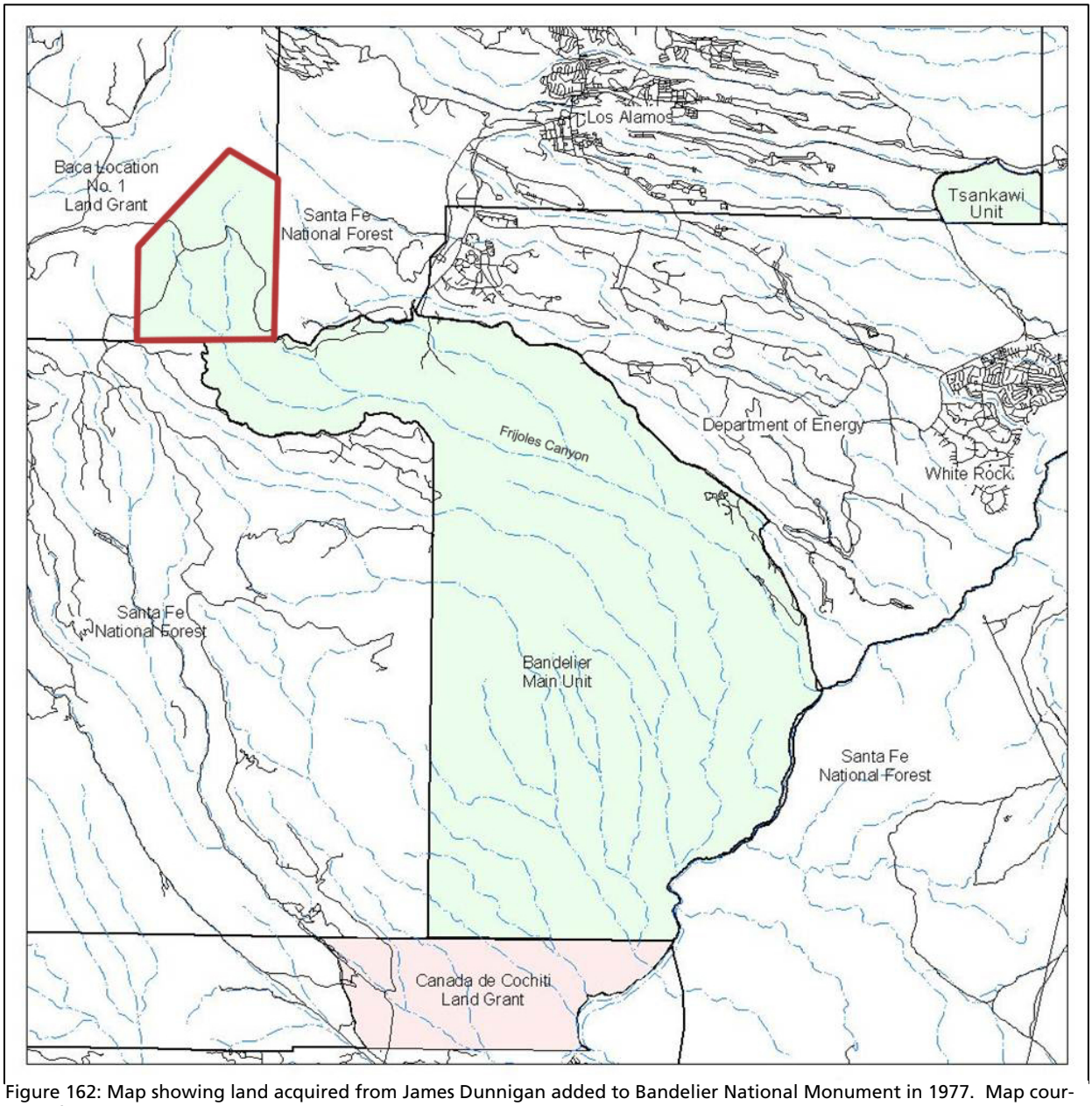


Figure 162: Map showing land acquired from James Dunnigan added to Bandelier National Monument in 1977. Map courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

Some progress came at the turn of the twenty-first century. New Mexico Senator Pete Domenici, an active participant in the negotiations, stated in a letter in 1998, "Congress has tried to resolve the different challenges in acquiring this property before, and failed; cooperation among the parties may bring success this time around."[29] He went on to create a compromise by proposing management by a trust rather than one of the neighboring federal agencies. The Domenici bill passed and on July 25, 2000 the deadlock was broken. The Valles Caldera National Preserve (VCNP) was established as part of Santa Fe National Forest but managed by a congressionally charted trust. Under the agreement, the preserve has a unique requirement of, "… the goal of achieving a financially self-sustaining operation within fifteen full fiscal years after the date of acquisition of the Baca ranch…"[30] As part of the bill creating the VCNP approximately one thousand acres were added to the Bandelier

National Monument to expand protection of the Frijoles Canyon headwaters.

The other parcel that was approved for acquisition in 1977, the Cañada de Cochiti Grant on the monument's southern border, would see no such resolution, following instead the well-trodden path of a long set of negotiations with inconclusive results. To some degree this was caused by wording of the authorization which only permitted the land to be donated or acquired with donated funds.[31] Negotiations for expansion in the earliest days of the monument also set the stage for this set of events.

The roughly 4,234 acres of the Cañada de Cochiti Grant figured in some of the discussions of monument expansion in the 1930s primarily for its archaeological assets. **Significant among** these was the site of Kuapa (a pre-contact Keres pueblo) and pristine Spanish Colonial sites. Immediate outside the grant boundaries is an important site associated with the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, Há-nut Kotyiti or Old Cochiti, also known as the Potrero Viejo.[32] The area therefore has great significance to the Pueblo de Cochiti. While not part of the Cañada Grant or proposed for acquisition, Cochiti Pueblo served as Adolf Bandelier's field base for his exploration of Frijoles Canyon. There is therefore a great deal of historic connection between the areas within the monument, the Cañada de Cochiti grant, and Cochiti Pueblo, leading to an almost intrinsic incentive for the NPS to acquire the grant area. In the 1960s, an additional reason to try to acquire the grant surfaced.

In the late 1950s, the Corps of Engineers proposed damming the Rio Grande in the area of the Cochiti Pueblo to control seasonal flooding of the river, primarily in Albuquerque. It would take years of arguments and planning for the project to get underway. As early as 1960 when the dam was authorized, an unsigned memo in the Bandelier National Monument archives stated, "If the Corps of Engineers builds the Cochiti Dam, we will have to do something with the south portion of the monument."[33] This concern only heightened



Figure 163: Cochiti dam and reservoir, 2010.

when construction got underway in 1965.

Why was the NPS apprehensive about this proposed dam? The dam itself was not the source of the anxiety, although there were some concerns over loss of scenery in the flooded area. It was the development the dam would bring that troubled the NPS. In a letter from Frank Kouski, NPS Regional Director, to the representative of the land's owner, the University of New Mexico (UNM), the reasons for acquiring the grant were laid out. "We are concerned because of the proposed residential and recreational development adjoining Cochiti Lake and the near future upstream extension of the lake against the eastern boundary of the monument, bordering on the Rio Grande, which will allow access from the river by recreational boaters."[34]

The decision to build the dam also led to a series of archaeological projects to mitigate the effects of the inundation on archaeological sites below the floodwater line. An initial contract was awarded to Charles Lange and Southern Illinois University; this involved survey on both banks of the Rio Grande by Alfred E. Dittert, Jr., Charlie R. Steen, and Albert H. Schroeder in 1962, with additional work by Stan Bussey, Stewart Peckham, and Charlie Lange in 1963 and 1964.[35] David Snow conducted some additional survey and excavated some sites,[36] while Polly Schaafsma studied the rock art sites in the area.[37] Eventually it was realized that these endeavors were not sufficient and the UNM's Office of Contract Archeology undertook intensive survey and mitigation of an additional 9,070 acres under direction of Jan V. Biella and Richard C. Chapman.[38] Within the monument boundaries, NPS archaeologists (Natt Dodge, Zorro Bradley, Edmund Ladd, Ron Ice, Don Fiero, Dan Lenihan, Bruce Anderson, George West, Lyndi Hubbell, and Diane Traylor) did additional survey and excavation of sites in an area of 361 acres that would be affected by the waters of the lake.[39]

The archaeological research only verified the historical richness of the area, but even before the results were in, Bandelier National Monument and UNM began a decade of negotiations over the Cañada de Cochiti. There was much discussion but little result. In 1988, after first signaling that a land swap might work, UNM ended the negotiations and the monument was once again left with a failed acquisition. Unfortunately for the recreational use of the lake, the rules established were too tight and the company running Cochiti Lake Estates declared bankruptcy in 1984. The university transferred the grant to a conservation trust in 2000. The Cañada de Cochiti land grant remains within the monument's legislated boundary and is currently managed by the New Mexico State Land Office.

A related event was brought on by the various acquisition attempts. In the 1970s Bandelier National Monument, along with many other parks, struggled to define its Wilderness Area in accordance with the Act of 1964. The Act stated:

> Except as specifically provided for in this Act, and subject to existing private rights, there shall be no commercial enterprise and no permanent road within any wilderness area designated by this Act and, except as necessary to meet minimum requirements for the administration of the area for the purpose of this Act (including measures required in emergencies involving the health and safety of persons within the area), there shall be no temporary road, no use of motor vehicles, motorized equipment or motorboats, no landing of aircraft, no other form of mechanical transport, and no structure or installation within any such area.[40]

The Act set off an unanticipated chain of events across the NPS system. The same environmentalist and other groups associated with wilderness protection began a campaign to identify pristine areas within NPS lands. The associated debate and the scale of possible consequences took the NPS by surprise. The conflicts were often acrimonious, pitting former supporters against the NPS. At Bandelier National Monument the imposition of Wilderness would have repercussions for some planned development on the new Cochiti Lake. More important to the staff, the severe restrictions on roads and equipment would interfere with their mandate to preserve and protect the archaeological sites. While the debate around these concerns was rancorous, the monument staff managed to work out a positive solution acceptable to most groups.[41] The monument successfully integrated this

aspect of it mission after a public debate lasting years. In 1976, Bandelier Wilderness was designated and the monument moved on, a unified entity as before.

The 1970s also saw the start of an ambitious archaeological survey projected headed by James N. Hill of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).[42] His Pajarito Plateau Archaeological Project (PARP) resulted in survey of 400 square miles of the plateau, and while the original plan called for survey within the monument, ultimately no fieldwork was conducted within its boundaries. His research questions and the results of PARP would set the stage for other researchers who did work on the plateau. Hill's goal was to test a model of the ways in which people in small scale agricultural societies responded to long term subsistence stress rooted in climatic shifts. Building on Hill's work, the National Park Service initiated a large scale survey of Bandelier National Monument under the direction of Robert P. Powers. Beginning with a test survey in 1985, the project continued with five seasons of fieldwork between 1987 and 1991 and resulted in archaeological survey of just over 14,000 acres (43% of the park) and documentation of 1,959 sites.[43] Working in tandem with the survey work, Timothy A. Kohler of Washington State University conducted excavations at Shohakka Pueblo, Casa del Rito, Group M, Burnt Mesa Pueblo, and Tyuonyi Annex between 1988 and 1991.[44] The model for the Bandelier Archaeological Survey project focused more on population expansion as a cause of aggregation into larger sites than did Hill's, but still had settlement, aggregation, and complexity of social organization as key research questions.

Recent archaeological work in the park has focused on surveying the remaining surveyable areas, ongoing documentation and preservation work on the prehispanic and historic sites and structures, research by individual scholars, and additional documentation of a few sites using new technology such as LIDAR (Light, Imaging, Detection, and Ranging system) that uses three dimensional laser scanning to create high definition computer models.



Figure 164: Section of a LIDAR model of Long House, 2011. Courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

[1] Ethan Carr, *MISSION 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 105-106.
[2] Carr, 6-7.
[3] Ibid., 5
[4] Carr, 5.
[5] Hal Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History* (Santa Fe, NM: NPS Division of History, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers No. 14), Appendix C.
[6] Ibid., Chapter 4.
[7]Rothman, *Administrative History,* Chapter 4.
[8] Rothman, Administrative History, Chapter 4.
[9] Mission 66 for Bandelier National Monument, undated, unsigned, p3, BAND.
[10] Ibid., p5.
[11] Superintendent's Monthly Report February, 1960, BAND.
[12] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 4.
[13] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 4.

[14] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Appendix C.
[15] Charles Gould, Report on the Proposed Jemez Crater National Park, p2. NARA
[16] Gould, Report, xx., p1.
[17] Rothman, *Rims*, 165.
[18] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 3.
[19] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 3.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Unsigned memo, BAND File for Valles Caldera.
[23] National Park Service Acquisition and Management of the Valle Grande dated September, 1978. TICC

[24] A Proposed Valle Grande-Bandelier National Park dated July, 1964. TICC
[25] National Park Service Acquisition and Management of the Valle Grande dated September, 1978. TICC.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Rothman, *History*, Chapter 3.
[28] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 3.
[29] Letter Senator Pete Domenici to Carol D. Warner dated September 21, 1998. BAND
[30] Public Law 106-248 date July 25, 2000, Sec 3.A accessed on line on October 27, 2010, http://www.vallescaldera.gov/about/trust/docs/PL%20106-248.pdf
[31] Background Paper on Canada de Cochiti Legislation dated January 1990, BAND.
[32] Leo L. Flynn and W. James Judge, An Archaeological Assessment of the Canada de Cochiti Grant, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, December, 1973, 8.
[33] Unsigned memo dated March 3, 1960, BAND.
[34] Letter Kouski to Dr. Ferrell Healy, UNM, dated February 18, 197x. BAND
[35] For example, Charles H. Lange, *The Cochiti Dam Archaeological Salvage Project*. Laboratory of Anthropology Research Notes Nos. 91, 92, and 93. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1968).
[36] For example, David H. Snow, *A Report on the Impact of Cochiti Dam on the Archaeological Resources of the Cochiti Area, New Mexico*. Laboratory of Anthropology Research Note No. 80E. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1972).
[37] For example, Polly Schaafsma, *Rio Grande Petroglyphs in the Cochiti Reservoir*. Museum of New Mexico Papers in Anthropology No. 16. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1971).
[38] For example, Jan V. Biella and Richard C. Chapman, editors, *Archeological Investigations in Cochiti Reservoir, New Mexico. Volume 1. A Survey of Regional Variability*. (Albuquerque: Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico, 1977).
[39] Lyndi Hubbell and Diane Traylor, eds. *Bandelier; Excavations in the Flood Pool of Cochiti Lake, New Mexico*. (Santa Fe: National Park Service Southwest Cultural Resources Center, 1982).
[40] The Wilderness Act, Sec4.c
[41] Rothman, *Administrative History*, Chapter 4.
[42] James N. Hill and W. Nicholas Trierweiler, *Prehistoric Responses to Food Stress on the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico: Technical Report and Results of the Pajarito Plateau Archaeological Research Project, 1977-1985*. (Washington, D.C.: submitted to the National Science Foundation (1986).
[43] Powers and Orcutt, *Bandelier Archaeological Survey*.
[44] For example, Timothy A. Kohler, ed., *Archaeology of Bandelier National Monument*.

12. Concluding Thoughts

The well-known landscape writer, James Corner, has put forth the concept of landscapes as "palimpsests."[1] The original term refers to vellum from which scribes would erase one text to make room for a current one; often, the old text was visible in fragments. This model is valuable for its recognition that within the spatial boundaries of any physical landscape there are temporal layers. One generation or group restructures the landscape of another, leaving fragmentary evidence of the earlier period. Thus, landscape boundaries must be considered porous both in space and in time. This is particularly true for Bandelier National Monument, a place that experienced millennia of human occupation as part of the Pajarito Plateau and the northern Rio Grande Valley generally. The monument contains traces of 12,000 years of human history, some of which have obliterated others, some of which play off older traces, and all of which are superimposed on the underlying land.

The very earliest period of human presence of interest at Bandelier National Monument begins in 10,000 BCE with use of the area by Paleoindian groups.[2] By contrast, the last significant geological events to reshape the Bandelier landscape were generalized volcanic activity about ten million years ago followed by the ash and tuff deposits from the Valles Caldera explosion some 1,400,000 years ago. Thus the geomorphology—the "bones of the earth"—experienced by those first human inhabitants ten millennia ago is not significantly different than the general shape of the land today. Any geological landmark that exists now almost certainly existed in the most remote past, although such landmarks have clearly undergone varied degrees of metamorphosis (and thus of naming and significance). The archaeological sites encompassed within



Figure 165: A rainbow arches over Frijoles Canyon, as seen in1998. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

Bandelier National Monument are almost all within the upper few meters of modern soil. This also indicates that, in terms of landscape experience, what we see today would be recognizable, though far from unchanged, to any person who somehow returned from the most remote periods of human prehistory. Sites that are associated with Archaic and Ancestral Pueblo occupation have been re-used by people in historic times, but if one could take both parties back to the site, both would recognize it as a location though the specifics might have changed. A practical, beautiful, or auspicious site often remains so across eras and cultures, and the connection the modern Pueblo people have to the homes of their ancestors is especially meaningful. Many have expressed how deeply the cultural and natural landscapes of the Pajarito Plateau, including Bandelier National Monument, are tied to their sense of identity and the foundation of their cultures.

The clear connection between Ancestral and modern Pueblo peoples on the Pajarito Plateau and the number and quality of the archaeological sites were key factors in the area's attraction to early anthropologists and archaeologists. Early scholars of the late 19th century and early 20th century, Adolf Bandelier among them, developed the direct historical approach (whereby practices and lifeways of modern groups were projected into the past), assuming that some of the customs they observed among modern Pueblo groups were the same as those of the people who had inhabited the region's archaeological sites. Although this approach can be misleading if applied simplistically, this early recognition of continuity of history and culture of the modern Pueblos was very significant.

As scholars of the history of anthropology have often observed, however, the products of anthropological inquiry often tells us more about ourselves than about the culture we are studying, and these early efforts were no different. The turn of the 19th century was a time when the political conquest of Native Americans was complete and a place needed to be found for them as part of the national identity. In the face of growing industrialization and urbanization, the Pueblos and Navajos in particular evoked a simpler, rural, more genuine way of life even as they were also viewed as living relics of the past. They were seen as people doomed to vanish in the face of progress even as they were idealized for what was perceived as a more authentic history and spirituality.

This period was also a time in which the women's suffrage movement was gaining momentum and female activists worked towards the liberation of women and other social groups that did not have same rights as white males. Santa Fe proved a draw for many such women seeking a fresh start outside the industrialized east and with the possibility to study matriarchal Native societies. Verra von Blumenthal and Rose Dougan were two such women who also worked to improve Native arts and develop the Native arts market through the school they built in what is now Tsankawi Unit of Bandelier National Monument.

The inherent contradictions of the so-called primitivist perspective that assigned idealized value to a non-industrial native culture doomed to vanish are most evident in the views of archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett. Hewett worked to promote Native arts, thereby recognizing the rich artistic traditions of the Pueblo people he encouraged. Simultaneously, he wrote "scientific" articles about the people of the "Pajarito Culture" who, he imagined, once occupied the archaeological sites he excavated on the Pajarito Plateau. In his model, the Pajarito Culture bore no connection whatsoever to living Pueblo communities, thereby eliminating the complications such a connection would pose to his authority as interpreter of the past and his desire to establish exclusive rights to pursue archaeology on Pajarito Plateau. If Hewett's agenda and methods appear questionable today, his contribution to the preservation of archaeological sites in this country in the form of his draft of the Antiquities Act is not. Bandelier National Monument was ultimately not among the first of the national monuments protecting cultural properties created under the act because of ongoing and rancorous political debate. The richness of its archaeological holdings and its scenery did provide the inspiration and incentive to Congressman John Lacey to persevere in pursuing the act's passage, however.



Figure 166: Snow on Tyuonyi Pueblo, as seen in 2008. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

A point that deserves specific acknowledgement is the fact that with the clear connection to descendent Pueblo societies, Bandelier National Monument (as Hewett's "Pajarito Park," conceived of in 1899) was the first proposed example of what is now called an ethnographic landscape, a place to protect a cultural heritage of archaeological sites and landscapes tied to living communities.

In aiming to protect cultural properties, the Pajarito proposal predated the 1905 proposal for Mesa Verde National Park, even if political controversy delayed formation of Bandelier National Monument until 1916. Cultural landscape preservation, though not yet identified by that name, was an idea that germinated on the Pajarito Plateau, and both the Antiquities Act and the designation of Mesa Verde as a park in 1906 owe large conceptual debts to the efforts that began at Frijoles Canyon in 1899.

Despite the passage of the Antiquities Act, it took time for those involved in the national discourse on preservation to embrace the notion of protecting cultural properties. The contrast between Bandelier National Monument's purpose of protecting cultural heritage and the official NPS policy of the time could not be more striking. Both the monument and the NPS were created in 1916, but the NPS focused on conserving landscapes as scenery (the old, painterly definition of landscape) and as spectacular natural, wild places like Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Mount Rainier until well into the 1930s. In fact, NPS staff that saw national parks as exclusively about scenery and/or nature were among those who opposed the creation of Bandelier National Monument.

This perspective did change over time, and the year in which management of Bandelier National Monument was transferred to the NPS from the USFS was one year after the NPS

hired its first professional historian. Despite this, in 1931 CE, "historic site" still primarily meant structures—stately homes, monuments, and some battlefields—but it was this shift that allowed Frank Pinkley to argue successfully for a contingent of CCC men to make much needed improvements to the visitor infrastructure at the monument.

The CCC program was a means of responding and navigating the economic turmoil of the Dust Bowl and Great Depression. It drew upon a reservoir of traditional skills in that unemployed young men were given training and work, partly to forestall their radicalization, partly to prepare them as a workforce and (as it turned out) soldiers, and partly to take adaptive advantage of the economic crisis by turning idle hands to public works. The program encouraged skilled manual labor and drew on local methods and styles. At Bandelier National Monument, this manifested itself in handcrafted "Pueblo Style" structures and furnishings, a model for what is now a significant craft industry with an international market. The WPA funding of public art had the same goal, and in the case of San Ildefonso artist Pablita Velarde, resulted in the knitting together of her training in the techniques and aesthetics of native painters in the Native Arts Revival movement with her Pueblo heritage and cultural knowledge.

The Depression gave way to World War II, and the previously peripheral Pajarito Plateau was chosen as the site for the branch of the Manhattan Project known as Project Y. So began a relationship between the monument and the Project that would leave the world changed forever and the monument as anything but marginal. The army placed restrictions on the monument and housed Project personnel in its lodge. People working on the Project found that recreation opportunities at the monument, relatively close at hand, provided much needed relief from their high stress mission. The popularity of the monument among Project personnel resulted in significant changes.

With the conclusion of the war, the monument was reopened to the general public and the growing population of Los Alamos was swift to take advantage of the opportunity. The number of local visitors and visitors from outside the region grew exponentially over the following decades and once again the NPS was put in the position of having to critically examine its purpose and the value of protecting cultural resources. The Mission 66 program provided the opportunity to move high use visitor facilities out of Frijoles Canyon and onto the mesa top. This relieved congestion in the canyon bottom, protecting archaeological sites and better maintaining the peacefulness of the canyon that is part of its attraction.

If later inhabitants of Bandelier National Monument's landscape made changes that affected the remains of earlier layers in the palimpsest, some actions of earlier groups have had long term consequences manifesting in modern times. When the railroad first came to the Pajarito in the late 1800s, it meant that the area became an economically viable location for extractive industries reliant on infrastructure to make them profitable ventures. Land prices rose commensurate with the new demand, creating an imperative to make extractive businesses pay. As a consequence, the Pajarito Plateau saw severe overgrazing by livestock that, coupled with logging and some limited mining, set the stage for the disappearance of the plateau's grasslands. The economy weakened by the turn of the 20th century, and farmers and ranchers on the plateau were eventually displaced by the federal government.

If the boundaries of Bandelier National Monument's landscape are porous in space and time, the themes of adaptation and purposeful change have proven constant in that place for the duration of its human history. Paleoindian and Archaic occupants of the Pajarito Plateau made use of the abundance of its different ecological zones and mineral resources, but did so only seasonally. As the early Pueblo peoples gradually adopted agriculture and began living in more permanent settlements, they developed agriculture strategies and technology that addressed the variable climate and limitations of soil fertility and rainfall. As population grew with the arrival of immigrants and people moved into larger and larger communities, there is evidence of adaptation to cultural and historical circumstances, not just to the surrounding environment. From



Figure 167: Talus House and cavate group E, as seen in 2007. Photograph courtesy of Bandelier National Monument.

changes in governing structures, social integration measures, and land tenure to outright ethnogenesis, the cultural changes that were made during the late Coalition and early Classic periods have proved an enduring part of the ethos and identity of descendent Pueblo communities.

Early historic use of the plateau was small scale and made use of the resources of the plateau as they were without long term consequences or change. As the economic environment changed with the arrival of the railroad, however, the conditions existing in the national market system demanded changes in the scale of the extractive industries beyond what the plateau could support. Such endeavors were ultimately unsuccessful for the most part, examples of a strategy that failed to account for all factors that would affect its success. In this moment it became apparent that the true economic value of the area lay in its scenic beauty and cultural heritage, a realization that informed the national discourse on preservation, cultural properties, and the value and role of federal lands.

The recognition of the need to protect cultural properties was one of a series of self-reflexive decisions the preservation community and federal land managers have made over the course of the 20th century. The prioritization of resource protection in the face of visitor impacts exemplified by the changes made at the park during Mission 66 was a purposeful change in preservation philosophy at the park that demonstrate a concern for the long term outcomes of land management strategies.

Pueblo people today view the homes of their ancestors in Bandelier National Monument as sacred, still inhabited by the spirits of those

who built them with all their traditional knowledge and wisdom. For visitors of non-Pueblo descent, the understanding is somewhat different but the experience of what people of earlier eras left behind is no less immediate. In the end, then, the model of the palimpsest is an apt one for Bandelier National Monument, as the actions of people in more recent times overlay and are informed by the traces of the past.

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[1]James Corner, *Recovering Landscape: Essays in Contemporary Landscape Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (1999).

[2] It is known that Paleoindians made use of the plateau because of the presence of projectile points from that era; the earliest full archaeological sites within the monument date to the Archaic period beginning in 5500 BCE.

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Appendix A: Annotated Bibliographies

Annotated Bibliography for Archaeology

Akins, Nancy J., Stephen S. Post, and C. Dean Wilson, "Life at the Edge: Early Developmental Period Mobility and Seasonality in the Northern Middle Rio Grande. In *Anasazi Archaeology at the Millenium: Proceedings of the Sixth Occasional Anasazi Symposium*, ed. Paul F. Reed, 145-154. Tucson: Center for Desert Archaeology, 2003.

This article reports on the excavation of six early Developmental (600-900 C.E.) sites north of Peña Blanca on the Santa Fe River. Analysis of the architecture, ceramics, osteology, and floral and faunal remains is consistent with what would be expected of "settled groups practicing agriculture, considerable occupation during the growing season and some occupation during fall and winter, but also ranging far for artiodactyl procurement" (pg. 152). The note that the human remains at the sites hold a high proportion of older women and children, suggesting only a portion of the population occupied the sites on a semi-permanent basis. The authors conclude "Regional data suggest that 700 to 900 C.E. was a period of experimentation, as groups adopted or developed strategies that increasingly focused on a more-settled agricultural lifestyle" (pg. 152).

Anschuetz, Kurt F. and Cherie K. Scheick, "The Española Basin Geographic Subdivision," in *A Study of Pre-Columbian and Historic Uses of the Santa Fe National Forest: Competition and Alliance in the Northern Middle Rio Grande, The Archaeological and Historical Cultural Resources*, ed. Cherie L. Scheick, 169-234. Santa Fe National Forest, Southwest Region, Report No. 18.

This is generally a literature review of the portions of northern New Mexico covered by the Santa Fe National Forest. The various contributors identify and discuss geographic subdivisions; the one applying to Bandelier is the Española Basin Subdivision. The authors outline the general prehistory of the region, with many references to the reports in which various archaeological sites are discussed. The main contribution to a broader discussion is the observation that the idea that the Pajarito Plateau is culturally uniform, dating back to Hewett, has resulted in the conflation of ethnographic, historical, and archaeological data, hiding the variation present in the use of the area by both the Keres and Tewa.

Babcock, Barbara, "Ritual Undress and the Comedy of Self and Other; Bandelier's *The Delight Makers*." *Discovery* (1980):53-71.

This article is a literary critique of Bandelier's novel *The Delight Makers*, but written by someone with an anthropological background. Babcock begins by presenting a brief biography of Bandelier, including sections of his letters and journals that reveal his impressions from his encounters with sacred clowns at ceremonies he attended. She explains the tradition of sacred clowns among the various Pueblos, and relates the circumstances under which *The Delight Makers* was published. Noting Bandelier's disgust with the lewd acts of the clowns, she interprets their central place in his novel as "a seven-year imaginative effort to come to terms with that which was most alien, most other" (pg. 58). She also observes the contradiction inherent in Bandelier's attempt to fight stereotypes about Indians through a "romance" and his unorthodox approach to writing and ethnography generally, writing that "…just as a clown performance is an exercise in metacultural commentary and interpretation… so too is *The Delight Makers*, and part of that story is deconstruction of the stereotypes of the Indian and the fictions of ethnographic interpretation" (pg. 65).

Bandelier, Adolph F. *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series IV, 1892.

This work is two volumes of extensive observations made by Bandelier in the American Southwest and Northern Mexico. Of interest here are his notes on the oral history of the Cochiti and other Keres groups, particularly as they pertain to their migrations. Part I contains a section detailing Cochiti claims of having lived in cavate sites in Frijoles Canyon. According to this account, the depredations of Navajos, hostilities with the Tewa, and the disintegration of the cavates caused them to leave. Chapter IV of Part II contains descriptions of the flora, geology, artifacts, rock art, and ceramics of the Pajarito Plateau. There is some detail on the architecture at Potrero del Alamo, with references to Potrero de las Vacas (Yapashi), the stone lions, Painted Cave, and Capulin Mesa.

_____ , *The Delight Makers*. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, New York, 1960.

This is the first novel that was written about the Puebloans. While a work of fiction, it was written to convey ethnological, archaeological, and geographic information with a basis in what Bandelier learned from the Cochiti and his observations in the general area. Of most interest to modern researchers is his extensive description of ritual clowning.

Bandelier, Adolph F., and Edgar L. Hewett, *Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937.

This is one in a series of nontechnical handbooks on the archaeology of the American Southwest. It is divided into two parts; Hewett wrote about the modern Rio Grande Pueblos while Bandelier composed a documentary history of the Rio Grande Pueblos.

Bloom, Lansing, "Edgar Lee Hewett: His Biography and Writings to Date," in *So Live the Works of Man*, eds. Donald D. Brand and Fred E. Harvey, 13-34. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1939.

This is a volume of collected papers assembled in honor of Edgar Lee Hewett. Some of the included papers address Southwestern archaeology topics, while others address other topics or other regions. Of most interest as far as Bandelier National Monument is concerned is Bloom's biography of Hewett, though incomplete as Hewett didn't pass away until 1946 and the volume was composed in 1936 and published in 1939. The article therefore addresses Hewett's early life, his interest in archaeology, and the accomplishments of his archaeological career up through the publication of *Ancient Life in the American Southwest, Ancient Life in Mexico and Central America*, and *The Chaco Canyon and its Monuments*, published in 1930, 1935, and 1936, respectively. As is proper for a volume dedicated to an honoree, Bloom does not address the controversies and politics in which Hewett was so extensively engaged.

Bousman, C. Britt, Paul Larson, and Frances Levine, *Archaeological Assessment of Bandelier National Monument*. Archaeology Research Program, Southern Methodist University, 1974.

The goal of the volume was to create an annotated bibliography of all published reports, review and abstract the available literature, identify topic areas relevant to understanding the "cultural systems" of the prehistoric inhabitants, and recommend methods for future research. They begin with a history of research and stabilization, starting in the 1880s with Bandelier and continuing through the 1960s. They recommend a park-wide research design and survey followed by testing. In what was either a mark of the lower documentation standards at the time at which the report was written or a mark of unbridled optimism, they estimated that the entire park could be surveyed by 3 principal investigators and 15 students in 4 months for $114,439.60. The abstracts are the most useful part of this volume, though many are popular rather than academic.

Boyer, Jeffrey L., James L. Moore, Stephen A. Lakatos, Nancy J. Akins, C. Dean Wilson, and Eric Blinman, "Remodeling Immigration: A Northern Rio Grande Perspective on Depopulation, Migration, and Donation-Aide Models. In *Leaving Mesa Verde: Peril and Change in the Thirteenth Century Southwest*, eds. Timothy A. Kohler, Mark D. Varian, and Aaron M. Wright, pp. 285-323. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010.

The authors argue that the population increase in the Developmental period Rio Grande was due to small-scale immigration and natural increase in existing populations rather than wholesale immigration by large groups. Much of the chapter is a critique of Ortman's workbut the authors do not include Pajarito Plateau site data in their analysis where much of his data is derived from. While some authors make good points, overall it is unconvincing.

Caywood, Louis R., *Excavations at Rainbow House, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico*. National Park Service, 1966.

This report outlines the results of excavations conducted at Rainbow House between 1948 and 1950. It includes chapters on the analysis of ceramics, stone tools, bone tools and artifacts, shell, and clay pipe fragments. Based on dendrochronology, Caywood concludes that Rainbow House was first occupied at about the same time as Frijolito, but that the occupation at Rainbow House lasted longer (ca. 1421-1453 or longer).

Chauvenet, Beatrice, *Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe's Vibrant Era*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983.

This volume is a fairly comprehensive biography of Edgar Lee Hewett, with additional discussion of his contemporaries and the Santa Fe Native Arts Revival and other cultural movements of the time. Though Chauvenet writes that Hewett destroyed his field notes once he had used them to produce a scientific report or information essay (pg. 41), she is generally sympathetic to him. It is her opinion that he was more open than Franz Boas and didn't push his informants for information as some of the anthropologists of the time did. She states that he made life-long friends of his Indian gudes, including Weyima (Antonio Domingo Pena), Potsonutsee (Diegito Roybal), Oyegepi (Santiago Naranjo), and Aguaono (Juan Gozales) (pg. 93). She notes that Hewett kindly sent money to Fanny Bandelier after Bandelier's death, and was the one who arranged for the School of American Research to pay the rent on Bandelier's osario in Seville's Catholic cemetery (pg. 121).

Davis, Irvine, "Linguistic Clues to Northern Rio Grande Prehistory." *El Palacio* 66 (1959):73-84.

This article applies the principles of glottochronology to questions regarding the migrations of different Pueblo groups of the northern Rio Grande valley. With regard to the Keres, he asserts that they lived as one group in the Mesa Verde area. Upon abandonment of that area, they split into four groups: 1) Acoma and Laguna, 2) Zia and Santa Ana, 3) San Felipe and Santo Domingo, and 4) Cochiti.

Daw, Stephanie P., "The H. P. Mera Collection" in *Clues to the Past: Papers in Honor of William M. Sundt*, eds. Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, 75-85. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico No. 16, 1990.

Daw assesses Mera's early sherd collection and archaeological site survey efforts in the context of the collection of sherds, notes, and maps that is at the Laboratory of Anthropology. Of Mera, she observes that his was the first systematic survey of archaeological sites in New Mexico (pg. 76), and she emphasizes that his work was driving by research questions regarding population movements over

time and space, not just by the urge to collect. The rest of the article addresses a few inconsistencies and errors in the bulletins he published on the data from the collection and survey efforts, but they are relatively minor.

Dello-Russo, Robert D., "The Reponses of Basketmaker II foragers to Climatic Stress in the Middle Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico." In *Anasazi Archaeology at the Millenium: Proceedings of the Sixth Occasional Anasazi Symposium*, ed. Paul F. Reed, 23-28. Tucson: Center for Desert Archaeology, 2003.

Dello-Russo observes that the relationship between climate and human adaptation has often been seen as deterministic, and he sets out to test whether drought reduced production of wild seeds, forcing Basketmaker II foragers to adapt to survive. He also examines how severe environmental change had to be to initiate changes in human behavior. Using the Palmer Drought Severity Index and looks at foragers in the Rio Grande Valley between 258 and 520 C.E. He found that during periods of drought, the frequency of use of the area changed, as did the degree of mobility, settlement patterns, and an increasing emphasis on a storable resource base. All of these are things that are usually thought to characterize the trajectory from pure foraging to increased use of domesticated plant resources and the subsequent development of agriculture based economies. The results confirm that at a certain point, the environment does becomes deterministic, and also turns on its head the traditional model that horticulture was experimented with during wet years rather than dry. He believes the drought between 258 and 520 C.E. set the state for the Basketmaker III transition to reliance on agriculture on the Rio Puerco and Middle Rio Grande.

Dello-Russo, Robert D. and Patricia A. Walker, "Recent Observations about Late-Paleoamerican Adaptations in Northern New Mexico." *Current Research in the Pleistocene* 25 (2008):76-78.

An examination of distributions of different styles of projectile points and the materials from which they are made relative to the landscape can provide information on the migration patterns of Paleoindians. The authors assert that the use of local materials suggests a relatively limited range of mobility. X-ray florescence of artifacts from near Chama suggests that Paleo peoples obtained obsidian from the El Rechuelos source in the northern part of the Jemez Mountains. This and other evidence from Taos shows a pattern of mobility of only 88 km between the material source and discard location of various projectile points, a pattern consistent with limited mobility. The authors also assert that the Chama data "also underscore the probable existence of two distance north-south corridors of late-prehistoric mobility between the San Luis valley in Southern Colorado and the Jemez Mountains—one through the Rio Grande valley and another through the Rio Chama valley." Lastly, they observe that the Chama sites are also in the path of a major elk migration route.

Douglass, William Boone, "Notes on the Shrines of the Tewa and Other Pueblo Indians of New Mexico." *Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Americanists*, pp. 344-378. Washington, D.C., 1917.

This is a discussion of the shrines of the Tewa and other Pueblo groups. Douglass describes the details of the offerings and other forms of material culture commonly found at such sites. He identifies shrines at, or associated with, Ceremonial Cave, Yapashi, Kuapa, Painted Cave, and Stone Lions. On pages 370 and 371, he puts forth the hypothesis that there are two ceremonial entrances to the large kiva near Tyuonyi, one of which faces the paved area. He goes on to suggest that the pavement is a shrine rather than a threshing floor or a kiva with the walls removed.

Edelman, Sandra A., "San Ildefonso Pueblo". *Handbook of the American Indians* Vol. 9, *Southwest*, pp. 308-316. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979.

A general discussion of the history and characteristics of San Ildefonso Pueblo. Edelman cites Tewa tradition as referencing an ancestral occupation of the Mesa Verde area with subsequent migration to the Pajarito Plateau, the establishment of Otowi and Tsankawi, and a final migration to their current location ca. 1300 C.E.

Flynn, Leo L. and W. James Judge, *An Archaeological Assessment of the Cañada de Cochiti Grant*. Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico. Submitted to USDI NPS, Southwest Regional Office.

The article presents a brief history of the Cañada de Cochiti, a strip of land on the south margin of the Pajarito Plateau, beginning with use of the area by the Cochiti, the Pueblo Revolt, occupation of the area as a land grant, mineral exploration in the area, the donation of the grant to the University of New Mexico, and their management. Following this is an outline of archaeological investigations done there, beginning with Bandelier and continuing with Mera, Stallings, Lange, Peckham, and UNM's efforts to preserve the Stone Lions at Potrero de los Idolos, and the current assessment survey. The authors draw a few archaeological conclusions based on their fieldwork, and lay out recommendations for future research and minimizing damage to archaeological resources should proposed development of the area as part of Bandelier National Monument (with construction of a visitor center there) go forward.

Ford, Richard I., Albert H. Schroeder, and Stewart L. Peckham, "Three Perspectives on Puebloan Prehistory," in Alfonso Ortiz, ed., *New Perspectives on the Pueblos*, pp. 19-39. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press (1972).

This chapter is devoted to tracing the possible origins and migration routes of the historic pueblo linguistic groups. Of import to Bandelier is their discussion of the Keres. The three authors do not necessarily agree with one another. The picture, then, is the Keres may have begun in Mesa Verde and moved to the Chaco area, or originated in the Chaco area. From there, they moved to the east near the Middle Puerco. The Eastern Keres are recognizable ca. 1300 moving into the Salado river Valley below Jemez, then north to Frijoles Canyon as well as east to San Marcos. Much of their analysis is based on correlating pottery types with linguistic groups (which in turn are conflated with ethnic groups), assumptions that may or may not be valid.

Fowles, Severin M., "The Enshrined Pueblo: Villagescape and Cosmos in the Northern Rio Grande." *American Antiquity* 74, No. 3 (2009):448-466.

Fowles takes a phenomenological and semiotic approach to landscape, looking at the experience of landscape and the political experience of structuring space and human movement, rather than using a traditional focus on land use, optimal foraging strategies, economic potential, and resource extraction. He looks at the effort expended on the creation of multiple shrines around Tewa sites, concluding that they provide material referents for oral history, bound an individual pueblo's domain, and centered the pueblo at the heart of a sanctified landscape. Thus a new village was defined by changes to the surrounding landscape, just as the landscape was transformed by the village in "an interweaving of spatial and social control" (pg. 462).

Fowler, Don D., "Edgar Lee Hewett and the 1906 Antiquities Act." *Archaeology Southwest* 15, No. 1 (2001):17.

This is a very brief article that relates Hewett's role in the formation of the bill eventually passed as the Antiquities Act in 1906. Fowler mentions the two weeks Hewett spent escorting Iowa Congressman John F. Lacey to various ruins on horseback, thereby fostering his interest in archaeology and in preserving archaeological sites and antiquities. It was Hewett's version of a bill others had tried to write that was introduced by Lacey in 1906 and which was signed into law by Roosevelt. Though no details are provided, Fowler alludes to previous efforts that failed because of tension and competition between various factions wanting "control" over Southwestern archaeology, and adds that Hewett and his "flamboyant and rambunctious ally" Lummis also worked to keep Eastern factions from adding amendments that would have wrested that control back into Eastern hands.

Friedlander, Eva, and Pamela J. Pinyan, "Indian Use of the Santa Fe National Forest: A Determination from Ethnographic Sources." *Ethnohistorical Reports Series* No. 1 (1980). Albuquerque: Center for Anthropological Studies.

This is an overview of traditional and current uses of the Santa Fe National Forest from published ethnographic sources. Of reference to Bandelier is a citation of Lange's work at Cochiti in which he describes communal herding of Cochiti horses near Frijoles Canyon.

Frisbie, T. R., B. M. Moore, and R. H. Spielbauer, *The James Webb Young Ranch Survey, 1969: A Preliminary Report*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1970.

The report summarizes Lange's survey on the Cañada de Cochiti Grant, resulting in discovery of 129 sites. There is an initial analysis of settlement patterns and material culture, and recommendations for future research topics.

Fugate, Dody M., Surveying the Archaeologist: Excavations in the H. P. Mera Survey Collections," in *Of Pots and Rocks: Papers in Honor of A. Helene Warren*, eds. Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, 63-76. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico No. 21.

Fugate makes the astute observation that sometimes the personality and time period of the original archaeologist making a collection of artifacts is as relevant to their interpretation as other aspects of their provenance. Her assessment of H. P. Mera is that, with his background in medicine, he brought a more scientific approach to the discipline of archaeology than was common among his contemporaries. There was an emphasis on discipline, organization, and documentation. He, along with Colton, Cosgrove, and Gladwin, set up the current protocol for nomenclature of ceramic types (a place name followed by a descriptor, as in Santa Fe Black-on-white) as well as ceramic type seriation.

Habicht-Mauche, Judith A., "Pottery Styles, Ethnicity, and Tribalization in the Northern Rio Grande." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Society, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 29, 1990.

The paper addresses changes in Rio Grande Pueblo societies during the 14th and 15th centuries and the formation of large, communal pueblos. In particular, she examines mechanisms by which immigrants could be integrated into existing communities and the effects the additional people would have had on sociopolitical organization, land tenure, and other social institutions. She asserts that people leaving the San Juan in the 13th century traveled to the Rio Grande to join local communities with which they had existing economic or kin-based ties. Because land and other resources are thought to have been held in common at the level of the community or kinship group, she believes it would have been advantageous for the newcomers to develop cultural and familial ties with their host communities in order to gain access to resources. This, in turn, would have worked against the persistence of

any traits marking people as outsiders, thereby masking their presence in the archaeological record to a degree. She goes on to suggest that the aggregation may have fostered more formal systems of food sharing, land tenure, and territorial boundary maintenance. She interprets the presence of large communal kivas at some ties as indicators that ceremonialism was growing in importance in integrating communities. In particular, she points to participation in the Katchina cult as one mechanism that would cross-cut linguistic and cultural boundaries, thereby developing regional systems of economic interdependency and tribal alliances.

Hannaford, Charles and Marian Shirir, *Spanish Colonial Land Use and Settlement Patterns, Agua Fria to La Bajada; Pre-Revolt to 1821*. Manuscript on file at the Laboratory of Anthropology (1985).

While the authors did not study the Bandelier area per se, their study is instructive in that they outline the different types of use to which early Spanish settlers put different types of land in an effort to create a predictive model of where archaeological survey would be most likely to find Spanish Colonial sites. They base their model on archival maps, land grant information, census data, genealogies, wills, acequia systems, known sites, and current literature on the subject. Permanent occupation sites were located along rivers or near other sources of water, while less well-watered mesa tops and other areas were used for grazing stock.

Harrington, J.P., *The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians*. 29th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1907-1908. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916.

Harrington attempted to collect as many Tewa place names and their meanings as possible. He quotes Bandelier from his final report as stating that "drought and the hostility of nomadic Indians had compelled the final abandonment of the sites [on the Pajarito Plateau]" (pg. 237). Harrington also discusses Frijoles Canyon as the boundary between the Tewa and Keres, as well as pueblos ancestral to both groups and the migrations they undertook.

Hawley, Florence M., *Field Manual of Prehistoric Pottery Types*. University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series 1(4), 1936.

At the time this was written, several different researchers working in various parts of the Southwest were establishing ceramic typologies in different areas. This was Hawley's attempt to compile all the information on known types in one location for easy reference, including distributions, descriptions of main characteristics, who had assigned the name, the type site, and so forth. She recognized, however, that it was a work in progress and that no matter how often it was updated, it would always be somewhat incomplete. In her introduction she concludes, "If Hell is said to be paved with good intentions, perhaps we are already on our way to a region even warmer than the Southwest. In taking responsibility for the errors, may I plead, however, that those who notice points in need of change kindly patronize the public mails and aid in further weeding something which has never been a bed of roses" (pg. 8). While there are many more current ceramic typology references in existence, this manual is useful for its glimpse into the state of ceramic studies at the time and the list of type sites, not often included in more recent catalogs. Of relevance to Bandelier is the reference to LA 211, Tsankawi Pueblo, as the type site for Tsankawi Black-on-cream.

Hewett, Edgar L. *Archaeology [of New Mexico]*. Submitted to the Honorable Miguel A. Otero, 1901.

This is an essay by Hewett that was included in an annual report by the Governor of New Mexico. In it, Hewett urges the creation of a Pajarito Park as a means of protecting what he considers to be the best example of cavate sites. He classified archaeological sites as either cliff dwellings, cavates, or pueblos, and in this document he states that if parks were created for Chaco, the Pajarito, and Mesa Verde, the best examples of which would be preserved.

_____ "Archaeology of the Pajarito Park, New Mexico." *American Anthropologist* 6, no. 5 (1904):629-659.

Hewett began work in on the Pajarito Plateau area in 1896, focusing in the area between Santa Clara Canyon and the Rito de los Frijoles, and continuing until 1903. He identified three categories of dwellings—A) open front, B) excavated, and C) pueblo-like cliff dwellings. There are brief descriptions of Tyuonyi, Tserege, Otowi, Tsansawi, Navawi, Puye, and other, unnamed ruins. He also conducted some rock art analysis and writes about burial customs.

_____ "A General view of the Archaeology of the Pueblo Region. In *Smithsonian Report for 1904*, pp. 583-605. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1905.

In this report, Hewett outlines what he considers to be the most important archaeological sites in the Southwest. For the Pajarito Plateau area, he lists Shufinne, Otowi, Puye, Tsankawi, and the "cliff dwellings" of Shufinne Mesa, Puye Mesa, Chupadero Canyon, and Sandia Canyon, writing, "This is strictly a prehistoric district and archaeologically one of the richest in the Pueblo region." (pg. 598). On the Ramon Vigil grant, Hewett lists Tchirege, the "cliff dwellings" of Pajarito Canyon, Navakwi, and many sites on the Mesa del Pajarito. In the Cochiti district, he lists Tyuonyi, Pueblo Viejo, La Cueva Pintada, Haatse, Kuapa, Stone Lions of Potrero de las Vacas, the "cliff dwellings" of the Rito de los Frijoles, and the "cliff dwellings" of Cañada de la Cuesta Colorada.

_____ *Antiquities of the Jemez Plateau, New Mexico*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 32, 1906.

This volume contains a discussion of the physiography of the Pajarito Plateau, a description of Tyuonyi, Tserege and other, unnamed ruins, and comments on the highly developed symbolism of the prehistoric pottery. He quotes a story stating that Tyuonyi is ancient Keres land. There are photographic plates of Painted Cave, Yapashi, and the stone lions.

_____ The Excavations at Tyuonyi, New Mexico in 1908. *American Anthropologist* 11, no. 3 (1908):434-455.

In this article, Hewett describes Tyuonyi and surveys other archaeological work in the area. There is a discussion of trails and cavate pueblos. Hewett makes the assertion that Tyuonyi was built in one episode, equates the sipapu in the kiva he excavated with the fire-pit, and labels the vent shaft in the kiva as a ceremonial entrance. There are brief discussions of his excavations at Ceremonial Cave, Group D, and Haatse.

_____ The Excavations at El Rito de los Frijoles in 1909. *American Anthropologist* 11 no. 4 (1909):651-673.

These excavations are a continuation of the work Hewett began in 1908, and were conducted at Sun House, Snake Village, and Ceremonial Cave. There is a chapter by J.P. Harrington on language; Harrington saw the Rito de los Frijoles area as ancestral to Cochiti.

_____ "The Proposed 'National Park of the Cliff Cities.' *Papers of the School of American Archaeology* No. 34. Archaeological Institute of America, 1916.

This is another in the series of letters and essays Hewett wrote in his arguments variously for and against the formation of a national park on the Pajarito Plateau. In this one, he is muddying the waters, supporting the park but arguing against the name (he favored his own proposal of "Pajarito Park"). He deplores the name of Bandelier National Monument (despite having been at the meeting at which it was approved), saying that Bandelier would be turning in his grave if he knew the park had been named for him. Hewett devotes several paragraphs to explaining that people should be using the Indian rather than Anglo names for ruins and landmarks on the landscape, though this assertion is not extended to the factual accuracy of the names themselves as we now understand them. He adds, "There is not a single absurdity in the place names, such as Aztec Ruins, Toltec Gulch, Montezuma's Well. All are archaic and authentic."

_____ "Crescencio Martinez—Artist." *El Palacio* 5, No. 5 (1918):67-69.

Hewett wrote this article to commemorate Crescencio Martinez upon his passing; it is as interesting for the information it contains on Hewett's view of the world as for his praise of Martinez. Martinez was Maria Martinez's brother-in-law and one of the men who excavated for Hewett. According to Hewett, Martinez was "unusually clever" in his ability to discover things archaeologists would be interested in (pg. 67). In referring to his art, Hewett praised him as a modern artist, but viewed him only in the context of his ethnicity. "Crescencio died an artist in the best sense of the word… In contact with modern art and artists for years, Crescencio's art was completely uninfluenced by them. It is as distinctly racial as Japanese art. A renaissance is under way which is destined by bring back an art that is unmatched in the culture history of the world—a unique racial product. In this native American school the name of Crescencio Martinez will stand out as the first artist of record" (pg. 69).

_____ *Ancient Life in the Southwest*. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1930.

This is a popular account of Hewett's various excavations on the Pajarito Plateau, focused on Tyuonyi.

_____ The Pajarito Plateau and Its Ancient People. *Handbook of Archaeological History*. Albuquerque: School of American Research and the University of New Mexico, 1938.

This is a comprehensive description of the Pajarito Plateau, including descriptions of 25 sites and synthesizing the architecture of Puye, Otowi, and Tyuonyi. There is a basic reconstruction of the lifeways of the inhabitants and a discussion of ceramic and dendrochronological dating. Hewett postulates a gradual emigration driven by scarcity of water and land. He discusses similarities with modern pueblos, but postulates on a tenuous relationship. There is an appendix by Chapman on "cave paintings" on the plateau, and a second on the Antiquities Act of 1906 and protecting New Mexico antiquities.

Hewett, Edgar L., Junius Henderson, and Wilfred R. Robbins, *The Physiography of the Rio Grande Valley, New Mexico in Relation to Pueblo Culture*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 54, 1913.

This volume focuses on the geology, climate, and botany of the Pajarito Plateau, but there is a discussion of the idea that climate change made the area uninhabitable, with a presumption that there used to be a high level of precipitation and more perennial streams.

Hill, James N., W. Nicholas Trierweiler, and Robert W. Preucel, "Evolution of Cultural Complexity: A Case Study from the Pajarito Plateau," in *Emergent Complexity: The Evolution of Intermediate Societies*, ed. Jeanne E. Arnold, 107-127. International Monographs in Prehistory, Archaeological Series 9, 1996.

The authors come from the assumption that changes in society, whether social, technological, political, or in some other arena, make it more complex. They test a series of assumptions of an environmentally deterministic model about how changing environment and population growth may have produced a food stress promoting agricultural intensification, which in turn touched off changes in technology, socioeconomic organization, and ritual elaboration. Some of their expectations were met, and some not. In the end, they conclude that the evidence demonstrates growing social complexity, but that there was little or no evidence of regional political centralization or social stratification as a result, and that in fact there is evidence that any early manifestations of centralization and stratification were consistently quashed.

Hodge, Frederick Webb, editor, *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907.

This is a broad discussion of all the Indian groups north of Mexico that came out of an effort to identify all the known tribes at the time and provide some context for all the ethnographic work taking place then. With regard to the Keres, Hodge states that they are believed to have occupied Tyuonyi, Yapashi, San Miguel, and Kuapa in the Cañada de Cochiti. After this, the San Felipe people split off while the rest moved to Hanut Cochiti, then to Cochiti.

Hogan, Patrick, "Foragers to Farmers II: A Second Look at the Adoption of Agriculture in Northwestern New Mexico," in *Archaic Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology in the American Southwest*, ed. Bradley J. Vierra, 155-184. Eastern New Mexico University Contributions in Anthropology 13, No. 1, 1994.

While previous researchers have been skeptical of the idea that mobile hunter-gathering groups could expect a harvest from plants they did not tend during the growing season, Hogan re-examined early maize dates and cultivation requirements, and thinks it likely that fields could be maintained casually as Archaic groups made their seasonal forays between upland and lowland resources areas. Looking at population and climate data for the period of the early maize dates, he speculates that population growth might have fostered higher reliance on domesticates as an additional resource, and that a climate very conducive to agriculture at this time period would have made this transition all the more attractive to some groups, increasing dependence and culminating in the classic horticultural lifestyle associated with the Basketmaker II period of ca. 200 C.E. As the climate changed again, horticulture-dependent groups may have chosen to leave for more conducive areas than revert to a hunting-gathering way of life, even as other groups clung to that mode of subsistence until ca. 900 C.E.

Kidder, A. V., Pottery of the Pajarito Plateau and some Adjacent Regions in New Mexico. *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 2, no. 6 (1915).

This is an attempt to definitively identify Pajarito Plateau pottery types and to associate types with pueblo size. Kidder doesn't relate the ceramics to other areas or types other than affinities with Tularosa and Kayenta.

Kohler, Timothy A., ed., *Archaeology of Bandelier National Monument*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004.

The contributors to the volume are Timothy Kohler, Craig Allen, Frances Joan Mathien, Matthew Root, Sarah Herr, Nancy Olsen, Robert Powers, and Janet Orcutt.

This volume is a scholarly compilation of papers addressing the prehistory of Bandelier, drawing on a great deal of past research to present a general summary of the current understanding of the prehisto-

ry of the area, starting with 1150 C.E. and continuing to 1600 C.E. In addition to chapters on the periods 1150-1250, 1250-1375, and 1375-1600 C.E., there are sections on the ecology and changing environment, a history of archaeological investigations, rock art, and a discussion of aggregation and the mechanisms behind the growth of larger communities in the area. In addition to the topic of settlement patterns and land use, the authors address the question of whether the boundary between the ancestral Tewa and Keres settlements is visible archaeologically; various contributors provide different lines of evidence that in fact there are differences between areas on the north and south sides of Frijoles Canyon that suggest that the division between the two can be identified. Kohler brings in an added emphasis on a regional economic system that many other researchers studying the Coalition to Classic transition have ignored.

The papers in this volume all display evidence of excellent scholarship, with the connection between the raw data and the authors' conclusions clearly made. Unifying themes to the various lines of inquiry make this a cohesive volume rather than a collection of disparate essays. The book will be very useful for anyone studying the formation of community and ethnic identities, the roots of historic Pueblo social organization, aggregation, and the effects of a marginal environment and an influx of populations from elsewhere on local communities.

Lange, Charles H., "Adolf F. Bandelier as a Pueblo Ethnologist." *Kiva* 29, no. 1 (1963): 28-34.

Lange assesses Bandelier's work from an ethnographic perspective in this article, meant to be read in tandem with one by Carroll Riley discussing his work in the field of archaeology in the same issue of *Kiva*. Lange observes that much of Bandelier's work was done without a conceptual framework, driven more by a need to collect data of interest to his good friend and intellectual mentor, Lewis Henry Morgan. The result is rather patchy and inconsistent data; it is Lange's opinion that the most useful information is in his unpublished journals rather than in his official published reports. Despite these failings, Lange points out, Bandelier's work is one of the few firsthand accounts from the period. Lange also credits Bandelier with demonstrating "a very real interest in detail and an appreciation of the interrelatedness of these detail from the numerous aspects of anthropology. He readily perceived that ethnography had a definite contribution to make and an important role to play in the interpretation of archaeological evidence and the compilation of culture history" (pg. 33).

_____"Historic Reconstruction: Problems in Cochiti Culture History." In *American Historical Anthropology: Essays in Honor of Leslie Spier*, edited by Carroll L. Riley and Walter W. Taylor (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1967), 69-100.

Lange presents a history of Cochiti pueblo, with special effort made to attempt to identify which pueblos were visited by Spanish explorers during the early expeditions. He cites the migration sequences postulated by Hodge, adding sites specified by Bandelier as ancestral to Cochiti not mentioned by Hodge, specifically those "to the north and south banks of the Peralta Canyon arroyo as this entered the Rio Grande from the West" (pg. 91). He finds that Harrington's information conflicts with other scholars in that Harrington added two additional unidentified and unlocated pueblos (one between Yapashi and San Miguel, the other between Kuapa and Cochiti) in his sequence. Lange speculates that LA 35, LA 70, LA 6455, or some other site may represent Harrington's sites.

Lange, Charles H. and Carroll L. Riley, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1880-1882*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966.

Lange and Riley present a biography of Bandelier, complete with a few annotations as to people, sites, and events. The journals themselves recount Bandelier's research at San Juan, Santa Clara, Cochiti,

Taos, and other pueblos and sites. They include observations, maps, and drawings from Frijoles Canyon in 1880, especially Tyuonyi and a few other, unnamed sites.

Liebmann, Matthew J., "Signs of Power and Resistance: The (Re)Creation of Christian Imagery and Identities in the Pueblo Revolt Era," in *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*, ed. Robert W. Preucel, 132-144. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Explores how Christian symbols were appropriated and reinterpreted by Puebloans as a form of resistance following the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. Using a rock art image from the Group M cavate site at Bandelier, he explores how Christian symbols were consciously appropriated and incorporated into Pueblo revitalization efforts, recreation of Pueblo identity, and resistance of the Spanish. Group M was inhabited as a Pueblo refugee site after the Revolt, as indicated by the presence of Kapo Black, Tewa Polychrome, and Glaze F sherds, and the rock art. The image in question incorporates both Christian saint and Pueblo katsina design elements. After comparing this form of resistance with examples from around the world, Liebmann concludes that "In fact, Christian imagery was manipulated and invested with new meanings that were not contrary to traditional Pueblo identities, but played a role in the resistance that helped to formulate new Pueblo identities" (pg. 133).

Lister, Robert, Arrows Recovered from Long House Ruin, Bandelier National Monument. *Southwestern National Monuments Supplement* (1940):64-66.

This brief article contains a description of a group of arrow fragments found in a crack in the rock behind Long House during stabilization activities at the site.

Mathien, Frances Joan, "Glimpses into the History of the 1908 fieldwork at Yapashi, Bandelier National Monument," in *Puebloan Past and Present: Papers in Honor of Stewart Peckham*, eds. Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick, 121-132. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico No. 17, 1991.

The chapter is a summary on the history of the excavations conducted at Yapashi and to explain the lack of information on the results. The earliest work was done by L. Bradford Prince, an associated of Bandelier working to map sites, in 1885. Hewett later dug at Yapashi in an effort to study Cochiti migration stories (and incidentally obtain museum display specimens). His 1908 field school included John Harrington, Neil Judd, A.V. Kidder, Sylvanus Morley, Jesse Nusbaum, Elsie Clews Parsons, and Alfred M. Tozzer as participants.

_____ Sylvanus G. Morley's 1908 Field Notes on Work at the Rito de los Frijoles. Manuscript on file, Branch of Cultural Research, National Park Service, Santa Fe, 1991.

Mathien transcribed the 1908 field notebook found in the archives at the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe. It describes cavate groups A through M and the reasoning behind the subdivisions. There are descriptions of nearby talus pueblos, rock art, and cultural material as well as some sketch maps. Mathien then outlines the work done at various cavate pueblos since 1908, including Hewett's work at Group E in 1909, Chapman's 1916 discussion of rock art, Hendron's work at Group M in 1940 and 1943, Turney's work at Group M in 1948, Lister's stabilization work at Groups F and I, Toll's 1986 cavate survey, and the work on rock art (especially Group D) from 1989 by Rohn, Ferguson, and Ferguson. The paper concludes with a few notes and a sketch of San Miguel.

Mathien, Frances Joan, Charlie R. Steen, and Craig D. Allen, *The Pajarito Plateau: A Bibliography*. Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers No. 49, 1993.

This compilation was initiated as part of the Bandelier Archaeological Survey of the 1980s by staff working in the NPS regional office in Santa Fe, but ended up incorporating entries and other information from personnel from LANL and the park. It begins with two short chapters that outline the studies that have been done on the Pajarito over the past century, including both natural and cultural resources. The bibliography that follows is organized by subject: geology, biology, pedology, mineralogy, hydrology, archaeology, history, ethnology and ethnohistory, and a miscellaneous section. Appendix A lists official site names and their equivalent state numbers.

Mera, Harry P., "Wares Ancestral to Tewa Polychrome." *Laboratory of Anthropology Technical Series Bulletin No. 4.* Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology, 1932.

Mera's goal in this paper was to trace the connection between late prehistoric ceramics and historic ceramics; he gives particular attention to the connection between types found at Tsankawi and those at San Ildefonso.

Merlan, Thomas and Frances Levine, Bandelier National Monument: Ethnographic Literature Search and Consultation. Manuscript on file, Bandelier National Monument, 1997.

The goal of the project was to document traditional uses of cultural and natural resource thin the monument, conduct a literature search, and describe the historical basis for tribal affiliations with the park as a tool for park planning and management. There are two volumes that came out of this; the 1997 volume contains the results of the literature search, while the one from 2000 contains data resulting from consultation with the affiliated tribes.

The volume begins with a history of Bandelier's first visit to the area and the efforts to establish the park in the early part of the twentieth century. The authors note that the presence of living pueblo societies was one reason Bandelier and Cushing came to the southwest, and that many researchers of the period relied on the direct historical approach in drawing inferences between living pueblo cultures and the past. The volume continues with a summary of a discussion of recent primary sources on the general prehistory and history, a summary of recent primary sources on the architecture, and a summary of primary recent sources on ethnography. The rest of the volume is devoted to an annotate bibliography of materials with relevance to questions of which modern Pueblo groups have a historical affiliation with the area encompassed by Bandelier National Monument and the form of that association.

_____ Bandelier National Monument: Study of Traditionally Associated Native American Communities. Manuscript on file, Bandelier National Monument, 2000.

This volume is dedicated to outlining the historical connection between the affiliated tribes and the park, taking into account the motives and biases of the original anthropologists who collected much of the data they rely on. They affirm that Bandelier was cognizant of the continuity between the original inhabitants of the Pajarito Plateau and modern pueblo peoples. Hewett also saw the continuity, but attempted to cast doubt on the association between Cochiti and Frijoles Canyon proper, being partial to his Tewa informants. Mera traced the Tewa ceramic sequence, finding evidence of the continuity suggested by Bandelier. Bandelier, Hewett, Hodge, and Harrington all had informants citing connections to the area within the monument. The authors proceed with accounts of connection to the Pajarito Plateau, pueblo by pueblo. Cochiti is associated with Frijoles Canyon as well as to San Miguel and to Shrine of the Stone Lions. In contrast, San Ildefonso pueblos is associated with the northern Pajarito, especially Tsankawi, Otowi, and Potsuwi. Oral tradition contains evidence that the Zuni have a history of use of the Shrine of the Stone Lions, but there is no evidence they ever lived on the Pajarito Plateau. The other pueblo groups are discussed as well.

Olsen, Nancy H., "Bandelier National Monument Pictographs and Petroglyphs: A Preliminary Study." In *Of Pots and Rocks: Papers in Honor of Helene A. Warren*, edited by Meliha S. Duran and David T. Kirkpatrick. Archaeological Society of New Mexico Annual Volume No. 21. (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 1995), 93-119.

Olsen analyzed the rock art data recorded during the Bandelier Archaeological Survey of the 1980s. Using maximum likelihood factor analysis to identify clusters of motifs, she noticed a correspondence between motifs and culture areas. Specifically, she found that images of ungulates and plants are most often portrayed at ancestral Tewa sites, while birds are most common at Keres sites.

Orcutt, Janet D., Environmental Variability and Settlement Changes on the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico. *American Antiquity* 56, no. 2 (1991):315-332.

Orcutt examines the relationship between environmental variability and settlement patterning on the Pajarito Plateau for the period 1150 to 1600 C.E. Early in the period, there is a clear relationship between environmental conditions and settlement patterning, but in the second half of the period, the causal relationship is no longer as clear-cut. Orcutt suggests that cultural factors such as aggregation, intensive agricultural strategies, investment in facilities and fields, social/ceremonial obligations, risk management, and defense may all have played a role in keeping people at lower elevation locations even when the climate-based settlement pattern model predicted movement back to higher elevations. She concludes "A number of factors could explain why settlement changes did not correspond to predictions after 1450 C.E. Most likely, a combination of environmental and social factors, including poorly understood thresholds in flood-plain conditions, escalating risks in dry farming, environmental degradation in the higher elevations, and social conflict over resources, were responsible for the changes described" (pg. 328).

Ortman, Scott G., *Genes, Language, and Culture in Tewa Ethnogenesis, A.D. 1150-1400*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Tempe: Arizona State University (2010).

Ortman tackles the question of Tewa origins and the exponential population increase in the Developmental and Coalition period Rio Grande, seeking to answer whether they represent a mass migration from the Mesa Verde region, an amalgamation of other groups, or a local development from existing groups in the Rio Grande. He notes that people, culture, and language can all travel and evolve independently of one another, and approaches his research problem by examining genes, language, culture, and the transmission mechanisms of each.

The results of his craniometric analyses show a connection between most post-1275 C.E. populations of the Northern Rio Grande to earlier populations of the Four Corners than with earlier populations of the Rio Grande. His linguistic analysis suggests that Tewa and Tiwa were once part of an older language group, and that the separation between Proto-Tiwa and Proto-Tewa appears to have been rapid, as would have been the case if the Tiwa migrated to the northern Rio Grande. Ortman then proposes that after Tiwa diverged into Northern and Southern Tiwa, a portion of the Proto-Tewa came back in contact with Northern Tiwa (as would have been the case if a group from Mesa Verde migrated to the Rio Grande) (pg. 253). Ortman also suggests that Keres was the dominant language spoken at Chaco and that Keres people entered the area via Cibola. Ortman's analysis of culture, based in words for objects and places that can be correlated to archaeological sites are consistent with a Mesa Verde origin for the Tewa. Similarly, there are architectural features, aspects of ceramic vessels, and shrines that can be explained in the context of immigration from Mesa Verde.

Considering all the factors, Ortman is convinced the Tewa originated in Mesa Verde, though not all Mesa Verde emigrants became Tewa. He further observes, "…it appears that the migration itself was

connected to discourses that had the power to convince the majority of immigrants and to coerce the rest, to leave their homeland, move to the Tewa Basin, and to discard the practices of the 13th century Mesa Verde society, and replace them with new practices modeled after indigenous Rio Grande practices and earlier Mesa Verde practices. The only discourses that could have wielded such power over so many people are religious discourses" (pg. 590). It is this aspect of culture change upon migration that explains why there is a surprising lack of Mesa Verdean site unit intrusions and why the question of Mesa Verdean origins for Rio Grande populations has been so hotly debated.

Note: some of the main points of this dissertation are summarized by Ortman in his chapter "Evidence of a Mesa Verde Homeland for the Tewa Pueblos" in *Leaving Mesa Verde: Peril and Change in the Thirteenth Century Southwest*, eds. Timothy A. Kohler, Mark D. Varian, and Aaron M. Wright, pp. 222-261. Tucson: University of Arizona Press (2010).

Powers, Robert P., ed., *The Peopling of Bandelier: New Insights from the Archaeology of the Pajarito Plateau*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005.

The contributors are Craig Allen, Robert Powers, Bradley Vierra, Rory Gauthier, Cynthia Herhahn, Kari Schmidt, Meredith Matthews, Tineke Van Zandt, Marit Munson, Michael Walsh, James Vint, James Snead, Angelyn Rivera, Robert Preucel, Monica Smith, Timothy Kohler, Julian Martinez and Joseph H. Suina.

The volume is a popular approach to the history of the Pajarito Plateau written by archaeologists. Topics include a environmental history of the plateau, evidence for Paleoindian and Archiac habitation of the plateau, farming, diet, the social and actual landscapes, rock art, lithic raw material procurement and trade, ceramics and trade, trails, the cavate pueblos, the Pueblo Revolt and Puebloan migrations, the historical period through the early twentieth century, and the history of archaeological research and the role of the public. Kohler writes an archaeological concluding chapter, while Martinez and Suina provide two Pueblo perspectives on the plateau.

The contributors are all experts in their respective fields. They present their research in a simplified and accessible writing style, but simultaneously convey the complexity of the problems they address and present all the important facets of their conclusions. The chapters all address current topics of research, up to date methods, and relevant anthropological theories. Professional archaeologists interested in how they arrive at their conclusions will want to review the contributors' more scholarly publications, but this is an excellent review of the state of archaeological inquiry and understanding of Bandelier at the present.

Powers, Robert P. and Janet D. Orcutt, eds., *The Bandelier Archeological Survey, Volumes I and II*. Santa Fe: Intermountain Cultural Resources Management Professional Paper No. 57, 1999.

Contributors include Robert P. Powers, Tineke Van Zandt, Janet D. Orcutt, James M. Vint, and Genevieve N. Head.

These two volumes summarize the methods and findings of the Bandelier Archeological Survey conducted in the 1980s. The primary research goal of the survey was to explore "why population aggregation occurs, and what changes occur as a consequence of aggregation" (pg. 5). There is an introduction to Bandelier, a discussion of survey methods and logistics, and overviews of chronology and site typology. The results of the survey are discussed in the chapters on demography, settlement, and agriculture; architecture and site structure; ceramic artifacts; lithic artifacts; and the conclusion.

The initial chapters introducing the survey and outlining the methods are well-written, self-reflexive explanations most helpful to readers interested in how the survey was planned and executed. The

chronology chapter outlines the multiple regression technique used to refine traditional ceramic chronologies for the northern Rio Grande and develop an 11-period ceramic chronology for Bandelier. The site typology chapter outlines how the authors incorporated occupation duration, function, and habitation vs. non-habitation use as a basis for deriving demographic estimates. Architecture and artifacts were subject to discriminant analysis to establish occupation duration. Drawing on the 11-period chronology and site typology work from the previous two chapters, the chapter on demography, settlement, and agriculture uses those data to propose demographic trends within an agricultural risk model, posing environment and risk as strong determinants of settlement location, population size, and degree of aggregation.

Volume II begins with a chapter on architecture and site structure wherein the model of aggregation and changes in social organization and subsistence are evaluated. In general, the conclusions arrived at in prior chapters are confirmed, then expanded into a discussion of the nature of social relationships, the presence of community boundaries, and evidence of increased social and ritual integration accompanying aggregation. The chapter on ceramic analysis examines ceramic production and exchange and how shifts in levels of production and exchange suggest increased local community diversity and the rise of craft specialization. A boundary in the distributions of different wares near Frijoles Canyon points towards increased community territoriality closely tied to long-term population aggregation. Population growth and aggregation were also the subjects of the chapter on lithic artifacts, which discusses how little change took place for some tool classes during and after aggregation, while contrary to expectations, hunting-related tools increased with aggregation and became more important a nonhabitation sites. The concluding chapter summarizes and integrates the various lines of inquiry pursued in earlier chapters. The relationship between climatic conditions and level of aggregation is outlined by time period, with a discussion of how the development of land-use rights created the necessary conditions for long-lived, aggregated communities. The reasons people left the plateau around 1550 C.E. are also discussed.

Preucel, Robert W., Jr., Settlement Succession on the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico. *Kiva* 52, No. 1 (1987):3-33.

Preucel explores settlement patterns on the Pajarito Plateau based on Hudson's theory of rural settlement, comparing quadrat and nearest neighbor analyses. He then outlines the settlement patterns of the Pajarito beginning around 1150 C.E. with the early Coalition, continuing through the late Coalition and classic. He identifies small pueblos of one to thirteen rooms as summer pueblitos similar to those known ethnographically from the Cochiti area such as those described by Bandelier and Lange (pg. 24). He sees the settlements of the Middle Classic as spread out parallel to the Rio Grande "in an attempt to equitably divide the diverse resources of the plateau" (pg. 25). He views the pueblito/field house strategy as a result of aggregation and food stress and an attempt to intensify agricultural production in areas where there is no water for irrigation agriculture.

_____*Seasonal Agricultural Circulation and Residential Mobility: A Prehistoric Example from the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988.

Preucel examines mobility patterns associated with subsistence agriculturalists (rather than hunter-gatherers or pastoral nomads), looking at circulation to arable land in the face of aggregation and competition for local land, using testing his hypotheses at Bandelier. He concludes that the degree of mobility is related to population, settlement patterns, and territory, with the larger the population, the further farmers must travel. Planting fields in dispersed areas was also a way to buffer against the vagaries of seasonal variation in climate. Preucel's volume also includes a review of early Spanish and ethnographic accounts of historic Pueblo agricultural practices, a summary of archaeological research in the park (beginning with Bandelier and concluding with Hill's Pajarito Archaeological Research Project of the late 1970s). He then presents changing settlement patterns during different time periods, beginning with the Paleoindian and concluding with the Middle Classic.

Preucel, Robert W. and John M. Barker, "A Social History of Maize on the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico." In *Papers on the Early Classic Period Prehistory of the Pajarito Plateau, New Mexico*, ed. T. A. Kohler and A. R. Linse, 105-119. Reports of Investigations 65. Pullman, WA: Department of Anthropology, Washington State University, 1993.

The authors address different varieties of maize, whether different varieties were grown in different locations, and what that patterning tells us about social interaction. The data revealed an overall similarity of maize across the plateau, with clusters of similar maize types at Corral and Sawyer Canyons, Sandia and Frijoles Canyons, and Bayo and Garcia Canyons, with the maize at Guaje Canyon fairly unique. The maize at Otowi was closer to that at Bayo than at Tsankawi. The authors interpret the overall homogeneity as evidence that plateau communities traded with one another during festivals and ceremonial occasions and after periods of drought to obtain seed corn. They presume these trade relationships linked Tewa villages together in a supravillage social network and also lined the Tewa and Keres. The similarities in maize between communities at a distance are interpreted as evidence of social alliances and intermarriage. Conversely, communities displaying differences in maize types may be indicative of the introduction of new varieties by immigrants during the Classic period. The presence of a few examples of 16- and 18-row corn at a few sites is interpreted as brief reoccupation during the Historic period as refugees came to the area following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

Riley, Carroll L., "Adolph Bandelier as Archaeologist." *Kiva* 29, no. 1 (1963): 23-27.

In an article meant to be read in tandem with a discussion by Lange of Bandelier's ethnography in the same issue of *Kiva*, Riley presents a brief biography of Adolph Bandelier, with particular focus on his education and efforts at archaeological fieldwork. In the end, he concludes that actually Bandelier did very little excavation, but managed to collect a great deal of data through his ethnographic and historical research efforts, and this regard Riley finds him similar to Fewkes and Cushing. In the end, Riley concludes that "Bandelier's main contribution to archaeology, then, was his understanding of the necessity of reconstructing cultures and his willingness to utilize and integrate data from many sources. His great failings were those common to his time—a naiveté concerning the complexities of archaeological relationships in space and time, and very crude field techniques for field archaeology" (pg. 27).

_____, "Adolf F. Bandelier, The New Mexico Years." *El Palacio* 113, no. 2 (2008): 64-70.

This is another biography of Bandelier by Riley, and one which focuses more on events in his personal and professional life than the discussion he presented in *Kiva*. He concludes that the years Bandelier spent in New Mexico were some of the most productive of his career.

Robinson, William J. and Catherine C. Cameron, *A Directory of Tree-Ring Dated Prehistoric sites in the American Southwest*. Tucson: Laboratory of Tree Ring Research, University of Arizona, 1991.

This volume is a list of all the prehistoric sites with tree ring dates as of the time of publication. The list of sites at Bandelier contains Cavate Group M (P IV-P V, 1494), Tyuonyi (P IV, 1386, 1521), Rainbow House (P IV, 1451), Frijolito (P IV, 1426, 1460), and Tsankawi (P IV, 1439).

Ruscavage-Barz, Samantha and Elizabeth A. Bagwell, "The Religious Significance of Plaza-Oriented Communities in the Northern Rio Grande, New Mexico", in *Religion in the Prehispanic*

Southwest, eds. Christine S. VanPool, Todd K. Vanpool, and David A. Phillips, Jr., 81-101. New York: Alta Mira Press, 2006.

The authors provide an alternative model of why people chose to live in the aggregated communities of the Classic period by suggesting that the plaza-oriented community, irrigation agriculture, planned construction, and high population density were all functions of participation in a new religious system in which pueblos were built centered on an *axis mundi*. "based on our symbolic interpretation of plazas, we contend that in the late prehistoric Southwest, the people of the Pajarito Plateau adopted the plaza village form to provide themselves with this spiritual anchor, as part of a developing cosmology related to themes of water, fertility, and the natural landscape" (pg. 96).

Schmidt, Kari M., "Coalition Period Subsistence on the Pajarito Plateau." *Kiva* 72, No. 2 (2007):155-172.

Schmidt reports on the results of floral and faunal analyses of materials from a Coalition period site on Los Alamos National Laboratory land. She notes that stable and more predictable food sources became more heavily relied upon during the Coalition period than previously. Prior to the Coalition, wild foods were the primary means of subsistence. However, analysis of Coalition period remains show that "maize and other domesticates (e.g., beans and squash) became more ubiquitous in the macrofossil record, while turkey remains dominated faunal assemblages." That said, domesticates by no means replaced wild foods in the Coalition period diet.

Smith, Monica L., *The Historic Period at Bandelier National Monument*. Intermountain Cultural Resources Management Professional Paper No. 63, 2002.

This volume is one of the contributions of the Bandelier Archaeological Survey in the 1980s. Smith gives an overview of the historical events in the region and at Bandelier, starting with the Spanish entrada and continuing through the first few decades of the twentieth century. The economy and land use figure prominently in her discussion of Bandelier specifically as she looks at use of the area for sheepherding, ranching, and logging.

She includes a valuable discussion of defining historic sites, given that many of the historic period sites are much more ephemeral than in other areas. She also discusses the difficulties in establishing the ethnicity of the inhabitants of historic sites based on artifacts or even historic inscriptions alone. She then addresses the historic sites known as of the time of her writing, period by period, interpreting them in terms of the general economic and political events.

Snead, James E., *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001.

This work is the result of Snead's post-doctoral research project on the history of Southwestern archaeology. He postulates that the course of archaeology in the Southwest has been a product of patronage (the circumstances of funding), professionalism (as archaeology grew into a discipline and career, rather than an avocation), and rationale (science vs. commerce). Early archaeological research was conducted in the context of efforts to classicize the Native American past, thereby generating a regional heritage that appealed to Anglo-Americans who felt little connection to their cultural roots.

Snead discusses many of the research expeditions and personalities involved in early archaeology in the Southwest. Of interest here is the information he collected on Edgar Lee Hewett, who conducted many episodes of excavation on the Pajarito Plateau. Hewett was controversial in his day, and remains so. He deliberately cast doubt on the connection between archaeological sites and modern pueblos because he wanted to glorify and classicize the past, creating an invented tradition and herit-

age for Anglos, even as people remained divided over the presence of modern Pueblo communities in the region. In contrast, he did a great deal of work to promote federal laws protecting antiquities, and worked (ultimately successfully) to get a national park established to protect the archaeological sites on the Pajarito Plateau. His field schools on the Pajarito Plateau tended to be geared too much towards the general public for the taste of more academic scholars in the east, even as they helped train a generation of well-known archaeologists and ethnographers. Snead outlines in detail Hewett's role in establishing Santa Fe's Museum of New Mexico (with its Puye and Rito de los Frijoles rooms when it opened in 1910) and School of American Research, both still in existence today (though the school is now the School of Advanced Research).

_____, *Ancestral Landscapes of the Pueblo World*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008.

Snead uses an archaeological approach to examine the different uses and meanings landscapes would have had for their inhabitants prehistorically. He looks at a series of topics as they apply to a series of sites in the Northern Rio Grande Valley, including Tsankawi. One topic is what Snead refers to as landscapes of provision. In a region where good places to grow crops are scarce, agricultural production becomes caught up in social reproduction, land tenure, and territoriality. Snead concludes that the basic unit of agricultural production was the family, and that any competition for land seems to have been within communities rather than between them.

Moving beyond agriculture, Snead examines landscapes of identity, and how hills, springs, view sheds, defensibility, and other concerns dictated the locations of settlements. He interprets the amount of effort evident in shrines as an indication of the degree to which community leaders needed to go to establish and maintain the "conceptual integrity" of the identities of their communities in the face of factionalism and fissioning resulting from competition for land and resources. Snead then presents his analysis of the extensive trail system on the Pajarito, noting that the trails correspond better with Coalition than Classic period settlements, and postulates that pueblos located at trail junctions served as "guardhouses." As trails were relatively permanent they would have shaped how succeeding generations used and experienced the landscape.

Snead concludes with the observation that the cultural meaning of the land shaped the activities of its inhabitants. "This meaning was cumulative, so that over time the landscape became increasingly structured and dense with associations. The terrain did not exclusively represent an array of resources; it also encompassed a thick network of places layered by human action" (pg. 153).

Snead, James E., Winifred Creamer, and Tineke Van Zandt, "'Ruins of Our Forefathers': Large Sites and Site Clusters in the Northern Rio Grande," in E. Charles Adams and Andrew I Duff, eds., *The Protohistoric Pueblo World, A.D. 1275-1600*, pp. 26-34. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004.

The authors look at clusters of sites in different portions of the northern Rio Grande, including Galisteo, Bandelier, and the Rito Sarco, noting that different social processes in each case resulted in site clusters of similar appearance. With regard to Bandelier, they note that between 1275 and 1325 C.E., there were distinct communities of multiple small pueblos, few of which were over fifty rooms. By 1400 C.E., these dispersed pueblos were replaced by five large multistory community houses of ninety to four hundred rooms, one of which was Tyuonyi. In looking more closely at the Tyuonyi complex, they determined that Tyuonyi and the other residential canyon bottom sites were the core, serving an integrative function. Frijolito was on the south rim of Frijoles Canyon where it was afforded wide views, while Rainbow House is situated where a major regional trail crosses the canyon. Alcove House, Cuevitas Arribas, and Pueblo of the Water People perform similar "guard pueblo" functions upstream of the Tyuonyi core, monitoring and controlling access to it.

Snow, David H., "The Excavation of Saltbush Pueblo, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico." *Laboratory of Anthropology Note No. 97*. Santa Fe: Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico, 1971.

Snow describes his salvage excavation of Saltbush Pueblo, discussing in particular a remodeled kiva, immigration, and the arrival of new ideas. In particular he identifies the keyhole-shaped kiva as being similar to those in the San Juan region and speculates that it is evidence of immigration. Specifically, he believes the kiva is the construction of migrants whose families with origins in Chaco who went to Mesa Verde before coming to the Pajarito Plateau.

Steen, Charlie R., *Pajarito Plateau Archaeological Survey and Excavations*. LASL-77-4. Los Alamos: Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory of the University of California, 1977.

This report outlines the results of survey of land within the boundaries of the Los Alamos National Laboratory conducted by Charlie Steen between 1973 and 1975; the land later became part of Bandelier National Monument. The report also discusses excavations conducted on Lab property between 1954 and 1974 by Worman and by Steen. While the volume generally deals with sites that are not within the boundaries of Bandelier National Monument, it is helpful for Steen's insights on the archaeology of the Pajarito Plateau in general and for comparative information on sites that are in the area between the main unit of Bandelier and the Tsankawi Unit to the north. Of note is that Steen differs from Bandelier, Hewett, and Powers in his assertion that the population growth of the fourteenth century was a local phenomenon and not due to immigration. There are other publications on survey and excavation at the lab by Steen and by Steen and Worman; this one is the longest and most comprehensive.

Toll, H. Wolcott, *An Analysis of Variability and Condition of Cavate Structures in Bandelier National Monument*. Santa Fe: Intermountain Cultural Resources Center Professional Paper No. 53, 1995.

This is the report on documentation of a series of cavate clusters in Frijoles Canyon and on Tsankawi Mesa undertaken in conjunction with the Bandelier Archaeological Survey in the 1980s. The focus was on architectural documentation, so while it addresses architectural features of the recorded sites in detail, other aspects of full site documentation were not undertaken (though there are chapters on ceramics and rock art by Peter McKenna and June Crowder, respectively). In addition, in part because many of the small cavate sites now known were discovered as part of the Bandelier Archaeological Survey, and in part due to a need to define a reasonable sample size, the project focused only on large cavate pueblos and does not include any small, isolated cavate sites in its sample.

While more data are needed to answer some of the research questions Toll specifies as pertaining to cavate sites, the monograph provides a solid foundation for future architectural documentation at cavate sites in that it carefully defines what cavates are, briefly describes other cavates in other regions, outlines a history of research on cavates on the Pajarito Plateau, and, most importantly, is explicit in its description of the methods and analyses used. Even if future researchers choose to approach documentation of cavate sites more comprehensively from an archaeological perspective, utilization of Toll's categorizations and statistical approaches would start to build on his already detailed and comprehensive documentation and analysis.

Traugott, Joseph, "Fraternity Row" *El Palacio* 113, no. 2 (2008): 44-49.

Traugott discusses the Taos Art Colony and similar entities that arose in Santa Fe in the early part of the twentieth century. Of most interest to this project is his discussion of Edgar Lee Hewett. In addition to encouraging potters such as Maria Martinez, Hewett also supported young men such as Alfred Montoya, who were making the first watercolor paintings of ritual dancers from San Ildefonso. He

called it the Santa Fe Program, and it predated the founding of the Taos Society of Artists by a year. Traugott states that "This intercultural program formed an artist community—a social grouping composed of artists, promoters, commercial interests, scholars, and buyers" (pg. 47). While one could interpret this activity of Hewett's to be counter to efforts by the federal government at the time to assimilate Native peoples by discouraging practice of their religion, arts, and languages. Traugott points out that Hewett did not in fact view his protégés as artists, viewing them instead as ethnographic subjects. Despite having commissioned a series of 22 watercolors of dancers in the San Ildefonso ritual cycle from Crecencio Martinez, for example, Hewett did not include any Native or Hispanic artists among the 38 he selected for the first exhibition at the New Mexico Museum of Art in 1917. Traugott believes Hewett's views were not unusual for the day. While many painters painted Native art objects such as ceramics and weavings, only the resulting painting was considered art, not the objects depicted. "The implication was clear: only European Americans made art, and the door to the museum was open to them" (pg. 46).

Vierra, Bradley J., "Archaic Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology in the American Southwest," in *Archaic Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology in the American Southwest*, ed. Bradley J. Vierra, 5-61. Eastern New Mexico University Contributions in Anthropology 13, No. 1, 1994.

Vierra begins by reviewing the literature on the Archaic, highlighting the contributions of the main scholars in the field, the origins of the terminology, and the identification of the different phases. He then goes on to discuss the primary issues dominating research into that time period. First, he notes the difficulties that arise when "Archaic" is used both to represent a temporal phase and a hunter-gatherer way of life, as not all groups shifted to reliance on agriculture at the same time. Other lines of inquiry focus on migration, ethnicity, changes in technology, degree of sedentism, resource procurement strategies, the pace and timing of the adoption of agriculture, and defining typologies of projectile points as diagnostic artifacts.

_____, "Archaic Hunter-Gatherer Mobility Strategies in Northwestern New Mexico," in *Archaic Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology in the American Southwest*, ed. Bradley J. Vierra, 121-154. Eastern New Mexico University Contributions in Anthropology 13, No. 1, 1994.

Based on the proposition that lithic raw material would be acquired casually during hunting trips and so forth, Vierra surmises that the distributions of non-local materials have potential to shed light on the range of seasonal rounds by mobile groups during the Archaic. Using distributions of Jemez obsidian, Washington Pass chert, and other materials, he notes changing distributions in the Armijo and En Medio phases. He attributes this to a shift to changing settlement systems as traditional access to resources might have been no longer available, which may in itself represent a greater reliance in cultigens than in the past as the dates from the earliest maize known in the San Juan Basin and Jemez Mountains correspond well with the time period of the changing settlement patterns.

Vierra, Bradley J. and William H. Doleman, "The Organization of Archaic Subsistence-Settlement Systems in the Northern Southwest," in *Archaic Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology in the American Southwest*, ed. Bradley J. Vierra, 76-102. Eastern New Mexico University Contributions in Anthropology 13, No. 1, 1994.

There are two models of hunter-gatherer subsistence strategies that might have been utilized during the Archaic; one is a forager strategy in which smaller groups would move to the resources they needed to exploit, while the other is a collecting strategy in which people ventured out from a base camp occupied by a larger group and brought resources back to it. Vierra and Doleman hypothesize that in the Northern Southwest, Archaic groups utilized a foraging strategy spring through fall, then a collector strategy during the winter.

Vierra, Bradley J. and Richard I. Ford, "Foragers and Farmers in the Northern Rio Grande Valley, New Mexico." *Kiva* 73, No. 2 (2007):117-130.

The authors are concerned with the spread of maize agriculture during the Late Archaic, looking at the mechanisms and timing for increased reliance on horticulture. They hypothesize that descendents of early farmers from the San Juan Basin brought maize to the Rio Grande Valley ca. 600 to 900 C.E. Though there are isolated examples from earlier times, this is the period in which a gradual increasing reliance on maize agriculture began.

Vierra, Bradley J. and Teralene Foxx, "Archaic Upland Resource Use: The View from the Pajarito Plateau," in *Between the Mountains, Beyond the Mountains: Papers in Honor of Paul R. Williams*, eds. Emily J. Brown, Karen Armstrong, David M. Brugge, and Carol J. Condie, 153-166. Papers of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico No. 35, 2009.

The authors begin by noting that little research into Archaic period sites has been done in earnest in the vicinity of the Pajarito since Irwin-Williams and her contemporaries. They review the Archaic sites that have been found within the boundaries of Los Alamos National Laboratory over past surveys, using them to investigate the use of upland resource areas by Archaic foragers. They summarize ethnobotanical data and suggest a possible seasonal strategy for exploiting different resource zones during the Late Archaic, including both wild resources and those related to incipient horticulture. A comparison of lithic debitage artifact data from recently excavated Late Archaic sites demonstrates a link between lowland habitation sites with upland campsites. While this article does not address sites within Bandelier National Monument directly, less research has been done on the Archaic occupation of the plateau than the subsequent Pueblo periods, and the conclusions drawn by Vierra and Foxx provide comparative data that could be tested against those for the park, and their conclusions are general enough that they could fairly be applied to most of the plateau.

Vint, James M., *Electron Microprobe analysis of Agua Fria Glaze-on-red Ceramics from Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Northern Arizona University, 1992.

Vint's thesis project was compositional analysis of ceramics, which he then used to investigate questions regarding inter- and intra-regional trade as well as pueblo-specific patterns of land use during the Early Classic period (1315-1425 C.E.) at Bandelier. The results of his analysis were somewhat inconclusive. The composition of the Agua Fria Glaze-on-red sherds proved to be fairly homogeneous and no well-defined clusters of site-specific compositional groups could be identified. Most vessels appear to have been made with clays sharing a similar origin, and therefore it was impossible to distinguish which village made or used them separate from others with the same pottery type present. Despite the lack of a clear outcome with regard to his research questions, Vint's study does provide good baseline data on the ceramic composition of Agua Fria Glaze-on-red on the Pajarito Plateau.

Weins, Ruth W., "The Early Archaic in Northwestern New Mexico: A Re-Evaluation Based on Data from Gallegos Mesa," in *Archaic Hunter-Gatherer Archaeology in the American Southwest*, ed. Bradley J. Vierra, 62-75. Eastern New Mexico University Contributions in Anthropology 13, No. 1, 1994.

Weins begins by discussing Cynthia Irwin-Williams Anasazi Origins Project, noting that her resulting "Oshara Tradition" with its five phases "provided a framework for organizing data and ideas on Archaic period manifestations in the northern Southwest" (pg. 62). She then notes that much greater variability has since been recognized in other regions than were evident in Irwin-Williams' work on

Arroyo Cuervo. Weins then examines data from the Gallegos Mesa, noting that water appears to have been the primary factor in determining site locations during the Jay Phase, and that ground stone implements are present in Jay Phase sites, suggesting a greater use of floral plant seeds prior to the San José Phase than was previously thought.

Select Annotated Bibliography for History

Allen, Craig D., *Changes in the Landscape of the Jemez Mountains, New Mexico*. Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 1989.

Detailed account of land form changes in the region.

Anderson, Clinton P., *Valle Grande National Park*. On file at Bandelier National Monument, 1962.

The next wave of expansion at Bandelier National Monument following the Otowi/Frijoles Mesa exchange.

Atherns, Thomas L., The Non-Funding of a National Park: The Pajarito Park Proposal. On file at Bandelier National Monument, 1900-1920.

The result of the twenty years of political fighting around a proposal to establish the monument.

Burchill, Mary D., *Lady of the Canyon : Evelyn Cecil Frey, a Tribute*. Los Alamos, N.M.: Otowi Crossing Press, 2001.

Excellent personal source for early twentieth century at the Plateau.

Conant, Jennet, *109 East Palace*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005.

Very good look at personal interaction of Manhattan Project personnel. Good description of the stay at the Lodge by Project personnel.

Dilworth, Leah, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996.

Very valuable source for early interaction between tourism developers, tourists, and Native Americans.

Fiege, Mark, The Atomic Scientists, the Sense of Wonder, and the bomb. *Environmental History 12* July 2007: 578-613.

Fascinating account of the Manhattan personnel and their experience of Bandelier National Monument.

Harrison, Laura S., Randall Copeland, and Roger Buck, *Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico: Historic Structures Report, CCC Buildings*. National Park Service, 1988.

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Appendix B: List of Historic Resources Surveyed, with Conclusions Regarding Significance and Integrity

National Register Criteria of Evaluation

Section 800.4 of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's regulations specifies that federal cultural resource managers may, in consultation with SHPOs, assess properties and treat them as eligible for listing for the purposes of Section 106 of the NHPA. Formal determinations of eligibility for historic properties are only made by the Keeper of the National Register. Generally, the SHPO, THPO, or FPO makes the recommendation as to the level of significance of archaeological sites,[1] but it is also true that for parks with the richness of archaeological resources that Bandelier has, most of the resources may be considered eligible at a state or national level of significance.

Regardless of the level of significance assigned, cultural resources must meet one or more of the National Register criteria to be considered eligible for listing. The four criteria are:

A. An association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
B. An association with the lives of persons significant in our past.
C. An embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic value, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.
D. Have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

The archaeological sites that are the most numerous resource type at Bandelier National Monument are generally determined eligible under Criterion D, but Criteria A, B, and C are appropriate in limited circumstances. It should be noted that under the latter three criteria, the property must have demonstrated its ability to convey its significance, whereas sites listed under Criterion D need only have the *potential* to yield information.

Under Criterion A, a property must have well-preserved features, organization, and artifacts that illustrate the event or pattern of events. Criterion A also applies to so-called type sites for specific archaeological complexes or time periods. Under Criterion B, a site must be illustrative of the person's life rather than commemorative, and the stronger the association between person and place the stronger the argument for significance will be. Many of the cultural resources at Bandelier National Monument are eligible based on one of the other criteria, but Criterion C applies to sites that illustrate important concepts in pre-contact community design or are important representatives of the aesthetic values of cultures in the area—rock art sites are generally eligible under Criterion C. Most archaeological sites considered for listing fall under Criterion D, and it should be noted that the information the site contains (or contained) must be considered important information. In addition to information related to anthropological lines of inquiry, information that contributed to improvement of archaeological methods is also considered important. The connection between the archaeological data and the research question should be explicit. Criterion D is discussed further below.

Historic properties must also possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Under Criteria A, B, and C, this means that the property must look much like it did during its period of significance. Under Criteria A and B, the presence of the historic fabric of buildings and structures is most important, but other elements of integrity play a role as well. Under Criterion C, workmanship, materials, and design are most important. For Criterion D, integrity is directly related to the questions posed by specific research design and is therefore somewhat more subjective and related to the significance of the information it contains. In short, integrity for properties potentially eligible under Criterion D is best judged by the strength of the relationship between the physical remains at the site and the important research questions identified for it.[2]

In cases such as this project, which is addressing literally thousands of individual prehispanic and historic sites within the park, it is common to rely on the principles of multiple property submission forms which identify a list of property types, specify criteria for their eligibility and, in the case of Criterion D, outline the research questions relevant to the properties and identify the specific archaeo-

logical materials present that contain that information. While no such forms have been prepared for Bandelier National Monument specifically, one developed for the Pajarito Plateau generally is applicable to the prehispanic resources, with some updating.[3] A second, addressing Jemez Mountain Archaic sites,[4] is applicable to the Archaic sites in the park. A third, written on the origin and development of Jemez culture,[5] is useful inasmuch as it can be extended to address questions of the development ethnic identity generally and its principles applied to sites associated with the Keres and Tewa cultures.

In addition to application of the four criteria, the levels of significance of the cultural resources in the park were assigned based on each resource's association with a historic event, or theme. The themes, their dates, and their significance levels are as follows:

Historic Event	Date Range	Significance Level
Archaic Use of the Pajarito Plateau	5500 B.C.E.-600 C.E.	National
Ancestral Pueblo Occupation of the Pajarito Plateau	600 -1600	National
Early Historic Use of the Pajarito Plateau	1600-1848	National/State
Early Scientific Investigations, Development of Archaeology	1848-1932	National
Early Native Arts Revival Efforts	1848-1932	State
Homestead-Era Ranching, Farming, and Timber Extraction	1848-1932	Local
New Deal Era and the CCC	1932-1942	National

The following section addresses the different types of historic properties found in Bandelier National Monument, identifies the criteria under which they are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register and, where Criterion D is concerned, outlines relevant research questions and identifies the archaeological materials required to answer them.

Historic Property Types

The list of historic properties within the boundaries of Bandelier National Monument was compiled by examination of the park's Archeological Site Management Information System (ASMIS) database, the List of Classified Structures (LCS) database, a Microsoft Access database developed by park archaeologists, the state of New Mexico's archaeological NMCRIS database, examination of various historic maps, and other information provided by park staff. For the most part, descriptive information on the sites is fair to good, though there are few instances where sites were recorded several decades ago and about which relatively little information is available. The list of sites addressed by this historic resources study was compiled in a spreadsheet, complete with dates of occupation that correspond to general periods in history, and assigned themes related to the information potential and other aspects of significance according to National Register criteria. As time and funding did not allow for redocumentation of those sites for which information is lacking, the themes assigned to some sites are a best guess based on the readily available information.

Paleoindian Sites

Paleoindian sites are sparse on the Pajarito Plateau as a whole, and within Bandelier National Monument proper. Vierra lists two Clovis points, two Folsom points, and four late Paleoindian points as being the entire known artifact assemblage representing the Paleoindian occupation of the whole Pajarito Plateau.[6] An isolated Clovis point found on the mesa south of Capulin Canyon[7] and a Scottsbluff point found during testing at Shohakka Pueblo[8] are the only readily identifiable Paleoindian materials found within the park boundaries. These few known projectile points are not a tremendous amount of information to go on, but it does point to Paleoindian use of the Pajarito Plateau for at

least sporadic gathering and hunting forays. This in itself is not enough to recommend Shohakka Pueblo as potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D as a Paleoindian site, though the pueblo is eligible for its Ancestral Pueblo occupation. There are therefore no sites within the boundaries of the monument that are eligible for listing based solely on their information potential on the Paleoindian use of the Pajarito Plateau, though such sites may be found in the future.

Archaic Sites

Much of the research into the Archaic period on in the Rio Grande Valley region has been focused on identifying what are often ephemeral Archaic period sites, and establishing models of settlement patterns and resource exploitation by small, dispersed bands. The transition to at least partial reliance on agriculture has also been the subject of inquiry by researchers studying the Late Archaic, and incipient horticulture sometimes plays a role in models of Late Archaic subsistence. Evidence of seasonal sedentism, with small groups living in pithouses over the winter, has also been found in the Rio Grande Valley.[9] Generally, the mobile seasonal round of the Archaic is viewed as qualitatively different from the Paleoindian in that it is tied more closely to plant than animal resources.[10]

Researchers studying the Archaic in the Jemez Mountains and Pajarito Plateau have pointed towards the high quality lithic material available and the diversity of plant and animal resources as being reasons for Archaic use of the area. It has been proposed that over time, mobile groups in northern New Mexico faced a reduction in land available for seasonal transhumance, leading to a territorial division whereby groups from the San Juan Basin utilized the western half of the Jemez Mountains, while groups from the Upper Rio Grande made use of the eastern half. While there are numerous problems inherent to this model,[11] it illustrates some of the research questions common to the Archaic period in the region and the scale at which they are often addressed.

While Archaic period sites are certainly not numerous within the boundaries of Bandelier National Monument, the northwest Jemez Mountains were inhabited by mobile peoples as part of their seasonal and cyclical subsistence rounds. Vierra and Foxx, for example, have modeled a seasonal subsistence round for Archaic inhabitants of the Pajarito Plateau generally, correlating availability of different plant species with season and elevation.[12] The multiple property submission form by Peterson et al.[13] has a well-thought out site typology and appropriate research questions, as summarized below.

Macroband Base Camps

Such camps often contain a series of burned rock features and relatively rich cultural deposits that suggest long term settlement. Such camps are of interest because they demonstrate that Archaic peoples did occupy some areas for fairly long periods of the year, returning after ranging more broadly. Occasionally, pithouses or other structures are present, providing an opportunity to revisit anthropological models of sedentism and nomadism. Settlement patterns, demography, and population density are additional topics of research.

Microband Camps

These sites are generally smaller and lack the depth of deposits contained by macroband base camps. Even in cases where they were reoccupied repeatedly, the occupations were generally of short duration. Some are open sites that may have hearth features, while others are small rock shelters. They can contain essential data for investigation of subsistence and settlement systems in the region.

Task-Specific Sites

This category applies to a broad range of sites related to such activities as lithic material procurement, hunting, and plant gathering, as well as sacred sites and travel routes. Quarries and hunting blinds are usually identifiable, while sacred sites may consist of a few stones placed together or something else equally ephemeral. Such sites represent areas at which specific activities that were components of the seasonal and cyclical subsistence round took place. As such, they are essential components of the whole Archaic subsistence and settlement system in the Jemez Mountains.

Peterson et al. have the same five integrity requirements for all three site types, and state that an Archaic site should meet one or more of the following:

1. A site must contain undisturbed deposits sufficient to demonstrate culturally meaningful spatial relationships among artifacts, features, floral remains, and faunal remains.
2. A site must contain structures, features, or artifactual materials that will permit inferences regarding site function.
3. A site must contain structures, features or artifactual materials that will permit inferences regarding technology and settlement characteristics.
4. A site must contain datable material such as wood, charcoal, baked clay, or obsidian that will permit chronological placement.
5. A site must contain macrobotanical, microbotanical, or faunal remains indicative of subsistence practices. [14]

There are fifty-one sites in Bandelier National Monument that have been identified as Archaic or having an Archaic component. All of them meet criteria 1 on the list above, and many meet criterion 2 and 3. Testing would be needed to ascertain whether any contain the temporally diagnostic and/or perishable materials listed in criterion 4 and 5, but regardless, all are potentially eligible for the National Register under Criterion D. Of the sites with an Archaic component, thirteen have burned rock features or ash stains indicative of longer term occupation as campsites, while the rest are artifact scatters with information potential on lithic raw material procurement and processing technology among other topics. Eleven of the sites have a later Ancestral Puebloan component, and one has a historic component in the form of a stock tank.

Ancestral Puebloan Sites

Ancestral Puebloan archaeological sites dating to the period between 1150 and 1600 C.E. are by far the most numerous of all the prehispanic and historic sites within the monument and are the reason for its establishment. Much of the archaeological research that has taken place on the Pajarito Plateau has focused on the process of village formation (in the context of research into Neolithic transitions worldwide), settlement patterns (especially as they relate to natural resources and the environment), and models for aggregation into large pueblos (often as they relate to socio-political organization, religious systems, land tenure, and the antecedents of the modern Pueblo groups).

While sedentary Puebloan agriculturalists may have made use of the Pajarito Plateau beginning around 600 C.E., the area of Bandelier National Monument was first systematically settled by farming populations moving into the area in small groups in the mid-twelfth century. The population continued to increase over the next one hundred years, supplemented in part by immigrants from the San Juan Basin region. Kohler and Root suggest that the earliest hunter-farmers on the plateau were already somewhat divided between the Keres and Tano/Tewa linguistic groups, with the former settling primarily south of Frijoles Canyon and the latter north.[15] The immigrants from the San Juan, they argue, favored the southern area, perhaps causing additional competition for resources and solidifying the incipient ethnic and territorial boundaries. While at first ceramics (and by extension, people) seemed to have crossed the cultural and geographic boundary represented by Frijoles Canyon easily, by the end of the early Coalition period, the boundary is visible in the ceramic assemblages as well.

Pueblos of fifteen to twenty rooms with an occasional plaza with kivas and eastern orientation were built beginning in the late thirteenth century. Dualistic aspects of the architecture (e.g., pairs of kivas) of these pueblos suggest to some that this was a period in which a shift from a focus on kin groups changed to a focus on communities, with concomitant development of mechanisms of internal community cohesion such as moieties and kiva fraternities. Even so, there still appears to be a pattern of repeated settlement abandonment that appears to be due at least in part to sociopolitical reasons as well as to availability of natural resources.[16] For these communities to maintain any longevity, they also had to solve problems related to competition for natural resources, especially land. Archaeologists look at this period as one in which the development of formal land tenure took place, supplemented by some measures of agricultural intensification,[17] strategies to reduce crop failure risk, and clustered settlement patterns that were likely attempts to reduce competition between communities.

While some large pueblos inhabited by several hundred people were built late in the Coalition period, it wasn't until the Classic period that such communities achieved a greater longevity of 75 to 200 years. Each such settlement was separated by several kilometers from the next and was surrounded by areas containing fieldhouses and other resource collection sites. Fields were commonly planted in a range of elevations, continuing the risk reduction strategy begun during the Coalition period. By the end of the Classic, however, there was a shift in the location of agricultural sites to lower elevations, which preceded a movement from mesa-top pueblos to better-watered locations in the canyon bottoms in the 1500s. Beginning in the Coalition and continuing in the Classic, craft specialization and production of items for exchange begin to establish a more formal market economy in the region. In Bandelier National Monument specifically, for example, there is evidence that obsidian extraction was performed primarily by the Keres.[18] In turn, the Tewa appear to have relied on Pedernal chert. Kohler et al. point to possible production of textiles for trade during the Classic, and suggest that glazewares, cotton textiles, and formal obsidian tools were all products of craft specialization and participation in a market economy that helped knit together the widespread Classic period communities.[19]

There are many ways to classify sites and features; we have chosen to rely on the scheme developed by Powers and Orcutt[20] that was developed specifically for Bandelier National Monument and which correlates well with research issues such as site function and duration of occupation.

Structural Sites	Communal Pueblo (100+ rooms)
	Pueblo (6-99 rooms)
	Small Structure (1-5 rooms)
	Communal Cavate Pueblo (100+ cavate and masonry rooms)
	Cavate Pueblo (6-99 cavate and masonry rooms)
	Cavate Structure (1-5 cavate and masonry rooms)
	Rock Shelter
	Storage Room
	Isolated Kiva
	Unknown Structure
Artifact Scatters	Lithic Scatter
	Lithic and Ceramic Scatter
Isolated Feature Sites	Shrine
	Quarry
	Grid Garden, Terrace, Rock Alignment
	Fire Cracked Rock Scatter, Hearth
	Bedrock Grinding Feature
	Diversion or Check Dam, Reservoir
	Bedrock Pit/Eagle Trap
	Rock Art
	Trail, Stairs, Hand- and Toe-Holds

Structural Sites

Pueblos, communal pueblos, communal cavate pueblos, and cavate pueblos represent the largest occupation sites, and many of the activities related to pueblo life generally were performed in these contexts. Archaeological information from these sites could be used address a very wide range of research questions related to settlement patterns, subsistence, demography, immigration, architecture, social and political organization, technology, economics, trade, religion, land tenure, and ethnic identity.

Drawing from Elliott,[21] to have the data potential and integrity to answer such research questions, a site must meet one or more of the following:

1. A site must contain undisturbed deposits sufficient to demonstrate culturally meaningful spatial relationships among artifacts, features, floral remains, and faunal remains.
2. A site must contain structures, features, or artifactual materials that will permit inferences regarding human activities and site function.
3. A site must contain structures, features, or artifactual materials that will permit inferences regarding settlement characteristics.
4. A site must contain macrobotanical, microbotanical, or faunal remains indicative of subsistence practices.
5. A site must contain datable ceramics, wood, charcoal, baked clay, or obsidian that will permit chronological placement.
6. A site must contain intact architectural features that permit analysis of floor space, floor features, and other spatial organizational characteristics.[22]

Small structures, rock shelters, storage rooms, isolated kivas, and unknown structures usually represent sites of shorter occupation duration or more specialized function. Small structures are often associated with agricultural features, but may also have been used for other temporary habitation purposes, storage, places to stay during hunting, lookouts, and other purposes. Similarly, rock shelters also were occupied for only short periods of time and were associated with more specific tasks and activities than longer term living sites. Isolated kivas are most likely associated with religious or ceremonial use of a particularly locale. Such sites should meet one or more of criteria 1, 2, 4, 5, or 6 in the list above.

There are currently 1,981 sites classified as structural sites. Often these have other, non-structural features along with associated artifacts. Of the 1,981 sites, 47 had a second historical occupation component. As described above, the information on the individual sites is somewhat variable based on the quality of the available data, but given the quality of preservation and relative lack of anything other than natural disturbances affecting the integrity of the sites, it is reasonable to expect that all 1,981 structural sites meet criteria 1, 2, and 3 above. Limited testing would be needed to assess whether individual sites meet criteria 4, 5, and 6, but regardless, it can be stated that the sites are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D based on items 1, 2, and 3 in the list above. LA 211, Tsankawi Pueblo, is also eligible under Criterion A as the so-called type site for the Tsankawi Black-on-cream ceramic type.[23]

In addition to their information potential, cavate sites are also potentially eligible under Criterion C as embodying the distinctive characteristics of a type. Cavates are composed of caves excavated into the Pajarito Plateau's volcanic tuff cliff faces, many with exterior rooms partly or entirely of stone masonry. Cavates were sometimes carefully plastered and retain features such as viga sockets, loom anchors, floor pits, deep incisions, slots, metate rests, carved and painted images, and floor ridges.[24] They differ from cliff dwellings in that they are rooms people have created by carving into rock rather than structures created inside alcoves or caves. They are unique in the architecture of the American Southwest.[25] For this reason, the cavate sites within the boundaries of the monument are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C as well as under D.

Artifact Scatters

Artifacts have the potential to provide information on technology, time period, trade, subsistence and diet, among other things. Snead has recently suggested that some artifact scatters on the Pajarito Plteau are indicative of field locations in the same way field houses are, and can be analyzed to answer questions about land tenure, labor investment, and so forth.[26] While sites that appear to contain only lithics and/or ceramics on the survey may contain other types of materials in its subsurface deposits, without testing we must rely on what was present on the surface at the time of documentation to make an assessment of whether such a site is potentially eligible for listing in the National Register. One could expect a site containing only an artifact scatter to be potentially eligible if it met one or more of the following criteria, modified from the criteria for Archaic sites by Peterson et al.:

- A site must contain undisturbed deposits sufficient to demonstrate culturally meaningful spatial relationships among artifacts.
- A site must contain artifactual materials that will permit inferences regarding site function.
- A site must contain artifactual materials that will permit inferences regarding technology and site use characteristics.
- A site must contain datable material such as ceramics, wood, charcoal, baked clay, or obsidian that will permit chronological placement. [27]

In the dataset compiled for Bandelier, there are 371 sites that are artifact scatters with no other structures or features present. Of these, twenty-eight have evidence of a historic component as well. Some of the 265 sites are in proximity to structural sites and may be associated with them. Especially given the specialized research by Vint, and others, it is clear that even small scale, dispersed artifact scatters with no temporally diagnostic artifacts can shed light on research questions with broad import. Therefore, the artifact scatter sites are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D.

Sites Containing Isolated Features

The sites containing isolated features are generally more variable in function than the structural sites, though the grid gardens, rock alignments, terraces, and dams could generally all be considered soil and water management features related to agricultural undertakings. Such features have the potential to answer questions related to the adoption of agriculture, prehispanic farming techniques, diet, and land tenure, among others. Many of the isolated feature sites fall within the definition of "landscapes," varying in the degree of human modification of existing conditions and, as such, may be eligible for under the standards applied for listing historic landscapes in the National Register as well under archaeological criteria. Agricultural features are a clear example of features that compose a designed and built historic landscape among those on the list above; shrines and other sites focused on ritual are another example of landscape significance of isolated features.

Quarries are related to lithic raw material procurement and initial processing, and address research questions similar to those noted for the artifact scatters above with the addition of quarrying activities and techniques, and use of a resource in a particularly location in the landscape. Bedrock pits, or eagle traps, contribute to our understanding of hunting techniques generally but also to the procurement of specific types of game, some of which have particular religious and ceremonial significance. Steen asserts that they would only have been used after the plateau was no longer used for intensive habitation;[28] such traps also shed light on use of the plateau after people moved off the plateau and closer to the Rio Grande. Because of their depictive nature, rock art sites are often thought of as representing the world views, culture, and religious thought of their creators. Through style and content, one can also analyze them from a perspective of ethnic identity, cultural territory, and broader religious affiliation. At Bandelier, rock art is often associated with trails and related features.[29] Trails, then, can also be associated with research into cultural identity and territories, as well as resource procurement, travel, settlement patterns, social networks, trade, engineering and construction techniques, and the relationship of all those elements to the landscape itself.

Shrines contain information on ceremonial and religious practices generally, but also with specific references to the landscape and to particularly landmarks with cultural significance within it. We are discussing them separately here, however, because such sites also continue to be of importance to members of affiliated tribes and, as such, have the additional element of being potentially eligible for the National Register as Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) in addition to their status as archaeological sites. Perhaps the most well-known and well researched shrine is LA 50977, Shrine of the Stone Lions, which is traditionally associated with the Keres, but was also occasionally used by the Zuni.[30]

In addition to their general information potential, rock art sites are also often considered eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C as sites that are representatives of the aesthetic val-

ues of the cultures that created them. In the case of rock art at Bandelier National Monument, recent research has demonstrated that different motifs are associated with categories of site type, that there appears to be a semantic division between rock art sites north of Frijoles Canyon and those south, and that both moiety divisions and ceremonial cooperation between Tewa and Keres are of some antiquity.[31] Other, more stylistic analyses of the monument's rock art have been done by Rohn[32] and Munson,[33] among others.

In assessing potential eligibility, the six criteria specified for sites generally by Elliott[34] apply to sites composed of isolated features as well, with slight modifications:

1. A site must contain undisturbed deposits sufficient to demonstrate culturally meaningful spatial relationships among artifacts, features, floral remains, faunal remains and geographic or ecosystem patterns.
2. A site must contain structures, features, or artifactual materials that will permit inferences regarding human activities and site function.
3. A site must contain structures, features, or artifactual materials that will permit inferences regarding the characteristics of the site type.
4. A site must contain macrobotanical, microbotanical, or faunal remains indicative of subsistence practices.
5. A site must contain datable ceramics, wood, charcoal, baked clay, or obsidian that will permit chronological placement.
6. A site must contain intact features that permit analysis of space, features, and other spatial organizational characteristics.

As with structural sites, most isolated sites meet criterion 1, 2, and 3 above, with limited testing needed to determine if 4, 5, or 6 is applicable as well. Therefore, the isolated feature sites in the park are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D, with shrines additionally potentially eligible as Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs).

There are fifty-seven sites that contain grid gardens, terraces, dams, rock alignments, or reservoirs, or some combination of them. Three have evidence of a historic component in the form of historic artifacts. There are eleven sites with evidence of quarrying, one of which had structural remains and was also included in the count for structural sites, and one of which also had a shrine and is included in the shrine count below. Some historic artifacts were present at one quarry, but this was the only example at which second occupation component was present. There are seventeen sites that have bedrock pits that were considered eagle traps, one of which also has a rock art panel. There are seven sites that contain rock art alone, an additional seven sites that contain rock art and trails, one site with rock art and an eagle trap. Another thirty-nine structural sites also contain rock art and are included in the count for structural sites above. There are thirty-six sites that contain trail features, one of which also has a rock art panel as noted above. Ten of these show some use in the historic period as well. Another 120 sites of other site types also include trail segments, but are included in other counts. There are twenty-three sites with shrines, six of which also contain other small structures and were included in the count for eligible structural sites.

Historic Pueblo Settlement Patterns and Adaptations

This time period is characterized by the first actual contact between Europeans and Pueblo people, though the repercussions of European presence in the New World had certainly been felt earlier. It is also the period in which the Pueblo Revolt and Spanish reconquest took place, and the time in which the Navajo and Apache are recognized as first being in the area. From a material and archaeological perspective, this era saw the introduction of European domesticated animals, Christian religious architecture and goods, and imported metal implements and ceramics. There were changes in Puebloan ceramics as well, and it is these that are usually relied on by archaeologists to identify sites associated with Pueblo peoples of this time period.

The first Spanish explorers to visit the region near Bandelier National Monument were Coronado in about 1540, Rodriguez-Chamuscado in 1581, and Espejo in 1582. The Spanish did not find the min-

eral wealth they sought, but they did perceive the Puebloans as potential Christian converts and sources of labor, considering them more "civilized" than other native groups by virtue of being sedentary. The Spanish set up missions and *visitas* in many Pueblo communities, exacting onerous levels of tribute and often using extreme methods of coercion to stifle Puebloan practice of their native religious rituals and ceremonies.

While a small group of sites was occupied by the Puebloans during and after Spanish contact, by the end of seventeenth century, only Tsankawi and Frijoles Canyon still appeared to be permanently occupied as Puebloan people continued a long-running trend of moving to aggregated settlements near permanent sources of water of sufficient volume for agriculture as well as domestic use. People left these sites soon after. The Pajarito Plateau was, at this point, considered remote and undesirable for is lack of arable and irrigable land, and was one of the later areas to be assigned Spanish ownership under the Spanish land grant system. According to Sanchez and Erickson,[35] it wasn't until 1728 that the first land grant in the immediate vicinity of Bandelier was made; Antonio Lucero was awarded the Cañada de Cochiti Grant, which lies between Cochiti Pueblo land and the park. The bulk of the park falls within the Rito de los Frijoles Grant, made to Captain Andres Montoya in 1739. The land grants and early Hispanic use of the area are discussed further below; of interest here is an account in Adolf Bandelier's journal of use of Frijoles Canyon and other areas for horse pasture by members of Cochiti Pueblo. Sanchez and Erickson conclude that "It is clear, then, that the pueblo of Cochiti was present, along with others, as a user of lands at least as far north as the Rito de los Frijoles at various times throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[36]

There are nearly two dozen sites in Bandelier National Monument that have been conclusively dated to this era, though there are specialized resource procurement sites that were likely used during this period but retain no temporally diagnostic artifacts.[37] Two of the sites that can be definitively assigned to this time period (LA 65741 and LA 13662, Painted Cave) contain rock art imagery judged to be early Pueblo representations of European subjects—a mounted horseman at the former and churches and a possible horse at the latter. Historic Pueblo ceramics at these two sites reinforce this interpretation. Other historic-period ceramics have been found at LA 42, Duchess Castle; LA 211, Tsankawi Pueblo; LA 250, Yapashi Pueblo; LA 370, San Miguel Pueblo; LA 12584; LA 13664, Cavate Group E; LA 50970, Cavate Group C; LA 50971, Cavate Group H; LA 53130; LA 60521; LA 60523; LA 61049; LA 65661, Dance Platform; LA 65681; LA 65710; LA 65712; LA 65734; LA 70901, the Sitios de San Miguel Mesa Rockshelters; LA 77691, Cavate Group J; LA 84085; LA 84090, Cavate Group K; LA 88968; and LA 110730.

LA 65741 and LA 13662 are eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for an association with events associated with broad patterns in our history for their early Historic Pueblo images of European subjects representing early direct contact between cultures in the Rio Grande Valley. Similarly, LA 211, LA 250, and LA 370 are also potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for their history as some of the last sites Puebloan people lived in before moving to the modern Pueblos, a period in which modern Pueblo ethnic identities and cultures were being formed. The cavates at LA 50972, Group M, were used as a refugee site following the Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish in 1680, and as such are eligible under Criterion A as well. In additional, the sites eligible under Criterion A are also potentially eligible under Criterion D for their information potential regarding this time period, as are the others in the list above.

Homesteading and Extractive Industries

The earliest period of European settlement in the region began with the Spanish land grants which, for the purposes of an examination of the development in the Bandelier National Monument area, were primarily the Cañada de Cochiti, Rito de los Frijoles, and later the Ramon Vigil grants.[38] The neighboring pueblos, including San Ildefonso and Santa Clara, also received grants. These borders were continually contested into the twentieth century. The pattern established by these grants was

one composed of remote ownership and the granting of rights to use or occupy the land. The remote and harsh nature of the Pajarito Plateau precluded any large scale settlement.

Through the Spanish and Mexican years, the land did see various sheepherding, ranching, and logging activities, though on a somewhat limited scale due to the remoteness of the area and ongoing raids by Navajo and Apaches. These raids went on for centuries and proved one more impediment to permanent settlements in the area. The fact that these raids may have resulted from Spanish "management" (i.e., prohibition) of trade between the pueblos and the migratory Native Americans is discussed in Smith.[39] While the pueblos were often the target of such depredations, some scholars have found evidence that anti-Spanish Pueblos often conspired with neighboring Apaches from before the Pueblo Revolt until at least 1696; there are many accounts of Apaches colluding with the Tewa at San Ildefonso and Santa Clara against the Spanish, and a few of alliances that include the Cochiti as well.[40] Allen cites Gauthier as suggesting that, "…at least the interior portions of the Jemez Mountains were little used by people and their livestock from the surrounding valley pueblos and villages until the Navajo and Apache were confined to reservations in the 1860s."[41]

Post-1700, the evidence for Puebloan use of the area decreases dramatically.[42] The congregation of these peoples on river sites or other areas well supplied with water was also encouraged by the Spanish, which left the Pajarito Plateau largely deserted with the exception of herders and possibly outlaws. The evidence to support the presence of either group is sparse due to their migratory nature but it is not difficult to imagine the cavates being used by itinerants for shelter. Adolf Bandelier himself writes, "…. shepherds and cattle thieves have repeatedly made the caves their abode".[43] In the late 1800s, cattle grazing also expanded, due in part to the elimination of the Navajo threat in the late 1860s, but certainly encouraged by the 1880s arrival of the railroad, as discussed below.[44] There are a number of sites which Smith associated with these developments.[45] As mentioned above, logging was done in the region and Smith locates a number of sawmills in the area, though none were within the current monument boundaries.[46] This pattern of low level subsistence or absentee sponsorship would begin to wind down as U.S. control of the region became more substantial and formalized. The large number of legal actions regarding the grants in the vicinity point towards the increasing awareness of the value of the land.[47] There is also evidence of the Baca and Pino families establishing small ranches in Frijoles Canyon and indeed Bandelier reported staying with the Bacas.[48]

In 1907, Judge Abbott established a ranch in Frijoles Canyon, the first time the canyon was occupied in many years.[49] It should be noted that he did so under a special use permit rather than a full homestead award, as his homestead claim was denied on the grounds that "there are valuable pre-historic ruins on the tract applied for and that to allow you to secure the land under Act of June 11 would practically result in your control of the exploration of the ruins, and that the tract you have applied for is a valuable camping ground and used as such by many people", according to the notification letter by Assistant District Forester Pooler. The "Act of June 11" referred to was the Forest Homestead Act of 1907, meant to open up tracts of arable land within timber stands administered by the Forest Reserve and initiate settlement of remote areas.[50] The establishment of Abbott's Ranch of the Ten Elders set a pattern of land use that would dominate the canyon until the arrival of the CCC in 1933. The ranch can generally be described as a low level farming operation, though housing tourists grew in importance for subsequent owners.

Abbott functioned as an informal watchman of the archaeological sites for archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett before formal government acquisition of the property, and housed archaeologists working and studying with Hewett at the ranch. When the property was purchased by the Freys in 1925, they continued this, providing the only source of hospitality on the site for many years and eventually managing the CCC-built lodge. The ranch is now an archaeological site, but this settlement proved an important transformational step in the development of Bandelier National Monument.

Typically, homesteads are often evaluated under Criterion D as having information potential on 1) degree of self-sufficiency, 2) extent agriculture was practiced, 3) role of women, 4) patterns of land use, 5) effect of frontier status on social mores, 6) long range goals, 7) which factors contributed to

success of a homestead.[51] Sustainability versus resource depletion is another line of research. Additionally, lands settled under the Forest Homestead Act were often in isolated areas within rugged timber reserves. As such, they were often in frontier situations, away from communication and transportation networks, and are viewed as significant from a National Register perspective for their pioneer culture and architecture and the information they provide on a self-sufficient way of life with regard to land use, responses to the natural environment, responses to the cultural environment, and cultural traditions.[52] Homesteads typically involved agricultural, horticultural, and forestry modifications to the land; many of these changes remain visible in modern locations, and may make the sites eligible under landscape criteria. In the case of the Abbott ranch, and similarly for herding and other itinerant uses, virtually the only physical remains today are landscape elements, which as such gain interpretive and research significance.

Both the Abbott claim and those of Verra von Blumenthal and Rose Dougan (discussed below) were denied because the land was not viewed as sufficiently arable to support a homestead and, as described above, the idea of transferring significant prehispanic sites into private hands did not sit well with Forest Service authorities. That said, Abbott, Blumenthal, and Dougan all applied under the Forest Homestead Act and, for all intents and purposes, the sites are every bit as remote and pioneering as those that were approved, if not more so. The sites which are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register as representative of early homestead attempts on the Pajarito Plateau are LA 77725, the site of the Ranch of the Ten Elders, LA 77714, the ranch ditches and orchard, and LA 77825, one of the earliest historic camps in the park. A trail feature that can be associated with this era is encompassed in LA 134111 and 143611 which is the pre-1933 route into Frijoles Canyon, complete with a metal Forest Service boundary sign. These sites are potentially eligible under Criterion D for the information they contain on patterns of travel and transportation in association with Frijoles Canyon prior to the construction of the road by the CCC. There are many other historic sites associated with the ranching and logging industries; these are discussed below with relation to the way the arrival of the railroad changed the local economy and landscape.

LA 77714 and LA 77725 potentially qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion A as representing an important national trend in regional settlement. Even though the claim was ultimately denied, the homestead was settled with the hope of qualifying and displays many of the qualities related to remoteness and self-sufficiency as properties for claims that were granted. LA 77825 is potentially eligible under Criterion D as one of the earliest dated historic camps in the park containing information on the early era of settlement on the plateau. It is also quite possible that some of the sites included in the section on the arrival of the railroad are, in fact, from this early period. Not many of them can be tightly dated, however, and so they are grouped together below on the basis of their function.

Sites Associated with Significant Scientific Investigations

The development of the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology started in the late 1800s, and these fields gradually became established as viable professions rather than avocations during the early 1900s. While scientific methods and theoretical approaches are constantly refined over time, initial scientific understandings of site formation processes, stratigraphy, dendrochronology, and other principles happened at this time as well. The Southwest was the scene of many of these early advances, and indeed the progress in the discipline that occurred here was central to the establishment of American archaeology as a whole.[53] An emphasis on fieldwork as a part of formal training, public education, the creation of site museums, the partial reconstruction of ruins, and campfire talks all saw their inception in the region. Three figures—Adolf Bandelier, Edgar Lee Hewett, and H. P. Mera made important contributions to the disciplines based on their work on the Pajarito Plateau. Those sites most closely associated with them are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B, an association with persons significant in our past.

Properties eligible under Criterion B are those associated with a person's *productive* life and represent his or her contribution. The association of the person with the property must be clearly documented, and that property should be compared to others associated with that person and judged to be one of the best representatives.

Adolf Bandelier

Adolf Bandelier was a Swiss-American anthropologist, historian, and archaeologist who was one of the first to study the native peoples of the American Southwest as well as those of Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru. From an anthropological perspective, he was one of the first cultural anthropologists to utilize the technique of participant observation. Bandelier documented statements by his Cochiti friends of their cultural affiliation with Tyuonyi, San Miguel, and other sites on the Pajarito Plateau and, in contrast to Edgar Lee Hewett, was not swayed by political motives to argue that the connection between past inhabitants of the plateau and modern Pueblos was tenuous. In remaining true to the evidence presented by his data from Cochiti, he was also consistent with the tenets of the direct historical approach then being championed by early pioneers of cultural anthropology such as Franz Boas. Bandelier National Monument was named for him.

LA 82, Tyuonyi Pueblo; LA 250, Yapashi; and LA 370, San Miguel Pueblo; and all the sites in Frijoles Canyon are also potentially eligible under Criterion B as being sites visited by this early pioneer of cultural anthropology and sites that played a role in his research on the history of the people of Cochiti Pueblo.

Edgar Lee Hewett

Hewett is perhaps best known for his part in bringing about the Antiquities Act, as well as being the founder and first director of the Museum of New Mexico and the president of the New Mexico Normal School, now New Mexico Highlands University. He also had a significant role in the formation of Bandelier National Monument and Chaco Culture National Historical Park, and played a large role in the Native Arts revival movement in the Southwest. While he did not write extended professional reports on his archaeological investigations and tended to let political motives drive his interpretations of his data, he also fostered the education of many well-regarded professional anthropologists and archaeologists. Much of his archaeological fieldwork was conducted on the Pajarito Plateau, and it was his connection to the plateau that inspired his work towards the Antiquities Act and Bandelier National Monument. Indeed, it was he who gave the plateau its name. The excavations are significant partly because they set a standard for fieldwork as a facet of archaeological education that should supplement the theory taught by academics, and also because the excavations were the first large scale archaeological efforts on the plateau.

Rightly or wrongly, Hewett regarded the plateau as his particular domain. It is also the location where he took Congressman Lacey during their attempts to create and pass the Antiquities Act. Though no documentation has come to light regarding specific sites, Lacey credits his trip with Hewett for the inspiration behind his perseverance in sponsoring the Act. LA 42, Duchess Castle; LA 82, Tyuonyi Pueblo; LA 211, Tsankawi Pueblo; LA 50972 through LA 50975, Cavate Groups A, F, I, and M; LA 13664, Cavate Group E; LA 77716, Cavate Group G; LA 77691, Cavate Group J; LA 84090, Cavate Group K; LA 84146, Cavate Group L; LA 77726, the Dance Platform; LA 13663, Alcove House (formerly Ceremonial Cave); and LA 77722, the Big Kiva are all potentially eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion B for their association with the fieldwork of archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett and the creation of the Antiquities Act.

H.P. Mera

Harry P. "Doc" Mera was among the first researchers to recognize that spatial distributions of specific ceramic types in the northern Rio Grande Valley had distinct boundaries, and that these distributions were culturally significant. He covered many parts of New Mexico, mapping sites and making surface collections to define ceramic wares and establish more detailed chronologies than were available at

the time. The publications on ceramics based on the type collections he created and the hundreds of sites he assessed for defensive characteristics and created detailed, scaled maps for are often still referred to by modern researchers. He was one of the first to assign dates to ceramic types drawing on dendrochronology thereby (along with A.V. Kidder) establishing that ceramic types could be used to date the sites at which they were found. Mera's ceramic research is still cited by most researchers looking at ceramic types and distributions for New Mexico.

LA 42, Duchess Castle; LA 78, Frijolito; LA 82, Tyuonyi; LA 211, Tsankawi Pueblo; LA 250, Yapashi Pueblo, LA 370, San Miguel Pueblo; LA 215-16; LA 217, Rainbow House; LA 218-223; LA 340; and LA 670 are all potentially eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion B for their association with the fieldwork, mapping, and ceramic type collections of H.P. Mera.

Arrival of the Railroad

The railroad never actually entered Bandelier National Monument, but its arrival in northern New Mexico in the late 1800s had a major impact, as across the western U.S., increasing interaction between the extremely isolated Pajarito Plateau and the rest of the world. This impact would be felt in two major areas: transportation of goods and transportation of humans.

The first impact was the most straightforward. The primary economic activities on the plateau in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would not change for several decades. These were: ranching and herding, mining, logging, and farming. The railroad obviously made it easier for those on the plateau to get their goods to a market or process center. The so-called Chili Line, completed in 1886, touched at a few local stops along the Rio Grande where the ranchers and farmers would load their goods for onward transport. At Santa Fe the line allowed for transfer to the Southern Pacific Railroad (later the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe), connected to Chicago and Los Angeles. This meant that virtually all markets were now available to these businessmen. Better and more products were also imported to the region. Additionally, and highlighting our second point, the marketers could now come to the plateau or the ranchers/farmers go to the market centers to develop their business.[54] This would encourage some growth, but the economy of the plateau would be primarily based on these elements until the arrival of the Manhattan Project.

The more far reaching impact was an offshoot of the use of the railroad by sightseers or tourists. The railroads not only provided access but, in collaboration with the Harvey Hotel system, actively promoted tourism to New Mexico and sale and collection of Indian art such as the now famous black pottery produced by Maria and Julian Martinez of San Ildefonso. The railroad provided easy access to "exotic" locations such as the Bandelier National Monument where the prehispanic pueblos evoked a mysterious past that attracted tourists from around the world. The present Pueblo people now had a ready supply of consumers for their art or could ship their goods via train to New York or Boston for further market development.[55]

While the railroad line did not pass through Bandelier directly, a station was built at Buckman on the east side of the Rio Grande across from the Tsankawi area in 1880. It was used as a water stop and a location to load timber and livestock until its abandonment in 1941.[56] The livestock became firmly established on the plateau following the end of Navajo and Apache depredations, but once transportation to and from the region was readily available, the increase in the number of animals was exponential.[57] The ongoing presence of the army in northern New Mexico and the concomitant demand for meat as well as the loans to encourage stock raising given by the War Finance Office during World War I ensured that ranching and herding were ongoing enterprises. These tended to sanction unsustainable levels of grazing, a controversy that remains influential on Federal lands throughout the West to this day.[58] The legacy of the logging and livestock activities that took place within the Bandelier National Monument area, in tandem with federal fire suppression efforts and an extended drought in the 1950s, resulted in change to the overall landscape.[59] In a pattern seen all over the West, mesa tops that were once primarily open grasslands, woodland, and ponderosa pine-savanna communities now support primarily the piñon-juniper woodlands prevalent today.

Archaeologically, there is no evidence of mining in the park and little that can be specifically associated with logging aside from an ephemeral network of two-track roads created and used briefly for that purpose. The remains of ranching and sheepherding efforts, however, are more enduring and evidence of these activities in the form of corrals, informal stone walls, reuse of cavates and rock shelters, scatters of historic trash, and inscriptions in cavates and on aspen trees are all evidence of use of the plateau by people taking advantage of increased transportation options and participating in the livestock industry. Such sites are potentially eligible for listing at the local level of significance in the National Register under Criterion A for their association with the early development of the livestock industry in the West, an enduring economic enterprise in the region that has had lasting impacts on the landscape and played a significant role in the politics of land management ever since. They are also potentially eligible under Criterion D for the archaeological information they contain on the patterns of land use, scale of operations, living conditions, and cultural identity of early herders and ranchers on the plateau.

Sites potentially eligible under these criteria associated with herding (having livestock-related features, dendroglyph inscriptions, or being historically reused cavates and rock shelters) are: LA 12113-6,50920, 60113, 60428, 60467, 60468, 60500, 60508, 60509, 65595, 65638, 65745, 65746, 64864, 70812, 70818, 70822, 70970, 71053, 71084, 71085, 77630, 84016, 84091, 84092, 84100, 84115, 88943, 88976 (Mrs. Grant's Cabin), 126599, 126602, 126608, 127750, 127751, 127755, 127756, 134021, 134440, 141056, 141077, 144712, 145010, 145012, 145030, 145060, 145072, 145088, 145091, 145093, and 148502. Smith has suggested that some of the more substantial corrals and enclosures such as LA 60113 may also be the result of Forest Service constructions to promote grazing.[60] More research is needed to identify which of the several corrals and enclosures found within the monument were constructed as part of these efforts, but certainly their significance as part of the history of the growth of the livestock industry in the West as discussed above remains, regardless of who constructed them.

Other historic camping areas (hearths, trash scatters that may be associated with livestock raising, logging, or other activities on the plateau) that are potentially eligible under Criterion D alone are: LA 16095, 50922, 60108, 60259, 60464, 60502, 60505, 60507, 60512, 65639, 65710, 65771, 65860, 70813, 70872, 70965, 77826, 84148, 126601, 127135, 127749, and 141077. Many of these sites also have a prehispanic component that itself meets Criterion D.

There are multiple sites composed only of transportation features. LA 134111 (the Frijoles Staircase) and 143611 mark the pre-1933 route into Frijoles Canyon (complete with Forest Service boundary sign). Other trails that are historic or show evidence of historic reuse are: 60507 and 60508 (two historic camp sites with an associated trail), 60522, 65670, 70821 (possible stock trail), 71036, 71044, 84167 (possible stock trail), 127120 (a historic wooden bridge), and 134110. Other trails that are historic or show historic reuse that have not been recorded as archaeological sites are the Bland-Frijoles Trail, the Cañada-Capulin Trail, the Old San Miguel Trail, and the Cochiti-Frijoles Trail. While many need additional documentation and research, it is likely that many are potentially eligible under Criteria A their association with the livestock and timber industries of the time, and all are likely eligible under Criterion D for their information potential regarding the transportation routes and technology and land use patterns of those industries and others making use of this portion of the plateau.

Native Arts Revival

As discussed above, an unforeseen but widely beneficial aspect of the railroad was the speedier development of tourism throughout the West. This in turn caused another unforeseen effect—the revival of Native American arts in the Southwest. These included Navajo weaving and silver work and Pueblo pottery and baskets. The linkage between these somewhat disparate factors was the promotion of the prehispanic ruins of the Southwest as either a uniquely American heritage or the remains of a "vanished" civilization. While the facts behind this description of the Ancestral Pueblo peoples were often wrong, there is no question that it ignited a fascination in the American public and foreign travelers.

Edgar Lee Hewett played a role in encouraging the now well-known San Ildefonso potter, Maria Martinez, to begin making pottery for trade, leading indirectly to her discovery of the black-on-black technique for which she became world famous.[61] Maria and her husband, Julian Martinez, began their work with pottery as an attempt to replicate the decorated polychrome vessels found in the course of Hewett's 1908 excavations on the Pajarito Plateau and with his encouragement.[62] Less well-known are the efforts of Verra von Blumenthal and her companion, Rose Dougan, wealthy patrons of the arts from Pasadena, California. With the assistance of local Pueblo workers and using stone from a nearby prehispanic pueblo, they built a residence, school, and art center near Tsankawi Pueblo that was later known as Duchess Castle, living there seasonally from 1918 until 1928. In the same way traders on the Navajo reservation worked with local weavers to make their weavings more appealing to a general Anglo market (especially wealthy eastern art collectors), these two women sought to assist local Pueblo potters in making pottery more attractive to collectors.

LA 42, Duchess Castle is potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for their representation of the efforts of early advocates for Native Americans who worked to develop native arts for the tourist trade.

Lastly, it appears that State Route 4 was mostly completed by the early 1930s, though its route changed over time. Segments of the old State Route 4 pass through the monument and all the segments have been recorded as LA 139192 even though some lie outside the monument. The segments are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D for the information potential they hold on travel through the Jemez Mountains, the growth of extractive industries on the Pajarito Plateau and the Jemez Mountains, the growth of the tourism industry, the Manhattan Project, and changing transportation technology.

The New Deal and the Civilian Conservation Corps

With the acquisition of the monument in 1932, the NPS management realized that with only a single stone ranger cabin and a telephone line, the park was woefully short of visitor facilities. In fact, Southwest Monuments Superintendent Frank "Boss" Pinkley thought that the surroundings were more like a homestead than a national park.[63] This impression was due to the rambling nature of the Frey's ranch and visitor facilities which stretched almost to the site of Tyuonyi. There was no suitable road into the canyon, and most supplies came down the canyon walls via the Frey's tram. Clearly none of this was suitable for the growth in visitors that the NPS was hoping to see.

Pinkley started planning for development at Bandelier National Monument in 1933, and the first master plan for the site was completed in 1934 with lead designer Lyle Bennett. Fortunately for the NPS, the Great Depression prompted the government to spend "stimulus" funds for many NPS facilities and the monument was soon identified as a major need area for these funds. This began a relationship with the CCC and its U.S. Army management from 1933 until 1941. This period saw the most extensive development undertaken at the monument and was responsible for much of the visitor and management facilities still in use today.

To provide work for thousands during the Great Depression, the CCC encouraged skilled manual labor, and drew on local methods and styles. At Bandelier National Monument, this manifested itself in handcrafted "Pueblo Style" structures and furnishings. Beyond the immediate "stimulus" benefits, the objects created by the CCC have served as models for what is now a significant craft industry with an international market. This parallels not only the revival of Pueblo arts, but also current proposals to train workers in traditional "green" skills as a means of creating jobs and solving environmental problems.

The first winter for the CCC was a difficult time. Morale sank to rock bottom and army management had to hold grievance meetings. At one of these meetings it was promised that if the workers would forget their "grub" complaints, the commanding officer would bus in "20 cases of beer and one hun-

dred women."[64] The resulting event led to his dismissal. However, things straightened out under more capable leadership and work began with construction of a road into the site. A modern road into the canyon had become a local issue with the surrounding communities, who did not want to commercialize the site. Both the USFS and NPS had bowed to local opinion and not built a road. The Santa Fe *New Mexican* was adamantly opposed to the project along with citizen groups. However, if the CCC was to rebuild infrastructure for the monument, including visitor facilities, how would the necessary materials get to the site? Obviously a road was required and in this quiet way a suitable road for truck traffic was built into Frijoles Canyon without much public tumult. The *New Mexican* actually apologized for opposing the project and threw its support behind the development.[65]

The long standing project required over two hundred CCC workers and army managers. They built a permanent camp just up the canyon from the present day visitor center and construction began at a somewhat disorganized base. Construction continued apace for the next several years and Bandelier National Monument was gradually transformed into a more orderly site for visitors. Besides the new buildings (built in a Pueblo Revival style), trails and reconstructions of portions of prehispanic structures were used to efficiently interpret the various sites for the visitor. The road proved a boon to visitation which grew to 13,689 in 1940 from 4,164 in 1932.[66] The last CCC personnel left the monument in 1941 and the camp was used for a short time to house other personnel. It was eventually razed and very little exists today to suggest its presence.

The economic hardship of the Great Depression had a silver lining for Bandelier National Monument. The structures built by the CCC have already been recognized for their quality and beauty and listed in the National Register as a National Historic Landmark. According to the nomination:

> The Bandelier CCC Historic District is of exceptional significance in American architecture. As a group the district represents a significant, distinctive, and exceptional entity of pueblo revival (or Spanish-pueblo) style architecture. … The district is a prime example illustrating the guiding principles of National Park Service architecture (often called "rustic architecture" or "parkitecture") that developed during the 1920s and 1930s. Also, the Bandelier CCC Historic District is the largest collection of CCC-built structures in a national park and perhaps in the nation that has not been altered by the addition of new structures within the district.[67]

The main district has been well documented and is not discussed further here. However, the trails constructed by the CCC were not included in the NHL district because it was judged that they were not significant from a design perspective and had been so modified over the intervening decades that they did not retain enough integrity.[68] The site of the CCC camp was not included either.

While Harrison is correct that the comparatively informal trail system associated with the CCC does not reflect particular design efforts, it is our contention that the trails built and/or formalized by CCC workers are in fact potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criteria A and D. The CCC road and trail system also relates directly to a major issue affecting most NPS facilities, both as a policy concern and as a potential topic of comparative interpretation: the complexity of balancing access, tourism, and sustainability. Two segments of CCC trail recorded as LA 77721 and LA 77731, and the CCC trail from the Old Forest Service Trail to Corral Hill are all potentially eligible, as is the Falls Trail. LA 77727, a small block structure, is assumed to be associated with CCC water works and is also potentially eligible.

The CCC Camp was razed upon abandonment and the area bulldozed. It now consists of some piles of architectural debris and a scatter of historic artifacts recorded as archaeological site LA 77728. The loss of integrity resulting from the demolition means that it is no longer potentially eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A for its association with the CCC and the construction of the buildings and features in the Bandelier National Monument CCC Historic District at Bandelier. However, the presence of the historic artifacts means that the site does still hold some information potential on the experience of life in the camp from an archaeological perspective and, as such, is potentially eligible under Criterion D. Likewise, a group of six historic trash dumps on Frijoles Mesa

appear to date to this era and contain information on that period of the park's history and daily life for the men working for the CCC.

Other Themes and Eras
Similar to the Paleoindian period, there are some eras for which there are no resources known that can be definitely associated with a particular theme or historical event. It is probable, for example, that the Pajarito was used by Genizaros, Apaches, Navajos, Utes, and colonial Spanish in the early historic period, but no resources can be conclusively associated with people of these ethnicities. The Manhattan Project was an important chapter in the park's history, and the primary resources associated with use of the park by Project personnel are those in the Bandelier National Monument CCC Historic District and are listed in the National Register separately as the NHL.

Sites Considered Ineligible for Listing in the National Register

In the section above, we have worked to outline a historic context for the monument's many prehispanic and historic cultural resources. Most of the sites are eligible for listing in the National Register, but there are a few that are likely ineligible due to lack of integrity, duplicate site numbers, or other issues.

- LA 3779, 3781, 3784, 3795, 3798, 3804, 3816, 3817, 3819, 3824, 3850, 3932, and 3941 were all sites recorded by Charles Lange. They have not been conclusively relocated, and it is highly probably that most were re-recorded during the Bandelier Archaeological Survey.
- There are a series of sites with duplicate site numbers. In accordance with a request by park archaeologist Rory Gauthier, the high site numbers have been retained and the lower numbers eliminated. The following table is a list of sites for which duplicate numbers have been identified:

Original LA Number(s)	Current LA Number
222	3755
223, 3755	3856
370, 3755	3833
828	77722
3801	50902
3851	60057
16065	50910
50021	50973
50023	50975
50024	50976
54701	65741

- LA 16058, 16060, 16064, 16076, 16086, 16088, and 16125 were all heavily damaged or destroyed during the La Mesa fire. As such, they retain little integrity and little information potential. Similarly, LA 62320 was disturbed during construction of the sewage lagoons.
- During a reassessment, LA 110702 was discovered to be outside the monument boundary; while it is potentially eligible for listing, it is not within the scope of this project.
- The remains of the architectural debris from the old Forest Service ranger station, LA 77715, retain little information potential.
- There are a series of modern NPS roads and trails that lack age and significance: the trail from the parking area at Tsankawi, the trail at Tsankawi from the contact station to the dance platform, the modern section of the Old San Miguel Trail, a short modern road off the Burnt Mesa Trail, the modern segment of the Stone Lions Trail, the Upper Capulin switchbacks to the Horse Mesa Trail, the Middle Capulin Trail, the Boundary Peak Trail, the Tyuonyi Overlook

Horse Mesa Trail, the Middle Capulin Trail, the Boundary Peak Trail, the Tyuonyi Overlook Trail, the Mid-Alamo Trail, the Frijolito Ruins Trail, the ski trails, the modern segments of the Frey Trail from the canyon rim to the amphitheater, the road opposite the back gate, the La Mesa fire roads, pullouts along Route 4, the overlooks along the Entrance Road, the parking lot at the Cerro Grande Trailhead, and the parking lot at the junction of State Route 4 and FR 289.

- Likewise there are some buildings that were constructed by the NPS that lack age and significance: the buildings and features in the MISSION 66 development, the White Rock House (at 345 Agoya Lane) and the lane itself, the remnants of a series of backcountry shelters that have since been removed, modern additions to the Visitor Center, modern additions to Buildings 15 and 16, the vault toilet near the Entrance Station, the restroom addition near the Fire Tower, the vault toilet at the Alcove House Trail, the maintenance yard at Frijoles Mesa (with all associated buildings, sheds, and routes), and the Tsankawi contact station and restrooms.
- There are a few additional modern constructions that lack age and significance: the entrance signs, the sewer system, the remnants of the backcountry shelters (now removed), and Ponderosa Campground.

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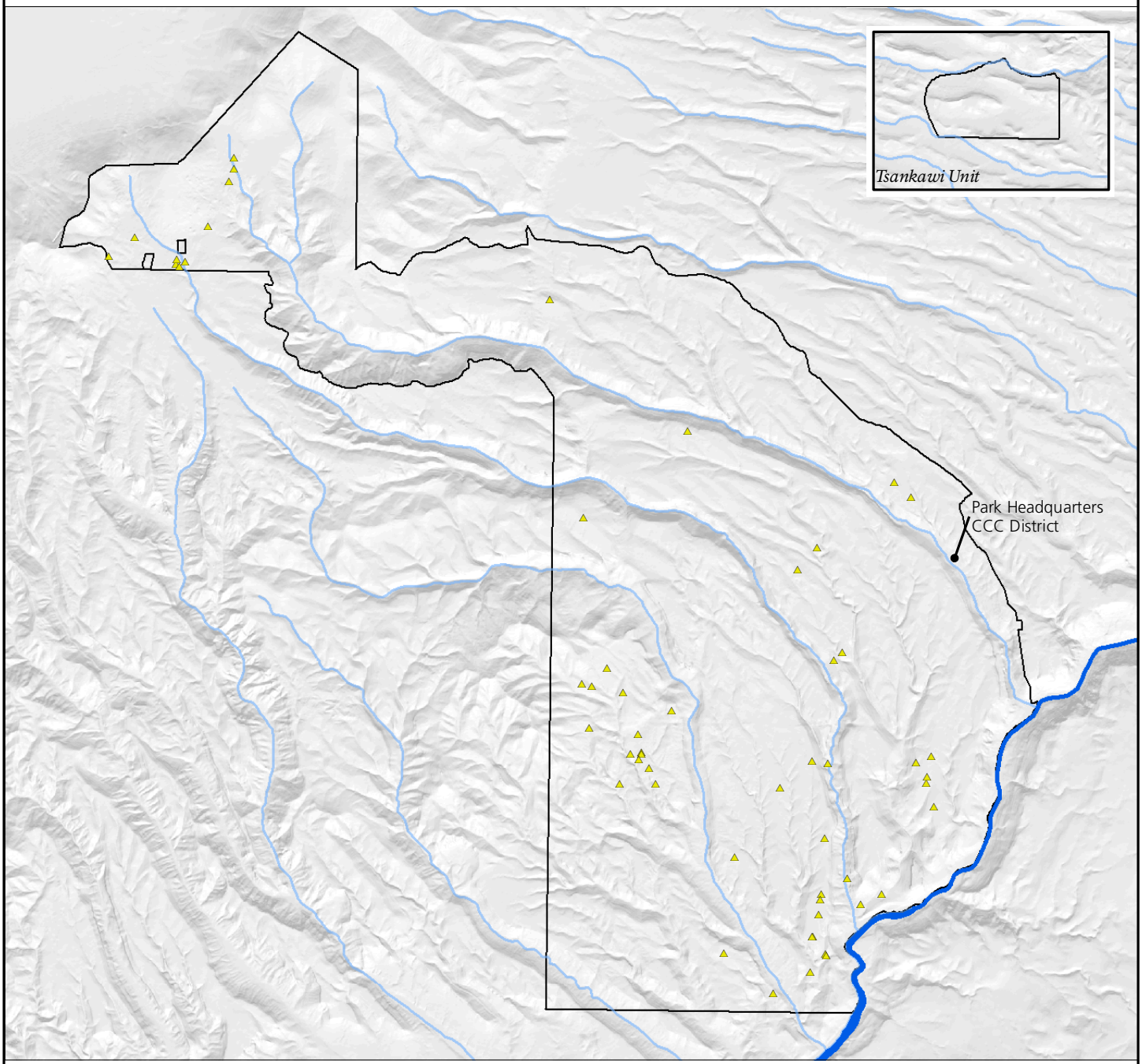
Appendix C: Maps of Cultural Resource

Bandelier National Monument
New Mexico

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Bandelier National Monument Historic Resources Study

Archaic Period Sites (5500 BCE - 600 CE)



Archaic Site

BAND boundary

1 0.5 0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

1:115,000

N
W E
S

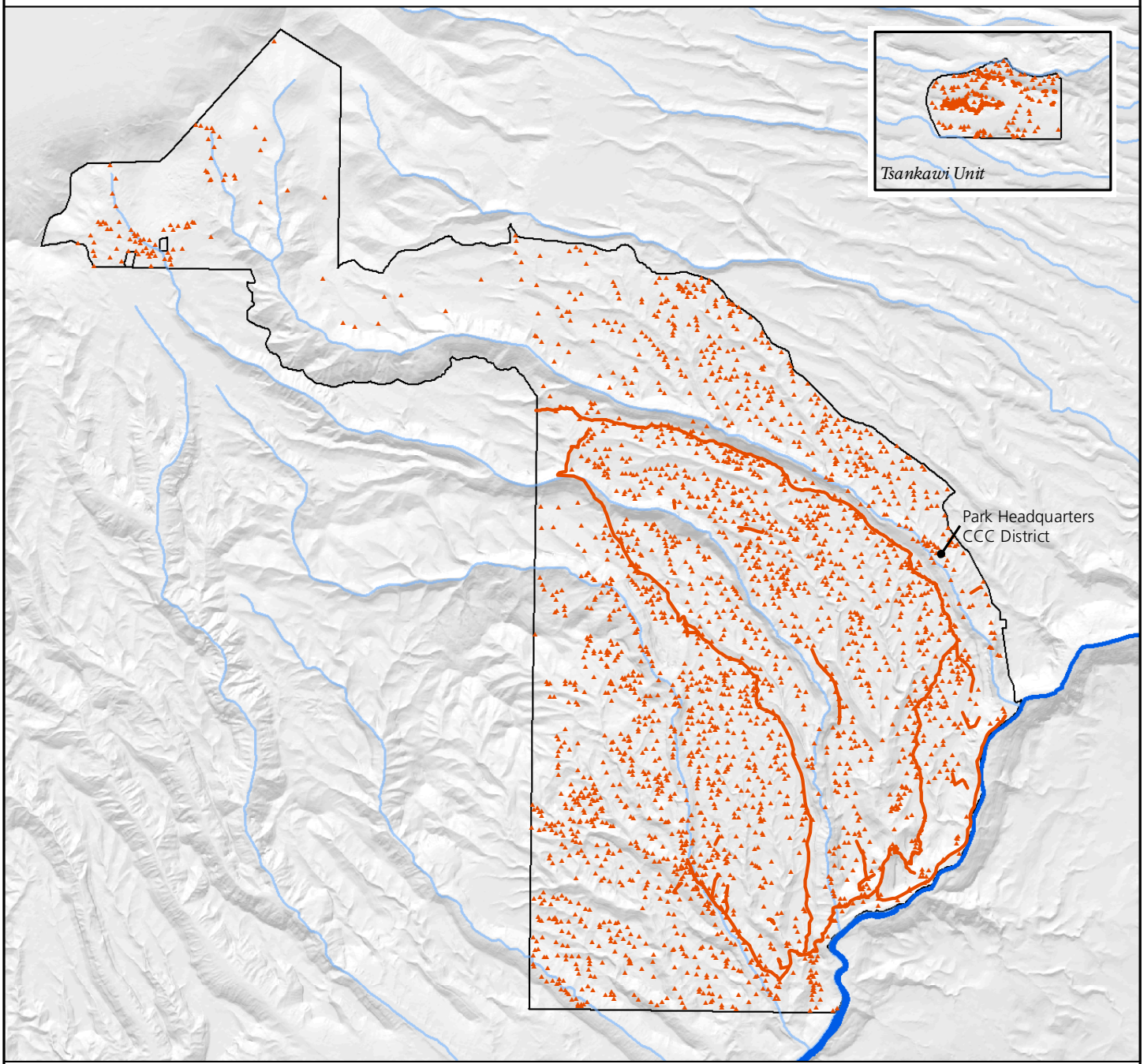
Produced by J. Civitello

Bandelier National Monument
New Mexico

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Bandelier National Monument Historic Resources Study

Ancestral Pueblo Period Sites and Trails (600 CE - 1600 CE)



Ancestral Pueblo Site

Ancestral Pueblo Trail

BAND boundary

1 0.5 0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

1:115,000

N
W E
S

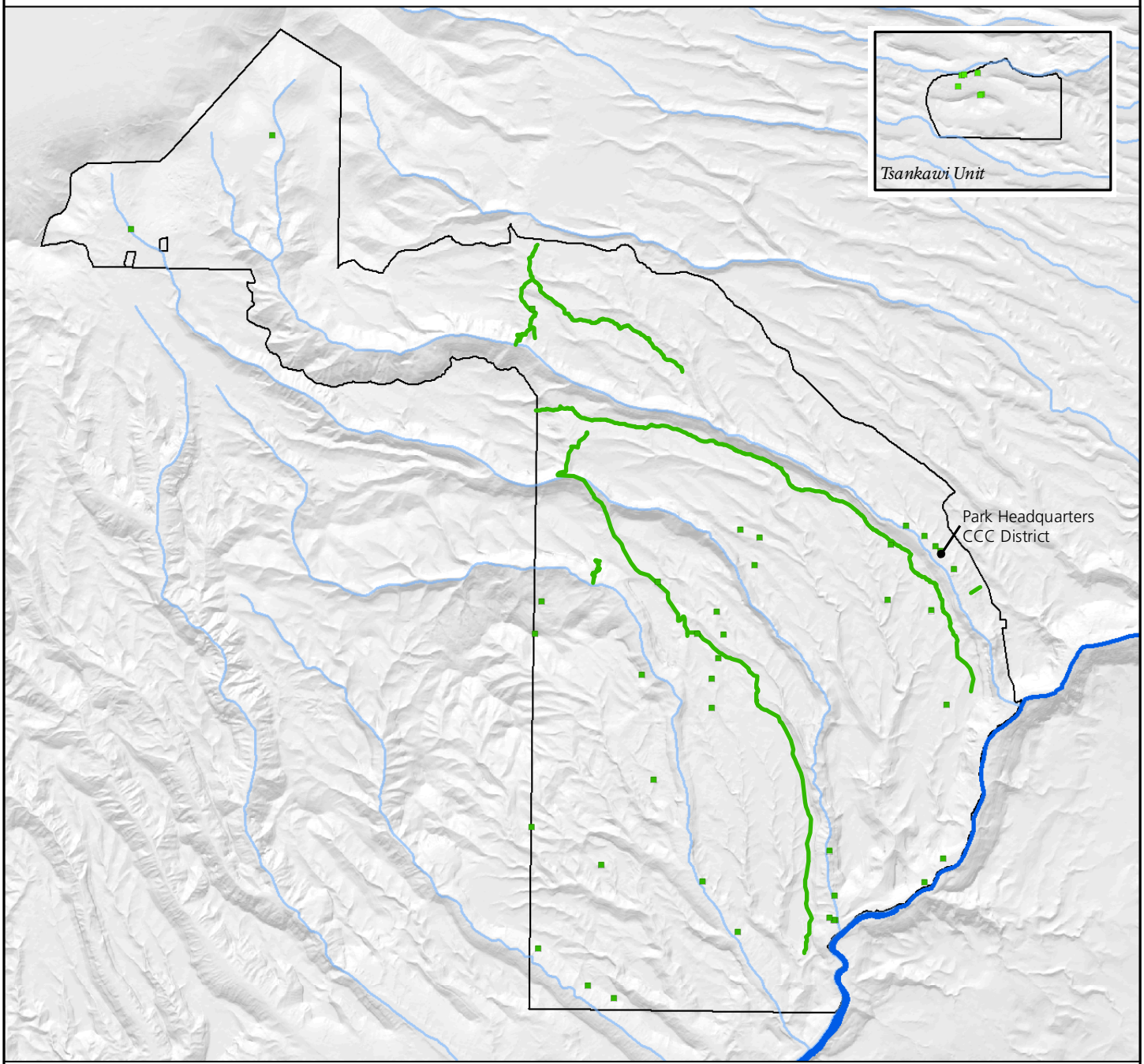
Produced by J. Civitello

Bandelier National Monument
New Mexico

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Bandelier National Monument Historic Resources Study

Early Historic Period Sites and Trails (1600 CE - 1848 CE)



Early Historic Site

Early Historic Trail

BAND boundary

1 0.5 0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

1:115,000

N
W E
S

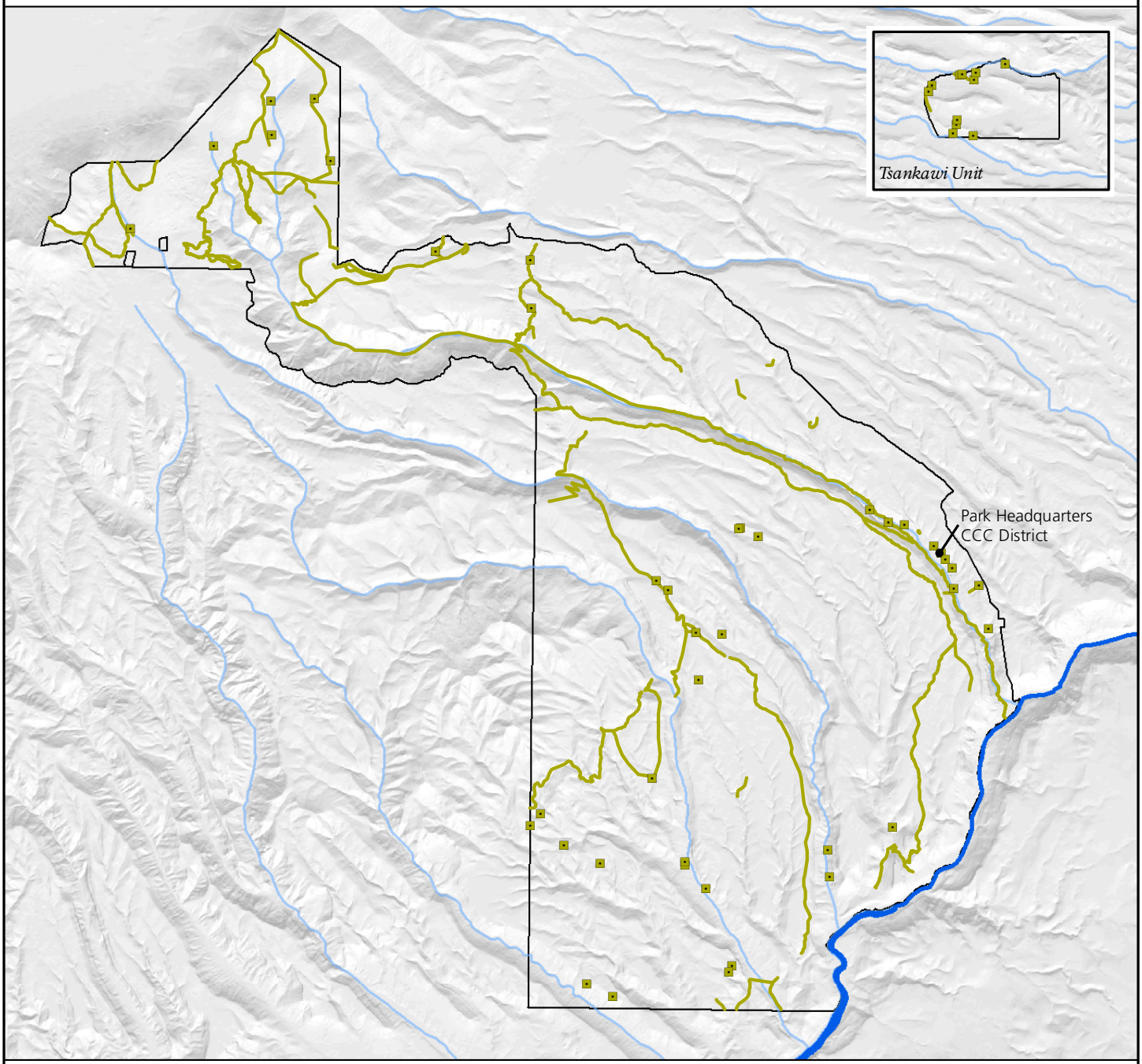
Produced by J. Civitello

Bandelier National Monument
New Mexico

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Bandelier National Monument Historic Resources Study

Homestead Period Sites and Trails (1848 CE - 1916 CE)



Homestead Site

Homestead Trail

BAND boundary

1 0.5 0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

1:115,000

N
W E
S

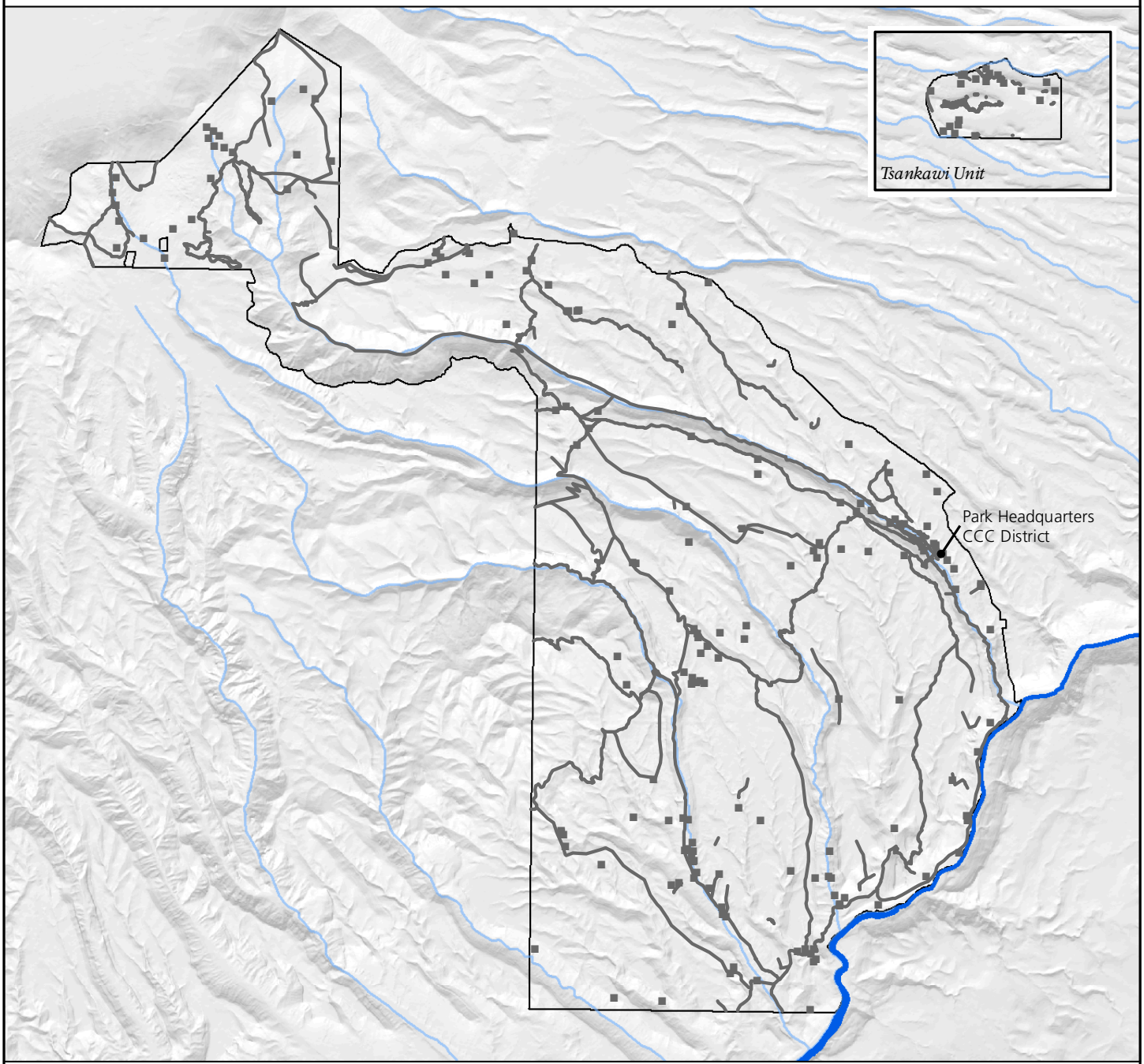
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Bandelier National Monument
New Mexico

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Bandelier National Monument Historic Resources Study

Park Historic Period Sites and Trails (1916 CE - 1942 CE)



Historic Site Historic Trail BAND boundary

1 0.5 0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

1:115,000

N W E S

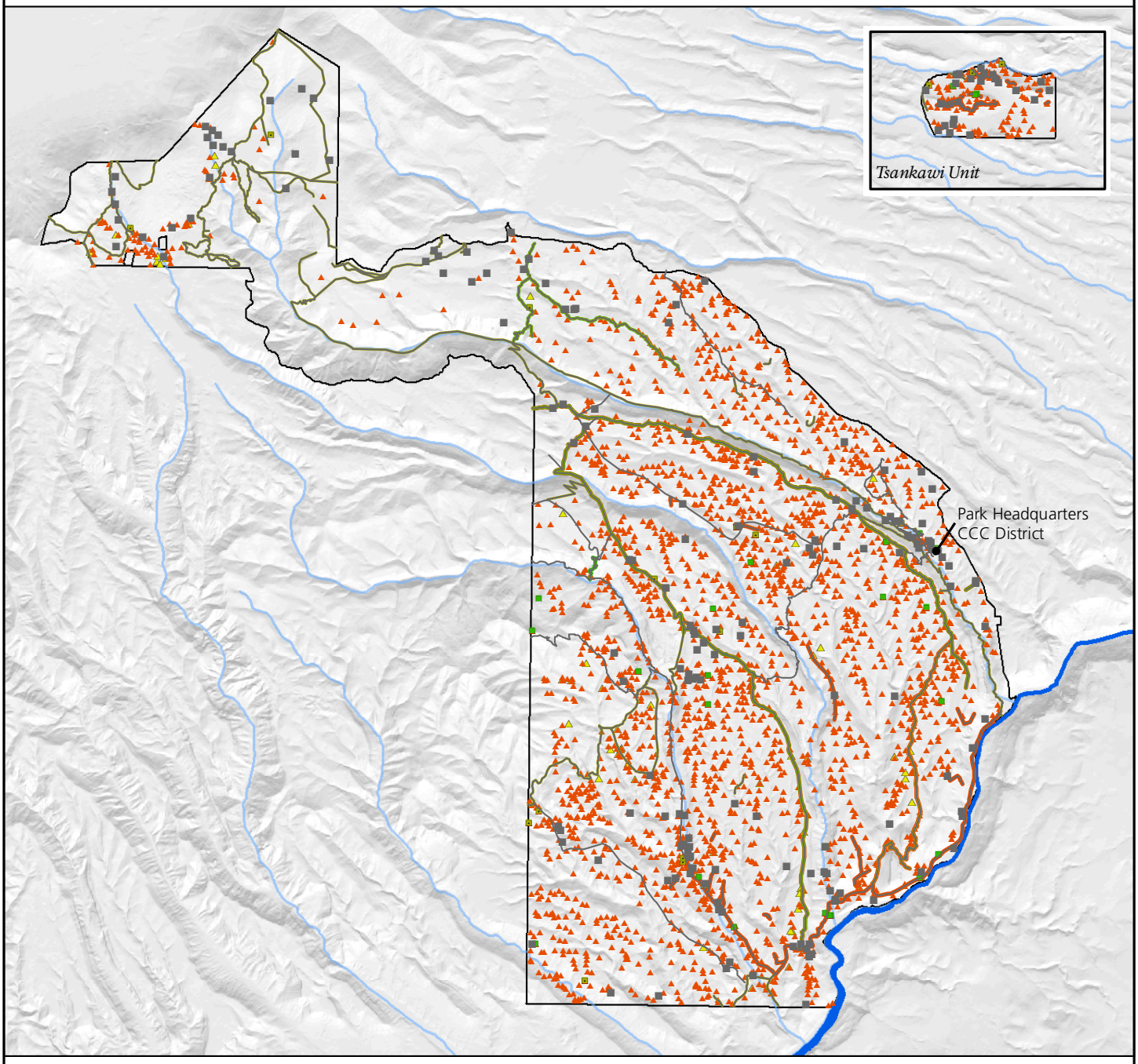
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Bandelier National Monument
New Mexico

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Bandelier National Monument Historic Resources Study

Archeological Sites and Trails (5500 BCE - 1942 CE)



Archaic Site
Ancestral Pueblo Site
Ancestral Pueblo Trail
Early Historic Site
Early Historic Trail
Homestead Site
Homestead Trail
Historic Site
Historic Trail

1 0.5 0 1 2 3 4 5 miles

1:115,000

BAND boundary

N W E S

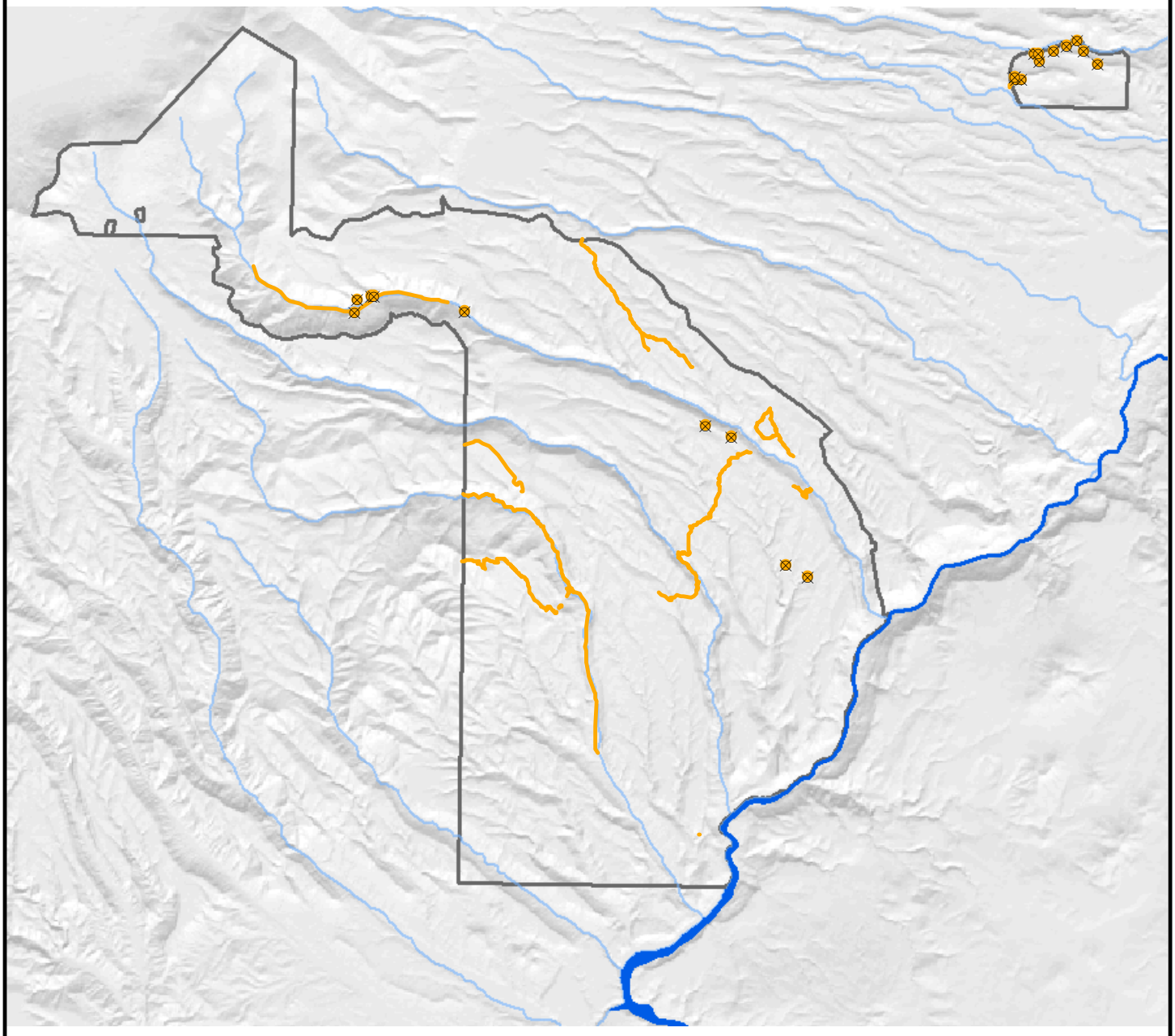
Produced by J. Civitello

Bandelier National Monument
New Mexico

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Bandelier National Monument Archaeological and Historic District

Ineligible Resources



Ineligible Site Ineligible Trail Proposed District

1 0.5 0 1 2 3 4 5 miiles

1:135,000

N

Appendix D: Recommendations for Management, Preservation, Protection, and Interpretation of Historic Resources

Management of Archaeological Sites

The archaeological sites in Bandelier National Monument are its primary cultural resources, and the legislated purpose of the park is to preserve and protect them. There are a few basic elements of archaeological site management that are recommended:

- Complete the ongoing archaeological inventory of the surveyable areas of the monument. It is critical to have complete baseline information on all the monument's archaeological sites so that resource managers can make informed decisions and so that the impacts of natural events such as wildfires and cultural impacts related to visitors or to park undertakings, can be accurately assessed.
- Maintain an ongoing archaeological site condition assessment program. There is a national mandate that monument's archaeological sites be entered into the national ASMIS database and that 10% of a park's sites listed in ASMIS be assessed every year. This is tied into regional funding for cultural resources. It is therefore doubly important that condition assessment efforts have the financial backing needed to complete the required 10% each year. It will provide cultural resource managers with the information needed to make informed management decisions and write appropriate project funding requests, while supporting the efforts of the agency to maintain current data on cultural resources.
- Redocument archeological sites with potentially inaccurate site records. There is a subset of the known and documented archaeological sites that were recorded long enough ago that the documentation is not to modern standards. These sites need to be redocumented so that the available baseline information is accurate. It would be most efficient to do this as part of the condition assessment rotation, and these sites should be at the top of that list.

Undertake an update to the monument's Resource Stewardship Strategy to identify and detail effective means of addressing the disturbances listed below. The primary disturbances (from both on- and off-site sources) actively affecting sites at the monument are the following:

Natural Disturbances

- Erosion
- Wildland Fires
- Animal Trampling and Burrowing
- Fuel Loading

Human-Caused Disturbances

- Construction of Buildings, Roads, and Trails
- Fire Suppression Efforts
- Visitation
- Unauthorized Artifact Collecting
- Vandalism
- Looting

In sum, there are a number of natural and human-caused problems that can affect the condition and integrity of the archaeological sites the monument is meant to protect.

Archaeological Site Data Management

In addition to the more general archaeological site management recommendations listed above, there are a series of archaeological site data management recommendations that will help the monument meet its mandated data management requirements, make archaeological information more available to researchers, develop and submit funding requests, and make general management decisions. We understand that some of the items below are already in progress, but we list them here to emphasize them and to make it clear that park staff should make every effort to ensure the financial resources needed to implement them. The recommendations are as follows:

- Complete submission of archeological records to the New Mexico Laboratory of Anthropology. It appears that many of the archaeological sites recorded during the NPS's Bandelier Archaeological Survey in the 1980s were assigned LA numbers, but the data were never submitted to the Archaeological Records Management Section, the state repository. State LA forms should be completed and submitted. This will make archaeological information available to qualified researchers, which in turn will allow for more in depth and accurate scholarly inquiry into subjects of relevance to Bandelier.
- Maintain data currency and quality in the monument's Archeological Site Management Information System (ASMIS) database. This requires entering newly recorded sites as well as updating sites that are the subject of condition assessments or redocumentation.
- Cull or correct duplicate archeological site records. Given the large number of recorded archeological sites within the monument, errata has crept in. There are several sites that have duplicate LA numbers; they should be identified, confirmed, and the information entered into ASMIS and submitted to the state so that duplicate numbers can be retired.
- Maintain GIS data currency and quality. GIS software has capability that might assist with archaeological site management, in addition to its utility for planning and management decision-making.

Historic Preservation

Bandelier National Monument has a variety of structures and archaeological sites that require regular maintenance. They should be maintained in a way that preserves their character and integrity as well as their structural elements, consistent with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Treatment of Historic Properties*. There are a few management practices that can help accomplish this:

- Maintain a chronology of construction, alteration, and repairs for each structure, site, landscape feature, etc. This will allow identification of original design and materials and make it easier to perform ongoing maintenance in a manner compatible with the original construction. To the extent possible, this should include a history of planting, clearing, grading and drainage, and erosion stabilization for important landscape features. Creating a history of repairs makes it easier to track which were most effective and helps prevent confusion if there is ever a question about what was original and what was added/changed later. When preservation work is performed, it should be well-documented and the records integrated into the preservation histories.
- Monitor the condition of each structure, site, landscape feature, etc. This helps create baseline information against which future change can be measured, including rates of deterioration. It also helps identify problems at a stage when repair is often less costly in labor and materials than when deterioration is more advanced.
- Develop and maintain the property condition database (FMSS) with detailed condition assessment data and defined projects in need of funding.
- Perform cyclic maintenance on a regular maintenance schedule for each structure, site, landscape feature, etc. in addition to larger, less frequent stabilization projects. There are some

maintenance tasks that are predictable and which, when performed regularly, forestall the need for more serious and costly repairs.
- Establish and maintain a digital file structure. In an increasingly digital age, it is especially important to create an effective means of storing and organizing computer files related to historic preservation programs in a way that makes them easily accessible to future personnel and researchers and which ensures their longevity.

Archive Management

Enhance access and use of the monument's archive collection.

- Continue and complete the process of cataloging and scanning the collection of historic photographs. Consider making them available to the public as an online research collection.
- Consider generating digital images of the objects and artwork in the collection and making at least a selection available to the public online.
- Exhibit more of the monument's collection to the public. This might be done by thematic temporary exhibits or by installing a computer terminal in the visitor center with a navigable collection of digital images of items from the collection, or other means.

Cultural Landscape Inventory and Management

CLIs are available to NPS administrators, who use the inventories as a tool in decision-making and funding. These reports are also accessed by the public, which is clearly interested—a Google search in April 2011 for the phrase "cultural landscape inventory" produced over 48,000 hits. The first several pages are park-specific CLIs posted either for public comment or as reference documents, officially or unofficially; a much smaller proportion of the hits are RFPs, non-NPS jurisdictions who have adopted the CLI terminology, etc.). Each of these uses, internal and public, means that clear and compelling description of an NPS cultural landscape in a CLI/R document can have significant impact on that property's management and visitation prospects.

- Develop Cultural Landscape Reports approaching the level of detail found in the 2007 "Courtyards and Patios" CLR for the balance of cultural landscapes within the monument. Cultural landscape reports are an opportunity to highlight the multiple prehispanic and historic eras that exist concurrently as layers within the monument, and identify which eras will be emphasized for a given location.
- In CLIs and CLRs addressing specific locations, relate landscape patterns and social trends of the specific area to the larger, monument context. For example, within a discussion of the Tsankawi and Duchess Castle landscape, include how Duchess Castle played a role in the revival of Native American arts not unlike that played by the CCC design and construction projects in Frijoles Canyon.
- Use the cultural landscapes model (addressing resources in terms of patterns, uses, and meanings) to document all types of landscapes - including archeological landscapes - rather than just describing individual physical elements.
- Provide clear and consistent definitions of key terms, and provide the source of the definition. For example, the following definition of historic integrity could be used, with the clarification that it is an interpretation of published National Register definitions rather than a quote from an official National Register document: "Historic integrity is the degree to which all historically significant elements and patterns of a landscape remain part of the current experience of the place".

- Use standardized boundary hierarchy maps and introductory text (e.g. on monument location, biophysical history, and historic context) in all historic preservation-related documents to increase the clarity and comparability of the documents.
- Work toward comparable analysis, writing and graphics formats for all cultural landscape documents while respecting the requirements of the service-wide CLI database.
- Incorporate location and compass orientation information into comparison historic/current photo documentation.
- Consider including a generalized, respectful discussion of Ancient Pueblo cultural landscape patterns to interpret the prehispanic uses of the land, to add richness to public interpretation, and to facilitate management decisions without revealing specifics that must remain confidential.

Interpretation

The monument's visitor center effectively conveys information about the natural setting and Native American history of the region. It is lacking in the histories of non-Indian peoples. Consider implementation of a series of temporary, rotating exhibits on other subjects including, but not limited to:

- The CCC
- The WPA artists
- The Manhattan Project
- Adolf Bandelier
- Edgar Lee Hewett and the early history of archaeology
- Verra von Blumenthal, Rose Dougan, Edgar Lee Hewett, and the native arts revival movement
- Land grants, early homesteaders, and the history of land use in the area
- Pueblo architecture and the implications for green building today

Similarly, there could be specific tours that discuss these topics, whether associated with exhibits or not.

Appendix E: Topics for Future Research

Refinement of Identification and Dating of Archaic Period Sites

No Paleoindian sites have yet been identified within the monument, and there are very few sites that have been firmly identified as Archaic. Our understanding of the use of the area during these periods is reliant on research elsewhere on the plateau, and while general patterns of behavior can appropriately be gleaned from research on neighboring land parcels, we are lacking more detailed and fine-grained information on Paleoindian and Archaic use of the area within the monument boundaries. Of particular import are questions regarding use of sources of lithic raw materials, including the obsidian and dacite sources within the monument boundaries, but there is also a need to develop a more refined picture of use of the area for comparison with models of seasonal rounds developed for other areas. In addition, identification of Paleoindian sites has import for resource managers in that it would extend the period of significance of the monument from that in the National Register nomination that will be submitted as part of the current HRS project.

Archaic period sites are not as easily dated as later sites because they do not contain ceramics for which a distinct period of manufacture has been defined. They are most often identified by the presence of specific styles of projectile points, by radiocarbon dating of charcoal deposits, or by obsidian hydration dating if obsidian artifacts are present[1], and an experienced lithic analyst can sometimes identify Archaic period sites from characteristics of the lithic debitage present. There are several dozen lithic scatters in the park that have not been assigned to a time period, and there is a high probability that some portion of these is Archaic or even Paleoindian.

There are several sites and isolated finds at which projectile points have been noted, but few of these artifacts have been analyzed and assigned to a typology that could help assign a temporal affiliation. Similarly, there are a series of sites at which datable charcoal deposits have been identified, but the radiocarbon or accelerated mass spectrometer dating has not been performed. Likewise, obsidian artifacts are common in the park but no systematic effort to obtain and analyze samples from potentially Paleoindian or Archaic sites has been made.

One goal of refining our picture of the Archaic period would be to assess how the plateau was used over the course of the Archaic, which covers a period of roughly 6000 years. Several research efforts have modeled Archaic population or occupation of the northern Rio Grande area as slowly increasing in numbers through time. These studies have also assumed a seasonal movement from low elevations during winter to high elevation during summer months, based on the availability of edible plants and animals. These models all need corroboration from the archeological record. In addition, Cynthia Irwin-Williams's groundbreaking work on establishing phases within the Archaic (Jay, Bajada, San Jose, etc.) has been subject to some reexamination in recent years, with the critique that it is in fact a very localized schema and is problematic when applied to places in the state far from the sites she worked at while developing it. Bandelier National Monument is reasonably close to her study area, and with additional research her model could be tested and rejected or refined.

Re-Synthesis of the Archaeological Data for Bandelier

The Bandelier Archaeological Survey (BAS) of the 1980s resulted in a two-volume report on the archaeology of the park. The analyses of that study were in depth, but there is a need for an updated examination and synthesis of the information on Bandelier's archaeological sites for two main reasons. First, the number of known sites is now twice that of when the BAS project was complete, making a more complete dataset available. Second, the research questions driving the BAS project were a continuation of James Hill's earlier work elsewhere on the Pajarito Plateau and were strongly focused on village formation, aggregation, and settlement patterning in general. This in itself is not a weakness, rather there are many other research questions and models that could be tested and with the additional information available, the time is right to consider re-synthesizing and retelling the story of

Bandelier National Monument. The following are some examples of avenues of inquiry that could be pursued:

- One aspect to this project could be a reconsideration of the time periods identified by the BAS researchers (their schema has been critiqued as being so fine-grained that it identified patterns that don't hold when other temporal designations are applied). Another very important topic is the question of the source of the population growth evident at the end of the Coalition period on the plateau. Ortman has argued convincingly for a Mesa Verde migration, but there is a conflicting model by Boyer and others that postulates growth of existing populations. The latter does not use data from the Pajarito Plateau, and the question deserves more extensive examination with careful attention paid to how prehispanic populations are estimated and to the appropriateness of the statistical methods used in the analysis.
- Other analysis could involve a more landscape-oriented study that examines travel routes and landscape features for information on ties between communities, access to resources, and land tenure. One of Scott Ortman's ways of identifying Mesa Verdean migrants incorporated an analysis of shrines, and this could be taken further and coupled with some of Severin Fowles's theories on shrines, spatial relationships between buildings and between communities, and dualistic spatial patterning of architecture in an analysis of the origin of moiety systems and other forms of dual social organization.
- James Snead has identified some specific types of lithic scatters as representing loci of the same activities normally associated with field houses. This theory could be tested further at Bandelier, as it has interesting implications for the identification of field areas, labor investment and land tenure, and the interpretation of some of the many lithic scatters in the park. Snead has also proposed that the communities around Tyuonyi and Tsankawi were organized in such a way that certain pueblos served as guard pueblos, controlling access to the main pueblo at the heart of the community. This analysis could be extended to Yapashi and San Miguel and perhaps other sites within the monument to see if the same pattern exists at these Classic period pueblos as well.
- Further analysis of agricultural farming strategies (for example, field house placement) and soil productivity for a better understanding of the success and eventual failure of pueblo occupation of Bandelier National Monument is recommended. Soil studies by USGS and other scholars have identified soils that are well suited for dry-farming strategies and may have served as the impetus for the rapid settlement of the area by the presumed immigrants from the four corners/Mesa Verde region. These studies would strengthen the arguments put forth by Ortman regarding the source of the early pueblo inhabitants.

There are many other research questions that could be broached in this context; examples of some addressing the history of the Keres, the phenomenon of cavates, the Developmental/Early Coalition population "gap," and migration off the Pajarito Plateau, are outlined below. It is recommended that such a project take advantage of the large data set and look at topics that have broader relevance in the fields of archaeology, anthropology, and history while of addressing Bandelier National Monument and the archaeology of the park.

Regional Comparisons and Synthesis

Several decades of research has been done within Bandelier National Monument as well as at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, the Valles Caldera National Preserve, Santa Fe National Forest, the area around Cochiti Reservoir and the Cañada de Cochiti, the Caja del Rio, and so forth. Enough data now exist from within the monument as well as the neighboring areas that it would be possible to undertake comparative analysis at the regional level. Several important research questions could be addressed, among them: 1) Are the distributions of numbers and types of sites consistent between the different study areas? 2) Do other areas show the same increase in the numbers and sizes of sites over

time? 3) Are there patterns to the types of sites not currently well-represented in Bandelier (e.g., Paleoindian, early historic Navajo and Apache, or Colonial Spanish sites) in other areas than could help identify such sites within the monument? 4) If such sites are restricted to only certain areas, what can we learn from their distributions? 5) Extending the work on trails begun at Bandelier by Snead, can regional transportation routes be identified, and what can we learn about resource exploitation and interactions between regions and groups from them?

Lithic Raw Material Sources Identification and Research

There are specific locations within the park at which stone particularly favored for lithic tools is available, including sources of obsidian and dacite (a mineral like fine-grained basalt in appearance). There are two other sources of dacite at San Antonio Mountain and Newman's Dome near Taos on the western side of the Rio Grande River. Both obsidian and dacite have chemical signatures that allow their sources to be identified. Some research into the distributions of stone material types has been done by Head as part of the BAS project and for sites to the north of the monument on Los Alamos National Laboratory land. The two studies concur that the importance of obsidian grew during the late Coalition and Classic periods, perhaps as part of a regional exchange network. The LANL study also found dacite from both the Bandelier National Monument and Taos sources, but did not posit any explanations of why the Taos material was present when the monument source was closer.

Analysis of a series of samples of obsidian and dacite artifacts to identify their sources from a range of archaeological sites from within the monument would allow comparison to the data from the sites further north on the plateau. It would help shed light on how important the lithic material sources in the monument were and whether that importance changed over time. Many of the Archaic period points that have been identified are of dacite, and it is important to know whether the Bandelier source is the source of these points or whether the relatively mobile Archaic populations also traveled to the San Antonio source. A better understanding of the dacite source and distribution would also inform models of regional trade, as it has been proposed that some people on the Pajarito began to specialize in production of obsidian objects for trade during the Classic period. It would be important to identify whether dacite was similarly controlled and traded and how its distribution compares to that of objects from the San Antonio source.

Exploring the Developmental - early Coalition Period "Gap"

There are relatively few sites on the Pajarito Plateau that date to the period between 500 B.C.E. and 1150 C.E. It is unlikely that the entire area was empty of people for this long a period and so there are many questions about why there is an apparent gap in habitation of the plateau. Both the effort to date the lithic scatters and the regional synthesis listed above have potential to shed some light on this topic.

One theory that could be tested is whether the people on the plateau during this time continued a mobile hunting and gathering existence even as other groups in the northern Rio Grande Valley adopted an increasing sedentary way of life more and more dependent on agriculture. Such groups would, in essence, appear "Archaic" in the archaeological record until the sites are systematically dated and shown to be later than the traditional end of the Archaic period. If this is true, it opens up a whole new line of research that would explore the interactions known to take place between hunting and gathering populations and sedentary agricultural populations. It also creates an opportunity to study where and why populations chose to adopt agriculture, a central question for researchers studying the late Archaic. It could also be an opportunity to test Dello-Russo's model of adoption of agriculture as a strategy for surviving drought rather than an activity that started when growing condi-

tions were optimal, especially if the evidence of the adoption of agriculture on the Pajarito happened much later than at the late Archaic sites he examined.

Alternatively, if it is shown that there truly was no full-time or even long-term seasonal occupation on the plateau, it may still be demonstrated that hunters from settlements elsewhere in the northern Rio Grande made periodic forays onto the plateau in search of larger game. Such groups may also have made use of lithic raw material sources at the same time.

Developing the History of the Keres

Scott Ortman's study of the Tewa ethnogenesis is a seminal piece of research of a breadth and scope difficult to duplicate. Nevertheless, he has established a methodology for examining the history of ethnic group formation, and one that does not fall into the trap of assuming that genetic relationship, common language, and or common culture indicate a shared ethnic identity. As was the case with the Tewa (and some would argue, still is the case), there are various and contradictory theories on the origins of the Keres. Ortman's methodology could be applied to the Keres with the goal of identifying their origins (beginning in the San Juan Basin, perhaps at Chaco Canyon) and the route and timing of their movement to the Rio Grande Valley and to the Pajarito Plateau and the surrounding areas.

Further Research into the Phenomenon of Cavates

The cavates carved into the Pajarito Plateau's tuff are a unique architectural form that has been recognized and studied since the time of Adolf Bandelier. Despite a century of research, there remain many questions regarding their function and significance. Models range from pragmatic assessments of their thermal qualities as insulated dwellings in the cold of winter or heat of summer even as some appear to have features normally associated with kivas and some researchers have noted differences between those found generally north of Frijoles Canyon and those in the canyon and south, implying social values that went beyond the insulating qualities. A companion study to H. Wolcott Toll's original assessment is needed to shed light on how the cavates were used and whether the choice to excavate the rooms into the tuff was a pragmatic one or/and carried social or cosmological significance. Such a study should re-examine past excavation reports and conduct additional excavation and study with modern techniques that would allow analysis of pollen in cavate deposits, the charcoal on the walls and ceilings, and the episodes of replastering.

Examining the Movement off the Pajarito Plateau to the Modern Pueblos

The Bandelier Archaeological Survey proposed extended drought as an explanation for the movement of the direct ancestors of the Tewa and Keres to locations of the modern pueblos (a "push" factor). Others have suggested that there was also a desire to participate in the flourishing trade economy of the broader Rio Grande Valley pueblos that drew people down into the river valley (a "pull" factor). The question of why various communities moved and the process by which they did so would benefit from further investigation.

There is a body of research on migration in the archaeological record with theoretical frameworks that could be brought to bear on the question. Such a study could use oral historical accounts of the migration routes and reasons for the departure as a starting point, but should also address questions common to most studies of migration such as: 1) whether people left the Classic period pueblos as single large community groups or gradually dispersed in smaller extended family groups, 2) whether

they joined existing communities or founded new ones, 3) whether they did anything to "close" the pueblos they left (examples from elsewhere in the Southwest include filling rooms with fill and/or trash or burning them). More specific to the Pajarito and in light of some oral historical accounts of raiding and enmity between the Tewa (in league with the Navajo) and Keres, the ways in which the tension and violence between groups affected the pace of migration off the plateau and choice of new locations to live should be examined as well.

More Research on the Spanish Colonial Era

The Pajarito Plateau was clearly peripheral to the Spanish Colonial settlements in the northern Rio Grande Valley, but the area within the monument boundaries was incorporated into a series of land grants that were issued by governors at the time. There was a Spanish settlement at Cañada de Cochiti and others elsewhere in the Rio Grande valley, and certainly it is clear that settlers did need to stay within range of Spanish and Mexican troops for protection. Nevertheless, Adolf Bandelier recounts staying with a Spanish family in the canyon bottom during his explorations of Frijoles Canyon, and it has been postulated that once the Navajo and Apaches were confined to reservations, the plateau was a more welcoming place. There are numerous early historic campsites with associated sheep corrals found in the park that date to this period and are most likely seasonally utilized by persons from the Cañada de Cochiti settlements. Additional research into the relationship of these sites with the Spanish Colonial sites located on the southern boundary of Bandelier National Monument would provide additional information on this important time period.

Initial research by Joe Sanchez and others is a first step in exploring the Spanish Colonial period on the Pajarito Plateau, but it may be possible to glean information from a few other sources. Charles Hannaford has successfully combined examination of period maps, land grant records, census data, genealogies, existing literature, acequia systems, wills, soil maps, and known archaeological sites to predict where Spanish Colonial sites are most likely. Most permanent sites were found near watered, arable land, while seasonal ones were found further from water but where livestock forage was available. Certainly this profile fits Frijoles Canyon and the surrounding mesas, and examination of the types of documents listed above might shed more information on the family histories of those who lived there as well as the possibility that other canyons might also have been occupied, at least temporarily/seasonally.

Develop a History of Pueblo Workers in the Monument Area in the Early Twentieth Century

Workers from San Ildefonso and other pueblos had a definitive presence on the Pajarito Plateau at the turn and first few decades of the twentieth century. Both Bandelier and Hewett employed pueblo guides, and Hewett employed Pueblo men for his excavations on the plateau. It is also known that Pueblo people helped build Duchess Castle and that some Pueblo women worked in the lodge in Frijoles Canyon. Oral historical accounts by Pueblo people on the subject are rare or non-existent, and until they choose to speak on the subject, it would still be a useful endeavor to examine other sources for information on the history of Pueblo wage labor during the early excavations, construction efforts, and the overall history of the monument, including written and photographic records of Hewett's excavations, written and photographic records of the lodge, period newspaper articles, and accounts by CCC workers, visitors, NPS staff, and any others who might reference the presence of Pueblo people. Additionally, it would be valuable to clearly establish the role that the monument

played in the development of pueblo pottery (especially from San Ildefonso) in the early half of the twentieth century.

More Research on the Fire History of the Monument and Region

Fire has been a major force on the Pajarito Plateau for all of its history. A more in-depth review of fire and its specific contributions to the development of the plateau in precontact times and the early historical period is needed. The role played by major fires and firefighting in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is also worthy of further study. The major fires experienced during this period, notably the Cerro Grande, La Mesa, Dome, Las Conchas, and other fires influenced not only regional but national approaches to various fire management techniques.

A Review of Bandelier National Monument and Mission-66

Bandelier National Monument took a noteworthy approach to the Mission-66 era. While many parks changed their appearance, such as Mount Rainier National Park and Gettysburg National Military Park, under the plan's auspices, Bandelier National Monument was able to preserve its visually striking CCC-era complex and not lose either its appearance or cultural identity. What did result from the Mission-66 activity was a new use of the monument's archaeological and physical assets to generally better serve the public and staff. This was a primarily positive force for good at the monument. The integration of the "old and new" is fairly unique within the NPS of the Mission-66 era and worthy of further study in that there may be strategies useful in guiding future development.

The Manhattan Project

There is mounting evidence that the monument played a very special role in the Manhattan Project era and beyond. The term "playground" for Los Alamos occurs frequently in the various sources for the period. Whether the sources are oral history, photos, or well documented historical sources, they all agree that the monument was well-used by the project. A full history of the period needs to be developed. There were many uses of the monument, ranging from housing to archaeological and wilderness visits to every range of non-research activity. How did all of this influence the scientists and their families? What changes occurred at the monument because of these activities? Was the monument a place to escape the tight security at the site proper to allow for more wide ranging discussions on the theory and use of nuclear weapons? The possibilities are intriguing and worthy of further research.

Specific Historical Context Projects

Hal Rothman's 1988 *Administrative History* is in need of an update to the present. Many significant issues have arisen since it was published that have had important influence on the monument, among them fire, acquisition attempts, and visitor management.

A very specific project suitable for a summer intern is the locating of the 1927 Pinkley report on the monument discussed in the narrative. The team was unsuccessful in locating this report developed for

the NPS leadership which had a major influence on Bandelier National Monument, all NPS monuments, and NPS management for decades to come.

Final Note

The topics posed above arose out of the process of preparing this Historic Resource Study. They are not meant to be inclusive of all possible lines of inquiry, and should any of them be undertaken, it is highly likely that they will evolve and be refined during the process. The most successful research projects will be carefully planned and thoughtfully and thoroughly executed in a manner that best answers the research question(s) selected.

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